

**THE ROLE OF DIASPORA IN CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION
OF JAMMU & KASHMIR**



Researcher:

Lubna Haroon

42-FSS/MSIR/F14

Supervisor:

Professor Dr. Amna Mahmood

Department of Politics & I.R, IIUI

Department of Politics & International Relations

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD

2014-2016





Session No TH: 18031 4

115
2-5-8
LUR

Kashmiri migrants
migration and immigration

Session - 1165
for 21/02/2020

Certification

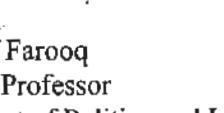
Certified that contents and form of thesis entitled "The Role of Diaspora in Conflict Transformation of Jammu and Kashmir" submitted by Lubna Haroon Registration no. 42-FSS/MSIR/F14, have been found satisfactory for the requirements of the degree of MS/M.Phil Politics and International Relations

Supervisor:



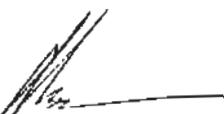
Prof. Dr. Amna Mahmood
Professor/Chairperson
Department of Politics and International Relations,
International Islamic University, Islamabad

Internal Examiner:



Dr. Sadaf Farooq
Assistant Professor
Department of Politics and International Relations,
International Islamic University, Islamabad

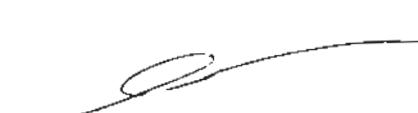
External Examiner:



Dr. Nazir Hussain
Associate Professor
School of Politics and International Relations
Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad



Professor Dr. Amna Mahmood
Chairperson
Politics and International Relations
International Islamic University Islamabad



Professor Dr. Nabi Bux Jumani
Dean
Faculty of Social Sciences,
International Islamic University Islamabad

List of Abbreviations

AJK	Azad Jammu & Kashmir
AJKC	Azad Jammu Kashmir Council
APHC	All Parties Hurriyat Conference
APPG	All Party Parliamentary Group
APPG (K)	All Party Parliamentary Group on Kashmir
BJP	Bhartiya Janta Party
CR	Conciliation Resources
CT	Conflict Transformation
GB	Gilgit-Baltistan
IAK	Indian-Administered Kashmir
J&K	Jammu & Kashmir
JKCHR	Jammu and Kashmir Council for Human Rights
JKLF	Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front
JKPPP	Jammu Kashmir People Party
KDF	Kashmir Development Foundation
KFM	Kashmir Freedom Movement

LOC	Line of Control
MC	Muslim Conference
NAP	National Awami Party
PAK	Pakistani-Administered Kashmir
PML (n)	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) AJK
PPP	Pakistan People Party
UN	United Nations
UNCIP	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
UNMOG	United Nations Military Observer Group
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

Declaration

I hereby declare that the study titled “The Role of Diaspora in Conflict Transformation of Jammu & Kashmir” is based on my research work. I also declare that the data collected from different sources has been properly cited in the manners prescribed by the guidelines of International Islamic University and has not been submitted to any other institution for any other degree.



Lubna Haroon

MS Scholar

Department of Politics & International Relations

Faculty of Social Sciences

International Islamic University, Islamabad

Dedicated To

All the People of erstwhile state of Jammu & Kashmir

Who have been making innumerable sacrifices; and all who aspire to make world a better place
for humanity.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I am grateful to Allah Almighty, the most Gracious, and the most Merciful. Indeed, there are many whom I am indebted to say thanks for their support during this research project. Additionally, I wish my sincere gratitude to the International Islamic University, for helping me read, think and make a balance and comprehensive opinion.

I would like to express my profound thanks to my supervisor. A heartfelt gratitude goes to Prof. Dr. Amna Mahmood, whose incredible academic support, constructive criticism and valuable input has been instrumental in this hard journey of writing a dissertation.

Here, I place on record my sincere gratitude to Dr. Muhammad Khan, Dr. Nazir Hussain, Dr. Dibyesh Anand, Dr. Husnul Amin, Dr. Javaid Hayat, Dr. Serena Hussain, Shamas Rehman, and Raja Qaiser Ahmed for their invaluable contribution, and the positive energy they always transferred to me whenever I met them for guidance and academic feedback.

I am whole heartedly grateful to Lord Nazir Ahmed, who has played a crucial role, without which it would not have been possible to conduct a major part of this research in United Kingdom. I highly appreciate his generosity, hospitality and openness. Additionally, I am very thankful to my dear friend Raja Umer Farooq for his immense support during my field research in England.

I take this opportunity and would like to extend special thanks to all my respondents who took the time to complete the questionnaire, and who accepted my interview requests and spared their valuable time for me.

I am also deeply obliged to my dear friend Mushtaq Ul-Haq, who supported me in developing research questionnaire and data collection from Indian-held Kashmir. I am also highly grateful to my friends Bhawani Yasir Kashmiri, Dr. Peer Sohail, Dr. Ahsanulhaq, Dr. Faisal Rahim, Sahran Malik, Rabia Ijaz, Huda Khalid, Mirza Hussain Hackel, Syed Yasir Kazmi, Amit Raina, Fiaz Mustafai, and Innocent Badasu for their valuable support, encouragement and guidance. Thanks go to my brotherly elder, Israr Abbasi and to my cousin Fahad Khan for the logistical support they provided at short notices during my field research in AJK & Pakistan.

My gratitude goes to my parents for their patience and sacrifices and my brother & sister for their trust and support all along the way. Special thanks go to my closest friends Sardar Aftab Ahmed Khan and Syed Muddasir Gardezi for their continued support over the years. Both offered meaningful suggestions and criticisms, which enabled me to complete this tedious job. Indeed, this was a great learning experience and I feel proud to have worked under their observation.

Lubna Haroon

Abstract

Globalization has played a crucial role in growing number of international migrants across the world. These migrants have been seen as a significant diplomatic and development agents in both their origin and host countries. International efforts are being strengthened at both bilateral and multilateral level to harness the diplomatic potential of the world diaspora. This study examines that how diaspora which strategically placed in Britain contributing towards the conflict in Kashmir. Using a qualitative research method and employing unstructured interviews, this study finds that the diaspora has assumed significance in diplomatic discourse and conflict transformation of Kashmir. However, efforts by Jammu & Kashmir governments to engage the diaspora in conflict have not been followed by formulation and implementation of appropriate policies and strategies. There appears to be an unspoken mistrust between the intentions of governments and the members of Kashmiri diaspora. This development has resulted in low participation of diaspora in conflict transformation of J&K. The aim of this study is to conducting an impartial research and to create an interpretative framework to advocate the fruitful role of Kashmir diaspora in peaceful conflict-transformation. For effective engagement of the diaspora to take place, diaspora members must be consulted in national action plans and diplomatic initiatives to reduce their lack of integration and stimulate their sustainable/productive role in long-standing conflict of Kashmir. The central argument in this study is that demonstrable government commitment and appropriate strategies will create the necessary conditions for effective participation of diaspora in conflict transformation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations.....	II
Declaration	IV
Dedication.....	V
Acknowledgement.....	VI
Abstract.....	VII

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale of the Study.....	3
1.2 Statement of the problem	3
1.3 Objectives of the Study	4
1.4 Research Questions	4
1.5 Significance of the Study	4
1.6 Dilimitations of Study.....	5
1.7 Operational Defination of Major Terms	5
1.8 Literature Review.....	6
1.9 Methodology	15
1.10 Methods.....	16
1.11 Ethical Consideration.....	17
1.12 Organization of study.....	17

CHAPTER 2: PEACE-BUILDING: THEORITICAL AND CONCRETE PRESPECTIVE

2.1 Introduction.....	19
2.2 Peace & Conflict	19

2.3 Peace-Building Mechanisms.....	20
2.3.1 Conflict Settlement	20
2.3.2 Conflict Resolution	20
2.3.3 Conflict Management.....	21
2.3.4 Conflict Transformation.....	21
2.3.5 Scope of theory	27
2.3.6 Relevance of Conflict Transformation to the study.....	28
2.4 Conclusion	30

CHAPTER 3: BRITISH LEGACY AND THE DIASPORA OF KASHMIR CONFLICT

3.1 Introduction	31
3.2 Section I: Kashmir a British Colonial Legacy	31
3.2.1 Views from J&K	32
3.2.2 Views from Diaspora	38
3.2.3 Views from Britain	41
3.3 Section II: Background Study of British Kashmiris	42
3.3.2 Challenges Faced by Diaspora.....	47
3.4 Conclusion	48

CHAPTER 4: ROLE OF KASHMIRI DIASPORA IN CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

4.1 Introduction	49
4.2 Section I: Capacities of Kashmiri Diaspora.....	50
4.3 Section II: Role of Diaspora in J&K Conflict Transformation.....	53

4.4 Section III: How the activities of British Kashmiris are effective?	70
4.5 Conclusion	74

CHAPTER 5: INTEGRATION, WAYS AND PROPOSED POLICIES

5.1 Introduction	75
5.2 Section I: Integration level of Kashmiri Diaspora	76
5.2.2 Is Kashmiri Diaspora integrated with British State & System?.....	77
5.2.3 Is Kashmiri Diaspora Integrated with State of Origin?	81
5.3 Section II: Ways for an Effective Role of Diaspora	85
5.4 Section III: Suggested Policies and Mechanisms to Engage with Diaspora.....	87
5.5 Conclusion	93

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

References.....	.99
List of Annexes	108
Annex A: List of Interviewees.....	108
Annex B: Field Research Questionnaire Sample.....	111

INTRODUCTION

The partition of Indian sub-continent in 1947 caused everlasting hostility between India and Pakistan. Since then, they have fought three battles over Kashmir, and many more violent actions, insurgencies and on-going violation of ceasefire agreements and shelling across the line of control (LoC) has resulted in the loss of the lives of hundreds and thousands of Kashmiris but the conflict is still far from being resolved. United Nations Security Council has passed resolutions and established UN Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) to examine and mediate the dispute but unfortunately both stakeholders remain unable to meet their obligations in-accordance with the UN resolutions. (Department of Public Information, 2003) Consequently, Shimla Agreement turned this dispute completely into bilateral one that practically affected international concern over mediation of this prolonged conflict and constant turning stances and policies of India & Pakistan on Kashmir also heat-up this issue which led to failure of their bilateral conflict resolution process.

It can be argued that Kashmir conflict is a major cause of instability in South Asia, but it is very important to comprehend that how this expanded dispute can be transformed as all national, bilateral and global strategies over mediation has been failed. The governments of Jammu Kashmir across the line of control seem unable to pursue Kashmir the cause of self-determination internationally and on diplomatic level due to their limited capacity and constitutional remits. Implications of these questions are correspondingly as imperative to Kashmiris in diaspora, from London to Washington, from Brussels to New York, as they are on both sides of LoC. Certainly, complexity has its own roots but in today's globalized world non-state actors, non-governmental organizations, national and identity groups have much influence

on national to global level matters which included development, building bridges and peace initiatives that ultimately aimed at the sustainable prevention and transformation of conflicts. Kashmir has wider diaspora settled in Europe & UK. Primarily their migration has characterized as economic, but the political condition of J&K since partition has also effected people's movements. Most of them remain connected to Kashmir conflict through an active social cultural, economic and political participation at both home and host states. However, their role, influence and effectiveness in advancing understanding on Kashmir issue is often missing from the wider narrative in political and diplomatic discourse.

The range and growing recognition of potential positive impacts of diaspora engagement are attended by a policy interest in optimizing these positive influences and in mitigating the challenges and concerns of negative possibilities. In order to inform and develop policy to optimize the potential for positive influences – and to reduce the potential for negative influences of engagement with diaspora – a concerted study is needed regarding the range of groups and activities in which diaspora communities engage, in addition to the relationships between those groups and activities and their countries of origin. (Taylor J., 2014)

Theoretically, the research invades the discipline of political science and international relations and establishes a conflict transformation analytical framework. Conceptually, the study supports the view that it is difficult to offer an unproblematic shared understanding of the concept of diaspora but also takes as a premise that there is enough commonality of understanding of the concept that a comparative investigation of patterns of diaspora interventions in conflicts makes sense. The key empirical research question that contributors were asked to respond to was: 'In the case of Kashmir conflict, how did the diaspora respond? This research focuses to analyze the capacities of Kashmiri diaspora to secure tangible and intangible resources in support of conflicts

transformation. It would also suggest some obligatory policies to optimizing the potential for positive influences of diaspora.

1.1 Rationale of the Study

The researcher intends to look the critical role of diaspora in conflict transformation of Jammu & Kashmir, prospects for policy formulation and implementation. It also provides recommendations that seek to address the integration gap and less productive outcomes by diasporas' efforts. This study will enrich the existing literature on global migration and conflict transformation; demonstrate how appropriate policy implementation can enhance the diaspora participation in back-home conflict.

1.2 Problem Statement

The diaspora over the years, have made some effort in accelerating in the transformation of long standing dispute, however their capacity to represent and the impact of their diplomatic efforts remain under-presented due to the lack of research, resulting with lack of knowledge and awareness about a dynamic non-state actor's potential part in transforming conflict in Jammu and Kashmir. In addition, despite the recognition of diaspora as a potential resource in terminating a conflict and building peace bridges, there is no proper coordination of diaspora with the governments/institutions of J&K, and a lack of clear-cut policy direction in engaging the diaspora, which has led to low participation. It is therefore the pre-occupation of researcher to investigate into the after-mentioned problem in order to formulate ways by which the diaspora can contribute effectively in transforming conflict of J&K.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this study is to highlight the role of diaspora in conflict transformation process of J&K. The specific objectives of this research are as follows;

1. To analyze the historical development of Kashmiris migration.
2. To identify diaspora's successes and failure in local & diplomatic level.
3. To illustrate how diaspora can contribute through citizen's diplomacy in conflict transformation of Kashmir.
4. To formulate a policy that would enable Kashmiri diaspora to be an effective stakeholder with positive influence in transformation process.

1.4 Research Questions

1. How Kashmir diaspora is enhancing the international arrangements and diplomatic collaborations for conflict transformation in J&K?
2. What are the changing dynamics of Kashmir dispute from conflict resolution to management and transformation?
3. Whether British Kashmiris are able, to facilitate the political voices from whole J&K and, to play their role in dialogue process between India & Pakistan?
4. What are the gaps and lacunas in productive role of diaspora for the settlement of Kashmir dispute and how they can be rectified?

1.5 Significance of Study

The Kashmiri diaspora is the key torch barrier of Kashmir cause in many diplomatic circles. However, there is very limited academic research available to provide an insight into the role of the Kashmiri diaspora from diverse perspectives within conflict transformation mechanisms

which needs to be address. This study will investigate all such prospects and aims to create new knowledge to better understand the contribution of diaspora in transforming Kashmir conflict. The research will cover the academic absence on Kashmiri diaspora's input on diplomatic and international level. Then, it will be helpful for the policy makers to formulate long term polices to avoid the conflicts.

1.6 Delimitations of the Study

This research merely focuses on the role of 'British Kashmiri Diaspora' because it is estimated that about 1 million Kashmiris are living in Britain, who are well settled, British nationals, politically mature, and have their direct political representation in British parliament. Consequently, the Kashmiri Diaspora in other regions of world does not have their direct political representation in their host state's parliaments and somehow are being treated as second citizens i.e. in Gulf region. In this research, no response has been included from Gilgit Baltistan (GB) and Ladakh regions because of their limited presence in UK. Additionally, respondents of this study mostly belongs to Islamic school of thought whereas, researcher was unable to approach Kashmiri Hindus, Pandits, Sikhs and Buddhists in diaspora.

1.7 Operational Definition of Major Terms

1.7.1 Diaspora

The term 'diaspora' refers to a large number of Kashmiri originated population who displaced/migrated in different eras to United Kingdom. They may include: 1) labor migration after WWII 2) migrants who have been affected by the construction of Mangla Dam 3) limited number of migrants from Indian –administered Kashmiris who are mostly professionals 4) and

new generations or British born Kashmiris. Moreover, they retain a collective memory, vision and committed for the maintenance, transformation and restoration of their origin homeland.

1.7.2 Conflict Transformation

In this study the term ‘conflict transformation’ trace the activities of Kashmiri diaspora to engage in the conflict, including both in face to face interactions and humanitarian, cultural, social, economic, and political associations, which aims to terminate the long-run Kashmir conflict and ensure positive-peace in the region.

1.8 Literature Review

This research is an effort to analyze the possibilities of peace in Jammu & Kashmir through diverse diaspora belongs to this region. Besides, different case studies regarding conflict transformation by world Diasporas would also be discussed. To be able to evaluate the above scenario, researcher has conducted an in-depth literature review.

There is no single or legitimate meaning of ‘diaspora’. The term passes on the idea of transnational inhabitants, living in one spot however associated with a motherland, with a genuine or imagined alliance to their nation-state. There are numerous different thoughts of diaspora i.e. nationals abroad, living abroad and permanent immigrants. The meaning of diaspora is logical to every nation and is in light of criteria of time, birth place, nationality, identities, sentiment having a place, sorts of connection with the origin state and so on. (Omeljanuk & Samen, 2012).

An international conference held on 18-19 June 2013, has discussed, migration growth is constantly increasing which also maximize the dynamics of diaspora in social, political and cultural existence of their homelands as well in host countries. Therefore, Diasporas considered a

key-actor in national, bilateral and international affairs and also get recognitions bridges between state and societies. Today's world communities are multicultural in nature however; Diasporas maintain cultural associations and socio-economic existence with their homeland which resulted global economic development, helpful for cultural exchange and diplomatic relations. It additionally focused that diaspora's protection, support and empowerment has to be a joint responsibility of host and home countries. (Omelaniuk et al., 2013)

As this conference was recent development in diaspora study, which clearly notify diaspora's diverse role especially in development sector, financial assistance and play critical role in crisis situation. However, as a contemporary and international study, this literature has somehow missed diasporic participation in conflict situation which will be covered in this research by investigating Kashmir diaspora as case study in conflict transformation process.

From recent decades, mostly immigrants move towards European states and seek asylum or refugee status, because they generally come from conflict zones. The writer focuses a question to what extent these communities can contribute politically and economically in transformation of their homelands' conflict. Subsequently, author also answered this question in his research that all contributions by diaspora depend on the particular nature of conflict. Then he suggested that in order to attain diaspora's bridge-building role, origin state must have to empower them which can ultimately resulted some serious challenges for host states. (Zanzer, 2003)

Again, he believed that its complex reality to identify the extent of economic contribution by diaspora in peace-building because of the legal European medium time-frame condition to provide residence to immigrants. He assumed that 'migrants group mostly not interested in so-called old cases of their homeland and to support his argument he mentioned Afghans migrants

in Germany whose were least interested in their origin country's conflict. However, writer may prove his argument through selected case studies but diaspora's role in economic development, as a bridge builder, major actor to manage its homeland's disputes and their influence on national & global politics has been widely accepted by many other academic researches.

The aforementioned article has helped to understand the value of diaspora in their homeland. As voices from conflict zones remain unheard mostly in international forums but this gap increasingly being removed by diaspora community through their active participation globally. However, writer even identifies the multiple barriers faced by diaspora community in transforming conflicts, which needs further research.

Another important book, throws light on the Political participation of diaspora in both origin and host countries. He was in the view that generally Diasporas has strong influence in their national politics which can either be positive or negative. Consequently, if Diasporas looks quite active in their homeland's task then host state avoid sharing their political loyalties with them. A significant assumption given by the writer that in lobbying case, to transform a conflict and for charitable donations Diasporas shows diverse reaction according to their own agendas and affiliation. However, this book helped a lot to understand the different possibilities and perspectives about Diaspora's involvement in politics, which notably quite different from one another. (Vertovec, 2005)

An article which discussed about the fall of Sikh nation from Indian Punjab in 1984, as Sikhs quickly, mobilized them so this issue has quickly internationalized. However, Sikhs Diaspora community still doing struggle get back their motherland "Khalistaan" but they remain quite limited in their number who are participating for their national cause. Thus, such lack of unity

somehow the reason behind their failure and confusion about their struggle that 'Did they want homeland or do just want to protect themselves?' (Dhillon, 2007)

Today's world becoming more globalized and interconnected while feelings of alienation also get strengthens which ultimately resulted in the promotion of fundamentalist ideologies no matter religious or nationalist , it is probably that Diaspora groups will be of expanding significance in new warfare as well as shifting their national narrative. Therefore, without Diasporic component, the study of contemporary conflict seems impracticable because of two relative reasons. Firstly, the identity groups in conflict not have any formal representation in International Organization such as UN membership and also lack in their role on diplomatic front. So, if they heavily depend upon their Diasporas in order to attain universal support. Secondly, in the past both Washington and Moscow had great concern towards Diaspora's support but after the end of cold-war super-power stance in such particular domain less advertised which resulted in insurgencies movements. Finally, he believed that in this era of war and containment, identity groups has brought Diasporas to the forefront as an essential source of external support for conflict zones and insurgencies. (Robinson, 2002)

A fieldwork project has been conducted with Diaspora groups from the Horn of Africa in 2010 by African Diaspora Policy Centre (ADPC) which highlighted the Diasporas significant role in progression of peace-building and reconstruction in conflict affected countries. As report has mentioned Diasporas those are settled in different European states, clearly show that Diasporas engagement and activism depends on state's opportunities, policies towards them and difference in their nature is obvious. Consequently, fragmentation of Diaspora group on religious, political or gender basis remained a notable hurdle in the process of peace-building and development. Diaspora organizations are unable to work solely but how and whom they should collaborate is

also questionable. (Sinatti et al., 2010) However, this field work would be valuable for policymakers to formulate suggested policy by the host state to ensure Diasporas activism towards peace-building and to avoid fragmentation of Diasporas groups and to shape their varied interaction & collaboration with external actors.

Conflicts are now focused more on identity groups than on nation-states and in a globalized world, identity and territory are actually no longer linked. In fact, he believed that the rise of globalization ultimately resulted in the demise of nationalism as well as change traditional sovereign nation-state system. Secondly, the construction of transnational national communities seems a source of turning, even a violent conflict into intra-state affairs. The rise of transnational identities, the increasing number of refugees globally, and the move to identity-based political conflicts have combined to consider Diaspora groups as a significant actor in international relations. Therefore, the engagement of both state and non-state actors in conflict has changed and meanings of intra-state, interstate, and non-state have become blurred. Diasporas are a significant contributor of this change and also pretend as a sources Conflict- mediator to aid in peace and reconciliation development in the new global system. (Roth, 2015) However, writer believed about the prominence of Diasporas as a global actor by denying the existence of conventional realist image concept is but his views on the demise of Nationalism concept would questionable and the subject to address under this study.

