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Article:

Malik, IH (2022) Spatial dimension of impact, relief, and rescue of the 2014 flood in Kashmir Valley. Natural Hazards, 110 (3). pp. 1911-1929. ISSN 0921-030X

https://doi.org/10.1007/s11069-021-05018-8

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1	Spatial Dimension of Impact, Relief and Rescue of the 2014 Flood
2	in Kashmir Valley
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Abstract

8 Flood relief and rescue form an important basis of disaster management and the assessment 9 of flood damage is a critical component of flood risk management. In its recent history, Kashmir Valley witnessed the floods in 2014, 2015, 2017, 2019, 2020 and 2021 but the worst 10 11 flood in the living memory of the people was witnessed in the year 2014, which created widespread loss in economic and societal aspects. The present study discusses the spatial 12 13 dimension of impact, relief and rescue of the flood of 2014 in the Kashmir Valley. It analyses the distribution of relief and politics of relief and rescue, and highlights the role of the 14 communitarianism and the heroics of the community members in dealing with floods. The 15 study provides the data of relief distribution under different government schemes and reveals 16 that the relief was not distributed equally in various districts of the valley. The study relies on 17 primary and secondary sources of data. Ethnographic approach was used for acquiring 18 primary data because it provides the complex narratives of disasters and the political and 19 20 social rupture experienced during the disasters. The data has been analysed with the help of 21 Geographic Information System.

Key words: Flood relief, politics, communitarianism, Kashmir, relief deprivation index Introduction

24 Disasters are the aberrations from the normal life. Floods are widely regarded as the most devastating and recurring cause of most disasters, wreaking havoc on floodplain dwellers 25 26 around the world (Dhar and Nandargi, 2003). Floods are responsible for one-third of all hydrological hazards on the earth (Adhikari et al. 2010). River flooding is one of the most 27 28 devastating disasters in the world, causing widespread loss of life, infrastructure damage, and 29 economic devastation. Societies are currently under threat from such floods, owing primarily 30 to increased exposure of people and assets in flood prone areas, but also to changes in flood magnitude, frequency, and timing (Wilhelm et.al, 2019). 31

Floods affect billions of people around the world (Zarekarizi et al., 2020).
Between 2009 and 2019, floods killed around 50000 people and affected approximately 10%

of the world's population, according to the Emergency Events Database (CRED, 2019). 34 Floods are expected to become more frequent and widespread as a result of population 35 growth and climate change (Leung et al., 2019). The global disaster dataset reveals that the 36 number of disasters especially floods have increased in recent times and South Asia has seen 37 38 a dramatic increase in flood disasters (Saharia, 2021). In a global survey of disasters, Jonkman (2005) found that Asian rivers are the most significant in terms of the number of 39 40 persons killed and affected, with flash floods resulting in the highest average death per incident. The damage to crops, infrastructure and housing, and the negative impacts on health 41 42 and sanitation caused by floods are particularly severe in the populous floodplains of many Third World states (Alexander, 2018). 43

The Kashmir Valley is vulnerable to all types of hazards due to its geographical, 44 climatic, and geological configuration (Meraj et al. 2015). According to historical records, the 45 Kashmir Himalayan region has suffered significant casualties and property loss as a result of 46 recurring floods, avalanches, earthquakes, and several other hydro-meteorological disasters 47 (Mohammed et al. 2015). Because of the valley's topography, low-lying areas are prone to 48 flooding. In recent years, unchecked urbanization, the construction of roads and railways in 49 the flood basin, a reduction in river carrying capacity, and the accelerated extinction of the 50 51 valley's wetlands and lakes have exacerbated the valley's flood vulnerability (Iqbal, 2019), thus causing several floods. Floods devastated the Kashmir Valley in 1893, 1928, 1950, 1959, 52 1992, 2010, and most recently in 2014, 2015, 2017, and 2019. All of these floods had varying 53 effects, but the flood of 2014 was the most destructive flood in the recent history of Kashmir, 54 55 affecting all socioeconomic and environmental aspects as well as causing political rupture in 56 the Valley (Malik and Hashmi, 2020).

