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انور

[UN]WAR

SPATIAL PLANNING AND STRATEGIES
FOR SOCIAL COHESION
IN THE KASHMIR VALLEY, INDIA

مقامی منصوبہ بندی اور حکمت عملی سماجی ہم آہنگی کے ائے ہندوستان کشمیر وادی میں

NINAD SANSARE

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cover GRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION BY AUTHOR original photo KASHMIRI MUSLIM PROTESTERS PREPARE TO THROW STONES AT INDIAN POLICE AND PARAMILITARY MEN DURING CLASHES IN DOWNTOWN AREA OF SRINAGAR, THE SUMMER CAPITAL OF INDIAN KASHMIR (EPA/FAROOQ KHAN)









Dedicated

to that

entire generation of

Kashmiri people

who lost everything

in the war

and

to that

each and every person

in the Kashmir

who still possess

the hope for better future

وقف
اس كو
پورى نسل
پورى نسل
كشمير كے لوگ
جو سب كچھ كھو ديا
جنگ ميں
اور
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پر ايک شخص
جو بھى اب بھى ہے
بېتر مستقبل كى اميد



ABSTRACT

Planning in a conflict region is considered as one of the challenging discourses of urbanism due to extreme geopolitical and societal conditions. This research-design project addresses spatial planning, policies, and design in the contested areas, through the case of Kashmir which is a disputed geopolitical region between India and Pakistan. Due to this, political and cultural conflict emerge in the region resulting in underdevelopment and social fragmentation. In order to understand the theoretical aspects of conflict and urbanism, the major part of this thesis is dedicated to the literature review. In which literature by several urban scholars on this topic as well as policies by the Indian government and State government of Jammu and Kashmir has been analyzed. Which leads to the problem formulation for the thesis which constitutes and find out the missing link between current planning practices and cultural conflict in the region, in order to further assist in the conflict mitigation. Also, the analysis has been done by various methods like comparative analysis, Empirical analysis, field visit to understand the planning and governance system in Kashmir. This analysis resulted in finding spatial opportunities as an urbanist to develop the region. Finally, this project aims to create a strategic framework to achieve social cohesion in the area by altering the current planning practices and giving design interventions.

Keywords:

Contested cities, Cultural conflict, Urban planning in India, Governance, Geopolitices, Srinagar, Kashmir

PROJECT SUMMARY

This research design project is a product of the one-year holistic experience of a master's thesis in Urbanism department of Delft University of Technology, Netherlands. This thesis revolves around the political and social conflict in the Northern most state of India, Jammu and Kashmir and its impact of the urban environment of the region of Kashmir. It aims to design a strategic framework and vision for spatial planning and design practices in the region, addressing the effects of conflict and achieving social cohesion amongst contesting communities.

This project is structured in for significant parts which are theoretical understanding of conflict and urbanism, lesson learnings from comparative case studies, analysis of Kashmir region, and urban spatial strategy designing. Various methods are used during this process majorly based on qualitative data available makes this research design project an exploratory thesis project resulted in developing an initial understanding of the spatial manifestation of conflict in Kashmir. Data is collected majorly through official government documents and site visit that is conducted during February 2019 by interviewing various non-governmental organisations, planners, government officials, architects, university professors, journalists, and common public. However, due to active conflict risk site visit to Srinagar is not made at any point of time during this research design project. Finally, a single case of Srinagar (summer capital of State of Jammu and Kashmir) is used to recommend some strategic actions that are needed to take in order to weaken the conflict and to explore spatial applications of those recommendations on the urban fabric of the city.

A major part of the theory is a literature study which is dedicated to understanding the conflict and its spatial impacts in contested cities. Three major forms of conflict, political, economic, and cultural are significant in contested cities in which cultural conflict act as the base reason followed by the other two. Four main dimensions of planning when working is conflict are discussed, which are territorial, procedural, economic, and cultural. This literature study is used to create an evaluation criterion which is used to evaluate conflict and its spatial manifestations in the cases that are used for comparative analysis and leading case of Kashmir.

This project challenges the idea of social integration, that has been practiced in various conflict cities around the world, which is discussed elaborately in comparative case studies. Unlike the concept of 'social integration,' this project acknowledges the conflict based on fundamental disagreements and try not to solve it but rather to create a common census amongst contesting communities. It is focused on the coexisting ability of multicultural society where integration is not a requirement

but an option to a person or community to practice achieving a cohesive environment. Agonistic planning, which acknowledges this approach, is used predominately in the theoretical understanding of concepts that are used for planning and design. Social cohesion in conflict can be evaluated based on public encounter in the city amongst contested communities. The other aspect of this is intuitional decisions and processes that are responsible for creating harmony in conflict area through collaborative and communicative planning. Hence this research design project is focused on social encounter amongst communities and intuitional framework that supports it.

The planning system in India in order to understand the federal-union structure of Indian planning and its impact on Urban spatial planning in Jammu and Kashmir state is a crucial part of this research project, which brings up the utmost need of institutional reforms in planning process by adopting economic and strategic planning approach to current land use and policy planning model in India and state of Jammu and Kashmir. Furthermore, the empirical analysis indicates the adverse effects of military presence and violence initiated by Muslim extremists on public spaces and social life of the people, which is address in the strategic vision and design part of this project. Strategic design is proposed through various schemes to create neutral, shared, and peace places in the city of Srinagar by four pilot projects.

Finally, this project contributes to the discourse of divided cities by understanding a critical relation of conflict and urbanism in the Kashmir region. Which brings us to the conclusion that conflict in Kashmir works differently and has a definite impact on the socio-political environment than that of the economic nature of the city. And hence it is a complicated relationship that can be explained as a nuisance in other terms. However, a conclusion demands the need for a social encounter between two contesting communities living in a parallel world in the same city by creating safe crossings in between in order to achieve social cohesion.

Ninad Sansare

July 2019

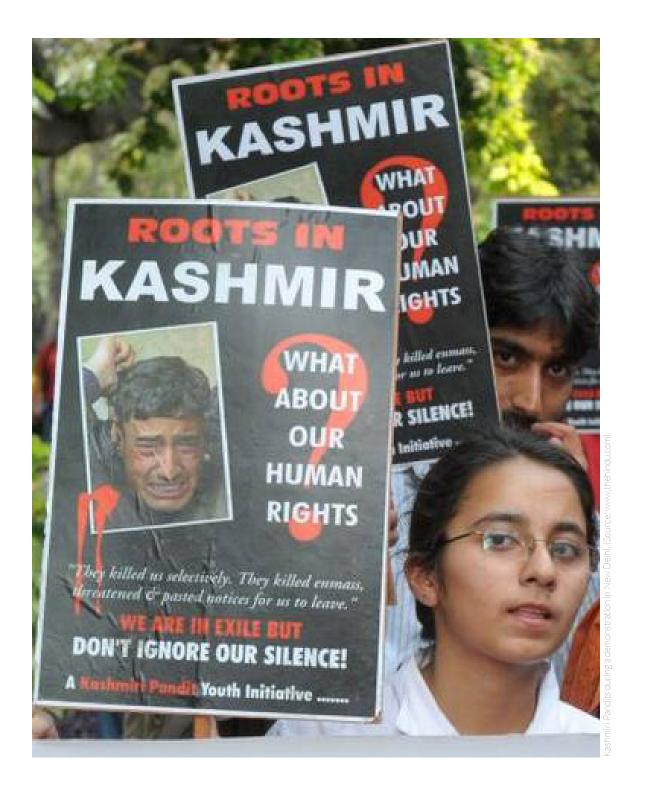


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INTRODUCTION

In this introductory chapter, the need and urgency for the conflict planning have been highlighted. It started from the global conflict data in order to understand the relevance of the issue in the current time. Then the chapter emphasizes the critical relation of Urbanism and Conflict to explain the role of urban/regional planning. Finally, this chapter shortly introduced the case of Kashmir to determine the scope of urban spatial planning and design in weakening the conflict in the region.

1.1 CONFLICT AND URBANISM

The number of armed conflicts in the world in 2017 was 49, according to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP). Nearly 69,000 people were killed as a direct consequence of state-based armed conflicts in 2017, a decline from the high of 104,000 in 2014 and 88,000 in 2016 (Dupuy & Siri Aas, 2018). Since the end of the Cold War, the trend in armed conflict has generally been downward, as seen in Figure 1.1. While in recent years, upsurges can be noticed in both the number of conflicts and in the severity of war, the number of conflicts and casualties now seems again to be on a downward trend. However, this trend does not suggest that the threat of conflict is likely to disappear any time soon, especially given the rise in non-state conflicts and the growth of the Islamic State (ISIS) (Kendra & Siri Aas, 2018). Thirty-four countries experienced conflict in their territories, compared to 37 in 2016. One of the conflicts in 2017 was a war between two countries: India and Pakistan (over the disputed territory of Kashmir).

Beall, Goodfellow, & Rodgers (2010) mentioned the intersection of cities, states, and war to be far more complex in the contemporary developing world. States exist at the national level, and cities are important sites of intense state concentration. Along with being the potential testing ground of democratic innovation and economic growth, they are and have always been mainly linked to the processes of bureaucratisation and nation-building. Considering urban areas are still often in the agenda of nation-building, paradoxically they are also increasing primary sites of state erosion and crisis across much of the developing world – a fact that is often

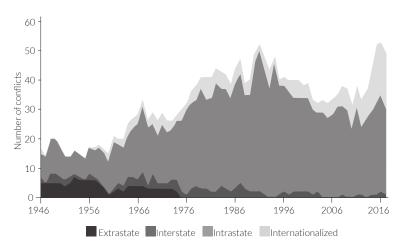


Figure 1.1 on the left showing the number of conflicts since 1946. (Source: UCDP)

obscured by the concentration of both wealth and state organisation in cities (Beall et al., 2010). Understanding this dual character of cities with conflict and fragility is an essential part of any nation-building process. Hence the profession of urban and regional planning has a vital role to play in the conflict mitigation in these contested cities/regions.

Kliot & Mansfeld (1999) mentioned that cities facing conflict are often showing segregation in all form of urban livelihood. Urban planning and design in most of the cities around the world are facing challenges related to socio-spatial inequalities and dysfunctionality based on communal identity, ethnicity, and religion (Morrissey & Gaffikin, 2006). The central aim of this thesis is to analyse this spatial relation of the conflict and understand the potentials of urban planning and design in order to weaken conflict. In various cases around the world, spatial segregation is prominent and can be seen, for example, walls in Belfast, ethnic enclaves in Jerusalem. However, in some cases, spatial segregation in its distinct form is not present, but it reflects passively through various other dimensions of planning, for example, extremist practices in Sarajevo and military presence in Kashmir. Both active and passive ways are present in conflict cities challenging urbanists, planners, and designers to achieve social cohesion, urban development, and sustainable growth.

Keeping a traditional way of planning aside planners and policymakers are moving towards the idea of 'Agonism' in planning which does not focus on the solution of conflict but pays attention to maintain the peace and try to work on consensus building amongst the contesting parties. This new concept is getting more and more acceptance considering its ability to maintain diversity as well as peace in a multicultural society. As said by Bollens (2002)

'The goal of policy should not be integration per se, but a "porous" society, where diversity can co-exist, and communities are free to interact, if they choose (Bollens, 2002: 57).'

Which leads to the role of policymakers in the planning profession is more about accommodation, and not indeed assimilation. Policymakers should consider the different ethnic identities by not dismissing it but try to figure out the needs of each group. Considering the case study area of this research design project, which is Kashmir, where identity is the main reason behind the conflict over the year, playing a crucial part in dividing communities. Planning has a significant role to play in development.

1.2 CASE OF KASHMIR

"There was a time when we were just Kashmiris. And that was enough. More than enough. We shared each other's food, danced at each other's festivals, wept at each other's sorrows. Religion did not matter; you just leaned on the nearest shoulder, wept on it, if you needed to. We had brothers around us all the time to help us, protect us. Now only death lurks. Not in dark corners, but in the open streets, in broad daylight. I wish it could be like the old days again." (Anand, 2005, p.17)

Above lines from Paro Anand's book, 'No Gun's at my sons funeral' shows the pain and intensity of conflict in Kashmir. Communal conflict in Kashmir is majorly based on the recent events that happened during the partition of India in 1947. Two nation theory based on Hindu and Muslim majority areas instigated ongoing violence in the region which one can root back in its history. A Hindu ruler of Kashmir with a majority Muslim population made accession to India, remain the reason for conflict between India and Pakistan claiming the ownership of Kashmir (Schofield, 2003). Quickly after that, this tension resulted in several communal riots against the Hindus who are in the minority.

This act of violence not only affected people but also made a significant impact on cultural vandalism, ethnic cleansing, and spatial separation in the urban areas of Kashmir. This research design is a process to understand this conflict in Kashmir on a regional level by adopting various aspects and indicators from theoretical understanding made in the literature study. Further, to investigate more, it focuses on Srinagar, which is one of the capital cities of Kashmir in order to understand the effects of conflict on the urban fabric of the city.

Through this journey of research design projects, various sectors related to spatial development has been analysed in order to understand spatial planning and governance in the conflicted area of Kashmir. Insights of urban planning and governance in Indian has been studied alongside the planning and governance in Kashmir to have a comprehensive understanding of urban planning system. Finally, the relation of conflict until the urban design scale has been discussed in order to adopt policy recommendations and strategic vision for peacebuilding in Kashmir between the contesting communities.

Image 1.1 on the left showing the protest against government at Srinagar, jammu and Kashmir, August 2018 (Source: Photo by Mihir Patil-Hande)







02

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the outline of this 'Research-Design' project has been discussed. The general idea of a research design project is that the research problem determines the type of design that will be suitable for it. In the previous chapter, the context of the problem has been discussed. Hence the problem field and Problem statement are explained at the starting of this chapter to give an idea about the research problem. After that, main and subresearch questions are formulated considering the research problem at the centre. Furthermore, a conceptual framework is proposed in order to unify all the critical concepts related to the research auestions. Moreover, those critical concepts are derived from the literature review discussed in detail in the next chapters. Methods of analysis to be applied for answering the research questions has been stated in the next section with the analytical framework for every method. Finally, the intended outcomes, a timeframe of the researchdesign project, and summery have been discussed.

2.1 PROBLEM FIELD

As discussed in chapter one, Kashmir is one of the twenty-two major conflicts around the globe, which are threatening to erupt into a severe military standoff (Hughes Chris, 2018). It is a disputed area between Pakistan, India and Kashmiri separatists and is currently a part of India. The region is in dispute since the formation of India and Pakistan in 1947. The religious dynamics of the region followed by the availability of the vast number of resources is a primary reason for the geopolitical interest of India and Pakistan. Despite maintaining ceasefire since 2003 there is an armed conflict near the border of the region. It is resulting in cross-border terrorism, which supports Kashmiri separatist movement. Due to this constant conflict situation, most of the time the region is under curfew resulting in the underdeveloped region compare to other states of India. The details of the history of this conflict have been discussed in chapter six.

Since 2002, the Indian government took the initiative considering that the development of the Kashmir region is necessary to keep the region competent with other states of India. In vision developed by the government of Jammu and Kashmir focuses on improving connectivity, infrastructure development, tourism, and small/medium scale industries. However, in a current situation, the results of this vision are not satisfactory considering the constant efforts by the planning authorities of government (Jammu and Kashmir Newspoint, 2016). Kashmir is still unstable, socially, and politically.

The vision for the development is a common vision for any other city in India or region as it is fulfilling all the basic requirements of the planning in India (Kesar, 2014). However, Bollens (2007,2009) and Gaffikin and Morrissey (2011) argued that conventional planning approaches are insufficient to deal with the problems faced by conflict regions. Hence, there is a vast gap between these development initiatives and social cohesion in the region as the planning process is not addressing political and cultural conflict in the region. Adopting the new approach in spatial planning and governance may help the region to overcome its underdevelopment and assist in weakening the conflict.

2.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Planning in the conflict region is one of the challenging discourses considering the complexity of social dynamics and the urge for sustainable development. Many urban scholars on this topic explained the importance of addressing conflict in the planning process. However, in the conflict region of the Kashmir, the current planning and policies are not addressing this critical factor, which leads to formulating the following problem statement for the research-design project.

'Current planning practices in the Kashmir are ignoring political and cultural conflict in the region, reducing the effectivity of spatial planning and design.'

2.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

2.3.1 MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION

How can urban spatial planning and design assist in conflict resolution in Kashmir, India?

2.3.2 SUB-RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What are the planning approaches in contested cities?
- What is the relation of spatial planning and governance to the cultural identity?
- What are the planning practices in contested cities?
- What are the current planning practices in Kashmir?
- What is the spatial manifestation of conflict in the Kashmir region?
- What actions and tools need to adapt in order to develop a strategic vision to support social cohesion in Kashmir?
- How can a strategic framework be applied to the urban fabric of the region?

2.4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.4.1 GENERIC CONCEPTUAL MODEL

A conceptual model has been made in order to synthesise the four different methods for research and find out the central concept for the project. It also helps to evaluate the project at the end from the different variables used in the model. All the critical concept that came forward from the theoretical framework have been integrated and linked to strengthening the core argument of this research-design project.

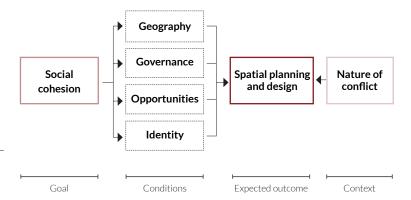


Figure 2.1 on the right showing the generic conceptual model (Source: Author)

2.4.2 VARIABLES:

Every critical concept is a variable, having many dimensions and aspects related to it. In this section, the specific dimensions and aspects which are relevant to the project have been discussed and explored.

Spatial planning and design:

Bollens (2007, 2009) identified four models of planning and policy in conflict/contested space: neutral, partisan, equity, and resolver. (For detail see chapter three)

Nature of conflict:

To understand the intensity of the conflict and how conflict affects spatial planning, it is necessary to understand the type of conflict which are political, economic, and cultural/ethnic.

Social Cohesion:

Its goal that the project seeks to achieve through spatial planning and policies. It has a direct connection with the cultural and Ethnic conflict in the Kashmir region.

Conditions of conflict planning:

Bollens, (2007, 2009) proposed a group of urban cultural/ethnic dimensions which are used in planning processes in divided cities to manage the conflict situations

- Geography: The territorial dimension is the most impactful tool used to control and distribute ethnic groups spatially through the land zoning, drawing of jurisdictional boundaries, displacements, etc.
- Governance: The procedural dimension is directly linked with the governance system/ engagement of stakeholder and can be used to include or exclude different sections of society from access. It is used to allocate urban services and spending.

- Opportunities: The economic dimension is used to make a fair distribution of urban services and spending. The negative and positive externalities of urbanization are distributed by planning processes causing situations like deprivation or dependence of certain areas. (Caner & Bölen, 2016)
- Identity: The cultural dimension where regional/group identity is maintained or threatened through cultural institutions, education, and religious expression.

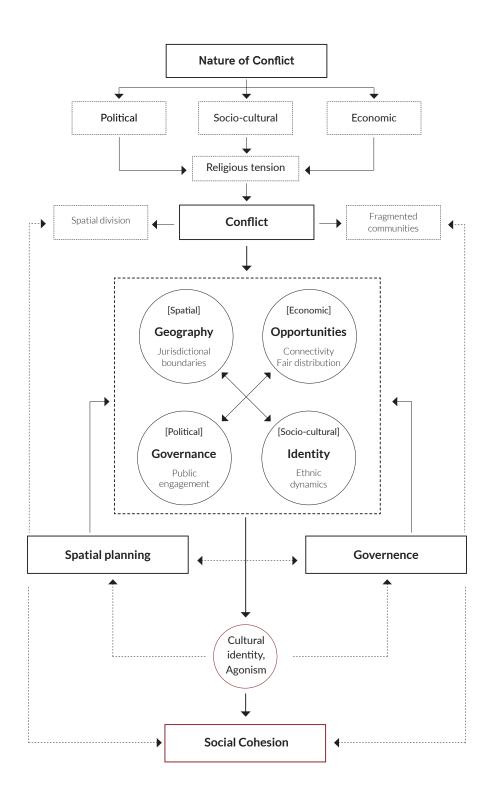
	Variable	Dimension	Aspect	Sub-aspect
	atial planning d design	Bollens' four model planning theory for conflict planning	- Neutral - Partisan - Equity - Resolver	
Soc	cial hesion	Socio-spatial	Conflict scale	- Local - National - International
			Apprence	- Manifest-latent
			Conflict handling	- Local responce - Mediation
	ture of nflict	Intensity	- Sources of tension - Local capacities for peace	
nning	Geography	Territorial	- Zoning policies - Jurisdictional boundaries	
onflict pla	Governence	Procedural	- Public Engagement	
Conditions of conflict planning	Opportunities	Economic	- Fair distribution of resources - Connectivity	
Condi	Identity	Cultural	- Cultural institutions - Religious expression	

Table 2.1 on the right showing the variables and different dimentions to it with respect to the generic conceptual model (Source: Author)

2.4.3 CONCEPTUAL MODEL:

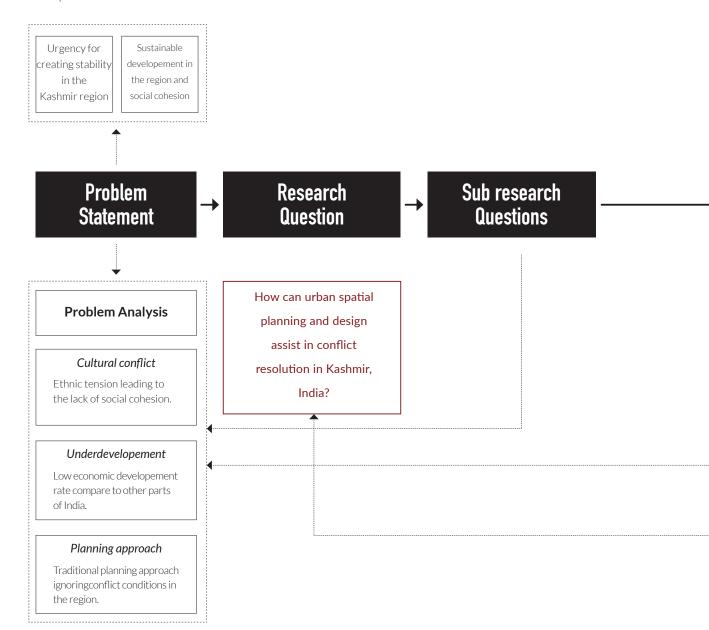
By adding the dimensions and aspects of each variable, the final conceptual model has been made. All the critical concepts concerning the core argument, which is stated in the problem statement have been displayed in this model to guide the research design project to its desired goal.

Figure 2.2 on the right showing the final conceptual model (Source: Author)



2.5 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

In order to carry out this research-design project, the structured framework has been created. In this, the flow of research is mentioned, and the expected outcomes are shown.



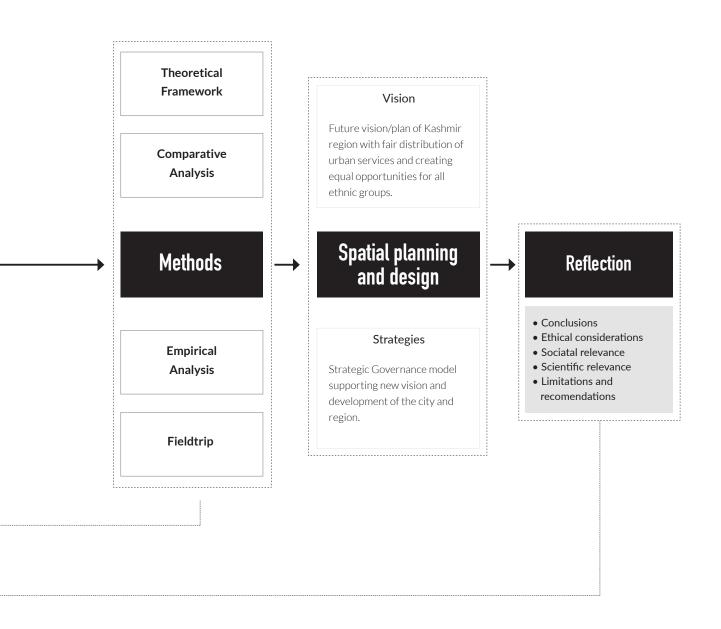


Figure 2.3 showing the research framework (Source: Author)

2.6 METHODS

In order to conduct the research-design project, the methods are divided into four: Theoretical framework, Comparative analysis, Empirical analysis, and field trip. All the methods will go parallel to each other, complementing their knowledge base.

2.6.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

The theoretical framework forms a rational, logical, and frequent basis for guiding and conducting research. It is useful for the policy and design proposal as it relates to the most critical approaches in the field. Finding out literature related to our topic helps us to limit the generalization in many cases. Multiple types of literature related to planning in conflict cities, Kashmir region economic challenges, Governance system, social cohesion, and planning system are used to make it more relevant and acceptable.

The study is divided into two parts of academic literature and national policies. The academic literature is used to understand the various planning acceptances which are required in dealing with post-conflict planning. On the other hand, studying national and state policies are providing a general framework of current planning practices on the governance level.

Also, to understand the relation of the cultural identity to the spatial planning and strategies the literature from an academic area has been studied alongside with the emerging concept of 'Agonism' in spatial planning and policies.

Academic

- Planning approaches by Bollens (2007,2012), Yiftachel (2009)
- Governance system by Kriesberg (2005), Lederach (1995)
- -Communication in planning by Gaffikin and Morrissey (2011)
- Cultural identity in Urban design by Habraken (1985)
- -Urban planning and Cultural identity by Neill (2004)
- Agonism and Urban planning by Ploger (2004), McClymont (2010)

National/state policies

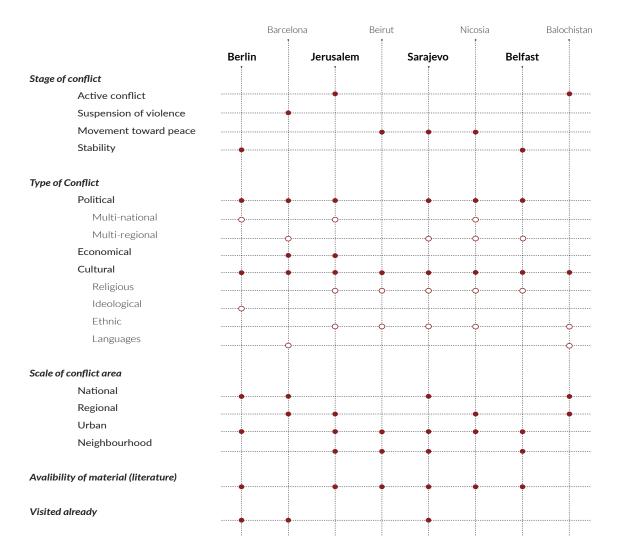
- Jammu and Kashmir development report by Planning commission, India.
- Economic survey by Jammu and Kashmir state government
- Jammu and Kashmir vision by IBEF, India

Table 2.2 on the left Showing the different literature that have been used in the theoretical framework (source: Author)

Table 2.3 on the right Showing the case study selection process (source: Author)

2.6.2 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS:

Comparative analysis of different case study has been carried out by utilizing qualitative and quantitative methods. It is useful to understand how context influences the interventions. Also, what kind of tailor interventions are required for a specific context. Four cases of Sarajevo, Jerusalem, Berlin, and Belfast are considered for the detailed analysis out of eight cases, as shown in table 4.3. The selection of the case study is based on the primary analysis and the evaluation framework based on the theoretical framework, as mentioned in chapter two.



2.6.3 EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS:

This is one of the significant parts of the project and divided into three part: Planning and Governance in Kashmir, Planning, and Governance in India and Mapping. All of these parts are interconnected with each other

Planning and governance in the Kashmir:

In this part, problem analysis has been done based on a theoretical framework and Policy literature has been studied.

Planning and Governance in India:

Critical aspects of the Indian planning system have been studied in this part. Stakeholder analysis is a significant part of this. It has a shared aspect of how national policy approaches towards the development of the region and social cohesion.

Mapping:

- Infrastructure assessment- Transport and connectivity to understand the relation of distribution of resources, playing an essential factor in its development.
- Socio-cultural structure- Kashmir has its cultural values and identity, which are prominent and sensitive due to conflict.
 To understand and incorporate those aspects, the research focuses on identifying the characteristic values amongst the conflict communities and regions.
- Spatial typology in the contested city of Srinagar- To under what type of ethnoscapes, neutral spaces and peace spaces or present in the city in order to enhance their capacity in the peacebuilding process

Planning and Governance in the	Planning and Governance in the India	Mapping
- Conflict in Kashmir	- Spatial Planning in India	Infrastructure assessmentRailway network
- Spatial Planning in Kashmir	- Governance on India	Road networkAirports
- Governance in Kashmir		
	Kesar (2014),	- Socio cultural structure - Demographic analysis
Bose (2003),	Ahluwalia (2015, 2017),	- Religious sites
Schofield (2003),	Ministry of Urban	- Heritage sites
Navlakha (2015), Planning commission of Jammu and Kashmir (2016)	Development (2014)	- Spatial typology in contested city of Srinagar

Table 2.4 on the left Showing the structure of Empirical analysis (source: Author)

2.6.4 FIELDWORK:

In order to make the supplement the operationalization of the strategic framework and design, fieldwork directed by expert interviews, observational analysis, and local inhabitant interviews is an important method. The Interviews of the experts (University professor in Jammu and Srinagar, ex-planning officials in India and Jammu and Kashmir state, Political leaders, Religious leaders, Journalists, and NGOs) and ordinary people including university students has been carried out during the field trip.

List of people interviewed during the field trip.

Academic:

- Dr. Mohammad Sultan Bhat, Head of Department of Geography and Regional development at Kashmir University, India
- Dr. Nagendra Rao, Director of Strategic and Regional studies at Jammu University, India.
- Dr. V.S. Manhas, Professor at Department of Geography at Jammu University, India.
- Prof. Harshad Bhatia, Professor at Mumbai University, India.
- Prof. Gagan Sharma, Professor at Department of Geography at Jammu University, India.

Professional:

- Anil Darshetkar, Ex-officer, and planner at the Planning Department of Mumbai, India
- Mr. Kumar Rajiv Ranjan, Director of Area Planning, Planning Commission of Jammu and Kashmir State.
- Chairman of Jammu and Kashmir chapter of Indian Institutes of Architects.
- Journalist from Kashmir
- Dr. Anil Raina, Senior town planner, Jammu and Kashmir planning commission
- Chief town planner of Jammu and Kashmir

IUNIWAR: Spatial Planning and Strategies for Social Cohesion in the Kashmir Valley, India

2.7 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The analytical framework is proposed to support methods in order to answer the sub research questions. Multiple methods are used to answer the research question. To lead this research-design project in a structured manner to ensure the accurate and relevant results analytical framework is helpful.

Table 2.5 below Showing the structure of Analytical framework (source: Author)

Research Question How can urban spatial planning and design assist in conflict resolution in Kashmir, India?				
Sub-Research Question	What are the planning approaches in the conflict area?	What is the relation of Spatial planning and governance to the cultural identity?	What are the planning practices in contested cities?	
Method	Theoretical Framework	Theoretical Framework	Comparative Analysis	
Analytical	 Planning approaches by Bollens (2007,2012), Yiftachel (2009) Governance system by Kriesberg (2005), Lederach (1995) 	 Cultural identity in Urban design by Habraken (1998) Urban planning and Cultural identity by Neill (2004) Agonism and Urban planning by Ploger (2004), McClymont (2010) 	 - Case of Berlin - Case of Jerusalem - Case of Sarajevo - Case of Belfast - Lessons from the comparative Analysis 	
Method				
Analytical				

What are the current planning practices in the Kashmir?	What is the spatial manifestation of conflict in the Kashmir region?	What actions and tools need to adapt in order to develop a strategic vision to support social cohesion in Kashmir?	How can a strategic framework be applied to the urban fabric of the region?
Empirical Analysis - Spatial Planning in India - Spatial Planning in Kashmir - Governance on India - Governance in Kashmir Kesar (2014), Batra (2009), Bhagat (2011) Bose (2003), Schofield (2003), Navlakha (2015),	Empirical Analysis Mapping - Infrastructure assessment - Railway network - Road network - Airports - Socio cultural structure - Demographic analysis - Religious sites - Heritage sites Conflict in Kashmir Bose (2003), Schofield (2003), Navlakha (2015),	Vision Future vision/plan of Kashmir region with fair distribution of urban services and creating equal opportunities for all ethnic groups. Strategies Strategic Governance model supporting new vision and development of the city and region.	Empirical Analysis Mapping - Spatial typology in contested city of Srinagar
Theoretical Framework - Jammu and Kashmir developement report by Planning commission, India. - Economic survey by Jammu and Kashmir state government	Fieldtrip - Observations - Interviews		

2.8 INTENDED OUTCOMES

As an outcome of this research design project which is focused on the Urban spatial planning and design in the Kashmir region. The following proposals have been decided:

Recommendations for planning and governance:

Recommendations are made in two parts:

- Model of Conflict mitigation- In which involvement and engagement of potential participants from different groups have been shown. After that, the scale of transformation related to each group and spatial interventions related to it has been discussed.
- Rules and recommendations for the Planning process- In which guidelines for the planning process has been provided based on the learnings from the theory and comparative case analysis.

