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Coloniality of a Postcolonial Nation-State: India in Indian Administered Jammu & Kashmir

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Coloniality of a Postcolonial Nation-State:

India in Indian Administered Jammu & Kashmir

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Abstract

The purpose of this research has been to examine the Indian state's exercise of power in Indian Administered Jammu & Kashmir (IAJK). I do this by using the concept of coloniality as an analytic and studying its functioning in IAJK through the colonial matrix of power. In this, I examine how the colonial British Indian state and the postcolonial Indian state established their superiority over the peoples of IAJK through the law, supported by media discourse, gained control over knowledge production and circulation within the region that depends on the 'othering' of Kashmiri peoples and finally, dehumanised, dispossessed, and depersonalised Kashmiri Muslims who are the majority in IAJK. The three aspects together establish structures of relations that affirm the Indian role as a colonial power. Through a critical reading of laws and government orders, media publications, textbooks and thinktank publications I highlight the colonial aspect in each dimension of the colonial matrix of power. This study contributes to the literature on the Indian state from postcolonial and decolonial approaches, it applies the concept of coloniality to a postcolonial nation-state and will be of interest to scholars working with postcolonial and decolonial approaches or focusing on South Asian politics, and contemporary colonialisms.

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Name: Annapurna Menon

Chapter 1: Introduction

Hum Kya Chahte?
 -Azadi

(What do we Want?
-Freedom) (Popular Kashmiri resistance slogan, translation mine)

Hum sab Bhartiya hai, Hum sab Bhartiya hai.
Kashmir ki Dharti rani hai, Sartaj Himalaya hai
Saadiyon Se Humne Isko Apne Khoon Se Pala Hai
Desh Ki Raksha Ki Khatir Hum Shamshir Utha Lenge,
Hum Shamshir Utha Lenge…

(We are all Indians, we are all Indians.
Kashmir's land is our queen, the Himalayas our crown
Since ages we've protected it with our blood,
For the protection of our nation we shall pick up swords
We shall pick up swords…) (National Cadet Corps Song, official website, n.d.;
translation mine)

The slogan and the song above have been instrumental in my personal journey; the slogan was the earliest piece of 'writing' that I came across from the region. For an Army officer's daughter, it was confusing. The meaning of the slogan would change drastically over the years, as a revolutionary slogan of the Kashmiri resistance movement, as a slogan inspiring hope and courage across South Asia, as an appropriated and devalued slogan in student politics in India, and finally an ongoing curiosity and pondering on the many meanings of the word 'Freedom' and its meaning for peoples of widely different identities, including those within Indian Administered Jammu & Kashmir (henceforth, IAJK).

Personally, the song is more intimately known and experienced. In fact, the proposal for this research began with the NCC song, attempting to make meaning of a prominent song from my childhood, much later, after leaving the environment where this song is a norm. The environment refers to multiple Indian Army cantonments and the song, sung by serving officers and their families was an announcement of 'our' continued devotion to the country before bidding each other farewell for the day or night. Kids of my age stuck only to the chorus and naming the places we knew of, such as Kashmir in my case. At least, till that time my young self would

think I 'knew' Kashmir, when I would in fact have absolutely no clue of actual life in Kashmir.

This song if carefully analysed is straightforward. Meant to inspire loyalty, it is surprising the song *only* mentions Kashmir rather than the entire region (of IAJK[1]), the country's capital, or any other state. The idea that the sheer mention of Kashmir turns even the 'apolitical' into a hardcore nationalist is not new, but the technique of employment to exploit emotions is spectacular. The song claims the land of Kashmir as the queen of India and the grand, cowering Himalayan ranges as the crown of the subcontinent (literally and figuratively). The song goes on with a call to action – for picking up arms/swords to protect Kashmir (the land) which we have supposedly been doing for decades, with our blood. In hindsight, it is ironic to think that a song that announces the commitment of the Indian Army to its 'motherland' forgets to mention the inhabitants and makes a point to talk only about the land. This prioritisation of proprietorial ownership over land and ignoring of the people goes into the realm of emotions where overtly dramatic images of blood, swords and warfare are invoked. The narrative is part of the symbolism that enables empires, in this case, a democratic country, to assert and exercise power that is nothing but colonial. My original quest has been to deconstruct this very exercise in the case of India and IAJK.

This chapter proceeds by providing the rationale behind this project, an introduction to the geography and history of the region of IAJK along a summary of the literature that exists on the region which is relevant to this project. The last section highlights the existing gap and how it is addressed through this research.

1.1 Rationale

The prime motivation for this research was the silence that existed in India, where I'm from, on Kashmir. Despite living in the country which claims the territory as its integral part and coming from an Army background and IAJK being a highly militarised place, I knew little beyond the Indian state narrative that "Kashmir is an integral part of India". This was almost until the end of school education, where during a visit to the region, I started reading local newspapers (mostly English ones)

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[1] IAJK refers to Indian Administered Jammu and Kashmir, the most widely accepted international name for the region. In India, it is called "Jammu and Kashmir" (J&K).

– where the perception of the Indian state and India was notably different. My ignorance, of an upper-caste privileged child with regular access to schooling and educational opportunities, is systematically manufactured. There is a deliberate interest to keep Kashmir's contentious state out of the public debate other than as a site of anti-India 'terrorism' or 'Islamist separation' (which drove minority Kashmiri Pandits out of the Kashmir Valley); even in progressive circles, the conversation is limited to 'human right abuses' without any attention to the majority populations' aspirations.

The Indian 'intellectual left' guards this selective silence and while they regularly denounce the Israeli state's colonialism in Palestine or US's imperialist actions. However, there is a reluctance to acknowledge the Chinese state's colonialism in Tibet which has only seen a shift recently (for an exception, see Krishnan, 2021), and yet it is effectively silent even when the question comes to their own country, and IAJK. The 'intellectual left' in India is presently seen (rightly so) as a victim of ongoing Hindutva propaganda, especially considering the murders of academicians and authors like Gauri Lankesh and, M.M Kalburgi, who raised their voices against the rule of the BJP (Bhartiya Janata Party) government, while fighting for their right to freedom of speech, have maintained silence over Kashmir except if speaking in terms of human rights violations (Osuri, 2017).

India, often seen as one of the fastest-growing economies of the world and effectively built into the narrative of a 'rising power' is regularly criticised for endemic poverty, statistics regarding the rape and gender violence statistics, and casteism among other issues, but rarely for its colonising practises. Anand was among the first to introduce the idea of 'Postcolonial informal empires (PIEs)' (2012) to understand China and India's (both considered 'rising powers' in the Western world) actions in Tibet and Kashmir respectively. He notes how the constant self-victimisation as colonised states, production of a favourable history while constructing an 'other', referring to Kashmiri Muslims, in the case of India, maintaining a majoritarian centre and minoritised periphery for effective control of the minority and using representation and development as mechanisms of control (Anand, 2012) contribute to our denial of these states as PIEs. Kabir (2009) explores the representation of Kashmir in a diverse range of medium such as old photographs from travellers and British residents in the region, academic research of Indologists

and Bollywood films to trace how "representation in modernity constructed Kashmir as the territory of desire" (209). Building upon this argument, this research seeks to decipher the state's exercise of power in IAJK and draw out its coloniality by studying the representation of the region in official state documents, state produced textbooks and other publications. My research then, traces the linkages of these representations to coloniality of the postcolonial Indian state, to understand postcolonial colonialisms. In recent years, scholarship has expanded to categorise Indian rule as colonial (see Kaul 2019a, 2021; Mushtaq and Amin, 2021) but none go into the details the way I do in this thesis focusing on different aspects such as state acts, knowledge production through school textbooks and thinktank publications and their attempts to dehumanise and depersonalise the peoples of IAJK. Next section provides the historical and geographical context to IAJK so that the reader may be clear about the different names the area is referred to as in this thesis and have a historical context for the documents used here.

1.2 Introducing IAJK

Reference to 'Kashmir' has been found in ancient texts though it is hard to define the exact territory under question. In fact, rigid borders are a central feature of nation-states. Before, borders were often shifting and could be porous. One of the last few remaining maps of the region produced under British rule is from 1946, just before the Partition, and is shown on the next page. This map depicts the territory being referred to as and when 'erstwhile state of J&K' is mentioned in this thesis.
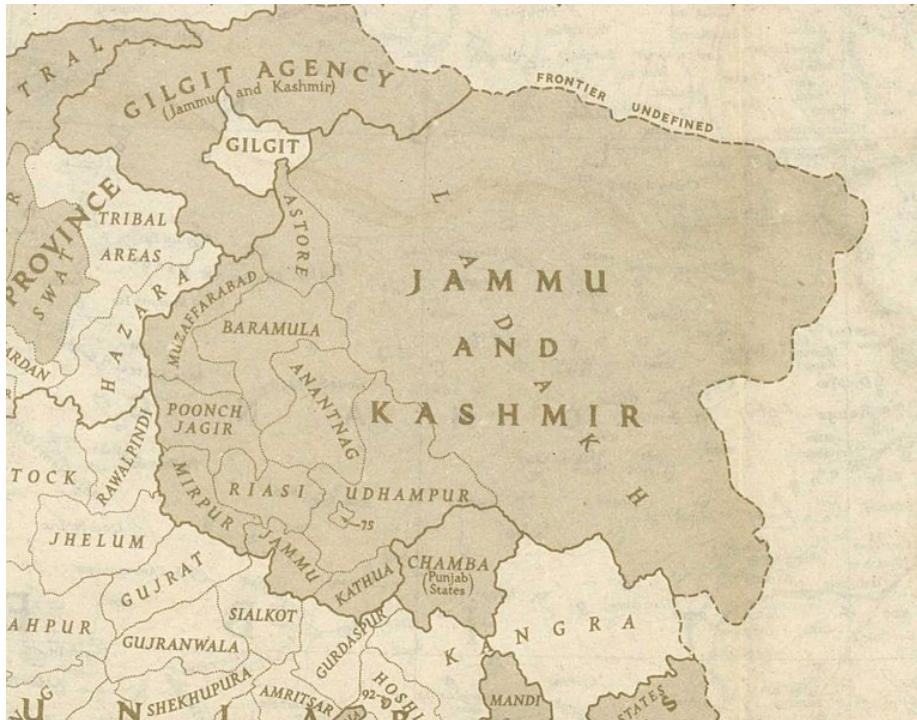
Figure 1: A map of Jammu and Kashmir produced by the British Raj from 1946 (National Geographic, 1946).

The modern-day borders of the region of IAJK were constructed with the Treaty of Amritsar signed between the British East India Company and the *Raja* (ruler) of Jammu, Gulab Singh in 1846 after the first Anglo-Sikh War, establishing indirect rule on the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir by the British Indian government. Gulab Singh accepted British suzerainty while freeing him from the control of the previous Sikh rulers, making him the *Maharaja* (great ruler) (Schofield, 2010, 7). The Maharaja was a Dogra ruler, a Hindu ruler over a Muslim majority area. Gulab Singh died in 1857, followed by a patriarchal accession, his son Ranbir Singh took the throne, and expanded the empire by adding Hunza, Gilgit and Nagar to the kingdom.

These regions combine different landscapes, religions, ethnicities, languages – Ladakh in the east was a majority Buddhist region with an ethnic and culturally Tibetan population, Jammu in the South had a mix of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh populations, Kashmir valley in the centre had a majority Muslim with an influential Kashmiri Pandit community. In the North, people were ethnically like Ladakhis but followed Shia Islam. In addition, various languages such as Dogri, Hindi, Punjabi, Koshur (Kashmiri), Bhoti/Bodhi (Tibetan dialect) and a multitude of dialects were

also used. It has been noted that there was an inequality within the population based on their religion, with the Hindu minority exercising more control over resources as compared to a large Muslim peasantry (Bose, 2005, 16-17; Talbot & Singh, 2009).

In the 1930s, the throne was occupied by Maharaja Hari Singh against whom large uprisings were documented that were brutally suppressed by the state forces. There was heavy discontent amongst the Muslim population against state policies that had systematically denied political representation to them within the Dogra kingdom and access to education and land resources (Bazaz, 1954; 142-160). In 1932, the Glancy Commission appointed by the Maharaja to calm the protestors recommended the establishment of a legislature, called the *Praja Sabha* (People's Association) which would have members from the kingdom and elected from the people with reservations for Muslims. The All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference was founded by Sheikh Abdullah and Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas in 1932, both would later go on to play important roles in the political mobilization of the Muslim peasantry and in the state's political future as key leaders. In 1934, the first *Praja Sabha* elections were held which saw a gradual growth of the All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference, expanded into the National Conference (Henceforth, NC) in 1939 opening their membership to all people of the state as opposed to only Muslims (Guha, 2004, 80).

There was a movement within the state to lend support to the anti-colonial struggle strengthening within British India, however, this would also mark a split in the political movement in the region - NC under Abdullah aligned itself with the All India States Peoples Conference, a Congress party allied group of princely states within British India and Ghulam Abbas, had revived the Muslim Congress in 1941 and lent support to Muhammad Ali Jinnah (future first Prime Minister of Pakistan) led Muslim League. In 1944, Abdullah called for Constitutional Monarchy within the region by presenting a manifesto, *Naya Kashmir (*New Kashmir, translation mine) to the Maharaja. As the Quit Kashmir movement was launched in Kashmir by Abdullah in 1946, there was major political unrest with Abdullah arrested soon after, and the Muslim Conference launched a separate campaign against the autocratic rule of the Maharaja which led to the arrest of Ghulam Abbas. By the end of 1946, while the Maharaja had promised the people of Kashmir would decide their destiny post the ouster of British, there was marked political instability often leading to a mass

migration of people threatened by violence (Jha, 2003). NC boycotted the elections held in January 1947 with the Muslim Conference winning majority of the reserved seats, and the region saw an influx of refugees from the fall of the unionist government of Punjab amidst communal riots that were spreading across the subcontinent (For more, see Chatta, 2009).

As the Partition of British India was finalized in June 1947, and the newly charted dominions of India and Pakistan were finalized, Mountbatten visited J&K to convince the Maharaja to accede to either of the dominions (Rakesh, 2010), followed by the Maharaja signing a Standstill Agreement[2] with Pakistan in August. August and September were marked by repeated invasions in the state from the North and the Jammu Violence (Talbot, 1998) leading to the Maharaja singing the Instrument of Accession (Henceforth, IOA) acceding to the Indian state on the condition of a plebiscite to be held once the violence was over (IOA,1947). As the Indian state sent its army for military assistance, Abdullah endorsed the accession though it was subjected to people's will and was appointed the head of emergency administration for the state (Brecher, 1953; Abdullah & Taing, 1985).

Soon after, war broke out between India and Pakistan and was taken to the United Nations (UN) in December 1947. The UN formed a committee and made several recommendations to improve relations between India and Pakistan, that called for a Plebiscite to consider the political aspirations of people from IAJK, however, these have not been implemented until now with the governments of India and Pakistan unable to reach any agreements towards a political resolution. Despite the attention at the UN, war broke out again in 1948 continuing until a ceasefire was agreed upon with Indian forces in control of the Kashmir valley, Jammu and Ladakh while the western districts were assimilated within Pakistan. After the accession, the map in Figure 1 changes to the map presented in Figure 2.

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[2] A Standstill Agreement was a bilateral signed between the dominions of India and Pakistan and the princely states of the British India empire providing that all prior existing relations between the British Crown and the state would continue unaltered between the signatories until new arrangements were made (Hodson, 1969, 370). India had refused to sign the agreement with the Maharaja and asked for more time.

Figure 2: A map clearly showing territories under different regional players control (BBC, 2016)

The above map shows the domination of territory by Pakistani, Indian and Chinese nation-states. The area under control of the Government of India (GOI) was hereafter referred to as Indian Administered J&K (IAJK) and was granted state autonomy within the Indian Constitution through Article 370, though the autonomy was subsequently eroded and consequently obliterated by GOI in 2019.

Without going into developments in IAJK since 1947 (see, Bazaz, 1954; Talbot & Singh, 2009), it is pertinent to note there has been a constant consolidation of Indian rule through elections, political machinations, and militarisation. I provide an overview of this in the next few paragraphs. Elections have been held regularly since 1951, though most of these have been rigged with GOI using participation in elections as a legitimacy of its own rule in IAJK. In 1955, the Plebiscite Front was formed by Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, senior leader of the NC, and as the name suggests demanded the implementation of UN resolution for a plebiscite. This faction was later merged into a renewed NC in 1975 by Abdullah, giving up the demand for a plebiscite in return for autonomy and self-government (Qasim, 1992). Post Abdullah's death in 1982, his son, Farooq Abdullah replaced him in elections which were claimed to be rigged by the newly formed Muslim United Front (MUF). In 1987, there was a rising Kashmiri nationalist sentiment headed by Maqbool Bhat and Amanullah Khan, who mobilised militarily and politically to free Kashmir from

Indian rule (Puri, 1993). Kaul (2010) notes the division and communalization of politics in the region, with the rise of Islamic radicalism fuelled by external actors while the governor of the state in 1980s, Jagmohan instigated the exodus of the Hindu minority – Kashmiri Pandits in the Kashmir valley, who's pro-Hindu policies and systematic oppression of Kashmiri Muslims in social and political arenas contributed to deepening divides in a militarized society (Kaul, 2010).

Implementation of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) in 1990 provided for state militarisation of the region countered by the rise of insurgency within the Kashmir valley. Marked by extreme violence, the early period of 2000s was initially peaceful with militancy decreasing briefly however, the period post 2008 has seen high unrest and brutal suppression of any dissent by the GOI. Post 2019, and after the Indian government unilaterally bifurcated the region, the map again shifted. The thesis references to "Union Territory of J&K", refer to the map below.
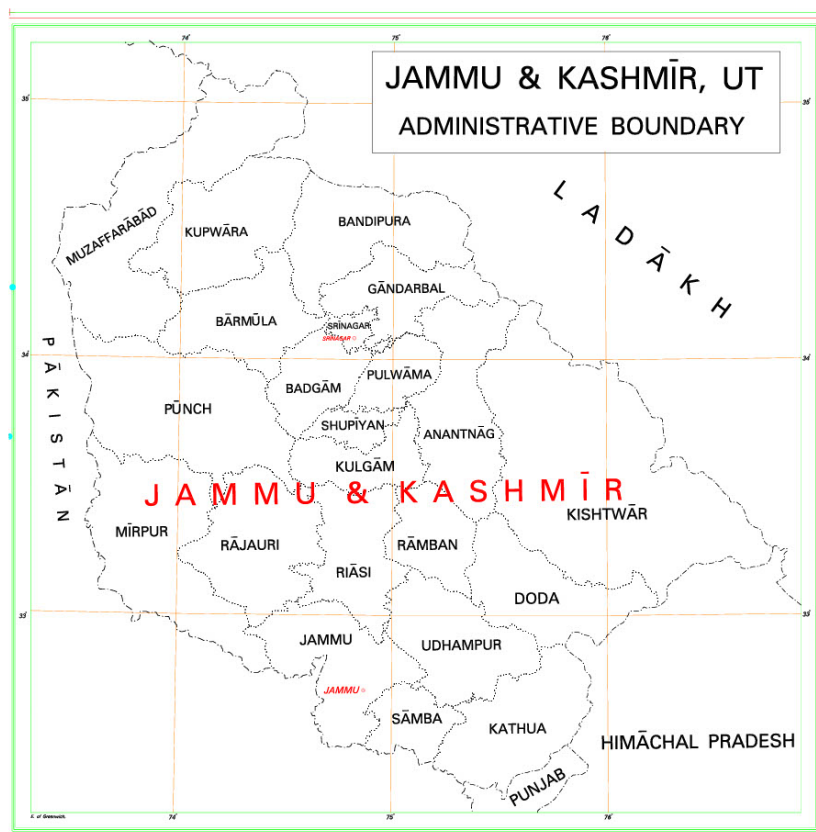
Figure 3: Map produced by Survey General of India (2019)

The map represents the Indian government's claim to Mirpur, Poonch, Muzaffarabad as part of their territory, though none of the Indian state's policies or influence is effective there. The analysis and findings made through this research are not applicable on the forementioned three areas. The next section provides a review of the literature that exists on the region.

1.3 Literature on IAJK

The most prominent academic literature produced on IAJK, or more accurately, the Kashmir Valley has followed certain trends. The most prominent ones of these are either from a conflict studies perspective or a human rights one. Scholars such as Korbel (1953), Lamb (1992)[3], Snedden (2015), Schofield (2010), Bose (2005), Wirsing (1994), Majid & Hussain (2016), Varshney (1991), and Whitehead (2015) provide a multitude of views to the conflict in Kashmir which are heavily centred on the two nation-states that surround it – India and Pakistan. This literature is important to gain a historical understanding of the region and the politics that define the region. However, this literature does not engage with India's or Pakistan's colonial legacies, the role these legacies play in shaping politics in the region today, or how these states could be colonial in the region they both claim.

The literature focusing on human rights abuses involves painstaking documentation of the oppression of the peoples of the Kashmir Valley. Using a human rights perspective, scholars have problematised and effectively questioned the Indian state's actions in the region, such as Bhat (2019), Mohiuddin (1997), Joseph (2000), Gossman (1993), and Goldston & Gosman (1991). In more recent times, this engagement has proceeded to draw links between the extensive militarisation and human rights abuses, making an academic case against the military occupation in Kashmir. Examples of such works include Junaid (2013), Duschinski & Ghosh (2019), Zia (2019), Junaid (2020), Duschinski & Hoffman (2011). This literature served to amplify the gross violation of human rights in the region and is complimented by the increasing literature on resistance in Kashmir. This literature has highlighted how Indian exercise of power in the region was first, not as accepted as the Indian state portrayed it to be and second, made a case for demilitarisation of

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[3] Lamb (1992) is one of the few scholars to make a case for the uniqueness of the history of the region, providing a rich history of British role in the region.

the region centring Kashmiri peoples. This literature often represented Kashmiris as victims but the analysis of resistance movements in Kashmir asserted the agency of the people in this region to show that power did not flow unilaterally in the region from the Indian state to the people, but rather was challenged, subverted, and resisted.

Studies on resistance movements in Kashmir have centred the people's movements and struggles. Often, this research has offered a nuanced take on resistance movements, offering a feminist perspective (Kaul, 2018; Kaul & Zia, 2020; Mathur, 2012; Osuri, 2018; Brännlund & Parashar, 2018) working to dismantle the image of the oppressed Muslim woman (Malik, 2018; Khan, 2009) and reclaiming community bonds to the territory and its resources (Bhan, 2018). Student activism and the state's attempt to curtail any student mobilisation has also received attention (Pandit, 2019). Focus on the youth-led resistance movements elucidates the continuing unfulfilled and changing political aspirations they have (Kanjal, Bhat & Zahra, 2018; Kanjwal, 2019; Bhat, 2018). A strand of this literature has also focused on building transnational solidarities with resistance movements from Palestine (Zia, 2020; Osuri & Zia, 2020), West Papua (Jamal, 2021), Xinjiang (Kaul, 2020). This range of literature seeks to amplify Kashmiri voices and are an important source to challenge dominant Indian narratives.

In the work referred to above, barring a few exceptions such as Kaul (2020, 2019), there is little work to study the colonial linkages of Indian rule in IAJK.[4] Anand highlights the Indian state's colonial strategies of dehumanisation in Kashmir through public lectures (2011, 2015) and writings (2010). His use of the concept of 'dehumanisation' in the context of Kashmir is pivotal in shifting the narrative from that of 'occupation' and 'militarisation' to 'colonialism'[5]. Kabir's work (2009) is also crucial for this project as it is one of the first works to study representation of the Kashmir valley and its link to desire of the different nationalist imaginations. The research further explores the power-relationship and construction of identities such

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[4] Kaul (2010) highlighted the colonial modalities through which IAJK is governed, what she calls "Mandarin-Machiavelli nexus"; this is akin to how colonial empires functioned through elite collaborations and divide and rule.

[5] It is quite interesting to note that this similar trajectory was observed much earlier in the case of PAJK as we have literature on "postcolonial colonialism" (Sokefeld, 2007). While the geographical and political realities of both regions are quite different, this research was a useful study for this project in its framing and use of evidence.

as 'Kashmiri Pandit', 'Indian' and so on, noting the role of representations in this. I employ a textual analysis to study the discourse generated by the Indian state on the region and its peoples and how it contributes to Indian domination in the region. Post 2015, the question of colonialism in the region had been explored by scholars like Hogan (2016), and Osuri (2017) employing postcolonial analysis.

After the Indian state revoked the region's status unilaterally, a global shift in understanding the political situation in Kashmir through the lens of colonialism has emerged. Frameworks of settler colonialism, often attempting to draw similarities between Palestine and Kashmir, are applied to IAJK (Zia & Osuri, 2020; Mushtaq & Amin, 2021). These works emphasise the Indian state's land grabbing tactics along with discussions on potential strategies to move 'Indians' into IAJK, to target the Muslim majority of the region. Kaul's work on Indian state's 'econonationalism' as a marker of the Indian state's coloniality in the region (2021) is important for this project as it studies the construction of a narrative employing the language of neoliberal development to justify the disempowerment of local communities. The research focuses on language and its weaponisation, and its implications for the peoples of IAJK, using a postcolonial feminist method of analysis.

Following this trajectory, this research project then seeks to contribute to the ever-growing body of academic work on IAJK. It acknowledges and studies the existing work which focuses on the repercussions faced by the peoples of IAJK. However, it shifts the focus of analysis on to the Indian state, deconstructing the narratives employed first by the British and later by the contemporary Indian nation-state to exercise and legitimise colonial power in IAJK. It adopts a combination of decolonial and postcolonial perspectives to study the coloniality of the Indian state in IAJK. It recognises the limited focus on postcolonial colonialisms in both theoretical paradigms and seeks to address this by bringing them into dialogue to redefine colonialism with a dual focus on the structures and the people within it (Section 2.4).

