ABSTRACT
The study was basically made to understand the factors and actors—with civil society being one of the most prominent—which played a stellar role in the socio-economic and political development of Kashmir. Kashmiri society, that is, fraught by violence, election frauds, gross-human rights violations, corruption, etc., is far from functioning as a normal political state, leave aside becoming a real democracy. The year 1996 is considered as a benchmark in the political history of Kashmir, when wheels of democracy where set in motions, again. The alleged wrongs done in the State Assembly Election of 1987, thus bringing a huge disappointment for the youth, who had actively participated in the electioneering and electoral process, were sought to be rectified by re-holding the elections in 1996. The years that marked the imposition of the President’s rule in the State, following the start of insurgency, which challenged the Indian rule in Kashmir, marked dark ages in the history of Kashmir. These years, saw the young Kashmiris, mainly Muslims, joining the ranks with the Mujahideen, across the border on the Pakistani side, to challenge the Indian rule in the state. A clandestine campaign that brought the disintegration of the erstwhile Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and finally an end to the Cold War saw the United States of America (USA) backing and training the militias, with help of Pakistan, in a bid to contain communism and Soviet influence in the South Asian region. These militias (Mujahideens) were successful in pushing the armies of the erstwhile Soviet Union back to their original frontiers, from Afghanistan. While as Taliban—the most powerful and prominent militia group—fighting the USSR troops, and finally defeating them, in Afghanistan was entirely a different ball game, Pakistan sought to exploit the opportunity of the political disturbances in Kashmir. It decided to aid and arm the frustrated and disappointed youth of Kashmir, to wage a war against India. The Centre-State feud, which in past had been the reason of political turmoil in Kashmir, was replaced by insurgency, supported by the majority Muslim population, posing a serious threat to the integration and sovereignty of India. Thus, India and the State Government, both were facing dual threats: from within—hostile population, and from Pakistan, which was arming and aiding the youth of Kashmir to wage a war against India. In view of these threats and the graveness of the situation in Kashmir in the late 1980s and early 1990s that the incumbent Governor dismissed the State government and imposed President’s in the state.
Therefore, as mentioned before, the rationale of the study was to understand the factors that were responsible in fostering positive political changes in an otherwise turbulent and conflict ridden state. As admitted by the former governors to the state of J&K, the rigging of elections to the State Assembly in 1987 was done at the behest of National Conference, the previous ruling party in the state and the Central Government. These developments had set the wheel of Kashmiri politics in a reverse motion, thus, undoing all the good done following the accession of the state with India in 1947. The democratic voices that wanted to change the corrupt and defunct administration were suppressed, felt disappointed and betrayed. Pakistan, as mentioned, sensed the situation, which in turn gave financial support, training and arms to this dejected population to wage a war against India. Thus 1990s was period of insurgency and instability in Kashmir, which saw almost majority of the population supporting and joining it. Both imposition of President’s rule, and the subsequent counter-insurgency to counter insurgency in the state is remembered as darkest period in the history of Kashmiri politics. This period saw human rights violations by the agents of the state, including, army, police and other government paid renegades, which included rape, torture, and killings, of not just the militant groups who had waged a war against India but also the general population, including innocent civilians as well.

The State Assembly Election held in 1996, were held in an atmosphere of fear and insecurity. The situation was far from being normal or how it is today. But these elections again set in motion the wheel of democracy, thus, marking a period which had in past represented violence, insecurity, killings, chaos, giving way to a period which gave way to peace and political development. People have, since those elections, been participating in huge numbers, be they elections to the Assembly, the Parliament or the local bodies.

HYPOTHESES

While the study began with the hypothetical preposition that there is a positive correlation between civil society and political development in Kashmir. In other words, civil society plays a vital role in the political development of Kashmir, thereby, strengthening its democratic institutions, helping in good governance, making the institutions of the state more responsive, transparent and responsible.
Similarly, civil society plays a vital role in upholding the human rights of the general population.