Institutional Framework:

Necessary governance changes have been proposed in the current planning and policy-making system. In order to integrate various aspects of planning and engage various actors in order to create a collaborative planning process.

Strategic vision and design:

Various short-term projects are combined to formulate a long-term project of accommodating Kashmiri pandits once in Srinagar and to reduce military conflict in the Srinagar. While doing these various other aspects related to employment and connectivity has been addressed to achieve comprehensive urban development in Srinagar.

Pilot projects:

This comprises of the regional to local design for transport connectivity network in the Region of Kashmir. This plan ensures the fair distribution of urban services and creating equal opportunities for all ethnic groups in the region. Also, local-scale applications of strategic vision and design are demonstrated through some projects.

Design code:

These are the general guidelines for spatial development in Srinagar city to create peace and social cohesion.

2.9 RESEARCH TIMELINE

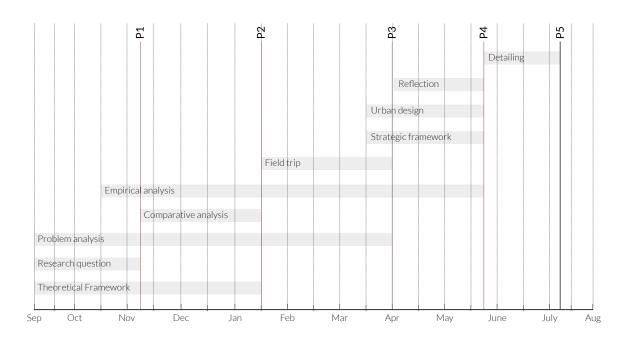


Figure 2.4 on the top showing research timeline (Source: Author)

2.10 SUMMARY OF METHODOLOGY

The methodology is an integral part of this research-design project. As discussed, it is started from reviewing the literature in the field of conflict planning with Urban/regional planning aspect to identify the research problem. Keeping the problem, 'Planning in Kashmir is lacking the different approach in order to achieve development and social cohesion' the research question opens up the possibility that the spatial planning and design can assist in solving this issue. Cultural identity and Agonism in the planning are the two emerging ideas in conflict planning, which are introduced in the conceptual framework with other critical concepts for guiding the project. Four main methods: Theoretical framework, Comparative analysis, Empirical analysis, and fieldwork are shortly introduced to achieve the expected outcomes. Out of which theory is discussed and explained in detail in previous chapters, and the other three methods will be explored in the next chapters in detail.





CONTESTED CITIES

This is one of the most critical chapters in the book. Several urban scholars from different backgrounds proposed a different perspective on planning in a conflict area. The chapter starts by explaining terms such as contested/conflict/divided cities, nature of contested space, types of conflict, the community which are often used in this research-design project. Then the relation of cultural conflict and divided communities have been discussed. Finally, a review of all the approaches in the planning and governance of the conflict area has studied. Majorly, literature by Bollens (1998, 2007,2008,2009), Yiftachel (2009), Gaffikin & Morrissey (2006,2011), Caner& Bölen (2016) Lederach (1995) and Kriesberg (2005) has been referred. The evaluation criteria based on these theories is made to evaluate the case of Kashmir and cases for comparative analysis.

3.1 CONTESTED CITIES

Many urban scholars used the term contested or divided cities in a different manner. On a more extensively, the approaches can be categorised into two main discourses. The first approach is more focused on economic classes, racial discrimination, gender, social segregation, spatial justice, and inequality. Hence the focus of the first approach is on the socio-spatial segregation between the rich and poor communities, immigrants as well as informality in the developing countries. The prominent examples of these cases can be seen in cities like Mumbai, The Hague, and London.

On the other hand, a good amount of literature is focused on this urban geography and cultural environment in which identity shapes the space in the city (Harvey, 2000). In the last few decades, the extreme form of the urban division was explored by many researchers (Safier, 1997). The focus of this literature is more concentrated on the intricate relation of space, identity, and politics (Tajbakhsh, 2001). These second type of divided cities face physical destruction and political instability. Major examples of these cities are Sarajevo, Belfast, Srinagar, Jerusalem, etc.

This research design project is concentrated on the second type of cities and focuses on the literature developed in this context. Many researchers and scholars working on this discourse (see, for example, Bollens, 2007; Brand, Gaffikin, Morrissey, & Perry, 2008; Morrissey & Gaffikin, 2006) developed the central terminology of 'Contested/Divided/conflict cities' which referred to the cities facing extreme form of violence and destruction.

3.2 NATURE OF CONTESTED SPACE

In the last few decades, researchers like Harvey (2000) and Zukin (1995) focused on the cultural geography emphasising on identity, encoded cultures, public relations with its spatial manifestation. These processes can be seen in the form of socio-spatial divisions on the urban fabric of the cities and enclaved neighbourhoods (Morrissey & Gaffikin, 2006). Morrissey & Gaffikin, (2006) also mentioned the connection between the mythical and legal land, boundaries, and the use of symbols to represent the land to highlight porous relation between public and private spaces. The one common notion that can be noticed in all arguments mentioned above is that space is a reflection of social behavior as it is constructed socially.

Many authors have discussed the role of intangible aspects related to space, for example, language, religion, etc. These Cultural dimensions demand the attention from traditional political-economic aspects, considering that the social processes are involved in creating space (Morrissey & Gaffikin, 2006). Most of these literature pays attention to the competitivity of the connections between space, identity, and politics (Tajbakhsh, 2001). According to these views, a city is not a stationary background for the urban development but rather the culture and heritage demand it to be an actor and background at the same time to absorb and react to these social processes. The literature in this discourse discusses and provides an exciting overview of space and meaning of that space.

3.3 TYPE OF CONFLICT

Gaffikin and Morrisey (2011) identify some types of spatial conflicts which are relevant considering the current global conflict situation. The classification is made based on the arguments made by these authors and other contemporary readings. Each conflict is further classified according to the aspects related to it. Intrastate conflict refers to an issue within the city or state itself, whereas Interstate refers to a conflict which crosses political and territorial boundaries.

3.3.1 POLITICAL CONFLICT

The reason behind the conflict is political disagreement. There is a massive relation of the territorial boundaries and tensions between the two or multiple states. Also, the ideologies of a government can impose a specific manner of thinking or division amongst its inhabitants, forcibly creating different classes and spatial divide in the city. Political conflict can also represent separatist movements between states, or disagreements between countries. It is usually a part of inter and intra-state conflict. Catalonia and Spain, Kashmir between India and Pakistan are some examples of it.

3.3.2 ECONOMIC CONFLICT

As a result of current and past economic processes, the polarisation of rich and poor in contemporary society is rapidly growing. Not only in the global south but also the developed countries, the depth is vast. Gated communities, slums, and global economic processes continue to sustain this division. It can be categorised as an intrastate conflict. Informal settlements in the Mumbai, Dhaka, and Brazil are coming under this category.

3.3.3 CULTURAL CONFLICT

Cultural conflict refers to the differences in ethnicity and religion between communities, which is often not directly related to politics but permeates it. The small scale at which it takes place (intracommunity) gives it higher chances of erupting in violence. Inhabitants are personally confronted with it in their daily life. Political conflict, border changes, and migrating populations contribute to the creation of differences. At times, the different languages, customs, practices used by population will be reflected directly in space through symbolism, architecture, and the classification of space as belonging to one group or the other. It can be categorised as an intrastate conflict. The current ethnoreligious conflict on the community level can be seen in the Kashmir, India and Belfast, UK.

3.4 IDEA OF COMMUNITY

Word community is used in social sciences to refer a collection of people working in the same area, for example, a community of architects, a community of engineers. It is also used to refer people sharing a common belief of faith, for instance, the Muslim community, the Hindu community. In social sciences, many scholars try to define the term community resulted in two main domains of 'organic' and 'ecological' interpretation of community. Tönnies (1941) focus on the organic understanding by emphasizing on primary basic needs and close personal connections and identity as a core character to define community. While followers of ecological interpretation like Park & Burgess (1921) mentioned in their book 'Introduction to the science of sociology' that community is a society or a social group is forming one geographical identity and institutions of which they are composed. They also mentioned that the idea of community changes on a different scale because an individual is always a member of a smaller community and that community is included in a large community. In this research design project word, 'community' is used as an ecological conception of community.

3.5 CULTURAL CONFLICT AND DIVIDED COMMUNITIES

All the human settlements are divided in some or other way based on different social, economic, and cultural factors. Cities are encountering some form of division, as this is a global result of migration since centuries. Division can range from slums to ghettos, to solid walls and violence. Although the political conflict is the reason for most of the conflicts in the past, the impact on society always belongs to the cultural aspect, as most of the political conflicts emerged as a cultural difference between the communities, regions or countries. When referring to current conflicted situations and areas, it is prominent that the type of conflict seems a result of political conflict, but cultural conflict always follows the roots of the conflict. For example, the conflict in the middle-east Iraq, Syria, Egypt emerged as a political revolution but ended up in an Islamic revolution, depressing the minorities in the area, creating socio-spatial fragmentation and violence. Two-thirds of all violent conflicts contain a cultural aspect (Gaffikin & Morrissey, 2011).

Cities marked by the sectarian geographies of ethnic enclaves demonstrate a complex relationship among space, place, and identity formation (Morrissey & Gaffikin, 2006). Most obviously in contested

places, space can be, in part, a canvas inscribed with recurrent chapters of rival narratives and grievance, evoking a sense of two populations co-habiting one city, yet occupying parallel universes (Gaffikin & Morrissey, 2011). These are known as 'frontier cities,' being built on two or more fundamentally different ideas (Kotek, 1999). Hence, cultural conflict is often an intra-state conflict on the smallest scale on a local level. Various factors are responsible for creating or maintaining these situations as it involves stakeholders from multiple levels of the conflict. These are the reasons why ethnic conflict can quickly spread to all scales of the region or the city, as well as form complex territorial boundaries to neighbourhoods. Gaffikin and Morrisey (2011) mentioned the difficulty of working in places with cultural conflict and addressing the depth at which cultural conflict is rooted.

'In societies marked by deeply competing identities, places hold particular symbolic significance, and their fabric, meanings, and identities become acutely politicized. Where these reflect themselves in violent conflict, their formulation and re-configuration become entrapped in strategies of protection and survival.' (Gaffikin and Morrisey, 2011, p.130).

The most extreme form this project addresses are the socio-specially divided cities in terms of connectivity and social cohesion. The building of walls goes back in centuries gave us many lessons, and many walls have been torn down. Yet, today walls continue to be seen not in the physical way but deeply laying down in the form of public spaces and infrastructure in the urban fabric of the cities or region like Sarajevo, Kashmir, Mostar, Johannesburg, The Hague. The number of these regions is increasing, producing a class of city in which it is the norm to live with these segregated aspects of the city or region (Caner & Bölen, 2016). Calame and Charlesworth (2009) have expressed their concern for Montreal, Monrovia, Dagestan, Washington, Baghdad, Dili, Bunia, Novi Sad, and more to be heading towards division. This concern indicates the need to understand the process of division in order to support spatial assistance.

3.6 PLANNING IN A CONFLICT AREA

Caner & Bölen (2016) mentioned that the planning profession struggles in the conflict conditions due to the complex relation of space and emotions. To deal with the conflict situation, it has been seen that more knowledge is required beyond the simple zoning and land use planning. Considering that planning has the power to change the spatial, economic, social, and political dimensions of urban space (Caner & Bölen, 2016), it is necessary to understand and use these aspects in order to weaken the conflict in divided cities.

Bollens, (2007, 2009) proposed a set of urban cultural/ethnic dimensions which are used in planning processes in divided cities to manage the conflict situations:

- The territorial dimension is the tool which is spatially applied in the form of land use, zoning, boundaries, and borders, etc. It is the most common tool used by the planning system in a conflict area to control and manage different ethnic groups.
- The procedural dimension is directly linked with the governance system/ engagement of stakeholder and can be used to engage the specific type of stakeholders. It is also related to the spending and allocation of urban services.
- The economic dimension is used to make a fair distribution of urban services and resources. Through this tool, the development and prosperity of the area can be regulated by the planning system (Caner & Bölen, 2016).
- The cultural dimension is where the specific ethnic/religious identity has been challenged by the education system, influencing religious expression, or threatening cultural institutions.

To increase the effectivity and efficiency of the planning process, planning needs to consider and work amongst these conditions. By these dimensions, Bollens further suggested four models of planning and policy in contested space: neutral, partisan, equity, and resolver. The neutral approach is one that is deliberate 'colour blind' to the contest, adopting a professional and technical response that attempts to keep the planning intervention away from the political influence. It is assumed that planning that distances itself from the divisions is best positioned to produce a detached, impartial outcome in land allocation and use (Morrissey & Gaffikin, 2006). The partisan model aims to make a significant difference between the different groups to privilege the dominant group. Often focuses on the demography

Neutral Address urban symptoms of ethnic conflict at individual level Partisan Maintain/increase disparties

Equity

Address urban symptoms of ethnic conflict atethnic group level

Resolver Address root cause

Strategies

- Employs technical criteria in allocating urban resources and services
- Distances itself from issue of ethnic identity, power and political influence
- Empowers dominant cultural group values and rejects the claims of minority group
- Stretegies seek to entrench and expand territorial claims or enforce exclusionary control of access
- Gives primacy to ethnic affiliation in order to decress inter-group inequalities
- Allocation of urban services and spending is based on group identity
- To connect urban issues to root causes of urban polarisition
- Impacts and authority of government policy is challenged

Table 3.1 on the left showing models of urban policy strategies adapted from (Bollens, 2007, 2009) and (Caner & Bölen, 2016)

and settlement as a mean of conflict regulation. The equity model applies to a plan that contributes to promoting equality between the warring factions. It gives primacy to ethnic group identity and allocates urban facilities according to that (Caner & Bölen, 2016). The resolver approach takes a more radical, strategic, and proactive stance, wherein planning contributes to a broader societal effort to redress the root cause of conflict.

Some disadvantages are associated with the application of these four models. The neutral approach does not deal with the spatial influence of planning, and planning can be used to distribute urban services and resources. However, it revolves around the land use and zoning of the area in which most of the time, the reason for the conflict is Land itself (Morrissey & Gaffikin, 2006). The partisan model focuses intensely on the conflict, creating a negative impact on the division and injustice to the minorities. Equity approach claims to be equitable for both the opposing sides; however, the approach does not deal with the human aspiration and often creates a sense of victimhood in one or more opposing communities. It is also less useful for the wide conflict area (Morrissey & Gaffikin, 2006). Finally, the resolver model does not deal with the radical form of conflict. It demands the unsolvable conflict be solved in order to create a peace-promoting planning system. This ambitious, idealistic condition makes resolver model ineffective in the conflict areas.

3.7 GOVERNANCE IN A CONFLICT AREA

Alongside the work of Bollen's, Gaffikin & Morrissey, (2011), mentioned the potential of policymaking through communication and collaboration in creating a more consensual and integrated socio-spatial outcome. It creates flexibility and revision in the plan that provides an opportunity for an agency to shape structure. It is possible by creating collaborative spaces permissive of forthright civic debate within a comprehensive rehabilitation of the political community. These types of public activities help to highlight the source of dispute and potential factors that can be focused in order to reduce tension. It engages various stakeholders on the same platform to make the process efficient and create common consensus. In which cultural conflict is treated as a difference but not dispute to be channelled more productively.

From the various perspective of conflict resolution theories, the notion of an integrated approach is prominent, focusing on the process of transformation for peacebuilding by engaging concerns and relations of all the actors. Kriesberg (2005) and Lederach (1995) proposed a three-separate level of conflict resolution and suggested suitable points to be focused at each level. The triangular construct of the model stresses the interdependence of the levels: no level can achieve reconciliation on its own. Lederach creates a two-dimensional matrix: the first indicates the levels of operation and the kinds of activity appropriate to each; the second is temporal but suggests a nested continuum where immediate actions to resolve critical situations should be framed within a much longer-term perspective of change. (Gaffikin & Morrissey, 2011)

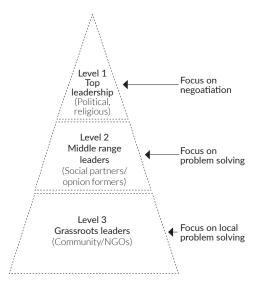


Figure 3.1 on the right showing Lederach's model of conflict transformation (source: Lederach, 1995)

In addition to his activity matrix, Lederach highlights the importance of addressing issues of culture and identity in the process of conflict resolution. This conceptual model locates the relationships between contesting communities within an overall process of peacebuilding (Caner & Bölen, 2016). To summarise the governance importance of bottom-up initiatives and mediating ability of top leadership is highlighted by various scholars to achieve the peacebuilding process in the contested cities.

3.8 EVALUATION CRITERIA FOR CASE STUDIES

The theoretical base is used to evaluate the case of Kashmir to find out the gap in the current planning practices and conflict as well as for the comparative analysis of different cases. The structure of each case study is as follows:

- Type of contested space: in this, the cases have been positioned based on two types of divided/contested cities by the extreme nature of conflict present in those cities.
- Type of Conflict: In this part, the conflict situation is explained and categorized in the three types of conflict political, economic, and cultural by using the current statics and data available.
- Nature of conflict and its relation to communities: In this part, the type of conflict is related to the community relations to understand the divide in the communities and how they are responding to it. Current data and mapping are used to display the spatial manifestation of this divide in the communities.
- Planning and policy approach: In this, current planning practice
 has been studied to compare it with the Bollens four model
 planning approaches in the conflict areas to understand and
 categorized the planning model in different cases.
- Physical intervention: Planning and policies have an impact on the physical environment to understand the physical implementations of the different planning approaches in the different cases the physical interventions as a result of planning have been studied.

- Governance system: In this, the current governance system
 has been studied to understand how the different policies and
 planning approaches have been applied in these contested cities.
 The literature and current planning practices have been studied
 to find out that the governance system is top-down or bottomup.
- Governance response: To apply the planning in these contested places, the current planning profession adopts a certain kind of governance approach. In this part, the specific governance response is which is used by the authorities, or the people have been identified and discuss.
- Tool for conflict resolution: In this part, the most prominent feature for the conflict resolution has been identified. It is a comparison between the planning, policy, and governance model in the conflict cities.



Figure 3.2 on the right showing evalution criteria for case studies. (source: Author)





AGONISM IN URBAN PLANNING

In this chapter, an overview of planning practices has been made through a variety of literature. Conventional planning practices have been discussed at the starting of the chapter distinguishing them into four categories of planning modelsland use, policy, economic investment, and strategic. After that to understand the current trends in the planning profession, the literature regarding cultural identity and urban planning/design by Doshi (1985) and Neill (2014), as well as the emerging idea of Agonism in Urban planning by Ploger (2004) and McClymont (2010), have been discussed in order to guide the design part of the project. Finally, the summery of all the critical aspects of the theory have been pointed out.

4.1 CONVENTIONAL PLANNING MODELS

Urban spatial planning is focused on the shaping and governing built environment by taking social, economic, cultural, and environmental into account (Van Assche, Beunen, Duineveld, & de Jong, 2013). Origin of modern urban planning can be traced in the reformistic reaction to the industrial cities built or developed during the industrial revolution in the mid-19th century (Das, 2007). Since then, planning had changed and adapted various societal and technical changes. Policy, private sector involvements, and bottom-up initiatives forced planning practices to integrate with these aspects. Considering the literature available of planning models four basic planning models can be derived which are land -use planning, policy planning, economic investment drove planning and strategic planning (Van Assche et al., 2013; Nadin, 2018).

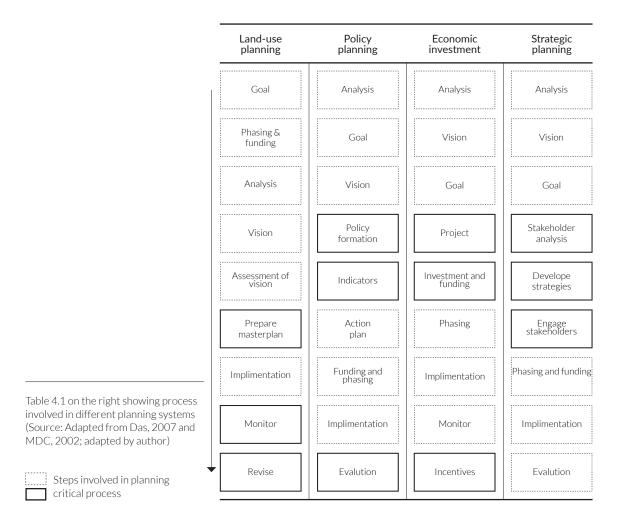
4.1.1 LAND USE PLANNING

Industrial revolution fuelled the process of rapid urbanisation in various European cities. This rapid urbanisation resulted in various issues in the cities related to public health, safety, pollution, and inequalities. Many planners during that era consider a Master plan as a single solution for these problems (Das, 2007). An engineering blueprint for street, transport infrastructure, open spaces, residential areas, and other physical environment is a part of the masterplan. This concept of master planning gets further extended by adding areas for future extension and other special zones for the city.

In land-use planning, goals are set based on certain assumptions then reflected in the legally binding zoning plans, also known as masterplan. The detail process of land use planning system is shown in figure 4.1. This process makes land use planning system effective and predictable in achieving goals without any policy criteria (Das, 2007). Urban planning in Italy is highly based on land use planning.

4.1.2 POLICY PLANNING

In this planning, the main focus is to produce a guideline and/or legal rules to direct development. Grater concerns related to the environment, urban growth, and heritage are address through this planning process. Planners and policymakers act as a guiding authority rather than implementing authority (Das, 2007). In policy planning, physical development is based on specific policies, which makes policy planning organic and unpredictable until the land development occurs (Das, 2007). In figure 4.1 detail process of policy, planning has been shown. Spatial planning in England is an example of policy planning.



4.1.3 ECONOMIC INVESTMENT LED PLANNING

Planning in which colossal focus is on the involvement of the private sector is considered as an economic investment led planning. In this system to achieve specific goals, projects have been proposed by planning authority and then outsource it to private investors to finish it. Moreover, to build those projects, funding from private sector happened for which private sector gets incentives in terms of operational measures on that project (Nadin, 2018). This type of planning system is usually used for the mega projects, for example, highspeed train network in France, Railway network in the Netherlands.

4.1.4 STRATEGIC PLANNING

Strategic planning is derived from the military strategy used to win the war (Das, 2007). It is based on short term objective derived from the analysis of the current situation to achieve a goal through vision. Strategic planning is also known as a Community action plan. Participatory planning process which is focused on involving the community and collaborative/communicative planning processes which involves stakeholders and engage them in the process of decision making to build common consensus also comes under the domain of strategic planning as strategic planning is a community capital building process. Strategic planning is focused on specific short-term initiatives to achieve goals (Das, 2007). There is no fixed process for strategic planning, as it is highly contextual. However, the process described by MDC (2002), which is shown in table 4.1, is widely accepted in the planning profession. Stakeholder analysis and engagement are two crucial parts of strategic planning in order to develop strategies and implementation respectively.

4.2 CURRENT TRENDS IN PLANNING

Several scholars in urban planning suggest that planning and politics are becoming more complex, fragmented and appeasing practice (action in the response of power relations, interest and plural schemes of significance) and this is making politics and planning into more versatile and contextual field than the planning practices in the last century (Ploger, 2004). It is forcing planners to work within a political regime of reason, interests, instructions, and opinion about the planning. When dealing with the cities with cultural/ethnic conflict, the amount of political interference and influence on the planning is magnificent.

4.2.1 AGONISM AND URBAN PLANNING

Ploger, (2004) argued that the contemporary planning practices are missing the element called as strife. He further explained that the planners could assume that they can solve the conflicts only through legal and political decisions between conflicting views and interests. Mouffe (2000) mentioned these conflicts as agonistic strife, a difference between two parties and not enemies. Hence public authorities and planners can handle the conflict in a different way. In the current planning practices where, political influence is highly depressing the profession, conflict, and disagreements are considered as an antagonism instead of agonism because considering that the antagonism is unsolvable it can be handled with the legal power. On the other hand, agonism is long time continues the communicative process sometimes without having a definite deadline (Ploger, 2004). Agonism can be defined as an ethos of the democracy respecting the differences amongst different interest groups through public engagement. Hence planning process should address and consider the strife as a stationary condition in the conflict planning and building a common consensus with common solutions amongst the opponent parties.

The terms for strife are needed to be discussed at the front when dealing in the situation of cultural/ethnic conflict. Integration of different ethnic, religious, linguistic groups is merely impossible considering that the fundamentals are deeply rooted in the communities creating the firm idea of the cultural identity of all individual communities. Redekop, (1967) referred the term integration as solidarity and explicitly mentioned that the social solidarity within the one religious group is present considering the interdependence and dependence of individual and compositional needs which strengthen the argument that the one religious community possess a strong feeling of individual identity. Hence it is difficult to integrate multi-religious society which extremely opposite and culturally diverse with a common workable solution. Contemporary planning profession

ignores the complexity of these cultural dynamics trying to solve the conflict by integrating them aggressively by putting them in one bucket. This results not only in a forceful attempt of integration but also instigate a conflict amongst the communities on a microscopic scale. However, a public engagement which aims at conflict maintenance instead of conflict resolution is an essential factor considering its potential to tap into social identities (McClymont, 2011). Identity can be supported by difference, to know what you are it is necessary to know what you are not (McClymont, 2011) and attempts to bring different parties together can lead to denying their differences, as Hillier explains:

"negating the reality of agonism does not lead to the harmony and consensus of a fully constituted 'we', since agonisms, if not antagonism, is constitutive of social identity itself" (Hillier, 2003; 51).

Hence agonism in the planning processes focuses on the legitimization of differences rather than the removal of them.

The overall idea of this subsection, in theory, is to use these arguments while doing the urban planning and design project in the Kashmir in India, where the cultural/ethnic conflict is significant and robust disagreements are present within the two dominant religious groups Hindus and Muslims. The idea of agonism, as discussed before, is a reflects on the fundamentals of the Indian constitution. Secularism is one of the critical principles mentioned in the preamble of the Indian constitution, while the overall idea of constitution celebrates the diversity of differences.

4.2.2 ROLE OF 'CULTURAL IDENTITY' IN URBAN PLANNING AND DESIGN

The identity of a particular thing is always in relation to the context around it. As argued by the Benhabib,

"Culture is the context within which we need to situate the self, for it is only by virtue of the interpretations, orientations, and values provided by culture that we can formulate our identities, say 'who we are', and 'where we are coming from' (Benhabib, 2000: 18)."

While planning in a conflict area dealing with the cultural identity of individual opponent groups is always a sensitive topic. Most of the time, the conflict in these areas is based on the feeling that someone is challenging their identity and that someone can be another group, government, or an entire globalization process around the world. Hence, it can cause a defensive lashing-out, which Castells referred to as a trench or resistance identity (Castells, 1997).

Hayden, (1997) argues that the place has a firm relation to the identity as the place itself is a powerful source of memory, as a form where one strand ties in another. Further, Hayden (1997) explored the memory narratives of conflict in the three cities: Detroit, Berlin, and Belfast. She raised the observation that in these multicultural cities having different identities living together what it means to be black in Detroit, German in Berlin and Irish/British in Belfast. The accumulation of these differences within the city is itself part of a more significant cultural landscape of the city/region. Neill (2004) referred to space as a cultural product since it will be associated with the meaning of one sort or another within some cultural frame.

The cultural landscape of the city or region is not always stationary as it develops and changes according to the time. However, tradition and heritage remain the same, fundamentally accepting or rejecting different values over time. Hence, while planning and designing in this region, it is essential to consider this cultural landscape to avoid resistance from the end user. Planners should consider the coexistent ability of multicultural and multi-ethnic society (Bollens, 2002). On the lines on agonism discussed in the previous section, the recommendation of Bollens for the policymaking is an essential consideration for the planners who wanted to work in conflict planning,

'The goal of policy should not be integration per se, but a "porous" society, where diversity can co-exist, and communities are free to interact if they choose (Bollens, 2002: 57).'

Which leads to the role of policymakers in the planning profession is more about accommodation, and not indeed assimilation. Policymakers

should consider the different ethnic identities by not dismissing it but try to figure out the needs of each group. Considering the case of Kashmir, where identity is the main reason behind the conflict over the year, playing a crucial part in dividing communities. Planning has a significant role to play in development.

In relation to Indian society, a part of having differences in the communities, Doshi (1985) argued that the community shares everything from economic activities to festivals. He further explained that the physical environment should be seen in terms of culture but not building, technology, and the economy as the community shapes the urban fabric of the city. Religious institutions in many places, mainly in the Kashmir provided the community with cultural stability by establishing a strong value system creating a feeling of community belonging. Hence, while designing the urban fabric of the city, it is necessary to respect this traditional value system, which is also a part of cultural identity and create a harmonious environment amongst the contested communities.

Finally, this section provides the theoretical overview on the relationship between cultural identity and spatial planning and design — moreover, the role of planner and designer in the multicultural society where identities are contesting with each other.

4.3 SUMMARY

To summarise this chapter, the different planning processes mentioned in the first section of this chapter give a brief understanding of planning traditions. This knowledge has been used to evaluate and understand how planning works in the Indian context. Detail analysis of the planning and governance in Indian has been discussed in chapter seven. However, this research design project is focused on planning and its relation to conflict, and for that second section of this chapter focuses on the necessity of acceptance of the conflict and its potential link to the spatial planning and. Also, planners must agree on this fact that they cannot solve the problem as most of the problems are under the category of 'strife' however to maintain and manage the conflict situation in order to make a legitimate role amongst these conflict communities is necessary. Planners can act as a mediator in the process of managing conflict. Integration is not a necessary solution as it forces communities to scarify their identities, however, the attempt to create a fluid and pours physical environment while considering and respecting the cultural differences is the crucial aspect of agonism in the planning. Collaboration and communication are the way to engage different actors in the process of concussing building in the conflict situation — finally, its emphasis that the traditional approach of planning needs to be changed in the conflict cities/areas.

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LESSON LEARNINGS

In this chapter, the comparative analysis of four cases similar to Kashmir has been done. The chapter starts with discussing the importance of comparative case studies while dealing with the planning and governance in the conflict area. Then the selection criteria of the case studies have been carried out to finalise the four primary cases of Berlin, Jerusalem, Sarajevo, and Belfast. Each case has been analysed based on the framework mentioned in the theory chapter. At the end of each case, one exemplary project focused on the application of planning and policies on urban design scale has been discussed. Finally, the chapter concludes with key findings and lessons learnings for urban spatial planning and design in the case of Kashmir.



5.1 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Theory in Conflict planning emphasizes the challenges and difficulties in the contested cities and region due to ethnic and social dynamics. Comparative research on contested cities increases the understanding of why peacebuilding is possible in some cities, while others are still struggling with violence. It is also highlighted the importance of cities or an urban area to processes of state making, crisis, and collapse (Bollens, 2007). The quality of research on contested cities/region will increase if there is a use of a comparative approach that utilizes not only the importance of the single case study approach but also makes comparative assessments across multiple contested cities (Bollens, 2007). Comparative analysis can produce two types of the knowledge base for the research; 1) dynamics of divided societies and 2) specific nature of each conflict/contested cities (Schnabel, 2001).

5.2 CASE SELECTION PROCESS

The cities studied in this chapter are Jerusalem (Israel/Palestine), Belfast (UK), Sarajevo (Bosnia), and Berlin (Germany). However, a total of eight cities/regions have been investigated to identify and choose similar cases to do a comparative analysis. Considering the various factors and availability of material, the above four cases have been finalised (Table 5.1). Each of these cities has been, or is, politically contested or polarised, meaning that they are characterised by deep-rooted and often historically based political or ethnic conflict. The existence of competing ideologies can lead to violence and instability, which can eventually tear a society and the city apart. For this project, the leading case in Kashmir, which is not a city, but it is a contested region. However, the findings and lessons learning from the above mentioned four cases can be used with an alteration to the Kashmir. Because of the resemblance of the Kashmir case to the conflict status and condition to these similar cases.

