

Apocalypse of Terrorism in Kashmir: Interface between Patriarchal Domination and Gender Issues

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Abstract

In the quagmire of terrorism in Kashmir spanning over a period of nearly three decades innocent women and children have borne the severest brunt. Terrorism is often described in the language/ idiom of 'war', usually by terrorists. Whether or not it is war is an important debate, though, it has caused serious destruction of lives of women, at all levels—physical, emotional, psychological and spiritual. It has wreaked havoc in family and society; gutted all aspirations for status upliftment of women and future generations of Kashmiri Pandits. The dynamic identity of the 'woman' as a person has been destroyed irreparably. What bearing do women and children have in terrorism? They are largely at the passive, receiving end of a gigantic patriarchal fury in the face of terrorism, counter-terrorism, violence and crimes that have devastated the social fabric of Kashmir. The research paper will highlight the plight of, mainly, Kashmiri women refugees in Jammu refugee camps and bring out nuanced aspects of gender oppression. When lives of such affected women and their children are studied closely important questions are raised about the existence of patriarchal dominance in society. Patriarchy can be lethal to the extent of total annihilation of women. A male-dominated social order is as much a social-structural problem to reckon with as is the fetishism of terrorism. Terrorism, in perspective, is a mirror image of embedded patriarchy. What is the way out? Do women have viable, dynamic choices? Various gender issues and discourses will be discussed in the research paper.

Keywords: Terrorism, Kashmir, Patriarchy, Gender Oppression, Crimes, Postmodern Feminism, Women's Agency, Liberation.

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Men will be men! It's in the genes! Patriarchal domination is omnipresent in society and its violence is condoned. Socialization tames the "wild beast" in man is the age-old belief. The process of socialization (censure and punishment) is viewed as purely incidental like a necessary evil and interfering with the *natural expression of the selfhood of man*. A socialized man is a, sort of, culturally marinated piece of meat barbecued on the red coals of *superego* and transformed into a palatable and digestible form of 'steak'! So if a man is neither law-abiding nor God-fearing we would presume that the steak is raw, somewhat. The bottom-line is that society condones the rawness, ferocity, violence, domination and criminality on part of men. It makes women victims in subtle and violent forms.

Reference to the concept of androgyny has been there in Upanishads as '*Ardhanariswara*'¹ over thousands of years yet, very few men could exhibit androgynous personalities in terms of gender-sensitivity.

Feminism, as thought and ideology stands for women speaking about and for themselves. Sensitizing men through women's speech and confrontations is a part of Feminist movement's agenda to challenge patriarchy (male power). However, gender-sensitization alone would not liberate women from domination, control, passivity and marginality. Male power and domination could be effectively challenged through a strategically reinforced fortress of 'female power' having multiple vistas of possibilities, alternatives, outcomes and challenges. Women must wrest control of their lives from men through strategic 'female power' or else they would be continued to be robbed of their true life experience and existence apart from the brutal torture and violence that they are subjected to, often.

Society offers numerous odd cultural recipes of behavior and action differentially to men and women. The diffuse, abstruse, globalized and consumeristic society might create a mirage of green possibilities of gender emancipation and empowerment but, the social-structural orthodoxies are logs of hurdles in women's pathways. Feminism, in contemporary times, is facing consequential challenges as because the consumeristic, globalized, patriarchal society fails to provide launching-pads to fresh feminist ideas and approaches. Feminism today faces the threat of annihilation as because the *man's globalized-supersonic-nano world* seems to hand out solutions to all problems, including those pertaining to gender. It would connote that women '*need not worry about their problems as the masculine world is in total control of situations with the aid of technology and will be offering customized effective solutions*'. Women are told all the time that they need not worry because their needs and worries will be taken care of by men. However, the grim facts from Kashmir and other similar contexts worldwide tell blood-curdling, heart-wrenching stories. The idea of an advanced, technologically superior civilization with promising future is the greatest myths of all times. This false discourse has been, slowly and surreptitiously, undercutting roots of fresh seedlings of feminism in the developing countries like India. The markets of developing countries (India) have been flooded with uncountable choices in consumer durables and services and gender-sensitivity has been reduced to its optional status (a singular choice) amongst plethora of choices that are available. Post-industrial/ postmodern world offers thriving spaces for diversity of

