

EFFECT OF NEW MEDIA ON REPORTING CONFLICT IN KASHMIR

Iram Rizvi

Post-Doctoral Fellow, Department of Department of Communication and Journalism, Arts College, Osmania University Hyderabad, India. Email: iramenator@gmail.com

Abstract *From the onset of ongoing conflict in Kashmir since 1989, the region has attracted tremendous media attention. Whether it is national media or international media, the news related to Kashmir conflict has never ceased to die. For whatever the outside world knows about Kashmir conflict or the perspective that people have about Kashmir, the credit goes to media. However, at the same time, what is reported from Kashmir is not always based on reality. And this type of coverage has increased mistrust and frustration against the media in the people of Kashmir. In order to tell the world the stories which are either left out or ignored by the mainstream media, they are uploaded through the Internet on social networking sites like YouTube, Facebook, WhatsApp groups by the new generation of techno-savvy youth of Kashmir, which are recognised as 'Cyber activists'. The present paper is an attempt figure out the role of new media technology in highlighting ongoing conflict in Kashmir.*

Methodology: *This study based is on secondary sources available and attempts to understand the usage of new media tools like social networking sites during 2010, 2014, and 2016 uprisings in Kashmir. The study will adopt a broader approach in studying the emergence of Cyber activism during these uprisings and the debates they generated online.*

Keywords: *Conflict, Communication, Kashmir, New Media*

INTRODUCTION

Media play an immense role during conflict from informing people about the situation to creating and shaping their perception about the ongoing conflict. The places where we cannot go physically to witness the situation due to various reasons our first-hand knowledge is through media. The media practitioners and owners argue that they show what audience wants to see and hear. While covering the conflict, many things affect the coverage, e.g., the journalists' perception of conflict, opinion, and beliefs based on their own experience (Høiby & Ottosen 2017). Since the very beginning, the role of media in conflict has attracted a number of scholars, from Galtung, Noam Chomsky, Gadi Wolfsfeld, Hoskins, O'Laughlin, and to Ilan Pappé; these are a few to name who have studied various aspects of media and conflict relationship.

The media have been rightly called double-edged sword. It can inform the people about the situation but at times be a weapon of violence when the messages are communicated to incite violence and propagate messages of intolerance to the public (Howard, 2002). It is often seen the role of media is more destructive than constructive. Peace journalism scholar, Gadi Wolfsfeld, notes the media tend to favour four values: immediacy, drama, simplicity, and ethnocentrism. Considering the focus of media on the events relating to conflict, these four values play an important role to shift

media's attention towards the event, which makes it difficult to use the media for peace (Wolfsfeld, 2004). Some scholars argue that media sometimes become a tool to pursue the goals of conservative and corporate interests (Kumar, 2006).

Studying the role of conflict is also important to figure out how conflict has benefited the news organisations and birth of new organisation, as is seen in the case of Gulf War. During the Iraqi Gulf War, the only news channel reporting was CNN as other reporters had been expelled by the then president of Iraq. What rest of world knew about the war was through CNN. The dominant images provided by CNN were reported giving only one perspective and not really getting access to the civilian population affected by the warfare. The Arab world refused to be subjected only to Western images during crises and wars (Figenschou, 2004). They needed the media that could report from ground without being embedded with the US Army, the stories of people that were provided by Al Jazeera. The dominant position of CNN during the Gulf War was the most important reason for establishing Al-Jazeera in 2006. Soon, other news channels rushed to cover the Iraq war. The propaganda victory of the Gulf War has been called 'a triumph for the image' (Mowlana et al., 1992).

Media have a certainly very important role to play in conflict situations. The nature of that role - as a perpetuator of a conflict or agent for peace - largely depends on the framing and agenda setting of the media. If the agenda of the media is non-violence and the framing is peace-oriented aimed to

reduce the conflict and support the rapprochement, it can de-escalate the violence and influence the public opinion towards resolving conflict (Lynch & Galtung, 2010).