Image 5.1 on the left showing mural on the wall of a house at Belfast promoting conflict (Source: www.un.org)

Table 5.1 on the next pages showing The primary assessment for the case study selection process. (Source: Author)

Location	Berlin	Barcelona	Jerusalem
Country	Germany	Spain	Israel
Area (in sq.Km)	891.8	101.4	125.15
Population	37,11,930	48,40,000	9,01,302
Duration	1961-1989	1981-	1948-
Nature of Conflict (Political)	Western forces vs Soviet forces	Spain vs Catalonia	Israelis vs Palestinians
Nature of Conflict (Cultural)	Capitalism vs Communism	Spanish vs Catalans	Jews vs Muslims
Nature of Contested space	Divided city	Divided land and intangible social segregation	Divided communities
Planning Approach	Equity and Resolver	Neutral and Equity	Partisan
Physical Intervention	Critical Reconstruction	revitalization of urban identity by new public spaces	Sectoral divisions by open landscape
Governance system	Top-down	Moderate Top-down	Top-down
Governance response	Coordinating committee composed of balanced participation from east and West Germany	supra-local control to local land use plans	Ignorance of planners towards central authorities
Tool for conflict resolution	Acknowledgement of Built heritage	New public spaces	Infrastructure Connectivity

Beirut	Sarajevo	Nicosia	Belfast	Baluchistan
Lebanon	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Cyprus	United Kingdom	Pakistan
67	141.5	111	132.5	3,47,190
22,00,000	6,08,000	3,26,739	2,80,211	1,23,44,408
1975-1990	1992-1996	1958-	1968-1998	2004-
Civil War	Serbians vs Bosnians	Turkey vs Cyprus	Nationalists vs Unionists	Pakistan vs Baloch Separatists
Christians vs Muslims	Orthodox vs Muslims	Turkish Cypriots vs Greek Cypriots	Catholics vs Protestants	Baloch Vs Pakistani
Economically divided communities	Divided land and intangible social segregation	Divided communities	Divided communities	Divided land and intangible social segregation
Neutral	Partisan	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral and Partisan
Economic development driven Reconstruction	Juridical boundaries	Infrastructure development for connectivity	Peace walls	Developing Civic facilities and Housing
Top-down	Top-down	Top-down	Top-down	Top-down
Privatisation	Administrative change	Bi-communal cooperation	Administrative change	Create a dialogue platform for traditional leaders
Engagement through privatisation	Religious Extremism	Decentralisation of Planning process	Celebrate cultural diversity	Strengthening Anti-Corruption Establishment

5.3 BERLIN

Berlin is the capital city of Germany. Today Berlin is one of the economic and socially developed cities in the world. However, after WWII the division of the Berlin with the rest of Europe resulted in the socially and physically divided Berlin until 1989. The planning and policy during this era from both the divided sides have been discussed and analysed in this section. Considering the prosperous peace promoting process in the current period the case of Berlin is different compared to other cases discussed in this chapter because after WWII Berlin faced an ideological separation caused by political differences whereas other cases are divided regarding the ethnic, cultural or religious conflict.

5.3.1 TYPE OF CONFLICT:

Germany was divided into zones amongst four allied powers American, Russian, British and French. While Berlin was kept separated as a four-power regime (Robinson, 1953), it is divided into West and East Berlin. Where the West part is under control of USA, UK and France and East part was under Russia. West Berlin was an enclave in the Soviet-occupied area, with air, road and rail connections to West Germany. In the year 1948, the tension between Allies and the Soviet Union resulted in a separate city council in the East claiming the only legitimate authority in the Berlin (Elkins, Elkins, & Hofmeister, 1988). This transformed into the two rival states in West Germany the Federal Republic of Germany and in East Germany the German Democratic Republic. After a short time from the formation of these stated East Germany declares the East Berlin as a Capital city of East Germany, while West Germany carried Bonn as a capital.

5.3.2 NATURE OF CONFLICT AND ITS RELATION TO COMMUNITIES:

However, of having this dominant and dynamic political activities and conflict, no physical division occur till 1961. However, in 1961 the Berlin was constructed to restrict the movement, and the military forces of East Germany armed it. In this period both, the sides were facing ideological conflict claiming that each on them is the only successor of Berlin. In the 1980s, the relationship between the two sides started becoming normal, considering the dependency of resources of both sides. Simultaneously the anger and movements against the Soviet rule in the Soviet Union occupied East Europe resulted in the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Which is also considered as an end of the Cold war and removal of Soviet power in the eastern European countries. (Loeb, 2006)

Image 5.2 on the right showing fall of the Berlin Wall near Postdamer Platz, 1989 (Source: https://i.redd.igpg3fmhjimwx.jpg)



5.3.3 PLANNING AND POLICY APPROACHES WITH SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS:

Because of ideological differences between capitalist and socialist regimes, planning discourses evolved differently in the years of division. However, some commons can be seen as well. During the first few years of the division until the 1950s, both the sides were mainly concerned with clearing the physical marks of war and reconstruction. Followed by the mega housing construction projects mainly concentrated in the outskirts of Berlin on both sides. In the last phase, both authorities were more concerned with conservation efforts in city centers. (Caner & Bölen, 2016)

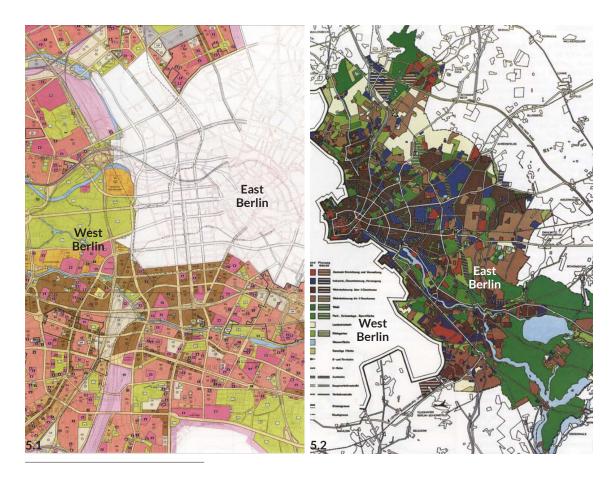
In the East, planning and implementation are state-cantered. The plans were made in this period were without considering the West part as if they will never reunite. In the 1950s, urban construction was formulated with the 'Sixteen Principles' (Von Beyme, 1990). Some principles, like the limitation on the growth of the city and support for the construction of skyscrapers, were consistent with western modernist planning ideologies (Von Beyme, 1990). In the West, the main guiding instrument for the planning was a land use plan. The plan was created by the administrative department responsible for city planning. These plans were made

"as if no sector boundary existed, and as if the city planning of- plans for the central area stretched eastwards to include the historic inner city" (Elkins et al., 1988: 180).

In the plans, the area of East Berlin was indicated, and the provision for the routes was made to connect both the parts anticipating reunification (Loeb, 2006).

Comparing this with the Bollen's four models of conflict planning, the planning practices in the GDR was neutral, with planning is based on the technical skills only to distribute urban services and resources. Planners are engaged through centralized planning and complied with the political administrators (Caner & Bölen, 2016), which resulted in the fragmentation of East and West Berlin regarding spatial aspect. On the other hand, the planning in West Berlin did not ignore the other side and limit it only for one part. In this process also, planners are engaged through a centralized process, but the political administration anticipated the future reunification, which helped the planners to make it more effective and responsible.

After the fall of the Berlin wall, the action of reuniting the city took place immediately. The primary considerations of the action plan consist of, - Physical reunification; reconnecting East and West regarding infrastructure and spatial organization. Main issues were housing conditions, green spaces, clean air and water provision, and creating same living standards between the inhabitants of the East and West (Loeb, 2006), The capital;



Map 5.1 on the extreme top left showing part of the 1965 general development plan made by West Germany.

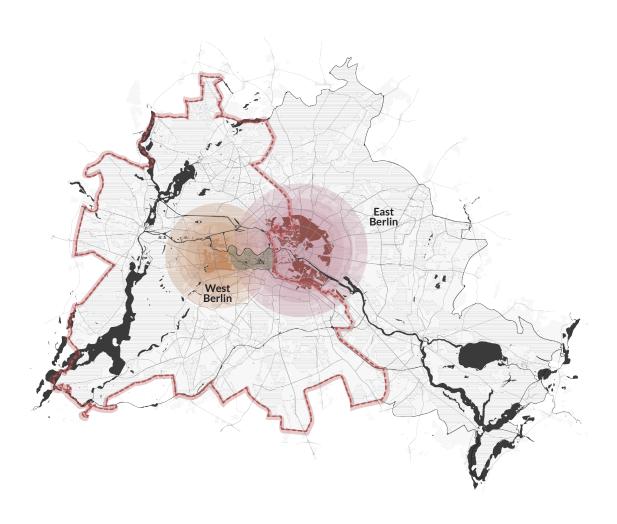
(Source:www.stadtentwicklung.berlin. de)

Map 5.2 on the top right showing 1989 general development plan made by East Germany.

(Source:www.stadtentwicklung.berlin. de)

re-establishing Berlin as the capital of a reunified Germany. This needed the revitalization of central functions of a capital city; which meant new construction sites for new buildings and renovation of usable older ones to serve administrative and governmental needs (Caner & Bölen, 2016) and Showcase Berlin; constructing an image as well as a set of modern buildings (Caner & Bölen, 2016). The leading theory which shaped planning during this period was the theory developed by architect Josef Paul Kleihues, which is identified as 'Critical Reconstruction.' It describes "a critical reappropriation of the past's particular urban virtues" (Murray, 2003: 4), meaning the planning is shaped according to the historical claims. The focus was given to the pre-1914 history. Marcus (1998) argued and found this approach is not fulfilling as the urban environment after reunification did not have vast historical artifacts and was instead an empty land; anything could have been done in these vacant lands.







Map 5.3 on the top showing Berlin and Berlin Wall during 1961-1989 (Source:Aurhor)

5.3.4 GOVERNANCE SYSTEM AND RESPONSES:

Regarding the governance model, after the reunification, the coordination committee was formulated, composed of district planning officers considering the balanced participation from the East and West (Caner & Bölen, 2016). This collaborative planning approach has a great resemblance with the equity and resolver planning models suggested by (Bollens, 2007). The use of professional engagement can be seen in the governance system. Though the system was top-down and centralized the success of the system is in the collaboration and communication between two opposing parties, which is prominent in the case of Berlin.

5.3.5 TOOL FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION:

There are many to argue about planning after reunification, but the process of Critical Reconstruction is highly appreciated in the discourse of conflict planning. Presence of the Wall was acknowledged in all the plans which are created after reunification. The planning is mainly focused on the preservation of the memories of the Wall by locating landmarks, making pathways and cycle tracks along the border strip and preventing temporary use of the border zone (Caner & Bölen, 2016). Also, the consideration of East Germany in the plans made by West Germany made an essential point in the conflict planning process of Berlin.

Image 5.3 on the bottom showing remains of Berlin wall, monument at Potsdamer Platz, Berlin (Source:https://br.videoblocks.com/video/remains-of-berlin-wall-monument-at-potsdamer-platz-berlingermany-sk2zdzenliwunsltb)



5.3.6 EXEMPLARY PROJECT- RECONSTRUCTION OF POTSDAMER PLATZ

One of the best examples of 'critical reconstruction' in Berlin after the reunification of East and West Germany is rebuilding Potsdamer Platz. Since the building of Berlin wall in 1960 until its fall, Potsdamer Platz was the dead zone in between East and West Berlin. However, it is one of the first places where a section of the Wall was broken down at the event of border crossing in 12th November 1989.

Shortly after that, in 1990, Potsdamer and Pariser Platz witnessed what was then the most significant rock concert in history (Landesarchiv Berlin, 2019). Amid the ruins of the Wall, head of Pink Floyd, Roger Waters and his band played the legendary concert "The Wall." Events like this show the importance of the public event at public space, which helps to reunite people and create peace.

During the division of Berlin, Potsdamer Platz was a part of a border strip with no activity area. However, after the reunification, Potsdamer Platz turned into Europe's biggest construction site by transforming the space into the most attracted public place in Germany. Various public activities were initiated and constructed during the reconstruction of this site for example tunnel segments of Federal Highway 96 and Underground Line 3 as well as the Intercity Railway Station were built directly underneath Potsdamer Platz (Tölle, 2010). All these efforts resulted in creating an utterly new city center for the Berlin resulted in an essential milestone in reintegrating dead place like Potsdamer Platz with urban life in Berlin.

The buildings at Potsdamer Platz are creating social encounter and interaction amongst the people. The Sony Center, the building at Potsdamer Platz, has a beautiful large glass and steel dome that is brightly colored at night. The dome, designed by Helmut Jahn, is a shelter for numerous Berliners and tourists that enjoy the centre's terraces and restaurants (Tölle, 2010). The transformation of Potsdamer Platz from a vibrant place in past to dead zone during and after the WWII until fall of the Berlin wall to emerge as a modern city centre which is an essential public place in Berlin is shows the importance of creating or reviving public places in contested cities.

Image 5.4 on the right top showing Roger Waters' 1990 Concert at the Berlin Wall (Source:https://www.spin.com/ featured/roger-waters-the-wall-berlin-1990-review/)

Image 5.5 on the right bottom showing restaurents at sony center, Potsdamer Platz, Berlin (Source:www.5minutesaway.com)





5.4 JERUSALEM

Jerusalem is a city in the Middle East located in Israel. The city is claimed as a capital city by both Israel and Palestinian authorities. However, both the claims are not internationally acknowledged. Today the status of Jerusalem is one of the main reasons for the conflict between Israel and Palestine. Constant political and military conflicts in the city make it one of the most dangerous cities in the world. This section discusses how planning and governance are addressing this issue in Jerusalem.

5.4.1 TYPE OF CONFLICT:

Jerusalem was the capital of the British Mandate of Palestine between 1920 and 1948. At the time, the city was composed of religious quarters, and the British carried on administering the city in this manner (Pullan, 2009). After WWII, the international community supported a separate state for a Jewish community establishing Israel, and the civil war began between 1947 to 1948. This event resulted in the declaration of Israel's independence. The Arab- Israeli war happened, dividing Jerusalem as a part of UN Resolution 1949. From 1949 to 1967, the Green Line marked the international armistice lines between Israel and Jordan as well as East and West Jerusalem. The city became socially, physically, and functionally divided. (Caner & Bölen, 2016).

5.4.2 NATURE OF CONFLICT AND ITS RELATION TO COMMUNITIES:

In 1967 Jerusalem was reunified not by the agreement but as an occupation which results of war. And this act was not recognized by the international community and Palestinians. Since then the two parts of the city were reunited by force, and they remain hostile even though the Green Line was dismantled. (Caner & Bölen, 2016)

Since 2002 the Israeli government started making security fence throughout Jerusalem and the West Bank which leads to the re-division of the city. A system of physical separation is being built between Israeli and Palestinian territories (Caner & Bölen, 2016). The regional barrier separates Israeli Jerusalem from Palestinian suburbs to the east. Hence, it has resulted in a fragmented city with a complex patchwork of settlements and villages across the city.

Image 5.6 on the right showing Israelis and Palestinians wave flags as Israelis march celebrating Jerusalem Day outside Damascus Gate in Jerusalem's old city on Wednesday, May 8, 2013 (Source: mosaicmagazine.com)



5.4.3 PLANNING AND POLICY APPROACHES WITH SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS:

Planning during 1914-1948

In the period of British rule, Jerusalem was administrated and planned as a single urban entity. During these time, five land use plans were prepared to have one thing common in all: the separation of the Old sacred city from the religious territories that surrounded it. Even though the British administered the whole city as one urban entity in all infrastructural elements, the inter-communal struggle led to separate Arab/Jewish communal services, and eventually to separate development of commerce and economy (Caner & Bölen, 2016).

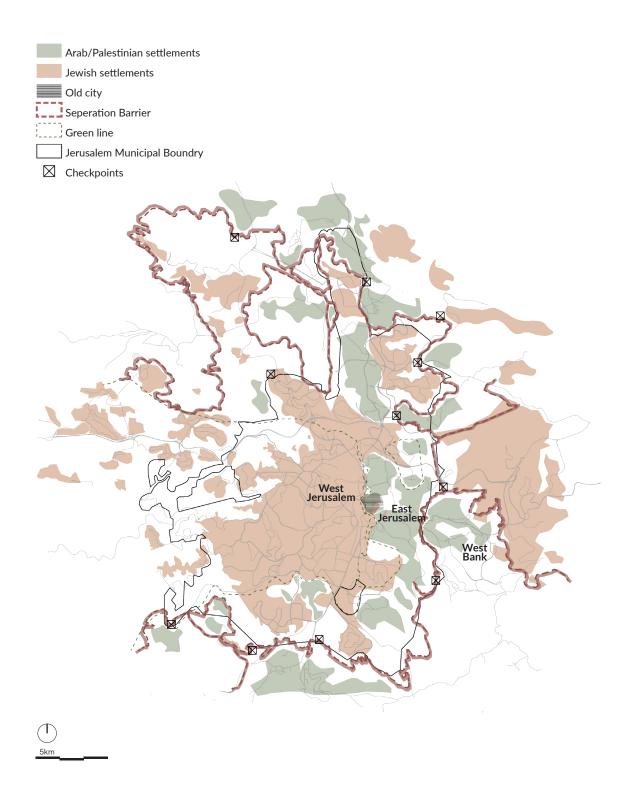
Planning during 1948-1967 and after reunification

The planning in the Jerusalem between 1948 and 1967 and after that is based on the of the British planning system in the past. Many new suburbs continued to be designed as an individual settlement, connected by the primary road system and separated by the vast open landscape (Pullan, 2009). However, these settlements were mainly built only for the Jewish population to increase the percentage of Jews throughout the city and country. "Since 1967, urban policies have been shaped by objectives of national security and political control" (Bollens, 1998:8). Bollens also explain the goals of planning policies after 1967, which are as follows (Caner & Bölen, 2016):

- To extend the Jewish city demographically and geographically.
- To control the heights for military security, requiring Jewish neighbourhoods to be built on strategic hilltops or in areas needed to secure hilltops.
- To reconnect the formerly partitioned areas.
- To build Jewish neighbourhoods so that division of the city regarding political control and sovereignty would never again be possible.

Since 1967, 35% of Palestinian land has been annexed to build 51,000 Jewish houses, in exclusive Jewish neighbourhoods (Caner & Bölen, 2016). Comparing this form of planning with the Bollens four models of conflict planning, it shows similarities to the partisan approach and establishes a radical form of "frontier urbanism" (Pullan, 2011). A local form of fragmented and gated communities in the main form of urban spatial development (Pullan, 2011). These factors show how architecture, urban planning, and policies are used as a tool in the conflict situation.

Map 5.4 on the right showing Physical appearance of divided city Jerusalem 2018 (Source: Caner and Bolen, 2016, redraw by author)



5.4.4 GOVERNANCE SYSTEM AND RESPONSES:

In 2000, Master plan for Jerusalem was launched taking the initiative for the first time to include the whole area of Jerusalem with the East. However, the plan has not yet been approved due to multiple revision and critiques. However, it shows a clear indication of how the current planning and decision making in Jerusalem in working. The plan is highly criticized for having racist and discriminatory approaches towards the particular religious group (Caner & Bölen, 2016). Only one Arab is included in the planning committee consists of 39 professionals (Margalit, 2005), indicating a lack of participation of the representatives from the different communities leading towards the monocentric approach regarding the governance. Yiftachel, (2006, 2009) refer this as an 'ethnocratic approach' where all dimensions of planning (territorial, procedural, economic and cultural) combine to create the 'ethnocratic city' is given to explain Jerusalem's urban policies and planning approaches. This Partisan planning model is only possible because of the centralized planning, which is engaging Israeli planners, without questioning the directives above. The case of Jerusalem is compelling because of this highly top-down and centralised way of planning and policy-making, which has led to the neverending ethnic conflict between Arab and Jews.

5.4.5 TOOL FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION:

As mentioned above the planning and policy is used as a tool to appease one community rather than use as a mediation tool between conflict group in Jerusalem. The entire process is focused on increasing the percentage of Jews in the city, which is seen as a strategy to resolve the conflict. Although the connectivity amongst the different neighbourhoods is well thought of, the intentions behind those are hampering the effectivity of these. Finally, the high degree of partisanship can be seen in Jerusalem than any other urban contested place.

5.4.6 EXEMPLARY PROJECT- JERUSALEM'S LIGHT RAIL

Light rail project in Jerusalem is one of the best examples of how the public transport system can play an essential role in creating social encounter in contested cities. Starting from Mount Herzl in the west of Jerusalem to Damascus Gate, the heart of East Jerusalem, the Light Rail has successfully managed to transform the urban identity of Jerusalem in the last few years. Jaffa Road, once the biggest and most congested street in West Jerusalem, is now a wide, clean, and open boulevard (Nolte & Yacobi, 2015). Light rail was launched in 2011, right after its launch Light rail established as a popular means of transport amongst residents of Jerusalem. Different sections of the population in Jerusalem always crowd it in which people

belong to different age groups, gender, religious background, Jewish Israelis, and Arabs (Nolte & Yacobi, 2015). Stations and announcements are made in Hebrew, Arabic, and English, which invites locals and tourists to find their own way easily.

Apart from its essential role in social encountering Light rail also brings the growth in cities real estate and helped to connect cultural and entertainment hotspots in Jerusalem (Jerusalem Light Rail Authority, 2019). However, considering the 'Ethnocentric' approach of planning in Jerusalem some scholars argued that the construction of Light rail is with the motive to extend Jewish settlements all over the city as the proposal of Light rail is made by Jerusalem transport authority, jointly administrated by Ministry of Transport and Jerusalem Municipality (Barghouti, 2009).

However, many controversies and hidden motives are connected to Light rail, the vital role that Light rail lies in connecting western part if the city to eastern part by acting as a bridge in peacebuilding process amongst two contesting communities. It also helped to promote the narrative of "united city" initiated by the Israeli government. Finally, this project helped to create a public encounter by creating a safe, neutral space where two contesting communities can come together.



Palestinian
Built-up Areas
Israeli
Settlements
Israeli Jerusalem
within the Green Line
Green Line, 1949-87
Israeli Municipal
Boundary
Jerusalem Light
Rail

Map 5.5 on the right showing location of Light Rail in Jerusalem (Source: Center for Urban Conflict Research)

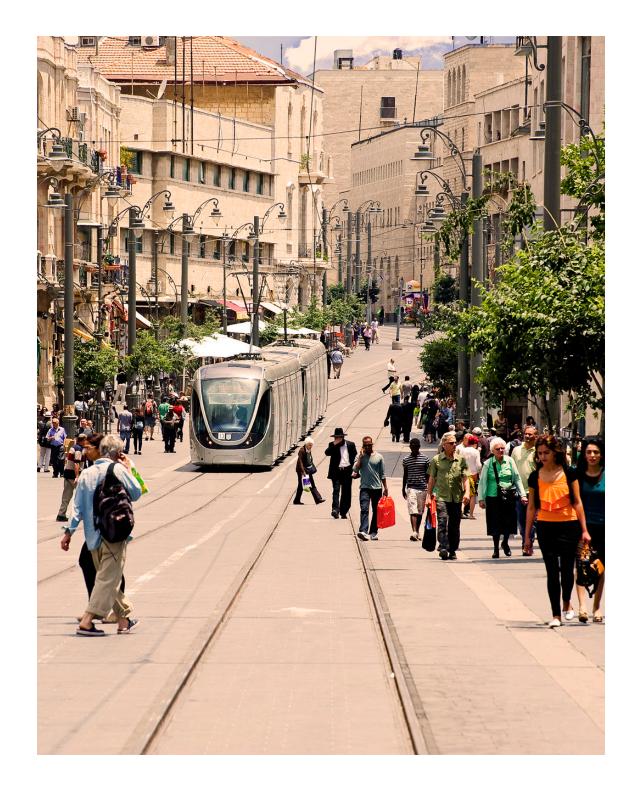




Image 5.7 on the left showing the boost that real estate got due to Light Rail at Jaffa road. (Source: jewishlouisville.org)

Image 5.8 on the top right showing the use of Light Rail by different group of people. (Source: timesofisrael.com)

Image 5.9 on the bottom right showing the three language board at Light rail station (Source:commons.wikimedia. org)



5.5 SARAJEVO

Sarajevo is a capital city of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Having a socialist city during the former Yugoslavia, it is one of the culturally and politically important city in the Balkan since the medieval era. In the modern era, the city is in the limelight due to two significant events 1984 winter Olympics and war after the cold war from 1991 to 1995. The war makes a remarkable scare on the daily life and working of the city and has its impacts still going on. Today Sarajevo is moving towards the peace; however, the planning and policy approach adopted by government and professionals is a critical topic amongst the scholars in the conflict planning discourse. In this section, the current planning and policy approaches have been discussed with the relation of war and its impact on communities.

5.5.1 TYPE OF CONFLICT:

From the WWII the nationalist movements and demand for the separation from the multi-ethnic Yugoslavia started developing. However, the governing Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia kept a close watch on these activities to avoid the breakup of the state. However, after the death of Marshal Tito, the legitimate leader of the country the country falls apart as the nationalist forces in the different region of the country started becoming enforced by the many internal and external political forces. In 1990 the Croatia and Slovenia declared independence followed by the Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) but, soon this split converted in the most significant dispute in the Balkan area as Serbia also claim the territory inside the BiH which is majorly populated by the Serbs. These political events resulted in the War between Serbia and BiH and the city of Sarajevo become a battleground amongst these two forces, also known as the 'Siege of Sarajevo.'



5.5.2 NATURE OF CONFLICT AND ITS RELATION TO COMMUNITIES:

It is estimated that the 13,952 people were killed during the siege, including 5,434 civilians. The 6,137 causalities happened to Bosnian Muslims military and 2,241 to Bosnian Serb military. According to the 1991 census, the city of Sarajevo and its surrounding areas estimate the population of 525,980 out of which 435,000 was in the Sarajevo city before the siege. However, after the siege, the number of persons living in Sarajevo decreases to the range from between 300,000 and 380,000 (Bassiouni, 1994). The brutal war ended up 14th December 1995 by the 'Dayton Agreement' Which divided the entire country of BiH into three parts (Federation of BiH, Republic of Srpska and Brcko District). Sarajevo is divided amongst the Federation of BiH and the Republic of Srpska. This resulted in the division of multicultural Sarajevo by ethnic composition. The multiethnicity of Sarajevo can be seen in the census where out of a total population around 40% were of Bosnian Muslims (Bosnians), 30% were of Bosnian Serbs, and 20% were of Bosnian Croats. However, the current statistics show that the city consists of around 84% of Bosnians (Lamphere-Englund, 2015).

The city sits on the border with Republika Srpska and is divided on its South-Eastern border by the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL). During the period of this conflict 62,00 Sarajevo Serbs were departed from the city due to Bosnian led bloody campaign against them (Bollens, 2008) which resulted in a Muslim (Bosnian) majority in the city where a multiethnic city, Sarajevo today is firmly controlled by the Bosniak majority (Lamphere-Englund, 2015). Although no signs of physical division can be seen in the form of walls or checkpoints and borders exist between the sections, the IEBL boundary separates interactions and largely determines ethnic settlement patterns inside the urban area (Lamphere-Englund, 2015).

5.5.3 PLANNING AND POLICY APPROACHES WITH SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS:

The war created numerous new municipalities in Bosnia, most along the Inter-Entity Boundary Line that now separates the two autonomous regions of the Bosnian state—the Muslim Federation and Republic Srpska. In the case of Sarajevo, there was a split of pre-war municipalities into separate ethnic municipalities. According to international community requirements, power-sharing requirements for local governments in the Federation and the Serb Republic endeavoured to allocate municipal council seats proportionate to 1991 ethnic distribution yet reconstituting local politics at the urban scale has been even more difficult than at regional and state levels. (Bollens, 2008)

The post-war reconstruction and planning are characterised by the following four phases (Lamphere-Englund, 2015).

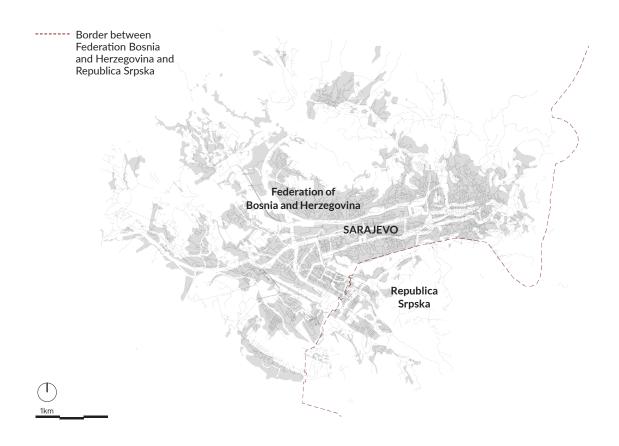
- Physical reconstruction and the containment of conflict from 1995-2000.
- An international protectorate created in reaction to nationalist obstructions, from 1997-2006.
- State-building from 2000-2006.
- Gradual withdrawal of international donors and regression in state reforms and reconstruction from 2006-present.

Immediately after the war, the attention was given to restoring the necessary infrastructure like the tram, railway, road, telecommunications, and water network in the city. As the restoration of essential services began, the City Development Institute planning office prioritized "glassing," the replacement of glass in buildings around the city (Lamphere-Englund, 2015). During the initial period of reconstruction, the focus is on the repairing damages of destroyed housing units. No new buildings were built during this period. Reconstruction instead occurred slowly across the city. Beyond the physical need for repairs, property restitution was fraught with challenges rooted in the transition from collective to individual property rights, and the occupation by political elites and Bosnians of housing owned by people who had left the city (Lamphere-Englund, 2015). Many public buildings in the Sarajevo were also destroyed during the siege. Government offices, the hospital complex, and other public facilities were heavily damaged. However, the post-war, government offices received priority during the initial installation of glass across the city, no new schools or hospitals were built. Considering that the state funding and international investment went towards other areas deemed essential first (Lamphere-Englund, 2015).

In discussion with Armina Pilav (specialist on spatial analysis of Sarajevo) on November 2018, she mentioned that the new planners and urban designers are planning the city as if the war did not happen in the past. Their primary focus is on urban renewal projects to provide basic needs to everyone and strengthen the economy of the city. However, this approach is creating problems in the society as it is not addressing the cultural background and historical events that happened in the city, and professionals are completely isolating the planning process with the technocratic approach. This resulted in the resistance from the various groups as it is not dealing with their emotions and contributions during the war.

To conclude, planning in the Sarajevo after the war is majorly focused on the reconstruction and city-building. In current years the planning process is more leaned towards the urban renewal project in order to facilitate basic needs to the citizens. However, the overall city and regional planning is missing in the process and hence, strengthen the gaps between the different ethnic groups, municipalities and divided area of Sarajevo between the BiH and Republika Srpska.

Map 5.6 on the bottom showing the border between Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republica Srpska cutting urban area of the capital city Sarajevo from its surrounding (Source:Author)



5.5.4 GOVERNANCE SYSTEM AND RESPONSES:

Lamphere-Englund (2015) in his report of Rebuilding Sarajevo, said that in the Sarajevo and across the country, significant funds were invested into new religious buildings (mosques). International donors like Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, and Indonesia, made funding and helped to build several new mosques and renovated the damaged ones. Shortly after the war, many international Islamic organizations that provided relief to BiH incorporated religious elements, but the Bosnian state began oversight of the finances of religious organizations around 2000, effectively controlling international religious influences. The increased presence of Islamic structures, from schools and mosques to Islamic-bank funded shopping centers such as the BBI Centre, contribute to the so-called "greening" or Islamization of Sarajevo. In the same time, no attention is provided towards the monuments and traces in the monuments and public buildings created in the Socialist Yugoslavian era. Many of the buildings from that period, for example, Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the national monument at Vraca are in bad condition seeking the funding and efforts from the government for maintenance.

Moreover, the planning professionals have been oppressed and controlled by the central government, and hence, the neutrality of the planning is in question. As discussed previously, the hidden religious agenda of the central government can be seen in the governance system. During the last visit of Sarajevo and after discussing with many scholars, it is clear that the system of governance is highly top-down, and many liberal and intellectual groups are demanding more participation of the public. People are making small efforts to preserve and maintain the cultural heritage and memories of war as well as anti-fascist movement led by the citizens of Sarajevo during WWII.

5.5.5 TOOL FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION:

The case of Sarajevo shows a resemblance to the neutral and Partisan strategy of Bollens for models of planning in conflict areas. The initial reconstruction is based on the neutral approach where restoration of the city regarding the physical manner has been focused. However, the foreign aid and government's particular interest in the appeasement of one religious group in the city leads towards the passive polarisation in the city, which is similar to the partisan approach. The effectiveness of planning and policy is profoundly affected by the centralised system, which is divided between the multiple bureaucratic chaos (Bollens, 2008).

5.5.6 EXEMPLARY PROJECT- REPLANTING OF URBAN AND PERI-URBAN FOREST OF SARAJEVO

Many trees in the city of Sarajevo were destroyed during the war. Immediately after the war, Park-Sarajevo and the Faculty of Forestry mentioned the need for replanting trees and initiated a replanting programme for boulevards and avenues in the city (Lacan & McBride, 2009). However, due to many city nurseries and gardens were destroyed during the war, the international donation by various European countries fulfilled the lack of stock. Planting of these trees took place under the supervision of Park-Sarajevo creates an enormous employment opportunity for many unemployed people in the city who lost their jobs during the war. Many community organisations, students, and volunteers from citizens were engaged during this process of replanting (Lacan & McBride, 2009) resulted in shared community activities amongst contesting parties in the city right after the war.