Writer describes about Diasporic actors role in homeland wars and the impact of Diasporas on conflict cycles and dynamics. As Diaspora and homeland actors have not same interests in sustaining their motherland and these differences turned into clashes over who is authorized to define national interest and security, and who decides on policy of war and peace. Therefore he used balance of power theory which depends on the relative strength of the parties and stressed

for interaction between Diaspora and homeland actors. He further argued that it is critical to include Diasporas in levels-of-analysis approaches and multi-track intervention but most scholars and policymakers believed, current conflicts are multi-leveled and multi-issued, so, conflict resolution should always involve multi-track and multi-level interventions. This would result, emerging in Diaspora as a new actor, on an in-between level: somewhat connecting an internal and external actor, affecting the conflict mutually directly and indirectly. (Demmers, 2007) No doubt, an appreciable study which has point out significant dimensions under international relations curriculum, for instance 'balance of power' between Diaspora and homeland actors is must requirement to concentrate on peace building and for the elimination of internal clashes. Secondly, in today's world, where transnational identity communities are growing in number, there must be a space for them in 'level of analysis' to ensure stability in globalization.

A joint report which used different Diasporic case studies in order to analyze their role. The major finding is that Diasporas play diverse roles in conflict; and different groups and individuals within the same Diaspora may have different, associations, approaches, interests and objectives in the same conflict. In fact, if Diaspora is united on objectives, it may positively contribute in peace-making but also may play a negative role as a contributor in continued conflict. They recommended some policies to ensure Diaspora as a peace maker entity, to do analyze the role of Diasporas specifically and host states can formulate sufficient policies and provide opportunities for Diaspora to channel positive contributions to peace-making and to discourage the negative contributions of peace-wreckers. Global policy-makers can be really help out by Diaspora groups in critical phases of conflict, for example in offering remittance in post-conflict reconstruction as the Eritrean Diaspora contributed substantially to nation building after conflict. A final lesson for global policy-makers is. The report finally elaborated that even

the most active Diaspora is not prepared to resolve major conflicts on its own, so that major powers and international organizations cannot abrogate their own responsibilities to seek peace in long-lasting and intractable conflicts for instance Israeli and Palestinian Diasporas who have much impact on the promotion of peace in the Middle East unless substantial intervention by the major powers provides some realistic hope that peace might be possible. (Smith & Stares, 2007)

However, this report critically analyzed the Diasporas' role in every aspect as well as recommended policies. Furthermore, he utilized International Relations' theory of Social-constructivism's assumptions (agency & structure) in order to understand Diasporas role (negative or positive) by tracing their capacities and available opportunities. Whether a Diaspora will play either or none of those roles can best be understood, according to our contributors, by tracing not just the capacities of the diaspora (agency) but also the transnational opportunities available to it (structure).

Citizen diplomacy is the nongovernmental, unofficial and informal activity by private natives in such global matters as conflict prevention and transformation and ecological strategies. It can be used as a supplement to official diplomacy, which includes daily base formal and official actions in global diplomatic front. As official diplomacy includes all daily base and formal international activities in diplomatic front. Track two diplomacy has the similar objectives as official one, which includes peace-building and to propose conflict resolution strategies. However, as its name shows, citizen diplomacy focuses to engage across cultures and generate shared understanding through meaningful direct and personal interactions. (McDonald, 1991)

Another book argues, as technological development changed the concept of warfare and security, if states are currently fighting total war, they as well seeking to attain total security.

Consequently, peace now spotlight on diverse subjects in addition to disarmament, ceasefires, conflict resolution, and armed deterrent. Since India and Pakistan moved on from total war to peace dialogue which helped writer to define the modern conception of security, as it has to be sustainable to be effectual, and the role of citizen diplomacy in building peace. Mostly regimes lack the tools to resolve the conflicts and security can, thus, be assured if it involves various actors and plural approach NGOs, Journalists, academicians, business leaders, policy analyze that is civil society itself. A number of peace programs have been launched by India and Pakistan in the 19th century, such as the Neemrana Dialogue, India-Pakistan Soldiers' Initiative for Peace, the Balusa Group and the Pakistan-India Forum for Peace and Democracy. The major role played by the citizen diplomats in India and Pakistan through dialogue process over Kashmir dispute settlement, ceasefire on LoC, nuclear risk reduction and bilateral economic cooperation that has been to make sure social change which demanded a mechanism be formed to maintain the change. (Sweak, 2005)

Undoubtedly, the stated initiatives among India and Pakistan has their own importance in different fronts but not fruitful for dispute resolution yet. Secondly, being a major stakeholder, Kashmiris were not remained a subject as a citizen diplomats between India & Pakistan peace-building process, which will also be the subject of this study that being a citizen diplomats, how Kashmiris are contributing in transformation of such protracted conflict.

An article identifies the remarkable contribution of citizen diplomacy among Palestine & Israeli during the second intifada. As study shows that Civil Society Organizations, European Union, USAID and other international funds allowing Israelis and Palestinian to interact and work mutually for a common objective which remain "peace & culture of peace." However, above mentioned conference was deeply linked with the disappointments from Oslo process, and then

emergence of citizen diplomats led as a source of peace in prolonged conflict zone. No doubt, it considered a notable progress in Palestine-Israel relations as well as a victory of citizen diplomacy, but unfortunately 50 days fight among both parties questioned about its success. (Shemesh, 2012)

Saira Khan, unfolds the negative effects of nuclear weapon acquisition on conflict transformation. She elaborated in her study that after nuclear development by Indo-Pak, the resolution of Kashmir conflict entered into critical phase as both parties intentionally decided to avoid dialogue of the core issue. To shed light on conflict termination chance, she even made a comparative analysis of pre & post period of super-power's involvement there as a mediator which resulted limited productivity. However, a resolution seems unlikely because of current developments in Indo-Pak relations. (Khan, 2008)

'Diaspora and nation: displacement and the politics of Kashmiri identity in Britain' by Nasreen Ali examine the role of British Kashmiri Diaspora (which is estimated as near to one million) in order to articulate their national identity "Kashmiriyat" and influence on their homeland politics. The study shows that "British Kashmiri Diaspora Community" seems pretty active in to particle the idea of nation state through different discourses which includes establishment of nationalist parties(which remained hegemonic in mid-1980's), representation of their identity through citizen diplomacy and struggle to attain their right to self-determination. Moreover, Diasporic formations suggest the possibility of having the type of solidarities that a nation promises but in the context of being spatially dispersed. In a way, Kashmir itself has been removed from its specific context and spread out through various parts of the world. However, article deeply analyzes the activities of British Kashmiri Diaspora but the productivity of such activities remains unclear yet, which will be a subject of this research. (Ali, 2003)

In sum, a critical analysis into accessible literature gives credence to the fact that the diaspora can effectively contribute towards peace-building. This demand for mandatory political reforms and appropriate strategies to enhance the participation of Kashmiri diaspora in positive transformation of Kashmir conflict. The present study seeks to demonstrate how effective policy implementation can boost the impact of the diaspora, which have not been apprehended by earlier works in the field. The importance of the selected literature, which has been comprehensively reviewed, is to form the basis for which this study will explore areas overlooked by other scholars and writers on diaspora and use more robust methodology to scrutinize into the nuances of the diaspora and its capacity to contribute in sustainable transformation of a conflict.

1.9 Methodology

This study seeks to investigate the lived realities of the Diaspora engagement in the field of Citizen's diplomacy and conflict transformation. In line with Mason (2002, 2006) this study will utilize mixed methods of investigation and adopt a philosophical stance of constructivist's epistemology which recognizes that explanations, experience and knowledge are constructed and therefore open to more than one interpretation.

As this research proposal primarily focuses on the role of Diaspora communities. The use of case study methodology and networks theories in citizen's diplomacy and international relations as theoretical framework would sufficiently meet the requirements of the empirical research to achieve the purpose. Therefore, this research will be a qualitative case study utilizing mixed methods of investigation, synthesis and analysis.

1.10 Methods

1.10.1 Data Collection from Primary research subjects

Questionnaires have been developed to identify and gather information regarding organizational structures of diaspora organizations and networks and how they employ Citizen's diplomacy principles in their lobbying and other interactions with international community. In-depth interviews have been conducted with a manageable sample of the questionnaire respondents. And the respondents will be AJK politicians, academicians and activists on Kashmir.

1.10.2 Data Collection from external stakeholders

An unstructured questionnaire has been developed to gather information, insight and experiences of the representative of the international community (e.g. MPs, MEPs, Lords of UK Parliament) and peace-building and conflict transformations organizations regarding their engagement with the Kashmiri Diaspora community and involvement in India Pakistan Dialogue process. In-depth interviews with a sample of unstructured questionnaire have been conducted. And the respondents were British Kashmiri parliamentarians; members of All-Party Parliamentary Group on Kashmir, British based Kashmiri organizations' heads/members, diaspora's academicians, politicians, and activists.

1.10.3 Data Analysis

The unstructured questionnaire responses and the transcripts from the in-depth interviews has been sorted, coded and analyzed using Grounded Theory to identify core themes and concepts which will generate understanding about theoretical frameworks underpinning the research questions

1.11 Ethical Consideration

This study will adhere to the guidelines of the British Sociological Association statement of Ethical Practice. Throughout this project respondents consent will be obtained prior to commencement of the research. Respondents will be assured that their anonymity and confidentiality will be respected and that they may withdraw from the study at any time.

1.12 Organization of study

This study is divided into six chapters, each discuss different but interconnected within the overall topic of the role of Kashmiri Diaspora in long-run conflict. The flow of chapters appears independent but is interrelated in their nature and scope. Every chapter starts with an introduction and closed with a conclusion.

Chapter 1 is about introduction that put across the salient of research proposal, then given an insight on the focus of research and what methodology and techniques were adopted. This literature covered opinion of different scholars on Conflict Transformation by Diaspora through Citizen Diplomacy as well as mentioned some case studies on this domain. It also covers the general overview of Diaspora community and its role in shaping International relations.

Chapter 2 would be analyzing the changing nature, dynamics, contours intra and interstate politics of Kashmir issue. In addition, how various methods of conflict resolution had their shortcomings and flaws when applied to resolve Kashmir dispute. Moreover, in order to investigate about the recent efforts in transforming conflict by Kashmiri Diaspora and its contributions on diplomatic front, conflict transformation mechanism would be thoroughly analyzed and implemented.

Chapter 3 consists of two sections. First section talks about the reasons and importance of Britain's involvement in the resolution of Kashmir conflict. Second section presents the background of Kashmiris migration to United Kingdom. Thereafter, the initial challenges faced by Diaspora are also briefly discussed.

Chapter 4 is more analytical in nature because it covers the role of Kashmiri Diaspora in transforming their homeland conflict. It also discusses the capacities of diaspora being British nationals to represent dispute internationally and effectiveness of their activities to the transformation of this protracted conflict.

Chapter 5 aims to trace the diaspora's level of integration; 1) among British Kashmiris itself, 2) with host state citizens and system, 3) and with back-home people, economy and politics. It also gives recommendations for bridging integration and communication at all levels.

Chapter 6 gives an overview of the study by highlighting the major findings and recommendations. This chapter is ended with a conclusion and closing remarks explaining findings and assumptions set out in the first part of study.

CHAPTER 2

PEACE-BUILDING: THEORETICAL AND CONCRETE PERSPECTIVES

2.1 Introduction

The validity of any researched work could merely be accomplished if it is observed, passed and developed by a lens of theory (ies). For an intermediate unit of analysis on case study of Kashmir Diaspora, conflict transformation mechanism will guide this research. In addition, it would also be assisted by other peace-building mechanisms. As the focus of this study is the role of British Kashmiris in conflict so, it is considered that how British Kashmiri Diaspora can transform their back-home conflict that would result in restoration of peace in the world's highly militarized zone.

2.2 Peace & Conflict

Both peace and conflict are the fundamental ingredients of human societies. On one hand, if people strongly desire peace, on the other, they have been unable to evade and eradicate conflicts. Many scholars believe that conflict is an inevitable element of societies where an actor's choices, decisions and actions to secure his ends mainly base on the choices and decisions of others. (Ivorgba, 2005) Conflict may possibly occur due to the incompatibility of objectives among two or more parties with the huge deficiency of coordination and mediation mechanisms. (Hashmi, 2008) And conflict could be transformed into peace, if it is dealt in a positive manner. Peace is difficult to define as numerous other theoretical terms but there is an important distinction between positive and negative peace. Positive peace indicates the immediate presence of harmony, equity and justice, as the overwhelming of cultural and structural violence. While

negative peace has traditionally referred to the cessation of direct violence i.e. absence of war as well as other undesirable and aggressive human conflicts. (Galtung, 2007)

2.3 Peace-Building Mechanisms

The peace and conflict study has extensively matured in last few decades. Peace-building is a designed process to prevent the emergence and continuation of violent conflict by generating a structure of peace which is based on harmony, equity and justice (i.e. positive peace). (Gawerc, 2006) There are four mechanisms of building peace:

2.3.1 Conflict Settlement

This refers to an approach where disagreements can be settled through negotiation and bargaining. Therefore, disputes settlement is a short-term and mutually developed way-out among the parties involved that often base on compromise or concession. By using this approach, at times the particular dispute might be settled but can re-open later. Because of its temporary efficiency and neither side can attain their all objectives as well as failed to overcome the roots of conflict which placed the seeds of subsequent fight. (Spangler, 2013)

2.3.2 Conflict Resolution

It is used to be considered the more comprehensive approach which aims to terminate the conflict and to ensure peace because of its idealistic nature, recognizing the causal factors backing the clash as well as having long-time to resolve a conflict. As more narrowly convinced, resolution theory is noticed as a way of intentional agreement to resolve the dispute between 'two parties'. In this process, the ultimate course of action is negotiation which may take place through self-conscious attempt to table the matter, may influenced by third-party or threatened by zero-sum results. (Schellenberg, 1996)

2.3.3 Conflict Management

This term is associated to 'conflict regulation' which involves the power to control but not resolution of a deep-rooted conflict. Conflict management approach is taken when the process of absolute resolution seems failed and needs to reduce the intensity of a violent conflict. As theorists believed, to take pains for the resolution of a dispute is a useless method. On the other hand, 'third-party' (powerful actors) intervention is enhanced for managing and coping with a problem and maintains the absence of direct violence. However, the strategy is to project 'peace-keeping missions' into enmeshed area and to pressurizing the conflicting parties to make a peace-treaty to resumed political normalcy of the region. (Ahmar, 2011) As in Bloomfield and Reilly words:

"Conflict management is the positive and constructive handling of difference and divergence. [it] addresses the more realistic question of managing conflict: how to deal with it in a constructive way, how to bring opposing sides together in a cooperative process, how to design a practical, achievable, cooperative system for the constructive management of difference." (Reilly, 1998)

2.3.4 Conflict Transformation

Conflict transformation theory and practice are merely integrated with Johan Galtung and John Paul Lederach. Over the past decade or so, the 'transformation' phrase has become more dominant equally in academic and practitioner sphere. Since 1990s, after the end of Cold-War, the era was identified as new phenomena of post-modern warfare, mostly based on ethnic, interstate and intrastate conflicts. Therefore, the traditional strategies to resolve armed conflicts have been intensely challenged in today's multinational and global world. (Wilfried Graf, 2007)

Transformation is comparatively an emerging thought, directed more constructive change which is beyond resolution and management of a specific problem as it reveals the nature of conflict in a better perceptive. The major target of this approach is to concentrate on the strategies that would facilitate to dilute the strength of conflict and to produce positive change. It is a set of desired lenses, looking and seeing, where to draw attention and have deeper understanding about the problem and its solution and peace-building options.

“Conflict Transformation is to envision and respond the ebb and flow of social conflict as life giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in indirect interaction and social structures, and respond to real problems in human relationship.”(Lederach, J. 2015)

Conflict is not always turned into peaceful outcomes. It might be transform into a negative peace i.e. a terrorist move. (Hashmi, 2008) And the reason behind violent transformation of a conflict is absence, insufficient and inappropriate involvement of multiple actors, in terms of transforming the context of the conflict. (Galtung, 1996) The possibility of peaceful transformation is based on; a) protection of conflicting parties interests i.e. political, social, economic and ideological b) constructive and productive role of states c) and favorable environment at international level. While the coercive and suppressive approaches by state and communal parties turned conflict into violent one, which ultimately lead to more worsen bearings because of huge military presence as well as unavailability of basic needs. (Miall, 2004)

2.3.4.1 Function of State and Society

In order to effectively implement the mechanism of Conflict Transformation, theorists substantially believed on the role of state and society. Understanding of conflict demands the understanding of the state and society where conflict basically takes place. For the peaceful transformation of any conflict, equally state and society (including all stakeholders) must have to understand each other context through frequent interaction. (Somlai, 2011) As individual and group level transformation remains an incompatible dream until and unless there is a presence of similar transformational practice at both state and societal extent. (Ahmar, 2011)

2.3.4.2 Agents of Social Change and Transformation

In conflict transformation process, politicians are not best suited because in young democracies political representatives are in hegemonic relationship with their supports. So they run the possibility being supported by the electorates they seek to change. Therefore, in the interest of peace and legitimacy, Social Change Agents i.e. civil society, NGOs, INGOs, Diasporas, and Media should be considered for a political action, who engaged in active citizen diplomacy. (The Underlying Assumptions in Conflict Transformation)

2.3.4.3 Steps of Conflict Transformation

For transforming a conflict, theorists such as Azhar and Verven have used interpretative and analytical method. Some other like Lederach have practiced peace-building measures to achieve a peaceful out-come of a conflict, whereas Galtung have presented the combination of both. In Lederach perspective, peace-building is a strategy that encouraged by the desire for justice, peace and compassion. It is a more constructive approach that can facilitate in peaceful transformation of long-term conflicts. Transformation is a systematic technique in which conflicts could be analyzed as pyramid where on the top level decision makers (national leadership) are considered,

in mid the media high ups as well as leaders of organizations and societal or local leadership at the bottom. The peace-builder(s) must have to equally consult the leadership of all stakeholders. (Lederach , J. 2015)

2.3.4.4 Principles of Conflict Transformation

Transformation is considered to be a more appropriate tool that for an obstinate conflicts with severe violence. Its focus is mainly to identify the source of conflict and its positive transformation. It regulates the reforms in a conflict particularly in pre and post phases of violence. It is an inclusive mechanism where all ranked conflicts (micro, meso and macro) are equally considered at state/society, regional and international levels. In order to transform a conflict, it is inevitable for any mediator, peace-builder or negotiator to understand subsequent points;

Conflict should be viewed as an integrated element of a society rather to perceive in isolation. Its root causes should be comprehensively acknowledged. Besides, a conflict must not continually be measured as harmful or destructive. It also holds an extensive positive and constructive aptitude if, transformation of root-causes ensured rather to manage or contain a conflict. There are five types of transformation focused in this approach; actor, structural, behavioral, contextual and attitudinal phases of a conflict. (Principles of Conflict Transformation)

2.3.4.5 Actor Transformation

It means rebuilding of the actors' objectives and their traditional method to reach-out targeted goals. Peacekeepers frequently attempt to modify the behavior and decision of concerned actors, in order to nourish the understanding about causes and results of their decision. In this process, third party has to be extensively connected to the leadership and other active associates of

disputed parties. This also looks for individuals, affiliated with peace-building initiatives in the conflict zones because they seem more influential. So, the ultimate objective of the transformers is to shape the behavior and attitude of the stakeholders which eventually facilitates in transforming "*conflict habituated system into peace system*". (Hashmi, 2008)

There are four types of actors in transforming practice; a) the most leading is the state(s), inter-governmental and global organization(s) which is widely implicit and capable to transform a conflict. b) Is the humanitarian and developmental institution(s) that mainly assists in humanitarian grounds and rebuilding course in war zones. c) Non-governmental organizations at both national and international level, which basically are concerned to prevent and transform a conflict. Additionally, they play a peace-building role through transforming related actors, supporting social structure and strengthening institutions. d) The more critical one is the leaders of conflicting parties who can play a remarkable role with more responsibility of transforming their own conflict. (Miall, 2004)

2.3.4.6 Structural Transformation

This focuses on the prevailing structure of relations, ideological differences, socio-economic inequality and power distribution in the society which ultimately causes the emergence of conflict situation as well as jeopardizing the culture of peace. (Principles of Conflict Transformation) At this point, attempts are being made to revise the complex structure of the conflict that has directed parties into a violent place.

2.3.4.7 Context Transformation

Such transformation analyses the culture where conflict exists. It looks into all possible aspects of conflict i.e. ideological, ethnic, social, and economic with source of conflict. In addition, it

investigates the perspective of conflict whether it has merely local context or it too has regional and global scope. (Miall, 2004) In order to transform a conflict, the peace-builders used to revise the sense and perception of a conflict through changing the attitudes of conflict stakeholders for one-another.

2.3.4.8 Issue Transformation

In this transformation, issue(s) are considered to be redefine that is central to the lived conflict. It is also essential to transform hearts and minds of the people at grass-root stage where the leaders and other important members and groups are included who directly influence the process of decision making. To bring a change on societal level, the external actors can intervene through accession with local leaders and encourage them convince to prove an appeasing moves to each other that would definitely support to transform a conflict.

2.3.4.9 Relationship Transformation

This includes the entire interactions exist in the society where the conflict has taken place. To have a grip on relational aspects of a community is inevitable. Because the major obstruction in peace-building process is the poor association among the societal groups which ultimately result in emergence of conflict. (Miall, 2004)

2.3.4.10 Memories Transformation

In shaping a conflict, memories play an important role because concerned parties have never forget the socially constructed situation that has unfolded caused by socio-economic discrimination, ideological or political grounds. This way of remembrance the past has ultimately resulted into the extension and escalation of a conflict. So, peace-builder has to focus on the reconciliatory course of action.