In current scenario after the conflict is over and when mainstream media shift the attention towards the issues other than conflict, the role of disseminating stories is taken up by 'Cyber Activists' through their new media technological tools like tablets, mobile phones, CDs, etc. The so-called techno-savvy people or cyber activists upload and share the images, videos left out by the mainstream media. This trend was seen in ongoing unrest in Middle East and Arab spring uprising. Activists across the Middle East from Syria and Egypt to Bahrain and Yemen seemed to demonstrate remarkable attributes of cyber activism. Most of the young, well-educated, urban, techno-savvy people uploaded and shared images and videos on Facebook, Twitter, and other social networking sites. Most of them shared a common political vocabulary, a common disdain for both regimes and established opposition elites, and a broad pan-Arab political identity. They followed one another's political struggles on the Internet and in real life (Aday et al., 2010).

The present study focuses on the role of new media technology during the 2008, 2010, and 2016 uprisings in Kashmir.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Indo-Pak relationship with regard to Kashmir discontent has generated a good deal of scholarly literature. The origin of ongoing conflict in Kashmir dates back during the time of partition in history - whether it is of post-1947 political, military, and diplomatic events, or of the different streams of nationalism that gathered strength from the late nineteenth century, or of the Hindu-Muslim interaction that goes back twelve centuries. Today, roughly one-third of the western part of Kashmir is administered by Pakistan and the remainder by India (Rizvi, 2014).

According to Prem Nath Bazaz, there is no denying that the partition of the subcontinent on religious grounds had alienated the Kashmiris from India and strengthened their pro-Pakistan proclivities since the time of accession. Balraj Puri also deals with the controversy of accession in his work, '*Kashmir: Towards Insurgency*' (Puri, 1993). After receiving the acceptance from Maharaja, Mountbatten once more stated that: "the accession should be confirmed by a reference to the people, consistently (sic) with their policy that, in the case of any state where the issue of accession has been a subject of dispute, the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State". The plebiscite was also accepted and supported by the United Nations council. On its resolution of 13 August 1948, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP)

appointed by the United Nations Security Council proposed to determine the future status of Jammu & Kashmir, "in accordance with the will of the people". However, plebiscite never happened till now. Moreover, the road from accession onwards was never smooth and further complicated the relationship of state with the centre, the effect of which can be relying even now. The roots of ongoing conflict since 1989 can be found in the past when the referendum was promised. Violence in the region has escalated since 1989 but the situation improved towards normalcy till 2005. However, after 2008, the situation in Kashmir has become more complicated than before. The uprising in 2008 erupted after state government announced transfer of forest land to Amarnath Shrine Board (The Greater Kashmir, 2008). Then again in 2009 strikes were seen against the twin rape and murder in a town in the South of Kashmir that continued for the whole summer. Then again in 2010, strikes and protests carried out by civilians were held for almost the entire year against the killings of teenagers by the national forces (Malik, 2010). Since then, repeated strikes and curfews are observed in the valley. Then again a long spell of unrest was experienced by the people of Kashmir after 2016 the killing of Burhan Wani, a commander of the Kashmir-based Islamic militant organisation, Hizbul Mujahideen by Indian forces on 8 July 2016 (Indian Express, 2016). Due to uncontrollable unrest, curfew was imposed which continued for 53 (Greater Kashmir, 2016). But the protestors broke the curfew; in response, the Kashmir Police and Indian paramilitary forces used rubber bullets, tear gas, and pellet guns to disperse the mob. But the counterinsurgency programme resulted in the deaths of more than 90 civilians, with over 15,000 civilians being injured (Yasir, 2017). The 2016 uprising not only severed the relationship between the people of Kashmir with the centre, but has also enlarged the differences between them.

HOW MEDIA PORTRAYS KASHMIR CONFLICT

There are more than 80 local dailies in Kashmir alone and more than 20 national dailies with their offices reporting Kashmir news every day. In addition, there are local, national, and international broadcast media and news agencies that update the rest of world about Kashmir (Hussein, 2009). During peak militancy in 1990s, at least one news item was reported from Kashmir in national newspapers but had created a fatigue in the rest of the world due to other ongoing and more important conflicts in world. After the 2008 uprising, the trend has reversed. Kashmir has once again resurfaced in international and national media. Stone pelting, mass protest, and pellet victims are being reported regularly from Kashmir.