Planting trees made an immense impact on the reconstruction process of streets and park to create public space. During the interview with Armina, she mentioned that the visibility of trees helped to dilute the visible physical scars of war on the urban fabric of Sarajevo. Trees planted around the Miljacka river create a small public place for the people to encounter and interact. Replanting peri-urban forest made a significant impact on changing green belt around the city. Various trees were chopped during the ear are replanted, and the forest area has been divided amongst residents to create small urban farming projects. Various migrants which concentrated at the peri-urban area after the war are engaged in these urban farming initiatives, which is also helpful to maintain the replanted trees and forest.

On the other hand, many scholars in Sarajevo criticised the planting process due to its lack of focus on native species and creating unbalance in biodiversity. However, the social change in bringing contesting communities together through urban rebuilding process is a remarkable achievement in Sarajevo. This project shows the importance of shared community initiatives and uses of trees as a neutral element in the peacebuilding process in contested cities.

Image 5.11 on the top right showing post-war replanted trees along Miljacka river (Source: Lacan & McBride, 2009)

Image 5.12 on the bottom right showing urban farming at the periurban areas of Sarajevo (Source: Lacan & McBride, 2009)



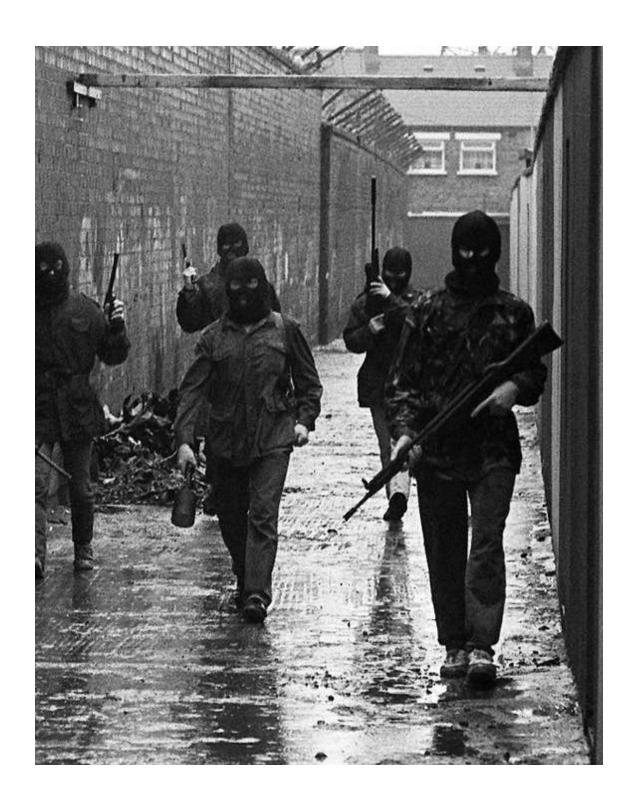


5.6 BELFAST

Belfast is the city in the United Kingdom and Capital of Northern Ireland. It was one of the most significant conflict areas since the 17th century. In the 1970s and 1980s, Belfast was considered as one of the worlds dangerous cities. However, the situation today is different, and Belfast is experiencing peace and safety. In this section, the details of planning and governance process during this conflict period is discussed in order to identify the critical aspects of planning which are responsible for the current situation of the city.

5.6.1 TYPE OF CONFLICT:

Since the 17th century, there has been ethnic conflict in Northern Ireland (NI). In the Belfast (the capital city of NI) it started when the new settlements were built for the native Catholic population outside the city walls by the Protestant British colonisers (Caner & Bölen, 2016). During the Industrial Revolution, the need for labour was fulfilled by the rural Catholic population. The problem occurs as the number of Catholics increased and started settling in various parts of the city while the Protestants remain in the same are. Irish nationalism started growing soon to counter the movements in support of union with Great Britain, giving the political dimension to the conflict. In 1921, partition happened to separate Ireland with its mainly Irish Catholic population and Northern Ireland with its mostly Protestant British population having Belfast as its capital.



5.6.2 NATURE OF CONFLICT AND ITS RELATION TO COMMUNITIES:

As a result of a political division in 1921, segregation in Belfast increased gradually during the 20th century (Calame & Charlesworth, 2009). The first 'Peace wall' was built in the year 1969, making this segregation more violent and physically visible. This period between the 1960s to 1998 is referred to as 'The Troubles' (Morrissey & Gaffikin, 2006). During the year after that, the segregation increased as the concentration of the Ethnic group increased, and the boundaries between the two groups become more defined with peace walls. The government ignore this phenomenon and support these walls by not paying attention to it, considering that this is helping to reduce or solve the conflict between two communities. Because these walls are built to be temporary, and many of them are added to the urban fabric of the city (Caner & Bölen, 2016). From the end of the 1960s to the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, The Troubles continued. However, after the political agreement, the conflict remains in the city; however, the nature of political violence changed (Morrissey & Gaffikin, 2006). Until today the division is still present in Belfast not as significant as it was in the last decades. New peace walls are demanded and planned to be built in addition to the existing ones (Caner & Bölen, 2016).

5.6.3 PLANNING AND POLICY APPROACHES WITH SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS:

Planning from 1960 to 1998

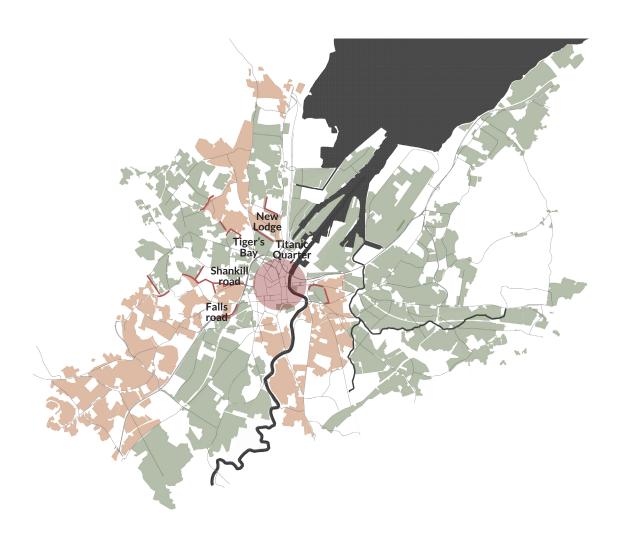
Planning in Northern Ireland was following the technocratic strategy during The Troubles (Bollens, 1998). There were no efforts made by the planning profession and authorities to solve the social segregation The planning in Belfast during this time was based on the following two principles: 1) project the government's role in the Belfast as a neutral party which is not biased towards any of the conflict making communities and 2) make sure that the policies do not create a sectarian tensions by managing cultural space according to the residents liking (Bollens, 1998). In the three decades of direct rule, hardly any effort was made to understand, evaluate, or prioritize the significance of residential segregation within planning, urban regeneration, or housing management arenas (Murtagh, 2004).

Planning after the 1998 Good Friday Agreement

This is the time when political violence in Belfast was significant, which demands planning process to intervein and maintain the peace. Hence, Northern Ireland Act 1998 obligated government departments to present

Map 5.7 on the right showing physical appearance of the divided city Belfast 2017. (Source:redrawn by author from Morrissey &Gaffikin, 2011)





4km

equity schemes, aiming to 1) promote community relations; 2) celebrate cultural diversity; 3) promote equality through service delivery; and, 4) promote equality through a representative workforce (Dennis, 2011). Planning and policy show a drastic change by showing the commitment to solve the social segregation issue and to promote neutral sites for employment, housing, and recreation (Murtagh, 2004). In order to address equality schemes and promote good relations, a 'community cohesion' objective was adopted in The Regional Development Strategy, 2001. Aiming to enhance community relationships by recognising cultural diversity and reduce socioeconomic differences within the communities (Caner & Bölen, 2016).

The planning authorities use the industrial, businesses, or public space as buffer zones between the conflict sensitive areas, Murtagh (2004) mentioned this planning as a 'wedge planning.' This type can be seen as an alternative for building peace walls; however, it still not assures the conflict resolution.

The neutrality of planning in Northern Ireland has been widely acknowledged (Bollens, 2009). The search for new investment and the attempt to counter the image of a city at war, a laissez-faire approach to city planning has been adapted (Caner & Bölen, 2016). This approach helped to create a socio-economically unified city having new road projects and development of its vacant land. This leads to the new projects which are implemented, such as the Titanic Quarter and new apartment blocks for the city center. As a consequence, as Gaffkin et al. assert;

"while some now regard this 'new' Belfast as a cosmopolitan oasis, surrounded largely by the 'old' fortress Belfast of sectarian enclaves, the spatial splits in the city are more differentiated" (Brand, Gaffikin, Morrissey, & Perry, 2008: 17)



Image 5.14 on the right showing peace wall at Cluan Place. (Source:Frankie Quinn http://www.frankiequinn.com/interface-images)

5.6.4 GOVERNANCE SYSTEM AND RESPONSES:

Governance from 1960 to 1998

In 1972 the British government established the planning system in Belfast to control and stabilise the political conflict. Considering that these efforts were appreciated then, by the planning profession but due to this highly centralised system of planning the locally elected Belfast city council had very little policy-making power (Bollens, 1998). This resulted in the re-imposition of direct rule from Westminster (Morrissey & Gaffikin, 2006). Hence heavily top-down autoreactive governance approach can be noticed. Representative participation and accountability were almost absent in the governance system.

Governance after the 1998 Good Friday Agreement

This time was a leading factor towards the peace process in Belfast. As a result of the agreement the centralised planning system was abolished, and the two Northern Ireland departments were made responsible for the planning and policy issues: Department of Regional Development and Department of the environment (Caner & Bölen, 2016). However, the intensity of political violence made the utmost need to strengthen community relations (Gaffikin & Morrissey, 2011). Government officials in the Belfast limited themselves during this period as a technical professional rather than social engineers. Many experts on the Belfast conflict situation mentioned that the top-down governmental approach should not be imposed on the city and its working, however, it should respond and provide the needs of communities on a local level.

5.6.5 TOOL FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION:

After the peace agreement planning practices in the Belfast remain neutral. Planners are engaged in technological neutrality since the beginning of the process of division, which is a critical aspect of Belfast planning. Belfast has become a stereotype for exemplifying the 'neutral planning model' (Bollens, 2007), and it is seen, this is a widely accepted common phenomenon. Also, the governmental initiatives in 'community cohesion' and 'celebrating cultural identity' played curtail role in the conflict management in Belfast. Policies for making the city center as a neutral space through retail laid and cultural laid activities made a significant impact on keeping peace in the city. However, in the outer city, the existence of peace walls can be observed keeping residential segregation amongst the communities. However, a movement to change this manifestation of conflict is making pace by replacing violent murals with peace promoting art and by initiating piolet projects to develop underprivileged neighbourhoods.

5.6.6 EXEMPLARY PROJECT- SHARED SPACE INITIATIVE IN BELFAST

As discussed in the previous section, conflict in Belfast is present at small scale dividing neighbourhoods with both metaphorical and physical barriers. Comparing with other divided cities, for example, Berlin, where the wall was built overnight and vanished quickly, in Belfast walls, are built to last longer (Sterrett & McEldowney, 2001). Many scholars praised the efforts made by planners and designers to tackle the issue of segregation and conflict by creating shared spaces.

Various projects were proposed by designers in Belfast to create peace; for example, in North Belfast, two areas were deliberately planned as buffer areas between contesting communities. The business park on the north side of Duncairn Gardens was planned and designed as a neutral response to the two most trouble making areas Catholic neighbourhood of New Lodge and Protestant neighbourhood of Tiger's Bay. A decline in the demand for housing in Tiger's Bay helped 'facilitate' the process. Around 200 houses, a church and other commercial premise were demolished to create a site for 'neutral' businesses. Similarly, the Hillview 'Enterprise Zone' was planned as another buffer between Protestant Oldpark and Catholic Oldpark / Ardoyne. (Planning for Spatial Reconciliation Research Group, 2016)

Critics of Belfast strategy for handling conflict may emphasise on the political intention and urge of promoting capitalistic investments by arguing lack of traditional social integration compared to other European cities. However, Sterrett & McEldowney (2001) argued that in the cities facing conflict, the feeling of security amongst the people plays an important role; hence considerations of security cannot be neglected in conflict cities. This consideration leads to the vital message for urban designers working in conflict areas that the designs that work perfectly in an ordinary city may create a problem in extremely divided cities. Hence, the Belfast approach of urban design, which focused on maintaining ethnic places and creating share and neutral spaces across the barrier is considered as a successful design strategy.

Image 5.15 on the top right showing the proposal that is selected for the business park at the North side of Duncairn Gardens (Source: www. mmasarchitects.com)

Image 5.16 on the middle right showing the situation before the construction business park at the North side of Duncairn Gardens (Source: www. mmasarchitects.com)

Image 5.17 on the bottom right showing the imaginary situation after the construction business park at the North side of Duncairn Gardens (Source: www.mmasarchitects.com)





5.7 CONCLUSIONS

Berlin, Jerusalem, Sarajevo, and Belfast shows how planners and policymakers are addressing the ethnic/cultural/ideological conflict between the communities in the urban areas. In this conclusion is made in two sections first for planning and policy, while second for design practices.

5.7.1 PLANNING AND POLICY

As discussed in chapter three, the strategies from Bollens conflict planning strategies model can be seen in each of these cases. In the case of Berlin, the planning during the division in the GDR shows the neutral approach where planning was limited to the allocation of urban services and resources through technical skills. However, after the reunification of East and West Germany, the planning in the city is more focused on the equal collaboration and accommodation of both the parties. Also, the planning process during this period was channelized through the historical claims by both the sides, which shows the Equity strategy was used in the planning approach. In Jerusalem, the use of land use planning and urban expansion to increase the Jewish percentage in the city shows the partisan strategy of urban planning and policy. The degree of the partisan model is so high that the planning in Jerusalem is used as a tool to divide the city even more by the authorities. Yiftachel called this planning approach as an 'ethnocratic strategy' which is an extreme version of the partisan model. In Sarajevo, after the war, all the concentration of planning is focused on the reconstruction of the buildings and restoration of essential urban services and infrastructure through the technical approach of planning hence during this period the professionals in planning and policy have used the neutral approach. However, the foreign investments by many Islamic countries and radical views of the government in the Bosnia and Herzegovina promote the enormous amount of mosque building throughout the multicultural city of Sarajevo shows the passive partisan strategy which is adopted and initiated by the government shows its impact on the planning process of the city. In Belfast, the colour-blind approach in the planning to neglect the ethnic conflict in the city and focus on the distribution of urban services and resources constitutes the neutral strategy of planning and policy. The conflict between Catholic and Protestants in Belfast has been separated from the urban planning process in the city.

The governance approach in all these case studies is also different from each other because all of them are more focused on the centralised, top-down approach. In the case of Berlin, after the reunification, the collaborative approach has been adopted by the authorities by making a joint committee for planning, including an equal amount of professions

from both sides. In Jerusalem, the highly centralised process has been followed to control the planners and promote the state leading agenda. In Sarajevo, the government is promoting the radical agenda while planners are not addressing the issue of the cultural and historical identity of the city in the planning process; hence, the government dictates the planning process. In Belfast, the planning process is not as centralised as it was in 1972. Northern Ireland has more shares in planning than the British government. Moreover, the planning officials are working in a regional control on Northern Ireland.

This case studies shows that despite having the different planning and governance approaches the aim of the planning and governance in these cities is to create growth of the city and maintain peace in the city. However, after comparing the conflict condition in these cities on Bollens (2007) Conflict-stability continuum it is significant that in the cases of Berlin and Belfast, the success of this aim is relatively higher than the Sarajevo and Jerusalem as shown in table 5.2. Which leads to the conclusion that the partisan strategy is not compatible in the conflict areas because it strengthens the dived between the communities and created the feeling of insecurity amongst the minorities in the society and also initiate the possibility of future conflict in the city. The second and most important conclusion is that the success of the top-down governance approach is based on the collaboration and engagement of the different stakeholders in the process of planning and policy making. The primary

Su	cess	Region and City	Planning approach	Physical Interventions	Governence responce
Conflict-Stabiliyu Continiuum, adapted from Bollens (2007)	Stability	Germany ⊲- Berlin	Neutral planning approach focused on area reconstruction	allocation of urban services and resources through technical skills	Collaborative approach
	Movement towards peace	Northern Ireland ← Belfast	Colour-blind approach in the planning to neglect the ethnic conflict	Distribution of urban services and resources	Neutral strategy with regionally centralised system
	Suspension of violence	Bosnia and Herzegovina Sarajevo	Technical approach focused on reconstruction of buildings and infrastructure	Enormous amount of mosque building through foreign fuinding	Centralised partisan process
	Active conflict	Israel & Palestinian ← Jerusalem	Ethnocratic approach focused on landuse planning	Urban expansion for Jewish settlements	Centralised partisan process

Table 5.2 on the right showing sucess of maintaining peace by each case studied in this chapter with planning and governence approaches. (Source: Author)

role of government as a mediator in the planning process is necessary to avoid the chose though many will argue that the bottom-up approach is better than the top-down in the contested areas where the differences amongst the contesting parties are unsolvable and sensitive the top-down approach where government act as a mediator may work adequately.

5.7.2 DESIGN ASPECTS

Four exemplary projects that studied from each selected case strengthen the understanding of what measures urban designers and architects can take to make the peacebuilding process better in contested cities. In the case of Berlin, the restoration of Potsdamer Platz in order to convert it from a military dead zone during and after the WWII to a vibrant modern city centre which is an essential public place in Berlin shows the importance of creating or reviving public places in contested cities. Projects like this helped to erase bitter feelings for war and division after that. The success that Berlin is experiencing as a stable city from a divided city in the past has its roots in 'critical reconstruction' process that took place in Berlin after the fall of the Wall.

Case of Jerusalem is primarily important because of its approach to create a neutral and safe place through public transport. Light Rail in Jerusalem is not only connecting the communities across the divide but also helped to boost real estate and employment in the city. The potential to create a public encounter by creating a safe, neutral space where two contesting communities can come together is successfully demonstrated by Light Rail project in Jerusalem.

Case of Sarajevo brings an interesting approach to urban design, which focuses on neutral elements like water or trees to unite communities. Joint community initiatives in Sarajevo for the replanting process not helped to connect different sections of society but also revive the destroyed public places in the city. Sarajevo project genuinely demonstrates the importance of shared community initiatives and uses of trees as a neutral element in the peacebuilding process in contested cities.

In academia, various contrasting opinions were present about the success of creating shared spaces in Belfast. However, in projects discussed in this part justify the success of creating shared spaces amongst contesting communities areas and not integrate them aggressively. Consideration of security feeling of people is an essential factor to notice in the intention of behind the projects undertaken in post trouble era in Belfast. Hence, the Belfast approach of urban design, which focused on maintaining ethnic places and creating share and neutral spaces across the barrier is considered as a successful design strategy.

5.8 LESSONS LEARNING FOR POLICY AND PLANNING IN KASHMIR:

In this chapter planning and policy approaches with governance model has been discussed comparing the four case studies of Berlin, Jerusalem, Sarajevo, and Belfast in order to list down the critical lessons for the planning, policy, and design in Kashmir region. In this section, the most relevant and important findings have been discussed and relate to the case of Kashmir.

5.8.1 NEUTRALITY OF PLANNING

The current planning practices in the Kashmir are similar to the neutral strategy of Bollens four model conflict planning approaches. However, the complex dynamics of the political system in the Kashmir, where the state of Jammu and Kashmir and the central government of India has different interests in appearing the different communities also makes it partially partisan.

As seen in the Belfast case, the neutral planning strategy is useful in the conflict areas where multi-religious conflict is very high. To maintain the neutral approach and concentrate on the fair distribution of urban services and resources will be helpful for the planning in Kashmir. Also, socioeconomically beneficial projects and infrastructure development in both the Kashmir and Jammu area may create a unifies Kashmir region as it was successful in the case of Belfast and Berlin.

5.8.2 ROLE OF MEDIATOR

Both the state and centre government may act as a mediator in the case of Kashmir for planning and policy-making in the Kashmir. As seen in the case of Berlin and Belfast, the success of the planning and policy lies in the engagement of the different stakeholders whereas in Jerusalem the lack of engagement of all stakeholders is strengthening the problem. Also, the degree of political interference in the planning profession in Jerusalem and Sarajevo is high, which resulted in the more division in the contested communities. Hence the consensus building and engaging the actors in the process of planning is essential in the case of Kashmir.

5.8.3 CELEBRATING CULTURAL IDENTITY

In the multicultural region like Kashmir, it is an essential consideration during planning and policy making. As seen in the case of Berlin and Belfast, the acknowledgment of past and built heritage as well as a respectful appreciation of ethnic and religious differences helped to maintain and regulate the conflict. On the other hand, the ignorant approach of planners in the Sarajevo towards history create an issue amongst the communities and also give a chance to political authorities to promote a certain type of historical narrative. As discussed in chapter three, the acknowledgement of the cultural identity is missing in the planning and governance in the Kashmir region; it is an essential factor to consider.

5.8.4 FUTURE-ORIENTED APPROACH

As discussed previously, Kashmir is a disputed area amongst India and Pakistan. Some part of the Kashmir is still under the occupation of Pakistan. However, as seen in the case of Berlin, the planning of GDR considers both the sides of the Berlin despite the plan is only applied on the one side. However, after reunification, this consideration of making provision of other side helped to speed up the process and create trust amongst communities on the other side. Considering the situation of the Kashmir, this type of provision and consideration may in future in case the Kashmir become reunified.

5.8.5 NEUTRAL AND SHARED SPACE MAKING

Kashmir as a conflict area facing a problem in public uses of shared and neutral spaces to create social encounter due to the military presence. As seen in the cases of Belfast and Berlin, it is significant to create shared and neutral spaces to promote a united city/region identity. As well as the Belfast approach, which focused on maintaining ethnic spaces and not to integrate contesting communities aggressively is also important. Also, the importance of public transport in connecting people across the divide in a valuable lesson learned from Jerusalem case.

5.8.6 REPLACING EXTREME WITH NEUTRAL/SHARE IDENTITY

Various cities in Kashmir are having a symbolic representation of communal violence and conflict, which needs to be replaced by neutral or shared elements. In both the cases of Sarajevo and Berlin, the importance of neutral elements to create a neutral public space and dilute the scars of conflict has been mentioned. To identify the potential of dead spaces in conflict cities in order to transform them into a neutral/share space by engaging different groups of people in the process is an important lesson got from these both cases.

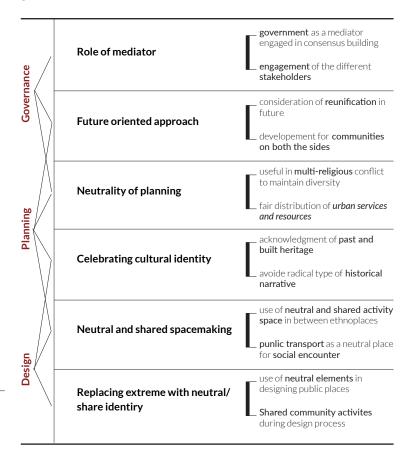


Table 5.3 on the right showing the key lessons from the comparative analysis. (Source: Author)





THE DIVIDE IN KASHMIR

In this chapter, the literature in the field of political sciences, history, and journalism has been studied to understand the roots and intensity of the conflict. It is also useful to understand the nature of the conflict in order to relate it to the spatial form of the urban environment. The chapter starts with an Introduction to Kashmir and its early history. After that, it leads to the dispute between India and Pakistan over the state of Jammu and Kashmir with remarks on the current situation and intensity of the conflict. Finally, it discusses the political and Ethnic/Cultural conflict in the region and how it is affecting the communities.

6.1 CONTESTED REGION OF KASHMIR

'Small indeed the country may seem by the side of the great plains that extend in the south and confined the history of which it was the scene. And yet, just as the natural attractions of the valley have won it fame beyond the frontiers of India, thus [to]o the interest attaching to its history far exceeds the narrow geographical limits.' -Sir Aurel Stein, 1900: 24

The valley of Kashmir is deemed to be one of the most beautiful places in the entire world. It may appear to be remote and landlock if viewed on a map, extending up to hundred and forty-five kilometres. The Himalayan mountain ranges, which lay high above the plains of the sub-continent, completely isolate this oval, irregular land. Its apparent impregnability is, however, illusory. There are over twenty recorded passes providing points of entry to this land. This makes the valley both a crossroad and a place of refuge. The 12th-century poet Kalhana, author of the Rajatarangini (Chronicles of Kings), has recorded Kashmir's unique history in his text. The author describes in the text how, since ancient times, the valley's rulers have come into contact and conflict with their neighbours. (Schofield, 2003)

There are times when this valley has been a part of a vast empire, and other times it has comprised to be a kingdom in its own right. Regardless of the era and regime, the people of Kashmir have retained a secure attachment to their original cultural identity - their Kashmiriyat - which transcends religion. (Schofield, 2003).

Currently, Kashmir is one of the twenty-two major conflicts around the globe that are threatening to erupt into a severe military standoff (Hughes Chris, 2018). It is a disputed area between Pakistan, India and Kashmiri separatists currently a part of India. The region is in dispute since the formation of India and Pakistan in 1947. The religious dynamics of the region followed by the availability of a vast number of resources and a strategic location for war is a primary reason for the geopolitical interest of India and Pakistan. Despite maintaining ceasefire since 2003 there is an armed conflict near the border of the region, resulting in cross-border terrorism which supports Kashmiri separatist movement. Due to this constant conflict situation, most of the time the region is under curfew resulting in an underdeveloped region compares to other states of India. To understand and explore the type of contested space and conflict in the Kashmir region, it is necessary to examine past historical events that happened in this region.

Image 6.1 on the right showing Dal Lake Srinagar, Kashmir (Source: Photo by Mihir Patilhande)



6.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF CONFLICT AND DIVIDE

6.2.1 EARLY HISTORY

There are records and references of the valley of Kashmir in ancient Hindu mythology. According to mythology, Kashmir has been ruled by various kings in its history. The first king was Adgonand, who was crowned to the throne in 4249 B.C. This was the time when Egypt was said to have been ruled by demigods. His successor and his son Danudar was killed by Yadavas, the tribe to which Krishna belonged. In fourth and fifth century B.C., Kashmir was ruled by the Kambojas and later by the Panchalas respectively. Buddhist religion found a strong base in Kashmir due to the spread of Mauryan dominion over most of the Indian subcontinent. The current capital of Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar, was established by the Mauryan emperor Asoka. (Bose, 2003).

6.2.2 ISLAM IN THE VALLEY

Through the first millennium, the regime of Hindu rulers brought upon alternating phases of prosperity and misery unto the Kashmir valley. The Mongol rulers ended the Hindu rule after invading the Kashmir valley in 1320. They came to Kashmir through Baramulla pass and looted Srinagar. After these events, the local Mongol chief declared independence due to the unstable political situation occurring in the region. During this time, Islam was spreading throughout middle Asia till Afghanistan. The then son of the Ladhak chief Rinchana entered Kashmir. Soon after that, he converted himself into a Muslim and named himself Sadr-u-din. He died in the year 1323. In about 1339, Shams-ud-Din Shah Mir, the first Pashtun ruler of the region came from the tribal Swat region of Afghanistan. He established Muslim reign in the valley of Kashmir (Maps of India.com, 2018). A mass exodus followed when some of the subsequent rulers, such as Sultan-Sikandar, started persecuting Hindus living in the region. This was the peak of spreading Islam in the valley of Kashmir. The Mughal ruler Akbar annexed the Kashmir valley in 1586. Kashmir valley was added to the province of Mughal Empire by 1589 AD. The governors of Kashmir began to ruthlessly encourage and enforce religious fanaticism in the region until Aurangzeb took the Mughal throne (Maps of India.com, 2018). By 1752, Kashmiri nobles invited Ahmad Shah Abdali of Kabul to invade and annex the land. Kashmir soon became a part of the Pathan rule. There was a debate between some scholars that despite the oppression of some rulers, Kashmir evolved into a society where the Intellectuals - Kashmiri Pandits and Muslim scholars- were a dominant force; and the harmony amongst



Image 6.2 on the right showing a destroyed temple built by King Avantivarman (AD. 855–833) during Islamic rule, about 30 km from Srinagar City (Source: https://link.springer.com/content/)

the Muslims and Hindus were present (Schofield, 2003). However, the tresses of the victimising Hindus by the Muslim rulers started the first step of a divide in the communities in the region and the fragile relation between the two communities.

6.2.3 SIKH RULE

The state of Kashmir was conquered in 1819 by Sikh ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Maharaja Ranjit Singh designated Ranjit Deo's nephew Gulab Singh as "Raja of Jammu" in 1822. Gulab Singh successfully annexed the Baltistan and Ladakh regions. In this period the British colonial empire was spreading very fast in the Indian subcontinent. The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839 accelerated the crash between the Sikh Empire and the British authorities. In 1845, the outbreak of the First Anglo-Sikh War witnessed Gulab Singh acting as an advisor to Sir Henry Lawrence, who had initially accepted a neutral position. The treaties of Lahore and Amritsar resulted with the control of British over the State of Lahore including all of West Punjab. A different treaty was signed between Gulab Singh and British, making him an independent princely ruler of Kashmir (Schofield, 2003).

6.2.4 THE PRINCELY STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

The Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir remained internally divided by diverse religions and ethnic groups even though it was ruled as a unitary kingdom by the Dogras (Gulab Singh and successors). Despite Kashmir valley being predominantly Sunni, the Gilgit and Baltistan regions were populated by a majority of Shia Muslims. Jammu was inhabited in equal

measure by Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs even after being a traditional seat of Dogra Kings. Muslims primarily inhabited the Poonch region. There was a significant influence in cultural and political matters by the Kashmiri Pandits of the valley region. In 1857, the Indian Rebellion, also known as the Sepoy Mutiny, was closely tied to Gulab Singh's demise. British forces got support from the Dogras of Kashmir resulted in the state become a part of the British empire. (Schofield, 2003)

6.2.5 THE DISPUTED INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION

In 1947, during the partition of India and Pakistan, the ruler of the Princely State of Kashmir - Maharaja Hari Singh Dogra, the great-grandson of Gulab Singh- was offered a choice to either join the newly formed states of India and Pakistan or remain independent. A Standstill Agreement was signed with Pakistan by Maharaja, unsure of his decision allowing for a continuation of regular trade and exchanges till a settlement was discussed. During these troublesome times, a rebel faction from the Poonch region revolted against the Maharaja's rule and declared the formation of Azad Kashmiran independent government (Maps of India.com, 2018). By October of 1947, in order to stop Kashmir from joining India, the rebel faction from Poonch invited Pakistani guerrilla troops to engage in a campaign against the ruler. The guerilla troops were responsible for the homicides across the Kashmir. Due to these events, Maharaja Hari Singh appealed to the British Governors-General Lord Mountbatten. The Maharaja agreed to accept to merge in India on the condition that Indian troops would evict the Pakistani forces from Jammu and Kashmir as suggested by Mountbatten. On October 26, 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh executed the Instrument of Accession. The state of Jammu and Kashmir was thus poised to join the Dominion of India. Mountbatten formally accepted the accession. With this accession, Maharaja Hari Singh Dogra handed over the valley to India. By the instrument of accession, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir accepted three subjects as ones on which the Dominion Legislature can make laws (Maps of India.com, 2018). They are- Defence, External Affairs, and Communication. Kashmir's Standstill Agreement with Pakistan, allowed Pakistan to contest the accession of Kashmir to India. India has maintained the status quo stating that Kashmir has irrevocably acceded to India following the Instrument of Accession. While Pakistan demanded a referendum by the people of Kashmir in order to remove the military forces from the Pakistani occupied area. (Bose, 2003)



Image 6.3 on the right showing The Hindustan Times' front page on the day when Kashmir accedes to India. In the picture Prime Minister Nehru with Maharaja Hari singh (Source: www.scoopnest.com)

6.2.6 THREE WARS AND A LINE OF CONTROL

Since 1947, India and Pakistan have fought three major and bloody wars over the control of Kashmir. Maharaja Hari Singh's execution of the Instrument of Accession has resulted in the Indo-Pakistan War of 1947. During its final stage, then Prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru invited the United Nations to mediate the war. When the war ended In December 1948, the administrative segments of Kashmir were demarcated with the establishment of Line of Control (LOC). The International boundary dispute was still left pending (Maps of India.com, 2018). The war of 1965 ended bleeding both India and Pakistan. Thousands of lives had been lost, and the intervention of the USA and erstwhile USSR had become necessary as the both USA and USSR were involved in the passive support to Pakistan and India respectively. India won the war with the cost of having massive damages on both sides. On January 10th, 1966, the Tashkent Declaration was signed, and the two nations withdrew forces to the LOC. The 1971 war was focused on Bangladesh and not Kashmir (Maps of India.com, 2018).

Later, in 1999, the Kargil War happened because Pakistani troops infiltrated the Kargil district across the LOC. They also assisted insurgents in the area. India retaliated the infiltration. The war that followed caused panic In the International community, with the threat of a nuclear war. International pressure forced Pakistan to withdraw from the Kargil War (Bose, 2003). Over the years, several clashes have marked near the Line of Control between the armed forces of Pakistan and India.