Conflicts can be transformed either to peace or it has equal possibilities to turn into an aggressive terrorist movement where terrorists can achieve their objectives by confronting the rule of law and adopting violence. When regimes refused or failed to recognize the complication, take insufficient measures to prevent a conflict or it makes managerial mistakes that eventually resulted in civil war/terrorism. (Hashmi, 2008) The fragile condition of state and society institutions and the terrorist's foreign support/links certainly more deteriorates the situation.

2.3.4.11 Obstacles in Conflict Transformation

A peaceful transformation of any violent conflict is merely possible when the political, military, socio-economic and cultural concerns of the disputed parties are utterly addressed. Some other factors that caused hindrance in the practical application of the transformation theory are; a) the chronic trust deficit among stakeholders of conflict that would eventually compel them not to overtly share their insecurities against one-another b) satisfied with status-quo or lack of inclination on the part of parties in conflict towards change c) not guaranteed unbiased and equal participation of all concerned parties and individual insight and objectives take-over the collective approach.

2.3.5 Scope of theory

Conflict transformation is a set of desired lenses, looking and seeing, where to draw attention and have deeper understanding about the problem and its solution. Lederach believed that conflict-transformation directed more constructive change which is beyond resolution and management of a specific problem. Comparatively an emerging thought 'conflict transformation' is a constructive course that turns conflict into a positive change. Conflict transformation is different from other peace-building mechanisms as it reveals the nature of conflict in a better perceptive. If these theories are applied on the Kashmiri Conflict and the role of Diaspora, then

‘settlement approach’ will be understandably not suitable. While ‘conflict resolution’ assumes bilateral negotiation (between India & Pakistan), where Kashmiris had never considered, being a part (of dispute and dialogue). On the other hand, ‘conflict management’ approach has also not appropriate because great-powers are intervene to calm the intense situation, limit destruction and causalities in disputed zone, but not resolve the conflicts. Therefore, in relation to ‘Diaspora and Kashmir Conflict’ transformation thought has suitably applied.

2.3.6 Relevance of Conflict Transformation to the Study

Conflict Transformation theory has truly applicable to the extremely intensified violent conflict of Kashmir with reference to the role of Diaspora. The culture of violence in Kashmir has mainly political in context with other factors i.e. ideological, social and economic one. The focus of this research to analyze the possibilities to overcome the on-going violent conflict by the help of different actors’ intervention at all levels local, bilateral and international, in order transform the approximately seventy-year long conflict into peace inhabitation.

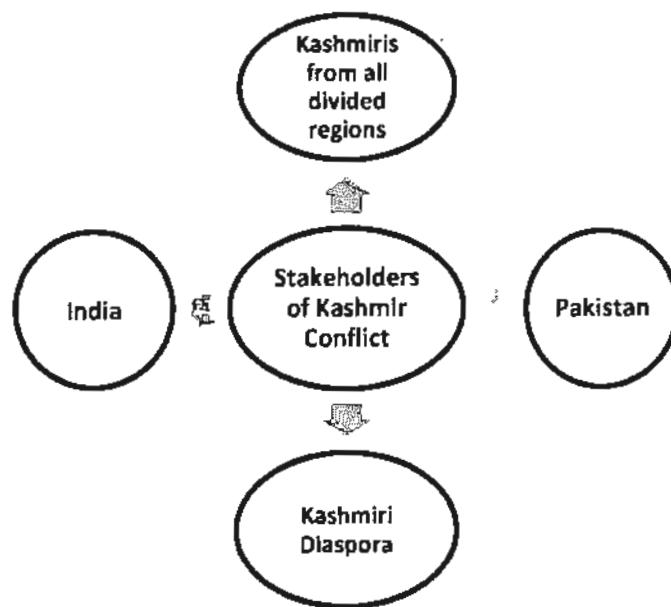


Figure 2.1 Stakeholders of Kashmir Dispute

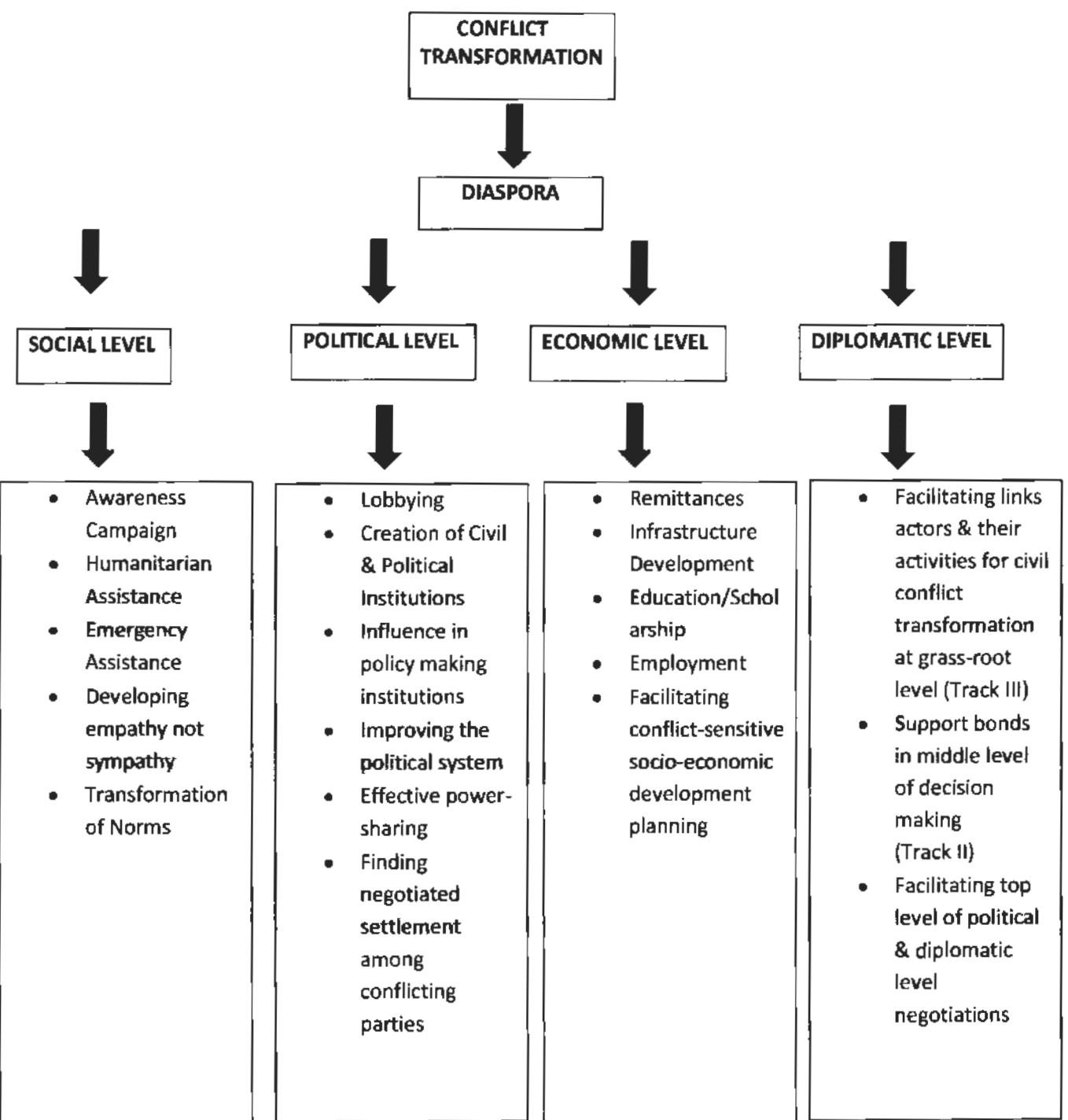


Figure 2.2 How Diaspora can transform a conflict?

It would be analyzed that how Kashmiris representation can be ensured, while it has been denied at local, bilateral and international levels, constitutionally by India & Pakistan. Whether the local actors; politicians, NGOs, civil society, nationalist parties from all three divided regions (Pakistan & Indian Administered Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan), have the capability to transform a conflict or without grass-root level participation how it further exacerbate violence consistency in the region?

2.4 Conclusion

Conflict transformation theory suggested that, conflict can also transform through non-governmental parties and national/identity groups within the society in conflict rather than outsiders. It has been argued that a dynamic actor 'Kashmiri Diaspora' can transform conflict on social, political, economic level and has the capability to play the role of peace-builders and to represent Kashmiri's stance internationally. Besides, the immense material and human loss inflicted upon Kashmiri people in the on-going conflict has further intensified frustration. And being a disputed society, where the writ of the state institutions, of all divided three regions, remained traditionally weak, frustration has effortlessly been and would be giving way to hostile violence. Therefore, this theory proposes different ways and scopes of British Kashmiris to inhabit peace re-visiting the region through empowering local inhabitants. Because transformation of conflicts can take place and be sustained only if the process includes all layers of society including at the grass roots level of society.

CHAPTER 3

BRITISH LEGACY AND THE DIASPORA OF KASHMIR CONFLICT

3.1 Introduction

Following the background chapter of this study, some concerns and questions were elevated, based on two interrelated themes. Firstly, Do British state and its citizens have a role to play in the resolution of Kashmir dispute because it is one of the long standing unresolved conflict linked with British colonial legacy?; and secondly an overview/background about the Kashmiris' migration to United Kingdom. The section I of this chapter aims to develop an understanding of the British state's historical links with Kashmir and its importance in the resolution of conflict. The field research has been conducted to obtain insight from the citizens of J&K, from Diaspora and the persons with British origin. Understating these concepts would not only help in obtaining a vibrant response about historical gaps, it may also help to define a significant and suitable role of British state (being a veto power) in the resolution of Kashmir conflict. Section II deals with the historical background of Kashmiris movement, factors of their migration and initial experiences they faced in United Kingdom.

3.2 Section I: Kashmir a British Colonial Legacy

Kashmir problem might never have ascended in its intense form at least, if at the beginning British had not made different resolutions as to policy and course of action. (Lamb, 1991) In response to this historical debate and its effects, several assessments would be disclosed here:

3.2.1 Views from J&K

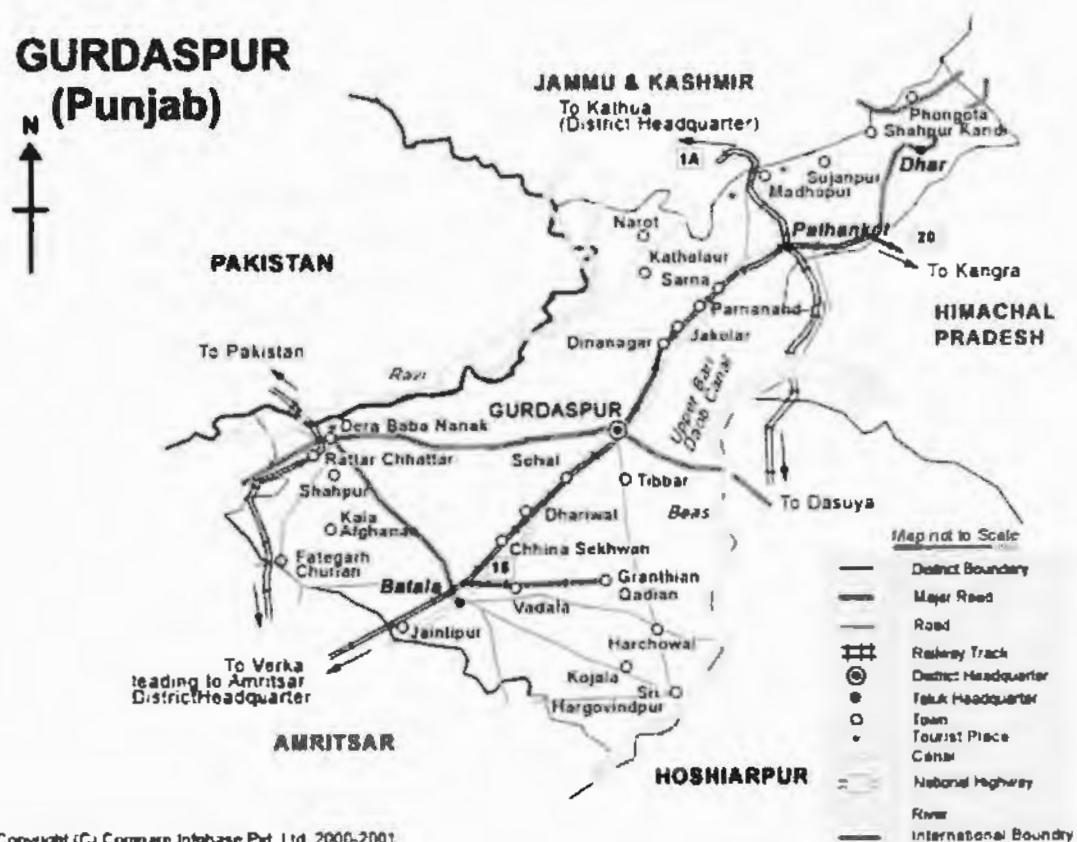
Jammu & Kashmir being a state which has thousands years' history with expanded territory, its limits touches Kabul and India. Expansion of Kashmir as a state was in Sultan Shahab-ud-Din time period and cultural developments related to Zain-ul-Abdin era. But unfortunately Kashmir has been ruled by foreigners many times who were invited by Kashmiris themselves. Yousaf Chak was the last ruler of state, as he was Shia and people of valley were mostly from Hanfi School so, they asked Akbar in Delhi that they have problem with their ruler because of religious differences. Then Mughal rule was started, when their position seemed weak in India ultimately they loosed their position in Kashmir and Kashmiris invited Ahmed Shah Abdali from Afghanistan then in 1919 Sikh rule by Ranjeet Singh (Ghulab Singh was servant of Ranjeet) was started and in this rule Kashmir became a part of Punjab. (Khan P. D., 2012)

Consequently, there was a war between Sikhs and East India Company where Lahore defeated. British Raj demanded two crore forfeit but they have 1.5 crore Nanak-Shahi in their treasure. For that reason, Hazara, Kashmiri Lahore property (shahi mahala, Kashmir bazaar, Landa bazaar, half of Sheikh-o-pora district) regions were given to them on 9th March in Lahore agreement because of missing amount, while on 16th march Treaty of Amritsar 1846 signed and Jammu & Kashmir, two different territories became a unitary state. (Malik, 2016)

With reference to above mention facts, it has been crystal clear that in Kashmir subjection of Dogra dynasty was because of British Raj so, it's basically the start of British legacy. After that on the eve of Indo-Pak division, cabinet mission plan and Lord Mount Betton's formula formed, Muhammad Ali Jinnah suggested that Muslim majority provinces should merged with Pakistan which countered with an argument that Punjab and Bengal provinces have large number of Hindu and Sikh population and they somehow articulate a formula by the virtue of ethnicity. But

the interesting thing is, Assam (60% Muslims) and Sarhad (95% Muslims) were Muslim majority provinces and they claim that these are pro-congress areas and no one can force them to integrate with Pakistan. First of all, they violated sub-continent division formula on the basis of ethnicity. Secondly, they suggested a referendum for these areas that either they want to join India or Pakistan. Now congress has impression that Sarhad will fully integrate them because of their governmental presence in respective province, but they need landing link there. So, they have planned with Lord Mount Batten that this landing link would possible through Kashmir. And without annexing Kashmir, India will unable to directly approach that area.

Figure 3.1 Map of Gurdaspur (Pathankot linked with J&K)



Source: Google Map Search

Again, district Gurdaspur was 51% Muslim majority area; 3 Tehsils of Gurdaspur were Muslim majority and only Pathankot was Hindu majority tehsil. Pathankot linked with Kashmir (via Audhampoor & Khatoyar but all those are linked with India directly (via Batala). And without getting all these areas, Pathankot has no more effective for India. Radcliff award changes mainly based on this point, that they merged tehsil Shakar Garh with Sialkot and remaining two tehsils were merged with India, it was second conspiracy and Mr. Jinnah was unaware from that. (Malik, 2016) If British have not gifted Gurdaspur to India (in the name of Redcliff award) then India would not have got any access to enter Kashmir. Secondly, they did not have an appropriate 'independence act', as Kashmir has no third option of 'Independent Kashmir'. (Gillani, 2016)

Mount Batten was the member of royal family, viceroy of India and most importantly he was an English man. Even after having such powers he visited Srinagar while he didn't visit any other state as he lived only in Delhi. He also mentions in his book 'Sohany Hayat' that he had made partition formula and in March he has arranged meeting with Nehru in Shimla. But Nehru was annoyed with our plan by saying it was against us and then by the will of Nehru they modified partition plan there. Many English men who were working with Mount Batten wrote in their books that this was betrayal of the trust of Mr. Jinnah as he didn't consult and take into consideration with him but with Nehru. Consequently, he stayed four days in Srinagar from 19-24 July, 1947. Mr. Hari Singh has unique historical perspective in this partition plan, as all princely states' rulers frequently attended conferences in Delhi but he didn't participate in single one. He with the Prime Minister of J&K at that time Mr. Pandit Ram Chandra Kak was in the favor of Independent Kashmir policy.

Due to their consistent belief, Pandit Nehru, Patel, Ghandi and Mount Batten tried hard to make sure all these states' destination before 15th August 1947 because the 'India Wins Freedom Law' has to enforce on 15th August so, the complex implication was that the section 7 of independence acts' clause 1 basically transferred the power of British India, now there was two parts: one British Indian government, second Princely states and both had separate status. So, clause one deals with transfer power from British India to India and Pakistan while clause two provides that all treaties, covenants and agreements between the British Crown and the Princely states shall laps and revert sovereignty to Chairs of the states. (Malik, 2016)

Additionally, they are free if rulers of those Princely states have ready to maintain their relations (as with British government) either with Pakistan or India. At that moment, Lord Mount Batten has a great compulsion that on 15th August the tree of the Treaty of Amritsar has to be laps which would be resulted in 'Free State of Jammu & Kashmir'. So, he wanted to its final decision of alliance before 15 August. Mount Batten stayed four days in Kashmir, for 3 consecutive days he managed consultation with Hari Singh, and day four was selected for the final decision whether Kashmir will accede to India or not. English writers mentioned that Hari Singh was so clever because on 24 July when Lord Mount Batten called him for meeting, he said I am in bed due to kidney pain, I can't come, and please you may go. It was quite insulting for Mount Batten.

Then on 1 August, 1947, Mr. M. Gandhi first time visited Kashmir. He tried his best to negotiate with Hari Singh by the help of Mrs. Hari Singh who was pure Hindu and pro-Indian lady, but Hari Singh didn't commit it publicly. Mohammad Ali Jinnah has also interested to visit Kashmir but Mount Batten refused him by saying that this will turn into Hindu/Muslim clashes. If Jinnah could have met Maharajah, situation may be the same but British legacies remain there as well. (Malik, 2016)

Maharaja offered to sign stand-still agreement to India and Pakistan but India refused while Pakistan accepted. Hari Singh removed his PM Kak and appointed Mehar Chand Mahajan, who was sitting High court judge of India. Mr. Nehru granted leave to him for PM designation but this was quite threatening to Pakistan because of his pro-Indian ideology. Consequently, Liaqat Ali Khan, Khan Qayyum and others prepared some plan in Rawalpindi to organize two Sabbath/armies one from Punjab and one from Sarhad. Punjab troops have to attack on Jammu while Sarhad on Muzaffrabad which will block the state and Maharaja have to be surrender. But they were unaware from Congress' plan because the governors in Peshawar and Lahore were British origin; commander in chief and supreme commander were also from British origin.

Mr. Jinnah was totally unaware from this case and Liaqat Ali Khan has no idea about congress plan that has support from all those British governors and commanders of Pakistan. In fact, Jinnah was busy in Lahore with injured refugees, which hurt him badly as it was unbearable pain. Secondly, Mount Batten as a sitting governor general of India; blocked all Pakistani money in reserve bank of Delhi. In three months there was no money to give salary to employees and administration remained blank. Mr. Gandhi time and again even demonstrated to return back to Pakistani money. Mr. Jinnah then appealed that it's the question of our survival, dignity and honor, we need financial support. Three members gave blank check to Jinnah, I.H Asfani, Haroon Murtaza and Nazam of Hyderabad. While all planning of congress has managed by Britain but failed in deciding Kashmir's target. (Malik, 2016)

As the division of the subcontinent of-course includes the division of the state of Jammu Kashmir as a result of Great-Britain's end of colonialism in South Asia. Undoubtedly, Britain have a great obligation because the South Asian subcontinent was divided into two domains (Pakistan & India), which was by negotiation. So, what is left behind is the State of Jammu &

Kashmir with the last ruler Mahraja Hari Singh. Secondly, there were certain principles for 'independence' and the fundamental principle was their right to choose one's fate and destiny and everyone is free to choose their destination. So what is the fault and crime of Kashmiris? Why or on what grounds they are forced form nearly 70 years but not given the chance to decide their future?

So, British state who essentially was responsible to mediate and make both parties All India Muslim League and All India Congress to make them agree, they are essentially responsible to take this process to its logical end and complete it. Without Kashmir dispute settlement and Kashmiris having exercised their right to self-determination, the great divide of subcontinent remains incomplete. (Khan, Hussain, 2016) More importantly, Britain ruled the J&K indirectly and when Britain left the sub-continent, she returned the power to the people of the state to determine their future. Before the people of state could decide, Pakistan's tribesmen attacked J&K and India used it as a pretext to invade Kashmir resulting in forced division. Therefore, with reference to historical legacy and being a powerful member of Security Council, Britain have a significant role in the resolution of Kashmir conflict? (Quayyum, 2016)

Another belief is that, it was their fault as they deliberately left the issue to simmer for their own convenience. As a result, Britain has a fundamental responsibility to solve this issue. As for British citizens, they can also agitate for this issue just like they actively do for other global issues linked to British colonial legacy viz. Palestine etc. (Daar A. L., 2016) However, the primary stakeholders in the Kashmir dispute are the ones who ought to play their role in the resolution and those are India, Pakistan and Kashmiris themselves, in the light of the UN resolutions on Kashmir. British State and Citizens have a role, but not because of the colonial

legacy, nor she has any de-jure mandate for doing so. British citizens though, can effectively advocate the Kashmir cause, being the largest democracy in the world. (Mughal, 2016)

3.2.2 Views from Diaspora

Lord Ahmed said, 'Kashmir dispute a British legacy' is a right declaration but not a justification, as Britain was colonial power and left many cases i.e. Palestine (European colonial) Tibet to East Timor, Western Sahara to Cameroon were also British colonial legacies. Now Kashmir is not considered to be a moral or political duty of Britain, as world has changed and focus is state's own Political and economic interest. (Ahmed, 2016) While Lord Qurban believes, Britain has very important role to help to resolve this long standing issue and no doubt it is a legacy on the part of the great empire.