57 The catastrophic flood event of 2014, which was the biggest ever recorded on the river Jhelum and resulted in massive losses of assets and human life, is a recent example 58 59 of the Kashmir basin's vulnerability to floods (Mishra 2015; Bhatt et al. 2016). The Kashmir flood of September 2014 inundated the majority of the floodplain in Kashmir, resulting in 60 massive loss of life and property. The magnitude of this event was declared to be the highest 61 ever instrumentally recorded on the Jhelum River, with an estimated discharge of 1, 15,218 62 cusecs upstream at Sangam and 72,585 cusecs downstream at Ram Munshi Bagh in Srinagar 63 city. During the flood, highest flood level (HFL) records obtained from a post-flood survey 64 65 using Global Positioning System (GPS) revealed floodwater depths of up to 16 feet and a 25day inundation period in various areas of Kashmir (Alam et al., 2018). 66

The 2014 flood in Kashmir Valley had a devastating impact on the socioeconomic, environmental and political conditions in Kashmir. It was the worst flood to strike the Valley in the last 100 years, killing 277 people in Jammu and Kashmir. The relief and rescue efforts were dispersed across the Valley in various districts and thus gave rise to the spatial dimension of such actions.

The present study is significant because it gives a detailed account of relief 72 73 provided to people under different governmental schemes and also rescue of the 2014 Kashmir flood, and fills the research gap regarding relief provided to people. There is a lack 74 75 of studies on Kashmir floods that give the detailed accounts of rescue and relief operations, and the current study is significant in order to explain the spatial distribution of relief and 76 77 rescue operations. It explains various narratives witnessed during the flood in the Kashmir Valley and provides a deeper understanding of communitarianism in the Kashmiri society in 78 79 terms of flood response. It also emphasises administrative laxity, as well as the bias and 80 politics in rescue and relief operations.

81 Ethnography is important for understanding how actors in various domains 82 attach meaning to disasters and disaster response, as well as how they influence one another. 83 Ethnography should not be limited to local domains; it can be equally useful and insightful 84 when performed in and between other disaster response domains. It is worthwhile to consider 85 recent developments in ethnography (Hilhorst, 2013) to study the flood situations like the 86 recent floods in the Kashmir Valley.

In the light of the above, the study seeks to (i) assess the impact of the 2014 flood in Kashmir Valley, (ii) analyse the spatial dimension of rescue and relief operations, (iii) highlight the emergence of communitarianism during the floods in the Kashmir valley, and (iv) emphasize the politics of rescue and relief.

91 Data Sets and Methodology:

The current study relies on primary and secondary sources of data. Kashmir Valley has total 10 districts and from every district 20 households were surveyed, which makes the total sample size as 200. Thus, a total of 200 households were surveyed to know the spatial dimension of impact, relief and rescue during and after the floods experienced in Kashmir Valley with a special focus on the 2014 flood. The analysis of previous studies and data helped in choosing the sampling method, and thus the samples were collected with the help of purposive sampling, which helped in acquiring the required information. Ethnographic

99 approach was used to know about different narratives regarding the impact, relief and rescue operations because ethnography provides the ground reality about social phenomena and the 100 101 disaster scenario, and the researcher is better able to comprehend the research subjects' experiences and habits from the participant's point of view. The undisguised participant 102 observation ethnographic method was used in which the ethnographer becomes the member 103 of the group, which was also guided by the personal experiences of rescue and relief 104 105 operations during the 2014 flood. The secondary data was collected from the Divisional Commissioner's Office, Srinagar. To process the data and create the maps, Arc GIS 10.2 was 106 107 used.

Spatial deprivation is a common form of regional disparity among the various axes (Herbert, 1975). It implies a direct link between deprivation and regional inequality (Norris, 1979). Deprivation is commonly used to denote a lack of something considered necessary for having an acceptable quality of life (Brown and Madge, 1982). Taking inspiration from the deprivation index, the Relief Deprivation Index (RDI) was devised for the present study.

The Relief Deprivation Index (RDI) was used to determine the amount of loss and 114 relief received and the district wise inequality in terms of relief received. It calculates how 115 much money a household has been deprived of that it should have received. The greater the 116 value of the deprivation index, the greater the level of deprivation. To create a composite 117 deprivation index, researchers used a variety of methodologies. Their methodologies differ in 118 terms of the indicators used. Different deprivation indices are developed to classify all 119 districts in terms of multiple deprivations, and in the present study the RDI was used to 120 121 examine the spatial dimension of relief received. Districts with high deprivation index scores have received less relief while as the districts with low deprivation index have received 122 123 comparatively better relief.

124 The relief deprivation was calculated by the following formula;

125

Relief Deprivation =
$$\frac{Relief Received}{Loss} \times 100$$

126

127 Study Area:

128 The current study's research area is the Kashmir Valley, which lies in the northern part of 129 India (Fig. 1). It lies in the North-Western Himalayas and comprises of several beautiful valleys and picturesque mountains. It is surrounded by Himalayas from all sides, which has a profound impact on its climate and weather phenomena. The Kashmir Valley has geopolitical significance and is a source of contention among India, China and Pakistan. It is one of the most volatile conflict regions of the world. The Valley is composed of several beautiful lakes like Wular and Dal lakes and is one of the world's best tourist destinations.