This redefinition allows for the visibilisation of different domains through which colonial power is exercised – political and economic domination, social and cultural assimilation and dehumanisation of the colonised. The prime motive of this research then, is to provide comprehensive evidence through narrative and material means of the Indian state's colonialism in IAJK. Additionally, this research provides a method

to study and critique coloniality in postcolonial nation-states by de-centring nation-states via a critical reading of State documents and dominant discourses such as those of print media and school textbooks. The focus of analysis is largely textual in this thesis noting the limitations on research in the region. While this can be seen as a shortcoming of the thesis, it offers potential for future research that would require researchers and knowledge producers to conduct meaningful research in highly creative ways. For this project, the thesis decided to focus on textual sources including print media for an exhaustive study on the nature of Indian rule in IAJK, which is complimented by postcolonial and anticolonial methods of analysis by using concepts such as representation and dehumanisation, enabling us to challenge legacies, mutations, and contemporary forms of colonialism in our world.

Chapter 2: On Colonialism

"For it is not true that there are some good colons and others who are wicked. There are colons and that is it" (Sartre, 1964, 32)

2.1 Introduction

Colonialism, in simple terms, is understood as foreign control over a territory. The etymology of the term can be traced to the Latin word 'colonus' meaning farmer, and the term refers to the process of a population transferred to a new territory while maintaining allegiance to their 'country of origin' (Kohn & Reddy, 2017). This chapter seeks to explore the transition in the scholarship on colonialism and how it has been perceived as a phenomenon. Furthermore, it provides a redefinition of the term colonialism derived from postcolonial and decolonial schools of thought. The two schools also centre the role of identity, specifically that of the coloniser and the colonised as has been explored by Fanon (1952 (2008), 1967), Memmi (1957 (2003)) and Nandy (1983).

The chapter provides an analysis of how colonialism has been understood as a phenomenon, highlighting only the key arguments which exist in the literature. In its traditional sense, academia has focused on colonialism as an event that occurred in the past, restricted to European expansion during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, reflected in its study in the discipline of History. After a review of the literature[6] which also analyses the categorisation of different kinds of colonialism, the chapter questions if this literature provides a complete understanding of the concept itself, by analysing the limitations of the existing work.

Section 2.4 focuses on how postcolonial and decolonial theorists have studied colonialism. The chapter looks at specifically these schools of thought in detail because of two reasons. Firstly, these two schools of thought study not only the practice of colonialism itself but also its aftermath and legacies, giving importance to the experiences of the victims, individuals and nations living under colonialism (Walsh, 2007; Connell, 2015). Secondly, both postcolonial and decolonial approaches allow for a focus on multiple aspects of identity– gender, race, ethnicity,

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[6] The chapter does not aim to provide an exhaustive literature review on colonialism, rather it summaries key arguments that exist in the traditional literature on colonialism. The major focus of this chapter is on postcolonial and decolonial schools of thought and their understanding of colonialism, which is discussed in detail in the second part of the chapter.

class, caste; and disciplines – economics, psychology, politics, literature, thus enabling a multi-disciplinary and intersectional understanding of concepts such as questioning and emphasizing the implicit power dynamics in reading the writings of the coloniser. I also note that my experience as a citizen of a postcolonial nation state has played a role in my choice of adoption of these frameworks. The focus on representation that is relatable (to some extent) along with their underlying emancipatory objective has contributed to personal reasons for my choice of focusing on works of postcolonial and decolonial theorists on colonialism.[7]

Towards the end of the chapter, I draw upon the work of postcolonial and decolonial theorists, collaborating their epistemological take on colonialism and coloniality to redefine colonialism. This redefinition is done with a single objective in mind i.e., to build a conceptual framework for the possible features of a postcolonial colonising state which will be crucial for this research while studying the relations between the nation-state of India (a postcolonial state) and IAJK (a contested territory/stateless nation). This approach could also be employed to identify contemporary examples of colonialism being practised by postcolonial nation-states which are often considered to be anti-colonial, given their history of being colonised and perceived as victims of colonisation, rather than as potential colonisers. Before going into further discussion on the potential for the transition of a postcolonial state into a colonising state, the following section deals with the traditional literature on colonialism.

2.2 Before the Era of 'Decolonisation'

This section aims to draw out the traditional understanding of the term colonialism and its commonly attached connotations before the contemporary period. After a brief engagement with the etymology of the word itself, this section aims to study how traditional historiographies have viewed colonialism. Here, an attempt is made to outline how specific schools of thought and history have studied this phenomenon, which will also be integral in viewing the changes in scholarship on colonialism in the later sections. During this period, I find that the literature on colonialism is highly

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[7] There are multiple reasons apart from the representation factor that has encouraged me to apply these theories of analysis in my work such as a focus on gender, race, geographical positioning of the origin of these theories, their underlying emancipatory objective and other reasons which would make for an interesting research project in itself. In turn, questioning why it is more likely for people from marginalised communities or the global south to use these theories however this chapter is not the space for this discussion.

Eurocentric, justifies the practice as a 'civilising mission' and later on, as a step for economic and social progress.

The introduction mentions the more commonly known etymological origins of the word colonialism, derived from Latin ancient texts. However, the ancient Greeks used the term apoikia (drcoikia), a term that may best be rendered as "home away from home" which emphasized the connection and separation between the country of origin for the settlers (Dommelen, 2012, 394; Graham, 1971; Hodos, 2006, 19-22) and has been referred to as Greek colonisation. As is evident, there are clearly marked differences between the Latin and Greek terms and, in this context, Dommelen points out the difference of understanding of foreign settlements for both civilisations. Furthermore, the so-called Greek colonisation has been contested by scholars who note the lack of military occupation, considered to be an integral aspect of colonialism, during Greek civilisation's overseas settlements (Osborne, 1998; Gosden, 2004, 69). Hence, we see a debate in the attempt to define colonialism even in the context of an ancient empire.

According to the Western historical tradition, colonialism marks its beginning in the 'Age of Discovery', originating in the desire for expansion of the Portuguese and Spanish empires. Brazilian sociologist, Gilberto Freyre states in his controversial book, *Casa-grande e Senzala* (The Masters and the Slaves), that Portugal was the oldest colonial nation with a special gift for expansion. This process included 'peacefully intermingling the cultures without racism and colonial massacres' (Stuchtey, 2011, 4). The Portuguese and Spanish empires signed the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, dividing the entire non-European world between themselves for the purposes of expansion, conquest, and exploitation. Other European nations disputed the terms of this treaty which had been ratified by the Pope but had not been negotiated with these other nations. The first phase of European expansion began with Christopher Columbus's 'discovery' of the Americas, sponsored by the Spanish kingdom. Multiple explorers followed in Columbus' footsteps; these explorations soon culminated in the colonisation of the Americas. In May 1493, Pope Alexander VI enacted the *Inter Caetera* bill, granting the newly conquered lands to the Kingdom of Spain and, in exchange, requesting an evangelisation of the people. The process of Christianisation was a violent process that included the destruction of local beliefs and traditions and forceful imposition of Christianity on the natives.

This process embodied the idea of a 'civilising mission' – a term used to justify different colonial empires such as the Portuguese (Jeronimo, 2015), France (Burrows, 1986), British (Mitchell, 1991) to name a few. Ferro traces the initial stages of the practise of this 'civilizing mission' within the Portuguese kingdom, and the development of a sense of superiority over Africans (in Gambia) who, in contrast to the Europeans, were eating on the ground and living in abject poverty. In addition, he emphasizes on the initial rejection of the African lands by the Portuguese as unfit for conquest (Ferro, 1997, 28), culminating in Portugal's legalisation of forced labour as an effective method to "civilize" Africans who were referred to as "savages" or "half-savages" (Mendi, 2003, 43). Thus, we see that reasons for exploration were multiple – expansion of empires, military conquest, civilizing mission, the spread of Christianity; until the French conquest of Canada set off a new stage of "preventive conquest" (Ferro, 1997, 9), which is seen as the practise of occupying territories that belong to 'no one' before they could be seized by others with an objective of expansion.

Right from the beginning, there were some thinkers who questioned the legitimacy of these conquests and the treatment of the natives by the Empire and its subjects. Bartolome de Las Casas, famous for the defence of the Indians, was preceded by Franciso de Vitoria who, as early as in 1534, called into question the war against Incas, providing a defence of their community, and perceiving them as human beings. Vitoria, who critiqued the Spanish empire, concluded that the 'use of force was legitimate when Indian communities violated the Law of Nations' (Kohn & Reddy, 2017). For him, the Law of Nations was universally applicable and could be roughly translated as natural law since its principles were supposed to benefit "the common good of all" (Williams, 2014, 391). Hence, within Vitoria's critique of Spanish warfare and expansion, there was a "rationalisation for conquest" (Kohn & Reddy, 2017). Las Casas was also a tireless propagandist of humanitarian ideas but at the same time, there were others like Sepulveda who called for colonisation, as the Spanish considered themselves superior, he thus defended the principles of a society based on the hierarchy of race (Ferro, 1997, 168-169). The Portuguese propagated the theory of Pluricontinentalism (Portuguese: *Pluricontinentalismo)* meaning that Portugal was not a colonial empire but a singular nation with states spread across multiple continents (Fragoso & Silva Gouvea, 2014), unique in contrast to other

colonial empires as Portugal considered these states to be Portuguese and not simply an uncivilised, discovered area.
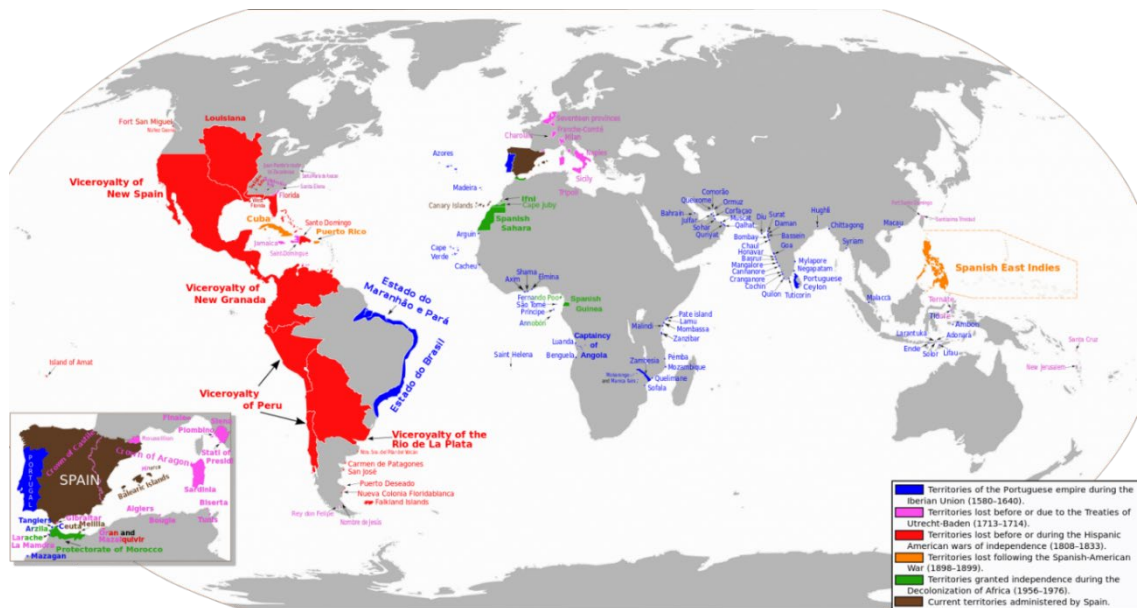
Figure 4: A visual map of the Spanish and Portuguese empires at their height till 1640. The territories of Africa (unmarked) would be added later to their empires. (Fisher, 2014)

After this period, during the 'Age of Enlightenment' there was a development of the 'rights of man' and a distinct colonial ideology in which colonies became an integral part of the mother country and though colonial excesses such as mismanagement, corruption or genocide could be criticised, there could be no doubt of the superiority of European culture. This, therefore, translated to an unquestioned endorsement of the civilizing mission theory of the different empires (Stuchtey, 2011, 5). Scholars like Adam Smith and Denis Diderot agreed to a moderate critique of colonialism, accompanied by an understanding and propagation of the economic benefits of the empire and the language of development for the natives, to be judged on a scale developed by Europeans. Diderot challenged the dominant existing justifications for colonialism but supported the colonisation of areas that were uninhabited by humans (Agnani, 2013, 68)[8]. Smith's opposition to colonial rule emphasised more on the impact to the metropole rather than the colonies, and while scholars like Pitts (2005,

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[8] Agnani labels this as 'consensual colonialism' (2007, 69) which is a soft colonization wherein Diderot is seen to understand the interests of the settler and the native as unified and dominance of the settler is established with consent of the colonised.

25) have implied that Smith was non-judgemental in his approach to studying the colonised, Williams (2014, 285) has argued that this is problematic since it is assumed that Smith had the natural authority or right to judge the colonised in the first place. Voltaire, popular for his work on world history attempted to study colonisation through a profit and loss analysis, remarking upon how the Spanish empire gained profit but depopulated itself and raised the question of the condition of the people in the colonies (Craig & von Hagen, 2011). William Petty made an account of the expenses incurred by the English colonies and the profits made; the same was done for France by Francois Quesnay (Ferro, 1997, 174). Travel literature contributed extensively to the eulogisation of colonial policies, where Robinson Crusoe (1719) was made into the prototype hero who vanquished the natives. Multiple works have analysed travel literature by Europeans as a means of exoticizing the colonised or producing knowledge on them (Said, 1978, Anjum, 2014; Pratt, 2007). In this context, it is observed that the traveller not only invents a hierarchy while observing cultural differences but also has an obvious advantage of the privilege to travel which was often denied to the native. Travel writing has been since accepted as "one of the ideological apparatuses of empire" (Brown, 2000) which effectively constructed the "other" (Stam & Spence 2015).

During this time, a clear development of an ideology based on liberalism can be observed that agreed on the critique of colonial abuses based on universal humanitarian grounds. However, the idea of what constituted as an acceptable part of the 'universal' varied, with thinkers questioning the conquest based on who the natives were and if the behaviour and culture of the natives fitted into their sense of morality and progress. The stadial theory of historical development which stated that all societies must follow the pre-defined linear structure of progress – moving from hunting to herding, to farming and then finally to commerce, or from savagery through barbarism to civilisation, became an excuse for colonisation (Kohn & Reddy, 2017). Hence it was the intersection of liberalism with this theory of historical development that justified the colonization of 'backward natives'. A clear lack of acknowledgement of cultural pluralism is easily observable in the literature on colonialism, and if the values of the natives did not fit into their values, colonisation as a mode to civilize the natives and impart on to them the humane values of Christianity was perceived as justified action. Thus, we see colonialism

being not only an acceptable practise but also a necessity for progress, while occasionally being critiqued for its human cost to the metropole.

The period after 1870, also referred to as 'high imperialism[9]' (Stuchkey, 2011, 9) or 'new imperialism' (Wright, 1976; Watson, 1971) which signified the colonial empires at their zenith, is said to be an era marked with new characteristics as compared to the earlier periods. Ferro claims this is because up until then colonial expansion had gone through a phase of continuity and colonialism became a deliberate action of political will, with an intent to civilize the natives and a strong relationship to racial hierarchy as doctrinal policy. Most importantly, it developed a relationship to capitalism, so much so that "colonial policy became the daughter of industrial policy" – a key feature of high imperialism (Ferro, 1997, 12). Marx and Engels also studied the history of colonialism, providing a Marxist analysis of the economic causes behind colonial policies of capitalist states, focusing on building solidarity between the oppressed in Asia and the working class in Europe. They analysed colonialism as a practice in India, China, Ireland, Algeria, and Afghanistan, signifying the diversity of their research. Marx singularly regarded colonialism as an exploitative system that transformed the feudal mode of production into a capitalist one, but also saw colonialism as a 'progressive force' that was bringing modernization to a backward feudal territory. Marx focused on the human suffering caused by colonial policies on the natives, even though he acknowledged how the pre-colonial societies themselves were sites of "caste oppression, slavery, misery and cruelty" (Kohn & Reddy, 2017). In addition, there was an explicit focus on the "Christian colonial system" (Marx, 1867, 534) and Marx regarded the colonial administration of Holland, the head capitalist nation of the 17th century, as one filled with 'treachery, bribery, massacre, and meanness' (Ibid, 534). While colonies were seen as a market for the budding colonial manufacturing nations, Marx also wrote about how the people in the colonising countries were themselves over-worked, poor, and brutally oppressed (Ibid, 536).

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[9] The term 'Imperialism' also gains prominence during this time. Imperialism is not equivalent to colonialism even though the terms have been used interchangeably. Galtung defines imperialism as the relation between a centre and periphery nation so that there is harmony of interest between the centre and the centre in the periphery nation, there is increased disharmony of interest in the periphery nation; and there exists a disharmony of interest between the periphery in the centre and the periphery in the periphery nation (1970, 83). For a detailed explanation of the same, refer to Galtung (1970).

Colonies became a resource for industrialisation, aiding capitalism, the socialist parties in imperial countries such as Britain, Germany and France also started formulating their own policy towards colonialism. At the Stuttgart conference of 1907, discussions on future colonial policies of the socialists from different West European countries took place over three days with sharp differences between the members on its outcomes. While one side, consisting of H.H Van Kol, Eduard Bernstein and Eduard David saw colonialism as an inevitable phenomenon in the process of economic development (Braunthal, 1967, 318-360), it was met with sharp criticism from Karl Kutsky, Belfort Bax and Harry Quelch, who argued that a 'socialist colonial policy' was a contradiction and called for a complete destruction of the colonial system, for progress towards a truly socialist world. They also dismissed the 'civilising mission' and the idea of 'white man's burden', emphasising how the European idea of development should not be imposed upon natives in the colonies. However, at the same time, they attested to the 'backwardness' of the natives (Bax, 1907), adhering to a Eurocentric understanding of what constituted progress. Lenin (1917) developed a nuanced critique of Western imperialism claiming that colonialism was simply a method for the European countries to put off a domestic economic crisis by transferring their own troubles onto economically weaker states. Karl Kautsky, another prominent Marxist, challenged the assumption that imperialism would lead to the development of areas that were politically and economically dominated (Kohn & Reddy, 2017). The Marxist school also played an influential role in the world-systems theory which developed in the 1970s, and later also influenced the decolonial school of thought.

The above section elaborates upon how colonialism has been viewed before the age of decolonization. This period saw an increase in the critique of the violence unleashed by colonial empires and shifted from a purely Eurocentric conception to a more critical understanding though Eurocentric ideas of progress and modernity were still prevalent. This literature still largely ignored the colonised who were still considered 'backward'. Post the second world war, several countries gained independence from their colonial rules and this period is referred to as the 'age of decolonisation'. The next section explores how various schools of thought such as imperialists, liberalists, Marxists understood colonialism and the traditional categorization of this practice. The section begins with a brief look at how popular

culture (such as films and writings) represented the colonised and the era of colonialism while perpetuating the idea of the civilising mission, racial superiority, and cultural subservience in their work.

2.3 Understanding Colonialism in the Post Second World War Period.

In the West, post-enlightenment era, most of the colonial empires had come to believe that large scale overseas settlements (such as by Spain, France and Britain in the Americas) would be harmful to the metropolis itself (Pagden, 1995, 6) and, in this context, colonisation came to be presented as an essentially economic fact, with a mission to Christianise and civilize people deemed to be inferior. In fact, Pagden also asserts that even if European imperialists shifted their justification for colonisation, it was still tied to the quest for a new, civilised world based upon European political and social principles (Ibid, 7). It is simply the language of conquest, that changed into commerce, enlightenment replaced evangelisation, while the actual practice of exploitation remaining constant. This language was propagated through various mediums of films, exhibitions, and academic literature.

Eulogists of the colonial saga carried on talking about the benefits of their kingdoms through building a structure of propaganda, channelled by newspapers, school textbooks and even exhibitions like the one in Paris in 1931 (Ferro, 1997, 163-165). According to Historie de la France Coloniale (1991), the "real colonial adventure" began with the explorers of the 15th century when Jean de Bettencourt received from Henry IV, King of Castile, the Canary Islands as a fief, followed by the colonization of North America. Extensive work has also been done on how popular authors like Rudyard Kipling glorify empire and portray the civilizing mission as a benevolent gesture of goodwill by the British empire. Kipling has even been referred to as the "imperial poet" who wrote poetry with "patriotism" during the height of the supremacy of the British empire (Jackson, 1942, 2). Science fiction authors such as Jules Verne present nature as the "Sublime Other", meant to be a theatre for the Euro-American imperial male to assert himself on questions of scientific knowledge (Paudyal, 2013, 3).

Films also played roles as effective propaganda mediums for the empire, as the beginnings of cinema coincided with the zenith of European imperialism (Stam & Spence, 2015, 6). Early films such as *Rastus in Zululand* (1910) portray Africa as a

land inhabited by cannibals, while others like the *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) idealise slavery (Ibid). *Le Bled*, a French 1929 film by Jean Renoir commemorated France's capture of Algiers without depicting any Arabs, similarly, *Le grand Jeu* directed by Jacques Feyder (1934) fail to include any natives and if, in the rare case, there is an Arab in the film, the role is played by a European. The native is only shown in a positive light in case they have successfully westernized themselves (Ferro, 1997, 166). The matter of representation of the colonised is elaborated upon in later sections, however, this gives a brief idea about how even in the beginning of the twentieth century when European colonialism was already being debated globally, the colonial discourse continued to support the colonial empires by building an image of the natives that would justify colonial violence. Post second world war, with the introduction of multiple newly independent countries in the global arena, there was a shift in the narrative on colonialism and the development of new schools of thought, such as the Cambridge school of History, dependency theory, neo-colonialism, postcolonial and decolonial schools of thought.

Before moving on to these relatively new analyses of colonialism, it is useful to understand how traditional historians have categorised colonialism. This will help in understanding what aspects of colonial power relations were considered important and to be able to study their shortcomings, if any. Traditional historians have analysed colonialism in multiple categories such as settler, exploitative, internal, neo, semi, which are discussed below following a discussion on direct and indirect rule under colonialism. This in turn explains the two formats of exercise of colonial power.

2.3A Installing a Colonial Apparatus – Direct or Indirect Means

The question of how power is exercised within a system is simply an analysis of the power dynamics between the dominant authority and the subjugated or subordinate entity. Under colonial rule, power is employed via direct or indirect means, reflecting the degree of central control. This categorization of colonial rule is determined based on the accessibility of one entity over the other, the balance of technological, military, bureaucratic, demographic, and economic capabilities and the weaker entities proclivity to rule (Gerring et al, 2011, 378). The type of rule depends upon the degree of existing political structure within the society being ruled over. They

explains this further by stating that a unit with political institutions already in place is more likely to be placed under indirect rule, signifying a shift from one institution (indigenous) to another (foreign) (2011, 381). Most colonial empires utilized a mix of direct and indirect rule in their territories, depending on the factors discussed above. This points towards the adaptability and flexibility of colonialism as a structure which contributes to its endurance.

2.3AA Direct Colonial Rule

Direct colonial rule is when the colonist wishes to rule directly on using a single, uniform legal system which is often adopted from the imperial country (Gerring et al, 2011, 390). Under direct rule, the imperial state exercises a monopoly of law, policy, and administration onto the population without any intermediaries (Weber, 1919). Mamdani questions the techniques employed by European colonisers in administering large and geographically distant regions, answering that initially, the colonisers engaged in direct colonial rule. He points out how the natives[10] were required to adhere to European laws, they were not granted the same rights as those of a European citizen, unless they were "civilised" (1996, 16). Direct colonial rule signifies centralised despotism which, in practise in colonial Africa, translated to 'reintegration and Domination of the natives in the institutional context of semi-servile and semi-capitalist agrarian relations' (Ibid, 18). This signifies that the native peasants already worked in a system where the land was not owned by them and was simply taken over by colonial rulers who continued to oppress and exploit the peasants.

Direct rule is also seen as more invasive to the native society, with longer lasting aftereffects but it also resulted in greater unrest and more open opposition to imperial rule (Gerring et al, 2011, 389). Under direct rule, natives are excluded from all levels of governances except the lowest levels in rare cases (Doyle, 1986). Hence the exclusionary and dehumanising nature (since the natives are not considered capable enough to govern themselves) of colonial rule becomes a reason for increased resistance on part of the natives.

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[10] Mamdani (1996) studies specifically aspects of colonial rule in Africa. However, his theorizations of exercise of power under colonial rule are highly applicable in understanding colonial rule, not restricting it to a specific geographical region due to his theoretical engagement with the concept of colonialism.

In a detailed study of British colonialism in India by Iyer (2010), the long-term consequences of direct colonial rule are studied with results pointing towards significantly lower levels of public goods availability such as schools, health centres, and transport facilities. Further, she mentions that these areas are currently undergoing high levels of poverty and infant mortality rate due to lack of investment in the region (2). The French also employed varying degrees of direct rule to its colonies, which was unique in practise because of its predicament of assimilation – the belief was that the native population would eventually become French citizens (once they were civilised) and it was taken for granted that the natives would want to adopt French political and cultural beliefs due to the latter's superiority (Crowder, 1964, 199-202). Despite the extensive application of direct colonial rule in vast areas in Africa and India by French and British empires, the problems with exercising direct rule – the necessity of physical presence which involved overcoming challenges of extreme climate change, cultural shock, exposure to new diseases and having to handle targeted resistance led to the empires slowly turning towards indirect ruling methods which would place the rulers in a relatively more comfortable position and yet be able to reap the same profits, while the ground work of policing would be done by local intermediaries.

2.3AB Indirect Colonial Rule

While the British—and particularly, Lord Lugard—have been credited with inventing indirect rule (Lange, 2004, 910), the French, Portuguese, and Belgians all used indirect forms of rule (Bayart, 1993; Boone, 1994; Mamdani, 1996). Mamdani attributes indirect colonial rule as being the most dominant form of colonialism (1996) where the pre-colonial institutions that benefited the colonisers were kept in place and local customs rarely interfered with it, unless they came in the way of profits for the colonial rulers. This implies that the colonisers would employ local elites to carry out the day-to-day administrative tasks of the colony, while maintaining significant pre-colonial institutions and fostering development with the local culture where beneficial. Doyle (1986) writes that indirect rule occurs when "the governance of extensive districts of the colony is entrusted to members of the native elite under the supervision of the imperial governors" (38). Fisher (1984) disagrees, describing indirect rule as the incorporation of indigenous institutions along with indigenous individuals into an overall structure of colonial domination. In

areas where large scale European settlement did not occur, the colonial state's primary aim was extraction of profits from the colonies. Therefore, indirect colonial rule has also been referred to as extraction or exploitation colonialism (Lange, 2004, 905). Early British rule in India is a classic example of indirect rule (Iyer, 2010).