But when it comes to the role played by mainstream media to portray Kashmir, the response is not impressive. During peak militancy in played by mainstream media has made the people of Kashmir hostile towards the media persons and the former feel unhappy about the coverage given to the conflict (Naik, 2008).

Tavleen Singh, a veteran Indian journalist, writes in her book, *'Kashmir: A Tragedy of Errors'* that: *"The national press, out of misguided patriotism, has always chosen to tell the national public less than the whole truth about Kashmir (Singh, 1996).*

Teresa Joseph (2000) in her research found that human rights violation and other restrictions are seldom covered by mainstream media. The widespread killing of people, torture, extra-judicial killings, mass rapes, and major massacres perpetrated by state forces to suppress political gatherings and other rights violations have either been completely blacked out or found only passing mentions by the mainstream newspapers.

The national media generally follows the official lines when reporting about the Kashmir conflict. Instead of questioning militarisation or examining the reason of pro-freedom sentiments prevalent in the region, the media have usually repeated the government's security-centric line, emphasising that Kashmir is an integral part of India, the present unrest in Kashmir is Pakistani-sponsored, and the military is fighting Pakistan-sponsored militants (Rehman, 2005).

The local media cover the conflict with relation to the history of Jammu & Kashmir accession, demand for plebiscite with the local point of view. The local media highlight the various aspects of conflict such as, the migrations within and beyond the valley, encounters, combats, human rights abuses, and the causalities (Geelani, 2016). On the other hand, the national media, which are the only source of information for the rest of country, report the situation with partial approach, within the parameters of official policy, and ignoring anything, howsoever closer to reality, which hurts the interests of India as a nation or is in breach of the official policy (Khalid, 2016).

This has created a public anger against national media including some Hindi news channels. This in turn has made situation difficult for the local journalists to work properly as people on the ground don't differentiate between journalists and can't tell who works for whom (Maqbool, 2016).

Issues of Journalists Working in Kashmir

Since the early years of ongoing conflict, the journalists in Kashmir are subjected to pressures and intimidations. When they write about the militants, they are accused of glorifying the militants; similarly, when they carry official statements in

their stories, they are branded as government agents. It does not limit to only accusations but the journalists are disgraced in society to be subjected to life-threatening attacks (Kanwal, 2001). Since the early years of ongoing conflict in Kashmir from 1989, at least 10 journalists have been killed on duty. During the recent uprisings, the journalists faced hostility from every corner be it separatist organisations, government, protesters, which made it difficult for them to perform their duties. Even after reporting from ground zero to cover the human rights violation happening in Kashmir which is part of their duty of the local journalists, they were cornered by the state government with laws like Public Safety Act (PSA) and the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (Tarfe, 2016). The local media organisations are squeezed between state and non-state actors. And if any news report goes against any party, say separatist organisation or state government, then they are immediately dealt with notices and warnings issued to refrain from publishing such reports in future.

In 2010 and 2013, local newspapers were banned from publishing by the state government on the pretext of publishing content which is antinational and anti-establishment. The authorities refused to grant media employees any exemption when curfews were in force (Reporters sans Frontiers). Similar trend was seen in 2016 when a local English daily, *Kashmir Reader*, was asked to stop publication on October 2, 2016. The newspaper was banned by the state authorities saying that its contents incite violence and disturb public peace and tranquillity (Al-Jazeera, 2016). The movement of journalists was restricted to making impossible for them to deliver their duties. After gathering information from field for a news story, it had become impossible for journalists to file the stories in their offices because of security restrictions. Even the journalists working for the national media were denied of 'press' curfew passes by the state authorities and had to resort to ingenuous methods and excuses for getting general passes meant for civilians (Hasan, 2011). Hence, the journalists in Kashmir work on razor edge to deliver their duties.