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Figure 1: Study Area (Kashmir Valley)

The Kashmir valley is a 15,220 km² NW–SE Graben-type basin that formed in the late Miocene (Bhat, 1982; Burbank, 1983; Alam et al. 2017). The Valley is located in the Jhelum Basin and has a well-developed drainage system led by the Jhelum River. It is surrounded by two major mountain ranges, the Pir Panjal in the south–southwest and the Great Himalaya in the east–northeast (Bhat et al., 2017).

The 2014 extreme flooding in Kashmir Valley was caused by a complex interplay of atmospheric disturbances that caused widespread extreme rainfall for seven days prior to the event, with a peak discharge of 3256437405000 cubic mm per second and the

145 Jhelum River overflowing its banks (Romshoo et al, 2018). The valley experienced unprecedented rainfall in early September 2014 (September 04-06) as a result of the 146 combined effects of mid-latitude Westerlies and pressure systems typical of the Indian 147 summer monsoon (Kumar and Acharya, 2016). Rainfall totals of 415 mm and 140 mm were 148 recorded at Kokernag station in south Kashmir and Rambagh station in Srinagar, 149 respectively, during this time (Ray et al. 2015), resulting in widespread flooding across the 150 valley (Gulzar et al., 2020). Hospitals, communication lines, buildings, water and energy 151 supply facilities, and cultural heritage places all suffered significant damage. The situation 152 153 triggered an emergency declaration, with over a hundred people killed and thousands of families affected and massive economic loss (Venugopal and Yasir, 2017). 154

155

Results and Discussion

Kashmir Valley witnessed several floods in its recent history. The flooding of September 156 2014 in Kashmir Valley was anthropogenic in nature rather than a natural calamity. As per 157 the Jammu Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society (JKCCS), 2015, "This is a sentiment so often 158 repeated, that it has taken on the shades of a cliché, with everyone from civil society activists 159 160 to politicians being in seeming agreement that the Jammu and Kashmir government's administrative laxity and negligence and its peoples' irresponsible development practices 161 162 were the cause of the floods. Recent understandings of disasters and development, including that of the United Nations, emphasise that human actions and socio-economic inequalities 163 influence the causes of, and vulnerabilities to natural events, and often determine whether a 164 particular 'hazard' takes on disastrous proportions or not." 165

166

Socio-Economic Impact

Flooding in J&K and Pakistan was the most expensive weather event of 2014 (Annual Global 167 climate and catastrophe report, 2015). Floods in Kashmir in 2014 wreaked havoc on 168 agriculture, trade, infrastructure, tourism, and the handloom sector. According to the 169 170 government of Jammu and Kashmir, the state suffered a loss of Rs. 1.0 trillion as a result of the floods in September 2014. (Yaseen, 2014). The flood had a negative impact on the 171 tourism industry as it is one of the important economic activities in Kashmir Valley (Malik, 172 2015). Over a million people were displaced, and over 3,000 settlements were inundated, 173 174 resulting in a \$6,560 million economic loss (Carpenter et.al, 2020). In terms of cropped area 175 and people affected, the Anantnag district was the worst affected by the flood. The flood affected 153140 acres of land and 159507 people in the Anantnag district. It was followed by 176 Baramulla, where the flood affected 132052 acres of land and 159200 people. Kupwara was 177

the least affected district in terms of cropped area, with 3218 acres of land affected. The total
cropped area affected by the 2014 flood in Kashmir Valley was 694389 acres, and a total of
906091 people were affected, excluding the district Srinagar (Malik and Hashmi, 2021).

181 The 2014 flood in Kashmir had disastrous consequences on environment, society 182 and politics. It created death, poverty, environmental damage and health problems in the 183 Valley, which resulted into rise of diseases like cholera and malaria.

Table 1: Total number of Houses Damaged in Kashmir Valley due to

185

2014 Flood

District	Total Number of Houses Damaged				
Anantnag	19985				
Bandipora	7703				
Baramulla	8630				
Budgam	16963 429				
Ganderbal					
Kulgam	3365				
Kupwara	89				
Pulwama	15200				
Shopian	1336				
Srinagar	93536				
Total	167236				