However, the issue has gone for so long and situation has changed globally. And India is become a much more powerful country that can't be ignored internationally, therefore, many countries don't want to offend India. And we British Kashmiris especially members of parliament, time and again remind government's moral duty over the resolution of Kashmir dispute. Whether Labor, Conservative or Coalition in government, they adopted one policy for this cause that UK will get only involved if India & Pakistan request them to get engage. Pakistan has been shorting-out loud and wants help but Indian attitude over Kashmir dispute is too rude; they refuse to discuss it with any third party and is biggest blockage. (Hussain, 2016)

Yet again, may be that question is valid from our perspective, and we often repeated which British don't like. Actually official attitude of every British government is more negative which is that we will expect India & Pakistan to resolve the Kashmir dispute. And that in fact, is very dangerous as Britain has no right to adopt that attitude because of subsequent reasons; Britain is

a permanent member of the UN Security Council and therefore Britain has a privilege position in international affairs. However, Kashmiris (Diaspora) have been very persistent, over the years to try and influence British parliamentarians or government to change their directionless attitude (which is simply not enough) and play a more active role.

As India and Pakistan have not been able to resolve this protracted dispute and that is the same reason one would ask Pakistan to resend the Simla Agreement and to invoke the UN to take back to this dispute towards international arena and also involved Kashmiris. They have to support some forum for participation of Kashmiris, that may seem unlikely but Pakistan is the only state who can do it. (Khan Z., 2016) But problem here is that we have not more than less support from base-camp government and we have to rely on Pakistan's Foreign Ministry which also results poor lobby by Kashmiri Diaspora due to inappropriate assistance. While Indian diaspora has a strong international lobby because of the support they receive from back-home. So, Pakistani government should restore the powers of AJK government (those were in 1948) then we can handle our case globally. (Hussain, 2016)

Khalid Mahmood MP said that, this is not predominantly accepted by British institutions, what they saying are a mutual issue which should be dealt bilaterally with sophisticated mechanisms. Now British government has not much interested to take responsibility of this prolonged conflict. In 1993, when Robin Cook passes a resolution as a Labor opposition, to reinvent Kashmir Cause but unfortunately diaspora didn't make any effort to move forward. (Mahmood, 2016) Though being a key international actor and its previous links with this dispute, Britain has a role in its peaceful settlement. But India is a top growing economy of the world and Britain (and world) has their national interest with India that is more consequential rather this dispute. So, why Britain should pay much attention? To actually pressurize Britain and emphasized on this

dispute, Kashmiri Diaspora have to become increased in number a policy/decision making institutions. (Khan A. A., 2016)

Another practical view is that British state being friend of both India and Pakistan can be very useful in helping to resolve this prolonged issue and Britain already has been a supporter of UN resolutions on Kashmir when these were adopted as member of the UNSC. We say that the referendum in Scotland can provide a road-map of resolution and the labor party leader has recently said that if we can allow the people of Scotland to decide about their political future, why not to support a referendum for resolution of Kashmir? So, one of the hall-marks of the mother of democracies has been that it has allowed its own citizens to decide that what type of political status they would have in future. Therefore, we impress upon and world must impress upon India to follow the suit to use this prescription as a road-map for resolving Kashmir. (Shawal, 2016)

A young Kashmiri councilor Mariam Khan said, apart from that colonial history, British citizens and government have played a constructive role in resolution and right to self-determination of Kashmiri people. They can and they should because no other Kashmiris have such an international voice. So, Diaspora should what they can, to enable their local and national politicians, to lobby them, to try to help them in understanding. British Kashmiris are frequently arranged a 'rally, jalsa¹, protests' in front of Indian High commission or Parliament. But to make it more productive, we need to equip our parliamentarians with up-to-date information through they can actually proceed effectively. And just organizing events with long speeches cannot as much productive; we need to policy and tools to deal with this. (Khan M. , 2016)

¹ This refers to Political gathering

Certainly, British state and citizens should and can play active role in resolution of Kashmir issue if Kashmiris inside Kashmir and those in Britain be honest and speak the whole truth that yes departing British rulers left the issue unresolved. However, Kashmiris also need to be honest and articulate the whole truth that entire Kashmir is occupied and that all state subjects should be engaged and representatives from all regions must be elected through free fair and transparent elections before a final referendum or any other mutually agreed mechanism of resolving the issue. Then British and other world powers can be persuaded to pressurize India, she does not open up space for the peaceful and democratic politics in her occupied part of the state. (Rehman, 2016)

3.2.3 Views from Britain

British origin MP and the current chairman of All party parliamentary group on Kashmir (APPG) ‘Andrew Griffiths’ said, Personally I very much agree to this statement ‘Kashmir dispute is a British colonial legacy’. Because it was as a result of decisions that were made during the colonial time and was decisions which Britain had control, it was Britain who decided to draw the lines on the map where they are and to establish the situation we see today. On the other hand, British government has always tried to argue that there isn’t their responsibility but keen to find the resolution in way an actor in bringing about that resolution. They quite clearly say that actually this is the matter for the people of Kashmir; it’s the matter for Pakistanis & Indians.

The reticence to get involved is very serious from the British government, an acquisition of colonialism still exists and interfering in politics of South Asia. So they are very sensitive to back that acquisition and that has resulted in a hands-off approach from the UK government. But I personally believe that not only do we have a moral responsibility because of that legacy but

actually we Britain have an opportunity to reconstructing in bringing a better change. British have an opportunity to use the influence we have an acquisition in the world to bring together India, Pakistan and Kashmiri in order to find a workable solution not to find an influence. If British government engaged in this process that actually we could help to bring some change. (Griffiths, 2016)

Practically there is no apatite or interest within British Government or society in general to right the wrongs of their colonial legacy. Consequently, Yasmin Qureshi a Pakistani origin British MP recently raised a question in UK parliament about human rights violation in Indian-administered Kashmir. And in her response, Theresa May clearly said that Kashmir is a bilateral issue among India & Pakistan. However, it is in the strategic interests of the UK to play positive role in resolving J&K conflict as one of the permanent member of UN Security Council and leading member of the Commonwealth.

3.3 Section II: Background Study of British Kashmiris

Kashmir has a long history of migration and has a large Diaspora over globe, mostly in Europe, Middle East and in North America, also little influx in South East Asia. Kashmiri Diaspora has based on two segments 1) who were migrated before Kashmir conflict 2) effected by Mangla Dam's construction who are mostly settled in England. (Gillani, 2016)² The number of the total population of the Kashmiris and Pakistanis in UK is close to 1.5 million; out of it around 1 million are Kashmiris. Most of the Kashmiris are the displaced people from Mirpur and Mangla. They were under special arrangement of the commonwealth, when they were taken to UK. It was not the case that they are going for anything expected for their economic wellbeing and uplift.

² Syed Manzoor Hussain Gillani is (Rtd.) Chief Justice of AJK and author of multiple books and papers on Kashmir. At present he is a Chairman of an organization 'Association for the rights of people of Jammu & Kashmir'.

(Khan, 2016)³ So, Kashmiris migration can be characterized as economic but the political circumstances of J&K since Indian-subcontinent partition has also influenced people's movement. (Khan Z. , Kashmiri Diaspora and its Role in United Kingdom)

This diaspora have continuously strive for the self-determination of the people of Jammu & Kashmir and in the pursuit of this struggle they have tried to be a part of the national mainstream politics in Britain and some of them have sitting as a member of British Parliament in both the houses (House of Lords and House of Commons). They have created number of Diasporic organizations who have contributed in welfare, charities, and lot of organizations who are also contributing their bit for the diplomatic promotion of Kashmir. In Diaspora, there are number of economic gents who are in hotel business, restaurant business and cash and carry business, they have contributing to the economic life of the Britain as well as in back-home. Similarly, many Kashmiris are working in different educational institutions of UK and making mark in their respective fields. (Shawal, 2016)⁴ Moreover, Kashmiri people are in British & American armies and police even in high ranks. Kashmiri diaspora is consistently benefiting in homelands developments, investment supporting their families and contributes trillions in Pakistani Remittances.

3.3.1 Factors of Kashmiri's Migration

There are a two basic factors of migration; Pull and Push. Push factors are basically forced individuals to move willingly. It may result due to conflict, lack of employment, extreme religious movement, poor economy, political intolerance, natural disasters and discriminatory

³ Sardar Attique Ahmed Khan is President of All Jammu Kashmir Muslim Conference who served as the Prime Minister of AJK twice between 24 July, 2006 to 6 January 2009 and 29 July, 2010 till 26 July, 2011.

⁴ Professor Nazir Ahmed Shawal has been served as a Chairman in two organizations 'Kashmir Center and the Justice Foundation' at London, United Kingdom.

cultures. While pull factors are completely opposite, where individuals attracted by the destination country and leave their homeland. This factor may include better lifestyle, better employment and economic opportunities. (eschoolToday)

3.3.1.1 Pull Factor of Migration

Kashmiris migration history is too old even before partition, when East India Company launched Shipping Corporation then Kashmiris moved there in merchant navy but not very much different from customary economic migration. There were pioneers migrants moved there between 1st and 2nd WW years, who were basically dealt with merchant ships to Britain and they are almost from Dadyal.

After WWII a pull factor was in-operation, because Britain needed workers. By 1951-52 at least 70, 0000 (seven hundred thousand) British people leave UK. As already there was a deficit so Britain needed workers. But within 7 years 7 lac people left Britain and went to Australia, Canada, and South Africa to improve their economic position. So, the pull here of the economic need of that period they can even greater. Therefore, Britain went to places that were familiar for it (where they basically rule) i.e. India and Pakistan. So, Britain demanded workers from that familiar region.

Most important fact is, at that time West Germany directly approached Pakistan and demanded workers but Pakistan refused. Because Germany and Pakistan did not have any historic or Political link, While Pakistan and Britain had a remarkable association. Secondly, migration has another major pattern that usually it happens in a given area as Diaspora is from specific areas i.e. Pothwar, Punjab. As people who have streams for agriculture they are complacence and don't usually migrate for economy (at that time). But it happens that people from (Baarani ilaqy) at

least one member was always working outside of the area, they either have to join local forces, Bureaucracy or in British Indian Army. So this variable also exists in Kashmiris migration. (Khan Z. , 2016)

3.3.1.2 Push Factor of Migration

Most importantly, at the beginning of the 1960s, there had a building of Mangla Dam. It displaced some of the most fertile land in the Tehsil/District of Mirpur. That land is less than hundred feet of water now and it's about hundred square miles. And approximately 20,000 families were affected, (Khan Z. , 2016) In 1956, first law acquisition notes have been issued than practiced in 1957-58. Approximately, 400 families got work permit and Commissioner Col. D Khan asked Gen. Ayub that our people has sacrificed their lands and properties so, they need economic sustainability by granting them an employment in Britain. As Britain was also be the part of Mangla Dam's Consolation (India as well) because it was basically upshot of Indus Water treaty.⁵

Kashmiri people were already there in large number so it was increased. Now the alternate lands were granted to those Kashmiris (who sacrificed their lands for Mangla dam's construction) in Sindh and Punjab. But after Ayub Khan's era those lands were snatched from Kashmiris by locals, especially in Sindh and Kashmiris forced to leave. In Punjab people who were settled initially they got but after generation didn't get any piece of land. Again our social system was quite different from Punjab and Sindh, Kashmiris faced trouble to live there because they were used to with comfortable buildings with large area and they couldn't maintain to protect their

⁵ It is pertinent to point out that under the Indus Water Treaty 1960, the waters of the Eastern rivers Sutlej, Beas, and Ravi had been allocated to India and Western rivers Indus, Jhelum and Chenab to Pakistan except for certain uses allowed to India including power generation without altering the Water flows.

things i.e. robbery was there so, they moved back to Kashmir except well off families. Moreover, mostly people rent-out their lands in Pakistan and residing back to Kashmir. (Malik, 2016)⁶

There were also pioneers migrant moved there between WWI and WWII, who were basically dealt with merchant ships to Britain and they are almost from Dadyal. Some of them left their ships and stayed in UK as a door to door sales man. Basically they were semi or unskilled people, but those were able-bodied people who had recently retired from the Armed forces i.e. from British Indian Army. They were still in their 30s, physically strong. They started as a labour especially in textile industry at Lanka city, and woollen and textile industry of York city and people mostly moved especially manufacturing area in west-midlands i.e. Birmingham, Dudley as well as in Luton (because of Bedford motors and Vauxhall motors). As Bedford motors are basically for trucks, those were manufacturing there but now closed (manufacturing). Gradually Kashmiris are expanded in whole UK. (Khan Z., 2016)

In above mention fact, mostly people migrated from mid 1950s to early 1960s which was basically economic migration, no doubt the construction of Mangla Dam was a major factor behind this migration because it affects local inhabitants' livelihood. Mainly those people had intentions of earning money and going back to home-land with intentions to start their business and other jobs back-home. But migrants were constantly coming also from West Indies. So migrants overloaded problems started during 1950,60s. In 1962, British government formulates Commonwealth Immigration Act. This was the very first act to limit the people who had an automatic right to come to this country anyway as Commonwealth citizens. Under that act, those who had already settled there, they can call in their dependents. So a pattern of settlement

⁶ Abdul Majeed Malik is a Former Chief Justice of AJK. He is also a Kashmiri intellectual who wrote multiple papers and books on Kashmir. At present he is a President of a political party 'Jammu & Kashmir Liberation League'.

from a kind of semi-temporary to became a kind of permanent. Now Kashmir Diaspora is becoming sophisticated but still not as much advanced in-comparison to other societies. (Khan Z., 2016)

3.3.2 Challenges faced by Diaspora

The overseas life is always portrayed to be full of luxury and without hardship. But this is far from the truth and the fact is, the hurdles and challenges for overseas adjustment are very real. Initially, British Kashmiris faced very tough time because it was an economic migration and first generation was basically a labor and trader class. Their financial condition and living standard was more than worst as almost 20-30 members were living in two bed-rooms residence and due to the lack of space they had been fixed back-to-back timings in shifts for their sleep and work. At that time, diaspora was completely far from basic needs even. They don't have proper infrastructure and their pockets are also not able to afford anything, so, they used to buy second-hand infrastructure. In that frosty weather their floor boards were the source of unbearable cold wind because of the unavailability of the flooring (carpets or rugs). For their survival in cold climate, they used coal for heating because of the unavailability of the electric heating system.

In addition, mostly migrants were from Muslims school of thought, and they were considered to be a minority. This religion divide majority/minority was an extensive matter traditionally because Muslims were meat lovers but they hardly found Halal chickens or meat in markets so, people took animals and slaughter by themselves in homes or basements. Protection of the 'religious culture' especially in British born generations was considered to be a crucial

phenomenon. Yet again, they were unable to adjust in a host state system because of the lack of education, language barrier, cultural shock, and family & peer pressure. (Ahmed, 2016)⁷

3.4 Conclusion

In the preceding debate 'Kashmir a British Legacy or not?' has in turn revealed one conclusion that this debate is no more productive. Apart from colonial history, Britain's role should be more emphasized/ or take it as because of global power. However, Kashmiri diaspora along with British citizens can effectively advocate the Kashmir cause, being a largest democracy and veto power. On the other hand, the rewards of British Kashmiris' sacrifices are undoubtedly viewable. At present, Kashmiri Diaspora is advanced in their respective fields' i.e. in politics, business, and academia. Besides, they not only participate in Britain's advancement but they also contributed a lot in the development of AJK and they still connected to their motherland.

⁷ Lord Nazir Ahmed is a Kashmiri origin member of the British House of Lords. He was appointed (by Labour Party) in 1998 as a first Muslim life peer at United Kingdom. Currently he is an independent member of House of Lords, British Parliament.

CHAPTER 4

ROLE OF KASHMIR DIASPORA IN CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

4.1 Introduction

It is normally argued that the transformation of a conflict merely depends upon the participation of national identity groups i.e. diaspora, among others, of that area either directly or indirectly. Field survey conducted during 2015 and 2016 revealed how important is to understand the role of Kashmir diaspora in the context of conflict transformation. The interviewees – each in their own view – agreed that diasporic context in the resolution of this prolonged conflict is essential in-order to ensure win-win outcomes. Therefore, acknowledging that fact, this study underlines the capacities, practical role and effectiveness of British Kashmiri diaspora in their home-land's conflict.

Section I of this chapter explores capacities and limitations of Kashmiri Diaspora. Moreover, it discusses in what ways diaspora can transform a Kashmir conflict. Section II presents a bird eye view of British Kashmiris practical role at all levels for the transformation of conflict. This section also highlights the importance of Kashmiris' presence to lobby their own cause and critically analyzes the diaspora's role in Indo-Pak bilateral dialogue process. Finally, section III examines the effectiveness and lacunas of the activities by British Kashmiri diaspora. It also presents some practical ways to make sure productivity in diaspora's campaigns.

4.2 Section I: Capacities of Kashmiri Diaspora

Kashmiri diaspora has been engaged in the politics of Kashmir dispute since 1947 in Britain and has kept the issue alive both within the community and inside the corridors of power at local and national levels. Here are some capacities of diaspora to contribute Kashmir Cause:

4.2.1 Free to establish Kashmiri Narrative

Diaspora is best suited to seek the understanding of the respective administrations to help set a stage for the resolution of the Kashmir dispute. (Fai, 2016) Now fourth generation of Kashmiris growing up in Britain and many have made to the significant positions in various departments of British society. It is being suggested that they should form a Britain wide British Kashmiri platform with exclusive aim of developing strategies and channels to engage with Kashmiris beyond the Indian and Pakistani narratives and provide access to the world media, NGOs and political parties for expanding the democratic space inside Kashmir state in all regions. (Rehman, 2016)

4.2.2 Part of Democratic Setup

European and American Kashmiris have more responsibility because they are living in a democratic setup which supports liberty, freedom and human rights all over the world. Diaspora should persuade them that these countries claim themselves a global human rights defender. So, where there is accepted right to self-determination has been openly violated since seventy years which needs to be exercise through political and diplomatic pressure by diaspora. It can be possible when migrants participate in the local parties and political system. (Gillani, 2016) Kashmiri diaspora has the capacity to play significant role in conflict transformation only if they

can unlock their potential and release and realise their influence within their current places of abode and their place of origin. (Ahmed, 2016)

4.2.3 Institutional Participation

Kashmiris are British nationals and many constituencies rely on Kashmiri votes. If diaspora make certain their presence in different institutions (educational, law making etc) i.e. Jews nation forced migration have been done and they scattered in different cities of the world. They didn't have any territory, state but used their education and participation in different institutions. And today their influence on world is proven. So, Kashmiri Diaspora is also existed all over the world, they can positively utilize this strategy for the peaceful transformation of Kashmir conflict. (Quayyum, 2016)

4.2.4 Political Participation

The diaspora has an effective outreach, liberty and space for action because of their foreign connectedness and linkages, and they have the legitimacy to act as ambassadors/catalysts in the process of conflict transformation. On top of this, the Kashmiri diaspora has a considerable political influence too. (Mughal, 2016) By getting engaged with the policy makers or policy making institutions and members of parliament can help in creating a climate of transformation for the resolution of conflict. They can also approach think tanks as well and build a consensus of approach to resolve the conflict. (Shawal, 2016)

The started generations of British Kashmiris and organizations played role in keeping this conflict alive through demonstrations, meetings, discussion, and parliamentarians' questions about Kashmir and so far so on. Now as things are changing and people are being part in politics increasingly. Kashmir dispute is raised more often than before in both Houses of Parliament and

there is much stronger All Parties Parliamentary group on Kashmir. This is strengthening of position and awareness of the issue (one weakness of this group is that having 20 different organizations, all holding the more meetings here and there, resources and times are split, British politicians are getting confused and that doesn't help). British Kashmiris can form a strong pressure group because a large community own same cause. One voice of Kashmiris in UK will be much more useful and influential. (Hussain, 2016)⁸

4.2.5 Building Political Economy

Diaspora is a potential power, and it remained potential power as in Tamil or Somalian migrants. Kashmiri diaspora, especially in England has a role in diplomatic level, local to national politics. They cannot just play the role in conflict transformation but in economy which is quite parallel. So, political economy can work a lot, as transformation needs a combination of many dimensions i.e. politics, economic, social etc. (Hayat, 2016)

However, it must only be a supplementary role (or a supporting role) to a genuinely indigenous framework for a political process in AJK. In other words, if a creative mechanism for conflict resolution does not exist within the State of Jammu & Kashmir, there is little the outside world can do, irrespective of how influential they may be. Lord Nazir is a specific case in point who has found little traction in influencing the Kashmir Conflict discourse for the past two decades. (Ahmed, 2016) Moreover, if back-home government supports overseas then they are in better position to do something for this cause.

⁸ Lord Qurban elaborated, what Kashmiri diaspora has done so far looking back to 40-50 years? Gradually they kept the issue alive with in the British society and this is a big thanks to started generations.

4.3 Section II: Role of Diaspora in J&K Conflict Transformation

In this section, each actor's role of British Kashmiri Diaspora in conflict transformation has been thoroughly discussed.

4.3.1 Political Role of Diaspora

As mobilized group with robust sense of identity diaspora can contribute in both in domestic and international politics. During 1950s-60s British Kashmiris were not able to think of getting integrated in the local political system, as simple is that they were dislocated, displaced and they were taken their respective arrangements. With the passage of time, their second and third generations has grown-up in the British system as a British citizen with dual right to vote and nationality (having two passports British & Pakistani). So they are gradually getting associated with the political system. (Khan, 2016)⁹

Gradually, by late 1970s they have started as a part of local democracy and from mid 1980s people were getting involved in local politics as very few councilors were elected. Then process got inspiration and British Kashmiri seems constantly be part of UK politics. (Hussain, 2016)¹⁰

Since 1990s the number of British Kashmiris councils and local authority officers has grown significantly and this has opened up the doors for the British politicians of Kashmiri origin to

⁹ Sardar Attique said in his interview, Diaspora is much important asset of Kashmir and my heart is broken to feel that they lose themselves or we are losing them. We are not using even 10% of it.