EFFECT OF NEW MEDIA ON KASHMIR CONFLICT

The Internet services were introduced in the Kashmir Valley during 1994-95 by Bharat Sanchar Nigam limited (BSNL). Since then, the usage of the Internet has affected every sphere of life. New media technology tools like the Internet, smartphones, and social media have made dissemination of information convenient and fast without any censorship. The techno-savvy youth have exploited the technology in every possible way to report events, while it is still going on. The so-called 'Cyber Activists' in the valley capture the action live. The incidents like mass protests, stone pelting, images of pellet victims, videos of militant actions, and videos of

alleged excesses by security forces have brought a paradigm shift in the dominant narrative of the Kashmir's conflict (Abhishek, 2017).

The usage is not limited to media practitioners but the youth who are enthusiastic to report as citizen journalists to report about the mass protestors, stone pelting incidents, militant, and army encounters. They now shoot videos of clashes and upload them onto social media almost in real time. Because the cyber activists or citizen journalists are not concerned with censorship or media ethics and laws, they are becoming a major headache for the administration. Yet, the citizen journalists argue that they have chosen to show dissent online because the present democracy isn't working and making the situation more complex (Abhishek, 2017).

The events or incidents which were limited to the particular region only in the past can now make global headlines, e.g., a video of Kashmiri man who was tied to an army van as a human shield on 9 April 2017 went viral on YouTube. The footage sparked condemnation from human rights groups and forced government ministers to attempt to justify an apparent violation of international law (Safi, 2017). The new media technology has turned young techno-savvy people into 'cyber activists'. The mobile technology has started a new trend in Kashmir.

The passion for cyber activism goes beyond clicking photos and capturing videos; however, they search for scoops, anything interesting and important that could attract maximum hits. Sanjana in her write up '*Capturing violent conflict in Kashmir with mobile phones*' writes: "lot of young people move around the city to capture recordings but their mobiles to tell world what is happening in Kashmir, giving boon to citizen journalism" (Sanjana, 2008).

These cyber activists through new media have found a way to crack down on dissent in Kashmir, which has gone far beyond its previous record of gagging voices in the valley by the establishment. The grievance or the opinion that was not heard before or had been left out by the mainstream media has been amplified by social media. The information which mainstream media failed to disseminate due to various pressures and reason had created void which is now filled by these cyber activists. Through the social networking sites and groups on Facebook, all Kashmiris are connected virtually over a common social platform, sharing their views, comments, and condition of their areas. During 2008, 2010, and 2016 uprisings, whether it was the militants putting up warnings or the non-violent people organising a peaceful protest, it helped to organise the protesters in Kashmir and became an expression for all strains of Kashmiris (Khan & Smith, 2016).

The Internet has provided the opportunity for cyber activists and citizen journalists who are conversant with the medium to express their views about a number of issues. In many

cases groups have been formed by likeminded people who discuss and debate over a number of decisions on the part of the government and seek new ideas for way ahead. The power of the Internet can be easily judged from the developments in Egypt in recent times. Social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter were used to garner support against the regime of President Hosni Mubarak (Gustin, 2011).

During the 2011 Arab Uprising, some of cyber enthusiasts, such as Philip Howard and Muzammil Hussain (Howard & Hussain, 2011), argued that: "the Internet, mobile phones, and social media such as Facebook and Twitter made the difference this time. Using these technologies, people interested in democracy build extensive networks, create social capital, and organize political action with a speed and on a scale never seen before. Digital media became the tool that allowed social movements to reach once-unachievable goals." Cyberskeptics such as Malcolm Gladwell argue instead that the revolutions were driven primarily by traditional forms of political organisation and motivated by familiar grievances. Revolutions and protests, they argued, have happened for centuries without being updated in real-time on Twitter (Gladwell, 2010).

Even after the when violent clashes in Kashmir between protestors and the Indian security forces might be over. The clippings and the photos which were uploaded on the Internet. The incidents remained afresh in the minds of people generating debates and discussions on social networking sites. The new media during the conflicts have become a tool where youth are using social media to continue to air their grievances and advance their cause.

The growing popularity of social networking sites among the masses in Kashmir can be accessed from the findings of the report explained by former IGP (CID) of the Kashmir police to a leading national daily that, the usage of social media which was only 25% rose to 30% in 2014 and to 70% in 2015 (Thakur, 2016).