Scholars have claimed that since indirect rule involved the handling of power by local elites, at times the natives gained more rights and powers under indirect rule (Crowder, 1964) than they would have in pre-colonial times. This also led to strange dynamics of both the coloniser and the colonised belonging to the same race, ethnicity, and place. Extensive work has been done on the legacies of indirect rule, which as Lange claims, "promoted local despotism at the expense of centralized control" (Lange, 2004, 907). These can be seen as: (a) the colonial state in indirect colonies had a limited capacity to implement any policies outside its capital due to limited legal-administrative institutions (Mann, 1984), (b) local chiefs were given a lot of powers which could easily be misused against the native population (Boone, 1994; Chanock, 1985; Mamdani, 1996; Merry, 1991; Migdal, 1994; Roberts & Mann, 1991) and lastly (c) this heightened the power of local chiefs which enabled them to control 'information and resource flows between the colonial administration and the local population while avoiding colonial supervision' (Clapham, 1982; Reno, 1995; Scott, 1972; Lange, 2004, 907). While indirect colonial rule clearly implies the loss of authority on the part of the colonial power, it became an effective strategy for empires that were only seeking short term profit and gave the choice of rule to powers like the British Empire which, given the magnitude of their massive proportions geographically, employed a carefully crafted web of direct and indirect rule to exercise their authority.

Mamdani notes that all of Africa was under indirect rule which later hindered the postcolonial development of the states regardless of colonial power (2006). However, scholars have argued that French colonialism was *more* direct and Bayart (1993) asserts that French colonial states were predatory and patrimonial, hindering the growth of postcolonial institutions in Africa. Areas under intensive Spanish colonisation also have had slower postcolonial development in South America than the former colonial backwaters.

The above section outlines how European colonialism employed direct and indirect tactics of colonial rule, while highlighting the flexibility of colonialism as a structure and its capability to evolve into more effective forms of control over the natives. The section below discusses the various categorisations of colonialism as existing in conventional literature on the subject – which helps in understanding the dominant approaches to the topic before shifting to a postcolonial and decolonial perspective of the same.

2.3B Settler Colonialism

As the name suggests, settler colonialism is described as a form of intergroup domination wherein settlers in large numbers migrate indefinitely to the colony from their country of origin (Horvath, 1972). Pioneering works from that era on settler colonialism were provided by Hartz (1964) and later Denoon (19879) and the Platt and Di Tella (1985) collection of papers. This foreign Domination of native people is usually managed by an imperial authority (LeFevre, 2015) and Wolfe (1997) has referred to this categorization as a structure rather than an event, implying that settler colonialism does not really end, but rather continues to impact political relations between the natives and the settlers, and the settlers and their country of origin. Modern settler societies (Neo-Europes according to Crosby's 1986 terminology) emerged mainly in European colonies with a specific environment and the active marginalisation of indigenous population along with the settlement of a large number of Europeans, which also laid the foundation for a new economic system in the 19th century (Lloyd & Metzer, 1997, 2). It is also imperative to note that in the colonies of the British, the colonisers mostly had confrontational encounters with the indigenous people who were more often than not destroyed by force, dispossession, and/or exposure to new diseases (Denoon, 1979; Karras & McNeill, 1992; Weaver, 2009). Settler colonialism is a form of direct rule where European colonial officials set up their own administrative apparatus in the colonies with a strong motivation to dismantle the existing power structures in the native society, while simultaneously undermining the natives (Doyle, 1986).

Wolfe (2006) talks about the positive and negative dimensions of settler colonialism, the negative being its demand for the eradication of native peoples and the positive being that 'it erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base' (2006,

388). In the case of Australia, it was the belief that the settlers could use the land in a more productive way than the Aborigines, hence their settlement was justified (Ibid, 389). Settler colonialism is also said to be the foundation of modernity since it created global networks of people, linked to the metropolis for purposes of commerce. While the importance of land in this categorization of colonialism is abundantly clear, it has also been linked to the formation of identities of both the settlers and the natives (Wolfe, 2006, 394-400). Tuck and Yang (2012) underscore the intertwining of geographical, relational, and epistemic forms of violence:

> In the process of settler colonialism, land is remade into property and human relationships to land are restricted to the relationship of the owner to his property. Epistemological, ontological, and cosmological relationships to land are interred, indeed made pre-modern and backward. Made savage. Indigenous peoples must be erased, must be made into ghosts (5-6).

Settler colonialism is often used to explain the establishment of modern-day nation-states such as the United States of America (Whyte, 2017), Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Canada and Israel (Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 2006; Salamanca, Qato, Rabie & Samour, 2012). Herein lies an interesting aspect of settler colonialism which is in marked difference to the classical understanding of colonialism – the permanence of the relations established by colonialism does not exist. Successful settler colonies do manage to establish independent nations, manage diversity, "effectively repress, co-opt, and extinguish indigenous alterities" (Veracini, 2011, 3). While colonialism seeks to reproduce itself, settler colonialism seeks to end itself, justifying its actions in the name of the expected demise of the colonial state in the future.

There has been an academic call for establishing settler colonialism as a distinct category, exclusive from colonialism itself (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, 1995; Wolfe, 2006; Russell, 2001; Pearson 2001; Elkins and Pedersen 2005; Goldstein and Lubin, 2008; Belich 2009). However, Veracini (2014) has argued against this, taking the example of bacteria and viruses to understand the functioning of settler colonisers and colonisers (617). He claims that the similarity between the organisms and human settler colonisers and colonisers is that both are exogenous elements asserting their domination over an indigenous population of a foreign land. A colonial system of relationship, unlike a settler-colonial one, is premised on the presence and subjugation of exploitable "others" (Wolfe, 1999). The argument, offering a very

interesting amalgamation of a scientific and metaphorical research approach brings the important notion of 'othering' – an important, if not crucial, aspect of colonialism to the forefront which becomes a central aspect in the later sections of this chapter. The next section analyses the concept of internal colonialism.

2.3C Internal Colonialism

Internal colonialism is seen as 'studies of marginalised populations exploited by dominant or majority colonialism' (Jones, 2017, 61) and includes racial/ethnic discrimination since the concept applies to the structure of dominance and exploitation between culturally heterogenous, and distinct groups. While the term was introduced in 1969 by Richard Blauner to describe relations between the white and Black populations in United States of America, Casanova asserts that this kind of colonisation has its root in the great independence movement of the colonies, wherein as the idea of domination by foreigners over natives disappears, and it is replaced by the idea of domination and exploitation by natives over natives (2002, 27). The concept of internal colonialism has been used primarily by different Marxist scholars to 'explain the underdevelopment of certain geographical regions' (Gouldner 1978, Hind 1984) in development studies. Lenin described the concept of internal colonialism as the migration of the small industrialists from mainland Russia to the steppes as a 'manifestation of the colonisation of the outer regions' (Lenin, 1956, 363). Hind (1984) had exemplified the theory of internal colonialism with the case of indigenous peoples and Black community within the USA, Indians and Latinos in Guatemala and Mexico, Indians in Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru, Israeli Arabs, the Black community in South Africa, and East Pakistani citizens in West Pakistan. He asserts that internal colonialism is different from conventional colonialism because geographical separation is not present in internal colonialism. However, he also says that they share a lot in common such as political subjection, economic exploitation, cultural domination, and racial conflict.

Gutiérrez claims that internal colonialism as an idea developed in Latin America (2004) as a Marxist critique of development ideologies, which was then elaborated on by dependency theorists to explain the "racial effects of poverty and isolation on indigenous communities" (281). It is interesting to note that he refers to the communities victimised under internal colonialism as 'indigenous'. This would add a

unique dimension to discussions on race and ethnicity where it is the non-ruling community that is given the rights of belonging to a particular place. Lately, most work pertaining to the concept of internal colonialism is related to the field of ethnic and racial studies, since some scholars find the analytical tools offered by the theory particularly useful for placing these relations within a broad comparative perspective. Pinderhughes (2011) has called for a 'new geo-focused theory' for the same which involves redefining colonialism as a specific type of subordination based on geography (17), pointing towards the defining factor of this concept.

2.3D Semi Colonialism

Another categorisation of colonization is semi-colonization, features of which were first described by Osterhammel in 1986, studying policies of European powers in China which was not a formal colony, yet was under extensive foreign influence in economic and political terms (296-297). He goes on to give examples of over twenty six practises that European powers carried out in China which are often grouped under the heading of 'imperialism' such as – 'extraterritoriality and consular jurisdiction which placed nationals of the treaty powers out of reach of Chinese law throughout the country; discrimination, often with a racist tinge, against the local population in areas of foreign settlement; foreign naval forces plying freely in China's coastal and inland waters….' (Ibid, 290). Most of this historical phenomenon can clearly be identified as colonial, yet scholars do not seem to see China as ever being colonised, simply because no Western power labelled China as its colony, even though Hong Kong and Macau were colonies under European control, often used to extend hegemonic control over mainland China. A similar situation prevailed in Thailand, which was also referred to as a semi-colony as early as 1950. Udom Srisuwan in his book, *Thailand, A Semi Colony* talks about the oppression of the impoverished peasants at the hands of the products of imperialism – rich peasants, landlords and capitalists. Lysa also asserts the notion of a constructed superiority of the Europeans over Siam which would never be considered "modern enough" (2004, 329), bringing in the notion of 'othering' defined as "construction of a discursive difference based on class and race which was the core of the semi-colony" (Ibid, 330), internalised and perpetuated by the Siamese elite. This is important to note since this concept has also been integral to other theories such as postcolonial, pertaining to colonialism which are investigated in later sections.

2.3E Neo-Colonialism

Usage of the term neo-colonialism has increased in the post-globalisation age, though it was introduced in 1965 by Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana to denote the political, cultural, economic influence of colonisers on their former colonies through new instruments of indirect control (Nkrumah, 1965; Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2013, 178). Nkrumah stated that the result of neo-colonialism is that foreign capital is used for purposes of exploitation in the name of development in less developed countries, widening the gap of economic inequality between people. Speaking from a passionate anti-colonial viewpoint, he asserted that since neo-colonialism deprives the countries of choosing their own fate, this practice becomes a 'serious threat to world peace' (1965). Initially, the term may have described a new reality of continued colonisation of former colonies using descript methods such as offering aid for development, carrying out industrial projects, offering loans and so on. Yet lately, neo-colonialism is used to refer to the economic domination by one nation-state over another, mostly under the guise of development and regardless of historical relations or the lack of them. Further, the term today also seeks to represent political influence of one state over another via economic domination, such as the case of Germany's influence over the Eurozone (Whelan, 2011, 225), China's influence in Pakistan (Hussain & Mehmood, 2019) – states which were clearly not former colonisers of the areas under scrutiny. The application of this concept to understand relations between countries with differing political realities but similar economic relations depict the development of this theory with a central focus on the economic aspect, and a shift to the application of a concept pertaining to colonialism to non-European state's relations.

2.3F Conclusion

This above discussion aims to provide a review of the existing work on the traditional theories of colonialism – pre-second world war and during the era of decolonisation. While it is apparent that colonialism and its categorisations are highly contested, the above list does not cover all existing work on it. For example, scholars like Nancy Shoemaker argue for the existence of over twelve kinds of colonialism – plantation, romantic, transport, legal, rogue and so on (2015), with each type focusing on one aspect of the colonial rule. Though an interesting take on

the typology of colonialism, the benefits of breaking down the overall subjugation of the natives to focus on specific areas is unclear since colonialism functions as a system rather than a singular motive-based relation between two states, as can be seen within the existing examples of colonial relations discussed in the preceding sections. Emphasising one single aspect of this domination would refrain from producing a holistic understanding of the concept and, consequently, the extent of the domination.

To reiterate, the traditional understanding of colonialism originates mostly from the coloniser's point of view (such as settler and exploitative colonialism) with rare mentions of the impact of this process on the colonised. There is also a significant amount of emphasis on the economic aspect within the categorisations, more than the social or cultural. In addition, there is a particular focus on state sovereignty which is taken for granted and naturally assumed. These ideas are significantly challenged within the postcolonial and decolonial schools of thought. The next section introduces these two schools of thought, followed by a discussion on key concepts relating to colonialism in them. The last section provides a definition of colonialism which seeks to move beyond the limitations presented in traditional understandings and draws upon postcolonial and decolonial perspectives. Since further research in this project will employ both perspectives and apply the definition to analyse the nature of power exercised by a postcolonial nation-state in a contested region, it is of added importance to understand the implications of this school of thought clearly.

2.4 Postcolonial and Decolonial Theory

Anticolonial thought is understood to have existed since the fifteenth century with Quechua author Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, and the Peruvian mestizo Inca Garcilazo de la Vega critiquing Spanish colonialism, while anticolonial theory has been associated with the works of W.E.B. DuBois, Aime Cesaire (1972), Fanon and Nkrumah (Mendoza, 2016, 100). However, the development of postcolonial and decolonial theory is relatively recent. This section studies this academic shift in anticolonialism, studying these theories while paying attention to their origins and further development. This is contextualised through understanding how scholars from these schools of thought understand, study, and theorise colonialism. There is an emphasis on how both schools emphasise the link between knowledge and power

(influenced by Foucault) which eventually leads to a study of the works focusing on the identity of the coloniser and colonised and how colonialism as a structure affects the various facets of their identities. The question of identity is stressed to further build upon how the identity of a postcolonial state or as a previously colonised region is created to understand how coloniality is embedded in the very structure of a postcolonial state. The last section provides a definition of colonialism based upon the two schools of thought for understanding the mechanisms of control as practises by a postcolonial state.

2.4A Postcolonial Theory

The origins of postcolonial theory are linked to the works of Edward Said (1978), Homi Bhabha (1994), Gayatri Spivak (1985) and others. As the term signifies, postcolonial seems to indicate the study of the period after colonisation is over. However, postcolonial theory, while tracing its origins to the period after direct colonial rule was over in the global South, is a critical theory primarily dealing with the literature produced in countries with the experience of being colonised or those that are presently colonised. It also analyses how this literature produced in the colonising country represents the colonised and its implications. As Gandhi (1998) writes 'postcolonialism can be seen as a theoretical resistance to the mystifying amnesia of the colonial aftermath. It is a disciplinary project devoted to the academic task of revisiting, remembering and crucially, interrogating the colonial past' (3). This re-examination of the colonial past points towards a 'reciprocal antagonism and desire between the coloniser and the colonised' (Ibid, 4) which becomes central to the discipline, with its roots in theorising colonial oppression to understand the lingering constructs of colonialism and trace our complicity in the same. Further, Bhabha adds that postcolonial perspectives intervene in the hegemonic ideological discourse of modernity that fail to acknowledge the uneven global development and the disadvantaged, histories of nations, race, communities, and people (1994, 171). It is important to note here that the postcolonial school mostly refers to European colonialism (specifically Western Europe) (Loomba, 1998, 3), with the addition of analysing the United States of America as an imperialist power in the contemporary world. Hence, after understanding the core concepts of postcolonial theory, it will be possible to understand how scholars within this school study colonialism as a particularly European practice and analyse its structures therein.

Said's *Orientalism* was one of the first works to provide an in-depth analysis of how oriental discourses worked to construct a specific image of the orient, which enabled the managing of the Orient in all spheres of life during the colonial period. To understand this process of management, it is important to understand how oriental discourse is created. Discourse is essentially an attempt to fix a web of meanings in a particular domain, the concept being defined in detail by Foucault (1972) who bases the study of discourse to include the criteria of formation, transformation, or threshold, and of correlation (227-228). Howarth & Stavarakakis et al (2000) assert that it is a reduction of possibilities and hence discourses become an exercise of power. This is linked to studying Orientalism as a discourse that continues to exercise power, contextualised in the Middle East in Said's work. He says that the Oriental is contained and represented by dominating frameworks, thus politicising the very notion of 'orientalism', which is practised through reconstruction and repetition of oriental constructs (Said, 1978, 121). The oriental was seen by the West (the orientalists) as a geographical, cultural, political, demographical, sociological, and historical entity over whose destiny they had traditional entitlement, while modern orientalism involves making the orient perform according to the interests of the orientalists. This aspect of representing the orient in a manner that justifies their oppression is seen as 'othering' - introduced in postcolonial theory as a systematic theoretical concept by Said. Lister defines othering as a "process of differentiation and demarcation, by which the line is drawn between 'us' and 'them'"– between the more and the less powerful – and through which social distance is established and maintained (2004, 101). This concept is employed heavily in colonial discourse where the colonised are 'othered' through various mechanisms of control – military, economic, political, governance, education, and representation, as well as erasure of native histories. Scholars like Khalid (2011) and Mehdid (1993) have also analysed 'gendered orientalism' in which the 'other women' are represented as voiceless victims of the 'other men'– pointing towards how scholars have also inculcated a feminist perspective within postcolonial theory.

Furthermore, it is important to note that colonialist knowledge production involves the constant blurring of 'pure' positions of 'self' and 'other', produced via negotiation with or via the incorporation of indigenous ideas, while appropriating native knowledges (Loomba, 1998, 67). The 'other' is often represented in binary

terms which seem to be opposite to the 'self' (Hall, 2001). This implies that colonialist knowledge production not only 'others' the natives as incapable of self-rule, lazy, traditional, backward, unscientific but ensures an effective erasure of their histories and line of development while adopting a paternalistic attitude towards the colonised to justify their rule, while constructing their own image as superior, developed or more evolved. janMohamed refers to this practice as a "Manichean allegory" (1985, 60) in which a binary and implacable distinction between races is produced and maintained. The colonised population or the 'Orient' are labelled as "non-active, non-autonomous and non-sovereign" (Chatterjee, 1986), thus rendering them ideal for 'civilising missions' or fit for colonial rule. However, these two terms – coloniser and colonised cannot represent binaries as they are actively constructing each other (discussed below). Hence, we see postcolonial theory deconstructing the ideology behind the knowledge produced by the ones in authority, in this case the colonisers over the colonised, and the hegemonic control of knowledge. Before going into the implications of this hegemonic control, it is important to note another feature of postcolonial theory - the emphasis on identity of the colonised and the coloniser which is used as a tool to analyse the depth of the structures of colonialism.

Postcolonial theory, as can be observed from the examples above, seeks to analyse the impact and structures of colonialism with a multidisciplinary approach, providing a comprehensive understanding of ethnicity, race, sexuality, and gender, along with other markers such as caste and class, thus providing the space for inclusion of such differentiators. Anticolonial feminist theory has also shifted the focus from state-based legal apparatus to illuminating 'glocalizing' dynamics that aim to interpret global and local power structures which exist in interconnected and contradictory spaces (Mendoza, 2016, 105). This shift provides an opportunity to not only critique certain state systems which might exercise more power in the international arena but also question the nature of state systems themselves. This emphasis on the structure (in this case, of the state) benefits in two ways – firstly, it enables the scholar to think against the "norms of comprehensibility flowing from an ordered systematisation" (Kaul, 2007, 90) and secondly, allows us to view the excluded from the structure (Ibid) which can be utilized in being able to critique the existing structure. Hence, this theory provides an outline to include the entities hitherto ignored in existing structures, highlighting that a structure is only concrete until the cracks are studied.

Dirlik has attempted to provide an analysis of the juncture of postcolonial thought and the economic system of capitalism, stating how capitalism shapes postcoloniality and show the ways in which capitalism globalises, drawing various local cultures and economies into its vortex and weakening older boundaries, and in turn decentring production and consumption (1994, 356). Anand (2007, xv) states that postcoloniality politicizes culture and encultures politics, shifting the focus from economic or political perspectives to a wider range, including the voices of the marginalized. However, Anand also acknowledges that postcolonial theory does draw influence from the West and the Non -West and due to its focus on the politics of everyday life and disclosure of complicity, it can be considered "antidisciplinary"(60-62). In fact, postcolonial theory helps shift the focus from locations and institutions to actual individuals and their subjectivities. It can be applied to any discipline and can be effective in problematizing history and unravelling the power structures of the past (Pourmakhtari, 2013, 1770). This is crucial for understanding colonialism since it referres to a particular a structure for exercising power.

2.4B Decolonial Theory and Coloniality

Decolonial theory is a critical approach for contesting the modern world order as established in the aftermath of European colonization. Mignolo (2007) attributes the formation of decolonial thinking to Anibal Quijano's work *Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality* (2007) with a call for "epistemic disobedience". This disobedience refers to the active rejection of European epistemologies which are said to further Eurocentrism (the dominance of European thought and constructed superiority of European culture).

It makes sense to analyse Eurocentrism since it imbibes our present and, even though all the specificities of this universal system may not apply to other singular-world centric systems, it will provide a glimpse into the possible disadvantages of limiting ourselves to a particular intellectual ideology and the basics of decolonial theory. Before going into analysing Eurocentrism, it is important to know what the term implies. The Egyptian economist, Samir Amin, states that Eurocentrism is a culturalist expression of ongoing capitalist world expansion, an imposing ideology

that sets the framework for progress on the entire world through adopting 'Western' policies, economic and cultural systems and the 'Western' way of life (2009). These paradigms have been conceived in specific historical and geographical contexts which may not be applicable to other places. Hence, it becomes pertinent that there is absolutely no logical reason that the discourses originating in the 'West' should be taken as 'scientific', or 'universal' because of the simple reason, that once the contextual hypothesis is altered, the knowledge produced in the West may no longer be applicable or at least, should not be perceived superior to local knowledge paradigms. Fals-Borda & Mora-Osejo add to this discussion by showing how Descartes's thinking was influenced by the Thirty Years War and 'his secular dualism and belief in control of nature were understandable rebellions and alternative quests' (2003, 33), and how the ignorance of Western scholars like Marx on the global South should be forgiven. Yet, repeated attempts to impose these ideologies and 'scientific solutions' on extremely different contextual reality continues, with European scholars also proposing how though Eurocentrism is detrimental to 'theoretical development, empirical analyses, and policy debates' (1), the 'solutions' should be customised according to local needs and then practised (Söderbaum, 2013). While Söderbaum does offer a detailed critique of the Eurocentric understanding of regional cooperation, his argument leaves absolutely no space for the growth of indigenous intellectual traditions, uninfluenced by Eurocentrism.

A singular-world system clearly seeks hegemony which is obtained via the production and re-production of categories of identity and the society to that they belong, creating a "fixedness of meaning" (Doty, 1996, 8). This implies that fixed meaning is derived from specific contexts and is taken as constant, without any space for alternative world visions, in turn promoting an extremely narrow view of the world. This means a denial of agency of multiple world systems, effectively erasing their histories, knowledge traditions and their realities. Eurocentrism has similarly become the "informing principle in our constructions of history" (Dirlik, 1999, 3), not just in Europe or America (also referred to as the global North) but across the world. With the establishment of European enlightenment, seen as the regime based on rationale and reason, alternative trajectories of progress were simply discarded. In fact, Dirlik proceeds to argue that the rest of the world has internalised this "EuroAmerican modernity" (Ibid, 10) which has not been a consequence of other

world systems such as the Sinocentric or 'Islamic world'. The sheer magnitude of Eurocentrism and its impact has permanently altered the current world order to one where those with a similar world view are seen as 'progressive', 'democratic', 'civilised', 'developed', 'scientific', 'rational' while the rest, or more accurately, the 'other' is seen as 'backward', 'traditional', 'religious', 'uncivilised' and 'barbaric'.

The continued hegemony of European thought and culture even after the end of official colonialism is known as coloniality. Coloniality refers to the systematic distribution of power via the control of access to knowledge, moral and artistic resources by the dominant group and even after the end of formal colonialism as a practise, the hierarchies and practises of oppression are produced and reproduced through this process. It is the legacies of European colonialism that are analysed with their impact on our contemporary world. Decolonial theorists insist upon the difference between colonialism which is seen as specific acts in history where one nation imposed its sovereignty on another, while coloniality is the lasting impact and power structures constructed by the coloniser assuring their superiority (Quijano, 2008; Mendoza, 2016, 114). The coloniality of power is a concept developed by Quijano (2008, 2000), identifying the racial, social, and political hierarchies imposed by European colonisers in Latin America. Quijano further implies that modernity and coloniality are two sides of the same coin, since it is the colonial powers determining what constitutes modernity. It should be clarified that there is no modernity without coloniality and that coloniality is constitutive, and not derivative, of modernity. Hence, as Mignolo says, "the logic of coloniality is disguised under the rhetoric of modernity, salvation and progress" (2000, xvi). Coloniality of power is only enacted within colonial difference – the manifestation of physical, social, cultural, intellectual differences between the coloniser and colonised. This coloniality enables these differences to be transformed into values, favouring the colonisers interests. In today's world, these differences can be seen as the ones between Europeans and non-Europeans which were naturalised. This also led to the incorporation of diverse heterogenous cultural histories into a single world dominated by Europe establishing European historical perspectives as hegemonic within a new intersubjective universe of the global model of power (2000, 546). Simultaneously denying the production of knowledge by the natives, effectively working to silence them throughout history.

But the resulting question is, should we simply accept coloniality as a given characteristic of our reality and move forward or should coloniality of power be acknowledged in understanding current world systems and possibly, a revival of silenced voices? Quijano (2000) talks of the importance of coloniality of power and historical structural dependency to trace history of "Latin America as a series of particular events whose location in the coloniality of power and in the historio-structural dependency has made Latin America what it is and has been and is today" (53). Furthermore, while the colonial domination was asserting itself, a cultural complex under the name of rationality was being put in place and established as the universal paradigm of knowledge and hierarchal relations between the 'rational humanity' (Europe) and the rest of the world (2002). Once a correlation between the subject and the object is established it becomes impossible to know the subject beyond the subject of knowledge postulated by the very concept of rationality put in place by modern epistemology, which Mignolo claims makes the process of Orientalism possible. We have already noted the implications of Orientalism for the Orient in the sections above. In addition, Lugones, extends the arguments of both Quijano and Mignolo to assert how coloniality/modernity not only divides the world into racial categories but create specific understanding of gender which enable the disappearance of the colonised or native woman (2007).