Source: Divisional Commissioner's Office, Srinagar



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The total number of houses damaged in the Kashmir Valley by the 2014 189 190 flood was 167236 (Table 1 & Figure 2). In terms of house damage, the Srinagar district suffered the most with 93536 damaged houses, followed by Anantnag (19985), Budgam 191 192 (16963), Pulwama (15200), Baramulla (8630), Bandipora (7703), Kulgam (3365), Shopian 193 (1336), Ganderbal (429), and Kupwara (89). The damaged houses indicate massive economic and social loss as floods have the intrinsic characteristic of causing socio-economic loss. The 194 districts of the valley were affected differently due to their location in relation to Jhelum 195 196 River and levels of urbanization. Srinagar and Anantnag districts were affected greatly because these districts lie at the banks of the Jhelum River and are also the most urbanized 197 districts in the Kashmir Valley. As per the 2011 census of India, Srinagar has 95.3% urban 198 population out of its total population and constitutes 61.1% of the total urban population of 199

the Kashmir Valley while as Anantnag has 25.6% urban population out of its total population 200 and constitutes 13.8% of the total urban population of the Kashmir Valley. The percentage of 201 202 urban population of Srinagar and Anantnag districts is followed by Baramulla (8.3%), Kulgam (3.9%), Pulwama (3.6%), Bandipora (3.2%), Budgam (2.4%), Kupwara (1.6%), 203 Ganderbal (1.4%) and Shopian (0.7%), thus revealing that Srinagar and Anantnag districts 204 are the most urbanized districts in the Kashmir Valley. The location of the districts in relation 205 206 to the Jhelum River is shown in Figure 3. Due to high urbanization and poor drainage in the Srinagar city, the water during the flood was accumulated for longer durations and led to the 207 208 inundation of thousands of houses. Kupwara district was the least affected because it is situated at higher altitude. 209





The 2014 flood in Kashmir Valley had a tremendous impact on the socioeconomic aspects in the Valley. The relief deprivation of the surveyed households reveals that most of the people incurred a heavy loss in the form of damage of houses and infrastructure, loss of crops and agricultural land, damage to horticulture and livestock. It also reveals that most of the people did not get adequate relief from the government.

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Table 2: Relief Deprivation Index (RDI) of the 2014 Kashmir Flood

S.No. District		Houses Surveyed	Relief Received (₹)	Loss (₹)	Ratio (Relief/Loss)
1	Anantnag	20	31,15,258	55,62,962	56
2	Bandipora	20	29,97,509	55,50,943	54
3	Baramulla	20	30,83,110	55,05,555	56
4 Budgam		20	27,84,565 51,56,603		54
5 Ganderbal		20	29,03,000	29,03,000 52,78,181	
6	Kulgam	20	29,78,660	55,16,037	54
7	Kupwara	20	22,02,162	55,05,405	40
8	Pulwama	20	29,49,332	52,66,666	56
9 Shopian		20	29,32,000	53,30,909	55
10	Srinagar	20	40,67,796	67,79,661	60
	Total	200	3,00,13,392	5,54,52,922	54

Source: Primary Survey



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Table 2 and Figure 4 analysis shows that the highest relief deprivation index was experienced by Srinagar (60 percent), which means that the Srinagar district has received least relief as districts with high deprivation index scores have received less relief. It was followed by the districts of Anantnag (56%), Pulwama (56%), Baramulla (56%), Ganderbal

(55%), Shopian (55%), Bandipora (54%), Kulgam (54%), and lastly Kupwara (40 percent). 225 These figures show that the people of Kashmir experienced heavy economic loss, which 226 resulted into poverty and economic distress among thousands of people. The economic loss 227 of lower class people, which are mostly engaged in agricultural activities, created food 228 scarcity. It also affected their economic conditions to a great extent as the flood occurred in 229 the month of September 2014 and continued till October, which is the harvesting season in 230 Kashmir. Thousands of families depend on horticulture in Kashmir. The whole agricultural 231 setup including horticulture was adversely affected by the flood and resulted into loss of 232 233 apple production worth millions of dollars.

234 Abdul Rashid, an apple grower in district Anantnag, while recollecting the memories of the 2014 flood, said "We lost almost one thousand boxes of apples worth one 235 236 million rupees. We are 10 family members and horticulture is our main source of income. We lost everything in the flood which created a sense of hopelessness and economic distress in 237 238 the family. My daughter was getting married in the month of November and we had high hopes on the horticultural production to support the marriage ceremony of my daughter but 239 now we postponed the marriage till next November because of unavailability of money." 240 Mohd. Ayub of district Kulgam narrated, "Our house worth 20 lakh rupees got totally 241 damaged due to the flood. We lived in a temporary tent for three months." Manzoor Ahmad 242 of Srinagar district narrated his horrific flood memories and stated, "The flood water came 243 from all sides and our house was filled with water within ten minutes and we rushed to the 244 third floor. We lived on the third floor of our house for 15 days with little food and water. The 245 two storeys of our house were inundated for 15 days and we had to use the water motors to 246 draw out the water from our house. We incurred a loss of 15 lakh rupees and it took us two 247 years to cope-up with the economic loss." 248

While recollecting the memories of recent floods in the Kashmir Valley, Abdul Samad of Srinagar said, "*The recent floods of Kashmir Valley like the floods in 2014*, 2015, 2017, 2019 and 2020 caused huge impact. The floods of 2015, 2017, 2019 and 2020 were not so much devastating as compared to the flood of 2014. We thought that we are all going to die and nothing will be left out there."