Map 6.1 on the top showing the location of Kashmir district and administrative boundries between India and Pakistan. (Source: carnegieendowment.org)

6.2.7 CURRENT SITUATION

The LOC is still existing, and the clashes are regular from both the sides (Maps of India.com, 2018). However, the peace process to resolve the boundary dispute started since 2002 when the then Prime minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpai took the initiative to have a dialogue with the Pakistani president and Military chief General Musharraf. However, again, the dialogue resulted without any concrete solution as the government in India changed in 2004, and Pakistan became a fully democratic nation by ending the Military rule since 2001. This trend continues till 2014 when the current Prime minister Modi express his concern to resolve the Kashmir issue, but the politically unstable government in Pakistan did not respond it positively. However, in the December 2018 the newly elected Prime minister of Pakistan Imran Khan made an open announcement and agrees to try his best to solve the Kashmir issue as it is in favour of both the countries to have a healthy cooperation on the economic level and not spend the significant finances in the Kashmir to maintain the military forces. This can be seen as a positive start between the two countries over the issue of Kashmir and weaken the separatist movement in the Kashmir.

Image 6.4 on the bottom showing Indian Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj (L) shakes hand with Pakistan's top adviser for foreign affairs, Sartaj Aziz, prior to their meeting in Islamabad, Pakistan, Dec. 9, 2015 (Source: www.voanews.com)



6.3 DEEPLY ROOTED CONFLICT

As seen in the entire historical events of Kashmir, the period of Islamic invaders who came from the middle east and introduced Islam in the region instigate conflict in the region. This events in the past did not keep good result on the Hindu, Sikh, and Buddhist community in the region. They are the one who affected a lot during these years with the occupation of the different rulers resulted in a tense situation amongst the religious communities in the Kashmir. Also, after the Independence of India and Pakistan in 1945, the depth of the problem is increased tremendously in the region, creating huge disconnection and lack of trust amongst these communities. This conflict has two main dimensions political and cultural. On a political level, the tension between India and Pakistan and the cultural divide between the two communities Hindus and Muslims staying in the region is deeply rooted with its spatial manifestation throughout the region.

6.3.1 POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Political conflict in the Kashmir is based on the religious and cultural pluralism in the region. The people in the Kashmir have different opinions based on their religious identity to support whom. The government of India has a particular interest in protecting Hindus and Sikhs in the region while Pakistan claims the territory considering the Muslim majority of the Kashmir region.

The reasons for the conflict between the Kashmiri insurgents and the Indian government are closely related to a dispute over local autonomy ('UCDP - Uppsala Conflict Data Program,' n.d.). Democratic development was not present in Kashmir until the late 1970s, and by 1988 many of the democratic reforms made by the Government of India had been failed and non-violent channels for expressing dissatisfaction were limited and caused a dramatic increase in support for insurgents advocating violent secession from India. This results in a massive number of casualties according to official figures released by Jammu and Kashmir Assembly: there were 3,400 disappearance cases, and the conflict has left more than 49,000 people died which also includes 5,000 police personnel as of July 2009. However, the rate has gradually decreased, till the year 2012 where an increase is a current concern. In general, Kashmir is facing political injuries concerning deaths, and it is affecting the daily life of the people making it also socially unstable.

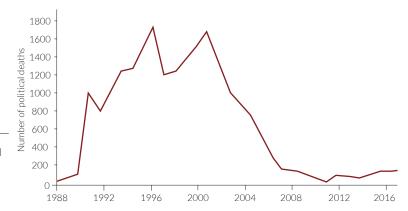


Figure 6.1 on the left showing political deaths in Kashmir, 1988-2018 (source: ucdp - uppsala conflict data program)

6.3.2 COMMUNITY VIOLENCE

The recent community violence against Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus) in the region happened during the short period of late 1989 to early 1990. Thousands of Kashmiri Pandits were killed brutally, and over 58000 families were forced to leave their homeland by the Muslim extremist (Singh, 2015). Several Hindu temples were destroyed and looted during this period. Many of these families are resettled in the Jammu which is winter capital of State of Jammu and Kashmir, Delhi, Pune and other parts of India. After visiting these families staying at Jammu, it is significant that the scars if the conflict is still in their mind and a deep connection to their homeland in Kashmir valley. National government after 1995 made many attempts for the rehabilitation of these Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir valley, but the process never reaches to success due to bitter relations of Hindus and Muslims in the valley as well as Kashmiri separatist groups.



Image 6.5 on the right showing damaged Hindu idols in Srinagar. (Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exodus_of_Kashmiri_Hindus#/media/File:Idolsbroken.jpg)

6.4 DIVIDED COMMUNITIES

As discussed in the theory chapter, conflict conditions resulted in a divide amongst communities. The bitter history of Kashmir made a significant impact in creating that divide in Kashmir. A primary analysis of Kashmir based on the distribution of the ethnic population and their response to the current situation has been done in this section.

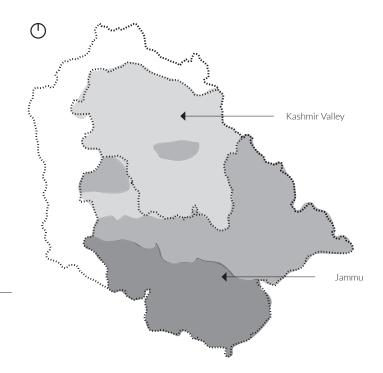
6.4.1 ETHNIC PLURALITY- REGIONAL, RELIGIOUS AND LINGUISTIC

Kashmir region is divided into two administrative parts Jammu and Kashmir. Jammu situated towards the southern and south-eastern side of the region and has people who are related to those of Punjab. They are mainly Hindu, having Muslim and Sikh as a minority. The religious demographics of Jammu region consists of 65.23% of Hindus, 30.69% of Muslims, 3.57% of Sikh, whereas Christian, Buddhist, and Jain populations are negligible. Hindi, Dogri, and Punjabi are the most commonly spoken languages in Jammu Province. The Valley of Kashmir lies towards the northern side of the region. Out of the total population of the Kashmir region, 97.16% are Muslims with Hindus having the largest minority community with 1.84% of the population and some negligible percentages of other faiths. The major languages are Urdu and Kashmiri. (EFSAS, 2017)

This concentration of individual religious communities in the two different parts of the region segregates the social and spatial interaction between these communities, and in some cases, instigate the conflict on the community level.

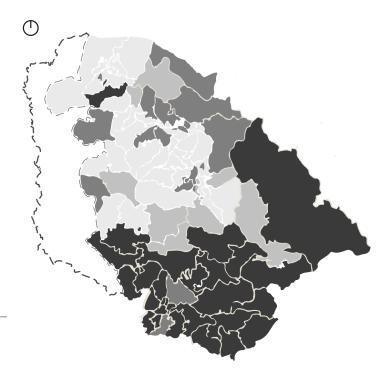
6.4.2 COMMUNITY ATTITUDES IN KASHMIR

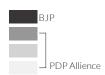
The 2014 elections in Kashmir for the state assembly play a minor role in instigating change, especially for the demilitarization of the state. However, as the Kashmiris themselves recognized, which is evidenced by a voter turnout of 60 percent, participating in this election does offer a critical venue for tackling practical grievances (Navlakha, 2015). The state legislature, though limited in its reach, does have the power to build roads, schools, health centres and to create jobs. However, the results of the election are still proving the segregated opinion of the people: the BJP (party which is commonly considered as a nationalist and Hindu leaned) won the majority of the seats from the Jammu region whereas PDP (party that supports the autonomy of the Kashmir region and considerably leaned towards the Muslim majority) won the majority of the seats in the Kashmir valley. This indicates the lack of confidence from both religious groups on a particular party, making the situation more critical as it worsens the social differences by giving a political dimension to it.



Hindu majority
Mix
Muslim majority

Map 6.2 on the top right showing religious distribution in the Kashmir region (source: mapsforindia.com, edited by Author)





Map 6.3 on the bottom right showing state assembly election results 2015 (source: mapsforindia.com, edited by Author)

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These (Articles 370 and 35A)
are still our issues. We needed full majority in Parliament...By 2020, we will have majority (in the Rajya Sabha)

AMIT SHAH | BJP president

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GOVERNANCE AND PLANNING IN KASHM

In this chapter, the planning and governance system of the India and state of Jammu and Kashmir has been discussed. To understand the relation of this conflict and divide on spatial conditions of Kashmir, it is essential to understand the planning and governance in Kashmir. In this chapter, detailed analysis has been carried out on the planning and governance system in India and Kashmir in order to understand complex relationships amongst them. The chapter starts with discussing the planning system and governance module in India. As India is not a fully federal state and most of the central policies and decisions are binding on the state. Also, the legal and statutory complication in the State of Kashmir due to its spatial status has been mentioned. Finally, the chapter concludes with the critical aspect of the planning and governance in India and the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

7.1 PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE PRACTICES IN INDIA

Globally urbanisation is considered as a process which improves the quality of life and income level. However, in developing countries, urbanisation is also responsible for the pollution, congestion, and poor quality of life. Hence in India, which is a developing country, the urban planning system is also focused on bringing prosperity and avoiding adverse effects.

7.1.1 PLANNING SYSTEM IN INDIA

The planning system of India was reviewed in 2014 by the Ministry of Urban Development. Many successful planning models from Indian states and abroad have been considered in the planning system. The current planning system is a combination of statutory and non-statutory plans. The details of the planning system are shown in table 7.1. (Ministry of Urban Development, 2014).

Generally, on a state or a regional level, the development strategy is formulated in a 'perspective plan.' This strategy is furthermore explained and shown in a 'regional and sub-regional plan' as well as in 'development plan.' The perspective plan is a guiding document for the planning system. All the planning authorities responsible for the plan are mentioned in the perspective plan, for example, planning authorities, local/regional authorities, etc. Regional plans which deal with the physical and fiscal planning efforts go parallelly with the development plan which is focused on the mobility and transport-oriented planning. Both the regional and development plans are prepared on the district or metropolitan scale. Development plan provides the policy and proposals for the detailing in the local area plan. Special purpose plan is generally formulated for the specific need of the area concerning culture, economic development, or environmental zones. In a standard planning process, special purpose plan goes parallelly with the local area plan in coordination with the development plan. Project report and annual plan are essential in the planning system as they deal with the quality of application and implementation of the plans. The detailed system is shown in figure 7.1. (Ministry of Urban Development, 2014)

> Table 7.1on the next pages showing planning system framework in India (Source: Ministry of Urban Development, 2014)

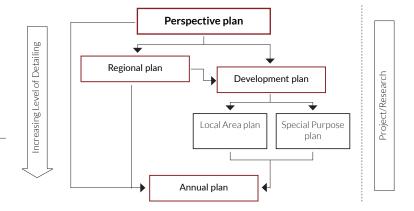


Figure 7.1 on the right showing relationship of the planning system in India (Source: Ministry of Urban Development, 2014)

7.1.2 THE FOCUS OF URBAN PLANNING IN INDIA

The urban and regional plans in India are focused on the four forms of sustainability variables which are Economic sustainability, Social sustainability, Governance or Managerial sustainability and Environmental Sustainability (Ministry of Urban Development, 2014). Economic sustainability deals with project cost and feasibility. It focuses on the revenue generated from the project that is beneficial for the development zone. Social sustainability relates to the fair distribution of the urban services and resources amongst the residents equitably. Managerial sustainability deals with the legal and statutory requirements of the project in order to deliver the expected outcomes of the projects efficiently. Environmental sustainability focuses on the issues related to the environment like solid waste management, pollution, etc. In the Twelfth Five Year Plan of sustainability, the issue has been addressed and mentioned for several time (Ministry of Urban Development, 2014). Since then, sustainability is a vital factor of all Indian planning systems. Also, in the National Mission for Sustainable Habitat the recommendations and urge for strengthening urban governance structure, improving infrastructure, inclusive governance, protection of the environment and spatial attention to urban design and regional planning are given (Ministry of Urban Development, 2014).

Planning system	Scope and purpose of the plan	Time frame
Core area of planning		
Perspective plan	To develop vision and provide a policy framework for urban and regional development.	20 years
Regional plan	To identify the region and regional resources for development within which settlement plan to be prepared.	20 years
Development plan	To prepare a comprehensive development plan for urban areas, periurban areas under control if development authority/ metropolitan planning authority	20-30 years (review every 5 yrs.)
Local area plan	To detail the sub-city land use plan and integration with urban infrastructure, mobility and services.	5-20 years (review every 5 yrs.)
Specific and investment planning		
Special purpose plan	To identify the needs of the special areas which require special plan within the framework of development plan.	5-20 years (within city utilities 30 year plan))
Annual plan	To translate Development plan in the context of annual physical and fiscal resource requirement. To monitor plan implementation with performance milestones.	1 year
Project/Research	To focus on project related investments, costing and returns & for the studies required prior to or post plan formulation.	5-20 years

Various plans / Indicative list

Vision document	Concept plan	Mission statement		
Regional plan (Mobility)	Sub-regional plan			
District development plan (Mobility)	City/ Metropolitan development plan (Mobility)	Master plan City utility (30 yrs.)	Revised development plan	
Town planning schemes	Zonal/ sub-city plan	Ward committee plan	Urban redevelopment plan	
City development plan	Comprehensive mobility plan	City Sanitation plan	Tourism master plan	Heritage conservation plan
Investment plan	Audit and monitoring plan			
pre-feasibility & feasibility study	Detailed project report	Schemes and sub- projects	Surveys and studies	Specific project plan

7.1.3 CRITICAL ASPECTS OF SPATIAL PLANNING PRACTICES IN INDIA

The current urban planning practices in India are still based on the Town and Country Planning Act of the United Kingdom of 1947 and is primarily focused on comprehensive land use zoning (Ahluwalia, 2015). However, since the formation of a new government in 2014, Urban Planning in India is going through structural reform. The planning is now more focused on land use, which is a traditional approach alongside Infrastructure development. Planning in India is seeing its opportunity in mobility and transport planning to connect the remote and rural areas in India to its overly populated cities in order to create a balanced rural and urban development.

Ahluwalia (2015) mentioned that the major flaw of the planning system in India that it is not focused on the economic activities in the locality hence lacking the market forces. She further explained that the main instruments of planning in India such as land policy, zoning regulation, urban development regulations, transport, and other planning are not integrated and work separately, sometimes opposing each other.

Many other social considerations, such as acknowledgment of cultural and built heritage, are missing in the planning profession (Doshi, 1985). Planning does not deal with the empowerment of socially week sections in the region. Most of the time, land acquisition is the root cause of this social ignorance of the planning system.

In the current years, the need for transportation and land use integration has been highlighted by many scholars and Ministry of Urban Development (Ahluwalia, 2015). An excellent transport network accompanied by the proper public transport can increase the working efficiency of the Indian cities. Transit-oriented development (TOD) is the current trend of the urban planning of India focuses on the connectivity between the urban areas. Road, rail, airport, and water roads are the primary focus of this TOD.

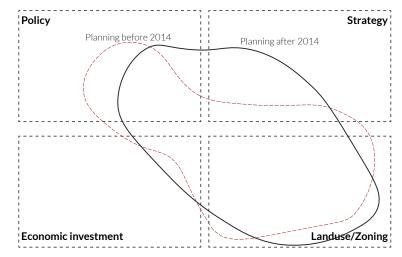


Figure 7.2 on the left showing focus of Indian planning system (Source: Framework of the model by Nadin, 2018, redrawn and edited by Author)

7.1.4 URBAN GOVERNANCE IN INDIA

Indian policy system is based on a federal governance structure (Kesar, 2014). In which both state and centre have legislative and executive powers. However, India is not a federal state, and the centre always dictates the policies. In the Constitution, the three different lists are given, which differentiate the state and centre subjects. Land, public health, water supply falls under the state list whereas railway, aviation, water transport, environmental protection zones come under centre list. Some subjects are positioned in the concurrent list such as roads, education where both centre and state can make decisions; however, in case of opposing decisions, the decision made by centre remains in working. For the state subjects centre government still act as an advisory role assisting in policy formation (Kesar, 2014). Hence the urban development in India worked on the State-centre partnership.

Since the British era, spatial governance is evolved in India in order to face the urbanization challenges. The planning commission is the main guiding body for urban planning and development in India. Planning commission closely works with the Ministries related to urban development and States in order to formulate inclusive socio-economic development in the urban area (Kesar, 2014). Detail structure of urban policy framework at the centre level is shown in figure 7.3. Many autonomous governmental institutions provide technical support to the planning commission on specialized topics during the process. However, the involvement of institutions is not active compared to other developing and developed countries (Ahluwalia, 2017).

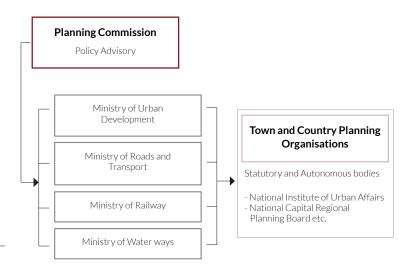


Figure 7.3 on the right showing urban policy framework at the central level in India.(Source: Kesar, 2014)

On the state level, the process of spatial planning is majorly done by the municipal or district authorities. State and local government authorities work in a partnership on the state level. The detailed structure of the urban policy framework on the state level is shown in figure 7.4.

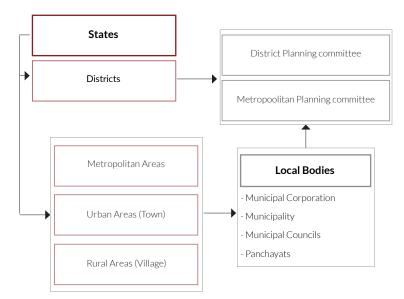


Figure 7.4 on the left showing urban policy framework at the state level in India.(Source: Kesar, 2014)

7.1.5 CRITICAL ASPECTS OF URBAN GOVERNANCE IN INDIA

Ahluwalia (2017) argued that the urban areas in India are not empowered in delivering public services, managing process of urbanization, and work with rapid economic growth. Direct involvement of government on a different level for various urban planning aspects creates confusion and makes the process slow. Also, the low privatization of infrastructurerelated services creates an economic challenge for connectivity projects. Furg & Barron, (2008) mentioned that the success of the urban mission is based on the proactivity of the state towards the necessary legal reforms, the institutional framework for financial support and making urban local governments capable of delivering the urban services. The scholars highly appreciate the use of technology and in the national missions in India. However, the planning lacks the technical and creative support on the various levels. Urban Planners, urban designers, landscape architects are not involved in the process. Involvement of Civil and structural engineers and town planners in the planning process makes it monotonous neglecting societal and economic impacts of urban planning (Kesar, 2014). Admittedly, the governance model in India for planning needs some structural reforms in order to achieve urban development in the rapid urbanization process in India.

7.2 PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE PRACTICES IN KASHMIR

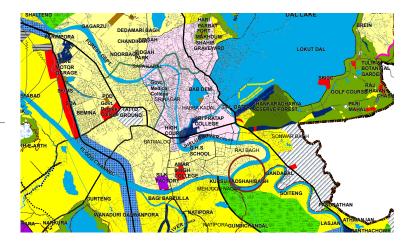
Planning and Governance in the Kashmir have been analysed by using the urban cultural/ethnic dimensions which are used in the planning process of conflict areas. Territorial dimensions, economic dimension, and cultural dimensions have a direct connection with the Planning in Kashmir, whereas procedural dimension is related to governance in Kashmir.

7.2.1 TERRITORIAL DIMENSION

As explained in the planning system of India, planning in Kashmir is majorly focused on the land use planning. On the one hand, where the Indian system is trying to incorporate other aspects of planning into it. Planning in Kashmir is still focusing on 99% on land use and zoning (Town Planning Organisation Kashmir, 2017).

It is essential to understand that during the curfews or temporary occupation of the areas in the Kashmir for military purposes made an impact on the space and build environment. The military requires a large number of spaces to carry out their activities. Moreover, cities in the Kashmir provides these needs quickly converting or using the existing spaces. Most of the buildings and community spaces are taken under the military. The street comes under surveillance during this period they are either blocked or controlled by check posts. This immediate military occupation is daily life in most of the areas in the Kashmir, due to special military law AFSA which gives Indian Military right to occupy the area in case of events which are against the sovereignty of nation for example protests, terrorist attacks, etc. This military footprint in the Kashmir made a significant impact in shaping the daily life of people. For example, Srinagar, the summer capital of State of Jammu and Kashmir developed a masterplan for 2035 without mentioning any military presence and its impact on land management (Town Planning Organisation Kashmir, 2017). Recchia (2016), in her article, mentioned a temple in Srinagar, which is designated as a temple on land use plan, but in reality, it is used for military purposes. She further mentioned that during her visit there she found out heavy fencing and military officials around it. A review on the land use plan across the state offers a similar outcome.

On the other hand, 'Ram Munshi Bagh' an area selected for the rehabilitation of Kashmiri Pandits (Jammu and Kashmir Newspoint, 2016) is proposed on the existing residential zone shows the faith-blind approach of land use planning. As discussed in comparative analysis, this faith-blind approach is necessary to tackle the conflict situation and maintain peace in the region.



Map 7.1 on the right showing masterplan 2025 of srinagar and circled area is the proposed site for rehabilitation of Kashmiri Pandits. Yellow colour indicates residential areas. (Town Planning Organisation Kashmir, 2017)



Map 7.2 on the top showing google map view of Hanuman Mandir situated at the edge of Amira Kadal bridge, Srinagar.(Source: Google Maps)

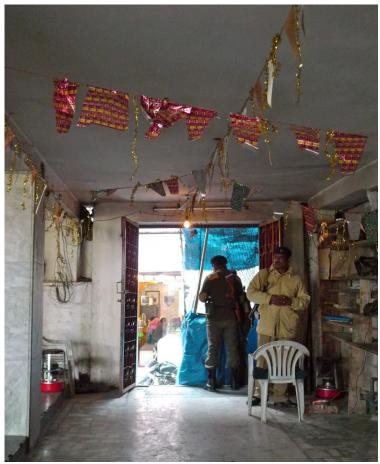
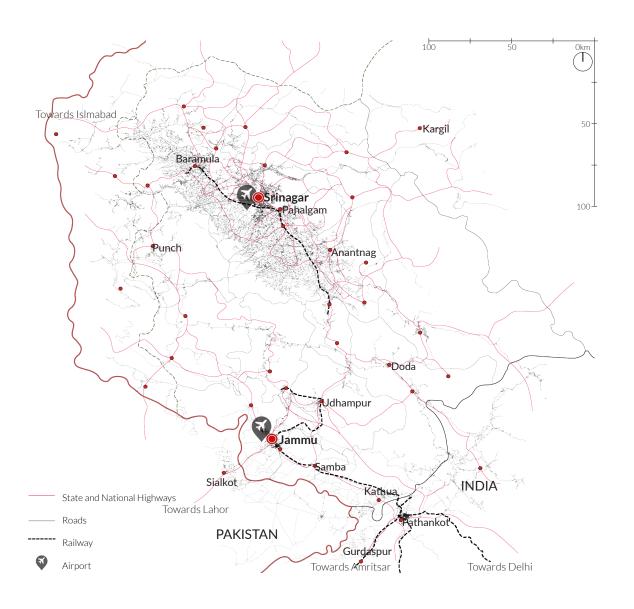


Image 7.1 on the right showing military occupied view of inside Hanuman Mandir situated at the edge of Amira Kadal bridge, Srinagar. (Source: Recchia, 2016)

7.2.2 ECONOMIC DIMENSION

As the planning process is fragmented in the Kashmir, where other than land use all the aspects of planning are neglected, provision of urban services in the region is made by various national and state institutions. The economic dimension is majorly based on providing urban services and resources. It is true that Kashmir is one of the challenging regions for creating transport infrastructure due to its critical geographical location. However, significant development can be seen in this sector in the past years (Town Planning Organisation Kashmir, 2017). In the region of Jammu and Kashmir, all three means of transport, air, road, and railway are present and used massively. Waterways are generally used for transport within the city and not for regional transport. Jammu-Srinagar national highway is the main road connecting the city of Jammu and Srinagar apart from old Mughal Road. Apart from that, several state highways and roads are present to connect cities. However, In the spatial mapping, it is significant that the cities in the Kashmir region are well connected than that of the cities in the Jammu region. On the other hand, Jammu city is well connected through railway with the other part of India, its neighboring Indian states and national capital Delhi. However, Srinagar is not connected with the railway to Jammu and hence to the other part of India. Considering the railway is the most prominent means of transport in India amongst its rapidly growing middle and lower-class population, it is the central issue of concern. A senior town planner in Jammu mentioned plans amongst the government for making this connection for many years, but lack of budget and unstable political conditions is creating the process slowly. It also shows the unequal distribution of urban services in the region and critical political intentions of both National and State government.



Map 7.3 on the top showing the transport-infrastructure in the Kashmir region (source: mapsforindia.com, edited by Author)

In terms of urban resources, Kashmir is one of the least industrialized states in India. During my field trip, after interviewing many eminent scholars on this topic, the main reason that I found out is lack of investment in the private sector. The private sector in Kashmir is only 5%, which is responsible for the low industrial growth through the state. As mentioned in the previous chapters State of Jammu and Kashmir is the only autonomous state in India, and hence article 35A of Indian constitution allows only citizens of the state of Jammu and Kashmir can own land, which is the primary reason for the disinterest if investors outside the state. There is a huge debate that is happening within the state for abolishing section 35A. However, state government and Islamic organizations are not ready to accept this considering the threat that the Indian government will try to increase the Hindu population in Kashmir. On the other hand, the Hindu population in the state is supporting abolishing section 35A so that people from other parts of India can buy land and settle down in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and there will be more exchange between India and State of J&K.



Image 7.2 on the left showing protest against abolishing section 35A in Srinagar, 2018 (Source: www. hindustantimes.com/india-news/what-is-article-35a-and-why-the-controversy)



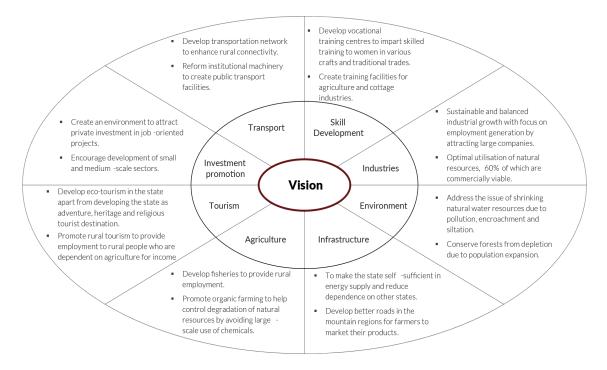
Image 7.3 on the left showing a security personnel stands guard at Srinagar during a two-day strike call given by separatist leaders to protest against the legal challenge to Article 35-A. (Source:https://www.deccanherald.com/national/article-35a-row-life-crippled-718226.html)

7.2.3 CULTURAL DIMENSION

After examination of all the possible data, it is significant that the planning in Kashmir is missing the cultural dimension. In the executive summary of the development of Jammu and Kashmir, the following points are highlighted (Planning commission of Jammu and & Kashmir, 2016).

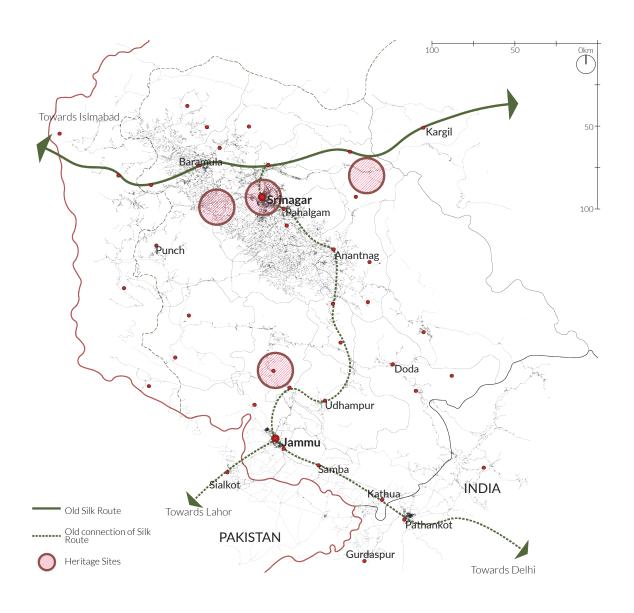
- Comprehensive, integrated urban area development plans including zonal, district and sector plans and layouts.
- Involvement of the private sector for providing urban services to meet the increasing demand.
- Water supply and sanitation projects.
- Increasing emphasis can be given to the formation of housing cooperatives to meet the growing demands of housing facilities in urban areas.
- Attention to urban transport and prepare a transport policy that is affordable, environmentally friendly and fuel-efficient, financially sustainable and provides accessibility and reasonable mobility to all groups of people.

Figure 7.5 on the bottom showing Jammu and Kashmir vision (source: government of Jammu and Kashmir, www.ibef.org)



None of these is addressing cultural conflict and identity, whereas it is completely ignoring this fact. As seen in the case of Belfast, where planners are involved in a color-blind approach for acknowledging cultural/ethnic identity, planning system in Kashmir is facing the same problem. The vision for the development of Kashmir, as shown in figure 7.5 also strengthen this argument as there is ignorance towards the cultural identity conflict. It is more focused on the physical form of the planning and spatial arrangements. However, lacking the intangible aspects of planning which are directly responsible for the socio-spatial segregation of the communities, regions, and neighbourhoods.

For example, in terms of the cultural landscape, the old 'Silk Route' used to pass from this region. As shown in the map above, one branch of silk route passes from Afghanistan to China, connecting many cities in Pakistan and India. Cities of Baramulla, North part of Srinagar and Kargil of Kashmir are located on this route. The one additional branch of the Silk Route passes from the Old Srinagar city to Delhi, connecting Jammu and other cities on the route. Old Silk route was majorly used for the businesses and was a catalyst in the development of the Kashmir region. Other small heritage structures can be seen around the Silk Route. These sites are majorly from the Mughal era or even before that carrying religious importance. None of the planning document mentioned about acknowledging this cultural heritage and incorporate it into regional plans. This cultural landscape not only connects India and Kashmir but also neighboring nations of Pakistan, China, and Afghanistan. Acknowledgment of this cultural heritage can make a significant step in connecting Kashmir to Jammu and subsequently, India.