Mignolo also raises the issue of the nation-state being seen as complicit with the production and distribution of knowledge, with theoretical and scientific thinking being produced at the margin of major national languages, entrenched within colonial expansion since the eighteenth century. The question then arises, can the modern nation state, itself a colonial construct, produce knowledge or thought that is not embedded with coloniality (2000, 66). This observation is useful in predicting or determining the behaviour of postcolonial nation states as they would also be expected to employ methods of exercising power similar to their colonisers. However, this consequently translates to a failure on the part of the postcolonial nation states to fight colonialism and become a 'post-colonial' state, since now the fight is not against an external coloniser against whom the national resources and sentiment can be dedicated to, but to deconstruct the structure of oppression internalised by the new post-colonial state. Decolonial theory provides the tools to do the same by decolonising knowledge.

Decolonial theorists have vehemently called for the decolonisation of knowledge by acknowledging the coloniality of power through different methods such as Border Thinking as formulated by Mignolo (2000). This method emerges from the imperial conflict between Spain and the United States of America in the 19th century, consequently generating the physical border between Mexico and the US and the metaphorical borderland as enacted in the histories of Cuba/US, Puerto Rico/US which defines the configuration of Latinos/Hispanics. He defined the key configuration of border thinking as "thinking from dichotomous concepts rather than ordering the world in dichotomies" (85). This method calls for an end to the Manichean style of processing the world in terms of opposites, rather theorizing in context of the differences. This concept can be seen like the discarding of binary concepts in postcolonial theory to deconstruct them, understanding the exercise of power inherent in them. Scholars like Veena Das (1998) have also called for the inclusion of subaltern texts, articulated based on memories and colonial experience within their historical diversity, which could effectively tackle the coloniality of power.

The decolonial school of thought pulls the time horizon on the modernity debates back to the late fifteenth century to consider the colonization of the Americas by the Spanish and Portuguese empires. Quijano and Mignolo's works' studies the development of modernity and coloniality, asserting that both are heavily interlinked, and, that modernity is essentially covered in a web of coloniality. The above section provides us with a detailed analysis of the postcolonial and decolonial schools of thought along with their take on multiple aspects of colonialism. The next section elaborates upon the focus on identity in these perspectives by looking at the constructs of 'coloniser' and 'colonised'.

2.4C The Coloniser and the Colonised

In his major work, *The Coloniser and the Colonised,* Memmi (1974) wrote about deconstructing the identity of the coloniser and colonised. While he does write with the perspective of a Tunisian colonised by the French, many of his arguments are universally applicable such as the fact that the coloniser and colonised exist in unison, in sync, one will not be there without the other, and both identities interact and engage with each other to constantly reproduce each other's identity. The

colonised means little to the coloniser, and the coloniser is obsessed with changing the colonised, which is done by a series of negotiations, including never representing the colonised in a positive light, depersonalisation of the colonised[11] through the use of 'plural language' (reducing them to a mass of people who can be overlooked or acted upon rather than individuals with the agency), and the denial of liberty. All these steps are carried out with only one objective in mind – to transform the colonised into a tool for the coloniser to maintain their oppression. This ideological aggression against the colonised by 'othering' where the coloniser actively sees the colonised as not only different from the 'self', and also as a sub-human and inferior. Consequently, the colonised, having faced and suffered such abuse of control, lose all interest or desire for the same, and seems condemned to lose their history (Ibid, 147). Nandy adds to the psychological dimension of this argument by stating that the difference between the colonised and the coloniser is primarily their state of mind (1989, 3). He also mentions how a colonial system perpetuates itself through socioeconomic and psychological rewards and punishments which may invariably be challenged. However, it is the 'inner rewards and punishments' (Ibid) which are most ignored but are much more dangerous because they are difficult to identify and resist. This is the internalisation of the colonial system's deepest penetration of the structures of domination wherein the colonised start upholding the supremacy of the coloniser over themselves. While Memmi and Nandy have engaged with different aspects of a coloniser and the colonised, the idea of the coloniser dehumanising the colonised through social, political, economic, psychological, and intellectual techniques is constant, obtained through a process of 'othering'.

The identity of the colonised also includes a characteristic anti-colonial attitude resulting in what is defined as a "hybrid" construct (Bhabha, 1994, 112-116; Young 2001, 69; 2003, 69-90), understood as "the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities; it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of Domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that secure the 'pure' and original identity of authority)". It is "the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of

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[11] The different between dehumanisation and depersonalisation is vital to note. While dehumanization refers to the moral exclusion of human attributes to a person, depersonalisation refers to the subject's experience of alienation from oneself.

discriminatory identity effects" (1994, 112). Hence, this hybridity points towards a collation of multiple identities within the colonised – with the grafted Western culture but within the ontology of the native,thus constructing a hybrid identity[12].

In addition to representation, postcolonial scholars have also focused on other aspects of colonialism affecting the identity and relationship shared between the coloniser and the colonised. Loomba mentions colonialism as psychopathological – a disease that distorts human relations and renders everyone within it 'sick' (1998). Traits characterized as forms of native hysteria and evidence of atavistic tendencies are interpreted by Fanon as signs of resistance (1967, 239, 250). Fanon moves on to further describe colonialism as an oedipal complex but instead of the male child desiring its mother, it involves fantasizing the white woman by the black man. This school of thought also looks at a related subject - colonial violence, specifically against women, but also in general. Colonial violence is understood to include an epistemic aspect and is a targeted attack on the culture, ideas, and value systems of the colonised people, hence justifying the extensivity and ritualisation of the same (Ibid, 54).

Postcolonial and decolonial schools of thought have embraced concepts of gender and intersectionality to quite an extent and provided a space for understanding colonialism through the perspective of gender or a feminist perspective. This is crucial since colonial dynamics have always included notions of gender and sexuality, where native women and their bodies are transformed into sites of adventures and promises of wealth for the colonisers. Their bodies become evidence of conquered land, while white men take on the responsibility of saving native women from native men (Spivak uses the term 'brown' in place of native talking in a specific South Asian context regarding British colonialism (Spivak, 1985, 94; Loomba, 1999, 151). How the colonisers treated and represented the native women becomes an interesting insight into how sexuality is transformed into a means for maintenance or erosion of racial difference. While scholars agree on how gender was aggressively deployed as a tool by the colonisers to destroy the social relations of the

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[12] The concept of Hybridity also shares similarities with Negritude philosophy which is seen as a derivative discourse where the antithetical values of racism and anti-racism construct a society with a new universal humanism without racism (Sartre, 1976; Young, 2001, 266).

colonised[13], decolonial feminist theorists argue that European constructions of gender introduced internal hierarchies, breaking the solidarity and pre-existing ties between men and women through 'sexual violence, exploitation, systems of concubinage' (Lugones, 2007; Mendoza, 2016, 116). To take an example, Fanon documents the case of French rule in Algeria where the French targeted the native women, portraying them as backward and oppressed and confining the Algerians in a guilt trap for their society. The French take over the women on the pretext of progress, pushing them to get educated, without providing any knowledge of the prevailing colonialism (1989, 39-41). The European is seen to always fantasize the Algerian woman in purely violent terms – rape, possession, near murder and this desire, is further heightened by the fragility of the Algerian woman. This behaviour is to entice a reaction in the colonised, and it is the actions of the coloniser which define the focal points of the anti-colonial resistance (Ibid, 47). Furthermore, the attempts to 'conquer' the native woman are performed with the motive to emasculate the native man, the colonised, to be represented as weak and feminine. Hence, what can clearly be observed within these relations is the exercise of power by the masculinised coloniser who oppresses the emasculated colonised for serving the home country (feminised, bountiful motherland). The actions of the coloniser are always portrayed to be in the best interest of the home country, so the actor is seen as a selfless patriot with civilised masculinity (in contrast to the primitive and sexually aggressive native[14]). These relations highlight not only the gendered representation of the coloniser and the colonised but more importantly, depict how colonialism as a structure itself is patriarchal, based on the domination of the feminised colonised by the masculine coloniser. Hence, we see relations between the coloniser and the colonised are framed in a patriarchal structure that seeks to dehumanise and depersonalise the 'other'.

While there exists, extensive work done in the field of psychology on the formation of identities of the coloniser and the colonised, there are no definitive acts that mark the oppression or the dehumanisation, or even the 'othering' of the colonised. It is a

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[13] Fanon notes the same in the case of Algeria with his study of the multiple attempts of the French to destroy the social fabric of the Algerian society not only in terms of gender but also religion (1959)
[14] The colonised man is intellectually weak and undeveloped according to the colonisers hence the "white man's burden" but is physically and sexually aggressive which warrants protection for the colonised women from the colonisers.

careful analysis of these regimes and the exercise of power by them via modes of governance, conquest, economic trade, and representation, complimented by a specific reading of power through discourse which marks how the process of 'othering', 'dehumanising', 'depersonalising' and 'colonising' of the victim takes place. In the next section, I define colonialism by drawing upon postcolonial and decolonial schools of thought, while defining the characteristics of how power is exercised by a postcolonial state over the colonised.

2.5 Redefining Colonialism / Coloniality of a Postcolonial state

The above section outlines how the postcolonial and decolonial schools of thought have added invaluable aspects to our understanding of colonialism[15]. However, what has been majorly lacking is an approach that brings together the strengths of both understandings while overcoming their limitations. Hence, in this section I redefine colonialism while linking these two theories in a manner that highlights the relations between the subjects involved, to be able to identify the markers of a postcolonial colonising state.

Colonialism can be defined as a patriarchal structure of domination and oppression of the other by dehumanising and depersonalising them, with an objective to maintain coloniality of power. This definition includes multiple aspects which are outlined as follows – firstly, the definition sees colonialism as a structure that exercises power in a patriarchal fashion (Kaul, 2021); secondly, it draws upon the anticolonial and postcolonial writings of Fanon, Memmi and Nandy (discussed above) to bring out the impact of colonialism on the identity of the colonised. Thirdly, the definition draws upon the decolonial school of thinking to outline how colonialism as a structure works in an arrangement to reproduce itself – ensure its longevity which is enveloped in the concept of coloniality of power. While the definition may seem dense in terms of the concepts involved, if we take the example of any colonial empire and see it through the lens of this definition, it provides the most exhaustive deconstruction of the colonial power and the colonised within the empire.

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[15] The epistemic shift in the production of knowledge by the coloniser to the colonised marks the transition in our understanding of colonialism, however there is a major concern about the systems of analysis used by the colonised and the potential of their colonial origins.

This redefinition broadens our understanding of the phenomenon of colonialism and enables us to move beyond the focus on European colonialism. It studies the different structures such as the postcolonial state and its institutions, noting how they self-reproduce contemporary colonialism through the colonial matrix of power (see Section 3.2 for a detailed discussion). The focus on gender allows us to view that colonial power is exercised in a patriarchal fashion which includes the feminisation of territory and varied forms of oppression of minoritised genders. Additionally, analysis of colonial identities enables us to critically study the identities and relations of the postcolonial subject and the colonised; where there is a continuous attempt to make the colonised identity perform for the postcolonial state in hopes of assimilating to the dominant or majoritarian identity.

While defining colonialism is a difficult task in itself, listing out the characteristics of a postcolonial nation-state is even tougher since it is not based on concrete analysis but speculative research. Instead, I outline the characteristics of colonisation based on my definition and draw extensively on how the depersonalisation and dehumanisation of the colonised take place under colonial structures. Dehumanisation – the denial of human attributes to a person or a group under colonial structures occurs through the effective erasure of the history of the colonised, while creating historical structural dependency on the coloniser so that the colonised can no longer view their history as their own, rather it is perceived as always and only existing in the context of the coloniser. This effectively denies the existence and agency of the colonised prior to their engagement with the coloniser, resulting in their depersonalisation, and provides the impetus for the colonisers to conquer the natives, give them a history, culture, and civilisation defined on terms favourable to them. If in case the colonised somehow manage to preserve their history through intangible sources such as oral traditions which refuses to be silenced, the coloniser will acknowledge their existence and maybe even their histories – while creating a hierarchy where they are always, unyieldingly at the top. This is often done by creating extreme binaries as we noted above, which make the difference between the coloniser and the colonised seem massive. Maintaining this hierarchy is very important for the ones in power since it acts as protection towards their status while distancing themselves from any possible competition with the colonised, since they don't consider the colonised capable enough to compete with

them in the first place. In case the colonised have somehow saved themselves from depersonalisation, they are constantly subjected to economic exploitation where their lands are drained of resources for the profits of the coloniser and cultural adoption without any credits to the original source. When the colonised survives this assault, the coloniser creates highly ritualised theatrics of colonial violence to control and create a state of constant fear among the colonised which is supposed to end all notions of any unique identity that the colonised might have or any discontent among them. Hence, the features of colonialism in modern-day include othering the native through the erasure of their histories, creating historical structural dependencies, creating extreme hierarchal binaries and the use of ritualised violence, performed with an objective to depersonalise and dehumanise the colonised.

This section provides an overview of the postcolonial colonial state. However, there is a possibility that this is not an exhaustive list and in our contemporary world of modernity/coloniality, there is an opportunity for evolving practises of colonialism. It will be specifically interesting to note how nation-states with experience of being colonised and anti-colonial resistance embody coloniality as an exercise of power over their own citizens[16], which is further investigated in later chapters. Regardless, this list provides for a detailed start with the possibility of questioning a range of colonial acts, in turn providing the space for further development of the concept.

2.6 Conclusion

The chapter has three main themes – explaining the key arguments in the conventional literature on colonialism, highlighting the major shifts brought in with the postcolonial and decolonial schools of thought where the experience of the colonised was brought to light, and redefining colonialism by drawing on the features of colonialism in contemporary times and addressing the possibility of a postcolonial colonising state.[17]

The first section traces how colonialism has been studied traditionally in the discipline of history, repeatedly being perceived as an unavoidable event that

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[16] The term citizen here refers to the legal recognition of the nation-state to all peoples living within its recognized territory and who have been granted rights in keeping with the Constitution of the land. However, this can be seen as a state-centric approach where people are defined as (non)citizen depending on the state rather than the people's affiliation to the state.

occurred in a linear fashion of global development. The act of colonialism itself was justified in the name of 'discovery' of new lands, expanding empires, search for new markets and competition between empires. The narrative of the colonised was defined by the colonisers, and even then, rarely heard. The colonised never had a chance to present themselves, as they were represented in ways that made their colonisation and subjugation acceptable.

Next comes the period after the second world war, often referred to as the era of decolonisation due to the large number of countries that gained independence from colonial empires during this period. There was an aura of anticolonialism during this period since a lot of new countries formed during this period had achieved independence only after a long-drawn-out struggle of anti-colonial resistance. The studies on colonialism began focusing on specific aspects of the structure during this period, specifying research based on economic, territorial or governance aspects categorising colonialism, but, at the same time, restricting the study to only those notions, rather than understanding the concept in its entirety.

The last section of the chapter dealt with the postcolonial and decolonial schools of thought which, for the very first time, have an exclusive focus on the experience of the colonised, while also focusing on the identity of the coloniser and how power was exercised by them. It is these perspectives employed, not just in studies relating directly to colonialism, but in multiple disciplines such as history, sociology, anthropology, and psychology that enables these theories to act as an enriching lens in our understanding of colonialism. The last section draws on both these schools of thought to provide a definition of colonialism while drawing a framework for the characteristics of a postcolonial colonising state.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework and the Colonial Matrix of Power

"Theory is not inherently healing, liberatory, or revolutionary. It fulfils this function only when we ask that it do so and direct our theorizing towards this end" (hooks, 1992, 2)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the theoretical approach employed in this research. The research employs a methodology drawing upon decolonial and postcolonial perspectives. The main reason for this is the centrality of the concept of 'coloniality' in these approaches which allows me to study colonialism and its structures as a contemporary phenomenon rather than a historical event. Here I highlight the concept of coloniality within a decolonial framework as employed in this project.

The chapter proceeds in the following way – I explain the concept of Coloniality, and the Colonial Matrix of Power (Henceforth, CMP) based on Quijano's work (1992). Section 3.3 addresses the reasons for adopting from both the decolonial and postcolonial approaches. The following section highlights existing critiques of postcolonial and decolonial school of thought and their concepts. Section 3.5 provides for the application of CMP in my project along with an outline of the next three chapters while addressing the shortcomings mentioned before. The concluding section provides an overview of the research methodology of this project.

3.2 Coloniality and Colonial Matrix of Power (CMP).

Coloniality is a transdisciplinary concept often viewed as the darker, underlying side of modernity. The decolonial coloniality/modernity concept explores the link between the two often focusing on the violence that is hidden from the glamour surrounding the 'myth' of modernity. Modernity is seen as an epistemological framework that is closely interwoven with Europe's colonialism. However the violence perpetuated within the colonial areas – physical, institutional, cultural, and psychological; aftermaths of which continue to have a stake in these formerly colonised areas are carefully cloaked and decoloniality draws out these relations which can be studied in the works of Dussel (1995), Mignolo (2007, 2009), Kaul (2007, 2021). Thinking without, or rather out of, modernity is a challenge but the knowledge of coloniality enables for the beginning of the process of decolonising.

Mignolo (2018) describes the constitutive acts of coloniality as the invention, transformation, and management of colonial and imperial epistemic and ontological differences (156). The implication is that coloniality thrives on the difference codified by colonialism on knowledge production and understandings of the self and other. An easy example of this is the assumed superiority of Western universities as the oldest bastions of knowledge despite contrary historical evidence of institutionalised knowledge formations, including Universities, existing in other parts of the world long before (Grosfoguel, 2013). Colonialism destroyed these institutions and their worth, and it is coloniality today that constantly creates hierarchies with the West at the pedestal, ignoring the rest holding up the pedestal. Global coloniality is based on a discourse promising development for all while creating hierarchies. Hence, coloniality ensures that the status quo of the world is unchanged with differences between the colonisers and the colonised, and the systems designed by the European colonisers (nation-state, development, gender, and race) are constantly perpetuated, maintaining asymmetry of power relations. The idea shares close similarities and links with decoloniality, as coloniality seeks to uncover the layers of exercise of colonial power and its impact which decoloniality aims to transcend. It is a working relationship between the two, without understanding one, the other is rendered impossible. Furthermore, for Mignolo, this is expressed as "Modernity/coloniality/decoloniality" (2018, 105) wherein the '/' is what unites and separates the three, a symbol of the co-dependent relations they share. Coloniality as an analytic tool enables us to view these colonial relations and their impact on our present history, society, politics, sexuality, knowledge and being which is observed through Quijano's 'Colonial matrix of power' explained in depth below.

The original term for CMP, originating in Peru, is '*patron colonial de poder*' in Spanish. Patron refers to a 'set of structural relations and flows constitutive of an entity', while the matrix is derived from the French term, matrice meaning uterus signifying the regeneration of life (Mignolo, 2018, 112). CMP was understood by Quijano to be a trialectic concept responsible for the creation of modernity/coloniality wherein race, a colonial construct, was built to sustain domination and the hierarchy established between different races contributed to the establishment of the capitalist systems in South America. Work for people belonging to specific races was pre-defined, allowing the white community to receive wages,

Indians could be serfs and Black people were only slaves. This hierarchy was maintained through the production of knowledge, produced, and circulated only by the ones in power[18] and these social identities (of race) contributed to the making of the modern capitalist system (Quijano, 2000). Quijano's conception of CMP can be visualised as a grid determining the flow of power within colonial relations based upon the "racial social classification of the world population under Eurocentered world power" (2007, 171).

As per CMP, the consolidation of the Eurocentric world system was carried out through the construction and imposition of *hierarchical relations* with Europeans and later, Americans as the central repository for power and authority; through *control of the production of knowledge* that involves the validation of epistemology and its subsequent dissemination. Latly, through the idea of *totality* wherein tactics are employed to subsume all histories and cultures as part of a singular universal culture in a linear narrative, all progressing towards the same vision of Eurocentric development (2000). While this may seem specific to European and American imperialism, CMP enables us to understand the impact of these legacies on their erstwhile colonies. The three factors exist in an interdependent relationship with each other are shown below:
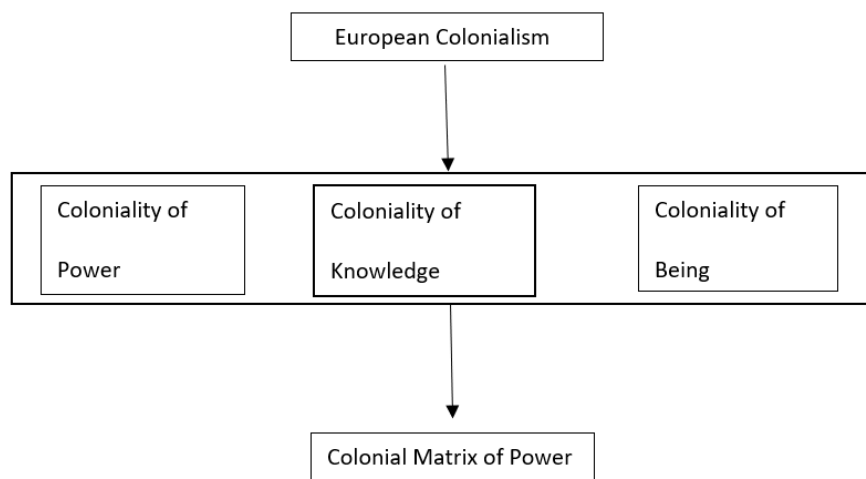
Figure 5: A visual representation of the colonial matrix of power

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[18] An interesting example of this is the formation of disciplines such as Anthropology that was based on the study of peoples/cultures which the student was not a part of. This leads to the entire subject/object divide implying knowledge is always produced on an object, depriving the researched of any agency.

Figure 5 depicts the colonial matrix of power showcasing the flow of colonial power. In the case of European colonialism, the flow of power takes place in primarily three ways – establishing hierarchy, controlling the production of knowledge and ending diversity of cultures and identity in favour of a singular totality. It is important to note that these flows of power are not linear. In the case of knowledge, we see how hierarchies determine the legitimacy of knowledge and it is through the dissemination of knowledge, that a universal system is imposed. Knowledge dissemination in a Foucauldian sense works to perpetuate the existing system or uphold those in power, reinforcing hierarchies as they are taught, legitimised and normalised within school or educational spaces. These spaces would also reinforce cultural supremacy at the cost of local culture and history. These factors ultimately result in the control and production of knowledge and the cycle continues. Furthermore, a universal culture (totality) would assert a specific hierarchy and legitimize knowledge conducive to its own existence. Hence, we observe a strong interconnection and constant movement between the three which together establishes colonial difference. Mignolo also states that the matrix is composed of rules made by the minority for the majority, and it is an awareness of the majority that creates power struggles or disruptions to the flow of colonial power (2018, 115).

Recent work by Mignolo & Walsh clarifies that while the CMP is controlled and managed by the West, the impact is domestic, transnational, interstate and global (2018, 5). The CMP is held together by flows that emanate from the enunciation (the rhetoric of modernity) however it also takes a life of its own, adapting and mutating to the subjectivity of the entity (person/state/corporation) managing it (Mignolo, 2018, 145). It is seen as an intersection between the academic and the public sphere (Ibid, 143) that enables us to theorize doing and thinking within a colonial structure. Mignolo has further developed the concept of CMP (2018, 155), wherein he states that the human is 'invented' through the three pillars of CMP – Racism, Sexism and Nature. Humans define their identity through a process of 'othering' all those seen as non-humans or lesser humans. This is upheld through Christian theology within a colonial context masquerading under the garb of secularism. Consequently, racism is employed to refer to people not accounted for in the Bible. Similarly, women are reduced to wives or witches and 'man' is seen to be the prime controller of all. With regards to Nature, CMP depicts the "extractivism, possession and dispossession" that

man has imposed upon Nature while cementing the man/nature divide, hence we see that CMP was built on the idea of colonial difference (Ibid: 160). It is very much a man-made invention to separate himself from women and nature, setting himself up in the domains creating, transforming, and managing the CMP. The creation of binary differences because of colonialism such as civilised/savage, developed/native, science/culture, man/woman, man/nature and so on.

This power difference also relates to what Anand (2018) and Kaul (2021) refer to as "asymmetry of power" referring to the established hierarchies due to colonialism, similar to Mignolo's "colonial difference". Kaul's (2021) work is important to refer to here since they study differing aspects of coloniality such as development (Kaul, 2021) as observed in postcolonial contexts offering theoretical insights for this project. The interconnectedness of different kinds of coloniality means that the existence of one will lead to the creation of other, the system working in tandem to ensure the colonial flow of power, between the domains depicting varying levels of management and control. I have also linked these dimensions to concepts that were present in Quijano's original work but have been further elaborated upon by later scholars. It is the nexus of coloniality of power (as seen in the establishment of authority), knowledge (based on the epistemic difference) and Being (based on the ontological difference) that constitutes the flows of the CMP. In the next few paragraphs, I explain the three dimensions of Quijano's CMP supplemented with the postcolonial and anti-colonial conceptions of power and being.

3.2A Coloniality of Power

Coloniality of power refers to the establishment of fixed hierarchies between the coloniser and colonised which may often be done through direct violence or using the garb of legitimacy to assert dominance. To reiterate an example from Quijano (1992) and Mignolo (2007)'s work, hierarchies of race are the result of coloniality of power. Until now, the discussion has largely focused on coloniality without studying power. Guha's work (1989) that offers a postcolonial analysis of British colonial power is very useful here. Based on a colonial state in South Asia, there are often similarities of oppression yet less so of structure with the colonial states in South America, primarily due to the difference of colonial rulers – the Spanish and

Portuguese in South America and the British (among others such as French and Dutch) in South Asia.