¹ '*Ardhanariswara*' in Upanishads is depicted as a conjoined image of Lord Shiva and his wife Parvati fused together. It signifies the co-existence of male and female qualities/attributes in a glorified persona.

beliefs, opinions, orientations and alternatives and Feminism today has come to sound similar to vegetarianism—just another group of activists talking about gender issues! Making people listen up and understand socio-cultural/structural underpinnings of gender oppression is like trying to convince, metaphorically, meat-lovers about the benefits of being vegan. Why would he give up meat-eating unless he conscientiously feels about it? After all, he has the freedom of choice! Patriarchy is the choice of men which is allowed and patriarchal domination and violence is, therefore, condoned. Metaphorically, the situation is comparable to the co-existence of both, Anti-Apartheid groups and Ku Klux Klan! It has shown resilience through historical epochs because of half-hearted efforts and lack of willingness on part of men to overthrow regressive *status quo*.

The postmodern world is engaged with superficial categories, things and existence in all its diverse forms. The depth of structural issues has been rendered insignificant, inconsequential and unnecessary. Feminism is not only dismissed but is also faced with the threat of complete annihilation by *false narcotic discourses* spread in a hallucinating, floating and superficial world. The ontological status of Feminism needs to be revisited from various relevant perspectives in order to salvage women's cause from degeneration and jocundity.

Discourses on Globalization generate many false meta-narratives of civilizational progress. Various critical perspectives (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2001) on the same dispel the Grand Myths of Globalization. In a similar vein various discourses/meta-narratives on Terrorism divert attention from its patriarchal roots. Terrorism, indeed, is a metaphor of gender oppression *inter alia* other aspects. Notwithstanding political and religious enmeshing of the problem, primordially, patriarchy is at the heart of terrorism and terroristic violence is patriarchal violence, as a matter of fact. The article aims to bring out the linkages between terrorism and patriarchy as a social-structural issue which has excruciatingly affected women in Kashmir. It argues that not only terrorism is a patriarchal scourge but, a host of historical injustices and issues that women have faced is because of their membership (citizenship) in a patriarchal society. Terrorism happens to be, incidentally, one of patriarchy's monstrous manifestations amongst various other gruesome crimes and violence that women are subjected to routinely. So, how does one propose to tackle terrorism without addressing to its roots—patriarchy?

There appears to be a neurotic obsession with public discourses on terrorism. Media frenzy on the topic has managed to convince the world that *Satanic Terrorism* is in a strong grip of the world, especially, post-9/11. There has been voracious intellectual activity to study this monstrous phenomenon of post-industrial, globalized world which has reproduced fragmented realities and myths. Myths of Annihilation, the Apocalypse, Death, Destruction, Devastation, Clash of Civilizations, Extinction of Humans, Extermination etc. to name a few! Media tricks have been craftily applied in the act of sorcery of terrorism to hypnotize the world into psychological states of uncertainty, anxiety and fear psychosis of the 'unknown'. Sporadic, sudden, unrelated terror strikes throughout the landscape of the globe; mushrooming of thousands of terror factions; abuse of advanced technology and resources coupled with inescapable clutches of media on general psyche have done the trick. Common people are thoroughly confounded today and live in subconscious anxiety. This anxiety finds a cathartic expression in engagement of the world with the Dead, Evil, Spirits,

Apparitions, Supernatural, Paranormal, Occult and mythical creatures like mermaids and vampires. Terrorism creates hypnotic states where the mind is stupefied in to engagement with inconsequential thoughts and activities working its way into the subconscious where it (fear) sits tight. This subconscious is brought to surface into individual and public consciousness through random terror strikes and related discourses, now and then. Erratic, random and sporadic terror attacks have set the world imagination into a psychedelic trance throwing people into layers of amnesia from real issues—patriarchy and gender issues, of course! The spaces for true discourses (on gender) have been usurped/ hijacked by false discourses and epistemology.