OBJECTIVES
Following objectives were laid, to be achieved, during the course of research on the topic:
1. To explain the terms Civil Society and Political Development.
2. To explain the role of civil society at the global and national level and how it helps in the democratic governance of a state.
3. To trace the roots and genesis of Kashmir conflict.
4. Study role of civil society in the political development of Kashmir and Peace-building.
5. Study and analyse the role of civil in Kashmir in curbing corruption, disaster-management, election-monitoring, environmental protection, advocacy and dissemination of information related to right to information, and similar other roles.
6. To suggest the possibilities in which civil society can make further intervention and play a vital role in the political development of the state. Therefore, suggestions would be given in which civil society can play a vibrant role to make the state more transparent, accountable and responsive, and would help in the democratic deepening and upholding human rights.

While first chapter, entitled, Conceptualising Civil Society and Political Development, begins with introduction of CIVIL SOCIETY, an attempt has been made to highlight its historical significance as well. After discussing how civil society was being discussed by the ancient Greek philosophers, Aristotle and Cicero, the discussion proceeds further to discuss the views of contractual theorists, Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, who mentioned civil society as a stage where state of nature culminated into present state, to that of Marx and Antonio Gramsci, for whom civil society represented those elements that helped in the perpetuation of hegemony and exploitation of the capitalists over the rest of population. For Hegel civil society is an arena where selfish interests represented by family and the universal interests represented by the state are reconciled. Similarly for Jurgen Habermas civil society represents a sphere where ‘rational-critical discourse’ is held. Alex de Touquille, the profounder of the term ‘separation of powers’ was of the view that state has a
tendency to become despotic. Hence, a strong and vibrant civil society that withstands
the pressures from state and helps in strengthening of the democracy should be there
in the modern states. In the subsequent sections the rise of civil society has been
discussed. The rise of civil society in the contemporary political discourse and the role
played by civil society in the uprisings of erstwhile communist states of Eastern
Europe, which gave it the present status of being anti-authoritarian, have been
discussed in detail. When it came to defining the term, it was found that there was no
universal acceptable definition of the term. Various scholars and those considered an
authority in the field of civil society have thus been discussed. While Alexander
Jeffrey called civil society as an ‘arena where social solidarity is defined in
universalistic terms’, Jean Cohen stated civil society as any grouping that represents
‘collective interests’. Similarly, Michael Edwards, like Robert Putnam, stated civil
society as that element, which helped in the generation of ‘social capital’, making
democracies more meaningful. A workable definition as put forward by the London
School of Economics referring civil society as arena of unforced collective action
distinct from state, family and market embracing within itself diversity of actors and
institutions, has also been discussed.

NATURE AND SCOPE
The Inter-American Development Bank definition about civil society has been used to
explain the nature of organisations that qualify as civil society organisations. The
organisations may thus include NGOs, community organisations, community groups,
non-profit organisations, business associations, religious institutions, etc.
Civil society is said to play a vital role in promoting development, democratic
accountability, challenging abuses of executive and legislative authority, and
minimize arbitrary powers of the government. At times it can promote social
tolerance minimising political violence and defuse ethnic rivalries. An active civil
society can help in keeping the government on its toes. As Robert Putnam states civil
society promotes democratic sustainability and enhances states institutional
performance. Rajni Kothari states that civil society gives space to the weaker and
marginalised sections of the society which are otherwise ignored by state on the path
to flawed development.
2. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
Similarly, second sub-section of the chapter deals with the definition, nature and scope of political development. It was found that the creation of newly independent states in Asia, Africa and Latin America gave way to the comparative politics, where political development was studied. This section also mentions how scholars like Lucian Pye and Samuel P Huntington studies modernisation in Japan and Turkey to give their ideas of political development.

DEFINITIONAL PROBLEMS
It was found that there isn’t a universally accepted definition of the term political development. But then scholars have described some characteristics that may constitute political development. It is widely held that political development may include the growth of capacity of the state to deliver, focus on equality and differentiation, and where people participate in different political processes as citizens and not as mere subjects.