Guha takes a historiographical approach to how the British imposed their power over India through land vis-a-vis ideological control, re-writing history and the cultural regime that outlived the British state itself. It is interesting to note the similarities between Guha's conception of British exercise of colonial power in India and Quijano's concept of coloniality however Guha does not use the term 'coloniality' itself. Returning to the conversation on power itself, Guha provides us with a conceptualisation of colonial power (1989, 20). Power, according to him, is derived from a general ration of two elements: Dominance (D) and Subordination (S). D is achieved through a combination of Coercion (C) and Persuasion (P) while Subordination (S) of this power is carried out through Collaboration (C*) and Resistance (R) (Ibid)[19]. This implies an understanding of colonial power through relationality and these relations differ from society to society, with the character of power being determined on the weightage of D & S. A visual diagram is provided by Guha, as presented below:
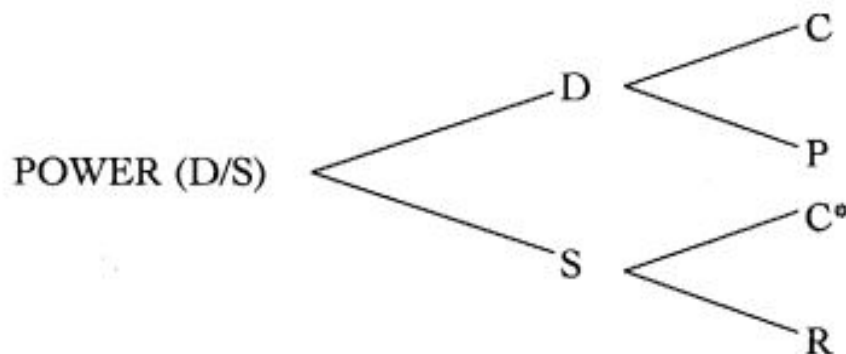
Figure 6: Visual depiction of Guha's conceptualisation of power

Guha notes that D & S have a principle of differentiation between the two idioms they have, one stemming from the metropolitan elite while the other is from the precolonial native elite. He states that for D to exist, C comes before P for the colonial state formation logic hence Coercion becomes the defining element, not

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[19] These idioms are capitalised throughout the thesis from hereon to show utilisation of Guha's concept.

establishing hegemony (Ibid, 24). Hence, power was established through conquest but maintained through an ideological justification focused on Coercion of the local populace, often while exploiting existing indigenous systems such as the caste system. The existing feudal system is reconfigured in rural and hill areas by the British for their own benefit, along with indigenous notions of dominance (explained as 'danda/stick') (Ibid, 28*; translation mine). The idiom of C is framed within the idiom of Danda and justified by invoking scriptures based on interdependence of dharma (duty) and danda. This naturalizes fear and force as fundamental principles of politics and sanctifies divine will in affairs of the state.

Further, the element of P is linked to the language of 'improvement', initially used by missionary projects building on the existing paternalistic societal relations (maa-baap/mother-father relations) to impose a narrative of progress and development while removing pre-capitalist markets and using 'development' as an excuse to intervene in local customs wherever beneficial for the colonial state. Guha also states that 'improvement' was a political strategy for the indigenous elites to align themselves with the colonial state and these politics of Collaboration (C*) were informed by the idiom of 'obedience' drawing from the indigenous tradition of 'Bhakti' (devotion). Both C* and R are constituent of S, and when the Resistance overtakes the Collaboration, it is no longer simply Subordination. Guha notes this never happened in the case of India as elimination of C* did not take place. Unless Collaboration ends, there can't be complete Resistance to power. The British idiom of R – Resistance or rather, Rightful Dissent is complimented by the Indian 'Dharmic protest' which was deprived of the notion of 'Rights'. Since Indians were considered 'subject' and not citizens of the British empire, they did not have access to any rights.

The acts of Domination and Subordination have a universal validity for all power relations (Guha, 1989, 21), and they often interact, converge, and divulge from each other to define each's character. Domination and Subordination implicate each other mutually however it is the condition of Coercion (C) over Persuasion (P) combatted with Subordination (S) that determines a colonial set-up. C without P leads to dominance without hegemony, a marker of colonialist rule.

From the above discussion, it becomes clear how colonial power is exercised; and the relation between D/S which is reflective of two separate- the contemporary, liberal British one and the other pre-colonial, precapitalist and India (Ibid, 61), pointing to a hierarchy that legitimises British rule, particular to a colonising state.

In this project, Chapter 4 studies the coloniality of power by studying the idiom of Domination as established by the Indian state. This is done by focusing on primarily a textual analysis of state documents as it allows us to trace coloniality between the British colonial state and postcolonial Indian state. State documents have played a crucial role in determining the regions historical and contemporary borders and political and economic structures, and to a lesser extent, social structures. Tracing this coloniality establishes both states as hierarchised over the peoples of the region, thus delegitimising their ownership and knowledge of their own land.

3.2B Coloniality of Knowledge

As noted in Chapter 2, scholars working with decolonial, and postcolonial approaches have problematised colonial discourses in Western knowledge systems. Prominent examples include Dussel's critique of Heidegger (2002) and Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin's massive collection on postcolonial writing (2002). In employing the CMP, I substantially focus on the work of decolonial scholars who build upon Quijano's work including that of Grosfugel (2006), Torres (2010) and Hoagland (2020). Coloniality of knowledge refers to the control of knowledge production being monopolized by the colonising entity to maintain the hierarchy of the coloniser over the colonised. This concept was formulated by Quijano as systems of knowledge based on eurocentrism used to provide the theoretical justification for the concept of race. In his works, he looks at how the colonial construct of race was subsequently used to naturalise colonial relations between Europeans and non-Europeans and designate racial groups to specific forms of labour. Quijano gives the example of the Hispanic region, the Crown of Castilla where Indians were "confined to serfdom" while the Indian nobility had limited access to activities of the "nonnoble Spanish" in lieu of their services to the dominant races while Blacks were only seen as capable to be enslaved (2000, 536). This classification was crucial to ensure access and control of labour by Anglo-Europeans in a capitalist world which had to create the historical justification for modernity and more importantly, impose

universal modernity. He argues this was done through coloniality of knowledge which creates and circulates knowledge and knowledge systems favouring the coloniser in primarily two ways, establishing "colonial difference" which transformed difference into values (Mignolo, 2000, 15) and centred a modernity where a specific cultural complex (European) was seen as rational and the universal paradigm for all knowledge (Quijano, 2000, 440).

In this research project, I understand colonial difference through a postcolonial lens, wherein there is a focus on the representations of 'self' and 'other' and the difference between them is weaponised to justify colonial control under the garb of rationality and modernity. This modernity, as practised by the postcolonial nation state is heavily influenced by coloniality – legacies of its own colonial rulers, a visual reflection of the same coin with two sides, coloniality/modernity. However, I only refer to this as an 'influence' as the understanding of modernity as adopted by the postcolonial nation includes similar notions of development, freedom, knowledge, it also includes the re-remembering of a generally glorified pre-colonial past which suits the interests of the elites within the post-colonial structures of governance and power, leading to specific constructions of the nation-state and national identity embedded in coloniality (Parasram, 2014). The emphasis on coloniality then serves the purpose of situating the postcolonial nation-state within the capitalist world system which rewards colonially defined understandings of nations and nationalism, border, gender and sexuality, knowledge, development, progress.

Both above take place through control of knowledge and subjectivity, occurring through stringent control of education and colonising existing knowledge (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006). Chapter 5 looks at the coloniality of knowledge in-depth, focusing on the systems of knowledge and secondly, on the knowledge produced. Drawing on the works of the scholars mentioned above, I highlight some key aspects of coloniality of knowledge which are that – it creates and justifies Eurocentric Domination of knowledge production, and maintains the epistemic distinction between the researcher and subject where the subject is incapable of producing knowledge, it ignores and dismisses indigenous and local knowledges (also referred to as epistemicide), it creates a totality which cements the colonial difference between the self and the other. I elaborate on the concepts mentioned here below.

Grosfoguel (2013) provides a historical deconstruction of dominant European narratives such as the dual binary promulgated by Cartesian philosophy, problematizing the conquest of Al-Andulas and the Americas by studying their implications for the population of Muslim and Jewish origin in 16th century Spain as well as for African population kidnapped in Africa and enslaved in the Americas. He also looks at the 'genocide/epistemicide[20]' against Indo-European women especially those burnt by the Christian Church for being seen as 'witches' as their knowledge could challenge the Church's narrative (75). He uses this to locate the epistemic foundations of racism/sexism that is 'foundational to knowledge structures in the West' (Grosfoguel, 2013, 71).

Coloniality of knowledge sheds light on educational institutions and practises that represent the entanglement of coloniality, power, and the epistemic ego-politics of knowledge (Grosfoguel, 2006) with ego-politics referring to the clear supposed supremacy of Western education. Classifying Western science as scientific, rational, separate from emotions and as lived experiences while knowledge based on socio-historical realities are discarded as pseudoscience marks the coloniality of knowledge. This is clearly visible in the global dominance of Western curriculum, English language, and the Euro-American University model (Blanco Ramírez 2014; Grosfoguel 2013; Mignolo 2003). The totalitarian nature of Western knowledge is based on the principle of ignoring and delegitimizing indigenous and local knowledges.

The main motive of coloniality of knowledge is to establish a totality of knowledge centred on Eurocentric knowledge. Totality has two dimensions to it: an epistemic distinction between the knowing and known subject (the knower is always European), and knowledge is based on a subject/object relation with knowledge being produced by the outsider (researcher) on the other. This is critiqued by Quijano on the premises that the entire world is located within the CMP (Ibid, 200) hence any knowledge that lacks the awareness of coloniality or pretending to be located outside the matrix while observing from the outside is simply not reflective of the world we exist in and ignores the embodied knowledge within individuals. Further, Shephard conceptualises coloniality of knowledge as constitutive of three elements – structural

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[20] "Epistemicide" is a term used by Santos (2010) to refer to the extermination of knowledge and indigenous ways of knowing.

and logical, epistemic, and ethical and moral (Shephard, 2015). Structural and logical refers to the situations and institutions in which knowledge production takes place, epistemic refers to the knowledge that is so produced and the ethical and moral dimension is used to legitimise this knowledge.

Coloniality of knowledge has severe implications placing colonial subjects in a state of constant "inferiorisation, peripheralisation, and dehumanisation" (Mpofu, 2020, 6). Consequently, there is a rejection of knowledges produced by the non-Western while Westernised knowledge is seen as impartial, scientific, and rational. In this project, Chapter 5 studies how the Indian state establishes coloniality of knowledge that dismisses indigenous knowledge production in IAJK. This is done via a critical reading of relevant school textbooks and thinktank publications. While these are not the only sources of knowledge production, these publications produced by the state are reflective of the reality the state seeks to impose upon students and general public. The school textbooks are pivotal in forming an understanding of self, of IAJK and of India and demonstrate how "Indian-ness" is sought to be inculcated amongst the students while thinktank publications produced by organisations often funded by the Indian state provide evidence of the narrative the state seeks to push forth and normalise. The rationale for the selection of these texts is further explained in Chapter 5.

3.2C Coloniality of Being[21]

The CMP enables us to study the individual impact of colonialism which is elaborated on by Nelson Maldonado Torres in his concept of 'Coloniality of Being'. The decolonial school studies the 'Being' in a colonial context studying the connection between Being and the history of colonial enterprises (Dussel, 1995). A focus on the relationality between the coloniser and colonised provided a new model for non-Western scholars to understand the relationship between soul[22], mind and body which is used to build an understanding of the colonised Being.

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[21] I use the capitalised 'Being' as a noun, to refer to a person, while 'being' is used as a verb.
[22] Decolonial school of thought does not posit a fixed definition of soul, or mind for that matter. It seeks to explore the relationality between the material (body), the abstract (mind) and what is still not completely known to us, which can be the soul though this terminology can vary across cultures and geographies.

Torres (2007), deriving from Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* (1967), provides a psychiatric perspective of the colonised, racialized mind and body expands further upon the Coloniality of Being. Coloniality of Being simply suggests the effects of coloniality in individual lived experience which Torres asserts is an inseparable aspect of Being. The idea of Being as it has transitioned from Descartes's, "I *think*, therefore I am" to Heidegger's "I think, therefore I *am"* to Torres's "I think (others do not think, or do not think properly), therefore I am (others are not, lack being, shouldn't exist or are disposable)" (2007, 252). This is a historic shift in the study of ontology wherein it is not only the existence of Being which is important but also the condition the individuals exist in. The impact of this is far-reaching, the understanding of ontology from the individualist existence of I or the Being, has been expanded to account for the cosmologies the individual lives in. This determines the quality of existence of Being, highlights coloniality in our personal yet social existence, and provides insight into the Being's behaviour and actions. Here, Fanon's words from *Black Skin, White Masks (1952)* is important:

"The Black man wants to be white" (3)

This depicts the desire of the Black man who has hitherto been relegated to a sub-human status to be identified as human or a Being. It is initially colonialism and then coloniality that naturalizes racism to constitute the sub-human category for Black people. This then reiterates that simply thinking of Being does not make one 'Be'; the Being seeks to validate its own being which has been erased by colonial structures. Torres further states that ignorance of coloniality results in erasure of the colonised, a feature of Western philosophy based on suppression of understanding and awareness of coloniality and lack of recognition of non-Western existence (2007, 253). Hence while Heidegger's Being achieves authenticity with death, for Fanon, the colonised is in a state of permanent struggle, constantly facing and navigating through death. So, it is observable that Coloniality of Being reduces the particular to the general (Ibid, 260), while cloaking the struggle of the particular. From the above discussion, we note the persuasive nature of coloniality/modernity to the extent of Being having an inherent colonial aspect to it, integral to the notion of modernity which exists as a discourse with relations of power creating permanent hierarchies of the masters and those oppressed.

It is Fanon (1967), who provides for a method to study the coloniality of being. The colonised Being exists at the mercy of the colonial structures, and Fanon's work on dehumanisation and depersonalisation answers the *how* aspect of this existence. It enables us to critically study the state's mechanisms to dehumanise and depersonalise the colonised to stop all modes of existence and being which may challenge the colonial state. Additionally, I use Kaul's (2021) argument on dispossession as one of the key features of coloniality (115) to elucidate the material reality for the colonised. Chapter 5 elaborates on the three concepts discussed above.

The principal unit of analysis in this project is written text. It is critically analysed as appearing in a diverse range of mediums such as official state documents, textbooks, thinktank and media publications, law and court orders, and archival documents. As the project seeks to study the dominant discourse on IAJK, the focus is overwhelmingly on text produced and/or affiliated with the state, first the British and subsequently, postcolonial Indian state. This is a deliberate move as the focus is on interrogating the exercise of colonial power and its desired impact, rather than implications for those on the receiving end of it. However, in keeping with the decolonial and postcolonial perspectives that amplify the voices of those on the receiving end of colonial exercise of power and understanding that text is written for a 'reader' or a 'consumer' or in the case of a postcolonial nation-state, a 'citizen', I include examples of responses by the peoples of IAJK which often subvert or challenge these texts on their own terms. To be clear, this is not to draw the Indian states' and IAJK narratives onto an equal platform as that can never be the case in an asymmetrical power relationship however it serves as a reminder that colonial power does not flow unilaterally. It is challenged, subverted, interrogated, and resisted in different ways as noted throughout this project.

This section explains the methodology of this project. The CMP is employed with postcolonial and anti-colonial concepts to address any shortcomings that arose while implementing the CMP in a South-Asian, postcolonial context. The next section explains why such a perspective is the most appropriate for this project.

3.3 Reasons for adopting a decolonial and postcolonial approach

Decolonial and postcolonial approaches share more similarities than differences and are keen on challenging and exposing colonial linkages. Bhambra's work on

connecting the strengths of both schools (2017) is illustrative of my approach in using CMP. I supplement the CMP, a concept from the decolonial school with other concepts developed by postcolonial and anti-colonial scholars. I also draw inspiration from Sandoval's call to move beyond rigid categorizations within academia for an interdisciplinary approach (2000). Drawing upon methodologies that are concerned with the liberation of the oppressed, now is the time when we can effectively use pre-existing work to devise new strategies of understanding and critique.

Hence, the framework in this thesis is primarily based on the decolonial school of thought complimented by postcolonial theory, to attempt to capture one of the most prominent manifestations of coloniality in contemporary times, that is, postcolonial colonialism. In the case of studying Coloniality of power, Guha's work on the exercise of colonial power in British India (1989) provides important insights that venture into articulating the history and colonial exercise of power while linking it to present-day politics of India and highlighting the coloniality[23] of the Indian state. While studying Coloniality of Being, Fanon's work on dehumanisation and depersonalisation (1967), along with Kaul's work on dispossession (2021) is utilised to explore the methods used by the state to colonize the Being.

I argue that this approach is the most appropriate choice for this research project for three reasons; first, these approaches interrogate exercise of colonial power while centring the colonised, second, they allow the space for a diverse range of research methods, third, the objectives of the decolonial school are strongly aligned with the objectives of this research project. I briefly elaborate on these three reasons in the next three sections.

3.3A Interrogating the exercise of colonial power

Postcolonial and decolonial schools of thought developed post the period of formal colonisation, and study the impact of colonialism within local setups but also larger, global contexts. The decolonial school of thought does this by providing a critique of eurocentrism and uses a diverse range of tactics (examples provided in 3.3B) to subvert dominant narratives, recognition and challenging Eurocentrism (previously

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[23] While Guha himself does not use the term 'coloniality', his work 'Dominance without Hegemony' (1997) is an exhaustive study of the British's exercise of colonial rule while adopting and appropriating indigenous traditions, hence practicing an 'ideological colonialism'.

discussed in depth in chapter 2). Within the postcolonial school of thought, specifically in the field of International Relations, postcoloniality is a "means to challenge geographical parochialism" (Anand, 2007, 1). Understanding the dominant narratives as colonial and Eurocentric enable postcolonial and decolonial schools to contextualise them within the global hegemonic narrative of capitalism.

The two schools adopt a similar practice to challenge the exercise of colonial power effectively, this is through the shift of focus on to the colonised. There are multiple ways to do this, an example is reclaiming and developing "enunciation and expression of non-Western cosmologies" (Zavala, 2016, 1) that entails the expression of different political, cultural and social memories and present realities. This would involve disrupting the existing racialised power and knowledge relations existing at political, economic and epistemic sites. Strategies for this can be as basic as including a diverse range of sources, including the traditionally labelled non-academic sources whether they be from the hitherto ignored regions (the Global South) or presented in a language other than English (decolonial scholars such as Quijano, Mignolo, Grosfugel, Anzaldua have written in their native languages and these works were translated to English later), and as complex as reimaging entire academic disciplines or public structures. The crucial aspect here is the attention to the oppressed and the deliberate attempt to take into consideration the views of the subaltern or marginalised. This attention to 'parallel voices' (Valaskakis, 1993) - the mainstream and the subaltern can enable us to centre their experience while expanding our points of query and going as far as to highlight our points of connectedness implying a pluriversal world with interconnected cosmologies.

This is also done through repositioning and situating knowledge and decolonial practices within broader geo-historical realities which is termed as embodied knowledge. The idea behind this is to acknowledge how the geo-historical situatedness influences or shapes the epistemic site. An important contribution of Mignolo has been to link "reasoning and emotioning" (Mignolo, 2015; 2013, 132) giving way to a body-politic of knowing, sensing and understanding. That implies a type of embodied knowledge that refer not only the geo-historical reality but also "things known in the bones" (Shephard, 2018) which he sources to Fanon's closing statement in *Black Skin White Masks, "*Oh my body, make me always a man who questions" (in Markmann (translation), 1986, vii). This is linked closely to his

concept of "border thinking", conceptualised by Anzaldua (Mignolo, 2000) which takes the Cartesian dualism between mind-body as ontologically separate but casually interact further by stressing the interrelationship and causation of the mind and body. So, from Descrates "I think, therefore I am" (1637) the sentence with a decolonial approach could have different versions likes 'I am, therefore I think' or 'I think to exist' or even as Mignolo states, "I am where I do" (2011) and each would be considered an equally valid approach to understanding human existence and formation of knowledge.

The decolonial school calls for a reflection and awareness of positionality of both the researcher and subject, noting its implications for production of knowledge. Postcolonial approaches also call for a "reflexive criticality" (Anand, 2007), a focus on the politics of everyday life and making bare our complicity or what Spivak refers to as "disclosure of complicity" (Spivak, 1988, 180). This is useful in opening thinking spaces without reproducing colonial hierarchies and being conscious of its own history of exclusion. It can potentially allow space for innovation in research and academia, to normalise 'other' ways of knowing. The strong stance of asserting and legitimising 'other' ways of being and knowing in the world is important for decolonial and postcolonial schools of thought as a challenge to Eurocentric norms.

3.3B Application of diverse research methods

Decolonial and postcolonial approaches do not have a fixed methodology. This allows for the utilisation of theory in a manner that centres lived experience and traces the implications of power. This is in contrast to the perception of theory as a static concept, thought to be neutral and separated from reality. This often leads to the theory being perceived as fixed, a framework to be taken and applied, denying effective engagement with theory and the development of theory that reflects upon and explains real life. Theory, in its static form, draws an invisible barrier between academic and lived experience, epistemology and ontology, knowledge and the knower (Zalewski, 2010, 343). Hence, the phrase 'it sounds good in theory, fails in practise' and accusations of theory being limited to academicians (Walsh & Mignolo, 2018, 28), academics being locked in 'ivory towers' and leading lives 'detached from reality'.

In fact, scholars working within the decolonial school of thought have even refused the label of 'theory' in contrast to 'practise' as theory is understood as something non-transient, a methodology situated in disembodied knowledge in contrast to decolonial thinking which is foregrounded in a knowledge aware of its conceptions, assumptions and coloniality (Mignolo, 2011; Mignolo and Tlostanova, 2012: 208, Walsh & Mignolo, 2018, 1). The decolonial school of thought aims to fix this through primarily epistemic re-constitution (Mignolo, 2018), which involves theorizing around a very basic question, 'How do we know what we know?'. This implies there is a need for reckoning about the purpose of theory but also the formulation of it. Questioning the epistemic origin of theory is useful in highlighting coloniality around 'knowing' (discussed later in the chapter) while at the same time opening space to create an approach that involves active reflection on theorization and its epistemology.

The decolonial school of thought challenges the researcher to intervene and target Eurocentric systems of disciplinary management of knowledge, beliefs and ideas (Mignolo, 2018, 223). It seeks to do this via praxis, a crucial element of decolonising which is a form of knowing that involves a dialogical movement between action and reflection that results in new action transcending linear perception and binary assumptions (Walsh, 2018, 49). This essentially implies that praxis involves a dialogue between action and reflection, consequently resulting in a new action. It is the 'doing' aspect with knowing and critical reflection which becomes the base for knowledge formation. In fact, for Freire there could be no humans without knowledge emanating via praxis as, "through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world and with each other" (1974, 58). It enables us to think from within decolonial movements and in relation to coloniality, which is the main target of this research complemented with an emphasis on the colonial consciousness. This understanding of praxis would categorise this research project as decolonial praxis, with a motive to trace the mutating coloniality of a postcolonial nation state.

Decolonising can involve various strategies of which research would only constitute a small part, while methods such as storytelling, renaming, and re-existing have

existed for a long time[24], which are framed within the relation between resistance and re-existence (Walsh & Mignolo, 2018, 33). Strategies to reclaim the colonised consciousness have existed before the conceptualisation of decolonial and postcolonial schools and research can be seen as an example of this with works of scholars like Linda Smith on decolonial methodologies, however, there is no one set definition of what can constitute decolonial praxis. The next section discusses examples of decolonial praxis.

Praxis encompasses diversity. There is no one method of praxis, it is the *doing* that constitutes praxis hence it is possible to locate a multitude of movements as decolonial movements. Decolonial movement is separate from the age of decolonization, referred to as the period post the second World War which saw the formation of many postcolonial nation-states (Lake, 2001, 2015), majorly located in the global South. Decoloniality in contrast, is a response to coloniality that aims to bring together both local histories and struggles while envisioning the end of modernity (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, 3-4). To challenge the universal trope of modernity, acknowledging pluriversality becomes an integral aspect of the decolonial school. Pluriversality is simply the existence of multiple cosmologies with their own histories and struggles that must be studied in their own accord, and in their relationality to different pasts and presents. Below are some examples of diverse decolonial projects which will give an insight into their methods and utilize lived experience of communities resisting states, capitalism, neoliberalism, or other hegemonic structures to move from the abstractness of the conversation on what compromises of decolonial.

Zavala (2016) outlines three strategies for active decolonisation which are counter storytelling involving the act of naming and remembering; reclaiming practices, identities and spaces; and lastly, healing, both social and collective focusing on the spiritual and psychological. Smith (1999) identifies twenty-five techniques adopted by various indigenous communities that include indigenizing, celebrating survival, reading, returning, democratizing, networking, discovering and sharing. The practice of reading, one you are engaging in right now, is a fascinating example wherein a seemingly easy, everyday activity is contextualized within an indigenous struggle

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[24] These movements can still be classified as decolonising movements even if they don't use the same language.

and transformed into an act of resisting the assimilation tactics of state-run schools based on a Western curriculum through a critical rereading of Western history along with a genealogy of colonialism (Smith, 1999).

The theoretical revolution of the Zapatistas (Mignolo, 2002) is another prominent example of decolonial praxis that not only involves challenging the Mexican state and the imposition of the North American Free Trade Agreement while demanding collective rights and resources. Further, Forbis (2015) also draws upon the international links drawn by the Zapatistas to envision their own struggle as a global resistance against capitalism, racism and dispossession of indigenous lands. The Zapatistas do not claim for their strategy to be universal or a map for all indigenous communities to follow, or a way out of settler colonial states, instead they present their way of struggle while linking it to transnational acts of solidarity and, challenging the modernity/coloniality of the nation state (Mignolo, 2018; 121). These two examples, ranging from a simple act of reading transformed through a critical take and another, based on mobilisation and organisation strategies which are anti-imperialist in nature, both decolonial in nature. This depicts the pluriversal nature of the decolonial school of thought.

True to its promise of 'pluriversality', the decolonial school of thought functions with an ambition to not be relegated to the 'theory chapter' but instead, to be engaged with continuously (Shephard, 2015, 10; Walsh & Mignolo, 2018), even daily, included in every aspect of research impacting not just the research itself but even the researcher, expanding the cosmology of decolonial thought itself. Mignolo reiterates that his ideas should not simply contribute to a new hegemonic form of thinking with universal applicability but be rooted in recognition of pluriversality (2007, 500). Hence, through this research I do not wish to replicate a study of South America in a different setting, rather I use their insights and findings to examine postcolonial colonialisms with the help of post and anti-colonial concepts.