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Spatial Dimension of Relief

Which areas are vulnerable, and why the people who live there are vulnerable, are frequently part of a political discourse elicited by both international agencies and national governments in order to decide who should receive assistance and in what form. The politization of relief and rescue, as well as the power dynamics that underpin it (Bankoff et al., 2013) determinethe distribution of relief.

Floods affect different sections of society differently. Vulnerability to floods depends upon the location of the settlement and the socio-economic conditions of the people. Thus, different classes are vulnerable to a different degree to floods. Floods expose the political setup of a region or a state. It shows the kind of political setup that governs the people and projects the political scenario of a region or a nation.

265Table 3: Relief Provided to Fully Damaged Houses during Kashmir's 2014 Flood under

Prime Minister's Development Package (PMDP), Prime Minister's National Relief Fund
 (PMNRF) and State Disaster Response Fund (SDRF)

	Pucca (Concrete) Kacha (Non Concrete)							te)
District	Total Houses Damaged	Houses paid by SDRF	Houses paid by PMNRF	Houses paid by PMDP	Total Houses Damaged	Houses paid by SDRF	Houses paid by PMNRF	Houses paid by PMDP
Srinagar	6048	5839	5537	5495	113	112	101	95
Budgam	875	861	714	857	26	24	24	24
Anantnag	1542	1534	1307	1304	272	270	246	246
Baramulla	190	190	190	190	149	149	149	149
Kulgam	231	231	231	226	108	108	108	105
Shopian	203	203	123	123	11	11	7	7
Pulwama	1957	1890	1565	1565	58	58	42	42
Bandipora	544	544	404	402	243	241	218	222
Ganderbal	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
Kupwara	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	11593	11295	10074	10165	982	975	897	892

Fig. 5: Relief provided to Concrete and Non-Concrete Fully Damaged Houses during



2014 Kashmir Flood



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Kashmir's 2014 Flood

		Pucca (Concrete)				Kacha (Non Concrete)			
District	Total Houses Damaged	Houses paid by SDRF	Houses paid by PMNRF	Houses paid by PMDP	Total Houses Damaged	Houses paid by SDRF	Houses paid by PMNRF	Houses paid by PMDP	
Srinagar	25426	24759	20359	19588	78	62	58	54	
Budgam	3538	3493	3304	3410	3	2	2	1	
Anantnag	3923	3888	3672	3656	232	228	203	202	
Baramulla	1288	1288	1288	1288	146	146	146	146	
Kulgam	639	639	639	617	76	76	76	71	
Shopian	181	181	181	181	5	5	5	5	
Pulwama	1926	1612	1609	1609	16	16	16	16	
Bandipora	1488	1487	1290	1288	71	71	57	59	
Ganderbal	1	1	1	1	4	4	4	4	
Kupwara	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	38410	37348	32343	31638	631	610	567	558	

Fig. 6: Relief provided to Concrete and Non-Concrete Severely Damaged Houses during



2014 Kashmir Flood



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during Kashmir's 2014 Flood

		Pucca (C	Concrete)		Kacha (Non Concrete)				
District	Total Houses Damaged	Houses paid by SDRF	Houses paid by PMNRF	Houses paid by PMDP	Total Houses Damaged	Houses paid by SDRF	Houses paid by PMNRF	Houses paid by PMDP	
Srinagar	61798	58402	53021	49750	73	73	55	55	
Budgam	12485	9703	9462	6916	36	30	27	0	
Anantnag	13482	12579	8246	8237	534	525	481	481	
Baramulla	5969	5969	5969	5969	888	888	888	888	
Kulgam	2111	2111	2111	2062	200	200	200	194	
Shopian	911	911	911	911	25	25	25	25	
Pulwama	11203	9691	9536	9536	40	40	40	40	
Bandipora	5039	4917	5110	4747	318	317	353	285	
Ganderbal	328	328	328	328	93	93	93	93	
Kupwara	87	87	87	87	0	0	0	0	
Total	113413	104698	94781	88543	2207	2191	2162	2061	

Fig. 7: Relief provided to Concrete and Non-Concrete Partially Damaged Houses during 279