As we heralded into a postmodern world leaving behind the Age of Reason (particularly, in the West) terrorism has sneaked up and exposed the hidden crevasses of *a globalized world based on male ordering principle*. The media frenzy and public obsession, especially, in corridors of power have given it gigantic dimensions. The most astounding sorcery technique used by ‘the rich and powerful’ is the much publicized ‘inability to rein in the monster’ despite possessing ahead-of-times knowledge, information and intelligence along with state-of-the-art infrastructure and technology. The meta-narratives of terrorism that capture our psyche today are grand myths and debauchery dismissing the root of all problems that we encounter. The preoccupation of the world to rein in terrorism (through counter-terror agencies and operations) is, in reality, another act of sorcery (hypnosis) to divert attention from the roots of all grand threats and problems which are the patriarchal social order, male domination hegemony and status quo.

Epistemology on terrorism has developed along a few neat trajectories: firstly, on co-ordinates of primordial ideological connect between religion and terror; second, on co-ordinates of political enmeshing of the problem or in other words, terrorism as a phenomenon being the manifestation of various stresses and strains of political processes and nation building; thirdly, on psychoanalytical co-ordinates; and finally, along the socio-cultural co-ordinates. From psychoanalytical and socio-cultural co-ordinates criminological perspectives on terrorism have emerged as an offshoot. Amongst these the first two co-ordinates have dominated the imagination of intelligentsia (*hommes de lettres*) and thus, the epistemologies. It is widely believed that the root of terrorism as a problem could be traced along the first three co-ordinates. The discovery and understanding of roots could give us the various trajectories to its resolution and containment. The interface between religion and terror, on the one hand, and between politics and terror, on the other have generated various meta-narratives or grand theories.

Though women and children have been victims of terrorism across the world yet very few discourses are devoted exclusively to study of such victims. There has not been any serious attempt to study causal linkages between patriarchy, male-violence and terrorism. A study that analyses the causal linkages and various ways in which patriarchy manifests in different spheres of domestic and public life will give us the true epistemology on terrorism and social structure. The stranglehold of patriarchy is obvious in all domains of public life, whether politics, administration, defense, business enterprises, industry, scientific research etc. Theology (religion) too is replete with patriarchal domination from historical times. At least we admit today that many dogmas that find sanctity in holy texts are anachronistic, orthodox,

discriminatory, unfair, gender-oppressive and meaningless in contemporary times. Given this fact it must be acknowledged that religious dogmas and the social structure of which the former forms fundamental ideological and philosophical basis are thoroughly patriarchal and gender-oppressive. The same holds true for the realm of power and politics. In a patriarchal world power and politics, both, are controlled and directed by men in a, rather, hegemonic way.

To allow female domination in this sphere would be to usher in a gigantic socio-political revolution or transformation. This has never happened in history; status quo of patriarchy had been maintained for male advantage. Had women dominated public and private spheres the state of affairs that we encounter today could have been much different. The world could have had its natural, peaceful and happy existence free from social malaise. The pandemonium, crime, violence, oppression, discrimination and victimization that we witness today in every society could have been substantially mitigated, if not eradicated altogether.