3.3C Shared objectives

The most important common ground between the postcolonial and decolonial schools of thought is the relentless critique of all forms of colonisation, including those of knowledge and Being. To provide an example, I quickly highlight some similarities and differences between Guha's conceptualisation of power and

Quijano's CMP to provide a more comprehensive understanding of both. First, the double articulation of the power matrix is interesting because it enables us to observe the setup of structures such as hierarchy between different races or the eurocentrism of knowledge while emphasizing on how this power is exercised through studying the relation between D and S and what leads to the formation of hegemony. Mignolo in his work *Coloniality of Power and Subalternity* (2001) analyses this double articulation of the power matrix wherein both scholars (Quijano and Guha) are studying the exercise of power under interstate colonial structures, linking this to the relationship between capitalism and colonial expansion which is clearly highlighted by both articulations of the colonial matrix of power. Quijano formulated the coloniality power matrix in the context of South America, studying the coloniality of race and labour as constitutive of the modern/colonial capitalist world-systems (2000). Guha's structure of exercise of power "adequate and specific to conditions of colonialism" (1989, 61) is symbolic of the condition of 'double meaning', and as Mignolo (2000, 429) points out, is similar to Du Bois's "double consciousness", both referring to the existence of multiple paradigms or cosmologies within the colonised – of the indigenous past and a foreign future to aspire to (set by the colonisers) but it is Du Bois's conceptualisation of the existence of a double consciousness (1976) that effectively carries the weight of the colonial experience, the impact, the recognition that it is also the mind, the imagination, the conscious that is colonised. Apart from the spatial and temporal difference of the two articulations of power, both highlight the structure of Domination conceived under colonial regimes which I find particularly useful and complementary to analyse the exercise of power of India in IAJK.

Second, both scholars frame their works in a larger global perspective – Quijano analysing the establishment of a capitalist system through control of labour, knowledge, sexual, and cultural relations and Guha contextualising the universalizing tendency of capital contributing to a universal world. This implies their focus on local contexts to trace their implications for the entire world. The research is international and local at the same time. In this light, my research is limited mainly to the functioning of a specific postcolonial nation-state within the larger framework of global capitalism and the modern-nation state system. This strategy would expand upon our understanding of colonial power as exercised by a postcolonial nation state

even though, both approaches have focused less on postcolonial colonialisms in contrast to on European colonialism.

With the example of the CMP, we note the shared similarities between the two schools of thought. Even beyond the CMP, they share other end goals such as: challenging eurocentrism, attention to the marginalised voices meaning a dedicated focus to identity and shifting the purpose of theory and perspectives to collective emancipation. For this, they call for an active engagement with politics and political systems. I briefly expand on this before considering some important critiques of the CMP and postcolonial theory.

The end goal of decoloniality can be perceived with the end of coloniality/modernity. Every praxis would have to be linked with the motive of transcending the hegemonic understanding of modernity, which for the decolonial school of thought, must keep the epistemological question in centre. As Dussel opined for the necessity to develop an analytical method which aims to bring that beyond the dialectic into visibility (Alcoff, 2011), where the 'dialectic' is seen as reflection of the real world – of that which is easily visible, however, the real word is simply a reflection of hegemonic practices with the subaltern marginalized.

Dussel argues for centering what is 'beyond' the real, to look further than the mainstream and to include those who have been previously excluded due to conventional norms. The subject of concern becomes, how do we think beyond these norms. Dussel's solution for the same is 'centering', referring to the inclusion of the objective conditions for global impoverishment, the voice of the oppressed, and deconstructing the logic behind systemic dismissal of perspectives from the global south. He further calls for a 'transmodern' world based on a recognition of existing 'otherness' in the world and constructed through an 'ethics of liberation' (2002, 2006) which is based on recognizing and basing human organization and actions on normative grounds and on intersubjective agreement that enables symmetric participation. This kind of equal participation can only be based on consent, recognition of autonomy and giving equal legitimacy to all (Dussel, 2006, 501). An understanding that the current systems around us may not be the most perfect version considering oppression still exists is a valuable contribution of Dussel's work as a steppingstone for imagining new ways of being and researching, inculcating a

constant scope for improvement and inclusion while challenging the systemic reproduction of existing violence within paradigms. However, this re-imagination is often stuck in its track due to the refusal to engage in reconstructive work in epistemology (Alcoff, 2011, 69). This also explains how even after two decades since the end of the cold war, one of the most common debate still often revolves around the question of 'Capitalism v/s communism' rather than recognizing the Eurocentrism in both ideologies[25] and thinking of alternative economic or social systems.

Re-imagining is encouraged through an epistemology that seeks to answer the question of 'How to think about your being?' rather than 'What is being?'. Alcoff further stresses on decoloniality as a 'political epistemology' (2011, 70) drawing on the work of feminist epistemological theorists for whom the personal is political (Enloe, 1990) and inspired by the political urgency of having a larger and more comprehensive understanding of the world that eurocentrism has failed to provide. Political epistemology as understood within the decolonial school of thought implies a liberatory language with new articulations of identities and knowledges, with more inclusive historical and contextual reflexivity (Alcoff, 2011). Hence, the decolonial school of thought not only seeks to transcend modernity/coloniality but also reimagines new ways of being – which brings us to the question of identity and if it is an important factor.

Identity has long been a source of contention however postcolonial theorists have warned against ignoring identity, directly impacted by colonialism. In chapter 2, we noted how colonialism created new identities while silencing others, influenced both the identities of the coloniser and the colonised. A focus on identity is crucial because it encourages individuals to overcome "passivity through a rearticulated self-image and united demands" (Alcoff, 2011). As Mohanty asserts, identities help in mapping the social world and provide a historical and social link for understanding our own positioning (1989) crucial to decoloniality. Since this section is devoted to highlighting the objectives of decolonial praxis, this is not the space for an extended discussion on the politics of identity, however, in this research project, identity will

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[25] There is critique of both these ideologies within various schools such as marxist, postmodernist, posthumanist however I am emphasizing on the failure of theorists to effectively challenge the hegemonic ideologies with new counter theories or ideologies.

play a role in representing the structures of colonialism and their impact on the individual and societal level, while also shedding light on the formation of multiple identities – postcolonial, postcolonial colonisers and the colonised 'citizen' in contrast to the Eurocentric 'colonised subject'.

Due to the focus on critiquing existing power structures and centring the marginalised, it becomes apparent that they have political aims, primarily that of emancipation of the oppressed. Research, then becomes a tool, one that involves thinking *with* people rather than about them, making the researcher visible while avoiding simplification and oversubjectification of indigeneity which is seen as a 'decolonial danger' (Walsh & Mignolo, 2018). To avoid this, this thesis focuses on the Indian state and the strategies used by it (both officially and unofficially) in IAJK rather than analysing the people of the region or their movements or instructing how to behave under Indian rule. Furthermore, decoloniality aims for epistemic change, also seen as 'liberation of knowledge' (Mignolo, 2018, 147), which refers to not only changing the terms of the conversation but rather to change the conversation itself, which this project hopes to contribute to.

This project seeks to de-link the postcolonial nation-states from existing narratives of assumed anti-colonialism and instead study how the Indian state continues to embody and replicate the same colonial practices it had been subjected to. While Quijano's CMP sheds light on the functioning of coloniality, it is crucial to examine specific critiques of CMP and general concerns regarding postcolonial and decolonial approaches to overcome the shortcomings. Section 3.4 addresses these critiques followed by a short review of how decolonial perspective has been employed in studying the Indian nation to draw a distinction with this project.

3.4 Critiques of Decolonial and postcolonial schools

This section provides a critique of the CMP, often provided by decolonial feminist scholars and indigenous scholars. The latter half of this section reflects on some general concerns around decolonial and postcolonial approaches to be able to overcome them.

The CMP provides crucial insights into the working of colonial structures and their legacies while using coloniality as an analytic tool. Quijano focused extensively on the construction of race, however as Maria Lugones work on Coloniality of Gender

(2008) reminds us, we need to take an intersectional approach to decolonising, considering not just race but race/class/sexuality/gender. In this thesis, coloniality of gender is not studied as a separate concept but rather it studies the gendered impact of the Indian state in its exercise of colonial power, such as the feminisation of national territory and the region of IAJK which needs to be protected from the 'violent', 'backward', 'Muslim', 'terrorists'.[26]

Another aspect that is completely missing in work utilising the CMP is that of caste. Caste simply refers to social hierarchical division determined by birth, conceived in the Manusmriti, now considered to be a central text on Hinduism. While understandable in keeping with the spatial location of the conceptualisation of the CMP, caste cannot be ignored in any South Asian context. Even though caste is a predominantly Hindu concept, it has percolated into other regions/communities, including IAJK despite being a majority Muslim region.[27] Reflective of the fluidity of caste, it should be studied within the CMP as a dominant narrative allowing for the exploitation of lower castes and outcastes. Caste has been used by the upper castes (Brahmans) to consolidate knowledge and consequently power, and later by the British colonial system to entrench divisions. The postcolonial elites who, even today are mostly upper caste, cement their dominance in governance, political, media, and education structures.

Cognisance of caste is crucial into employing CMP to the postcolonial nation-state of India as it makes visibilise the use of a dominant pre-existing hierarchy (caste) to cement colonial hierarchies. Paying attention to caste enables us to understand how the hegemonic narrative of Indian history and the formulation of the modern-nation state is majorly upper caste and ignores the lived reality of the majority population of the country as evidenced in Chapter 5. Within IAJK, the Hindu rulers have been upper-castes and so have been the Hindu minority population of the region, i.e., Kashmiri Pandits and this caste status has defined their historical access to education and state resources. Their upper-caste privilege places them in a superior position to Kashmiri Muslims as the State sees Kashmiri Pandits as the ideal 'Kashmiri Indian' in contrast to the 'Pakistani Kashmiri terrorist' who is Muslim. This privilege has deep-rooted implications for the existence and relative preference of the state for

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[26] This analysis builds on existing work done by Kaul (2010).
[27] For more on caste bias in Kashmir, please see Bhat (2017).

Kashmiri Pandits, granting them patronage in keeping with traditions from the Dogra rulers. It does not protect Kashmiri Pandits from the state's colonial moves, this is only to point out the state's preference for them as they are upper-caste Hindus which further entrenches division between Kashmiri Pandits and Kashmiri Muslims. Hence, I adopt an anti-caste approach in this research which would require the visibilisation of caste hierarchies and their role in the Indian nation, centring anti-casteist historiographies and critiquing the active silence or dismissal about caste in dominant Indian narratives. It is important to point out that my positionality as an upper-caste implies this approach remains open for critique especially from anti-caste scholars and experts.

Apart from these two shortcomings, the lack of discussion on 'power' and 'being' have already been discussed in section 3.2A and 3.2C. The use of postcolonial and anti-colonial literature has been able to address them efficiently. The decolonial perspective has also been subjected to critique such as the deliberate ignoring/erasure of feminist scholars, especially women of colour (Cusicanqui, 2012), replicating colonial hierarchies (Ortega, 2017) and potential for appropriation of decolonial theory by right-wing forces due to the supposed focus on indigeneity. I briefly expand upon these and how they are tackled within my project.

The erasure of women and minoritised genders, specifically of colour, from the decolonial school of thought, is detrimental to the decolonial project that seeks to challenge dominant traditions and open up spaces of thinking. Cusicanqui notes the dominance of men who are often based in Western institutions and publish in English in the field and holds scholars like Mignolo responsible for invisibilising the work of Chicana scholars such as Gloria Anzaldua whose concept of "border thinking" is fundamental to his own theorizing (2012, 102-104). Mendoza reiterates how feminist theory is reduced to being perceived as an inspiration for other theories but failed to achieve recognition as a serious theory (Mendoza, 2016, 103; Lugones, 2010). She further elaborates those theories by women of colour are 'recolonised' as they are often whitewashed or presented as devoid of any critical impetus (Ibid).

Related to this, Ortega notes how this "gatekeeping" results in the replication of colonial hierarchies within the decolonial school (2017). She further asserts that coloniality of power is ever-present in decolonial imaginaries (Ibid, 509) where in

certain scholars are ignored, or romanticising the lives of those discussed in our work, or assuming transparency about people we share emancipatory ideas and hopes with. I address coloniality of my research by the deliberate privileging of minoritised voices and visibilising those who have been hitherto ignored by the state-centric international system. I move away from state-centric research to one that interrogates and critiques state power while amplifying the marginalised, in this case, the Kashmiri voice. I consider my position, of being an 'Indian' and restrict my analysis to the state and critiquing dominant Indian narratives, which are targeted as the source of colonial power. Within the CMP and its reproduction by the colonial state, interrogating and challenging the colonial state is necessary from all positionalities to which this research seeks to contribute to.

Finally, the language of decolonising and the decolonial school of thought has sometimes been co-opted by neoliberal and right-wing projects. In the case of India, the majoritarian Hindu right-wing government often invokes decolonial language to justify their glorification of a 'Golden Hindu age' despite a lack of evidence for the same.[28] This glorification is often based on a mistaken reading of decolonial theory to falsely espouse a return to indigeneity, which Walsh (2018) refers to as "decolonial dangers". Though Mignolo & Walsh (2018) reiterate that any return to past traditions must be approached critically and with awareness of its role in the CMP, Gopal (2021) provides an effective method to not fall into this trap. Though her work is based primarily in a university setting and relates to the decolonising University movement, it is a useful re-focus on the requisite material conditions for any kind of decolonising to take place. Her contribution is the shift in focus to anti-colonialists as "Anticolonialism harnesses oppositional and interrogative energies, not only enabling contestations and challenges but also the imagining and elaboration of alternatives that are not 'returns' to prior states" (Ibid). I found these insights specifically helpful for studying the coloniality of 'Being' with concepts supplemented by Fanon. Section 3.5 explains the application of decolonial and postcolonial schools of thought and provides a summary of the research structure.

3.5 Application and Research structure

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[28] For the latest example of this, please see Deepak (2021).

Through my research, I argue that the Indian state exercises a colonial form of power over the territory and peoples of IAJK while analysing their relations based on three paradigms: the establishment of *Hierarchy,* the production of *Knowledge,* and the subsuming of identities for an 'Indian' *totality.* To do this, I use a textual analysis with a decolonial and postcolonial framework which I explain below.

Textual analysis is an interpretive methodology focused on understanding the text – the written along with the language, symbols, and pictures present in text to gain information about how people understand life and communicate it (Allen, 2017, 1754). This interpretation is conducted with a theoretical framework that provides the understanding for how a text connects to the social, political, economic, or other large social structures in which it exists. The data such generated can be acquired from documents, films, newspapers, social media offering a large range of analytical field. This proves indispensable in this thesis as the sources range from primary sources such as archival articles, state acts & laws, travel writings, historiography.

Frey et al (1992) note that textual analysis serves three purposes: researcher ascribes meaning to the text, understands the influence of variables outside the text, and evaluate the text critically. While these purposes may not be comprehensive, especially in different disciplinary contexts, they offer a pathway to conduct textual analysis. Textual analysis, based on a theoretical paradigm, helps in overcoming the false objective stance of positivism, laying bare the positionality of the researcher (Deetz, 1977). This ties in neatly with the objectives of a decolonial and postcolonial approach that seeks to break the binary between the researcher and the subject which I describe below.

To look at the establishment of the hierarchy, treaties between different agents and the rulers of Kashmir such as the Treaty of Amritsar, Instrument of Accession will be analysed to highlight the exercise of power through Domination of peoples of IAJK. Here, the focus is on documents produced by the state, both the British colonial state and postcolonial Indian state to study the creation of political and social hierarchies. These treaties entail buying/selling/exchange of land, which is reflective of colonial ideas, based on the principles of the liberal political economy based on use-value of land – and valuing the territory itself more than the people. Such arrangements while highlighting the asymmetry of power between the treaty signatories and the people

whose fates were being signed on, also bring forth how a certain hierarchy is established between Kashmiris and different actors, which reduces the Kashmiris to be the 'voiceless Kashmiri', whose consent is never sought. This section focuses political control that establishes social and political hierarchies, further the role of the colonial era laws like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) and Public Safety Act (PSA) are also analysed, in order to give a comprehensive understanding of the establishment and reproduction of political and social hierarchies between India and IAJK.

Due to Kashmir's geographical location and its involvement in the Silk Route, the region has witnessed a production of knowledge on IAJK carried out under the Mughals, French and British travellers, and the Indian state in contemporary times. This has led to a marginalisation of the knowledge produced by the inhabitants themselves. This epistemic violence of erasure and control over knowledge has been conducted over time, of which the period of Indian rule is of interest to my research. The research looks at formal sources of knowledge within present day IAJK focusing on the structural, epistemic and moral aspects of knowledge production in the region. India has a complex federal structure wherein Education was considered a concurrent subject, however, there have been ongoing efforts to unify the education system in the country, also reflected in the latest National Education Policy 2020. As the focus on this research is to understand the Indian state's exercise of power, the research limits itself to formal and direct sources of knowledge production – school textbooks. The research analyses textbooks of the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), the mainstream texts for schools in IAJK and their construct of the Indian nation and that of the region and its peoples. Additionally, this is complimented by a critical reading of the reports and other documents published by prominent thinktanks in India, many of whom have government funding such as Observer Research Foundation (ORF) to draw out the coloniality of knowledge as observed in these texts. This takes note of the overall narrative the state seeks to push and normalise in its favour.

The final aspect of the colonial power matrix, coloniality of being, focuses on identity and cultural systems. There is an explicit focus on the appropriation of the Kashmiri identity by the Indian state and establishing the disposability of the Kashmiri Muslim body depicting coloniality of being. I do this by studying the

strategies used to colonise the mind of beings, that of dehumanisation and depersonalisation (Fanon, 1967), and dispossession (Anand, 2019; Kaul, 2021). I study this by locating the acts of enforced disappearances, torture, and sexual violence as Indian state's moves to dehumanise the Kashmiri individual. This is based on a reading of existing reports and studies produced by civil society organisations like Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP) and international human rights organisations such as the United Nations (UN). There is a deliberate attempt here to include sources that centre the people of the region than the state narrative in keeping with the decolonial school of thought that seeks to problematise the hegemonic narrative in the international state system. Additionally, I supplement this with contemporary evidence found post the revocation of the region's status of limited autonomy within the Indian Constitution.

Next, I conduct a textual analysis of the recently introduced land and industrial developmental laws within a context of dispossessing the residents of IAJK of their resources. Finally, I study the Indian state's New Media Policy 2021-30 (Govt of J&K, 2020) for the region, their ramped up extensive surveillance measures, and curbs on freedom of speech and expression as measures to control all forms of expression by the peoples of IAJK. Unsuitable expression, as noted in the examples is not only dealt with severely by the state but is used to create fear amongst others, in the hope of politically assimilating the Kashmiri Muslim being.

The focus in my research is on the exercise of colonial power by the Indian state on Kashmiris in various forms categorized within Quijano's power matrix. This research aims to make visible the structures of asymmetries of power between India and IAJK by challenging the dominant narratives and moving away from a modern state-centric approach. The importance of this is two-fold, firstly, it calls for reclamation and visibilisation of history and secondly, challenges the coloniality of the postcolonial nation-state opening an avenue for the potential decolonisation of the Indian state itself wherein the focus is not to drive the British out as it was during the Freedom movement but to free the state from a Eurocentric, imperialistic understanding, and vision of the modern state system itself.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter provides the theoretical framework for this research. The chapter begins by detailing Quijano's CMP and engaging in a lengthy discussion exploring the different dimensions, namely, Coloniality of Power, Coloniality of Knowledge and Coloniality of Being. Section 3.3 makes explains the rationale behind adopting a collaborative decolonial and postcolonial school of thought. It reflects on the limitations of theory as a static concept. As Gordon (2011, 97) states,

> [A]ny presumed method, especially from a subject living within a colonised framework, could generate continued colonization. To evaluate method, the best 'method' is the suspension of methodology. This paradox leads to a demand for radical anti-colonial critique. But for such a reflection to be radical, it must also make even logic itself suspect.

Through an active engagement with the decolonial analytic tool of coloniality, complimented by the postcolonial and anti-colonial schools of thought, the chapter provides a decolonial framework in order to evaluate state behaviour, its nature and impact - to study coloniality in a postcolonial nation state.

The other reasons for working with this approach include their focus on interrogating colonial power and the space to devise innovative strategies to critique coloniality. Section 3.3B provides examples of different decolonial strategies and section 3.3C focused on the shared objectives of decolonial and postcolonial schools, many of which such as challenging eurocentrism are relevant to this project. The next section provided a critique of the CMP and of the above-mentioned perspectives, largely focusing on the absence of a focus on gender and caste. The emancipatory potential of decolonial school of thought is also brought into question and methods to address 'decolonial dangers' are highlighted.

The last section provided a layout of what is to be expected in the next chapters while highlighting some of the primary sources for this research product. In conclusion, this project seeks to study the relationality in which India and IAJK (and by extension, its peoples) find themselves, that is reflective of a legacy of their colonial past while existing in a world marked by Eurocentric conceptions of what it means to be a successful nation-state – in terms of the mode of control exercised over populations and the territories they inhabit. Kaul's work on the "moral wound of colonialism" (2020) elaborates on how the non-Western world is only considered successful if it follows the colonial lines of the historically colonial West but at the

same time, the non-West subscribes to a "virtuous inability to be a coloniser because of having been previously colonised." Hence, what we observe is again a situation where the formerly colonised are actively seeking to 'be' like their coloniser but at the same time refuse to be a coloniser while performing colonial actions due to their colonial victimhood. This implies the postcolonial nation-state is bound to a state of constantly seeking validation but also refusing to recognise its own colonial impulses at the same time. These colonial impulses have historical baggage – hence the term coloniality becomes more apt here. It is precisely this relationality reflected in coloniality – of power, knowledge and being that this research seeks to interrogate. This is done by bringing into conversation both decolonial and postcolonial schools for a robust critique of the postcolonial nation-state's exercise of colonial power.

This enables us to see the postcolonial nation project to be a failed project as long as it centres the dominant narrative of its colonial experience and justifies its modern colonialisms, or as it falls into the trap of recovering glorified indigeneity in the name of decolonising. Its commitment to territoriality over the lives of real people – seen as its subjects only reinforces the colonial matrix of power and justifies its colonialism in the name of nationalism. Therefore, we need postcolonial and decolonial methods to interrogate these desires of the postcolonial nation state centred around the works of anti-colonial scholars allowing us to critique the coloniality of a postcolonial nation-state while centring the most regularly and brutally oppressed subjects.

Chapter: 4 Coloniality of Power – Establishing Dominance

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the first aspect of the colonial matrix – the creation of hierarchy to legitimise the exercise of power in IAJK. To deconstruct this hierarchy, I study the exercise of power, first through the British India colonial state and later, the postcolonial Indian state. As noted in section 4.2A, I analyse power based on Guha's conceptualisation of power (1989) as a relationality between the dominance of the state and Subordination of the peoples of IAJK. This chapter focuses on how the colonial and postcolonial states stablished this dominance in the region.

Section 4.2 studies the idiom of Domination wherein I argue that 'dominance' in IAJK is established by the colonial British Indian state through the Treaty of Amritsar (1846) and by the postcolonial Indian state through the Instrument of Accession (IOA) (1947), Armed Forces Special Powers Act (1990), Operation Sadbhavna (goodwill) and the J&K Reorganisation Bill (2019). Such arrangements while highlighting the asymmetry of power between the treaty signatories and the people whose fates were being signed on, also bring forth how a certain hierarchy is established between Kashmiris and different actors, which reduce the Kashmiris to be the 'voiceless Kashmiri', whose consent has never been sought. [29] Further the role of the media in supporting the established hierarchy are also briefly analysed to give a comprehensive understanding of the establishment and reproduction of political and social hierarchies between India and IAJK.

The concluding section reflects on the nature of power as exercised by the Indian state, contrasting it with the British Indian state and accentuating the established hierarchies.

4.2 Domination in IAJK

Domination is carried out through practices of Coercion and Persuasion (Guha, 1989). Under colonial rule, Coercion outweighs Persuasion, meaning there can be no hegemony hence the dominance is established based on Coercion. Guha notes that in the case of British Rule in India, dominance was established through the idioms of

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[29] The method employed in this Chapter is motivated by Anand's work (2007) focusing on Tibetans and the narratives constructed by the Chinese State to justify its colonization of Tibetans.

"Order, Improvement, Obedience, Rightful Dissent" (Guha, 1989, 60). The British used these notions to assert their "contemporary and liberal" values as opposed to the existing pre-colonial feudal culture and legitimise their own rule. In this section, I critically analyse treaties and official documents produced by the British Indian and the Indian state, along with travel writings and media publications, to explain the functioning of dominance in this region – marking the hierarchies created and their implications. As mentioned in Section 3.4 the analysis here is limited to documents produced by the state as the motive is to elucidate the state's Domination in the region and trace the change in its nature from indirect control to colonial Domination with a clear hierarchy of the primacy of the state over the peoples of IAJK.

4.2A Treaty of Amritsar – Selling of a territory with its Population and Politics of Exoticisation

The treaty was signed after the first Anglo-Sikh War that was fought between the British East India Company and *Maharaja* Ranjit Singh of the Sikh empire. The Sikh lost and the British decided to extort a war indemnity charge from the Sikh empire with complete knowledge that the Sikhs would be unable to pay such a charge, especially after their defeat, forcing them to offer the empire's territory as war indemnity which included the region of present-day IAJK, then sold to *Raja* Gulab Singh of Jammu for a meagre sum of 75 Lakhs of rupees or *nanakshahis* (the Sikh empire's currency) or roughly £87,500 in today's currency. In addition, Gulab Singh was to pay an annual tribute to the British that consisted of

> one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female) and three pairs of Kashmiri shawls" (Treaty of Amritsar, Article X, 1846 from Aitchison, 1929-33, 21-22).

This is direct Domination of the British on the Sikh empire, coercing them to pay a war indemnity while indirectly expanding their empire through Coercion of the Sikhs and Collaboration with the Dogra rule. It is in this scenario that Gulab Singh took over, established the Dogra empire in J&K, under the suzerainty of the British Indian Empire.