2014 Kashmir Flood



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Table 3, 4, and 5 and Figure 5, 6 and 7 provide the spatial dimension of relief of 282 the flood of 2014 in Kashmir Valley and show relief provided to total number of fully 283 damaged houses under the government schemes like State Disaster Response Fund (SDRF), 284 Prime Minister's National Relief Fund (PMNRF) and Prime Minister's Development Package 285 (PMDP), relief provided to total number of severely damaged houses under SDRF, PMNRF 286 and PMDP and relief provided to total number of partially damaged houses under SDRF, 287 288 PMNRF and PMDP respectively. These tables show that some people have been compensated for the loss incurred during the flood while as some people have not been 289 compensated for their losses. The reports from field survey show that some people have been 290 fairly compensated while as some people have been discriminated in terms of relief. It is also 291 revealed that the relief was not uniformly distributed in the districts of the Valley, thus giving 292 rise to the spatial dimension of the relief. 293

The total number of fully damaged pucca houses (Concrete houses) by the 2014 294 flood in Kashmir Valley was 11593, in which 11295 houses were provided relief under 295 SDRF, 10074 houses were paid under PMNRF and 10165 were paid under PMDP. The total 296 number of fully damaged kacha houses (Non Concrete houses) is 982, in which 975 were 297 provided relief under SDRF, 897 were paid under PMNRF and 892 were paid under PMDP. 298 299 A total of 38410 pucca and 631 kacha houses were severely damaged, in which 37348 pucca houses 300 and 610 kacha houses were provided relief under SDRF. A total of 113413 pucca and 2207 kacha

houses were partially damaged, in which 104698 pucca houses and 2191 kacha houses were providedrelief under SDRF.

303

Politics of Rescue and Relief

Disasters serve as flashpoints for political and social revelations. Pelling & Dill (2006) say, 304 305 "The way in which the state and other sectors act in response and recovery is largely predicated on the kind of political relationships that existed between sectors before the 306 307 crisis." Despite the disruption and chaos that tend to occur in the immediate aftermath of catastrophes, anti-social forms of behaviour, panic and apathy are uncommon reactions. 308 309 Individual actions are likely to be rational and socially oriented, although potentially uncoordinated. People who end up as leaders in disaster usually have a well-defined role, 310 which they play with the benefit of prior experience, appropriate skills and a certain sense of 311 detachment from the proceedings (Fritz, 1957). Politicians and civil servants spin their own 312 tales, explaining the links between vulnerability, hazards and disaster. These narratives reflect 313 political interests and motivations, but they are also influenced by cultural patterns of 314 governance, such as risk governance (Bankoff et al., 2013). Responses to risk and disaster 315 have an impact on state-society relations (Bankoff, 1999). 316

Floods are the moments of social and political rupture. They give an opportunity for deep rooted political narratives that have transcended over the years. The 2014 flood in Kashmir Valley was the most devastating flood in the Valley's living memory, affecting nearly everyone. The relief and rescue operations witnessed a strange scenario during the deluge which created wide animosity among the people towards the administration. There is an increasing concern of the politicization of the disaster relief as the most vulnerable people often receive less relief.

324 Disasters act as moments of political and social exposure. It was clearly evident during the 2014 flood in Kashmir. The abrupt suspension of normal life in Kashmir 325 due to the flood lifted the veil of projected political normalcy in the Valley. It showed the 326 broken and distrusted relationship between the people of Kashmir and the state. The rise of 327 volunteerism of the community members and dysfunctionality of the state exposed the 328 inability of the administration to deal with the flood. The flood in Kashmir revealed the 329 political rupture in the valley to a great extent and showed how deep this rupture is. 330 The political stakes during the flood were high. The ethnographic work on the 2014 flood in 331 Kashmir discusses the spatial dimension of relief and rescue operations and highlights the 332 role played by the people and the government during and after the flood as ethnography 333 provides the grassroots level information of the narratives and issues during the disasters. 334

Rescue Operation							
District	Houses Surveyed	Rescue					
District	nouses Surveyeu	Community Members	NDRF, Army & Police				
Anantnag	20	16	4				
Bandipora	20	17	3				
Baramulla	20	18	2				
Budgam	20	18	2				
Ganderbal	20	17	3				
Kulgam	20	18	2				
Kupwara	20	17	3				
Pulwama	20	19	1				
Shopian	20	17	3				
Srinagar	20	17	3				
Total	200	74	26				

Table 6: Rescue during 2014 Kashmir Flood

336 Source: Primary Survey



Figure 8: Rescue Operations in the Kashmir Valley during the 2014 Flood



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The rescue during the 2014 Kashmir flood was done mostly by the community members and volunteers. 74% of rescue was done by the community members of Kashmir while as 26% rescue was done by army, police and NDRF. These figures show that it was the community members especially youth who emerged as the heroes during rescue operations (Table 6 and Figure 8).