TOOLS TO STUDY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
Various tools that determine the level of political development in a state may include modernisation, structural-differentiation etc.

CRITICISM
The concept of political development receiving severe criticism from neo-Marxists and dependency theorists, like, Raul Prebisch has also been discussed. Similarly, another criticism comes from a group of scholars who believe that political development is a capitalist agenda of encroaching in the matters of developing countries thereby making it easy for the capitalist mode of economic trade to enter the markets of these countries.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
Similarly, how almond Powell and Sydney Verba hold political participation as an important parameter determining political development has also been discussed.
CIVIL SOCIETY AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
Finally the literature that discusses how a vibrant and active civil society can ensure better political development has been discussed at the end of the chapter.
Second chapter, entitled, *Global Civil Society and Indian Civil Society*, discusses the fact that the success of the liberal democratic state depends on how different voices and opinions are accommodated. An active and vibrant civil society plays a vital role in democratic deepening. It is considered as a check thus preventing the state or its institutions from becoming arbitrary or despotic.
Civil society is widely held to play a vital role at the international level as well, for example its role in the agenda setting, international law making and governance, transnational diplomacy and implementation and monitoring of the crucial global issues ranging from trade to development, poverty reduction to addressing climate change, human rights to social security. It is now widely held that civil society gives more legitimacy to the world bodies that formulate policies and treaties in these arenas.

CIVIL SOCIETY IN WEST AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
It has been discussed that the concept of governance as propounded by World Bank makes civil society an important parameter, apart from diffusion of power or political pluralism.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND GOVERNANCE
It was found that civil society plays a vital role in making citizens active in public affairs. It also plays an important role in policy formulation by influencing the decisions of the legislators and elected representatives. It also creates awareness among the public regarding the provisions of the policies. It plays a watchdog’s role. It also provides necessary support to the service delivery mechanism.

CASE STUDIES
Case studies of various countries, like, Peru, Romania, Tunisia, Japan, UK, Mexico, South Africa, Bulgaria and Ireland have been discussed to highlight the role of civil society in these countries for making right to information a basic right for the citizens of these respective countries thereby enhancing the good governance and democracy.
2. CIVIL SOCIETY IN INDIA
In this section the evolution of civil society in India right from the colonial period to present age has been discussed. Various organisations that sprang up like BrahmoSamaj, Theosophical Society, Ramakrishna Mission and later the establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885 has also been discussed. Gandhi entering into the scene of Indian politics transforming the nature of Indian civil society has also been discussed. Regarding scope Amitabh Behar and Aseem Parekh have been quoted who state that civil society in India is both dynamic and contradictory. Contradictory nature of civil society exists in the sense because there are sometimes some uncivil elements in the civil society that make it difficult.

STATE VS CIVIL SOCIETY DEBATE
In the “State versus Civil Society debate” section the arguments against a stronger civil society and a weaker state have been discussed, in which scholars like Andre Battelle, Rajni Kothari, Neera Chandoke, Gurpreet Mahajan, etc have discussed at length that civil society shouldn’t overshadow the state, but should be viewed only as an important factor that would prevent the state from become despotic and corrupt.

CIVIL SOCIETY IN ACTION
In this section the role of all the important civil society organisations has been discussed that have played a vital role in the legislation and success of important acts like right to information, rural employment guarantee, right to education and other such acts dealing with socio-economic and political security of the people of India. The third chapter, entitled, The Genesis of the Kashmir Conflict, has been divided into several sections. First section, giving a historical, geographical and political sketch of the state and deals with the geostrategic importance of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, and how it became a bone of contention between India and Pakistan, following, the controversial partition of the Indian subcontinent. In the subsequent sections the freedom struggle movement of Kashmir against the Dogra rule running parallel to the freedom struggle in India against the British rule has been discussed. The events following the partition of India, and the circumstances that made the Maharaja Hari Singh of the erstwhile princely state of Kashmir to sign the ‘Instrument of Accession’ to India, on 27th October, 1947, have been discussed.
Next section deals with how Kashmir is important to both India and Pakistan. Both countries have fought more than three wars on this issue with India calling its *atootang* or integral part and Pakistan its *shah rag* or jugular vein.