True discourses should address patriarchy as a causal factor and fountain spring of terrorism which, in a way, points to a possibility world going topsy-turvy (a mental revolution in intellectual circles especially among *hommes de lettres*). The *status quo* will be thrown out of gear when such discourses come up to enlighten the world that not only terrorism but also almost every single social malaise that thrives has genesis in patriarchy. The fact that terrorism not only has serious socio-cultural and gender consequences but, also elemental patriarchal composition (roots) has not formed the mainstay of such epistemologies. Rather, it is believed that such epistemologies are secondary because they espouse the impact or consequences of terrorism rather than roots. The roots or underlying causes are traced in religion and politics. The author does not negate the relevance of such discourses that dominate intellectual scene today, however, it cannot be ignored any further that those are myths because they have failed to reach the farthest deeps (roots/ truth) of the matter. A fresh discourse on terrorism from gender perspectives would demystify the intellectual world and set into momentum a mental revolution. Such a revolution is necessary, though, which would not only address terrorism as a social malaise but also deal with various other structural faults, orthodoxies, problems and ills that dodge our imagination. So why have *hommes de lettres* ignored such discourses so far, historically speaking? The author tries to trace the answer in the article. The process of demystification of terrorism from gender perspectives gives us a radical paradigm shift from global projects and processes of vilification and criminalization of terrorists (albeit, criminals they are!) to critique of patriarchy from which terrorism springs. The latter is a much larger and deeper problem like hidden trenches underneath a vast ocean which has gurgled out hordes of monstrous '*pirhana terrorists*'. Terrorism and terrorists thrive in dark trenches of patriarchy.

The standard definition of terrorism indicates '*actual use or threat of violence perpetrated usually, though not exclusively, by a group of actors for religious, political or ideological motives/ goals directed randomly at non-state actors (civilians) and state-actors/ combatants (defense forces) as well*'. Such definitions are inadequate! Terrorism has exposed the obfuscated myths of patriarchal society, state, politics, law, enterprise and religion in which women are forced to locate their ontological status. This has emerged, in a postmodern context, as a '*Frankenstein's monster*' which is frantically looking for its true identity/ roots (origin). Concept of

terrorism should be reframed as '*actual use or threat of male form of violence having patriarchal social-structural genesis and perpetrated usually, though not exclusively, by a group of actors for socio-cultural, religious, political, ideological or hierarchical (domination) motives/ goals directed randomly at non-state actors (civilians) and state-actors/ combatants (defense forces) as per terrorists' volition or strategy*'.

When people thought that science and technology will grant absolute control over society in the hands of men there emerged terrorism as an apocalypse. So, did politics and warped theology create terrorism? May be to some extent but, actually it is child of patriarchal semen of society! The womb of mother-nature has been violated by corrupt semen to give birth to this evil. Noam Chomsky (2002) testifies that during Cold War era the Superpowers, including, the USA supported and fuelled terrorism. The author of the article, however, contends that terrorism is the child of patriarchal state and society including geo-politics.

True discourse would unravel such desolate trenches in the ocean of knowledge by way of thorough 'deconstruction' of social reality as we engage with the problem. Positive women's agency, mobilization and psychological unification of diverse women from various backgrounds by way of their participation in multiple activism and social movements are germane to the context. The notion of woman as a '*being*', though not dismissed by the author yet, has not been given precedence over the notion of woman as a '*person*' who is continually '*becoming*' someone. The process of 'becoming' takes place through knowledge and awareness of a given context, on the one hand and interaction, mediation and participation in the context, on the other. The emphasis is on invigorating a multitude of *micro-feminist movements* and positive action everywhere. Due to unique diversities within the category of gender, especially in a multicultural country like India, any grand, pan-India feminist movement project may face the possibility of insurmountable contextual difficulties. The contextual difficulties could be minimized in case of local, community level approaches. This does not obliterate the scope, albeit, of external ideational (ideological) influences from *women intellectuals* at national and global levels.

Kashmir is the field of *feminist consciousness* and movements. Butalia (2002) and Dhar (2002) have mentioned about many rapes and murder of Kashmiri women (Hindus and Muslims both). *Human Rights Watch* had published its report on *Kunan Poshpora* mass rapes in 1991. All such and numerous other rapes had a direct bearing on terrorism in the Valley (Kashmir). All those cruelties that women were subjected to were annotated by the idiom of *Islamist hate ideology* of terrorists. These authors provide evidences of women brutally raped and sawed into pieces in the sawmill. There are evidences of criminal assault and grotesque violence not only by terrorists but also by state agencies like the security forces, police and military. Justice, till date, evades women of *Kunan Poshpora* and similar other women as the culprits have not been punished.