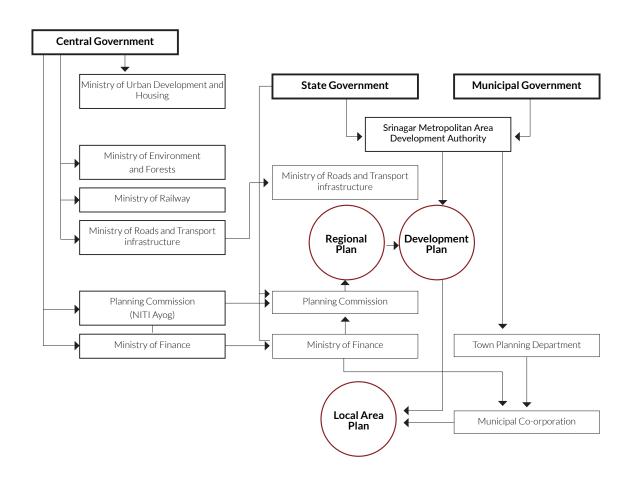


Map 7.4 on the top showing heritage sites in Kashmir region (source: mapsforindia.com, edited by Author)

7.2.4 PROCEDURAL DIMENSION

The process of planning started in Kashmir with the direct involvement of the central government where various ministries work together or separately with the State government of Jammu and Kashmir to accomplish their development goal of the region. To this process, Central planning commission works with state planning commission parallelly to develop a vision for the state. Both the planning commissions develop a regional plan, but as shown in the figure transport, railway and various aspects are not integrated into the process of making a regional plan as the communication gap between the various ministries and planning commission. After developing a regional plan, 'Metropolitan Area development authority' is responsible for making a master plan for the urban areas in the region. In the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the city of Jammu and the city of Srinagar are the only two cities having the institution of the metropolitan area

Figure 7.6 on the bottom showing process of Planning making in Jammu and Kasjhmir (source: government of Jammu and Kashmir, www.ibef.org)



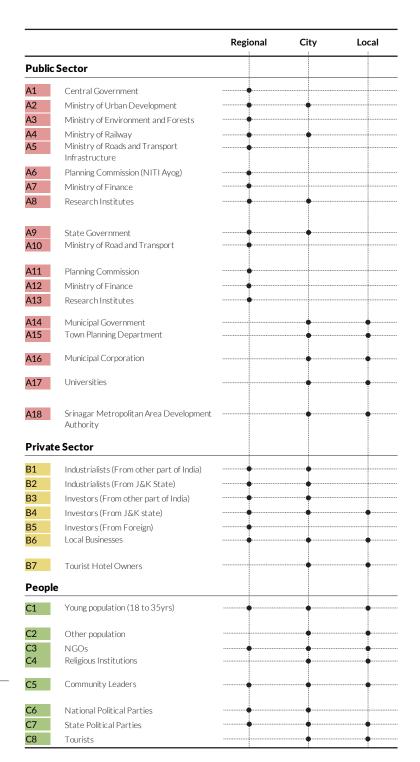


Table 7.2 on the right Showing mapping of stakeholders and there involvement in various scales (source: Author)

		Interest	Resource	Replacability	Depedency Critical Ac
Public	Sector				
A1	Central Government	Military Use & Economy	legislative power		
A2	Ministry of Urban Development	Urbanisation	Policy		
A3	Ministry of Environment and Forests	Natural Resources	Policy		
44	Ministry of Railway	Nation-State connection	Project		
45	Ministry of Roads and Transport				
	Infrastructure	Nation-State connection	Project		
46	Planning Commission (NITI Ayog)	Economy	Policy		
47	Ministry of Finance	Socio-economic growth	Budget		• • • • • • • • •
8	Research Institutes	Community cohesion	Knowledge		•••••••
		Protecting and			
49	State Government	Regulating Autonomy	legislative power		
A10	Ministry of Road and Transport	Transport oriented growth	Project		
411	Planning Commission	Economy	Policy		• • • • • • •
412	Ministry of Finance	Socio-economic growth	Budget	-	• • • • • • • •
A13	Research Institutes	Community cohesion	Knowledge		
		,			
A14	Municipal Government	Quality of living	Policy		
A15	Town Planning Department	Regulating land-use	Administrative powers of masterplan		
416	Municipal Corporation	Citymaking	Making of Local area plan		
A17	Universities	Involvement in Citymaking	Knowledge		··•
A18	Srinagar Metropolitan Area Development Authority	Regulating urban development	Making of masterplan		
Privat	te Sector				
B1	Industrialists (From other part of India)	Expansion of Business	Job opportunities		
B2	Industrialists (From J&K State)	Expansion of Business	Job opportunities		
В3	Investors (From other part of India)	Profit making	Project funding		
34	Investors (From J&K state)	Profit making	Project funding		• • • • • • •
B5	Investors (From Foreign)	Profit making	Project funding		
B6	Local Businesses	Profit making	Local produce and Local identity		
37	Tourist Hotel Owners	Tourism	Hospitality service		
People	e				
. сор.			Education		• • • • • • • •
	Young population (18 to 35yrs)	Quality of living, employment			
C1	Young population (18 to 35yrs) Other population				
C1 C2	Other population	employment Quality of living	Accepting Change		
C1 C2 C3		employment			
C1 C2 C3 C4	Other population NGOs	employment Quality of living Community cohesion Protecting religious	Accepting Change Community influence Religious influence		- -
C1	Other population NGOs Religious Institutions	employment Quality of living Community cohesion Protecting religious freedom Protecting cultural	Accepting Change Community influence Religious influence		-•
C1	Other population NGOs Religious Institutions Community Leaders	employment Quality of living Community cohesion Protecting religious freedom Protecting cultural identity	Accepting Change Community influence Religious influence Community influence		

development authority. And other officials are picked from the municipal government. Metropolitan area development authority is responsible for the master plan, which is a land use plan for the urban area. After this Municipal Town Planning Department possess an authority to sanction any new project on the designated land use. On the other hand, Municipal Corporation is responsible for developing Local area plans for the Urban areas.

Due to this system of planning, accountability by public officials along with transparency regarding the decisions and actions taken by various authorities is required. People's participation is necessary to make the system more accountable and transparent (Planning commission of Jammu and & Kashmir, 2016). The current system is highly dependent on the top-down approach. The participation of the people in the planning is not prominent as it is done by most of the professional and government authorities, being this one of the reasons for the ignorance towards the cultural conflict and community relations. To understand this in detail, actor analysis has been made to show the power and interest of each stakeholder and find out missing gaps.

	Production Power	Blocking Power	Diffuse Position
Proponents	A2 A4 A6 A8 A11 A13 A14 A16 A17 A18	A1 A3 A7 A15	C3
Opponents	A10 B2 B4	A9 A12 C4	
Fence Sitters	B1 B3 B5 B6 B7	C6 C7	C1 C2 C8

Table 7.3 on the left showing the interests and importance of stakeholder(source: Author)

Table 7.4 on the right Showing gauging the stakeholder's power (source: Author)



Table 7.5 on the left showing grade of stakeholders (source: Author)

Results of actor analysis strengthen the argument that only top-level actors are involved in the process of planning and policy making. This centralised system of planning is neglecting the potential contribution of various other actors in the private and people domain. There is a huge potential of creating jobs and economic development with the private sector, but due to section 35A, they are restricted and not willing to invest in the state. Similarly, citizens, NGO's, religious institutions, and community leaders are not engaged in the planning process. Involvement of this stakeholder may create a significant change in weakening the conflict in the area.

7.3 CONCLUSION

The case of Kashmir shows how planners and policymakers are addressing the cultural and political conflict between the communities in the region. As discussed in the chapter three planning and policies of the Kashmir has been examined in four categories based on the four dimensions of planning that are used by planners in the conflict areas which are territorial, economic, cultural and procedural.

In the territorial dimension which is typically used to control or distribute land, it is significant that the central government is using Kashmir as a military base in order to maintain a siege with Pakistan. However, this national conflict between two nations is affecting people's daily activities due to military presence in the city and use of public spaces for it. Land use planning system of the region is ignoring or neglecting this implementation of duel activities on the public spaces by not mentioning it in the masterplan. The other aspect of the territorial dimension is section 35A which restrict the Indian nationals outside the state of Jammu and Kashmir to buy land; this resulted in a massive issue as it is not allowing the Kashmiri Pandits which are forcefully migrated outside the Kashmir due to the life-threatening situation during the early 1990s. Rehabilitation of these refugees is an issue in front of the National and State government. However, due to religious pressure state government is not willing to rehabilitate them. This aspect is also neglected in the master plan or regional vision of Kashmir region.

In the economic dimension, the spatial analysis shows that the national government and state government carries different interest in appeasing contesting communities, which is resulting in strengthening the conflict between these communities as well as physically disconnecting them from each other. The Urban services which come under National government have been distributed in the Jammu region as this area is having Hindu majority and common sentiment in this area in to stay with India and not support the separatist movement. The state government provides a majority of urban services in the Kashmir region as the prevailing sentiment of the Kashmir region is with supporting separatists or Pakistan. Another economic aspect is related to section 35A, due to its provision mentioned earlier private companies and investors from India are not allowed to buy and land, which makes them not interested in the region. This lack of a private sector which is a possibly great support to many development projects in the region. It will also be useful for creating jobs and solve the issue of unemployment in the region.

Cultural dimension, perhaps the most critical and significant dimension amongst all four, is completely neglected in the planning practices of the Kashmir. Kashmir has a long tradition of history and cultural landscape. Many scholars on this topic mentioned the importance of acknowledging and addressing cultural identity in conflict area to create harmony in communities. In Kashmir, these efforts are not present in the planning system. Planners are adapting colour bling approach towards the situation by ignoring conflict. Planning is more focused on the technical aspects of land use, urban services, and zoning. As mentioned in the analysis, this is a region where the old silk route used to pass by connecting Srinagar and Delhi for trading purpose but also exchanging culture. This cultural identity related to silk rout may act as a binding agent between Kashmir and rest of India.

The procedural dimension, which is related to spatial governance in the region is one of the important things to discuss. Involvement of various ministries of the national government without having good coordination, the system of spatial governance is fragmented and confusing. It is significant that the governance system is chaos and deeply involved in the problematic bureaucratic process. The conflict between the National government and the State government is resulting in affecting the process of governance. After interviewing several planners, academicians, and people during my field visit, it is significant that all of them prefer presidential rule (rule of National government in the absence of state government) over the rule of state government. And the reasons according to them are transparency in the process, quicker decision making, and direct implementation, which indicates the complexity of the current spatial governance system not only for the common public but also for planners. Second and most important think about spatial governance is a highly top-down system; the government makes 100 % of the planning process without involving different section from society. NGOs, community leaders, religious institutions, people and the private sector is not engaged in the planning process, which is resulted in the clashes from people during implementation and lack of finances from the private sector. As mentioned in chapter three, collaboration and communication are essential to reduce conflict and increase the effectiveness of the planning system in a conflict area. The governance system in Kashmir is profoundly ignorant towards it.

Comparing all the four dimensions on the Bollen's four model of planning in the conflict area, territorial dimension shows neutrality from the planning perspective as they are not concerned about the actual use of space but involved in designating land use based on superficiality. However, the use of military spaces in the area shows passive partisan strategy as the central government uses it as a tool extort one community. The economic dimension is highly based on partisan strategy as both central and state government are involved in appeasing Hindu and Muslim community, respectively. Neutrality is a crucial aspect of the cultural dimension, as planners are engaged in technocratic approach neglecting cultural conflict.

Procedural dimension is highly top-down system and centralised by the National as well as state government. Hence, resulted in supporting interests of both the governments, which eventually leads towards the state sponsor religious extremism in the region.

	Territorial dimension	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Procedural dimension
Planning approach	Neutral and Partisan approach	Partisan approach	Neutral approach	
Physical intervention	Faith blind approach towards rehabilitation and Landuse planning ignoring military presence	Unfair distribution of urban services like roads and railway, Use of urban resources for appeasement	Colour-blind approach in the planning to neglect the ethnic conflict	
Governence system				Top-down approach
Governence responce				Administrative superiority challange between national and state government
Tool for Conflict resolution	Military occupation	Appesment of communities in conflict	Neglect cultura conflict	Support extremism

Table 7.6 on the right Showing planning and governence approaches for each dimension of conflict planning. (Source: Author)





CASE OF SRINAGAR

In this chapter analysis of Srinagar, the summer capital of Jammu and Kashmir state is made in order to understand conflict and its impact to create a divide amongst contesting communities. The chapter starts with providing general information about Srinagar, followed by the historical evolution of the city during the rule of different rulers since the 14th century. History gives an idea about religious complexities amongst communities and roots of conflict. After that divide due to communal violence in Srinagar has been discussed to understand its impact on the built environment. Finally, the chapter ends with spatial analysis for identification of spatial typology in contested cities and what is the significance of the different type of spaces in the peacebuilding process.

8.1 CITY PROFILE OF SRINAGAR

Srinagar is the largest city and the summer capital of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. It is situated in the Kashmir Valley on the banks of the Jhelum River, a tributary of the Indus, and Dal and Anchar lakes. The city is known for its natural environment, gardens, waterfronts, and houseboats. It is also known for traditional Kashmiri handicrafts and dried fruits. It is the northernmost city of India with over 1 million population.

The city is located on both the sides of the Jhelum River, which is called Vyath in Kashmir. The river passes through the city and meanders through the valley, moving onward and deepening in the Dal Lake. The city is known for its nine old bridges, connecting the two parts of the city. There are several lakes and swamps in and around the city. These include the Dal, the Nigeen, the Anchar, Khushal Sar, Gil Sar, and Hokersar.

The city is run by the Srinagar Municipal Corporation (SMC). The Srinagar district along with the adjoining Budgam and Ganderbal districts forms the Srinagar Parliamentary seat.

The predominant religion of Srinagar is Islam, with 96% of the population being Muslim. Hindus constitute the second largest religious group representing 2.75% of the population. The remaining population constitutes Sikhs, Buddhist, and Jains.

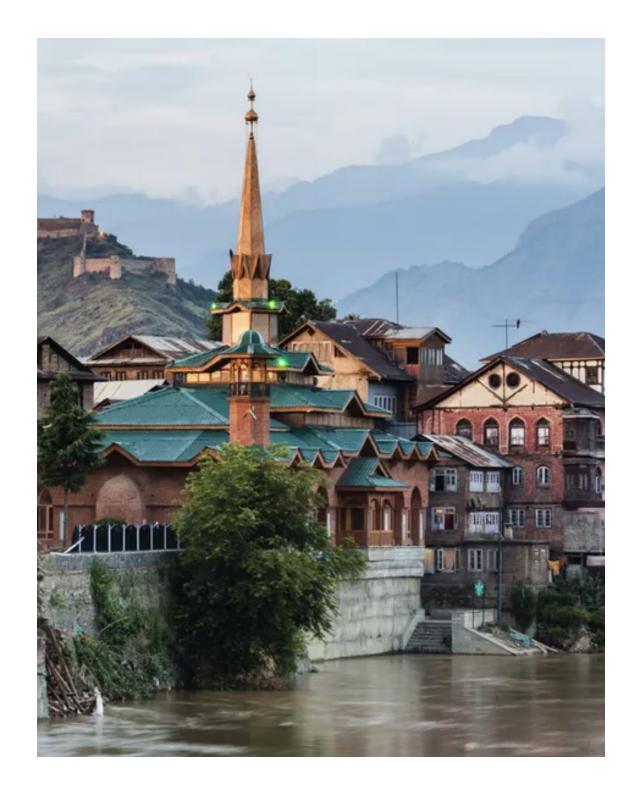
Srinagar Municipal Area	246 sq.km.	
Total population	1180570	
Average household size	6.45	
Total household	182829	
Literacy rate	71%	
Employment rate	32.4%	

Image 8.1 on the next spread left showing The Khanqah of Shah Hamdani rises grandly over the old city of Srinagar (Source: https://www. tripsavvy.com/top-places-to-visit-insrinagar-1539463)

Image 8.2 on the next spread right showing Dal Lake, houseboats and Himalayas (Source: http://dialkashmir.com)



Map 8.1 on the top showing city of Srinagar and important places (Source: Image extracted from google earth and edited by author)





8.2 HISTORICAL REVIEW

History of the spatial evolution of Srinagar started in 250BC when emperor Ashoka built a city called Srinagari which is a transformation of a small village present at North East side of the present city, remain the capital of the Kashmir region till mid 6th century (Town Planning Organisation Kashmir, 2017). After that city was moved to its present-day location and from that date remains the capital of the region. After that, Hindu rulers transformed the city by adding urban facilities. Jhelum river serves the catalyst of the development of Srinagar. Considering the central location of Srinagar soon, the city became a distribution centre for trade on the old Silk route and controlled the trade to India and other parts of Northern Indian Subcontinent (Stein, 1900).

Map 8.2 on the middle showing historic evolution of Srinagar (Source: Town Planning Organisation Kashmir, 2017; edited by author)

Image 8.3 on the bottom left showing Amira Kadal bridge in 1774 (Source: http://kashmirnetwork.com/ justju/?page id=180)



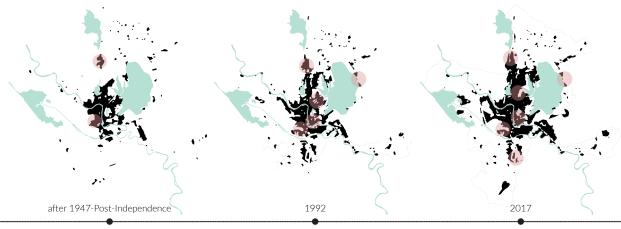


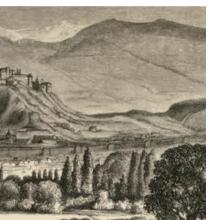


Image 8.5 on the bottom right showing Srinagar during early 20th Century(Source: https:// countercurrents.org)

Image 8.4 on the bottom middle showing Hari Parbat (fortified city of Srinagar) in 1853(Source: https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo/hari-parbat.html)

During the Muslim rule in the 14th century till the early 19th century, Srinagar went through significant changes bot the geographical location of Srinagar remains the same. Muslim ruler made a fortification of the old city, which is known as a Hari Parbat today. Many mosques following by madarsas (Islamic teaching centres) were built during this period (Town Planning Organisation Kashmir, 2017). Fort building and the construction of Amira Kadal Bridge were considered as a significant spatial development during Islamic rule. After that during the Sikh rule city did not show any significant growth until 1947. After 1947 Srinagar has been growing very fast mostly in a haphazard manner with an insignificant contribution of the planned housing colonies. The Master Plan 1971-91 triggered growth in west and southwest direction of Srinagar mostly in the low-lying areas. Turbulence from 1989 forced a kind of plan holiday for a decade, and ineffective regulatory mechanism of the urban local bodies and local authorities led to massive conversion of hitherto colonies and residential areas into commercial development.







8.3 THE DIVIDE

As explained in the previous chapter, community violence happened in Srinagar happened right after the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947. Hindu ruler of Kashmir made a succession in favor of India despite having the majority of population Muslim. Many Muslims groups in the Srinagar opposed this succession. In 1983, Faroog Abdullah became the Muslim chief minister of the state gave a significant strength to the Muslim extremist groups in the Srinagar. Though Muslims were in the majority in the city, they never secure economically upper class in the society (Fotedar, 2015). The main moto of Abdullah's campaign to become a chief minister was too empowered Muslims in the Kashmir region. Hence soon after his swearing as a chief minister, Muslim extremist in the Srinagar consider this as a perfect opportunity to oppress minority groups in the Srinagar which are majorly Hindus (Kashmiri Pandits). Fotedar (2015), mentioned in her research that since the Mughal era, Kashmiri Pandits were an integral part of the Srinagar and Kashmiri society. Hindus were involved in scholarly activates and businesses they were situated near silk rout while Muslims indulged themselves in farming and handloom related activities were situated near the river valley and mountains nearby.

This division has soon resulted in communal riots in the late 1980s. This religious violence resulted in numerous deaths of Kashmiri Pandits and forced migration of remaining ones. By early 1990s situation become worst as extremist started doing cultural vandalism of Hindus. According to the Department of Human Resource (2012) report between 1990-1993, eighteen Hindu temples were destroyed. This aggression through cultural vandalism towards Kashmiri Hindus created fear and insecurity amongst them. Resulted in very few Hindus remain in Srinagar in today's date. This process of cultural vandalism resulted in Ethnic cleansing in the city of Srinagar (refer map 8.3a and 8.3b to understand demographical change). "Ethnic cleansing involves the removal of all physical vestiges of the targeted group through the destruction of monuments, cemeteries, and houses of worship. Ethnic cleansing may involve death or displacement where a population is identified for removal from an area. In Kashmir, houses of minority Hindu Pandits were burned; temples were destroyed. Notices were posted on the walls of Pandit houses mentioning them to leave the valley or to perish" (Varenya, 2014).

Ethnic cleansing has a long-term effect on the city and its function. It alters the identity of the spaces previously occupied by a minority ethnic group, the cityscape, and also the history of the city (Fotedar, 2015). Till 2002 many houses, temples, public buildings were burnt down in Srinagar. The majority of Muslims utilized 90% of those destructed buildings. For example, Shiv temple in Handwara near Srinagar was converted into

the central market, and Cremation ground in Vanpuh near Srinagar was converted into a government office. Remaining 10% is under military occupation in order to control law and order in the city. The Palladium Cinema owned by a Hindu merchant was broke down during the riots is now an unofficial temporary army base. Lal Chowk which used to be a most crowded commercial area in the Srinagar now has many army bunkers reducing its public nature.



Image 8.6 on the right showing Bhairavnath Temple in karan nagar, Srinagar was burnt by mobs in broad daylight in 1990 (Source: https:// kashmirdairy.wordpress.com)



Image 8.7 on the right showing abandoned Kashmiri Pandit house in Srinagar which was looted during 1990. (Source: Photo by Veer Munshi)



Map 8.3a on the top showing religious distributions in Srinagar, 1960 (Source: Fotedar 2015 and City map of Srinagar 1960, edited by author)



Map 8.3b on the top showing religious distributions in Srinagar, 2017 (Source: Fotedar 2015 and Election commission of Kashmir data from 2017 municipal elections, edited by author)



Image 8.8a on the left showing The Palladium Cinema in the 1980 with its Palladian entry archway and slender columns was a significantly important building of the Lal Chowk. (Source: https://thekashmirwalla.com)



Image 8.8b on the left showing The Palladium Cinema in 2017, all that is left now is ruins of the cinema, covered with plastic sheets. The cinema had become an important place for militalia activities and is now guarded by military bunkers on all hours. (Source: https://www.scmp.com)



Image 8.9a on the right showing Streets of Lal Chowk, Summer of 1979; There was a time when Lal Chowk was considered incomplete without its street market & people hustle. The communal riots have killed the livelihood of a very important fabric of the city of Kashmir. (Source: http:// autarmota.blogspot.com)



Image 8.9b on the right showing Streets of Lal Chowk, 2017; There was a time when Lal Chowk was considered incomplete without its street market & people hustle. The communal riots have killed the livelihood of a very important fabric of the city of Kashmir. (Source:www.deccanherald.com)

8.4 SPATIAL TYPOLOGY IN THE CONTESTED CITY OF SRINAGAR

Morrissey & Gaffikin (2006) and Bollens (2008) mentioned in their research that contacted cities shows four types of verities of spaces.

- Ethnoscapes: These spaces are closely associated with the ethnic identity of the community and use by the community to propagate their identity. Religious institutions or ethnic enclave are coming under ethnoscapes.
- Neutral Spaces: These are the spaces used by both the community in order to conduct their daily needs — these spaces or open to both contested parties and safe to be within. Shopping markets, public transport, leisure, public gardens, employment centres are coming under neutral spaces.
- Peace places: These are the places which possess the same character as neutral spaces but are more open to multiculturalism and collaborations of different actors. These places are important in contest cities in order to reduce divide. There are two types of peace places. Shared places and cosmopolitan spaces.

Shared space: These types of spaces not only made an encounter of different actors but also engages them — for example, Universities, schools, and sports centers.

Cosmopolitan space: Space that is much more open to all kind of traditions, not just the one in conflict is known as a cosmopolitan space. These space does not show any significance to local divide and hence plays as a catalyst to the neutral cohesion of all the sections of the community — for example, concerts, tourist places, pubs.

ETHNOSCAPES

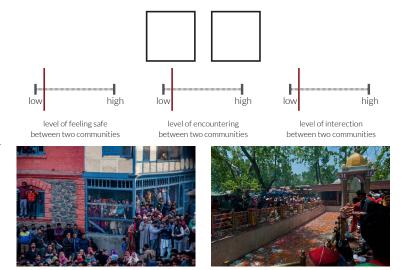


Image 8.10 on the rightshowing celebration of Hindu festivle in temple near Srinagar 2014.

Image 8.11 on the extreme right showing Muslim neighbourhood in the north of Srinagar, 2017. (Source:www.gettyimages.nl)

NEUTRAL SPACES

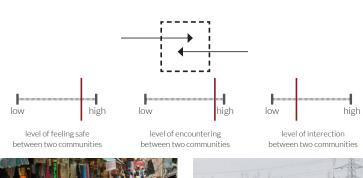


Image 8.12 on the right showing local train in Srinagar.

Image 8.13 on the extreme right showing market street near Jahangir Chowk in Srinagar.

(Source:www.gettyimages.nl)



SHARED SPACE

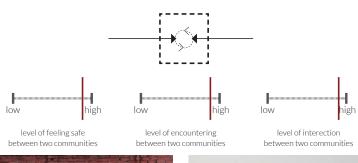






Image 8.14 on the left showing view of a school in Karan Nagar, Srinagar 2017.

Image 8.15 on the extreme left showing boys playing football at state sports acadamy, Srinagar 2016. (Source:www.gettyimages.nl)

COSMOPOLITAN SPACE

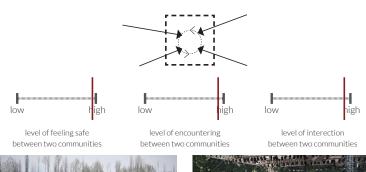






Image 8.16 on the left showing Tulip garden in Srinagar one of the favorite tourist spots 2016.

Image 8.17 on the extreme left showing Ehasas-e-Kashmir concert in Srinagar 2013.

(Source:www.gettyimages.nl)



Map 8.4 on the top showing ethnic enclaves in Srinagar, 2017 (Source: Fotedar 2015 and Election commission of Kashmir data from 2017 municipal elections, edited by author)

ETHNOSCAPES

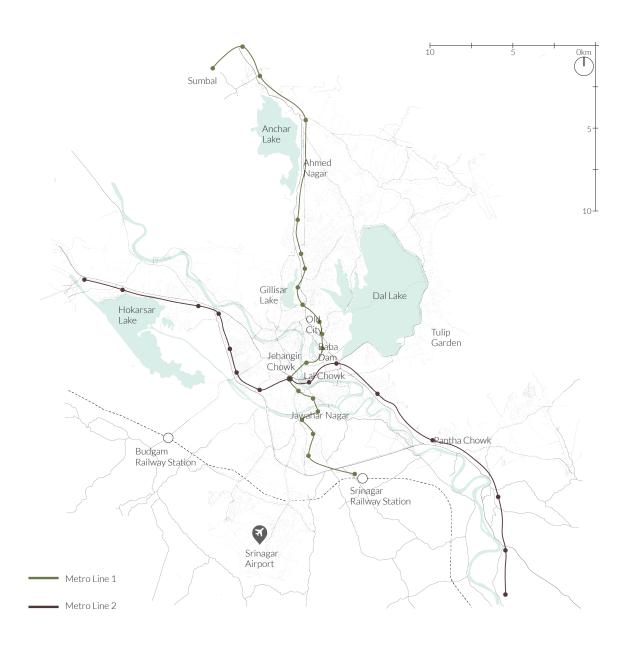




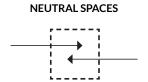
ETHNOSCAPES



Map 8.5 on the top showing religious institutes in Srinagar (Source: Google maps, edited by author)

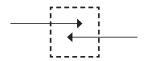


Map 8.6 on the top showing proposed metro line by government of India (Source: https://srinagar.nic.in/srinagarsmart-city/, edited by author)





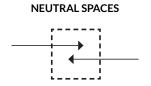
NEUTRAL SPACES



Map 8.7 on the top showing heritage sites and markets (Source: mapsforindia.com, edited by Author, edited by author)

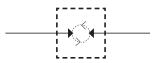


Map 8.8 on the top showing Parks and gardens in the Srinagar (Source: Google maps, edited by author)





SHARED SPACES

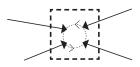


Map 8.9 on the top showing unicersities in the Srinagar (Source: Google maps, edited by author)



Map 8.10 on the top showing tourist hotels and hostels in Srinagar (Source: Google maps, edited by author)

COSMOPOLITIAN SPACES



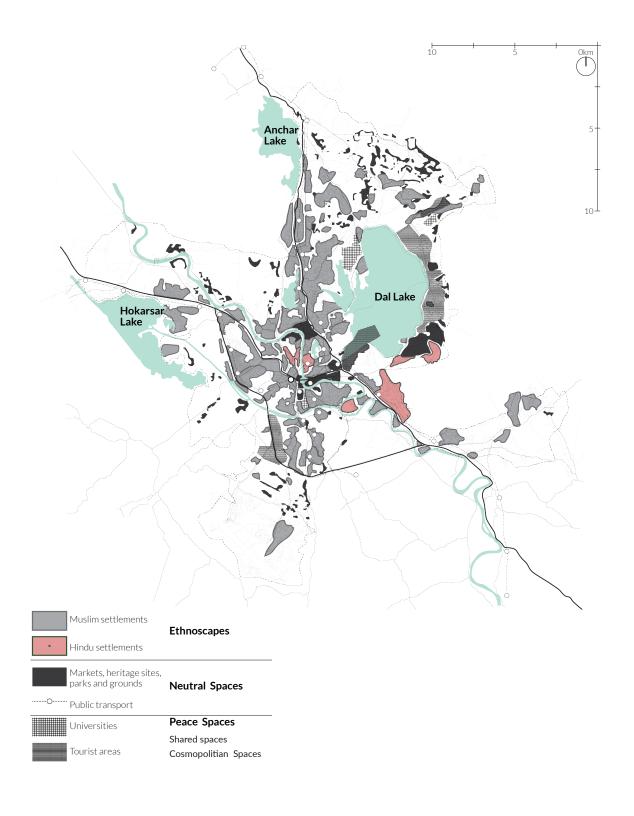
8.5 CONCLUSION

Empirical and spatial analysis of Srinagar shoes the complex relation of conflict and its spatial manifestations. While Comparing the case of Srinagar with other cases studied before shows the variation of this divide. The extremeness of spatial separation through walls or barriers like Belfast or Jerusalem is missing in Srinagar. However, separation is more on a passive level through monumentalizing destroyed temples and public amenities, burnt Kashmiri pandit's houses and military presence in public areas. This type of passive separation shows similarities to the case of Sarajevo.

Further, by analysing spatial typology in contested cities provides a better overview of the general use of spaces and also highlight the potentials of peacebuilding places. Ethnic enclaves which are a typical spatial character of any contested cities are present in Srinagar however the percentage of ethnic dominance in those enclaves in not 100% in any part of the city. There are areas where economic actives like shopping or employment centers are going on without any divide amongst two communities. Also shared areas like universities, tourist zones, schools and sports centers in the city of Srinagar are facilitating encounter and interaction amongst the contested communities.

On the other hand, disturbing past violence and emerging radical Muslim groups is a constant threat to peacebuilding efforts. It is simultaneously, justifies the military presence and hence makes the entire situation extremely complex. There are various aspects, and preconditions mentioned in the previous chapter are responsible for this complexity.

As discussed in the theory of agonism, it is vital for planners to maintain this ethnic enclave distinguished in spatial typology and try to create neutral and shared spaces where both the communities are free to interact if they wish to. However, on the same time to make ethnic minority (Kashmiri Pandits) feel safe and welcomed in Srinagar, it is necessary to replace antagonistic monuments/symbols with peace promoting alternatives which reflect shared history and culture of the area. Tourist area due to its cosmopolitan nature can contribute a lot in peacebuilding amongst the communities but also provide a national and global perspective to counter religious extremism which advocates medieval lifestyle.







PROPOSALS

In this chapter, urban spatial planning, and design, proposals have been discussed to create peace and social cohesion in the region of Kashmir. The chapter starts with the conflict transformation on governance and policy-making level. Model of conflict mitigation based, which aims to propose steps from national to the local level is discussed at the front followed by rules and recommendations for planning practices in the region and suggesting necessary institutional changes. Based on this strategic vision for design has been made. Five pilot projects base on the theme of the social encounter shows the capacity of application of strategic vision on the local scale of the city of Srinagar. Design code for spatial development in Srinagar has been discussed after that. Finally, a conclusion is made with critical aspects of proposals and its impact on the planning profession in Kashmir.

9.1 CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

In past years Urban planning and design emerged as a tool for social development; hence, it opens immense possibilities for professionals working with the conflict/contested cities. In recent developments of the planning profession in this discourse focuses on discarding the notion that says planners can solve an ethnic or cultural conflict in a multicultural/religious society. The project of '[UN]WAR- Spatial planning and Governance for Social cohesion' is focused providing and facilitating urban needs to communities and attempts create a fluid and porous physical environment respecting differences of contesting communities where communities are free to interact if they choose (Bollens, 2002). This process based on the co-existing ability of different communities can transform urban conflict around ethnicity and sovereignty. Consideration and utilisation of 'difference' as a prominent feature in planning as well as discovering and developing a tool for creating common share spaces may help planning profession to achieve social cohesion in contested cities/ regions.

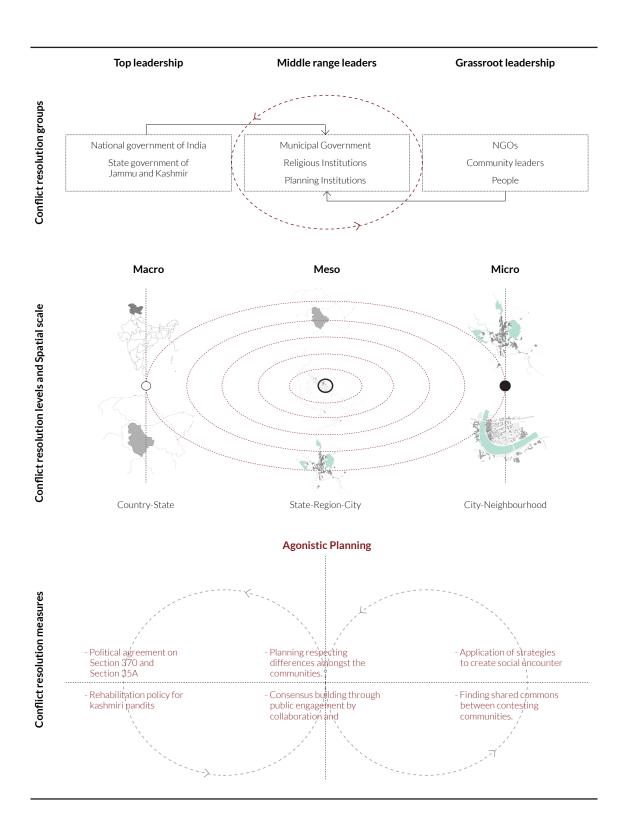
Recommendations are made in two parts:

- Model of Conflict mitigation- In which involvement and engagement of potential participants from different groups have been shown. After that, the scale of transformation related to each group and spatial interventions related to it has been discussed.
- Rules and recommendations for the Planning process- In which guidelines for the planning process has been provided based on the learnings from the theory and comparative case analysis.