The treaty was critiqued by people in the valley of Kashmir such as the poet Mohammad Iqbal (1932) who wrote,

> they have sold farmer and cornfield, river and garden, they have sold a
> people, and at a price how cheap

The treaty was orchestrated by the British Indian empire with their self-interest of effectively weakening and consequently ending the Sikh empire (Bamzai, 1994, 667), and this goes on to depict the lack of attachment on part of Gulab Singh to Kashmir or its people. This distance clearly marks the fact that he was not a ruler from the people, marking a clear distinction between the coloniser and the colonised. The treaty had absolutely no mention of internal administration except for the fact it will be under charge of the Dogra ruler. This is not only reflective of complete disregard for the Kashmiri population but also signifies the British system of indirect rule wherein they would collaborate with a local ruler to expand their regime without interfering in a state's internal affairs in return for tax. This was an effective technique to lay off any responsibility for any of the problems without any loss in East India Company and later British Empire's profit. Unsurprisingly, there was no discussion on the rights of people and effectively made people strangers in their own homeland (Khaja, 2016, 343). Gulab Singh (1792-1857), in his regime essentially created a Hindu ruling class in continuation of the preferred treatments of Kashmiri pandits by the Mughal and Afghan rules (Ahmad, 2017; Rai, 2018). During the Dogra regime, this happened through state appointments and land grants, and the Muslim majority (almost 90% of the population) was reduced to a 'defacto serf' status with no access to education, land ownership, employment within state services, subject to heavy taxation and forced labour (Mathur, 2014, 6). It is during this period that the term 'Zulum Parast' appears as an adjective for Kashmiris, translating to 'Worshipper of Tyranny' due to the lack of resistance on part of Kashmiris against these repeated attacks on their lives (Lawrence, 1895, 2).

Another hierarchy is formed here – amongst the colonised population through the colonial practice of 'divide and rule'. The social and economic progress of the Hindu minority while denying the same opportunities to the Muslim majority relegated Kashmiri Muslims to social, economic, and political marginalisation which continues to impact the dynamics of the region until today. This represents Guha's concept of exercise of colonial power through the Domination of one with the Subordination of other (1997, 20) through consent and Coercion of Kashmiri Hindus to legitimize Domination of Kashmiri Muslims. This does not mean that there wouldn't have been

any Kashmiri Hindus in positions of power who would have sided and indeed fought for rights of Kashmiri Muslims or a few privileged Muslims who'd aide with the rulers, however I am bringing forth the implications of this strategy for the social fabric of IAJK, where communities have been pitted against and politically mobilized against each other with a strong focus on disrupting any efforts to bridge this difference.

Unsurprisingly, few within the empire were against the Treaty such as Robert Thorpe who heavily criticised the treaty for being against the people of Kashmir and against every religious or political belief the British empire was supposed to display (Thorpe, 1870). Even the ones who were against the sale deed based their critique on an orientalist opinion where they believed British rule would have been better than a native prince for Kashmir. This is reflected within the writings of Torrens (1862), "when after so many vicissitudes of slavery in a foreign yoke, the hand of a powerful, just and a merciful government acquired the territory by force of arms in a fair fight and it seemed that at last, its condition was about to be ameliorated by its old ill luck stuck by it still." lamenting the loss of territory for the British empire. Similar attitude is reflected in the writings of F E Younghusband and Wakefield who saw the treaty as a mark of British commercialisation and a territory lost (Wakefield, 1879, 86). In fact, in a one-page coverage on Kashmir as a holiday destination in the *New York Times,* the treaty is critiqued because "the finest summer resort in India is not British territory" (Tinckom-Fernandez, 1925, 125).

Indeed, Wakefield brings forth a rather interesting case of a British traveller to Kashmir for multiple reasons – the highly detailed geographic landscape descriptions, architectural detail, historical background, critique of British commercialisation and the less focused upon aspect which is my argument here - the construction of Kashmir as a desirable paradise – when emptied of its inhabitants. In the next few lines, I argue how his book on Kashmir, *The Happy Valley: Sketches of Kashmir and the Kashmiris* (1879), an obvious part of the British colonial discourse (Aslam, 2017) and a valuable source available from this time, contribute to this formation of the idea of Kashmir being an idyllic, scenic place that could be truly heavenly, or supreme, or in Wakefield's word's "with natural characteristics most throughoutly European" (65) and fit enough to be colonised by the British or any other European power (85). Regardless the book is instrumental for three main

reasons: firstly, the sheer wealth of geographic detail provided acts as a historical lens into Jammu & Kashmir's landscape that goes beyond the immediate capital, Srinagar. This is in keeping with colonial texts of the time where in there was more focus on the landscape rather than the people (Aslam, 2017, 143), to scout scope for expansion and discovery, where the natives were seen as exterminable. His praise of servants in Kashmir and their willingness to serve European travellers is a part of this (29). Secondly, his critique of the Treaty of Amritsar has been heavily quoted by scholars to argue their case (as I do above as well) (Mathur, 2014) and thirdly, he establishes Kashmir as a separate entity, which shares commonalities with India but for all purposes is its own country with all aspects of self-sufficiency including a natural border to protect the inhabitants against invasions. Wakefield even dedicates his work to his wife with

> To, My dear Companion, Of my Wanderings, Both in India and Kashmir... (10)

Demarcating between the two regions, he later says the Kashmir valley in "appearance and a people are totally distinct" (28) calling it "the Kashmir Raj" (41). The colonial occident overtones cannot be overlooked in his descriptions of the landscape which as Aslam points out as 'mapping for the colonisers' (2017, 144) essentially means exploring the land for its potential to be colonised. The colonial observation and imagination of Wakefield is clearly seen while advocating for British rule as one which would confer the 'most benefits' (84) on the Valley. As further evidence, he also provides instances of mis governance on part of the Native[30] ruler (130) while belittling their civilisation and progress (108), in a classic paternalistic attitude of 'White Man's Burden' adopted by colonisers. However, the distinction between India and Kashmir Raj can be useful to challenge the dominant Indian mainstream narrative of 'Kashmir is (and has always been) an integral part of India'.

Furthermore, what is often ignored is the treatment of the inhabitants of the Valley. Beginning right from the title of the book, '*The Happy Valley: Sketches of Kashmir and Kashmiris*', one might expect a travelogue based on the authors experience in the Valley, of which the inhabitants would be an intrinsic aspect. It is not so. In fact,

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[30] For Wakefield, any non-European is classified as 'Native' disregarding their relationship to the immediate land they may be based upon.

there is hardly any mention of 'Happy natives' in the text. Quite to the contrary, Wakefield's disdain for the locals is clearly visible when as he refers to the people in Srinagar as "veritable the dirtiest of the dirty" (93), and refers to their character as having some good qualities but "outnumbered by their failures" (98), which includes being liars, cowards, child-ish, undependendable, selfish, ignorant and excessively greedy (Ibid). He considers them incapable of having any futuristic thinking or aspirations and sees their inventions such as the *kangri,* a portable pot filled with lighted charcoal used to keep the body warm, as "primitive" (130). This reading reflects a very dehistoricised understanding of the local population who according to him have some good qualities – such as the beauty of Kashmiri women, linguist skills (despite their being a certain "harshness" in their native language (107), papier mache and shawl making skills, and their willingness to act as "servants to Englishmen". However, he is not in favour of the local inhabitants, going so far as to say,

"... (the locals) are far from being in keeping with their poetic surroundings" (101).

This reduction of the local populace to be useful only as servants or shawl-makers dehumanises the entire population. His repeated comparisons of the scenery being 'European' naturally, while labelling the native population as out of place in their own land contributes to the idea of the Kashmiri who once conquered (reduced to serfdom or as colonial strategies go – killed), can uplift Kashmir to European standards. He also makes a distinction between different communities existing in Kashmir, such as the Dogras who formed the ruling class, Gilgitis who were known for their warrior skills, Kashmiri Hindus who are represented in a more favourable light than Kashmiri Muslims with whom there is little philosophical, historical, or literary engagement. They are part of the narrative where their religion is seen as violent and imposing – the reason given by Wakefield for the presence of more mosques than temples, ignoring the possibility of a greater number of mosques due to the rule of Muslim rulers immediately preceding the Dogra and Sikh regimes. It is a convenient fit for the natives being "too religious" (130) and hence lacking critical thought and evading responsibility in God's name. While this may be in contradiction to the 'cowardly' characteristic, it nevertheless suits the colonial narrative of the native being uncivilised, dirty, cunning, greedy, artistic without direction, in a place of abundance – of water, land, minerals but unable to make use

of this due to their lack of civilisation which could only be achieved through European rule.

Furthermore, it is the construction of Kashmir as 'almost European', 'the promised land', 'paradise' the local Kashmiri is dehumanised and made expendable in the path to conquer Kashmir. This is reflective of the 'desire' to conquer and control Kashmir, with no regard for the natives, easily discernible in the first treaty and soon to become a trope that has been adopted by future colonial regimes (Contemporary cases of the same are discussed in chapter 5). In fact, this above section contributes to Kabir (2009, 96-97) study of Wakefield's work as representing Kashmir as tied with another aspect – the development of a tourism industry in the region, a "by-product of the power struggle between the British and the Dogra rulers that rearticulated Kashmir as "the Happy Valley" and consolidated its framing as the territory of desire" (96). These territorial desires are also marked by a desire to differentiate between the people of the state from the rest of the directly-ruled British Indian regions to make a case for why the region should be directly under British rule by stating the 'helplessness' of the people from a land considered paradise to be brought under colonial control.

It is important to note the presence of another very informative source from this period by Dr Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir* (1895) which promises to focus on the people of the valley as much as the flora and fauna. This text is worthy of our attention since it takes a more complex approach to the people of Kashmir based on the author's observations, which he claims might be susceptible to bias due to the pity they invoke in him (273), historical texts and state records. He acknowledged the role history played in the formation of a locals' character and there are glimpses of close engagement with the local population, when he writes, "...impacts the character of the people and there is a strong and hereditary disbelief in the permanence of institutions and in the benevolence of rulers" (203), noting how centuries of misgovernance and disregard for the population by their rulers is the reason behind resistance to the state. Yet, this doesn't stop him from repeatedly portraying them as desperate, dirty, sorry figures who though unique and self-sufficient in nature were slow on the path to progress, towards a European society. While he showers praise on them for their craftsmanship or potential to serve Europeans, he reaffirmed the notion that they are docile (10) people who have been

over-governed, subjected to harsh physical realities (he talks extensively about the impact of natural calamities such as flood and earthquakes and man-made famines on the population), are lazy and helpless (281), establishing the oriental trope of the 'native in need for civilisation'. Kabir (2009) notes how Lawrence's work contributes to the construction of a Kashmir antiquity and reclamation of the Valley for Shaivite Hindusim (90), which has since then contributed to the Indian state's desire for a Hindu history of a region to fit into its own nationalistic upper-caste Hindu image as observed through the analysis of school textbooks in Chapter 5.

International media played an immense role in the construction of the 'paradise' Kashmir emptied of its people. The New York Times Archives dating back to the 1860s provides impressive coverage of the same where the focus is on the beauty of the valley and is compared to the Alps (Blackwood's Magazines, 1875), and how welcoming it is for Europeans not only because of its scenic beauty but also the treatment by the state – as this article notes that "British Residency and the bungalows – provided free of charge for Europeans" (Blackwood's Magazines, 1875a). One of the first references to the people of Kashmir is focused, unsurprisingly on the women of Kashmir, who are dismissed as "hideous". The conversation in no way moves beyond the physical appearance of the people though goes to a long extent to establish the beauty of the valley (Blackwood's Magazines, 1875b). Throughout the 1890s there is overwhelming evidence of travelogues on Kashmir such as *On The Roof of the World, The Travels and Adventures of an Englishman: Where the Three Empires Meet (*Knight, 1893), articles in the Cornhill Magazine (1985), and *In and Beyond the Himalayas: A record of sport and travel in the Abode of Snow* (Stone, 1897). Post-1900, along with continued European travelogues, there is an increase in the reportage of political and social events in India though these mostly focused on the horrors of the plague, British rule, and prosperity of British India. An interesting entry here is a book review carried in the *New York Times* by Fredrick O'Brien of *In the Valley of Kashmir* by C. T. Biscoe (1922), a British missionary who set up the oldest private school in Srinagar (that exists till today). This is written in a similar orientalist trope where the Kashmiri is reduced to being 'helpless' 'cowardly' and 'dirty'. Despite this continuous trend of dehumanising Kashmiris, here we find evidence of agency of Kashmiris as expressed in the sentence almost at the end of the review,

> "Also, despite the sincerity and cocksureness of the author, the observant reader who notes such incidents as those of the human beasts of burden and the Cambridge man's fistcuffs will understand further why these inferior people do not love their conquerors, and perhaps why in India[31], today is preached revolution" (O'Brien, 1922, 43)

There is an attempt to not observe the 'inferior people' and note their customs and costumes, rather to understand their actions as being a result of British rule. This marks the initial period of increasing coverage of political unrest within the empire as compared to travel writings. However, the usage of 'inferior' already assumes the lack of capability to actually challenge the said rule, again reducing the peoples of IAJK to mere 'natives'.

In a surprising turn, coverage on the region in the late 1920s is more interested in any changes in Kashmir and India which may be perceived as "modernising". These trends are celebrated and widely discussed and convey the sense of superiority of the modern world as defined by the Anglo-European empires. This narrative of the linear historical development of societies that culminates in modernisation post-imperial rule is visibly defined. There is talk of the new ruler of Kashmir, Hari Singh being titled the "Modern Ruler in the Vale of Kashmir" (Cowling, 1927), whose belief in equality amongst his Hindu-Muslim subjects, installation of electric power, and welcoming attitude towards foreigners are seen as signs of a modern regime. Seeing the changes, the author even goes to the extent of granting equal status to Kashmiris as he ends his full-page coverage on the ruler of Kashmir with the following:

> "In the far corners, belies rooted in conservative tradition still linger. But good news flies fast. All men are equal – in time even the goatherd and the grizzly mountaineer – may be quickened with the words, music to those ridden by burdens of caste. Swift are the changes where liberality of thought and tolerance prevail" (8)

Here we see the transformation of the Kashmiri native as an 'equal man'– almost. Kashmiri women (apart from royalty) are not a part of the conversation as they are only discussed in terms of their beauty amongst the Anglo-American media. However, the transition of an uncivilised person riddled by caste[32] – raises questions

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[31] To be read as British India, as the kingdom of J&K was under indirect British rule. Here, we do see Kashmir being imagined as part of the larger entity as a British colony witnessing anti-British churning.

[32] The caste system was the segmentation of society in Hindu communities into different groups whose membership was determined by birth and fixed for life. The caste system consists of *varnas* and *jatis*. The *varnas* originated in Vedic society, and the Vedas divide Hindus into four main

about the functioning of caste within the majority Muslim community as caste itself would be unique to Hinduism through the structures set up by the caste system have managed to infiltrate and pervade communities despite religious and national borders. Yet, what we see here is a complete abandonment of any responsibility on the Empire as it's noted that the reason for the people to be backward – is caste – that stems within the region and it is through the influence of years of enlightened imperial rule that people are now finally, giving up their beliefs in caste, superstition, and indigenous religious to finally be equal men.

With the first Treaty establishing the state frontiers, the population is completely disregarded and the hierarchy between the British state and the peoples of IAJK is clearly established through Coercion of the Dogra ruler. Furthermore, there are structural changes to implement the colonial strategy of 'divide and rule' to create hierarchy within the population itself which is done by favouring the Kashmiri Hindus. We also note the discourse being formed at the time which alluded Kashmir as a backward 'paradise', if emptied out of its inhabitants. The next few paragraphs give a brief background to the next major treaty that marked the accession of the erstwhile state of J&K to India.

4.2B Instrument of Accession (1947) – Provisional Agreement, Permanent Impact

Throughout 1947 the various regions of the erstwhile state were repeatedly attacked, not only by Pakistani incursions, but also Indian ones including groups consisting of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) activists and Akalis, killing Muslims in the Jammu region (Talbot, 1998, 116). This was followed by the invasion by tribal communities from Pakistan (Snedden, 2013). In the background, the Government of India (GOI) took the matter was taken to the Indian Defence Committee headed by Mountbatten rather than the (GOI) itself. Military preparations were made to defend not only Kashmir but also Punjab and even Delhi being feared under threat of invasion from armed tribesmen, which was also supported by one-third of the Muslim members of the J&K State Police Forces (Lamb, 1994, 85)[9]. Soon after, the Maharaja requested the Indian government for assistance, which was to be provided only on the condition of accession as had been pressed upon by Lord Mountbatten. In

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categories – Brahmins (priestly class), Kshatriyas (warrior class), Vaishyas (merchant class) and Shudras (servant class).

the same meeting, it was also decided that the IOA would be provisional and only hold true after ratification from the public and legitimize India's position in J&K. In fact, when VP Menon, Secretary of the States Department was sent to Kashmir to access the situation, he explained the criticalness of the situation and how the ruler was willing to accept 'any terms' (Hajari, 2015, 189).

This treaty marks clear Coercion of the Dogra ruler, and imagined Subordination of the peoples of IAJK, now by the postcolonial state, supported by the colonial rulers. The condition of plebiscite appears as an effort to persuade the ruler however the accession part of the treaty remains the only aspect taken seriously. This raises issues of the ethicality of an agreement signed under duress, it is also representative of the colonial practice of expanding regions by capturing weaker nations under false terms. Here, there is a clear assumed hierarchy in place where nations are categorized (divided) as stronger/weaker either through Domination through Coercion and Persuasion of their population. In the next few paragraphs, I provide a textual analysis of IOA, its global media coverage and note its implications.

The Instrument of Accession (IOA) (1947) was a legal document introduced by the Government of India Act 1935[33] which provided for the accession of the princely states in 1947 to India or Pakistan after the partition of British India. There were 140 IOAs signed by princely states all over British India, acceding to be included in the postcolonial state of India (Nayak, 2016). It is noted that all princely states were under some degree of pressure to accede to the new union of India and the rulers were unofficially told that they would face significant disadvantages in their rule if they would not accede to India as soon as possible (Trumbull, 1947). The dominion exercises power in the way its earlier rulers - the British had done, through Coercion. The native elites inherited colonial power under the monopoly of the state and to a small extent, princely elites.

The IOA followed a standard format where the first two pages state the accession itself, consisting of declarations, the responsibility of implementing the conditions of the accession on their respective states, and claiming sovereignty on their states in all matters except for Defence, External Affairs and Communications which is specified

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[33] The complete Act may be accessed here:
http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1935/2/pdfs/ukpga_19350002_en.pdf [Accessed on 22 March 2020]

in the last three sections. In continuation with colonial policy, there is again no mention of the rights of the people or even citizenship. In contrast, Clause 6 of the IOA clearly lays down rules regarding acquisition and control of land within the state, signifying the importance of land over people. This effect of colonialism, embodied within the nation-state informs and shapes the 'temporality of the current nation state' (Khanna, 2017, 12) where the nation is represented as 'Mother India' with IAJK as its head (Kaul, 2018, 128) or Hyderabad as its heart (Patel, 1957). This cartographic imagery is used to build and cement the postcolonial nation and nationalism.

While most princely states had signed their IOA's before 15th August 1947 (Official date of transfer of power from the British Indian government to GOI), some states such as Junagadh, Hyderabad, Mysore, Manipur, and J&K had not declared their intentions for accession or independence. The IOA for IAJK was not easily available in the public domain for quite some time, hence also creating scepticism around the existence of the document. However, Nayak's research and comparing it with the accession documents relating to other states such as Manipur, Tehri Garhwal, Udaipur and Junagadh clearly record the existence of the original document (2016) which has since then also been made available in the public domain by the National Archives of India (Register No. R.R. 271, 27) and the White Pages of India (1950) (Hosted on Wikipedia's open-source domain)[34]. The IOA, though a single document including both the Instrument of Accession along with the Standstill Agreement signed between the Ruler of Jammu & Kashmir state and the Dominion of India. It consists of nine declarations made by the ruler granting sovereignty to the Government of India over J&K. The document was signed by the ruler on 26th October 1947, and on 27th October 1947, the day Lord Mountbatten was giving his approval to the accession, the Indian Army had already arrived in Srinagar.

There had been localised disturbances in the region at the time, with the division of Chitral into the Pakistan state, despite historically being a part of the Kashmir kingdom. The events of the 26th and 27th October are reported in much detail across the world – where the state of Kashmir is shown to be in revolt due to invasion by a 'Moslem Army' (Trumbull, 1947a). Included in the coverage is one of the earlier

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[34] For more see, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Amritsar_(1846) [Accessed on 08/03/2022]

cartographic representations of the Kingdom of Kashmir sharing borders with the dominions of India and Pakistan.
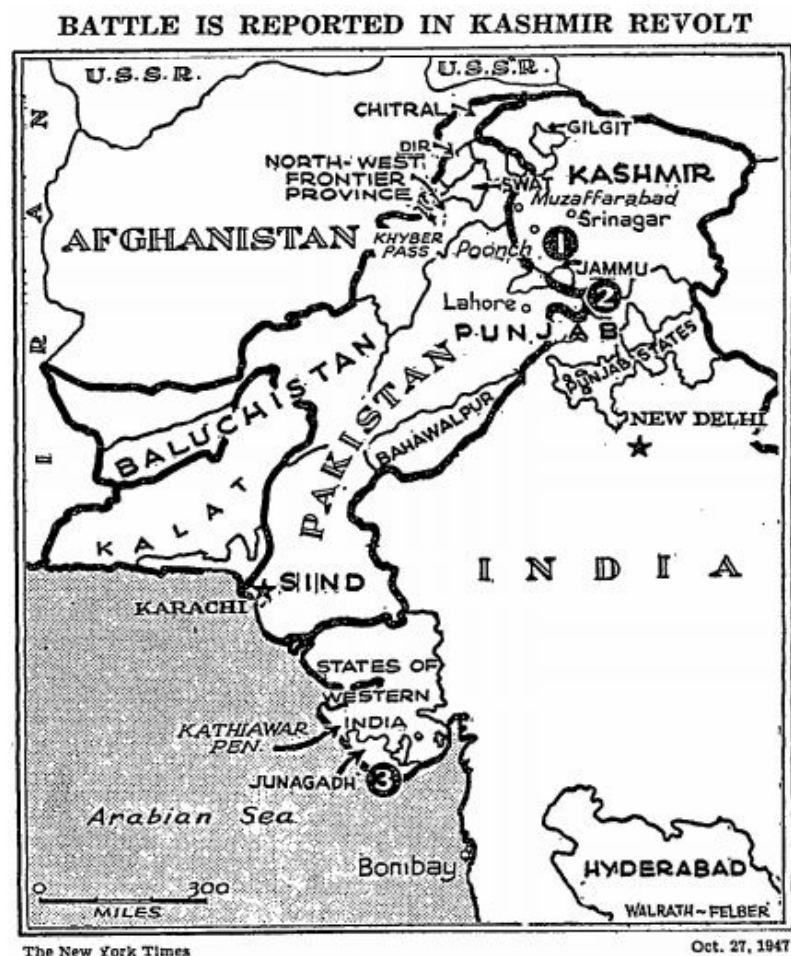
Figure 7: Visual from the New York Times (Trumbull, 1947a)

The arrows in the map above signify the events happening at the time as "Moslems were said to have burned down Muzzafarabad and forced Hindu state troops to withdraw ….northwest of Srinagar (1)…" (10). The ruler, Hari Singh left Kashmir for his winter capital to sign the IOA with India. Despite the attested document, a crucial detail here not to be missed is the fact that even before the IOA had been signed and ratified by both signatories, the decision to send in the Indian Army had already been put into motion. Furthermore, the Indian Army had landed in Srinagar at 9 am when the IOA had not been ratified by Mountbatten (Lamb, 1991, 97). This is a clear sign of the territorial desires of the newly formed, postcolonial state of India. Here we see through state documents and action, the Indian state hierarchising itself over interests of, technically, its citizens by use of a language absent of people followed by military action to assert the Domination of the state. The postcolonial

citizen is expected to forego their needs and aspirations for the state and is coerced as a second priority to the state or as it is portrayed - 'Nation'. With the case of IAJK, the state, without any prior border invasions was already expressing expansionist tendencies, like its own previous rulers, the British Empire. This is an evolution of colonialism as practised by the British Raj that would occupy new territories giving false reasons of trade to outright colonial desires of the GOI by expanding boundaries and asserting power through militarised means. Another aspect of coloniality is visible in the blatant dismissal of the demands or aspirations of the peoples of IAJK.

International media coverage of the IOA focused extensively on the continuing violence in the region, also reporting that the new Indian state was not opposed to Kashmir acceding to Pakistan but feared that Pakistan would not be able to maintain law and order within the state like the "north-western tribal territory" in Pakistan (Trumball, 1947). After the accession, there is a heavy focus on the religious identity of the people involved in the revolt, an interesting example is the headline, "Kashmir joins India provisionally, Airborne Sikhs Battle Invaders" (Trumball, 1947a). Hari Singh's government is now referred to as a 'Hindu government' and it is noted that the IOA has been signed due to emergency circumstances and crucially, is subjected to the will of people, as promised by Sheikh Abdullah. The article highlighted the state of panic amongst the locals with many fleeing their homes. The British residents are seen to be "patient and courageous" while waiting for a convoy to Pakistan while the Hindu-Muslim residents are shown to be suspicious and fearful of each other, though the article notes that the residents came together for a peace march. The article briefly mentions the diversity of the region and the fragmentation of Kashmir a potential threat for the Indian state. This also marks the construction of the "Hindu-Muslim struggle over Kashmir" (Trumball, 1947b) communalizing the regions politics with a trope that continues until today. Note that this is not seen as a struggle over internal politics, rather *over* the region.

Kashmir's accession to India is followed by the construction of Kashmir as a "disturbed area", "major irritant" (Ibid) implying it is the very region which is a problem and the disturbance not simply a result of political upheavals and centuries of colonial rule. This dehistoricisation is crucial to note because it ignores lived realities and histories of people, squarely laying the blame for any wrong on them.