¹⁰ Lord Qurban Hussain is a Kashmiri origin (from Kotli AJK) politician and life peer (of Luton) at United Kingdom Parliament under 'Liberal Democrats' political party.

contribute in making the local politics reflect the issues and needs of Kashmiri community as well. (Rehman S. , British Kashmiris Political Participation , 2016)¹¹

At present, there are hundreds of councilors, more than a dozen Mayors and Lord Mayors in local Councils, and 3 female MPs (Shabana Mehmood, Naz Shah and Nusrat Ghani), 3 male MPs (Khalid Mehmood, Imran Hussain and Rehman Chisti) and three members of the house of Lords (Lord Nazir Ahmed, Lord Qurban Hussain and Baroness Sayeeda Warsi) of the Kashmiri origin and heritage in the UK which make them one of the largest minority ethnic group in terms of representation at all levels of political system. (Khan, 2016) ¹² The latest result of this is the approval of the pioneering academic research by Rochdale council where Kashmiris councilors and officers asked for the fuller recognition of Kashmiris in the local council ethnic monitoring system. (Rehman, 2016)

4.3.1.1 Members of Parliament and APPG on Kashmir

The Kashmiri origin British Parliamentarians has a significant role in highlighting Kashmir conflict internationally because of their legitimacy and influence in the power corridors of United Kingdom. Therefore, certainly their hands used to be strengthened through different resolutions and speaking over the settlement of Kashmir conflict. (Hussain, 2016) An All-Party Parliamentary Groups (APPGs) is an informal group with no official status in Parliament. These are essentially runs by the members of both houses Commons and Lords together to pursue a particular topic or interest. It may also include the individuals and organizations from outside Parliament in their activities and administration. (Register of All-Party Parliamentary Groups)

¹¹ Shamas Rehman is a Kashmiri Origin Research Assistant at Manchester University, United Kingdom. He is an Author of a book 'Azad Kashmir and British Kashmiris'.

¹² Sardar Aftab Khan is an Executive Director of British based Kashmiri NGO namely 'Kashmir Development Foundation' (KDF). Furthermore, he has published a research paper on 'Unlocking the Potential of the Kashmiri Diaspora in the Big Society for Development and Just Peace'.

Accordingly, an All-Parties Parliamentary Kashmir Group (APPKG) is led by Lord Nazir Ahmed in British Parliament which purpose is to support the Kashmiri's right to self-determination through dialogue; to highlight the human rights abuses in Kashmir; to request support from British parliamentarians; and to advocate a peaceful & just solution for Kashmiri people. It consists of the elected members from both houses and works to highlight the ongoing problems, invite the speakers and try to raise the issue of Kashmir. And make it a prevalent in the minds of politicians and trying to encourage the UK government to take more practical steps to find a solution. (Griffiths, All-Party Parliamentary Kashmir Group, 2016)¹³ However, its effectiveness is suspicious, as even selected committee of APPG can't force executive but demand to answer their question. So, governments mostly diplomatically handle the question. These parliamentary groups are basically volunteer based factions for lobbying. But government prioritizes its national interest, which is deeply concerned with India. So, this dispute moved on back-burner. (Ahmed, 2016)

4.3.3 Diaspora Organizations and Kashmir Conflict

The engagement of diaspora organizations with peace-building can be defined into direct and indirect activities. As direct activities concentrate on the country of origin directly through capacity building, financial/material support, institutional support and advocacy/lobbying. While indirect activities emphasize on the origin states' through mediating actors, lobbying on diplomatic level and state bodies to place an issue on international agenda and making NGOs to start campaigning against occupation, human rights violation etc. In order to justify what and how diaspora organization can contribute in peace-building, the capacities to engage, desires and determination of these organizations must be understood. (Cindy Horst, 2009) Diaspora

¹³ Andrew James Griffiths is a British Member of Parliament from Conservative Party. Most importantly, he is a present chairman of the 'All-Party Parliamentary Group on Kashmir'.

members of parliament generally tend to be reluctant to associate with the Kashmiri politics and Kashmir question, and if they do they engage within the context of bilateralism. However, many diaspora organizations especially the pro-independence groups, movements and organizations play more effective role in raising awareness about the Kashmir dispute and the need for its resolution. (Rehman, 2016)

There are few prominent Diaspora organizations e.g. Kashmir Development Foundation (KDF), Jammu and Kashmir Council for Human Rights (JKCHR), Jammu Kashmir Self-determination Movement (JKSDM) and International NGOs Conciliation Resources (CR). They frequently arrange events on Kashmir and lobby Kashmir Cause at UK Parliament. Amnesty International organizes seminars, public meetings, lobbying events at the Parliament and publishes reports. NGOs are many active, learning sources and participated in local system. Interestingly, members of parliament find more convenient by NGOs well equipped reports and information to lobby Kashmir cause. It's quite recent phenomena as previously there were no NGOs, there were political parties, elite's parties, group, individuals and members of Parliament. (Khan, 2016)

Kashmir Development Foundation is leading on two very successful diplomatic campaigns in the UK. One is celebration of Kashmiri ethnic origin and heritage by marking Kashmir History Week 20-27 October every year and coordinating official hoisting/displaying of Kashmir flag on 24th October at the local Town Halls across England since 2012. Rochdale, Bradford MBC and Manchester City Council officially hoist Kashmir flag and Leeds City Council, High Wycombe District Council, Luton and Oldham Borough Council formally display Kashmir flag. This strategic activity builds pride in Kashmiri diaspora community and provides an opportunity to celebrate their national origin and heritage as well highlight the importance of the recognition of their identity in the local ethnic monitoring systems.

In 2015 Kashmir Development Foundation has launched British Kashmiri Manifesto in a Parliamentary reception hosted by Simon Danczuk MP in the House of Commons six weeks before the general election in the UK. Over 30 MP and Prospective parliamentary candidates pledged to support five point manifestos. However, this event has based on historic recognition of Independent Kashmiri government, as on 4th of October, Republic of Kashmir government has been announced which reconstituted in 24 October, 1947. That is like a general consensus point where all Kashmiris agreed as a 'National day'. (Khan S. A., 2015)

Amb. Arif Kamal said, NGOs projects are not showcase; somehow they are religiously motivated people which found less support mechanism. There should be issue specific i.e. gender empowerment, youth mobilization or capacity building in tourism, human rights etc. if they specialized in their domain then they would be able to showcase their agenda and receive sort of understanding and support from the corresponding sectors of setting. But if you want to do everything it would be resulted in nothing. (Kamal, 2016) Former Chief Justice Gillani elaborated that diaspora NGOs are not as much active in conflict but mostly doing economic, developmental and welfare activities. (Gillani, 2016)

Consequently, the pro-independence Kashmiri parties such as Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) and Jammu & Kashmir Peace Foundation (JKPF) approach the parliamentarians, who occasionally raise issues in the parliament and press and also sittings in APPG with parliamentarians to proceed. (Quayyum, 2016) As organized political formations are doing most effective job. A pro-independence academician Zafar Khan assumed that diaspora members of parliament are bound by their political parties. And their effectiveness depends on how committed they are and not all of them are committed. There is only one political party or

movement that operates throughout the state and that is Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF).

The most active proponent of that has been AmaanUllah Khan, he has left a legacy that you can't rule out the Kashmiris and Kashmiris must play a part. JKLF is based on worldwide, so therefore, wherever the JKLF members are, they raise the Kashmir issue and human rights. (Khan, 2016) On the basis of above discussion, success factor and challenges can be recognized, improved networking and development of mutual support structure is likely to be happen only if diaspora organizations take the responsibility for developing full range of their capabilities, and step-up to the leadership & management challenges. Most importantly, if diaspora organizations combine force to work together (unity) on national, regional and global level; their formidable strength can be definitely renowned.

4.3.4 Role of Individuals

Although institutionalized interaction works but individual level also matters, i.e. intellectuals by writing, by participating in associations, by participating in debates and interacting with intellectuals and explain the legal aspect of Kashmir and give them insights on these topics. And members of parliament, as they are the real people who can convey the message. Our people should merge with the local society there, so that they become the member or they wake the member. (Gillani, 2016) A Kashmiri origin UK based councilor, Daalat Ali has started Kashmir National Identity campaign and Pahari Language movement, and however, this is vigorously opposed by Pakistani Media, High commission and every mean available to Pakistanis (Ali, 2016)

4.3.5 Human rights issues and Diaspora's Awareness

The advocates for human rights organization reported that individuals from diaspora communities has their own influence in human rights awareness campaigns through capacity-building, communication technology, direct political advocacy and brain-gain. In diaspora, civil society organizations can uniquely influence policy, well document human rights abuses and advocate on behalf of the victims from their state of origin. (Seipp) However, there are different thoughts and arguments under the theme that what the human rights issues are across all the regions of J&K and the response of diaspora.

British Kashmiris are one of the most politically active and engaged diaspora communities in the UK. It has raised their voice in British Parliament, European (Brussels as lobbyist), and UN, Sweden, Denmark and other Parliaments resulted positive steps forward. There is not one single actor/organization (UN, UK & USA) that can solve this influx but community itself and leaders coming together and raising the issue of Kashmir internationally will resulted in vital to get some change. (Griffiths, 2016) To some extent they do with their capacity to raise awareness on international forum. They participate in some political activities on different eve and some human rights organisations, also trying to highlight the issue. (Khan P. D., 2016) Moreover, it does its bit from time to time via social media or protesting outside the Indian or Pakistani embassies throughout the UK. However, there is very little that has emerged in mainstream media and perhaps less so in academia there. (Ahmed T. , 2016) Diaspora circles of activity are limited, as the direction of travel for these activities is often set without any informed debate and discussion. There is lack of professional infrastructure to coordinate community voluntary action in raising awareness within international community. (Ahmed S. A., 2016)

The former Chief Justice Abdul Majeed Malik said in his interview that human rights violation is totally a different issue which exist in all states including developed one but here in the case of Kashmir this terminology grasped freedom movement into Human rights violation and international community has only focus on it not basic agenda. This issue should focus on freedom movement. So, on the humanitarian ground they just took valley as a targeted area but whole Jammu Kashmir is disputed and our agenda should be freedom movement not human rights violation. This violation is basically resulting of freedom movement so focus should be on main point. In Kashmir, human right violation is subjective not objective, freedom movement is objective. (Malik, Kashmir and Human Rights Abuses , 2016)

Shams viewed that Kashmiris continue raising the human rights issue but that has although rightly focused on violations by the Indian forces failed to incorporate the violation by the Pakistani forces which had questioned the credibility and impartiality of the Kashmiri human rights campaign. I have witnessed in Human Rights meetings as European Parliament and British Parliaments. (Rehman, 2016) He further elaborated in his article that, how it can be acceptable to those who claim to be striving for the complete independence of J&K, without considering 'State Subject' of GB and violations in AJK. How human rights are equally raised if emphasis exclusively on to highlight the plight and killing of Muslims from Valley and justify or ignore the displacement and assassinations of Kashmiri Pandits? And how the campaigns are focusing on troubles of Kashmiri Pandits', and constantly justifying the massacres of Kashmiri Muslims? These are some very simple questions which need to be addressed by Kashmiri diaspora in order to ensure their successful lobby of Kashmir Cause; otherwise they are just investing great-deal of time, energy and resources. (Rehman, Problems of Lobbying for Kashmir in Britain, 2016)

In response to above mentioned concerns, Lord Qurban Hussain explained that the State of J&K includes Valley, Jammu, Ladakh, Azad Kashmir, Gilgit Baltistan and Aksai chin (area controlled by China). One has to be realistic and to have bonafide genuine information to present the case. In terms of human rights, there are very many international independent reports (i.e. Amnesty International, Human rights watch etc.) on human rights violations in Indian-held Kashmir. Whereas there isn't any independent, verified information about human rights violation in either Azad Kashmir, GB or for that matters Chinese area. So, we can only talk about areas where there are independently verified reports of human rights violations. If there are reports from other parts of the state, I am also willing to take in note.

In British Parliament, Early Day Motions (EDMs) are basically recognized and formal motions submitted in House of Commons for debate. These motions consents MPs to draw attention to different causes or happenings and MPs record their support by signing specific motions. (Early Day Motions) However, Mr. Shams has also related his concerns with parliamentary part through EDMs. As three EDMs has been signed in 2015 with the specific agenda of 'Human Rights Violation in Kashmir'. One of them was concerned about the displacement of Kashmiri Pandits from J&K; second one briefed about human rights violation in Indian-administered Kashmir; while other EMD was also against the human rights violation in Pakistani-administered Kashmir (though it was least popular). (Rehman, 2016) Now the query is, does British Kashmiri Parliamentarians are not aware from Kashmiri Pandits' displacement? And whether or not they even bother to consider past as well as recent (Post-Burhan uprising) cross-border firings' deadly consequences on either side of Jammu and Kashmir?

Another important insight is on agencies controlled agendas which effected actual information of human rights abuses on both sides of J&K. Dr. Javaid Hayat said in his interview, though diaspora has significant role but not as much effective as well as not to the required level, they can do much more as their capability and numerical strength is far more than what they are doing. The problem is they are divided, they have their specific narratives, and they support their own agendas i.e. some supports Pakistani agenda, some supports Indian agenda and some probably favors the independence of J&K. So, it depends on their aspirations but still there are also peoples who are active on the identity of Kashmir. (Hayat D. J., 2016) And both side violations has been raising phenomenon but they confused them on the name of anti-India & Pakistan. (Quayyum, 2016) However, only nationalist groups (i.e. those who seek an independent Kashmir) raise the issue of freedom in its correct context. Other groups just simply highlight infringement on human rights. (Daar, 2016)

Although there is a Kashmiri Diaspora member in AJK assembly but there is no evidence to suggest that this member of assembly has ever played any significant role in organising Kashmiri diaspora community to raise awareness within international democratic institutions. The inability of AJK Government and people resistance movement leadership to develop an independent foreign affairs strategy for lobbying or informing and influencing British Foreign policy with the help of British Kashmiris has been one of the key disadvantage and stumbling block for the diaspora. Until and unless we overcome this inherent deficiency in our freedom struggle, it would be very difficult to move forward and make some significant difference. We have to liberate our mind and souls first to enable us to formulate an independent foreign policy for the peoples resistance movement of Jammu Kashmir so that we can respond to the fast changing geopolitical environment and continue to raises awareness within international community on

political and human rights issues across all the regions of the erstwhile State of Jammu Kashmir. (Ahmed S. A., 2016)

4.3.6 Diaspora and Political awareness in J&K

Jammu & Kashmir involved this entire part from Indian-held Kashmir, Pakistan-held Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan. Astonishingly, the problem right now is these three parts are equally bifurcated, GB has detached from this entire dispute. Indian occupied Kashmir is under the strangulated hold of India, whereas this Diaspora representation is slightly coming out of Pakistan's controlled Kashmir. (Ahmed R. Q., 2016) The need to know is the demographic character of the British Kashmiris, so, voices that they represent may the aspiration of all but not necessarily the aspirations also providing ladder to all to come out and speak. Because not many people from the valley's representative there but there are a large number from the people of Pakistan-held Kashmir. So, not voices from all side although aspirations for all there and this basically linked with the demographic character of the diaspora. (Kamal, 2016) Hence, with presence of huge of lack of access and communication between all regions, how come empowerment of all regions can practical?

As partly they finance the political parties and partly they help abroad to arrange their meetings. They have played a role in the shape of the Mangla Dam Association, which organized a hunger strike in defiance of the Mangla Upraising Scheme in 2002. They arranged campaign for the release of Comrade Baba Jan and Nadir Hassan in Gilgit Baltistan, informing the Baroness Emma Nicholson report on Kashmir in the EU Parliament as well as supported campaign of Association of Disappeared persons in Jammu Kashmir. Moreover, numerous debates and Early day motions in the UK parliament has been signed. (Ahmed S. A., 2016)

Lord Qurban said, there has some voice heard GB became a province of Pakistan then I raised highest authorities/officials of Pakistan who visited UK, that if this happens it'll damage your case internationally and they told me it's all roomers? Secondly I also talk about the illegal condition (sign on accession with Pakistan) to participate in elections of AJK but as it was endorsed by Kashmiri own government in 1974's act. As far as Indian political voices are concerned, they are been discussed which hundreds of organizations verified but in AK/GB and Chinese controlled area there is nothing swear like AFSPA, mass graves, half-widows, missing persons etc. However, Lord Ahmed admitted in his interview that apart from voices against Human Rights abuses in IHK there is no such discussion conducted on serious political issues of Pakistani controlled Kashmir i.e. state-subject removal from GB, and illegal political conditions (candidate must have to sign accession with Pakistan) to be part of election's contest in AJK.

Another view is that, only those who have campaigned for the Kashmiri identity basically raised political issues of the all regions of J&K. The pro-Pakistan Kashmiris only talk about the Kashmir Valley and the Muslims. Making Kashmir conflict only as a Muslim issue is opening a dangerous road to division of JK that must be opposed. (Quayyum, 2016) They can provide space for people from all parts of the state like International Kashmir Alliance did in early 2000 in London and Brussels and Kashmiri Centers and other international Kashmiris initiatives engaged with Kashmiris from different parts but the lack of the independence of such initiatives and interference by the Indian and Pakistani agencies discredit such initiatives. (Rehman, 2016) As far as the political awareness is concerned, the picture is not very tidy, as there are factions in the diaspora who support "narrow nationalism", or an across the board opposition of Pakistan is observed at some point consistently, and that splits the understanding of commoners, who are desired to be engaged. People from all parts of the J&K have never been subjected to a wider

communication between all parts so there is a certain element of mistrust towards each other which hinders an empowered political stance or voice. (Mughal, 2016)

4.3.7 Could Kashmiri Diaspora be part of Bilateral Dialogue?

Kashmiri Diaspora is well equipped to urge their respective administrations to persuade both India and Pakistan: first to initiate peaceful negotiations and second, to include the leadership of Kashmiri people in these negotiations. The bilateral talks between India and Pakistan have failed because they sought to by-pass the leadership of the people of Kashmir. The time has come when the talks need to be tripartite – the Governments of India and Pakistan and the leadership of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. (Fai D. G., 2016) But both India and Pakistan would never allow any third party to participate, as their interests are interlinked and do not consider Kashmiris as a worthy party. (Daar, 2016)

Sardar Attique further elaborated, diaspora have more opportunities from AJK or Pakistan and can play a role between Indo-Pak, because many of the Indians and Pakistanis which normally cannot meet anywhere, in many cases they are hosted by Kashmiri diaspora in Western countries and they make them meet and they get introduced to each other. For instance, diaspora mostly got dual passports they can turn frequently to India (where common Pakistani and Pakistan held Kashmiris can't go), they visit and carry a message so, dialogue started there. Accordingly, they are living in the political mainstream of that country; they are contributing in that society so they are the part of that system. They are strong and dominating on world affairs so they can make them have a pressure on India and Pakistan. (Gillani, 2016)

On the other hand some people believed that Kashmiri diaspora is much politicized and politically divided. They do try to create awareness campaign, try to mobilize and lobbies but in terms of

facilitating a proper process through which Indian and Pakistani people could come together, it's like you can't generalize anything but it was something that have been seen very well. (Aziz, 2016) Consequently, Lord Ahmed viewed; diaspora can only put political pressure and embarrass both countries in front of the international community, however, I do not believe that they have the political strength to persuade India and Pakistan, to bring them to the negotiating table.

On the contrary, Shams Rehman said, already diaspora is providing space for Indian and Pakistani officials and politicians to sit together and talk. With a little more coordination between Indian and Pakistani officials can initiate tripartite meetings in Britain to discuss the possibilities of addressing Kashmiri issue in a way that may offer mutually beneficial opportunities for resolution. Diaspora can act as instrument/ facilitators of dialogue process and it would be productive because they would be able to link more and more people from India, Pakistan, Kashmir and Britain, thus easing the communicative irrationalities but only when the Diaspora has no split opinions or perspectives on dispute or resolution. Kashmiri Diaspora has the capacity to facilitate track two dialogue process independently at neutral places provided both India and Pakistan recognize then need and importance of diaspora role. Otherwise, both countries would continue their zero sum merry go round discussion forever.

4.3.8 Is Diaspora playing a role in Indo-Pak Dialogue?

Prof. Nazir Ahmed Shawl explained in this context, diaspora has attempted, i.e. the conferences which I used to hold, we invited people from both the countries and from both sides of Kashmir, so, if you'd go through the records of those conference you'll find that people like (Kuldeep Nair, Justice Tarponday, Ghotam Naolakha, Professor Kaml Chunai, Anurada baseen) these are the people who used to come from Indian side and similarly from Pakistani side we had invited

(Shafqat Mahmood, Arif Kamal, General Ahsaan etc). We provide them a platform for interaction, you can call it track II, III but this process has been owned. At this time also there is institution Conciliation Resources they are working on the both side of the border, although they have a different type of methodology, it is fundamentally at the peoples level not at the track I, II, III but at the ground level. So, there are British institutions, NGOs or British individuals who are promoting the dialogue.

Consequently, Prof. Zafar Khan also mentioned some attempts, at one stage when Labor party was in government (1997), Robert Cook (late) Foreign Secretary at that time, he tried to organize a conference (if not possible in Islamabad or Delhi) then outside i.e. Nepal, Bangladesh, Cyprus etc., where there should be participation of Kashmir diaspora, and representation from both India-Pakistan and their administered parts of Kashmir, for the peaceful transformation. This would have been purely a local effort within the diaspora and British government. But this couldn't work properly due to Indian impolite reaction and British seem reluctant. Roger Godsiff (British MP) he remained APPG chairman and tried hard to arrange such conference in order to ensure Kashmiris representation but failed. And now this philosophy is about to silent.