**EROSION OF THE AUTOMOMY AND SPECIAL STATUS GIVEN TO THE STATE**

Kashmir being the only Muslim majority province or state decided to join with the Union of India. Given its special character and the circumstances in which it signed the instrument of accession with India, Indian constitution makers granted a special status to it via article 370. A G Noorani and Sumantra Bose trace the roots of Kashmir conflict in the erosion of special status granted to the state of J&K by different governments at the Centre. Similarly, election frauds, political manipulations and this erosion of autonomy has further alienated the people of Kashmir from India.

**ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS OF 1987: REVERSING THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES**

The chapter finally concludes with what thinkers, like, Sumantra Bose termed as murder of democracy. The elections to the state assembly were rigged by the ruling NC and central government in March 1987. The irked young men who had joined in the election process as workers or candidates contesting in these elections decided to join armed insurgency to express their resentment against this high handedness. Sumantrabose states that never has been the estrangement been so deep as it was during 1990s.

Faroq Abdullah’s term in office was ended by Governor Jagmohan who imposed following anti-India uprising. Hence, it was the cynical authoritarian attitude of Central Government of India towards Kashmir that resulted in the opposition groups in the state turning radical, who called the entire political system as corrupt and denounced Indian authority over Kashmir as illegal. Finally, the chapter discusses the rise of insurgency and political instability in Kashmir.

Fourth chapter, entitled, *Return of Democracy and Civil Society in Kashmir*, begins with an analysis of the elections held to the state assembly in year 1996 under the shadow of gun and fear. Though the participation of the voters and the candidates contesting in these elections was low, but it was encouraging.
The chapter further discusses the other subsequent elections to the state assembly held in 2002, 2008 and similarly the elections to the LokSabha, which saw rise of popular participation both in term of voters and the candidates, who were contesting in the elections.

Similarly the elections to the local bodies that were held in 2009 have also been discussed in detail.

Role of civil society in these elections has been discussed in detail, as stated by Noor Ah Baba that people of J&K have remained deprived of normal politics, effective governance and a functioning democracy throughout its accession to India. Civil society has been criticizing the abnormal militarization and repressive laws, like, the AFSPA and the PSA.

Fifth chapter, entitled, *Civil Society, Institutional Building and Peace in Kashmir*, begins with the role played by civil society in the election process of the state and the monitoring of the elections to the State Assembly and the Parliament. Similarly, the role of the civil society organisations in the fight against corruption and ensuring good governance in the state has also been discussed. The stellar role of the civil society in aiding and assisting the state in most of the cases, like, disaster management has been discussed in this chapter. The vital role being played by various civil society organisations in rehabilitation and relief to the flood victims of the state has also been discussed. Similarly, the role of civil society in creating mass awareness regarding the environmental protection and its efforts in pressing the state to take up necessary steps with regard to environmental protection has also been discussed. The role of civil society in generating awareness about the Right to Information Act and its vital role in the passage of historic acts has also been discussed. The role of civil society in human rights protection and peace-building of the state has been discussed in detail.

The sixth chapter, entitled, *Future Prospects of Civil Society in Kashmir*, is more about how civil society can make serious inroads in the political development of the state to increase the responsiveness, accountability and transparency of various state institutions.

Similarly, other roles of civil society by which local self-government and its institutions can be strengthened have been discussed as well. The role civil society can play in monitoring the developmental programs and its potential in the protection of human rights by documenting human rights violations and making various state institutions, like, police and security forces accountable has also been discussed in
much detail. Finally, various other roles that would create a peaceful atmosphere in the state, like, by promoting communal harmony and social cohesion have also been suggested.