Nazir Ahmad of Srinagar narrated the rescue scenario during the flood and 344 345 said, "We were rescued by the youth of Kashmir who brought boats with them for our rescue. We were stuck in second storey of our house with no food and drinking water. But the youth 346 came and rescued us and took us to Dalgate relief camp. We resided there for 15 days." 347 Bashir Ahmad of Anantnag, while recollecting the horrific memories of the flood, narrated, 348 "If the local youth had not come for our rescue, we would have died." A volunteer from 349 Srinagar narrated, "Relief and rescue operations during the flood had their own priorities. 350 The administration rescued the tourists first, then politicians and the elite class, the migrant 351 labourers and lastly the local people." This created the animosity among the local population 352 towards the administration. 353

The distribution of relief by the administration had its own priorities. 354 According to several respondents, the upper class people and the political elite were provided 355 356 more relief as compared to the lower class people. There was bias from the authorities in the distribution of relief as the politically influential people were provided more relief as 357 compared to the damage they incurred. Mushtaq Ahmad from Baramulla, while narrating the 358 bias from the authorities in distributing relief, said, "The politically influential people in my 359 360 village were provided a lot of relief. We incurred a loss of 8 lakh rupees but were provided the relief of merely 2 lakh rupees while as some people who incurred the loss of 2 lakh rupees 361 were provided the relief of 4 lakh rupees." Some of the relief was provided by some NGOs 362 like GOONJ and local religious organisations. 363

The total absence of civilian government was an important aspect of flood risk 364 management. The inability of the government to control the damage of the flood was evident 365 by the lack of proper disaster management facilities. In 2014, Muzamil Jaleel, a journalist 366 with The Indian Express narrated the situation as "The rescue operation isn't led by anyone 367 because there isn't any communication between officials. The people have no means to 368 contact anybody in the government. The Army, Air Force and NDRF are functioning on their 369 own. The cell phones of almost all government officials are defunct. Director of Health 370 Services (Kashmir) Saleem-ur Rahman, for example, said he could not contact his officials. 371

The only network functional is Aircel; government officials use BSNL or Airtel. All 372 government offices are shut, as are the civil secretariat and the high court. The state police's 373 control room is being run from a DIG's car where a few officers use wireless to communicate 374 375 among themselves. On Tuesday night, police managed to send a few radio updates to the public." The then Chief Minister of J&K, Omar Abdullah, while acknowledging the complete 376 breakdown of his administration in an interview on 11th September 2014, said, "I had no 377 government for the first 36 hours. My secretariat, the police headquarters, the control room, 378 379 fire services, hospitals, all the infrastructure was underwater. I had no cell phone and no connectivity. I am now starting to track down ministers and officers. Today I met ministers 380 who were swept up by the floods." According to news reports, during the first critical days 381 after the floods hit Srinagar, the Chief Minister was working with only two of his senior 382 functionaries, Chief Secretary Iqbal Khanday and Director General of Police K Rajendra 383 (Arshad, 2014). As per Rapid Assessment Report (2014), which surveyed 26 relief camps 384 across the city, "a total of 26 relief shelters in highly affected parts of Srinagar housed 37,450 385 people. Out of the 26 relief shelters studied, 7.7% received food supplies from NGOs while 386 92.3% of the relief shelters received food supplies from community donations. Around 200 387 388 pregnant women were reported to be present in these shelters."

Rescue and relief, it emerged, had its own agenda. In Kashmir, the locals were 389 390 initially largely left to fend for themselves, while 13,000 tourists and pilgrims were flown out, followed by officials, and others with the right contacts. A large number of migrant labourers 391 remained stuck with the community members. There may have been reasons for this, no 392 doubt - to ease the burden of rehabilitation and care, and the usual antipathy to working-class 393 394 people. This meant that rescuing local people and poor migrants was delayed. On the 10th day of the floods (14 September 2014), the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the 15th 395 Corps, Lt General Subarat Saha, made the claim that Srinagar had "well transitioned" from 396 rescue to relief work and said, "Nobody is marooned any longer, strictly speaking." The 397 director general of the National Disaster Response Force (NDRF) announced three days later, 398 on 17 September 2014 that in "technical terms rescue operations (have) concluded". On the 399 400 10th day, the army claimed that it had rescued 1, 84,000 people across Kashmir, using 224 of their boats and 148 of the NDRF. But, the same day, Chief Minister Omar Abdullah, while 401 criticising "rumour mongers", said that 80,000 people had been rescued, of whom 59,000 had 402 been assisted by the army, 10,000 by the NDRF, and 21,000 by the Central Reserve Police 403 Force (CRPF), the police, and local volunteers. But by far the biggest and most heroic role 404

was that of the community members. Given the scale of the devastation, 30,000 troops (9,000
in Jammu and 21,000 in Kashmir) were too few to rescue the 4,00,000 to 5,00,000 marooned
in Srinagar alone, not to speak of Kulgam, Pulwama and Budgam (Navlakha, 2014).