However, there is indirect context 'track two diplomacy' as both states averse to the idea that Kashmiri should be involved in any process of conflict resolution between India and Pakistan. Since Pakistan doesn't have the Kashmir policy and India is very clear that we would not like to give you Kashmir in a platter. So diaspora not yet gear to that, they tried and have succeeded in part also but it's very limited and doesn't have that much impact so far. (Hussain D. N., 2016) Another reason behind diaspora's limited effect, because it is not officially recognized as a community rather Kashmiris to the date have not been recognized as the stakeholders in the dialogue process between India and Pakistan. The need of the hour is that they should also be

taken on to the board, they should also be considered into this equation and whereas given a fact that these Diaspora members they are having very vibrant voice in British Parliament, they could raise an issue, and can go with the much of eve & cry over there. (Ahmed R. Q., 2016)

4.3.9 Should Diaspora Representatives should also be a part of Dialogue process?

This is the only viable way as it doesn't militated in system but consonance with the UN status and human rights. It's an inherent right. (Gillani, 2016) Without Kashmiris participation there would be no dialogue but only agreement as Kashmiris are prime party. So, Kashmiris involvement is compulsory from Diaspora as well as J&K representatives. (Khan A. A., 2016) Diasporic person is globally exposed and he understands the undercurrents of international morphology, psychology and environment, therefore he must be the part of dialogue but diaspora inclusion and identity has to come first. (Ali, 2016) Dr. Fai believed that the dialogue process should include the leadership that exists on the ground in Kashmir. The Diaspora representative should be involved to the extent of making sure that these tripartite talks become meaningful and purposeful.

Ideally they should and especially in terms of conflict transformation they can play a role, but if you say that there will be a direct engagement in dialogue then government of India & Pakistan perhaps would not be like that, but less than that they should play a role. (Shaheen, 2016) Pakistani intellectual Prof. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema said, this won't ever happen, if India is not willing to have those who are here the Kashmiri leaders to be participant of a dialogue between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, how would they accept and expect diaspora but Pakistan will support that and had been supporting. But question here is, had Pakistan ever tried to include Kashmiris in bilateral dialogue? If no, then how one can claim to be a supporter?

Another belief is that they should play role on the track II but to give them the role as a party is not doable because they only represent an interest group. They are not a structured political force as such. Of course, when someone participated in track II or NGO related activity in the conflict transformation, you are heard but not part of the triangle. You can possibly strengthen the one side of the triangle which is the two-third party that is called Kashmiris but to represent them as diaspora it's not practical or important rather they can be the catalyst to promoting Kashmiri representation. However, all the Kashmiri representatives at any stage have to be incorporated. (Kamal, 2016)

Some respondents share concerns that it would be difficult to decide who would represent the diaspora community in dialogue process as diaspora itself is not necessarily a single actor as diverse as politically divided back home in Kashmir. (Lord Nazir, 2016) However, Dr. Misfar responded to their query, there are about three million Kashmiris scattered around Europe, so, without any doubt particularly the ones having in depth knowledge of the dispute, are dedicatedly working towards a resolution of the dispute and 'experts' from few areas such as elected representatives, intellectuals, researchers and activists should be included as a diaspora representation. Another important view from British origin MP Andrew about diaspora's representation is that if India & Pakistan believes in right to self-determination then they should invite Diaspora to participate in their campaign but it's difficult to influence India and Pakistan. There should be established that forum for where Kashmiri people can engage in those talks because both nuclear powers have their vested interests to a making decision rather than the people of Kashmir through UN resolutions about Plebiscite.

4.4 Section III: How the Activities of British Kashmiris are Effective?

Again there were no impact analyses provided on these activities so, effectiveness may one's own perception/analysis. Prof. Zafar said, in order to make campaign effective, one has to be consistent. Regarding political level efforts one would say, British Kashmiri Diaspora is actively involved in politics, more so in local level. But over the past 10 years, greater participation of members of Kashmiri Diaspora in all political parties which in fact, is quite remarkable. Because traditionally Kashmiris always supporting politics in the context of Labor Party. Kashmiri Diaspora has representation in both Houses of UK parliament. Kashmiri members of parliaments are questioning and every little bit counts. But the question is whether British government takes any notice of it? On the other hand, JKLF type effort is based on voluntary work that is what makes it an effective drive. If one wants a result-orientated struggle then it has to be very people centric effort, one can't rule out struggle for right to self-determination. As British government have their own policies and interests with India & Pakistan.

They may not achieve targeted results, but it is also appreciable that without any state support, they lead such activities. Members of Parliament regularly write to the Foreign and Commonwealth offices and ask questions in parliament. They are engaging through All Party Parliamentary Committee on Kashmir which somehow contributes to alive this dispute. (Ahmed, 2016) One of the significant accomplishments is that now there is a better understanding of dispute which never has been before, secure first ever debates in Westminster on the issue of Kashmir. It's about raising a voice and gaining a support and this support is growing. And APPKG invites all political parties from Kashmir, Pakistan and India to engage jointly for some practical solution.

Particularly in last parliament we started debate on the floor House of Commons on Kashmir, when you engage in those debates its turn into one side accusing the other of human rights violations in Indian held Kashmir and India accusing Pakistan's human rights abuses in AJK. So you get the tit-for-tat and this is much difficult for third party because both sides arguing against each other which lost the debate and any peaceful solution. (Griffiths, 2016) However, they are effective in raising awareness of the situation in Kashmir and provide information and pressure for the issue to be raised with the relevant Indian officials or at least question and challenge them at different platforms and public spaces by the British representatives. (Rehman, 2016) Moreover, as Diaspora have arranged different activities where Kashmiri leadership from both side also available and every interaction somehow close misunderstandings. Both side Kashmiris have also interaction which resulted reunification. Other political activities, Hurriyat activities, nationalist activities are effective but not much consolidate which resulted less productivity. (Malik, 2016)

On the other hand, many respondents believed that diasporic activities are very limitedly effective. Kashmir Diaspora very actively participates in local electoral politics in the UK. However not from Indian side Kashmir. Majority who are active in the local political system are from Pakistan administered Kashmir. As they gradually getting associated with the political system which is much less and below than the requirement because they are still reluctant to integrate with local system while they have very close and active association back-home with their clans, tribes and parties. So, that doesn't give them a space to think of anything else, whereas, they can be much more effective and useful, if they are a part of that system. (Khan, 2016) Their level of influence in strategic decision making processes is not that much significant and also not satisfactory in national parliamentary level, as compare to the magnitude of

Kashmiri population in UK. They are divided due to the formation of national political parties. Moreover, the vote for parliamentary level by some means divided on the basis of back-home political parties' presence. Other Diaspora is tagged as a single force of national community. (Raja, 2016)¹⁴ Secondly, due multiple identity crises syndrome they have not been able to make any significant mark in mobilizing general public opinion or influence British foreign policy in favor transforming Jammu and Kashmir conflict. (Khan, 2016)

There is a lack of voice from the national stage. We have encouraged more people from Kashmiri Diaspora to get involve particularly on Kashmir issue. Their cause has been long running and that cause has been taken fully by notable people such as Lord Ahmed. Recently, community coming together more, it's still fairly an early stage but I think there is more engagements from Diaspora in relations to issue. One of the difficulty we faced was further conflicts (Palestine, Sri Lanka, etc) seem to grab the attention. The Kashmir issue has been dump-a-dead or hasn't had its resonance which should and its one of the reason that there hasn't been a political imperative and political momentum behind the issue here in Westminster and on the national political stage. So, I will still agree that there needs more to be done, if we properly ensure that Kashmiri Diaspora is heard then it'll have a capital impact on Kashmir i.e. about some political change there.

British government taking it extremely focused, they understand the issues, like to see a peaceful resolution too because they are nervous to about being accused in interfering in the matters of two sovereign governments to find a solution. Even though; they believe in UN resolutions that

¹⁴ Raja Abdul Quayyum is a senior leader of Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), who has sacrificed his 22 years' life in prison in United Kingdom. As there was a blame of Indian citizen's murder on him, who have been kidnapped from Indian Embassy UK in response to Maqbool Butt (Shaheed) by the group of Kashmiri peoples and later killed. After 22 years, Mr. Raja has been released because of insufficient proof against him.

it's not India and Pakistan but Kashmiris who will decide about their future destination. (Griffiths, 2016) Moreover, community is not united; every organization opens up its own Kashmir agenda, lack of coordination, no collective leadership, everyone wants to free Kashmir solely with their own way and this would never practical. Their efforts are not united; vision is not clear and has other political ambitions which dent their efforts and role in the resolution of Kashmir issue. Almost they just to have get together, fun and dinner/lunch on the name of Kashmir, but we need to address real issue in a real way. So they British Kashmiris have to increase their number and role in policy making institutions for this cause. Instead of chanting slogans on roads, that can be good for news but not practically pressurize India over this conflict. (Khan A. A., 2016) Even a British origin MP Andrew elaborated, there is a lack of consistency and more politicize these events by imported Pakistani and Kashmiri political parties into UK that divided the Kashmiri community into Muslim Conference, PPP, PML (N), PTI and so on.

As British Kashmiri community is the most active Diaspora anywhere in the world. But there is a huge problem that Kashmiris need to speak with one voice. And the problem basically is with the AJK government and political system, because they simply using Kashmir dispute; a) for electoral reasons, b) they are not genuinely responding to the need and context of the Kashmir conflict. They must understand that they have to articulate the dispute within a Kashmir centric context and that is they have failed to do. (Khan, 2016) In relation to above mentioned concern, Raja Najabat said, AJK government officials come here and make selective people to expand their political ideologies and baradri-izm¹⁵. Instead of working together with Diaspora to cope-up this longstanding issue they are playing dirty politics of AJK even here in UK. And such division directly affects our activities and their worth. Moreover, they were not adequately effective,

¹⁵ It is a synonym of tribalism.

because there were no consolidated opinions, arguments or voices and have lesser real knowledge about the history and evolving dynamics of the conflict. (Mughal, 2016)

4.5 Conclusion

Kashmiri diaspora is present in the world where they have more capacity and responsibility to contribute in the settlement of this protracted conflict, because they are living in a democratic setup which supports liberty, freedom and human rights all over the world. Therefore, diaspora should persuade them that these countries claim themselves a global human rights defender so where there is accepted right of self-determination has been openly violated since seventy years which needs to be exercised through political and diplomatic pressure by diaspora. But it can be possible when they participate in the local parties and political system with one voice. Until and unless migrants overcome this inherent deficiency 'unity' and 'Kashmiris own representations' in our freedom struggle. It would be very difficult to move forward and make some significant difference. One has to liberate our mind and souls first to enable us to formulate an independent foreign policy for the people's resistance movement of Jammu Kashmir so that we can respond to the fast changing geopolitical environment and continue to raise awareness within international community on Kashmir conflict.

CHAPTER 5

INTEGRATION, WAYS AND PROPOSED POLICIES

5.1 Introduction

In preceding parts of this study, several key theme and interconnected research questions has been discussed in detail. It has also proposed some policies, in order to make certain the diaspora's effective role in peaceful transformation of Kashmir conflict. It appears that the relationships of diaspora with J&K governments and British Parliament has mostly been crucial for strengthen Kashmir Cause. However, some significant approaches have been unfolded in this study, which has also give courage to diaspora to take concrete steps towards protecting the legitimate cause of Kashmiris right to self-determination with the support of back-home governments.

This chapter comprises three sections: Section I subsequently, dealt with some interrelated questions such as: How well integrated Kashmir Diaspora is in the local communities in their current countries of residence and how? How well connected Kashmir Diaspora is with the people and Government institutions in their countries of origin or heritage and how? Section II aims to development a framework, in what ways Kashmiri Diaspora could play an effective role in conflict transformation process in Jammu Kashmir? Section III examines is there/should any specific policies and mechanisms to engage with Diaspora and provide them opportunity to inform and influence public policy in their country of origin and host state? If yes then which type of policies are required?

5.2 Section I: Integration Level of Kashmiri Diaspora

This unit revolved around the integration level of Kashmiri Diaspora at all levels; integration among diaspora, integration with host state as well as in state of origin.

5.2.1 Integration among British Kashmiris

One have to be object as fact, diaspora consists of different communities. In the British Kashmiri diaspora coming from Azad Kashmir a system of Tribe/Clan (baradarizm) i.e. (Choudhary, Awaan, Raja, Sudhan and so on). As far as integration within Diaspora is concerned, then the pattern of Kinship (baradrism) to an extent remains quite solid but it is also slightly breaking because the 4th generation has discarded this concept. (Khan Z. , Integration level among Diaspora , 2016) But many respondents also believe that unfortunately Kashmiri diaspora is divided in different platforms and there is a real division amongst diaspora community because of their difference in political affiliation. (Hussain, 2016) Although at time, there may be a less social integration but as far as Kashmir cause is concerned these baradries joint hands and observe or organize joint functions, demonstrations, sittings, seminars and conferences. (Shawl, 2016)

In addition, Ansar Ali discussed an important insight that migrants from AJK know each other well; arrange get together, meetings and other activities (baradizm culture somehow out-dated because of new generation). But overseas from Indian-held Kashmir are in very small number and the integration level among AJK & IHK people is quite unsatisfactory. Because they are professionals mostly or they just interact with people from their side. However, diaspora should unite for the cause of Kashmir, no matter whether they are affiliated with any political group, party or from which part of Jammu Kashmir they belongs to.

5.2.2 Is Kashmiri Diaspora Integrated with British State & System?

In today's world, diasporas are progressively recognized as a major actor in national, bilateral and global arena, in the migration-development nexus and also widely acknowledged as bridges between states and societies. (IOM Team under the coordinatorship of Peter Schatzer, 2013)

Conversely, in the case of Kashmir, there is huge Diaspora, members of parliament in both, House of Lords and Commons, in the local councils, in business, in social & developmental sector as well as in academia. So, Kashmiri Diaspora has shown lot of concern to get integrated within the Western system. But huge British Kashmiris are seems too alienated and a reason somehow is the difference of home and host states system. As a result, there is both type of community who is fully integrated as well as separated. (Aziz, 2016)¹⁶

5.2.2.1 Integrated

They are much integrated as compare to past, as new generations filled this integration gap. As hundreds of Councillors, more than a dozen Mayors and Lord Mayors in local Councils, and 3 female, 3 male MPs and three members of the house of Lords of the Kashmiri origin and heritage in the UK demonstrate that Kashmiri diaspora is not only very well integrated in UK but providing leadership to all communities. (Khan S. A., 2016) And Kashmiri citizens can also be found in all walks of life in the UK covering a diverse range of industries and services. Andrew Griffiths, a British origin MP also assumed that most of the civil society with in Kashmiri community is growing, developing and becoming more prosperous and as a whole great interactions with decision and policy makers.

¹⁶ Mr. Tahir Aziz is an executive member of Conciliation Resources (CR), a UK based think-tank which claims to be working for peace. He has worked as a Senior Associate with the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy with reference to conflict-transformation activities in Kashmir. Previously, he was also a Director of Human Rights Commission of the Government of Pakistani-administered Kashmir and Visiting Fellow at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), London, under its South Asian Program. Moreover, he has also done his Master's thesis on Kashmir Community in England.

Dr. Sohail Nasti revealed that Kashmiri Diaspora is well integrated in terms of professionalism and socialization. (Nasti, 2016)¹⁷ Barrister Sultan further elaborated this socialization, as intermarriages are somehow acceptable now. However, it's incremental; it cannot be expected to be in one and half generation. It will take another half generation or another two decades to have the desired integration levels. It's true of everywhere not only Britain. They are able to keep up their identity and should be the part of larger whole. In Britain there is a diverse diaspora and have different background, and baradism also exist there but youngsters have the capacity to overcome this. (Kamal, 2016) But there is an essential need of economic and educational development in Kashmiri Diaspora in relative to other Diasporas. However, British Kashmiris are politically integrated and third/fourth generations becoming professional people which resulted integration. (Khan Z. , Diaspora and Integration, 2016)

5.2.2.2 Not-Integrated

In this field-work study, mostly respondents believed that Kashmiri Diaspora in Britain is not or least integrated/incorporated with British state and system. They also shared some reasons behind;

1. The very first and factual argument is, because there is an identity crisis, as Kashmiris are not recognised as a distinct community yet. They remain invisible and mostly try to keep to themselves. (Daalat Ali, 2016)

¹⁷ Capt (Dr) Mohammed Sohail Nasti, is a British-Kashmiri (from Anantnag) philanthropist, a clinical research scientist, a disaster medical specialist, a rescue pilot and an executive member of 'Consortium for Global Peace'.

2. Particularly the Kashmiri Diaspora is very reluctant to engage with main stream populations owing to cultural and religious beliefs. (Hassan, 2016)¹⁸ Consequently, Barrister Sultan pointed-out very sensitive concerns that previously Asian families were too worried about youth integration with local communities but now because of Islamic following these practices are so limited. Now Islamic culture and followers are much increased and that seems reason of less integration again with local community on religious basis. Mostly people even get involved in ISIS because they observed violations in Iraq and Syria and compare with ongoing Kashmir struggle so they get attract. (Chaudhry, 2016)¹⁹

3. Their caste, sect and region influence their voting behavior instead of issues affecting their life. So, only in political sphere they get integrated, almost but not in social, religious or cultural level. And British have no interest in its citizens religious, social or cultural matter but off course in Political or economic aspects. (Raja, Diaspora and Integration, 2016)

4. Lord Nazir Ahmed responded this question, there are huge difficulties in the UK, and sadly our communities are living in parallel in many areas. Crime rate amongst the Kashmiri diaspora is three times more than the local community and the recent child

¹⁸ Dr. Misfar Hassan is Kashmiri origin, British based Child Psychiatrist. His family migrated from Srinagar in 1947 to Pakistan. Mr. Misfar's uncle Mr KH Khurshid (legend in Kashmir freedom struggle) was involved in Pakistan politics till 1947 as personal aide to Mr Jinnah. Later on, in the Kashmir under Pakistan control he was follower of Mr. Khurshid's political ideology as well as involved in British politics. He was twice elected as County Councilor on ticket of Labour party. And now he is closely working with diaspora representatives and lobbying on Kashmir Cause.

¹⁹ Barrister Sultan Mehmood Chaudhry was Prime Minister of Azad Kashmir between July 1996 - July 2001. He was born in Mirpur and gaining Baret in Law from United Kingdom. Mr. Sultan have played an active role by continuously raising the Kashmir Cause on international level.

sexual exploitations has been sadly linked with the Kashmiri/Pakistani communities. This ultimately resulted in lack of integration and trust deficiency with local community.

5. Mostly people have surroundings of their own people or other Asian community or because of lesser time that they spend back home and because of the changed lifestyle (Britain version) which is not very comfortably digested at the local community level which is simpler. (Mughal, 2016)²⁰

Compare to Pakistani diaspora in outside countries I believed Kashmiri diaspora is more integrated into the local communities which they are residing. They are politically active and on the main-stream, contesting the elections and they have the political representation into the local parliaments. Kashmiri diaspora has now deep in-roads and roots into the local communities. But having said that is that integration a meaningful or a channelized integration that could play its role into the effective transformation or resolution of Kashmir dispute? It's suspicious, because what the problem with the diaspora is that it appears, one can see and substantiate it but how effective it, is undoubtedly blur. It's just we happen to see many million marches and demonstrations in recent past but not any practical outcomes. It itself shows that its very rhetorical, and we must say that there are some hands full elements who are cashing this dispute for their own personal projections. This is also one of the important factors that need to be included in way that many people for their projection are using or manipulating this Kashmir dispute. In response to this concern, suspicion is all about, whether it is a meaningful political channelization or not.

²⁰ Waqas Mughal is a Public Policy Consultant and PhD scholar in Public Policy at National Defense University, Islamabad. He has done some project work on Kashmir Diaspora under an organization 'International Alert'.

5.2.3 Is Kashmiri Diaspora integrated with State of Origin?

In this section, it has been discussed that how well connected Kashmir Diaspora is with the people and Government institutions in their countries of origin or heritage.

5.2.3.1 Integration with Peoples and Conflict

As for people are concerned, again there is an engagement at different levels and in different spheres. (Rehman, 2016) Individually members of Kashmiri Diaspora are connected with the people at home through marriages, funerals and financial support. Though it could be argued that the ratio is decreasing, whereby most corpses of the deceased in the UK (for example) are now buried there. Many Mangla Dam affectees couldn't rebuild their homes here after settling in the UK. So, coherent and meaningful engagement is somehow lacking.

Professor Zafar argued, Diaspora's remittances are warmly welcomed (looted) but peoples were exploited. While in family terms first two generations of Diaspora is very much integrated as they have their own relatives, parents and property. But as more and more separation become longer the understandings of what happen over there is becoming really fuzzy. Lord Nazir further explained, First two generations are quite intact with Kashmir conflict and their homeland but 3rd, 4th generations are totally detached. Young generation even don't interested to invest in Kashmir because of bad experiences of seized their properties by AJK governments, time and again, they rather prefer to invest in Turkey, Dubai and North Africa. (Mariam Khan, 2016)²¹

Dr. Serena unfolded an important fact in her discussion that the only certificate of being Kashmiri is 'State-Subject' which new generations of diasporas are not owning. She argued, we don't have right to vote in AJK then how can we would be part of Kashmiri referendum? And if

²¹ Mariam Khan is a young (Kashmiri origin) Labour Councilor in Birmingham. She has done her master in Economics from the University of Leicester. Besides, she is much active on Kashmir Cause.

emigrants (Muhajreen) can get 12 seats in AJK assembly, then why only one seat for diaspora? In light of above mentioned facts, why and how young generations from diaspora can get inspired or take interest in Kashmir and its longstanding conflict? (Hussain D. S., 2016)²²

5.2.3.2 Integration with J&K Governments and Institutions

There is one ministerial seat for diaspora in AJK government. Some members of the Kashmiri Diaspora also served as member of the AJK Council. So, they are connected but either through their individual financial contribution or baradari (tribe) and what influence these members of diaspora community have for wider interests and benefits of the diaspora community in their places of origin is a question marked. (Khan S. A., 2016) In response to this particular topic, some responded that Kashmiri overseas MLA seat has always sold to unconcerned people. (Khalid Mehmood, 2016) And almost every Pakistani and Kashmiri political party has a branch in the UK, but not productive or result oriented as well as they have no influence over their political bosses here in the country. (Dr. Javaid Hayat, 2016) Unfortunately, the government in Indian Occupied Kashmir is a puppet regime which has no legal, constitutional and moral authority to rule the populace. The Kashmiri Diaspora is connected with the leadership of the Kashmiri resistance – namely, All Parties Hurriyet Conference which represents the broader spectrum of the opinion of the people of Jammu & Kashmir. (Fai, 2016)²³

Current British origin Chairman of All Party Parliamentary Group on Kashmir revealed, It's interesting and surprising that being a British Parliamentarian (even many are British born) they

²² Dr. Serena Hussain is a Kashmiri origin; young British based Sociologist and Geographer. Currently, she is working as a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations. She has done her PhD in Sociology and Social Policy at the University of Bristol and Post-Doctoral Research Fellow at the School of Geography, University of Oxford.