The aspect of direct onslaughts of terrorism and their impact is one important dimension of the problem. Other important aspects relevant today are the indirect impact and *burden of aftermath of terrorism* that remain after a lapse of three decades. The author attempted to study the so called 'normal lives' of women affected by terrorism. The sample of research contained of 120 women respondents from

Srinagar, Anantnag, Baramulla and Jammu regions of the state. It was a simple random sample of 70 Muslim and 50 Hindu women. The Hindu women earlier lived in Refugee Camps (*Misriwala, Mutthi and Purkhoo Camps*) in Jammu and from 2011 onwards shifted gradually to *Jagti and Purkhoo Migrant Townships* created by the Central Government. The sample did not contain any rape victims but had a few trauma victims. Two young teenage respondents from Anantnag district (and their mother) have lost their powers of speech due to trauma. They witnessed their two young brothers' death who were shot at by unidentified people. Both of them were overpowered by epileptic seizures at the mention of their two deceased brothers. Their mother sat like stone at one corner of the house.

In another traumatic episode a respondent's husband was a driver employed by Special Task Force (STF) in Srinagar. She claimed that he was shot dead by the STF men as he was suspected to have terrorist links. Her husband was a victim of politics of terror and mistaken identity. She argued that had he been a terrorist the family would have been prosperous. She exclaimed, "*Kya ek aatankwadi ke ghar mein itni garibi hoti hai?*" (How could a terrorist's family be so poor?). She lamented about the tragic death of her husband and also about her children's fates.

In the wake of political terrorism in the Valley ethnic-cleansing was a part of the pogrom against the Pandit community. Thousands of Kashmiri Pandit families have migrated from Kashmir to Hindu-majority Jammu region for life-security. The Kashmiri Pandits residing in Jammu Re-settlement Townships affirmed that by and large, peace has been restored in their native villages in the Valley today. They do not fear as much any attack or rampage either by lone-wolf or factional terrorists. However, the scars of terrorism are a part of unforgettable Kashmiri history. Those are indelible marks etched forever in collective memory of the community. There are numerous problems faced by women in Rehabilitation Townships in Jammu. Also, these women feel demoralized and insecure about their future. Women who live in the Valley face abject poverty and feel a constant fear due to ominous possibilities of search operations, violence and assault by security forces. The Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), 1990 is active in the Valley and it has been repeatedly abused causing havoc to women.

Younger respondents (up to 35 years of age) from Migrant Townships were fairly educated while the older ones could barely complete primary school. Most of the higher educated Kashmiris have moved out of the Migrant Townships and are pursuing settled careers elsewhere in India and abroad. The Quota system (reservation of seats) and fee concessions for Kashmiri migrants in academia have helped the younger generation to avail education and establish meaningful careers and life outside the conflict-ridden state of Jammu & Kashmir. The lesser educated stayed back in the townships. As per Census 2011 Report the literacy rate of women in J&K is 49% as compared to male literacy rate which is 77%. Total literacy rate of J&K is 67% while the national average is 74%. More than half of the women in the state are illiterate. Those who are educated are merely able to write their names and many did not even complete primary education. Some of the younger respondents are pursuing some jobs either in the private or public sectors. The incomes, though, are insufficient.