Moeed Yusuf, director of South Asia programs at USIP on the increasing usage of social media among protestors says: "Social media has proved to be paradigm shifter in terms of the tools available to protestors in Kashmir. They no longer need to take illegal measures to protest straight away. Rather, Facebook, Twitter, and the like have allowed them space to share information, plan protests, and raise awareness in completely legal ways" (Yusuf, 2010).

According to a senior journalist, the Kashmiri youth are using social media to document the actions of the Indian security forces against the protestors and stone paltors, which they protest in the presence of, and to coordinate with, each other. Youth also see the Internet as a way to make visible what is happening in Kashmir to the international community (Islam, 2016).

Due to the emergence of new media technology, the present-day militants have found better ways to connect with people and inspire youth to join them. Unlike the shadowy militants of the 1990s, Kashmir's new crop of anti-India fighters are WhatsApp warriors, achieving with selfies what they have struggled to do with guns. In the hands of young Kashmiris, the Internet has become a weapon: images of dissent met by teargas and bullets in the street are flourishing online (Safi, 2016).

During the unrest in Kashmir, platforms like Facebook and WhatsApp were used to organise meetings, broadcast information about protests and casualties, and urge people to donate blood where it's needed. Activists flooded the sites like Twitter using the hash tags #Kashmir Unrest #Kashmir Siege, and #Kashmir Now.

The usage of social media is not limited to cyber activists but politicians of the both countries India and Pakistan resorted to Twitter to express their opinions. Hash tags like #UnitedAgainstPak and #Frustrated India were trending in the two nuclear-armed neighbours to put blame on each other for the violence in Kashmir.

To control protestors who were connected and updated through the Internet and curb activity of sharing videos and images that intensify the crisis, the Internet services had been banned in region many times. But the people would search for other ways to remain connected through the Internet. If one VPN is blocked, the people would find another VPN to upload pictures and post comments on Facebook.

When the valley faced complete shutting down of the Internet, popularly known as 'E-curfew', the bloggers and cyber activists living outside the valley undertook the role of updating world about the happenings in Kashmir. One of the active bloggers and cyber activists, Basharat Ali, in an interview to a news website during 2016 uprising, after the authorities imposed complete shutdown of the Internet, said, "as the mobile services are blocked for more than two months, whatever is reported on social media is done by Kashmiris living outside" (Islam, 2016).

Hence, new media played a pivotal role in reporting conflict in Kashmir. It provided a platform for exchange of relevant information, opinions, and media convergence. One of the reasons for the popularity of new media is its global access, lack of direct censorship which is seen in traditional media (Yulia, 2017). The growth of new media has proved competition, as well as an ally of traditional media because of its accessibility and the acceleration of dissemination of information within seconds.

The emergence of citizen journalists' has indeed affected the mainstream journalist in being quicker to inform and reporting from the ground. But many journalists like Shams Irfan of English weekly Kashmir Life are of the opinion

that the news uploaded by these cyber activists or citizen journalists is not always actually correct. "What they upload is a raw footage without providing a background and comments from the parties involved. Sometimes when they send stories to our newspaper for publication and when the facts about the stories before publishing are cross checked, the story is not based on research but mere rumours or assumptions" (personal interview February, 2017).

CONCLUSION

Considering the situation in Kashmir and the state of unpredictability, dissemination of information is a must. One cannot deny the role of media in informing the world about Kashmir. The attention the region has gathered has been made possible only due to extensive coverage given by the media. But at the same time, the fact remains what outside world knows about Kashmir is only tip of an iceberg. There is a vacuum of information that has to reach to the other regions then Kashmir, so that they have better perspective of prevailing conditions of Kashmir, which the mainstream media are unable to achieve due to various reasons and pressures. In this condition, the new media have proved a better option to fill the vacuum created by mainstream media. The transfer of information or news is convenient, direct, and swift. Within the seconds, the images and videos are uploaded as the incidents are happening. The new media have given a tool to the cyber activists to voice which they feel had been left out by mainstream media.