²³ Dr. Ghulam Nabi Fai is a Kashmiri origin (Indian controlled), citizen of America. He is a constant writer, and active lobbyist of Kashmir Cause.

are less interested in talking about David Cameron and Jeremy Corbyn but have an interest to talk about PPP, PML N, PTI and big understanding of political situation of Kashmir & Pakistan. They even develop all these national political parties in UK which is one of the dangers because these political parties have their own vested interest, Pakistan centric approach not Kashmiri and nothing to deal with longstanding conflict. Consequently, Indian Diaspora here is much integrated with British politics. (Griffiths, 2016)

Most unfortunate aspect is neither they have been integrated with their countries of residence nor they have been able to maintain their effective relationship with country of origin. So, in many cases they are hanging in the air i.e. that Diaspora as a citizen of Kashmir actively participate as a voter in British system but when you back home in Kashmir you don't find your name in the electoral list. What to talk of the government institutions and the effective areas, minimum requirement is that if British system has accepted you as a voter (which means one can be the member of House of Lords or Commons or anywhere) even after you are born in Kashmir and having Pakistani passport then why can't origin system? Because here the political system is so week that Diaspora is completely deprived off i.e. mostly when they landed in origin state they considered themselves as a self-stranger. In last couple of years 6-7 dead bodies moved from Kashmir and buried in UK, this needs to be stopped as we lose our Diaspora. (Khan S. A., 2016)

There is no specific forum for communication between AJK government and Diaspora which is a big impediment to precede this conflict in Britain. AJK government didn't give deserved respect to Diaspora ever. (Ahmed L. N., Diaspora's Terms with J&K Government, 2016) A young Kashmiri scholar also explained, we have seen in the mess of AJK, the political quagmire of 2011 when Lord Nazir Ahmed tried to mediate between the government and he was lambasted for that, he was reverse very severely criticized that who you are to interfere into the disputes or

some internal political situation of Azad Kashmir. Apart from that you aren't come across any notable person having any effective communication with the Kashmiri leadership on Pakistan held Kashmir. These main stream political parties of AJK, nationalists they have never been considered as a legitimate force in AJK and most of the political parties they are extension of the Pakistani owned political parties. In that given situation there is no effective communication, integration, any successful or manifested communication, it is missing as well. (Ahmed R. Q., 2016)

Mr. Tahir Aziz tried to identify the reasons behind this lack integration among diaspora and back-home government. As they have very strange kind of relationship, they have relatively fluent, wealthy and very effective influence in the governments and institutions back home. Therefore the relationship is very much ineffective because if either money that comes to the government through remittances then a Diaspora expects a lot or something different or bigger in returns and they are not satisfied. But they are also influenced politics back in AJK through that money and as a results you don't see very positive relations and change that could have come out in terms of development infrastructure and building the capacity. (Aziz, 2016) And diaspora is being harshly treated by AJK government an exploited by bureaucracy. Instead to understand their potential which need assistance to assure more powerful role. (Khan Z., 2016)²⁴ Although, the government of AJK established an overseas department which unfortunately failed to show any effective results. The government of AJK should play real role of government of base-camp which can organized and coordinate these all efforts which are being made by diaspora.

²⁴ Professor Zafar Khan pained that diaspora is an incredibly a valuable and multi-dimensional, which Kashmiri political leadership never utilized on national interest.

5.3 Section II: Ways for an Effective Role of Diaspora

To making a situation win, it is very difficult to gain political pressure until to gain momentum behind campaign that is about lines on a map. They can morally, financially and logically support in several ways:

5.3.1 Engage Parliamentary Representatives

Kashmiri community should engage with politician in UK in order to bring about peaceful pressure. Kashmiri community in UK is British voters, they elect politicians to come to Westminster so, and they should use those votes and ask to their representatives about the support to contribute their homeland conflict by highlighting in UK Parliament.

5.3.2 Diplomatic Pressure

Creating diplomatic pressure and awareness among the masses & media is an imperative approach to highlight the issue. Diaspora can build an effective public opinion and could raise a homogenous public opinion then they could internationalize this public opinion through the framework of British Parliament. Initiate a process to education and re-education the world powers that Kashmir dispute is not a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan, nor is it an integral part of India or Pakistan. Kashmir dispute is an international issue which has legitimacy because of the United Nations Security Council resolutions which were supported by major world powers, including the United States, United Kingdom and France.

5.3.3 Supporting Dialogue Process

They are one who politically in the mainstream, they could serve as an imputers or they can force at least Pakistani government to recognize Kashmiris as stakeholders in this dialogue process

because the fate of the millions of Kashmiris could not be out-rightly decided by two governments, they essentially should include and properly represent Kashmiris as well. Diaspora can support dialogue process, support economic development and mobilizing other aspects of Kashmir conflict without necessarily politicizing. When it comes to political dialogue if say support of a system that recognizes all the different voices and then also the Diaspora itself can create that dynamic by interacting with the diverse visions and peoples of Kashmir comes from all parts, particularly across the religious and political voice people from Jammu, it has to create a viable inclusive structure.

5.3.4 Foreign Affairs Strategies

Kashmiri Diaspora could support and lead on the development and delivery of an independent foreign affairs strategy for the people resistance movement of Jammu and Kashmir. They can facilitate track two dialogue process and mobilize international community support for peaceful transformation of the J&K conflict.

5.3.5 Agreed Proposal

A British Kashmiri platform including maximum Kashmiri activists NGOs and parties should be set up around an agreed proposal and develop a strategy to engage with the Indian and Pakistani diaspora. And enhance awareness of the wider British public about the agreed proposal for the resolution of Kashmir issue that should be shared with all regions of the states.

5.3.6 Socio-Economic Development

There could be ways to utilize that better by economic development, charity and civil society. As immigrant networks are the rare bright spark in the world economy. Beyond sending remittances, they can also support trade, create business, investment and transfer new knowledge and skills.

5.3.7 Academic Contribution

Diaspora can majorly focus on its academic contribution for the narrative building i.e. Israeli's has done. They can also sensitize the student population about the cause of Kashmir at various university campuses. Moreover, they can also finance back-home (Kashmiri) students in getting enrolment on world's top institution.

5.4 Section III: Suggested Policies and Mechanisms to Engage with Diaspora

Kashmiri Diaspora has very strong family, inheritance and business interests in their place of origin. Therefore, it is imperative that any policies, projects and legislations that affect their interests in their place of origin must be consulted upon and the diaspora community should be provided with an opportunity to engage in the policy formulation or project design, development and delivery processes. There are hundreds of the avenues where British diaspora can successfully and robustly contribute into the development in J&K but for that there is need to have a mechanism, need to have a kind of a framework in which one can meaningfully engage them. So, here are some suggested policies by respondents:

5.4.1 Recognition of Kashmiri Identity

In the UK the Kashmiri community is one of the largest minority ethnic communities. At the moment there are no Kashmiris in UK or Europe (Officially) and their identity has been eroded

by India and Pakistan. Therefore, it is important that their identity is recognized in local ethnic monitoring systems to enable equitable participation in local decision making processes and provision of services and use whatever is the institutional foras available to them. (Khan S. A., 2016)

5.4.2 Overseas Seat in AJK Assembly

Diaspora needs its representation (from diaspora) in back-home government on the basis of free and fair selection, as overseas seat has also been sold to unconcern members. (Hussain R. N., 2016) There should be a define role of overseas MNA, institutionalize it and to increase seats. He/they must have some power, budget that helps them to formulate a link of overseas with back home in every aspect. (Khan A. A., 2016)

5.4.3 Mental Health Social Isolation

The policies on mental health social isolation particularly for those who come from overseas have lots of language barriers and social issues the government need to review these difficulties and evolve policies to address the difficulties faced by Kashmiri Diaspora. (Hassan, Diaspora and J&K Goverments Policies , 2016)

5.4.4 Diaspora and International Organization

States should pick the practiced policies for other Diasporas i.e. American Irish diaspora where they have economic and political interests those participated in conflict resolution/transformation mechanism. (Akhtar, 2016) Consequently, there should be an international organization for the diaspora to coordinate their activities, that all the intellectuals, diplomats, journalists, INGOs should be make together to work for Kashmir as Jews & Kurd Diaspora had one organization. (Hussain D. N., Diaspora's Coordination, 2016)

5.4.5 Economic and Investment Facilities

The diaspora have been keen to invest in the past. However, local government policies have been highly negative and impractical, leaving many disappointed or even disturbed. For example, industrial estates have been built in Mirpur, Dadyaal, Bhimber and Kotli but the government could not even allot them required space or necessary infrastructure to proceed. Security of investment is another pertinent issue. For the success of such initiatives, the above frailties need to be considered as well as the creation of a one-window operation where issues can be resolved through one simple administrative procedure rather than making them go through multiple ambiguous hurdles. (Daar, 2016)

They can utilize economic strength of Diaspora by providing them or creating such an environment that they feel comfortable to invest money there. There are Kahmiris in UK who are millionaires but because of the uncertainty they do not prefer to invest their money in AJK. They would probably have their property in Islamabad, Lahore etc. So, AJK government should facilitate to the extent that these people feel comfortable; a) their investment will be safe, b) no one will create problems for them. There should be a policy that how Diaspora can be supported and accommodated. There is need to empower Diaspora who establish their own institutions in Britain rather than to select (that type of overseas assembly member) who just want to be participate in local politics. (Khan Z., 2016) They can largely contribute in developmental projects i.e. winter tourism at Mangla lake make jetties of motor launch. their empty houses should be map out on different websites, make companies to convert those homes into guesthouses, and then run motor launch. (Kamal, 2016)

There should be a policy where Diaspora should inspire to do some positive work. It's one the way the credibility that they can, their money, influence and energy on back home can be spent on something good, productive that should give them confidence so, Diaspora can be a good ambassador/representative. But that sort of relationship hasn't built yet. There could be ways to utilize that better by economic development, charity and civil society. Most importantly, get involving the political dispute resolution process, Diaspora can influence better on international thinking on Kashmir. (Aziz, 2016)

5.4.6 Coordination and Joint Framework

There should be a non-partisan and non-ideological driven British Kashmiri platform where all issues concerning community in Britain and in Kashmir should be properly and openly discussed and policies and strategies should be formulated and informed from those discussions. (Rehman, 2016) There should be coordination between the government of J&K and Diaspora; they should be invited frequently in J&K and safeguarding their properties as well as legislation against land-mafia. They should be provided the basic facilities, materials and priorities of the moment. It's the responsibility of government, as Kashmir Liberation Cell is absolutely formulated for this purpose, to collect information and material and ensure coordination with them, most importantly invite Diaspora leaders frequently for consensus. (Turabi, 2016) Moreover, the Kashmiri based UK parliamentarians should bring them in Kashmiri Universities in Convocations, Conferences etc. so both parties can understand the dynamics, strengthen their linkage, refreshing their interests. (Kamal, 2016)

The point is that when it would be one on one between Kashmiri political leaders and the diaspora representatives then it would prove counterfeited. It would never lead anything concrete or any substantial thing won't come out if there would be a kind of tussle between this which

apparently it is, otherwise if we could have a joint framework of action, a kind of multilateral framework where we could engage different diaspora representatives and J&K political institutions, we can go for the capacity building for our political institutions and many other revenues. In that regard, it is missing but it should have been done, this is the most inclement part which needs to be done and that would eventually leads to the transformation of the conflict. As transformation won't happens through speeches, through articles, though million marches. It's a three way process in which it would be carried out, it would happen when diaspora would be engaged in community development at the local level over J&K, and then it would lead to the change of public mood, public opinion and then internationalization of that public mood lead to the transformation of this dispute. (Ahmed R. Q., 2016)

5.4.7 Recognition of Kashmiris' Representation

Kashmiris are lacking in policy and they don't have any role to play because of the unnecessary interference of federal government. For example, contemporary freedom movement is Palestinian, and the President of Palestine is Hammas Mehmud have direct access to UNGA for speech, Palestinian flag is billowing in UN and whole Europe is recognized Palestinian as a state. But the Prime Minister, President and Chief Minster from all three divided regions of J&K have no right to present their national cause internationally or even on their dialogue. Our case is controlled by IG, Chief Secretary, Finance Secretary, and development commissioner by Pakistan. We have just flags and our governments a good currency but no representation. (Malik, 2016) Pakistani and Indian politicians can only read some paper on Kashmir dispute. If AJK president talk about our issues and requirements internationally it would be definitely productive. So, we should demand our role which we have in 1947 and Sardar Ibrahim represent his nation at

UN. Amendment of 1974 act would be compulsory in order to ensure Kashmiri leadership's representation on diplomatic level. (Turabi, 2016)²⁵

There should be practiced the right to self-determination given by UN and it has been accepted by all the concerned parties at least at that time. If not, then second stage is to make Kashmiris participation compulsory in their bilateral dialogue over Kashmir. Thirdly, India and Pakistan even didn't give them this right and do all bilaterally but Kashmiris should be heard. He believed that India and Pakistan have not really been able to resolve Kashmir dispute because they are stuck to the opposition, so, it is all the more necessary to get the representative of Kashmiris so, may be then can solve the problem. Diaspora should propagate and educate the international public opinion on the real issue. But there is a real division amongst diaspora community because of their difference in political affiliation. Kashmir is a national issue so diaspora should approach it by national unity. (Cheema, 2016)²⁶

5.4.8 Building Bridge

Diaspora can play a role of bridge building between the world powers and the Kashmiri leadership as well leadership of both India and Pakistan. The Diaspora has to keep the doors of engagement open to both New Delhi and Islamabad. Communication is the key so Diaspora has to be the eyes and ears of the people of Kashmir when it comes to engage the government and people of both India and Pakistan. Secondly, Diaspora should be given the visas by India and Pakistan to visit both countries and enter into dialogue with the civil society of those countries. Diaspora should also be able to visit freely to their country of origin (Indian Occupied Kashmir

²⁵Abdul Raheed Turabi is a well-known politician and the Ameer of Jamat-e-Islami, AJK and Gilgit Baltistan. He has a continuous interaction with Kashmiri diaspora.

²⁶Professor Zafar Iqbal Cheema is a Pakistani Political Scientist and professor of International Relations. Currently, he is working as a Dean, Faculty of Contemporary Studies at National Defense University, Islamabad. He has an extraordinary grip on Kashmir dispute and passed several fruitful resolutions for the settlement of this conflict.

and Azad Kashmir) to interact with the people of different shades of opinion. Thirdly, Diaspora at the world level should be able to meet at least once a year to exchange ideas and come up with tangible and realistic strategy that is acceptable to all parties concerned – India, Pakistan and Kashmiris. (Fai, 2016)

5.5 Conclusion

After detailed discussion on diaspora's integration at all levels, ways for an effective contribution, and proposed policies, it appears that, without compromising on their faith, conviction and basic beliefs overseas should go for mass integration, economic integration, political and administrative integration. They can be much more effective if they become the part of local system. Secondly, the drastic change in diaspora's integration with back-home is quite alarming. For that J&K governments need to develop some inspirational, interactive and incentive policies. However, J&K governments can successfully engage the people who are placed over there, can engage them for community development, for educative development, for infrastructural development but this needs to have a proper/joint mechanism.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Peace and justice in Kashmir are achievable if all parties concerned – India, Pakistan and Kashmiris (including diaspora) – show some flexibility and make sacrifices. Each party will have to modify its position so that common ground is found. It will be impossible to find a solution that respects all the sensitivities of Indian authorities, values all the sentiments of Pakistan, keep intact the unity of the State of Jammu & Kashmir, and safeguards the rights and interests of the people of all the different zones of the state. Yet this does not mean that we cannot find an imaginative solution.

Having passed around seventy years and Kashmiris are still on to the point of deadlock, still feel that they haven't gone one step forward in any way, this is the worst of the dilemma it, this is the worst of the impasse that has happened, if it needs to be resurrected, if it needs to be redefine, if it needs to be remapped, in that regard we would have to engage the all stakeholders of Kashmir dispute including diaspora people. In case of occupied territory, mostly voices remain unheard and natives have bound to be silent. Conversely, diaspora being a global citizen and democratic setup have natural opportunity to highlight the narrative of their oppressed nation. Kashmiri diaspora has substantial political influence, economic strength, educational spirit and free & democratic setup to lobby their cause of self-determination. They are active by all means but not consolidate, consistent and much politicized which could hardly contribute to keep issue alive, there needs more to be done because yet the impact of their participation is suspicious.

The effort of Jammu & Kashmir governments in reaching the diaspora has been disappointing. An administration of their origin and residence countries has not genuinely responding to their needs. Unfortunately, they are completely deprived from J&K political system, and there is no effective institutional medium of communication among them. Their ad hoc policies are neither sustainable nor part of systematic strategy to include diaspora in conflict, political and diplomatic discourse. The distrust and lack of integration in diaspora with back-home government and institutions needs more holistic and comprehensive approach designed and coordination at national level. What appears to be really missing is the institutional framework and capacity to formulate and implement appropriate policies and effective strategies that will promote, enhance and consolidate the participation of diaspora in conflict and peace-building. And British government has their own policies and interests with India and Pakistan, so, they seems uneasy to being accused in interfering in the matters of two sovereign states. Over again, diaspora have capacity to overcome all these gaps but this can only possible when they unlock their potential and release and realize their influence in both host and origin places.

The growing number of migration has compelled international community to adopt global strategies and coherent policy framework to enrich the influence of migrants in development and peace-building. The following are some recommendations to be considered by diaspora and home-state governments that seek to maximize migrants' potential.

The fact that conflict-persuaded diasporas are often categorized by fragmentation and politicization. Kashmiri diaspora should think in broader perspective, leave 'bradism' concept and to get unite on national cause. Consequently, they should leave the promotion of back home political parties (PPP, PTI, and PMLN), as well as to reconnect with the roots of the origin country.

The ultimate aim is that diaspora should get recognition of 'Kashmiri identity' in their current states of residence. It is only then that Kashmiris as victims of atrocities can lobby successfully. The governments of Pakistani-administered Kashmir should engage with the Indian-administered Kashmir government and resistance movement i) to be issued with a state subject card to diaspora, ii) to support the recognition and inclusion of Diaspora Kashmiris as a distinct diaspora community in their countries of settlement, rather being Indians and Pakistanis.

They are not as concerned or motivated to find a solution whereas those citizens who live in a 'disputed' territory feel the effect of economic strangulation, limited freedom of movement and speech, dearth of art and culture, despicable infrastructure and diabolical facilities for health and education on a daily basis. Thus, the diaspora needs to supplement or support an indigenously created political process in J&K which is due to be launched shortly.

There are some elements planted by intelligence agencies, they have been picked up from diaspora and tried to create havoc to diffuse this whole diplomatic pressure and awareness. So, they are also working among over ranks and trying to create lobby for their interests, but the support by diaspora to these common enemies really needs to be stopped.

Diaspora should understand the spirit of Kashmir freedom movement; they should not address the dispute which is not a dispute but purely a freedom movement. It is not a territorial, religious or humanitarian (in reality) but political dispute or the fate of millions of Kashmiris future. Currently, the issue is (wrongly) perceived as a religious issue as the concentration of the 'problem' is in Muslim Majority areas. They have to address this and at the same time get it recognized as a political and humanitarian (after 90's) issue. So, it is look into that angle and it should be presented in international community.

Kashmiri diaspora needs active and strong leadership that can unite the political opinion over one issue of the right to self-determination. The decision of being with India, Pakistan or independent, should be an individual choice at the time when a plebiscite is granted under the UN or international powers.

Unless to involve the British public diaspora can't get the opinion of the government changed and unless the governments change its policy nothing will happen from this side. So, they should influence over host state policies, politics and political parties and to work on single policy and inculcate that in local polities. And diaspora have to raise international awareness and to coordinate their activities in all intercontinental forums. Undoubtedly, demonstrations and protests are democratic way to show moral support to victims, but that cannot practically pressurize India, Pakistan and International community over this conflict. So, diaspora have to increase their number and role in policy making and bureaucratic institutions in their respective host states.

For the peaceful transformation of conflict, diaspora representative have to contribute in the restoration of 'third option'²⁷ which has been deleted by UN Commission on India and Pakistan on January 5, 1949, against the request made by Pakistan. In the absolute presence of the 'nationalist school of thought' across Line of Control (LOC) as well as in Kashmir diaspora, without facilitating their aspiration, ongoing conflict can never be peacefully transformed in win-win outcomes.

British Kashmiris should establish an 'Information Centre' in UK which produces up-to-date information and there has to be one umbrella organization to bring all/many Kashmiri groups

²⁷ Under this opinion, the pre-partition status of the Jammu & Kashmir state is to be restored and an independent state would be established.

under one umbrella and because of the shared interests of the member organizations involved. They need to engage British born Kashmiris to take up the issue, as far as now, majority of the people, even who are in parliament who take up the Kashmir conflict are those who were born in Kashmir. Once the younger people are educated, this issue needs to go into the universities, debates, trade unions, human rights organizations in UK and in main-stream media.

It is important that the Kashmiri Diaspora, in relatively free and democratic societies, try to establish platforms and create avenues for an institutionalized Intra-Jammu & Kashmir Dialogue. There is an urgent need to build consensus among the different and divided people of Jammu & Kashmir before we can claim to talk to India and/or Pakistan. An institutionalized Intra-Jammu & Kashmir Dialogue can pave the way for consensus, take away divisions and resentments and as such reinforce a case for the whole of Jammu & Kashmir.

The Jammu & Kashmir governments must identify and define in clear terms the objectives to achieve in engaging the diaspora. These well stated objectives would be the guiding principles and help build commitment towards engaging the diaspora through a continuous process. The setting of goals for engaging the diaspora must involve members of the diaspora. After building trust with the diaspora, the next thing is to persuade the diaspora towards the transformation of the homeland conflict. Government must endeavor to streamline and effectively coordinate various initiatives of the diaspora and link them to the main political & diplomatic plans of the country.