Mr. Ashok Bhat, who is a primary school teacher and a member of Jagti Township Welfare Committee, and his wife Teja Bhat expressed the concerns of Kashmiri

Pandits residing there. They expressed that people with some jobs were, somehow, able to meet their daily needs bare minimum. Those who failed to get any jobs have to sustain with INR 3000 p.m. per family as Relief pension and a stipulated amount of food provisions (rice, wheat and pulses) granted by the Central government at New Delhi. The total amount of free ration provided to each family is about 25kgs per month. In an average family of five members, each one gets only five Kgs of grains per month. The residents, Teja Bhat said, are leading a subsistence living without any savings. When the author contacted residents of the Jagti and Purkhoo Townships they also narrated similar accounts. Though the Central Government is carrying out a sustained policy to rehabilitate the migrants (providing them with two-room houses is one such step in this direction) yet, they are grossly inadequate. The residents visualize generations of suffering in future times to come. They can hardly aspire for a bright future given the difficult conditions that envelope them. Residents also confirmed, rather with lament, that the J&K State Government does not offer any monetary or material help to the migrants. They look forward only to the Central Government at New Delhi for any financial grants, compensation, pension or material help. Such opinions bring to centre-stage debates on the relevance of Article 370. The situation of Kashmiri migrants is very precarious as they feel abandoned and marginalized in their very own State. The men of the township have unanimous opinion that if all Kashmiri Pandits are given houses in a common township/neighborhood they would like to return to the Valley. If they are scattered in the region they would feel insecure as that situation would portend future communal terrorist onslaughts even if those resurrect after decades or generations. Women respondents, however, are completely averse to the idea. They lamented that women do not have much say in decision-making and that they will have to meekly follow their husbands if the latter decided to move. Women expressed strong hatred for Muslim men.

Women did not want a separate state of Kashmir, neither were they inclined towards merging with Pakistan. The concept of '*Azadi*' (Separatism) is meaningless for them. They wanted personal freedom and liberation from crime, violence and drudgery of patriarchy. The condition (educational status) of Pandits has improved slightly because of Kashmiri Migrant Quota of Reservation System in colleges and universities throughout the country. Muslims, however, have severely lagged behind.

'*Whither Kashmiriyat*?: If *Kashmiriyat* is about religious tolerance between Hindus, Muslims and other communities and if it connotes cultural harmony and love of neighbors then, such *Kashmiriyat* had been betrayed and slain forever. Acts of treachery have betrayed the Pandit community and put them in situations of comparative disadvantage for generations to come. The composite culture (*Kashmiriyat*) is fragmented and gone. The meaning of *Kashmiriyat* has changed completely for Pandit migrants. They imagine it to be something over which Pandits have propriety and the shades of other communities have faded away from the canvas. In their minds there is deep entrenched hatred for Muslims. The women respondents claim that their lands, houses, orchards and other valuables have been either taken away or destroyed by Muslims during the pogrom. Their Muslim neighbors showed inaction in defending them against Islamist terrorist attacks. Not only this, but when women were being assaulted or murdered nobody came for rescue. They claimed that life was, at least, peaceful in Migrant Townships in Jammu. Though, there were other difficulties. Women respondents expressed that their lives could never be the same again as because the Pandit community has been rendered vulnerable in history. They

could be attacked any time in distant future. The women respondents expressed the pain of living as refugees in their very own country.

Kashmir's traditional composite culture was patriarchal and flawed. In such a *Kashmiriyat* the spaces for women were very restrictive. Women never had much say in important familial and social decision-making. Women did not wield power in society. That is why terrorism could sweep the Valley in total rampage. It was a bloody theatrical show of the men, by the men and for the men! Women were used and consumed as mere things in the conflagration of terrorism. New *Kashmiriyat* must emerge discursively through consciousness of women. Women's consciousness should be strong enough to counter terrorist consciousness. It will be a confrontation of patriarchal domination through speech and action. Unless women speak up and rise they face the potential threat of assault any time in future again. The assurances from and approaches of a patriarchal society and polity cannot be trusted.