The narratives that emerged during the 2014 flood were regarding the politics of 408 409 relief and rescue, unfair treatment to the different sections of the society, rising political rupture and apathy of the administration to effectively deal with the floods. The people who 410 411 had influence in the political set up received better relief as compared to the people who did not have any influence in the political sphere. In terms of rescue operations, the tourists and 412 413 the bureaucrats were given the preference and the community members were left to save themselves. This widened the distrust between the government and the community members 414 to the extent that several protests were seen against the administration about the handling of 415 the relief and rescue actions. The most important narrative that emerged during the flood was 416 the communitarianism of the community members, and it was them who saved themselves 417 and several tourists and took them to safer places. 418

419

Communitarianism

Power is sometimes associated with "local knowledge", i.e, practice that arose out of 420 necessity and is based on first-hand experience. It could take the form of first-hand 421 knowledge of the environment and its dangers and limitations, which could provide a 422 423 practical guide to what steps should or should not be taken in the face of a sudden or slowonset hazard. It may also stem from a memory pool, whether traditional or invented, that has 424 425 been added to and mutated over generations, and it is frequently manifested at the community 426 level in the form of self-help practises and mutual assistance associations (Bankoff et al., 2013). People are social actors who can process social experience and respond accordingly, 427 428 rather than simply reacting to what happens around them (Long, 1992).

Floods have always been a part of the Kashmir Valley's history, and people 429 430 who live in flood-prone areas have developed various flood-resilience measures based on their own experiences and knowledge, and these strategies have become ingrained in 431 432 Kashmiri culture over generations. When floods occurred, like the 2014 flood, people have always been prepared to deal with them and have not relied heavily on administration or any 433 434 other source for assistance. The relief and rescue operations by the community members of Kashmir during recent floods especially during the 2014 flood gave rise to a strong feeling of 435 communitarianism and conscious society. The local knowledge of the people was the key in 436 understanding the flood situation. The people helped the needy without any discrimination of 437

religion, caste or race. During the flood, various religious and social organisations distributed 438 food items, blankets, vegetables, drinking water bottles and other essential items for the 439 survival of the people. They also provided medicines to pregnant women, lactating mothers 440 and patients. In different parts of the valley, several local committees were formed in villages 441 and towns to distribute the essential items to the people in need. Rescue operations were 442 mostly done by the community members, and the boatmen provided their boats for the rescue 443 444 operations. The people were left to themselves during the flood and it was up to them to save themselves and rise to the occasion, which resulted in the strong feelings of 445 446 communitarianism and strengthened the social fabric. The people from villages collected the essential items like food packets, medicines, drinking water bottles, cereals, blankets and rice 447 and distributed it to the people of the towns of Srinagar city and Anantnag. Several local self-448 help groups were created in the districts of Anantnag, Baramulla, Bandipora and Srinagar 449 who distributed the essential services including the monetary help to the affected people of 450 these districts, thus strengthened the social fabric. 451

The people of Kashmir have always helped each other at the time of need. Whether it was the recent floods or the COVID-19 pandemic, they have come together as a community to help the distressed population, and for the disaster response to be effective, the affected communities should have the voice to recognize their risk and their active role in devising strategies to deal with the disasters.

457

Conclusion

The spatial dimension of the 2014 flood in Kashmir Valley depicts the struggle of the valley 458 459 to survive. The damage to infrastructure and settlements greatly hampered the socioeconomic development. The floods led to the political crisis in the Valley, and the spatial 460 dimension shows that the people of the Kashmir Valley were not fairly compensated for their 461 loss and there was partiality in rescue and relief operations. The economically well off people 462 were rescued first and also compensated fairly as compared to economically poor people, 463 thus reflecting the class inequality. The rescue operations were highly biased. The distressed 464 population took almost two years to reconstruct their houses. The floods had a long term 465 impact on the memory and economic and social conditions of the people. The community 466 members emerged as heroes during the cataclysm and showed strong feeling of 467 communitarianism. The study's relevance resides in its policy implications for flood 468 management in the global South, in the sense that strong communitarianism and the 469 470 application of local knowledge are crucial components of flood management in the global South. 471

- 472 Conflict of Interest Statement: The author declares that no conflict of interest is involved in473 the paper.
- Acknowledgement: I am highly thankful to the Editors of the Natural Hazards journal for
 carefully handling the manuscript and providing useful suggestions. I am also thankful to the
 anonymous reviewers for providing important suggestions to improve the quality of the
 paper.
- 478

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