References

Secondary Sources

Ahmar, M. (Ed.). (2011). *Conflict Transformation & the Challenge of Peace*. Karachi: Royal Book Company.

Ali, N. (2003). Diaspora and nation: displacement and the politics of Kashmiri identity in Britain. *Contemporary South Asia*, 12(4), 471-480. DOI: 10.1080/0958493042000194318

Bloomfield, D., & Reilly, B. (1998). The changing nature of conflict and conflict management. *Democracy and deep-rooted conflict: Options for negotiators*, 18.

Burton, J., & Azar, E. E. (1986). *International conflict resolution: theory and practice*. Sussex and Boulder, CO: Wheatsheaf Books and Lynne Rienner Publications.

Cindy Horst, M. H. (2009). Diaspora Organizations from the Horn of Africa in Norway: Contributions to Peace-building?. Oslo: PRIO.

Demmers, J. (2007). New wars and diaspora: suggestions for research and policy. *Journal of Peace, Conflict and Development*, 11.

Dhillon, S. (2007). The Sikhs Diaspora and the Quest for Khalistan: A Search for Statehood or for Self-preservation?. *IPCS Research Paper* No, 12.

Early Day Motions . (n.d.). Retrieved November 10, 2016, from www.parliament.uk: <https://www.parliament.uk/edm>

eschoolToday. (n.d.). Retrieved September 27, 2016, from Migration: <http://eschooldtoday.com/migration/the-pull-and-push-factors-of-migration.html>

Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace by peaceful means*. Sage.

Galtung, J. (2007). What is, and might be, peace? In C. W. Galtung, *Handbook of Peace and Conflict studies* (pp. 5-6). Taylor & Francis e-Library.

Gawerc, M. I. (2006). Peace-Building: Theoretical and Concrete Perspectives. *Peace & Change*, 31(4) 439. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-0130.2006.00387.x/full>

Harding, S. (1987) Feminism and Methodology. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press

Kumar, R.(2011)*Research methodology: A step-by-step guide for beginners*(3rd ed). London: Sage

Hashmi, A. S. (2008). Conflict Transformation from Ethnic Movement to Terrorist Movement: Case Studies of Tamil in Sri Lanka and Mohajirs in Pakistan. *Regional Centre for Strategic Studies*, 13. Accessed from: http://www.academia.edu/392207/Conflict_Transformation_from_Ethnic_Movement_to_Terrorist_Movement.

IOM Team under the coordinatorship of Peter Schatzer. (2013). Diasporas and Development: Bridging Societies and States. Diaspora Ministerial Conference (pp. 15-27). Geneva : International Organization for Migration .

Ivorgba, E. E. (2005). A training manual on peace and conflict transformation. Africa: A Property of the African Christian Youths Development Forum.

Khan, S. (2008). *Nuclear weapons and conflict transformation: the case of India-Pakistan*. New York: Routledge.

Khan, S. A. (2015, March 29). British Kashmiris Presented their Manifesto for the Social Justice in the UK and Just Peace in Jammu Kashmir. Retrieved November 18, 2016, from ground report: <http://www.groundreport.com/british-kashmiris-presented-their-manifesto-for-social-justice-in-the-uk-and-just-peace-in-jammu-kashmir/>

Lamb, A. (1991). *Kashmir a disputed legacy 1846-1990*. UK: Roxford Books.

Lederach, J. (2015). *Little Book of Conflict Transformation: Clear Articulation Of The Guiding Principles By A Pioneer In The Field*. USA: Good books publication.

Lederach, J.P. 1995. *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*, New York: Syracuse University Press.

Marshall, C., and Rossman, G. (1999) *Designing qualitative research* (3rded.). Thousands Oak, CA: Sage

McDonald, J. W. (1991). Citizen diplomacy. Proceedings of Approaches to Creating a Stable World Peace. Retrieved from: <https://www.mum.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/mcdonald.pdf> At 28 Nov. 2016.

Miall, H. (2004). Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task. Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Managment. Retrieved from: http://edoc.vifapol.de/opus/volltexte/2013/4682/pdf/miall_handbook.pdf At 28 Nov. 2016.

Omelaniuk, I et al. (2013). Diasporas and development: Bridging societies and states. In P. Benea ,& O. Ferrari (Eds.), Diaspora Ministerial Conference (pp. 15-35). Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

Omelaniuk, I. D.,& Samen, S. D., (2012). Supporting Migrants and Diaspora as Agents of Socioeconomic Change. Global Forum on Migration & Development, 12 Oct.2012. [online], available from: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTDIASPORA/Resources/Mauritius_Roundtable.pdf (last accessed 10 September 2015)

Principles of Conflict Transformation. (n.d.). Retrieved September 5, 2016, from transconflict: <http://www.transconflict.com/gect/principles-of-conflict-transformation/>

Register of All-Party Parliamentary Groups. (n.d.). Retrieved October 4, 2016, from parliament.uk: <http://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/standards-and-financial-interests/parliamentary-commissioner-for-standards/registers-of-interests/register-of-all-party-party-parliamentary-groups/>

Rehman, S. (2016, November 4). Problems of Lobbying for Kashmir in Britain. Retrieved November 10 , 2016, from Greater Kashmir: <http://m.greaterkashmir.com/news/opinion/problems-of-lobbying-for-kashmir-in-britain/232553.html>

Reilly, D. B. (1998). The Changing Nature of Conflict and Conflict Management. Democracy and Deep-Rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators, 7-28. Retrieved: 28 Nov, 2016. From http://eprpinformation.org/files/peaceprocesses/negotiations/ddrc_options-for-negotiators-1of4.pdf

Robinson, K. J. (2002). The Virtual and the Imaginary: The Role of Diasporic New Media in the Construction of a National Identity during the Break-up of Yugoslavia. *Oxford Development Studies*, 30(2), 185. DOI: 10.1080/13600810220138285

Robson, C. (1993) *Real world research: A resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers*, Oxford: Blackwell

Roth, A. (2015). The role of Diaspora in Conflict. *Journal of International Affairs*, 68(2), 289-299.

Schellenberg, J.A. (1996). *Conflict resolution: Theory, research, and practice*. US: New York Press.

Seipp, K. (n.d.). Retrieved November 6, 2016, from The Advocates for Human Rights: http://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/uploads/ch_1_2.pdf

Sewak, M. (2005). Multi-Track Diplomacy between India and Pakistan: A Conceptual Framework for Sustainable Security (Vol.30). *Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo*. Retrieved 28 Nov. 2016. From https://books.google.com.pk/books/about/Multi_track_Diplomacy_Between_India_and.html?id=XUaPAAAAMAAJ&redir_esc=y

Shemesh, A. (2012). Citizen Diplomacy-Creating a Culture of Peace: The Israeli-Palestinian Case I. *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture*, 18(2/3), 58.

Sinatti, G., Ezzati, R., Guglielmo, M., Horst, C., Mezzetti, P., & Warnecke, A. (2010). Diasporas as partners in conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Policy recommendations for fruitful collaboration based on fieldwork studies in Finland, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Norway. The Hague: ADPC

Smith, H., & Stares, P. B. (2007). *Diaspora in Conflict: Peace-makers or Peace-wreckers?* United Nations Publications.

Somlai, I. A. (2011). Retrieved September 3, 2016, from Academia.edu: http://www.academia.edu/10799172/The_Role_of_State_and_Society_in_Conflict_Transformation_a_process_in_asymmetry_chapter_in_Conflict_Transformation_and_the_Challenge_of_Peace Department of International Relations University of Karachi. 2011

Spangler, B. (2013, May). Settlement, Resolution, Management, and Transformation: An Explanation of Terms. Retrieved August 24, 2016, from Beyond Intractability: <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/meaning-resolution>

Stake, R. (1995) *The Art of Case Study Research: Design and Method*. Thousands Oak, CA: Sage.

Strauss, A., and Corbin, J. (1998) *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Taylor, J., Mbaye, L., Rubin, J., Nejad, M. N., Giulietti, C., Kruithof, K., ... & Constant, A. (2014). *Mapping Diasporas in the European Union and United States*.

The Underlying Assumptions in Conflict Transformation. (n.d.). Retrieved September 6, 2016, from Peace Portal Cyprus: http://peace.org.cy/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=44:the-underlying-assumptions-in-conflict-transformation&itemid=227&lang=en

Vertovec, S. (2005). *The political importance of Diasporas*. Centre on Migration, Policy & Society. University of Oxford. Retrieved 28 Nov. 2016. From https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/media/WP-2005-013-Vertovec_Political_Importance_Diasporas.pdf

Wilfried Graf, G. K. (2007). Counselling and training for conflict transformation and peace-building the transcend approach. In C. W. Galtung, *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies* (p. 123). London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Zunzer, W. (2003). Diaspora Communities and Civil Conflict Transformation. *Bergh of Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management*, 52, 2-43.

Primery Sources

Ahmed, L. N. (2016, May 8). Settlement Issues for British Kashmiris . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Ahmed, L. N. (2016, May). Diaspora's Terms with J&K Government. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Ahmed, R. Q. (2016, January 19). Political Representation of Kashmir Diaspora. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Ahmed, R. Q. (2016, January). Diaspora and AJK Government. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Ahmed, S. A. (2016, September). Diaspora and Human Rights . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Ahmed, T. (2016, May 6). Capacities of Kashmiri Diaspora . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Ahmed, T. (2016, May 6). Diaspora and Human Rights Awareness . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Ali, D. (2016, May 13). Importance of Diaspora. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Aziz, T. (2016, March). Diaspora and Bilateral Dialogue . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Akhtar, D. S. (2016, March). Policies for Diaspora . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Aziz, T. (2016, March). Kashmir Diaspora's integration in Britain . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Chaudhry, B. S. (2016, February 15). Diaspora and Redicalization . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Cheema, D. Z. (2016, January 20). Diaspora and Policies . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Daar, A. L. (2016, August). Kashmir Dispute a British colonial legacy. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Daar, A. L. (2016, August). Human Rights in Kashmir and Diaspora. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Daalat Ali, S. R. (2016, May 15). Diaspora and Integrtation . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Daar, A. L. (2016, August). Governmental Policies for Diaspora. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Dr. Javaid Hayat, A. K. (2016). Diaspora and J&K Government . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Fai, D. G. (2016, April). Diaspora and Bilateral Dialogue . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Fai, G. N. (2016, April 10). Capacities of Kashmiri Diaspora . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Fai, D. G. (2016, April). Diaspora's Terms with J&K Goverments. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Gillani, M. H. (2016, March 5). Kashmir Diaspora . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Griffiths, A. (2016, May 24). Kashmir a British Colonial Legacy. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Griffiths, A. (2016, May 24). All-Party Parliamentary Kashmir Group. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Griffiths, A. (2016, May 24). Diaspora's Back-home Integration. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Hussain, R. N. (2016, May 12). Kashmir Dispute a British Legacy . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Hayat, D. J. (2016, April). Role of Diaspora in Kashmir Conflict. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Hayat, J. (2016, April 10). Diaspora's Capacity . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Hussain, D. N. (2016, January). Diaspora and Track II. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Hussain, L. Q. (2016 , May 12). Diaspora's Political Participation . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Hassan, D. M. (2016, November). Diaspora and J&K Goverments Policies . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Hassan, D. M. (2016, October). Diaspora Lack of Integration . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Hussain, D. N. (2016, January). Diaspora's Coordination. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Hussain, D. N. (2016, January). Integration level among Diaspora . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Hussain, D. S. (2016, November). Young Generations Integration with J&K. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Hussain, R. N. (2016, May). Diaspora Representatiion in AJK Goverment . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Khan, A. A. (2016, May 13). Kashmir a Disputed Legacy. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Khan, M. (2016, May 13). British Role in Kashmir Conflict . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Khan, S. A. (2016 , February 7). British Kashmiri Diaspora . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Khan, Z. (2016, May 19). Push and Pull Factors of Kashmiri's Migration . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Kamal, A. (2016, February 3). Role of NGOs in Kashmir Conflict. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Khan, A. A. (2016, May 13). Diaspora and bilateral Dialogue . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Khan, P. D. (2016, July). Kashmiri Diaspora and Human Rights . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Khan, S. A. (2016, July 15). Kashmiri Diapora in UK Parliament . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Kamal, A. (2016, February 3). Diaspora and Integration. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Khalid Mehmood, S. R. (2016, May). Diaspora and AJK Government . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Khan, A. A. (2016, May). Diaspora's Representation in AJK Government. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Khan, S. A. (2016, February 7). Diaspora's Integration with J&K . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Khan, S. A. (2016, September). Integration of Kashmiri Diaspora in Britain . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Khan, Z. (2016, May 19). Diaspora and Integration. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Khan, Z. (2016, May). Integration level among Diaspora : (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Lord Nazir, T. A. (2016, May). Diaspora and Indo-Pak dialogue . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Mahmood, K. (2016, May 13). Kashmir a British Legacy. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Malik, A. M. (2016 , March 2). Historical Background of Kashmiris' Migration . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Mughal, W. (2016, September 12). Kashmir Dispute a British colonial legacy. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Malik, A. M. (2016, March 2). Kashmir and Human Rights Abuses . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Mughal, W. (2016, September 7). Diaspora's Capacity . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Malik, A. M. (2016, March 2). Need of Kashmiri Representation . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Mariam Khan, L. N. (2016, May). British Kashmiri's Integration with J&K. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Mughal, W. (2016, August). Diaspora Integration . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Nasti, C. (. (2016, July). Diaspora and Integration . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Rehman, S. (2016, May 12). Kashmir and the role of Britain . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Raja, Q. (2016, April 27). Political Role of Kashmiri Diaspora . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Rehman, S. (2016, May 15). British Kashmiris Political Participation . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Raja, Q. (2016, April 27). Diaspora and Integration. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Shawl, N. A. (2016, January 23). Integration level among Diaspora . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Shawl, P. N. (2016 , January 23). British Kashmiris . (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

Turabi, A. R. (2016, January 30). Need of Kashmiri Representation. (L. Haroon, Interviewer)

List of Annexes

Annex A: List of Interviewees

S. no	Name	Designation/Profession	Mode of Interview	Place of Interview	Date/Month/Year of Interview
1	Andrew Griffiths	Politician (British MP and Chairman of APPG on Kashmir)	Direct/Interpersonal	London, UK	May 24, 2016
2	Abdul Rashid Hanjura	Advocate	Online	Anantnag, J&K	March, 2016
3	Afsana Rashid	Social Activist	Online	Srinagar, J&K	March, 2016
4	Anwar Latif Daar	Social/Political Activist	Online	Mirpur, AJK	April, 2016
6	Arif Kamal	Ambassador (R), Chairman of ISSRA, NDU	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	February 3, 2016
7	Abdul Rashid Turrabi	Politician	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	January 3, 2016
8	Barrister Sultan Mehmood	Politician	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	February 15, 2016
9	Majeed Malik	Retired Chief Justice High Court AJK	Direct/Interpersonal	Mirpur, AJK	March 2, 2016
10	Manzoor Gillani	Retired Chief Justice High Court AJK	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	March 5, 2016
11	Tanveer Ahmed	Civil Society Activist	Online	Mirpur, AJK	April, 2016
12	Aftab Khan	Political Strategist	Online	UK	2015, 2016
13	Dr. Nazir Gillani	Human Rights Activist	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	February 20, 2016
14	Dr. Waqas Ali	Academician	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	2015, 2016
15	Zafar Iqbal	Political- Social Activist	Direct/Interpersonal	Bhimber, AJK	March 2, 2016
16	Farooq Haider	Politician	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	November, 2016
17	Khalid	Politician	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad,	January 29, 2016

	Ibrahim	.		Pakistan	
18	Mariam Khan	Politician/Councilor	Direct/Interpersonal	Birmingham, UK	May 13, 2016
19	Ansar Ali Khan	Politician/Councilor	Direct/Interpersonal	Birmingham, UK	May 13, 2016
20	Khalid Mehmood	Politician/MP	Direct/Interpersonal	Birmingham, UK	May 13, 2016
21	Daalat Ali	Politician/Councilor	Direct/Interpersonal	Manchester, UK	May 15, 2016
22	Shams Rehman	Researcher	Direct/Interpersonal	Manchester, UK	May 15, 2016
23	Raja Najabat Hussain	Social/Political Activist	Direct/Interpersonal	Manchester, UK	May 15, 2016
24	Professor Zafar Khan	Academician, Social/Political Activist	Direct/Interpersonal	Luton, UK	May 19, 2016
25	Tahir Aziz	South Asian Program Director, CR	Direct/Interpersonal	London, UK	May 19, 2016
26	Lord Nazir Ahmed	Politician, Lord	Direct/Interpersonal	London, UK	2015, 2016
27	Lord Qurban Hussain	Politician, Lord	Direct/Interpersonal	London, UK	May 12, 2016
28	Misfar Hassan	Child Psychiatrist, Political Activist	Online	London, UK	November, 2016
29	Dr. Sohail Nasti	Consultant Disaster Medicine, Activist	Online	London, UK	August, 2016
30	Junaid Qureshi	Political Activist, Writer	Online	Amsterdam, Netherlands	August, 2016
31	Dr. Javaid Hayat	Academician	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	April 10, 2016
32	Masood Khan	Former diplomat, Politician	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	February 10, 2016
33	Dr. Nazir Hussain	Academician	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	January 19, 2016
34	Raja Qaiser Ahmed	Academician	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	January 19, 2016
35	Professor Dr. Pervaiz	Academician	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	January 20, 2016

	Iqbal Cheema				
36	Dr. Shaheen Akhtar	Academician	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	March, 2016
37	Syed Muddasir Gardezi	Academician	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	2015, 2016
38	Waqas Mughal	Academician	Online	Islamabad, Pakistan	September, 2016
39	Dr. Nazir Ahmed Shawl	Academician	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	2015, 2016
40	Attique Ahmed Khan	Politician	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	February 7, 2016
41	Quayyum Raja	Columnist, Activist	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	April 27, 2016
42	Sahil M Maqbool	Activist	Online	Srinagar, J&K	April, 2016
43	Dr. Ghulam Nabi Fai	Public Relations, Activist	Online	Virginia, USA	April, 2016
44	Dr. Serena Hussain	Academician	Direct/Interpersonal	Islamabad, Pakistan	November, 2016

Annex B: Field Research Questionnaire Sample

Personal Information

Name: _____

Gender: _____

Age: _____

Place of birth: _____

Place of present residence: _____

Profession: _____

Q. No	Questions
	Based on your information, knowledge or any engagement experience with the Kashmiri Diaspora community could you please explain/elaborate and answer in relation to the following questions/statements.
Q.1	British Kashmiri Diaspora actively participates in the local political systems in the United Kingdom.
Q.2	British state and its citizens have a role to play in the resolution of Kashmir dispute because it is one of the long standing unresolved conflicts linked with British colonial legacy.
Q.3	Kashmiri Diaspora should/can play an active role in conflict transformation.
Q.4	British Kashmiri Diaspora actively raises awareness within international community on political and human rights issues across all the regions of the erstwhile State of Jammu Kashmir.
Q.5	Do you interact, engage or participate in any campaigns or activities organized/lead by Kashmiri Diaspora? Yes /No
	If yes, how effective these campaigns/activities are?

Q.6	<p>Who is playing most effective role in highlighting the importance of the peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute within international community and how? Please mark</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>• Diaspora Members of Parliament</td><td></td></tr> <tr> <td>• Diaspora NGOs</td><td></td></tr> <tr> <td>• Diaspora Kashmiri political parties</td><td></td></tr> <tr> <td>• Individual members of Diaspora community</td><td></td></tr> </table> <p>How?</p>	• Diaspora Members of Parliament		• Diaspora NGOs		• Diaspora Kashmiri political parties		• Individual members of Diaspora community	
• Diaspora Members of Parliament									
• Diaspora NGOs									
• Diaspora Kashmiri political parties									
• Individual members of Diaspora community									
Q.7	<p>Are you aware of any Diaspora Kashmiris group, organization or campaign which has established links to interact directly with wider British population?</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>• Yes</td><td></td></tr> <tr> <td>• No</td><td></td></tr> <tr> <td>• Not sure</td><td></td></tr> </table> <p>If yes, then what mechanisms they use to interact with wider British public and institutions and how?</p>	• Yes		• No		• Not sure			
• Yes									
• No									
• Not sure									
Q.8	<p>Which one of the Diasporas are playing more active role in peaceful transformation of Kashmir conflict?</p> <p>Please tick</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>• Indian Kashmiri Diaspora</td><td></td></tr> <tr> <td>• Pakistani Kashmiri Diaspora</td><td></td></tr> <tr> <td>• Indian Diaspora</td><td></td></tr> <tr> <td>• Pakistani Diaspora</td><td></td></tr> </table>	• Indian Kashmiri Diaspora		• Pakistani Kashmiri Diaspora		• Indian Diaspora		• Pakistani Diaspora	
• Indian Kashmiri Diaspora									
• Pakistani Kashmiri Diaspora									
• Indian Diaspora									
• Pakistani Diaspora									

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not sure 	
Q.9	British Kashmiris play an active role in empowering political voices from all the parts of Jammu & Kashmir?	
Q.10	Kashmiri Diaspora could play a role in the dialogue process between India and Pakistan for the resolution of their conflict over Jammu Kashmir?	
Q.11	Diaspora representatives should also be a part of dialogue process for the resolution of Kashmir dispute?	
Q.12	In present global political scenario and geo-political situation within South Asia, the right to self-determination is a viable political tool for the resolution of Kashmir dispute?	
Q.13	In what way Kashmiri Diaspora could play an effective role in conflict transformation process in Jammu Kashmir? Please write/suggest	
Q.14	How well integrated Kashmir Diaspora is in the local communities in their current countries of residence and how?	
Q.15	How well connected Kashmir Diaspora is with the people and Government institutions in their countries of origin or heritage and how?	
Q.16	Are there/should any specific policies and mechanisms to engage with Diaspora and provide them opportunity to inform and influence public policy in their country of origin and host state? If yes then which type of policies are required?	
Q.17	International and regional organizations like UN, EU, OIC and SAARC can play an effective role in peaceful resolution of Jammu Kashmir conflict?	