The Valley is marked by conspicuous absence of flourishing industry, commerce, business, services and sustainable development all of which are essential for a post-industrial/postmodern society. This does not preclude, in any case, the surge of *postmodern feminist consciousness*, therein. No mountains, rivers, guns, bombs and laws could ever prevent the march of an *awakened feminist consciousness*. Patriarchal society and polity are not dichotomous but, two faces of the same monster. Tackling terrorism at the policy level of Governments is one thing and addressing gender issues is, another. The epistemological issue of women's degraded condition needs to be critically analyzed by women writers, intellectuals and academics. A body of women intellectuals exists and more women should actively join the *intellectual agency* cutting across all social categories (caste, class, region, religion, language, culture etc) and specific identities. This situation is not equivalent to uniting women thinkers into some kind of '*sisterhood of like-minded women*' sharing similar thoughts but, rather, to have unique membership (and identity) in intellectual agency where differences/diversities of opinion are welcome for various types of reflections to address gender issues. It will be a *sisterhood of diverse intellectuals* based on principles of distinct intellectual integrity, individual identity and difference. Their geographical location and sites of public and intellectual activity would also be as diverse as possible. It will be a sisterhood not in the sense Liberal, Marxist, Socialist, Radical or Cultural feminists would define. The idea of sisterhood in postmodern sense would not be a homogeneous category of women oppressed by patriarchy but a large congregation/membership of women with differing thoughts, activities, identities and orientations engaging in discursive analysis of patriarchy and social change. Through their speech and action they are engaging in the act and process of 'becoming' a person who would, eventually, be free and liberated from tyranny of patriarchy.

Gender networking sites, if we may so choose to call them could be one of the path-breaking manifestations of a contemporary postmodern feminist condition. While it is imperative that intellectuals share their work with the world not only through print media but, also through internet mass media yet such possibilities are fraught with hiccups like profits and related concerns. *Gender Studies Portals* will act, cataclysmically, like various intellectual agencies for new social movements and change that we seek. Women's Intellectual Agencies could be located in these Gender

Studies Portals and also in various exclusive women-only discussion forums, clubs and organizations.

The insurmountable difficulties that arise because 'women' are not a homogeneous category could still be overcome with proper insights and interventions. The fundamental premise here is to empower women at all levels from urban, *cosmopolitan corridors of literati* to the rural, grassroots. Rural, poor women could escape the drudgery and crude assault of patriarchy by membership of Self Help Groups (SHGs) which are avenues to generate income and share thoughts, ideas and experiences. The author suggests here that these groups should actively engage in generating awareness and confidence, in participatory democratic processes and legal problem resolution (activism). The fact that women are leading lives of captives in their homes cut off from the world outside makes them vulnerable to various torture, oppression and crimes against them. India should have an exclusive national gender database and so must all the states and union territories. Just like Unique Identification Number (UIN/ Aadhar) every single woman and girl must be issued *Unique Gender Identification Number (UGIN)* which ought to be linked up with gender specific services, helplines and other meaningful activities. UGIN should have the viability of UIN but with additional benefits and features. UGIN will acknowledge the separateness of women from men and create an active avenue of 'exchange' of different things among women. In the postmodern feminist grain the author suggests here acknowledging the 'difference' among various women and also about difference/separateness from men.

The basic idea is to create as many distinct spaces for women as possible—schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, business ventures, retail shops, cinemas, theatres, shopping malls, police stations, welfare agencies, places of worship and many more. It is necessary to annihilate orthodoxy and patriarchal domination by creation of independent choices, avenues and spaces for women. Such spaces, no matter how disjointed they may be, yet, should be dynamically linked up (networking) to stay connected at all times, everywhere. It may not be, theoretically, possible to know all women by their faces or names and yet, there should be an active mechanism to stay connected psychologically and otherwise. Psychologically, no woman should feel left out in the jungle to the wolves! Such psychological sense of security has to be physically translated through multidimensional approaches, mechanisms, infrastructure and social action as a way of 'becoming' a woman (person). All this will counter patriarchy at home and outside; it will alter gender-relations by casting a dent in the male-psyche. What will emerge as a result is *transformed Kashmiriyat* which could prove greatly successful in preventing horrific crimes against women that Kashmir had witnessed. Women should be active 'doers' or torchbearers for bringing about a dynamic process of social change. The Kashmiri model could be, eventually, replicated elsewhere in India and the world, whether or not hit by terrorism.

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