REFERENCES

- Jazeera, Al. (2016). Kashmir newspaper banned for inciting violence. Retrieved 25 January 2017
<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/10/kashmir-newspaper-banned-inciting-violence-161003061348246.html>
- Alieva, Y. (n.d.). The Role of the Mass Media in International Political Processes: The Syrian Conflict under Review. PhD Thesis School of International Relations, Chair of Conflictology, Public Relations and Journalism, Pyatigorsk State Linguistic University. Retrieved from https://www.pglu.ru/upload/iblock/d4f/alieva_en.pdf, retrieved on 24/12/17
- Bazaz, P. N. (1978). *The untold story of Kashmir politics: Democracy through intimidation and terror*. Gulshan Books, Srinagar, Kashmir.
- Figenschou, T. U. (2004). Courting, criticism, censorship and bombs, a study of the relationship between Al Jazeera Channel and the U.S. administration during the Iraq War 2003. Master's thesis in journalism, University of Oslo.
- Geelani, G. (2016). How India is censoring the Kashmir story daily O. 16 July 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.>

- dailyo.in/politics/kashmir-crisis-curfew-burhan-wani-hizbul-newspaper-offices-seized-greater-rising-kashmir-story/1/11795.html)
- Gustin, S. (2011). Social Media Sparked, Accelerated Egypt's Revolutionary Fire. *Wired*. 2 November, 2011. Retrieved from <https://www.wired.com/2011/02/egypts-revolutionary-fire/>
- Hasan, R. (2011). Journalism in Kashmir: Law & Practice. A Thesis Submitted to The University of Kashmir for the Award of the Degree Of Doctor Of Philosophy in Mass Communication and Journalism, Media Education Research Centre University of Kashmir Srinagar
- Høiby, M., & Ottosen, R. (2017). Journalism under pressure in conflict zones: A study of journalists and editors in seven countries. *Media, War & Conflict*, 1750635217728092. Retrieved from <https://oda.hioa.no/nb/samlinger/asset/dspace:14796/Main%20document.pdf>
- Howard, R. (2002). Media and Peace Building. Retrieved from www.gppac.com/.../Media.../p1_1_operational.htm
- Hussein, M. (2009). *Mass Media & Kashmir in 1900s*. The Word press. June 16, 2009. Retrieved from <https://kashmirian.wordpress.com/2009/06/16/mass-media-kashmir-in-1900s>
- Indian Express. (2016). Hizbul Mujahideen 'poster boy' Burhan Wani killed in joint encounter". 8 July 2016 Interview in person with Shams Irfan in Srinagar. February 2017.
- Kumar, D. (2006). *Media, war, and propaganda: Strategies of information management during the 2003 Iraq war*. Rutledge, Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies
- Islam, A. (2016). How Indian and Pakistani media are covering Kashmir unrest. *Deutsche Welle*. 20.09.2016. Retrieved from <http://www.dw.com/en/how-Indian-and-pakistani-media-are-covering-kashmir-unrest/a-19562791>
- Teresa, J. (2000). Kashmir, Human Rights and the Indian Press. *Contemporary South Asia*, 9(1), 41-55. DOI: 10.1080/713658719. 2000.
- Joshi, S. (2005). Withdraw Army from Kashmir, says Arundhati Roy. *The Hindu*. Aug 31, 2005. Retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/2005/08/31/stories/2005083112711600.htm>
- Khan, W. S., & Smith, A. (2016). Kashmir Separatists Turn to Face book, WhatsApp in Fight Against India, NBC News. July 24 2016. Retrieved From <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/kashmir-separatists-turn-facebook-whatsapp-fight-against-india-n614786>
- Lynch, J., & Galtung, J. (2010). *Reporting conflict: New directions in peace journalism*. Australia: University of Queensland Press.
- Gladwell, M. (2010). Small change: Why the revolutions will not be tweeted. *New Yorker*, October 4, 2010. Retrieved from www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/10/04/101004fa_fact_gladwell
- Mowlana, H., Gerbner, G., & Schiller, H. eds. (1992). *Triumph of the image*. Boulder: Westview
- Naik, R. H. (2016). 2008, 2010, 2016: The Years May Have Changed, But in Kashmir the State Brutality Remains the Same.
- Two Circles.net. July 18, 2016. Retrieved from <http://twocircles.net/2016jul18/1468823811.html>
- Howard, P. N., & Hussain, M. M. (2011). The role of digital media. *Journal of Democracy*, 22(3), 35-36.
- Puri, B. (1993). *Kashmir: Towards insurgency*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Rehman, S. (2005). The Media's Role in Kashmir. Islamabad March 2005. Retrieved from <http://sherryrehman.com/the-medias-role-in-kashmir-2005/>
- Rizvi, I. (2014). In defence of vernacular press, its future and challenges in Kashmir. *Shabd Braham* ISSN: 2320-0871. *International Research Journal of Indian languages* 17 December 2014. Retrieved from <http://shabdbraham.com/ShabdB/archive/v3i2/sbd-v3-i2-sn2.pdf> retrieved on 25/10/2016
- Safi, M. (2017). WhatsApp warriors on the new frontline of Kashmir's conflict. *The Guardian*. July 8, 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/08/kashmir-whatsapp-warriors-frontline-conflict-india>
- Saha, A. (2017). Let's talk about Kashmir: Social media has been a game changer, and militants have a head start. *Hindustan Times*. Jul 07, 2017. Retrieved from <http://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/let-s-talk-about-kashmir-social-media-has-been-a-game-changer-and-militants-have-a-head-start/story-Yem7Pqmq9xayv-vf6eaF3L.html> retrieved on 12/10/2017
- Sameer, Y. (2017). Kashmir unrest: What was the real death toll in the state in 2016? *The First Post*. Jan, 02 2017. Retrieved from <http://www.firstpost.com/india/kashmir-unrest-what-was-the-real-death-toll-in-the-state-in-2016-3183290.html>,
- Sandhu, K. K. (2017). Cycle of violence in Kashmir: Spike in civilian deaths, injuries to security forces in Valley India today. Retrieved <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/jammu-kashmir-civilian-deaths-injuries-to-security-forces-valley/1/915526.html>
- Sanjana. (2008). Capturing violent conflict in Kashmir with mobile phones. Retrieved from <https://ict4peace.wordpress.com/2008/09/21/capturing-violent-conflict-in-kashmir-with-mobile-phones/>
- Aday, S., Farrell, H., Lynch, M., & George, J. S. (2010). Washington University John Kelly Morningside Analytics Ethan Zuckerman Berkman Center for Internet and Society, 2010 Blogs and Bullets new media in contentious