9.1.1 MODEL OF CONFLICT MITIGATION:

Based on conflict transformation model of Lederach (1995), a new proposal has been made. As shown in the diagram, it is divided into groups, level/scale, and measures that have to be taken in this process. Middle range leaders in the region like planners, designers, and religious institutions are acting as a mediator in this process of conflict resolution. While top leadership which constitutes national government and State government are acting as a facilitating body by revising and making a common agreement on Section 370 and Section 35A as well as come up with a rehabilitation policy for Kashmiri Pandits. Middle range leaders have a task to negotiate these policies with grassroots leaders to create a common consensus amongst then and to avoid potential conflict situation. Grass root leaders also have to contribute to the application of these policies as the proposals will come through them.

Table 9.1 on the right Showing proposed model of conflict mitigation. (Source: Author)



9.1.2 RULES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PLANNING PROCESS:

After analysing planning and governance practices in India and Kashmir, it is significant that structural reforms are needed in the planning process in order to resolve conflict. The rules for the planning process have been made based on lessons learned from theory and comparative analysis. Finally, recommendations for planning practices have been formulated to make better planning system for the Kashmir.

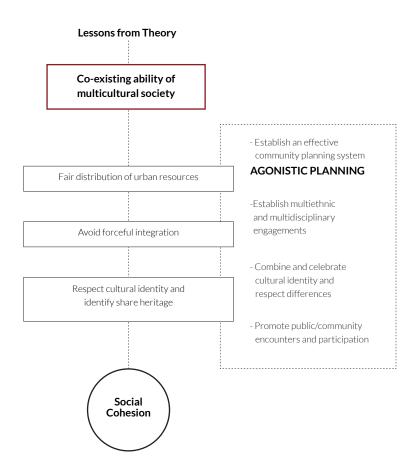


Figure 9.1 on the left Showing proposed rules for planning process. (Source: Author)

Recommendations:

As per discussed in the current spatial planning and governance practices in India and Kashmir, attention needs to be drawn on the following points:

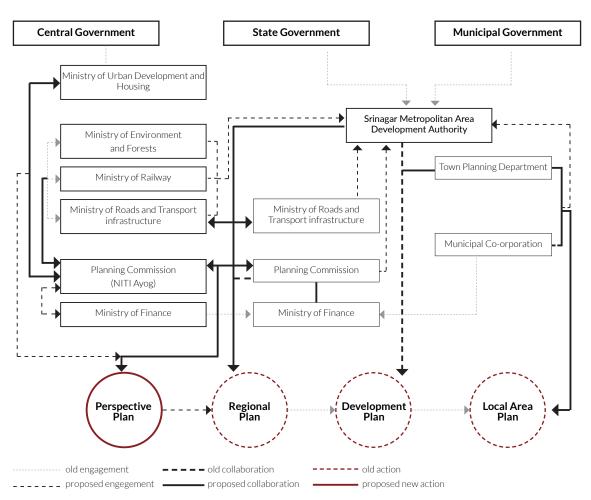
- In developing an efficient urban governance system which is easily understandable by the public through making reforms in the institutional framework for urban governance to abolish the patriarchal approach. Also, to give space user a principal role and space regulator a responsibility to provide measures for the protection of the built environment and to ensure transparency in decision making and negotiation process.
- In adopting strategic and economic dimensions of planning other than land use and policy planning. By focusing on private sector investment in development projects to create employment and economic growth in the region. Also, by providing initiatives for the participation of people and public institutions to make the planning process more democratic and acceptable amongst users.
- In making strategic vision based on a rethinking of military presence in urban areas considering its impact on social and public places and acknowledging cultural and built heritage in the planning and design process.
- In developing pilot projects and local design schemes where strategic vision can be applied by ensuring accountability and facts.
- In providing and managing essential urban services and resources without favouring communities. Also, focusing on transport connectivity infrastructure throughout the conflict areas to achieve accessibility.
- In making design code to ensure less friction amongst the contesting communities by providing a verity of neutral and peace places and ensuring the built and natural heritage of the city.

9.2 INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

9.2.1 INTEGRATED APPROACH IN GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE:

As explained previously, spatial planning in India and Kashmir is struggling to find out new approaches rather than land use. Hence, some structural reforms are suggested in order to make this process more integrated and communicative with other spatial transformation going on in practice. In Kashmir, Perspective plan is missing from the current practice, which is introduced in this new proposed model. Also, some new engagements are proposed in order to collaborate the transport infrastructure and economy in the planning process. It will help to reduce confusion and increase the efficiency of the planning system.

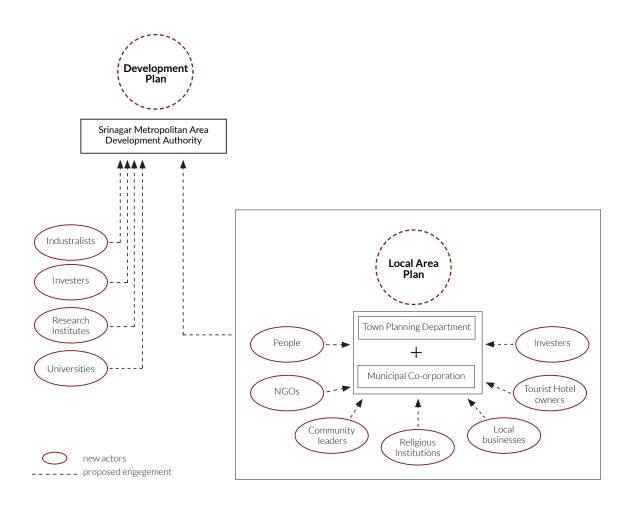
Figure 9.2 below Showing proposed government structure for spatial planning in kashmir (Source: Author)



9.2.2 EMPOWERMENT OF PEOPLE AND PRIVATE SECTOR

To reduce the centrality of the current planning system, a new stakeholder engagement model has been proposed. In this model, local area plan is made with engaging grassroots leaders in order to reduce conflict area and increase the acceptability of the plan. This process uses various tool to engage people in the planning process. On urban level development plan and master plan have been made by engaging grassroots leaders with middle range leaders as a mediator in the process also private sector is engaged in this process considering economic aspect related to it. Research Institutes and Universities are also included in this process so that they can use their knowledge and innovative ideas.

Figure 9.3 below Showing proposed engagement model for people and private sector in kashmir (Source: Author)



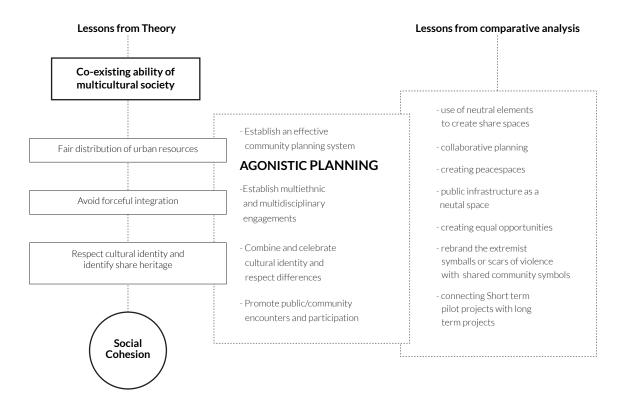
9.3 STRATEGIC VISION AND DESIGN

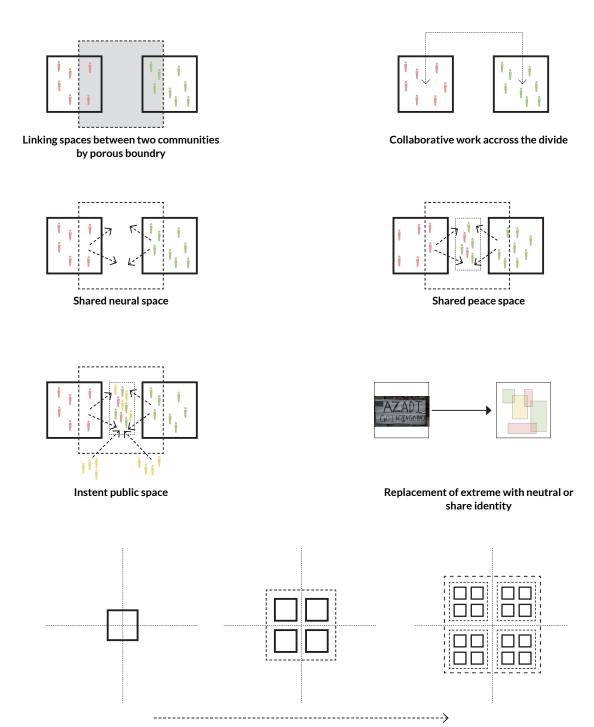
Analysis of Kashmir and Srinagar show an immense complexity of urban development and the manifestation of conflict on the urban form of the Srinagar in both passive and active ways. This project tries to address both the issues simultaneously by having the ultimate goal of community cohesion and development. As said in the theory of Agonism and planning the aim of this project is not to solve conflict or integrate contesting communities but to create equal opportunities and environment where both the communities can have a healthy growth and mutual respect towards each other.

In order to create social cohesion, rules of engagement mentioned in the previous section and lessons learnings from the comparative case studies are used as a guiding factor. Various short-term projects are combined to formulate a long-term project of accommodating Kashmiri pandits once again in Srinagar and to reduce military conflict in the Srinagar. While doing this, various other aspects related to employment and connectivity has been addressed in order to achieve comprehensive urban development in Srinagar.

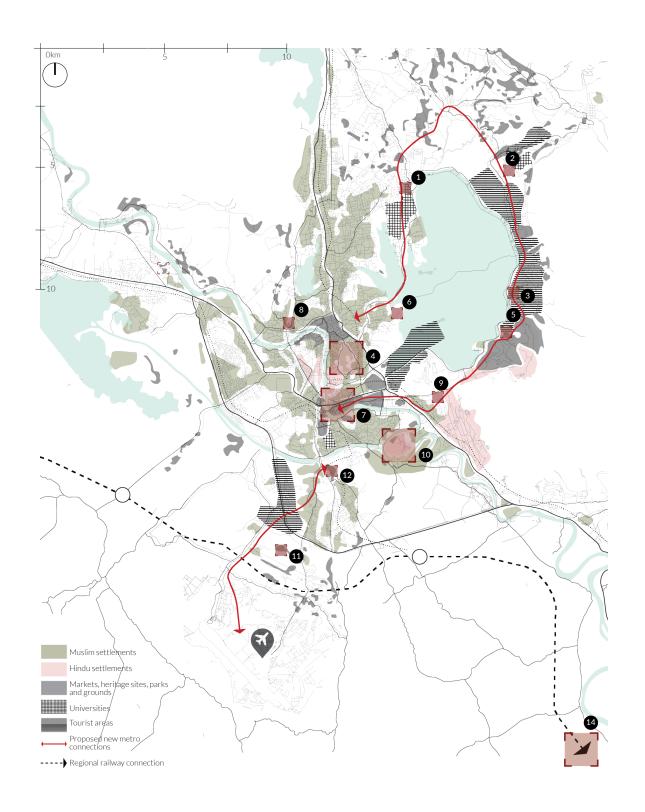
Map9.1 and Table 9.2 on the next spred showing Vision map for Srinagar 2050. (Source: Author)

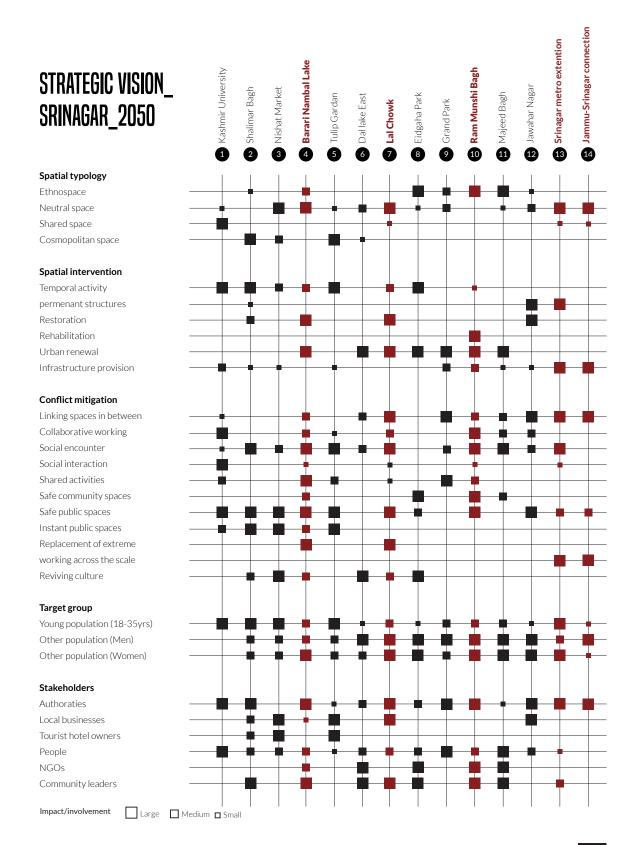
Figure 9.4 on the bottom Showing proposed rules for design process. (Source: Author)





Multiscalar approach





9.4 PILOT PROJECTS

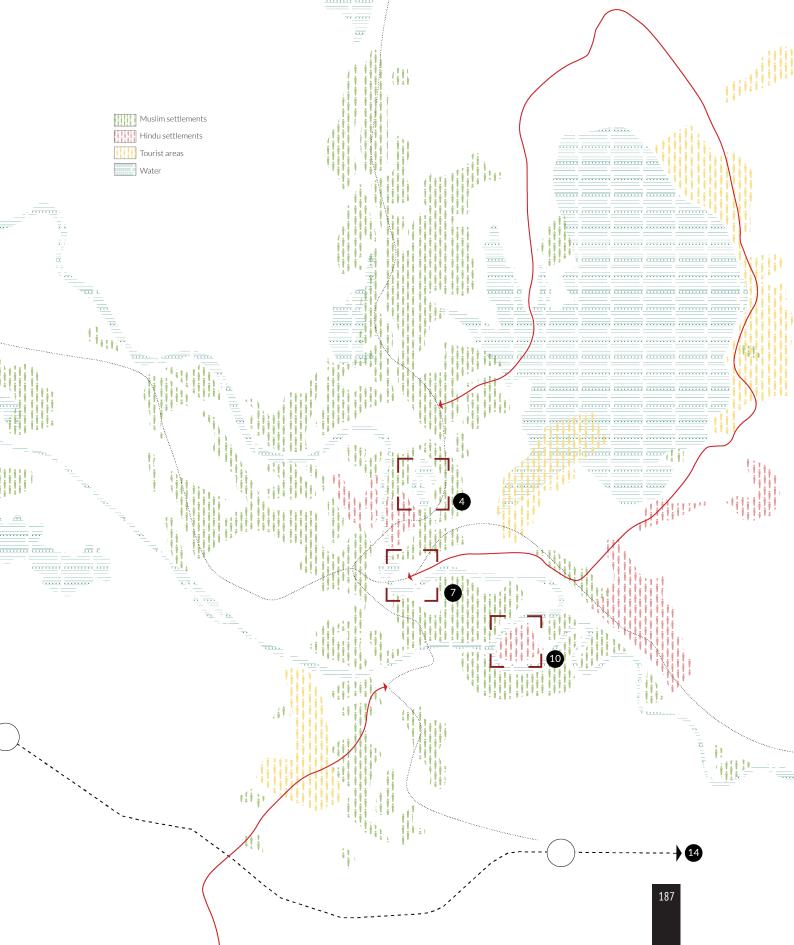
After analysing and making the strategic vision, it is necessary to identify the areas where it can apply. Based on a spatial typology of the contested city of Srinagar, four pilot projects have been selected. A quick spatial analysis has been made of those selected areas in order to identify the nature of the space and potential function that can be designated to those areas to create peace places.

Four places have been selected for the pilot project areas:

- Lal Chowk
- Brari Nambal lake
- Rehabilitation area
- Public transport for social encounter



For all maps (Source: Author)



9.4.1 LAL CHOWK

Lal Chowk is a central square in Srinagar. It is the most prominent commercial area and also has heritage value. Since the early 20th century, it is the centre of all political activities in Srinagar. India's first prime minister Nehru gave a speech from Lal Chowk. It is also a central point for people in society many cinema theatres and markets used to be here in the 1980s. There was a time when Lal Chowk was considered incomplete without it is street market & people hustle. The communal riots have killed the livelihood of a significant fabric of the city of Kashmir.



Ethnification of Space



Military presence

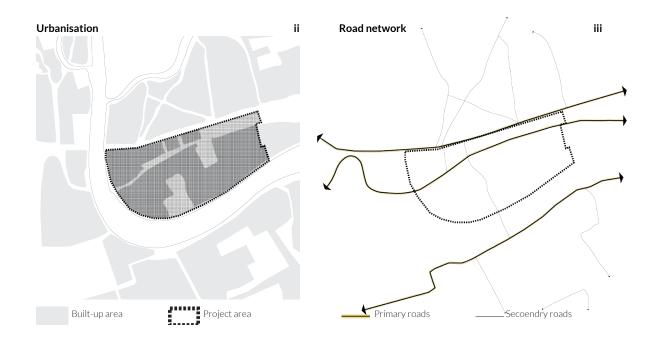




Past Image



i. Google earth, ii. Google earth, edited by author, iii. Google earth, edited by author, iv. www.deccanherald.com, v. https://thekashmirwalla.com, vi & vii. Town Planning Organisation Kashmir, 2017









Map 9.3 on the top showing current building use at Lal Chowk. (Source: Author)

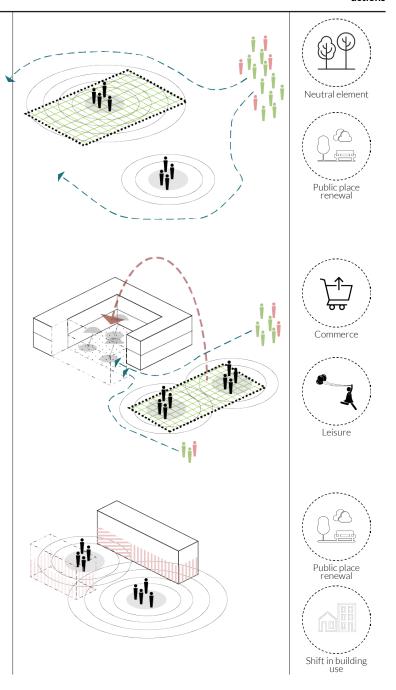
The main public square is the area that used to be pedestrian friendly in the past is now fenced and act as a temporary military base. Military occupation on place resulted in restricted pedestrian movement and use of potentially shared public place. This place can be transformed into a shared neutral area, enabling both the communities to encounter and interact with each other.

Congestion of semi-public areas

People are started concentrated their daily public activities in the semi-public area, which gives them a better feeling of safety. All the informal commercial activities like markets and street vendors are shifted in semi-public areas, resulting in an overused and poor quality of semi-public places. By enabling public areas to serve their principal function, the quality and potential of the semi-public area can be improved.

Change in building use

Commercial shops near military bases or occupied area are used for less public, commercial activities. Coaching centres, small scale businesses, cafes, restaurants where activity happened inside the closed walls are present in these areas with poor quality of spaces. Ordering these commercial activities can help to create shared spaces.



Increase in shop vacancy

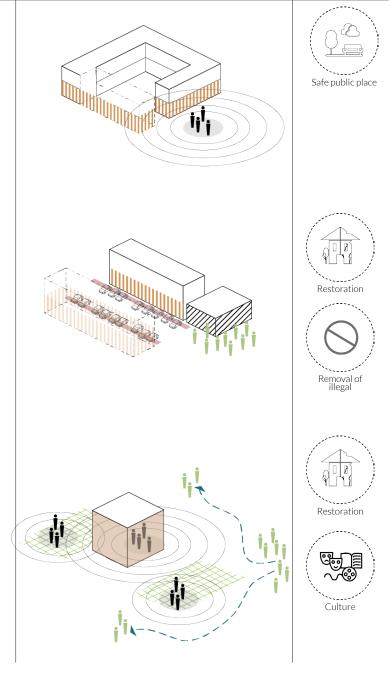
Due to lack of pedestrian movement near the military base or occupied areas commercial shops immediately near it is closed due to lack of costumes. Also, the feeling of safety not present in these areas to shop owners due to constant conflict. Creating a feeling of safety through semi-public areas near vacant shops can make them usable.

Illegal use if space

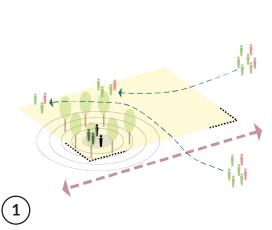
Many of the shops owned by Hindu owners are closed due to communal violence. Resulted in the illegal use of nearby spaces for car parking, creating a dead public place. Also, various illegal buildings are built after communal violence by the majority population because of ignorance of authorities.

Destroyed structures as a monument.

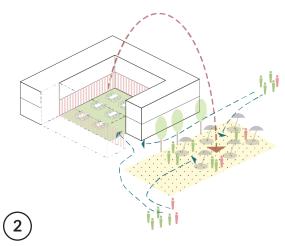
The palladium cinema hall once owned by a Hindu owner was destroyed during communal violence is remain in a lousy condition creating fear unwelcoming feeling in minorities. It is also affecting the pedestrian movement as the destroyed structure is used by the military sometimes. By restoring the destroyed structure, it is possible to send a welcoming message to minorities and create a potential shared space.



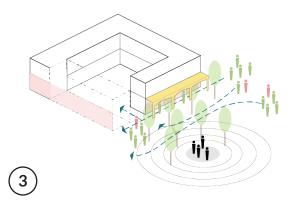




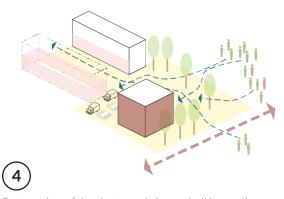
Create a barrier between military presence and pedestrian movement by using trees as a neutral element. Also, to use fencing to direct military occupation to restrict in few locations.



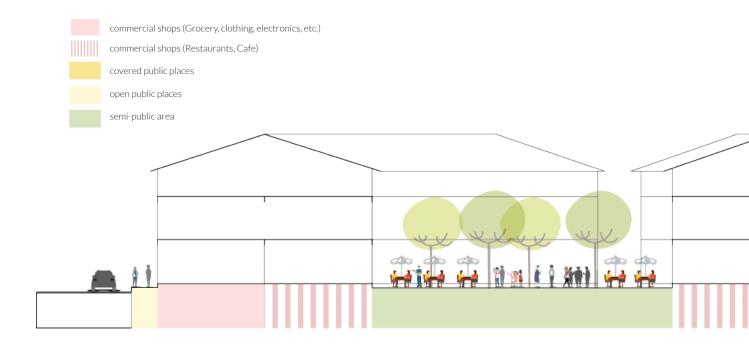
Use of semi-public area and change in current building use to increase the quality of semi-public. The problem of congestion is addressed through allocating informal commercial activities in public area.



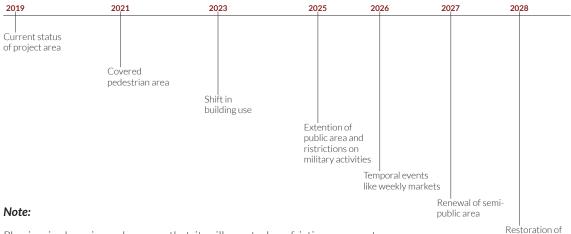
To create safety feeling amongst pedestrian and also to promote frequent commercial shops near public areas, the covered pedestrian area is proposed. Also uses if trees as a barrier between these covered public places and public places can address issues related to the military presence.



Restoration of the destroyed cinema hall is opening the possibility to create a public square near it, which will encourage to have community businesses and cultural restoration of the city. This initiative is further facilitated by making the street near it only for pedestrian entry and by removing illegal structures.

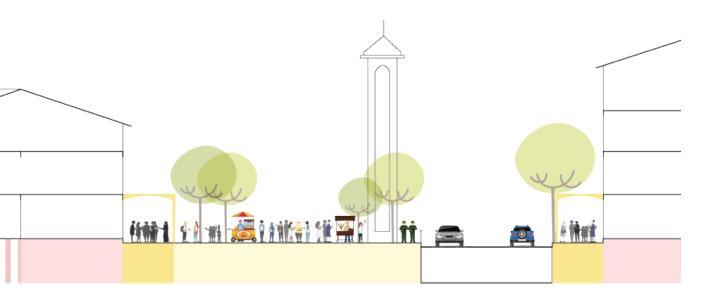


Phasing of the project



cinema hall

Phasing is done in such a way that it will create less friction amongst different stakeholders. At the initial stage, the project is focused on diluting military presence in the area to create an open public place for all the communities to use. And later on, focused on replacing extreme or restoring structures which are destroyed in community violence has been made.



Section 9.1 on the top showing urban renewal proposal for Lal Chowk. (Source: Author)

Design reflection:

Learnings from theory and comparative studies have been used while designing this pilot project. Lal Chowk will become a glorious city centre as it used to be in the past after the proper application of this project. Lessons that learned from Belfast about creating shared city centre and from Berlin about reducing the military presence and create a neutral safe place for communities to encounter and interact is used as a primary consideration for this project. Also, as discussed in theory about cultural identity this project aims to create a local economy through temporal events in public places and revival of cultural aspects by providing cinema hall to the communities and youth of the area.





Image 9.1 on the top showing imaginary of the grand opening ceremony of Palladium cinema hall and food trucks around it (Source: Author)



Image 9.2 on the bottom showing imaginary at courtyard of Aftab Market near Lal Chowk (Source: Author)



Image 9.3 on the top showing imaginary of plaza at Lal Chowk during proposed weekly market (Source: Author)





Image 9.4 on the bottom showing imaginary of covered pedestrian area in front of retail shops. (Source: Author)

9.4.2 BRARI NAMBAL LAKE

Brari Nambal, also known as Baba Demb, is a small freshwater lake located in Srinagar, Jammu, and Kashmir. It is connected to the Dal lake via a channel and is therefore sometimes referred to as a lagoon of the Dal lake. Until the 1970s, it had a primary outflow in the form of the Mar Canal, but after the landfilling of this canal, the lake began to lose its glory. It is currently in highly deteriorated condition while efforts to revive it are on.



Ethnification of Space



Military presence



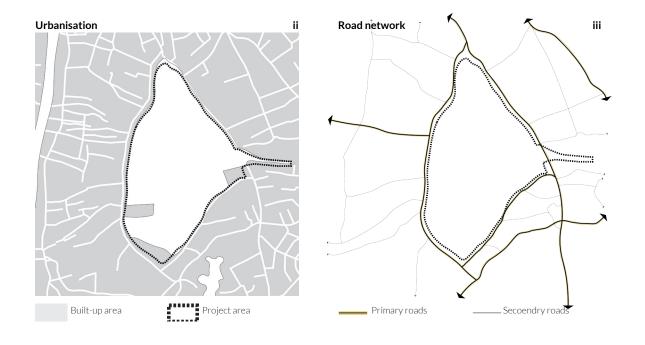
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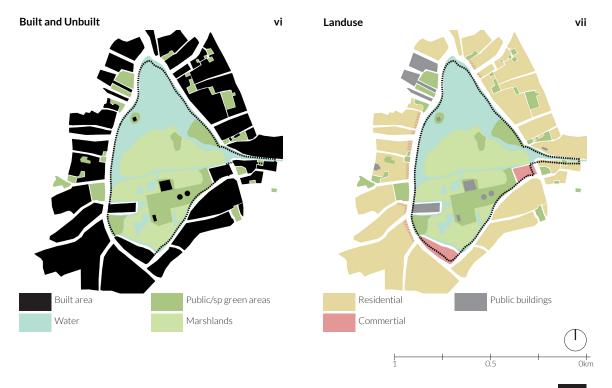


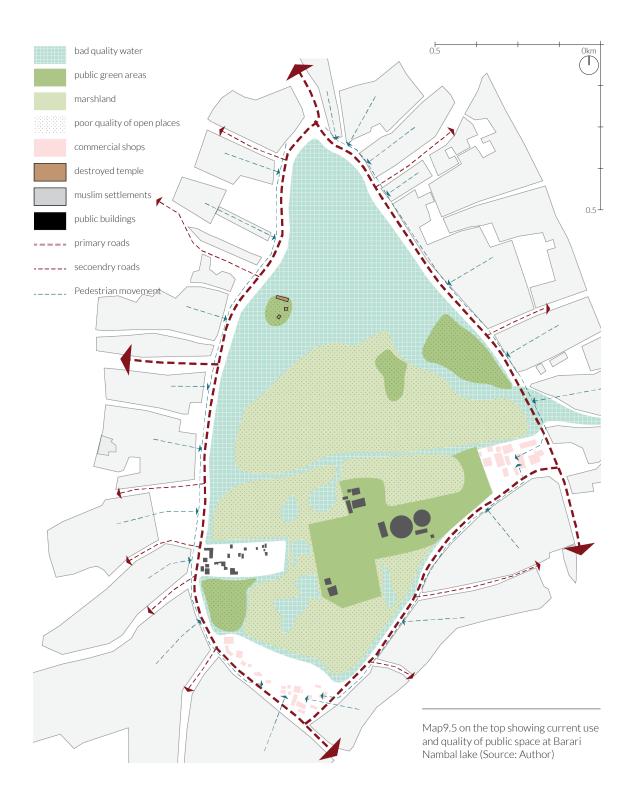
Past Image



i. Google earth, ii. Google earth, edited by author, iii. Google earth, edited by author, iv. http://www.knskashmir.com, v. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nallah_Mar#/media/, vi & vii. Town Planning Organisation Kashmir, 2017







A bad condition of the lake (ecological degradation)

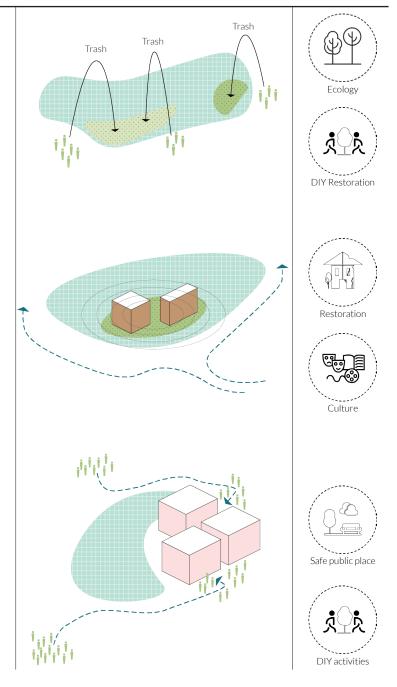
Lack of attention from the authorities has resulted in a lousy condition of the lake. People are throwing trash in the water and marshland. Which is making the living environment around it affected severely. The potential of the lake can be used to create shared public place in the area.

The bad condition of the destroyed temple and surrounding

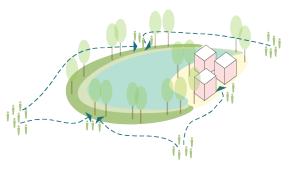
Lake has a temple on a small island in it which is destroyed during communal violence. Temple is still present in the same destroyed condition affecting the area around it. Restoration of the temple can create an opportunity to enhance social encounter amongst Hindus and Muslims as this area is predominantly Muslim neighbourhood. Restoring temple and creating neutral spaces around it will help to create crossing between two communities.

Limited public activities and uses around the lake

Due to lousy condition, the uses of the lake are limited. Commercial area around the lake is entirely used while other parts of the lake are underused. Promoting some shared community activities around and in the lake can help to transform this place into a shared neutral place.

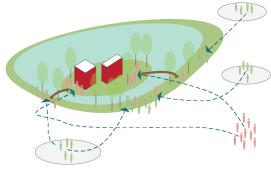






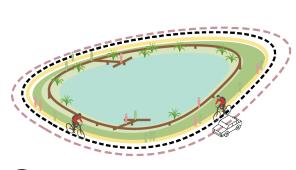


The ecological park around the lake can be done with the DIY initiative where people from the area and the city, can plant trees and maintain it. It will be helpful to maintain the lake afterward as people will feel an attachment towards it.





Restoration of the temple will help to enhance the cultural value of the city and will bring Hindu community in this predominantly Muslim neighbourhood. By creating neutral and share spaces around the temple will help to have a social encounter amongst two communities.



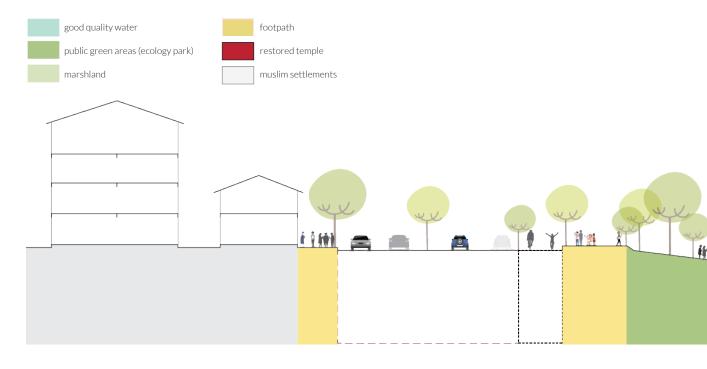


By providing boardwalk around the lake will enhance the public usability of the lake. Also, by providing separate cycle track and the pedestrian area will help to use the lake as a neutral share space for both the communities.