- politics by the United States Institute of Peace. Retrieved from <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/pw65.pdf> & <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/120788/pw65.pdf>
- Khan, W. S., & Smith, A. (2016). Kashmir Separatists Turn to Facebook, WhatsApp in Fight Against India JUL 24 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/kashmir-separatists-turn-facebook-whatsapp-fight-against-india-n614786>
- Singh, T. (1996). *Kashmir: A tragedy of errors*, p. 38. India. Penguin: Books.
- Tarfe, A. (2016). The Problem with Media's Patriotic Coverage of Jammu and Kashmir. Youth ki Awaz. 16 June 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.youthkiawaz.com/2016/06/press-coverage-of-jammu-kashmir/>
- Thakur, S. (2016). Making of a Social- Media Militant. The Telegraph. July 11, 2016. Retrieved from https://www.telegraphindia.com/1160711/jsp/frontpage/story_96017.jsp#.V5IDj-IrIdW
- The Greater Kashmir. (2008). Amarnath land row - Chronology of events, Aug 19 2008. Retrieved from <http://www.greaterkashmir.com/news/gk-magazine/amarnath-land-row-chronology-of-events/38658.html>
- The Greater Kashmir. (2016). Curfew lifted from entire Kashmir valley, says Div Com. *Greater Kashmir*. 31 August 2016. Retrieved 31 August 2016
- The Kashmir Monitor. (2016). Kashmir Separatists turn to Face book, WhatsApp. July 26, 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.kashmirmonitor.in/Details/107296/kashmir-separatists-turn-to-facebook-whatsapp> retrieved on 27 March 2017.
- Wolfsfeld, G. (2004). Media and the path to peace. New York: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from http://www.wilsoncenter.org/Hamelink_subsites/ccpdc/pubs/media/medfr.htm, p. 13. Retrieved on January 21, 2002.