Temporal events can support the rejuvenation of the lake during the different seasons of the year. For example, during summer fishing festival can be proposed as both Hindus and Muslims enjoys eating fish, during winter ice-skating tournament can be organised to attract tourists and the local youth population.

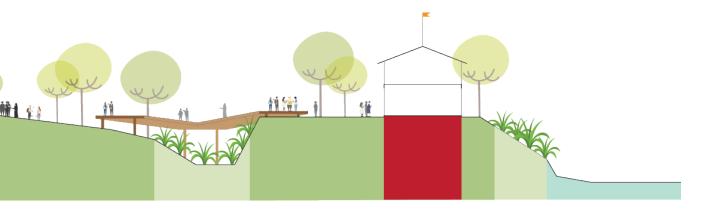


Phasing of the project



encounter between Hindus and Muslim as in this predominantly Muslim area temple will be the driver to create that. This program will further be facilitated by organising temporal events by the municipal government

during the different season of the year.



Section 9.2 on the top showing urban rejuvenation proposal for Barari Nambal lake. (Source: Author)

Design reflection:

For this lake rejuvenation project, various principles from theory and lessons from the case of Sarajevo has been used. The need for creating neutral and shared spaces mentioned in theory is addressed in this pilot project by creating joint community participatory projects. Shared community tree planting at the lake, which is one of the significant parts of this project is inspired by the tree planting program in Sarajevo. Also, the need for creating crossing in two communities lived in a parallel world in conflict cities is addressed through temporal events and providing a safe, neutral public place.



Image 9.5 on the top showing imaginary of boardway and its importance in enhancing usability of the lake (Source: Author)







9.4.3 REHABILITATION AREA

Ram Munshi Bagh is a neighbourhood situated near Jhelum river in Srinagar. The site is proposed for rehabilitation of Kashmiri Pandits. It is predominantly a Muslim area. However, the availability of vacant land, large open spaces, and agricultural fields near it allow diluting ethnic concentration and making it a porous neighbourhood.



Ethnification of Space



Military presence

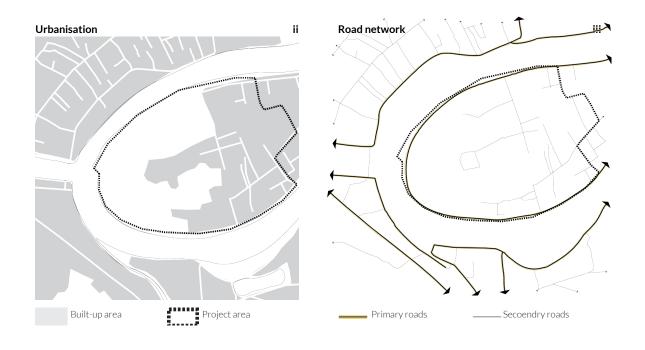


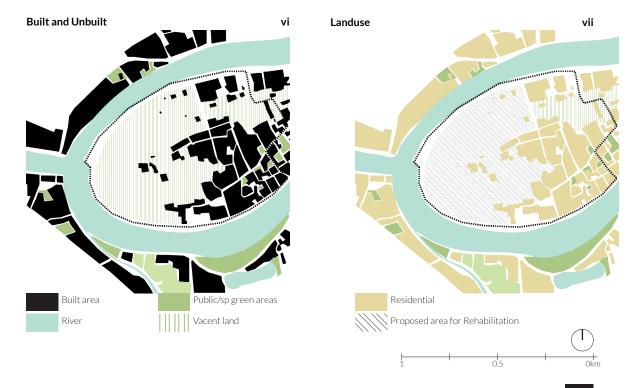


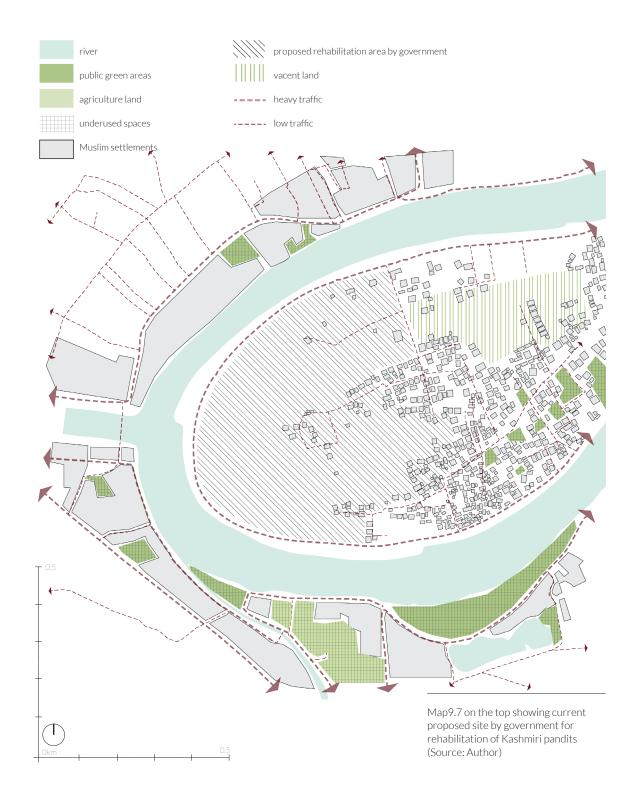
Past Image



i. Google earth, ii. Google earth, edited by author, iii. Google earth, edited by author, iv & v.www.gettyimages.nl, vi & vii. Town Planning Organisation Kashmir, 2017







Lack of accessibility

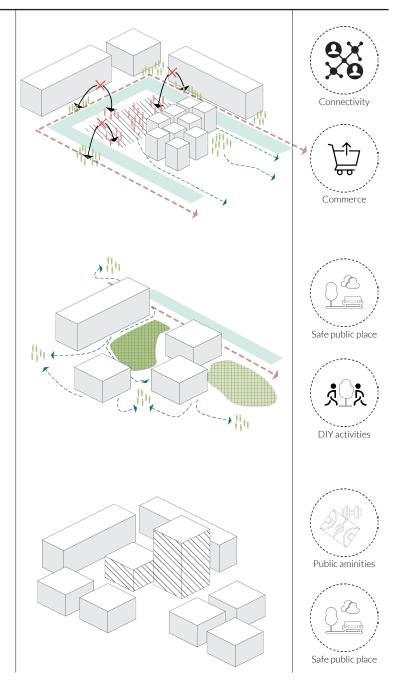
In general observation of this area shows a lack of connectivity amongst the two sides of the river. The proposed rehabilitation area, as well as Muslim settlements around it, are disconnected from the Muslim settlements across the river, which is creating a lack of social encounter. By bridging this disconnection with proper buffer zones may create a social encounter.

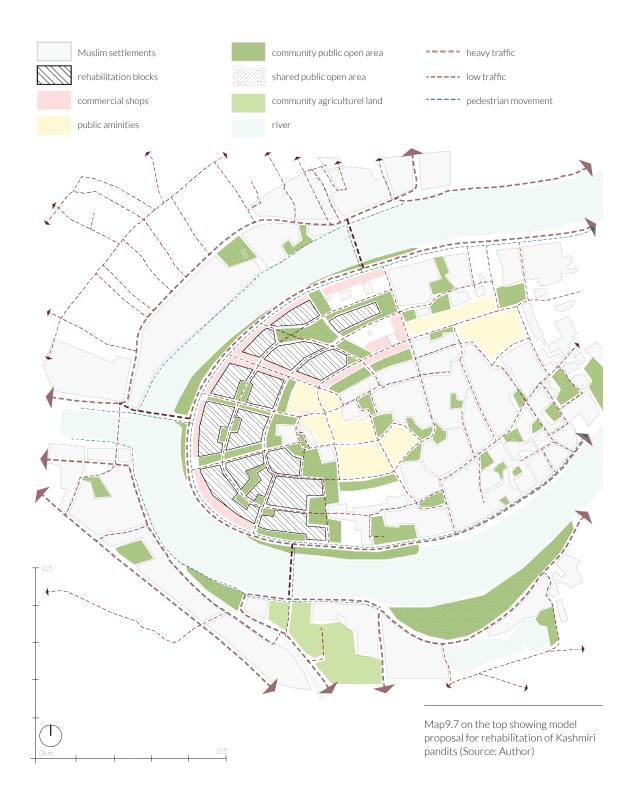
Poor quality of open spaces

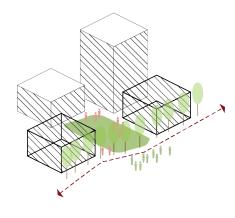
This site has few open grounds and agriculture areas which are not used to its fullest capacity to cater as a public place in the area. This resulted in poor quality due to maintenance and residents' attitude towards these places. There is excellent potential that these open places can be used in the design process to enhance public experience.

Location of rehabilitation area in a Muslim enclave

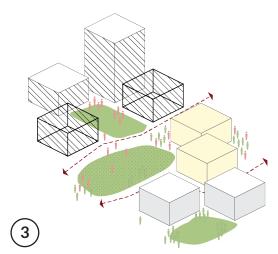
The location itself creates a challenge to create harmony amongst two contesting communities. It is necessary to maintain and respect the personal space of both the communities and avoid forceful mixed housing projects but to create buffer zones amongst community settlements.



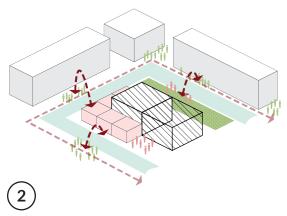




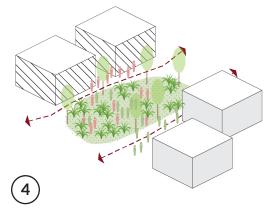
Creation of safe community places for the individual community and instead of hard barriers like a wall, soft barriers lime trees or landscape elements can act as a partition between two communities. It will act as porous boundary amongst them.



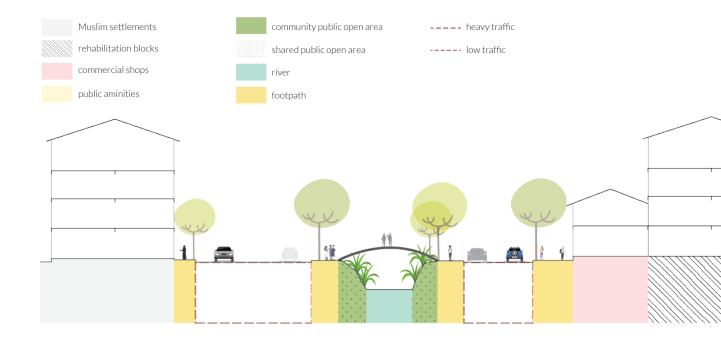
Order of public place is provided in such a way that each community has its community area followed by shared and neutral public places like gardens, schools, sports centers, healthcare, cinema hall, etc. This order of place help to maintain the cultural identity of each community and to create social encounter and harmony amongst the two contesting communities.



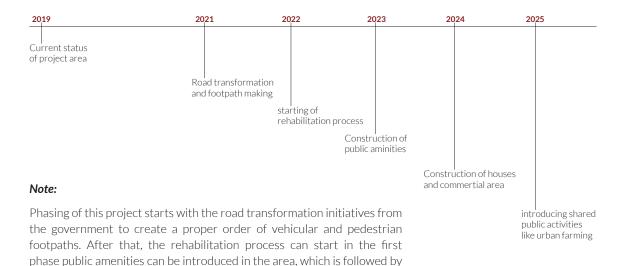
Bridging the areas across the river to create connectivity amongst two community. However, the buffer zone is created by providing shared open public places and commercial area where both the communities can use and encounter each other. Commercial areas will also help to create rehabilitation of Kashmiri Pandits as it will provide them employment.

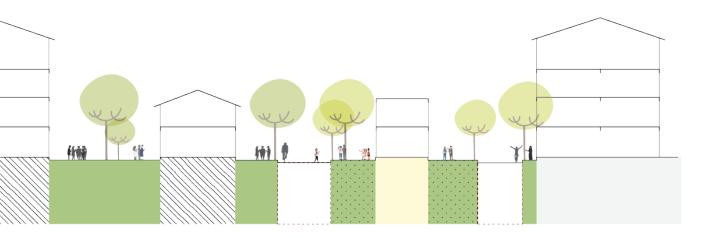


Shared community activities, for example, urban farming where people across the divide can come and contribute for the shared cause, will be introduced by the help of school and local leaders to dilute conflict between communities. It will create interaction amongst children and encounter amongst older people.



Phasing of the project





Section 9.3 on the top showing model rehabilitation proposal for Kashmiri Pandits. (Source: Author)

Design reflection:

Ram Munshi Bagh rehabilitation project is one of the critical projects as it involves direct community-level interventions. Theory of agonism is explicitly used in this project to maintain the cultural identity of each group and create spaces in between where the community can interact if they want to. Case of Belfast is used as a reference project to justify the interventions that are proposed. Also, the cultural order in public places is created in this project from core community areas to more shared places, as explained in theory.

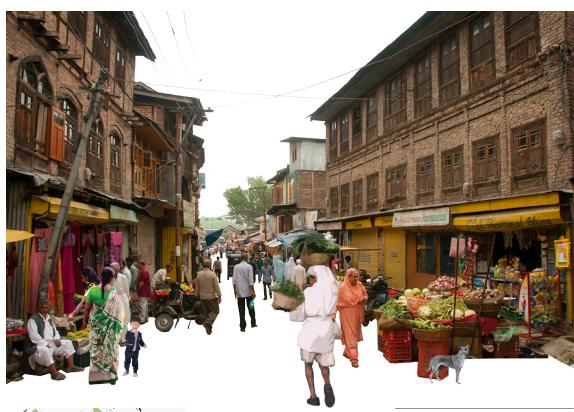




Image 9.7 on the top showing imaginary of the commercial area which will act as a barrier amongst two communities as a safe neutral place (Source: Author)

Image 9.8 on the right showing imaginary of the low traffic roads used by the kidds to play cricket as a temporal ground to feel safe (Source: Author)



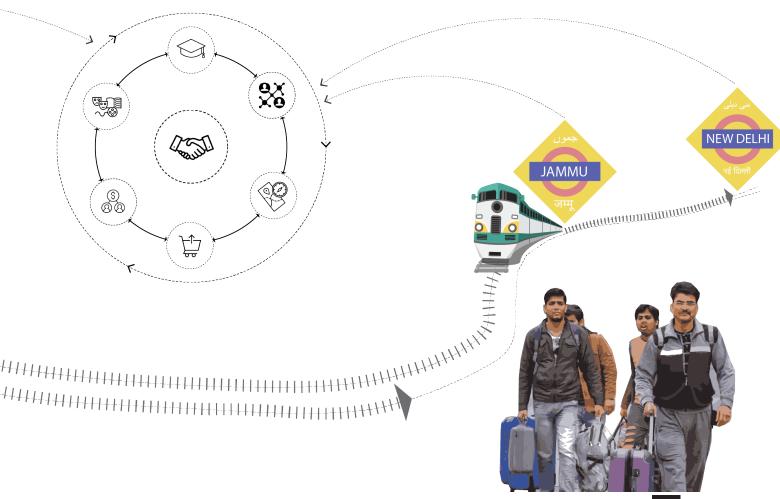
9.4.4 PUBLIC TRANSPORT FOR SOCIAL ENCOUNTER

Importance of keeping communities in their ethnic enclave also increases the chances of radicalisation. By creating safe and share spaces amongst them is necessary to keep them connected. In various cases studied before, it is significant that public transport can be a multidimensional tool to achieve social encounter in a safe environment. Analysis of regional transport infrastructure highlights railway connectivity as an issue on a regional and national level. By connection Jammu and Srinagar, two important cities in the area can help to create social encounter but also facilitate to achieve efficiency in trading, secondary town development



Image 9.9 on the bottom Showing proposed regional connection between Jammu and Srinagar (Source: Author)

and employment in the region of Kashmir. On a comprehensive manner, this will also help to create social encounter a Kashmir and other parts of India. On a city scale, it is necessary to connect peace places, and ethnos paces through transport connectivity. It is a part of the long-term vision of social cohesion in the city. Additional to the current on-going metro by the central/state government a separate line around the dal lake connecting a variety of share, cosmopolitan and neutral spaces have been proposed to create a social encounter amongst locals, university students, and tourist.



Improvement of the current public transport network in one of the critical design applications of this project to create both connectivity in the city but also to have a social encounter. This proposed metro line will physically connect various spaces in order to create compressive connection amongst neutral and shared spaces in the city. Which will result in improving living quality and facilitate free movement towards share spaces between two contesting communities.

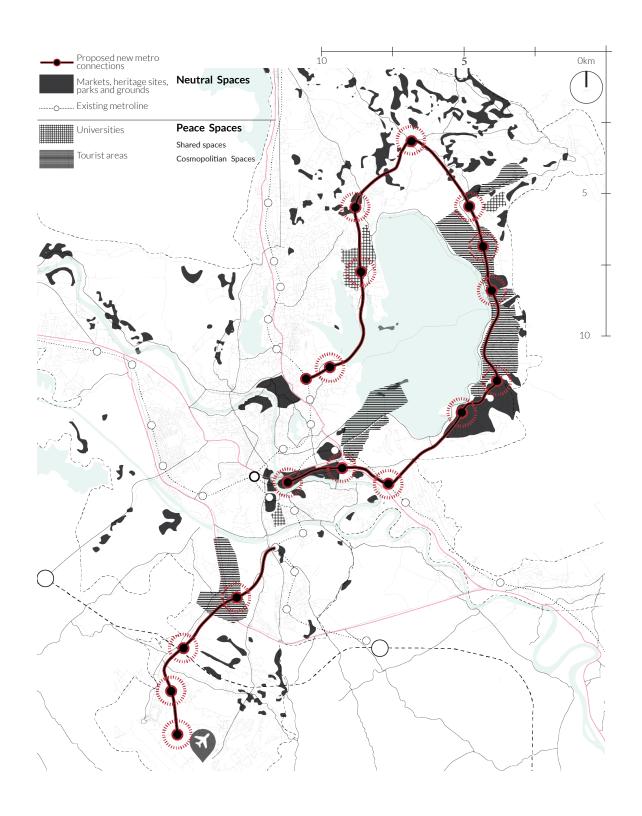
On the other hand, any public transport is a medium to instigate encounter amongst strangers. This social encounter in critical, especially in contested cities in order to create possible interaction amongst them for a peacebuilding process. For example, in a compartment of the metro that is proposed, different people from two communities will travel along with students from all over the India and Kashmir, Indian and global tourists, working class, etc. Hence the use of this space is become neutral and shared at the same time, which makes it a possible peace place in the city.

The other aspect related to the metro is that it needs huge investment, which can be made through a public-private partnership to boost private investment in Srinagar.

Map 9.8 on the right Showing proposed metro connection in the city of Srinagar to link neutral and peaceplaces to create public encounter (Source: Author)

Image 9.10on the bottom Showing imaginary view inside women compartment of the new proposed metro line where tourists from all over the world, Hindu women and Muslim women are traveling together having encounter and interaction with each other. (Source: Author)





9.5 DESIGN CODE

- Provide community events in the public space. For example, weekly markets, food festivals during Ramadan and Diwali, etc.
- Restoration of destroyed structures and public places to use it as a neutral and share space amongst the communities.
- The restricted area around Dal lake to be used for local/global events to bring people together and create interaction.
- Identify the importance of environmentally important areas and enhance the capacity of those areas through shared community activities.
- For rehabilitation respect the current physical identity (architectural, cultural and environmental) of the city.
- Provide means of public transport throughout the city to make it more connected to the different groups.
- Provide neutral and shared spaces in between the ethnos paces to create social encounter and interaction.
- Respect the spaces belongs to one ethnic identity and try not to integrate it forcefully.

9.6 CONCLUSION

Proposals for this research design projects are based on theoretical understanding and lessons learnings from comparative studies. Hence, it is focused on peacebuilding process through the central idea of agonistic planning. Proposals can be seen in two parts which are directly addressing to the main research question. The first part of the proposals in focused on Urban spatial planning and governance and second is on urban design.

In the first part, as discussed in this chapter model of conflict mitigation shows a great possibility to work from national level to the local level through consensus building amongst contesting parties for peace in the city. Followed by that rules and recommendations planning process which will help to adopt strategic and economic aspects in planning. Recommendations also insist on higher authorities to rethink about military presence and transparency in the planning process.

The recommendations are further explained in an institutional framework, a proposal for integration in governance structure and empowerment of people is made though suggesting necessary changes and collaboration at different stages of planning. This Suggestion not only helps to weaken conflict in Kashmir but also help to improve general planning practices in Indian and Kashmir.

After that strategic vision for design has been developed based on recommendations made for the planning system and lessons learned in comparative cases. The strategic vision is a toolkit with actions that need to be promoted in order to create peace in the Kashmir. Five pilot projects have been discussed after strategic vision out of which four are focused on local application of strategic vision. Through this local application, it is significant that enhancing neutrality and shared quality of public space in the city of Srinagar will help to create peace in the city. Social encounter is a key in contested cities to achieve social cohesion is reflected in all these projects. Followed by this one regional to a local project is discussed focusing on transport connectivity between Jammu and Srinagar to bridging Hindu majority area and Muslim majority area in Kashmir region and Srinagar new metro proposal is made to connect neutral, shared and cosmopolitan areas. This new metro proposal is a bold step towards social encounter between different communities and will be useful to achieve social cohesion in the Kashmir. Urban design part ends up with design code for spatial development in Srinagar based on four local scale application pilot projects and metro proposal reflecting principles from strategic vision.





CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTION

In this chapter, the essence of this research design project has been discussed. The chapter starts with the report conclusion in three-part to mention what position the author is taking to address the main research question. This section begins with understanding conflict in Kashmir and Srinagar. Then it highlighted the spatial relation of conflict in Kashmir, which is different from other conflicted cities studied in comparative analysis in this project. And then how can spatial planning and design assist in conflict resolution. In the second section, limitations related to this project has been mentioned, followed by recommendations for future research. After that contribution of this project in the academic world and societal needs have been discussed. Finally, this chapter ends with the personal reflection of author gathering his experiences and learnings during this process.

10.1 CONCLUSION

Addressing the main research question:

How can urban spatial planning and design assist in conflict resolution in Kashmir, India?

10.1.1 CONFLICT UNDERSTANDING

Due to historical events of Kashmir, the period of Islamic invaders who came from the middle east and introduced Islam in the region instigate conflict in the region. This invasion made an adverse effect on the Hindu, Sikh, and Buddhist community in the region. They are the one who affected a lot during these years with the occupation of the different rulers resulted in the tense situation amongst the religious communities in the Kashmir. Also, after the Independence of India and Pakistan in 1945, the depth of the problem is increased tremendously in the region, creating huge disconnection and lack of trust amongst these communities. This conflict has two main dimensions political and cultural. On a political level, the tension between India and Pakistan and the divide between the two communities Hindus and Muslims staying in the region is deeply rooted with its spatial manifestation throughout the region.

10.1.2 THE SPATIAL RELATION OF CONFLICT

During the spatial analysis of Kashmir, it is noted that no significant ethnic enclaves that have been studied in the cases of Belfast and Jerusalem are present. By saying that divide is present in other forms similar to the case of Sarajevo. Many structures which were destroyed during the communal violence by Muslim extremists can be noticed everywhere in the city of Srinagar. Monomialization of these antagonistic symbols indicates communal efforts to create fear amongst minorities. Another significant aspect is the military presence. Political conflict from the state level to international level resulted in military occupation in the area. This military presence is affecting the daily life of people and the shrinkage of public activities. It is not only restricting public movement but also avoiding possible public encounter amongst contesting communities.

While studying planning and governance in Kashmir, it is noticed that governance structure in highly top-down Actor analysis made to understand governance system strengthen the argument that only top-level actors are involved in the process of planning and policy making. This centralised system of planning is neglecting the potential contribution of

various other actors in the private and people domain. There is a huge potential of creating jobs and economic development with the private sector, but due to section 35A, they are restricted and not willing to invest in the state. Similarly, citizens, NGO's, religious institutions, and community leaders are not engaged in the planning process. Involvement of this stakeholder is necessary for the peacebuilding process in Kashmir.

10.1.3 ASSISTANCE THROUGH SPATIAL PLANNING AND DESIGN

Disturbing past violence and emerging radical Muslim groups is a constant threat to peacebuilding efforts. It is simultaneously, justifies the military presence and hence makes the entire situation extremely complex.

On a governance level, this project addresses the issue related to the top-down system by suggesting top leadership which constitutes national government and State government acting as a facilitating body by revising and making a general agreement on Section 370 and Section 35A as well as come up with a rehabilitation policy for Kashmiri Pandits. Middle range leaders have a task to negotiate these policies with grassroots leaders to create a common consensus amongst then and to avoid potential conflict situation. Grass root leaders also have to contribute to the application of these policies as the proposals will come through them. This will help to reduce military presence in public spaces and local initiatives for peacebuilding amongst contesting communities.

On planning and design level, this project seeks to address the peacebuilding process through agonistic planning model. It is vital for planners and designers to maintain ethnic enclave and try to create neutral and shared spaces where both the communities are free to interact if they wish to. However, on the same time to make ethnic minority (Kashmiri Pandits) feel safe and welcomed in Kashmir, it is necessary to replace antagonistic monuments/symbols with peace promoting alternatives which reflect shared history and culture of the area. Tourist area due to its cosmopolitan nature can contribute a lot in peacebuilding amongst the communities but also provide a national and global perspective to counter religious extremism which advocates medieval lifestyle.

Conflict	India vs Pakistan Military occupation	Muslim vs Hindu Communal violence			
Position	Agonistic planning				
Result	Institutional reform	Social encounter			

Table 10.1 on the right Showing project conclusion (Source: Author)

10.2 LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Project on this vast scale invites a lot of limitations itself. However, additional limitations and complications occurred due to active conflict area of Kashmir. Data collection is the main problem that I faced during the initial and design state of the project. Hence this project is based on my understanding of Indian cities and existing limited research made by various researchers in this area. Also due to the sudden instigation of war between India and Pakistan in March 2019 restricted me to visit Srinagar, my project location and contested city in Kashmir. This unsuccessful field trip made me dependent on my observations about Srinagar that I did during my visit in 2013.

The major part of this project is based on the literature published in India or published by the Indian government, which may lead to biased opinions towards the situation. However, I tried to connect various parties to have a verity of opinions to understand the situation better.

While focusing on conflict and planning, it is necessary to mention here that an interdisciplinary approach is an essential requirement. Only planners or designers cannot assist in weakening conflict. Political leaders, social scientists, and public institutions need to work together to achieve better results. Hence, limits the role of planners and designers and made them dependent on political will.

Researchers are now focusing on conflict and its effect on the environment. However, in this project, I did not consider this aspect despite knowing its importance to reduce the scope of my project.

This research will contribute to future studies which aim to understand conflict and its spatial relation in Kashmir.



Image 10.1 on the right showing a crowd gathers around the smoking wreckage of one the downed aircraft, 80km away from where I was staying during my fieldvisit (Source: picture by Mukhtar Khan)

10.3 RELEVANCE

10.3.1 SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

Although there has been dialogue and discourse in academia and International organizations about war cities and planning processes in these cities, a limited study has been done on the cities in South Asia. There is a disconnection between the scholars who explore South Asia politically, economically as well as culturally and planning professionals working in the field of conflict cities. This project aims to broaden the understanding of political, economic, and cultural dynamics of South Asia (taking Kashmir as a case) in order to connect the gap between academic knowledge and planning framework. By focusing on the conflict and its relation to urban spatial planning and design. It also contributes to the existing literature of planning in the Indian context. As there is very few literatures available on general planning practices in India.

10.3.2 SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

The Kashmir is one of the most extensive conflicted areas which is politically unstable and socially depressed due to many wars after 1948. On average, more than 200 deaths and many displacements occur every year in Kashmir. (ACLED- Bringing clarity to crisis, 2018) People are forced to migrate from there areas due to war situations and live as refugees in their own or other nearby countries which results in the cultural conflict and refugee crisis in many cities in India and other developed and developing countries. In Kashmir, the situation is. The main aim of this migration is to have a brighter future and better opportunities. Considering these two human aspirations, spatial planning of contested cities demands more than physical construction, and hence it is required urgent attention to develop a future vision regarding the economy, networking, governance and social cohesion to offer a better life to the displaced population as well as create branding to attract them.

10.4 REFLECTION

The process of urban spatial planning needs a constant upgrade of knowledge and sensitivity, considering the complexity of it. All the concurrent streams of this complexity perform differently due to their unique social, economic, cultural, and geographical characteristics and variations in the scale. As a Planner, it is fundamental in the profession to be able to understand the complexity of urban areas at every scale. To create a comprehensive proposal for the region by following the vast magnitude of interactions required on a different level and way of interpretation.

This research design project deals with the cities facing an extreme form of conflict which is based on communal violence and physical destruction. To understand the working of spatial planning and design in extreme conditions. My desire to do this project came from my intuition to work in a conflict area. My uncle was war journalists, and his writings inspired me to think so. When Roberto (one of the teachers in my university) introduced a project about Iraq as an option for graduation studio, naturally I was attracted towards it. However, in the process of fixing my topic, I have to abort my project location as Iraq and need to choose Kashmir suggested by my first mentor Vincent. It was a heart-breaking decision for me to shift from Iraq to my home country, India. I want to do something in an international context to increase my scope, but I ended up doing a project in India. However, of saying that, I must admit that it is the practical decision for me as I was already aware of the background, language, and history of Kashmir.

During this process, I noticed that conflict and divide works differently in Kashmir. Researchers on divided cities may not consider Srinagar summer capital of Kashmir as a contested city because ethnic enclaves in Srinagar are not confined by sectorial geographies. It is interesting to observe the spatial distribution of Hindus and Muslim (two contesting communities) in the city, which does not show extreme segregation like Belfast and Jerusalem. However, it is more comparable to Sarajevo where deeply rooted multiculturalism and conflict coexists together, which brings up the question of where conflict and its spatial manifestation is. Theories on conflict and planning, which is referred to in this research project show their limitation to categorise this situation of cities like Srinagar and Sarajevo. I think the historical tradition of multiculturalism of these cities is one of the main reasons for not having prominent spatial segregation.

Here I want to share one of my experiences when I was interviewing Anil Raina (senior planner of Jammu and Kashmir state planning department).

The interview starts with the usual greetings and asking about my background and other information. However, when I explained to him about my project, Mr. Raina laughed because he could not believe that one can take his thesis project on planning and that also by taking Kashmir as a case. He told me in India, planning is a disaster, and you are relating it with conflict is an extremely difficult and nearly impossible topic. He further added that if he were my teacher, he would have never allowed me to take this topic. It was enough to scare me and rethink about my whole topic, but I was finished with my P2, so there was no way back for me. "Be the change you want to see in the world" quote by Mahatma Gandhi inspired me to tackle this difficult path. I take it as a challenge and motivation. I am also enjoying pride in doing something new and challenging.

My passion for politics, cultural, and societal changes helped me to dig deep into this project. Also, I think it is necessary when you are dealing with these highly political projects. For me, the best part of this project is when Vincent introduced me with the idea of agonism. In my opinion, that is a crucial point when the direction of my project got drastic change and academic support. I am not a fan of social integration that Dutch planning system is focused on. Social integration is defined as a process in which minorities or immigrants are merged into the current social structure by the existing social communities. Social integration is widely considered as a left-oriented idea seeking to create a harmonious society. However, the concept lacks human aspiration due to cultural/ethnic differences between different communities. Moreover, in current planning practices, it is brutally applied to the many European and American cities. Through this project, I am challenging the idea of social integration through agonism. Following lines of Bollens are inspiring for me and change my perspective

'The goal of policy should not be integration per se, but a "porous" society, where diversity can coexist, and communities are free to interact if they choose (Bollens, 2002: 57).'

One of the exciting parts of this project, which I enjoy a lot is when I started studying planning and governance about India. I did my Bachelor of Architecture in India, and we always focus on planning in India in terms of land use master planning. Even scholars in this profession will say that land use planning is the core of Indian planning. However, I noticed that there is an ample amount of focus on policy planning in India. It will not be accurate to say the urban planning in India is land use based but to say that it is policy and land use planning combined.

I want to say that the fundamental values of the preamble of the constitution of my great nation India, which ensures secular democratic state with equality of status and opportunity to all citizens are reflected in

my project. Hence it provides liberty to the people of Kashmir to maintain their own identity by ensuring fair distribution of urban resources. I also think the physical environment does not confine the profession of an urbanist (urban planner, designer, policy maker, and geographer) but politics and social aspects are essential factors that play a vital role for it. Hence, we as a fraternity need to engage ourselves in a political regime if we want to see that better world.

Finally, to conclude my reflection, this project gave me a chance to enhance my capacities and has made an enormous impact on my personality and perspective on life and my intellectual development.

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Űrbanism

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