The disturbed area with Hindu-Muslims struggling over it construct a Kashmir in the readers mind that was earlier, a paradise, preferably without its inhabitants and is now disturbed – presumably because of the 'backward' 'overtly religious' 'uneducated' inhabitant. This results in the dehumanisation of the local population who is also effectively denied any coverage except while protesting or fleeing. In fact, the article even talks about the 'Indian mind' stating, "In Indian minds, the Kashmir problem assumes an international dimension outside the bounds of their Dominions" (Ibid), giving an insight into how popular opinion failed to include the Kashmiri mind. The statement above also implies the geo-strategic importance of the region which will become a crucial factor in justifying the colonial desire of the postcolonial Indian state for Kashmir.

The intervention of the UN Security Council (henceforth UNSC) in January 1948 after the Indian Parliament referred the Kashmir situation on advice of Mountbatten, the Hindu-Muslim conflict is now the India-Pakistan conflict. The first Resolution passed on 17th January (S/RES/38, 1948), is titled 'India-Pakistan Question' and the document further states that "… Council decided to invite the Representatives from India & Pakistan to participate, without vote, in discussion of the question" (1) directing both the governments to take all possible measures within their powers to improve the situation, avoid making any public statements and to keep the UN informed of any changes immediately. The lack of representation from the region is glaringly obvious and reflects the state-centred international system, which was the commonality in subsequent efforts of the UN – such as the Committee established through Resolution 47 (1948) and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (henceforth UNCIP).

One of the most crucial aspects of Resolution 47 is convening the plebiscite in practical terms, seen as a potential solution to the conflict between India and Pakistan, once again reducing the situation to the "question of accession to India or Pakistan" (Ibid, 3). The Resolution define the conditions suitable for a plebiscite and calling for the establishment of a Plebiscite Administration while laying the responsibility squarely on India and Pakistan to ensure the conduct of affairs, including demilitarisation from both countries and the conduct of a free and impartial plebiscite. The document clearly lays down the procedure for the conduct of a Plebiscite within the state and is ambitious in its conception to also pave the way for

return of citizens who have been ousted due to state aggression while also stating there should be no 'victimisation' of such returnees (6). The Resolution became one of the chief documents referred to, in the framing aof the issue as 'India-Pakistan' conflict and marks the failures of the international community towards the people of the region.

4.2C Article 370 – The paradox of postcolonial 'Autonomy'

J&K is included in the Indian Constitution in Article 238 as a 'Part B' state signifying its history of princely rule, later be cemented in the form of A370 after the Indian Constitution is formerly adopted, marking India's transition to Republic of India on 26th January 1950. Pandey notes here that even before the erstwhile state of J&K joined the deliberations, the Indian nation was already understood as a Hindu nation with a question over the loyalty of Muslim subjects still hovering over many Constituent Assembly members, including the architect of the Indian Union, Sardar Vallabhai Patel (2001, 163). In 1949, most states denied the need for a separate Constitution from the Indian one. The state of Jammu & Kashmir, represented by Sheikh Abdullah, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, Maulana Mohammad Saeed Masoodi and Moti Ram Bagda joined the Indian Constituent Assembly but reiterated the conditions laid down by the IOA, limiting the Indian Constitution's influence on external affairs, defence and communication and that the State Constituent Assembly, when constituted would deliberate over other matters (Noorani, 2011, 4). The Indian Government agreed to this via the incorporation of Article 370 (originally Article 306A) that essentially delegated powers to the State Constituent Assembly for making any decisions relating to the future of the state. The case of Jammu and Kashmir is unique from other princely states because we have clear evidence of a region with aspirations of self-determination[35] and it marks the approach adopted by the Indian state in dealing with nationalist demands within their newly formed union.

Article 370, originally thought to be a 'Temporary Provision for the State of Jammu & Kashmir' (A370, 1950); specified the power of the Indian Parliament to make laws for IAJK limited to the domains of Union and Concurrent list, in consultation with the Governor of the state. Further, the state is given the right to have its own

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[35] As can be seen through a reading of political history of Kashmir. This is further strengthened as we note Sheikh Abdullah's aspirations and negotiations with the Indian government and beyond.

Constitution (Ibid) though no mention is made of the terms of citizenship, rights and protections granted by the Union. The law provided for Union laws to be extended to the State, depending on concurrence of the Constituent Assembly however this concurrence would be provisional (Ibid). The Constituent Assembly created the Constitution for IAJK and post adoption, dispersed on 17th November 1956 which was the only authority that could grant more powers to GOI or to accept GOI's institutions (Noorani, 2011, 7-8; Tillen, 2016, 546).

The adoption of A370 in the Indian Constitution is a promise of autonomy to IAJK, that also defines the relationship between IAJK and GOI. The Article itself was an attempt to establish dominance over the region through persuading the native elites. A370 granted IAJK the autonomy to have its own executive, judiciary, legislature, and the residuary powers from Schedule VII of the Indian Constituted vested with the state Government and not GOI (Peer & Rahman, 2012, 72). Further, Article 35(A) reserved certain privileges such as the ability to purchase land and immovable property, ability to vote and contest elections, seek government employment and reservations in higher education and provisions for healthcare for 'permanent residents' only.

While GOI had the power to extend other Union laws to IAJK, Article 35A was protected and authorized by A370 (Noorani, 2015) within the Indian Constitution. The adoption of this act as a strategy to include the territory of erstwhile J&K as part of its geographic and political construct in exchange for limited internal autonomy defines the desires of postcolonial India. So, while the IAJK state derives its legitimacy and powers from text (The state Constitution), this text itself is validated and approved by the Indian Government. The GOI while forsaking some powers, establishes a policy of indirect rule, a similar strategy to the one employed by British during their rule in the Indian subcontinent. As Peer & Rahman write,

> the bargain made between the state of Jammu & Kashmir and India can be understood to be a political one. The bargain was that in return for the jurisdiction over the three subjects of accession, the State will be protected (74)

The important aspect here is the hierarchy established by the postcolonial state using tools which created the state administration in IAJK, thus making its existence intricately linked and increasingly, dependent on the GOI. The protection and order

of IAJK is made dependent on GOI. The implementation of A370 is only successful with the Collaboration of a certain section of the Kashmiri society, hence Domination is met with Subordination as they seek to achieve greater rights for the peoples of IAJK from the Indian state. The Constitution of Jammu & Kashmir (1956) has a section on its relationship with GOI defined as "The state of J&K is and shall be an integral part of the Union of India" (1950, Part II (A3)) and goes on further to define Pakistan Administered Kashmir as Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (1950, Part VI (A48) making the conditionality of providing 'protection' to IAJK in lieu of recognition of its Subordination to GOI.

Rai argues that it was through a religious lens on part of the Constituent Assembly that the people of IAJK's existence was understood – Hindus in Jammu sharing close allegiance with right-wing nationalist groups, Buddhists in Ladakh fearing political Domination by Kashmir, and Muslims in Kashmir Valley who were seen as a challenge to the state's accession to the Union of India while also seen as the most crucial to assert India's 'secularism' (Rai, 2018). Rai through a careful analysis of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly meetings, traces how despite A370's autonomy being degraded over time, it has deepened the divide between Hindus and Muslims within the state, as Muslims are angered over the nullity of the Article and Hindus see it as 'appeasement' of Muslims at the cost of complete integration with India (2018, 218).

Furthermore, scholars like Noorani (2011) and Peer & Rahman (2012) note how GOI watered down Article 370 over the years, stripping away any of the last remaining autonomy during this period. Since the inception of the Article, 42 presidential orders had been passed until 1986 (Anand, 2010) despite the fact that President's powers should have dissolved with the disbanding of the State Constituent Assembly; the Constitutional (Application to J&K) Order, 1950 (Constitution of India, 1950), applied entries of the Union List without following proper procedure; restricting powers of the state legislature and extending the GOI's power with application of provisions relating to finances, All India Services, Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) and Emergency. Further, regulation of the state judiciary was made dependent on the Indian judiciary, and several presidential orders have been passed bypassing the IAJK State itself (Noorani, 2011).

The Indira-Sheikh Accord in 1975 reiterated the region's inclusion in the Union of India (1) and called attention to postcolonial insecurities as it empowers GOI to "have powers to make laws relating to the prevention of activities against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India" (Ibid), effectively undermining any aspirations of self-determination in the region. In the above, we see the postcolonial state of India officially laid claim on IAJK through state tools. Bose (2009) notes that Accord patronisingly recognized IAJK state's right to legislate on matters such as welfare, social and cultural issues, and Muslim personal law (88), handing over matters that did not affect its own influence in the region. The arrangement made resembles indirect rule through which GOI established its dominance over IAJK, attempting to mainstream the narrative of "J&K is an integral part of India". This is also complemented by attempts to politically, socially, and culturally dominate IAJK which will be analysed in more depth in the next chapter.

4.2D Public Safety Acts, 1978 and Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1990 – Domination with Impunity

The Public Safety Act, 1978 has its roots in British rule and a version of it had been used to suppress the Quit Kashmir Movement (Bhat, 2019, 55). This colonial-era law was amended multiple times leading to the J&K Public Safety Ordinance in 1977, finally amended as the Public Safety Act, 1978. This Act marks the securitisation of the discourse on the region, with the Indian state as a benefactor of this 'safety', though it remains unclear safety from whom.

This Act provides evidence of the Indian state directly Coercing the peoples of IAJK through legitimised violence. The focus of the Act pertains to detention and arrest of people(s), control over public space by granting giving the right to deem certain areas as 'prohibited' and barred from public access, denying locals rights over their own land; and on the delegation of powers to detain and release people (1978, 205). Chapter II, Section 3 provides for giving authority to the Government to prohibit entry to any place, establishing control over public spaces while also providing for Coercive intervention of the state on the body by subjecting any persons entering into the said prohibited area to a body, bag and vehicle (207). Failure to comply with the state and its tools will result in imprisonment, hence not only infringing upon the autonomy of the territory but also its people. The Next Chapter, "Maintenance of

Communal and Regional Harmony" allows the state to prohibit documents for a period of three months unless extended, people can challenge this order within ten days and if they are found holding on to the document later, they can be subjected to imprisonment or fine, or both. Further, the Act also justifies the discussed as not being against a citizen's Freedom of Speech and Expression (Article 19, Constitution of India) as it uses Clause 6 of Article 19 and uses the justification of 'reasonable restriction' (Act, 1978, 210). Chapter IV provides the grounds on which people can be detained – illegal exporting of timber, creating disharmony on grounds of religion, race, caste, community or region; attempting, provoking or abetting use of force against public order, any 'mischief' that disturbs public order or may do so in the future, or other crimes punishable by life imprisonment or death sentence. In addition, the Act also provides for immunity to any person acting in "good faith" (Section 22, 1978, 220).

Through this Act, GOI imposes the Indian state on the territory and peoples of IAJK in the name of 'Public Order' and 'Safety'. The state establishes itself as the 'legitimate authority' before one can question the source of disorder. This is an active denial of the public autonomy of the peoples of IAJK, at the same time GOI also embraces a paternal role through curtailment of their right to freedom of expression, setting the grounds for the control of the circulation of information in the region. The colonial state formation logic of Coercion over Persuasion to establish Dominance without hegemony (Guha, 1989, 24) is visible. This is followed by direct military occupation in the form of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (Ministry of Home Affairs, 1958) (Henceforth, AFSPA unless otherwise specified)

The Indian state introduced AFSPA on 11th September 1958 in 'disturbed areas' in Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. The Act essentially gives the power to the Indian state machinery to declare an area 'disturbed', deploy armed forces to restore peace and order while providing immunity to armed forces personnel deployed underneath the Act (Act, 1958). The Act was introduced in IAJK as 'The Armed Forces (Jammu & Kashmir) Special Powers Act' in 1990 and below, I breakdown the Act and its implications. Simultaneously, I will draw out the narrative constructed of the region during this time.

The Act bestowed 'special powers' upon members of the state armed forces in the 'disturbed areas' of IAJK. The categorization of an area as 'disturbed' is subject to the Governor who is not elected by the people or even the state government but is a direct appointee of the President of India on the advice of GOI. There is no requirement of any form of public consent or debate on this declaration. 'Disturbed area' is defined within the Act, under Section 3 as

> …such a disturbed and dangerous condition that the use of armed forces in aid of the civil power is necessary to prevent –
> a. activities involving terrorist acts directed towards overawing the Government as by law established or striking terror in the people or any section of the people or alienating any section of the people or adversely affecting the harmony amongst different sections of the people;
> b. activities directed towards disclaiming, questioning or disrupting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India or bringing about cession of a part of the territory of India or secession of a part of the territory of India from the Union or causing insult to the Indian National Flag, the Indian National Anthem and the Constitution of India, the Governor of the State or the Central Government, may, by notification in the Official Gazette, declare the whole or any part of the State to be a disturbed area.

While the postcolonial insecurity is clearly highlighted in part b, wherein even an insult to national symbols of India such as the Flag or the Anthem is perceived as an activity that disturbs the area and is reason enough to introduce highly militarized responses against people, the Act brings forth the shift in narrative about IAJK. It is also the assumed authority of the GOI to decide if an area is disturbed, without any consultation with people or their citizens which sets the hierarchy in this situation. The GOI is not only exercising power over IAJK, but also defining the conditions of the state effectively silencing the state citizens. This is a continuation of the denial of political and social expression to the people, whilst defining the narrative of the state – as it would be represented in public discourse. Hence, we see a shift from the narrative of 'Heaven on Earth' to 'disturbed area' for the region, both times constructed and narrativised by outsiders while denying the native voice. This is further substantiated militarily in this Act, exercising direct Coercion of the local population by extending military powers to State officials, outlined in Section 4,

> Any commissioned officer, warrant officer, non-commissioned officer or any other person of equivalent rank in the armed forces may, in a disturbed area, -
>
> (a)if he is of the opinion that it is necessary so to do for the maintenance of public order, after giving such due warning as he may consider necessary, fire

upon or otherwise use force, even to the causing of death, against any person who is acting in contravention of any law or order for the time being in force in the disturbed area prohibiting the assembly of five or more persons or the carrying of weapons or of things capable of being used as weapons or of fire-arms, ammunition or explosive substances; …

The Act goes to bestow the right to destroy buildings (including personal houses) that an officer might suspect is a storage space for arms, make arrests without a warrant depending on the officer's suspicion, conduct searches in the disturbed area without prior permission or notification; and stop, search, and seize a person or vehicle or vessel against whom a "reasonable suspicion exists". Section 7 of the Act (1950, 2), sub-titled "Protection of persons acting in good faith under this Act" provides immunity for actions of state officials which have been carried out in mere suspicion. The entire Act in its two pages confers added powers and protections – for the state and its actors in keeping with the prioritisation of state over people. Further, it is the label of 'disturbed' that forms the narrative during this period, shifting slightly from the earlier narrative of 'Hindu-Muslim conflict'. It is important to note that the Act simply provides for the declaration of a 'disturbed' area without the historical and political context and the role of external agencies in the same. Reducing an area to "disturbed" status contributes to laying the blame on the internal entities for its situation rather than considering the process and factors responsible for the disturbance. The dehistorisation coupled with the absence of rights for citizens, even the right to challenge the exercise of power, and sanction of military dominance was a challenge to GOI's democratic image which is functioning as a state with repositories of coercive capacity and reminiscent of colonial rule.

Baruah (2010) draws out the coloniality within AFSPA, itself based on the "Armed Forces (Special Powers) Ordinance, 1942" within three contexts – the legal framework of colonial constitutionalism where state power is asserted through emergency and emergency like provisions rather than people-based measures, following imperial practices of using the military to assist civil power, and following the strategy of 'pacification of frontiers', though Baruah maintains that the last context is specific to the North Eastern areas of India. However, despite academic, international, and local critique, there has been no change in the Act[36]. Anjum (2018)

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[36] AFSPA has been removed from selected districts in the North-East region of India, prominently in the states of Assam, Nagaland and Manipur (Roy, 2022).

also points out how this militarism has provided "hierarchal valuation" in Kashmir's case where "military "institutions and ways" are valued more than civilian lives – where life includes its inextricable signifiers, like dignity, freedom and health" (47). Chapter 6 notes how AFSPA and PSA have enabled the exercise of brutal violence by the Indian security forces in the region with the aim to dehumanise and depersonalise Kashmiri Muslims.

4.2E Operation Sadhbhavna[37](1998) – Colonial Strategies of Persuasion

Operation Sadhbhavna, an Indian Army initiative expands the role of the Army in the region through increasing its roles in civil society. This is a unique step due to the shift in strategy from direct military dominance being followed since the implementation of the AFSPA in 1990 to a strategy based on "Winning Hearts And Minds (WHAM)" (Ministry of Defence, 2018), through military civic Collaborations. The WHAM strategy was originally adopted by French and British colonial officials to counter rebellions by making non-militaristic appeals, focusing on emotions and sentiments to convince people of their intentions. Carruthers (1995) notes that the term came into popularity during the Malayan Emergency as a tactic employed by the British to quell rebellion and while there is extensive work around this specific counterstrategy (Charters, 1989), Mockaitis (1990) goes on to define the three principles followed by the British forces in their counterinsurgency campaigns – the use of minimum force, close cooperation between civil and military administration, and the adoption of a decentralized approach by the military to combat irregulars (13-14). Furthermore, it is noted that the strategy was not only aimed at the people who were being 'won over' but also worked to legitimate and justify the state's actions to their own citizens (Carruthers, 1995, 2). WHAM not only functions by convincing the dissidents but also the loyal citizens, which is done using media. Carruthers, focuses on the period between 1944-1960 notes how the Palestinian was named and represented as a 'terrorist' in British news (41), the Malayan Communist Party's propaganda was used as a tool through films and newsreel in the UK (88-90, 113), representation of Mau-Mau targeting UK, Kenya, the Commonwealth and the US (144-148) and the representation of rebels in Cyprus (232). This not only constructs a narrative of the rebels or insurgents which is

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[37] Goodwill, translation mine.

important in understanding tactics of colonial rule but also determines the response of the British public towards these struggles and towards the British government.

This strategy was introduced for IAJK and regions in the North-Eastern part of India however as the focus of this research is only on IAJK, I will be limiting my analysis to the same. The operation is the first policy document focused on the people of the territory with the by-line "Aman Aur Jawan Aman Hai Muqam" (Ministry of Defence, 2018) which translates to "the soldier and the people, peace is the destination" (translation mine), effectively delegating the responsibility of peace on the people and soldiers on the ground, without any consideration of external factors. This path to peace is to be guided by the following objectives:

> (a) Fulfilling the needs of the
> Peoples and to alleviate their problems.
> (b) Development of remote and
> inaccessible areas where civil administration is barely existent.
> (c) Assuaging the feeling of
> alienation and moulding public opinion towards peace and development.
> (d) Fan the desire for firmer
> integration with the nation." (Ibid)

There is a shift in the narrative regarding IAJK and its people. It begins with a seemingly benign declaration of tending to people's needs though there is no strategy discussed as to how these needs would be gauged. The second objective introduced 'development' into the framework, especially of remote areas to increase direct governance while destroying local systems. The idea of development here is crucial – as it is in keeping with the paternalistic civilising mission narrative adopted by tropes wherein structures and brutality of colonialism is justified in the name of neoliberal development and modernising.[38] The third objective stresses on 'moulding public opinion toward peace and development' which means an imposition of development led by the state authorities without any heed to the local populace, often harming traditional systems of agriculture, and self-sufficient economies to create more markets and consumers for the growing newly liberalised Indian economy[39].

The last point highlights the goal of the postcolonial nation – assimilation of people within the nation-state, to be achieved by showcasing the "humane face" of the

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[38]For British rule in India, this is comparable to the idea of 'Improvement' as explained by Guha (1989).

[39] India's shift towards the neoliberal market-based economy started on a large scale from 1991.

soldier, a method of persuading the peoples of IAJK to accept Indian state's Domination and for Indian citizens to view its government as a benevolent benefactor, enabling the state to have their support. The need for humanising shows the attitude of the local communities as unfavourable to the soldier, therefore an attempt is made not to understand the reasons behind the attitude but to impose the humanity of the soldier. The Operation defines its scope of work within the areas of building infrastructure, health care, education (including Information Technology Assistance), human resources development and national integration tours (Ministry of Defence, 2018). Originally launched in rural areas, it aimed to "reintegrate the affected populace with the national mainstream" (Ibid). The efforts of the Indian Army in setting up schools, infrastructure projects including development of vocational training centres, community development centres, electrification projects, establishment of health centres and organisation of educational tours are highlighted and promoted, extensively within the Indian discourse.

The importance of the public face of the Indian State especially the Army amongst the people of IAJK can be seen through the various publications that document the number of people who would have availed any service set up through this Operation (Goswami, 2009; Cariappa et al, 2008; Anant, 2011; Muthana, 2008; Bhonsale, 2009), all authored by Army officers or published by the GOI's thinktanks such as the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA). However, if this doesn't work, the Indian state, through the soldier, Coerces the population into doing so, establishing the required conditions that result in dominance without hegemony, marking colonial exercise of power. In fact, Bhan (2014) provides an important critical analysis of Operation Sadhbhavana, noting it as the only way the military could cover up its extensive "collateral damage" was by extending its mandate to meet people's basics needs (14-15). She labels this as the state's attempts of being "soulful" while effectively denying people their right to political identity, choose economic livelihood, and social and cultural space (Anjum, 84).

The period post-1990 saw a rise in militancy in the region, a mark of Resistance to Subordinate Indian rule in the region, used by the Indian state to justify increasing militarism in the region. There are reports of Operation *Sarp Vinash* (Literally, Snake destroyer, translation mine) with the objective of killing terrorists in the Kashmir valley (Swami, 2003; Media Centre, 2003) which has no official state policy

document. The only official documentation of this Operation is available on the Ministry of External Affair's website in the media section, though the author and platform are unclear. The article, overtly aggressive calls for the Indian Army to "terrorise the terrorists" and calls for an approach adopted by India similar to Israel and the US where terrorists are "bogged down" without bothering with the root cause of terrorism (Media Centre, 2003). Another such example of 'Operation All out', launched in 2019 (Joshi, 2019) though there is no official information on this. The next section discusses the most recent policy change in the region marked by the revocation of limited autonomy of the region.

4.2F J&K Reorganisation Act, 2019 – Domination without Hegemony

In August 2019, the GOI announced the next phase of its rule in IAJK – through the J&K Reorganization Act, 2019, discussed in the next section. Before going into analysis of the Act itself, it is important to contextualize it to make sense of the Act that has changed the frontiers of the erstwhile state of J&K majorly, while at the same revoking the watered-down, special provisions granted by Article 370 to the people of IAJK. This section provides a background to the Act, noting the role played by the ruling political party in India, in power since 2014. The Bhartiya Janata Party (Indian People's Party, translation mine) is a Hindutva right-wing nationalist party, re-elected to power in the national elections with a manifesto that followed the historical party line and was focused on removing the A370 as it was considered a hindrance to the development of IAJK. In their election manifesto, in 2019, the first section post letters by the Prime Ministry, Narendra Modi; President of BJP, Amit Shah and Defence Minister, Rajnath Singh (2019, 5-8), is the section on "Nation First" which contains the party's promises on terrorism, national security, the welfare of soldiers, combating infiltration, coastal safety, implementation of Citizenship Amendment Bill, combating left-wing extremism, and at the end, "Jammu & Kashmir – Article 370".

The hyper-nationalist manifesto is reflective of the dual narrative created by the BJP around Hindutva and promising development that aims to please both supporters of Hindutva and those of neoliberalism (Kaul, 2017). Hence we see the sectionizing in the manifesto clearly laying down its target audience through its diverse areas of focus: national security, farmer's income rights, a major chunk dedicated to

economic domain, infrastructure development in "New India" (2019, 3), "Healthy India" (Ibid), Governance, education, women's empowerment, cultural heritage clearly outlining their agenda of building a temple dedicated to the Hindu God, Ram on disputed land (36), foreign policy and outlining goals for India's 75th anniversary on 15th August 2022. In the next couple of lines, the section pertaining to A370 is briefly discussed.

The manifesto clearly lays down the BJP's position vis-à-vis A370, claiming that the abrogation of A370 needs to be done to ensure development and financial resources to all regions of IAJK. While this is a repeat of the colonial trope of development, the manifesto also says that A35 and A370 is discriminatory against women of IAJK, who supposedly lose their right to property on marrying a non-state subject. This constructs the image of the 'backward' Kashmiri with no rights for women and for India to guide them on the way forward. This point has been refuted by multiple scholars (Qureshi, 2019; Ganai, 2019) who provide evidence against this assumption by providing evidence of IAJK High Court declarations where women have been provided with property rights regardless of their marital state. Furthermore, the last line of the manifesto, "We will make all efforts to ensure the safe return of Kashmiri Pandits, Pakistan occupied J&K, and Chhamb" (BJP, 2019, 12) communalizes their identity as "Kashmiri Pandits" highlighting their Hindu affiliation. Secondly, the reference to the territory under Pakistani administration as "occupied" though the same lens is not applied to India's rule in the neighbouring territory demonstrating its belief as the rightful "owner" of the erstwhile state of J&K, marking the 'other' – Pakistan and anyone who might offer any support to Pakistan and the clear dismissal of the political demands of rest of the population – including Hindus in Jammu, Buddhists in Ladakh and Kashmir, Muslims in Kargil and Drass. After BJP won the electoral mandate to form the government with even larger support than before, less than three months after their victory, the revocation of A370 was announced through the J&K Reorganization Bill (later, Act), 2019.

The Act marked the status of J&K as a Union Territory, bifurcating the state in two entities. Before presenting the Bill in the parliament, over 5000 Kashmiri politicians, scholars, activists, human rights defenders were arrested and transferred to jails all over India before bringing this Bill into the parliament (Wallen, 2019; Fareed, 2019). This is a direct silencing of political representation in Kashmir which was already

selective, to stop any mobilisation or dissent from the population. The Union territory of IAJK (henceforth, IAJK) is separated from Ladakh and is granted a Legislature with a Lieutenant Governor, a position not based on the election but Presidential nomination. A370 could not be modified without the consent of the Chief Minister, however, there was no public or representative consultation by the GOI to seek consent. Subsequently what followed was the arrest and detention of locals, including teenagers and the longest internet shutdown in 2019 globally, and has been termed as an "authoritarian colonial move" (Kaul, 2019). This marks a shift from the strategy of Persuasion to direct political Coercion to establish Dominance.

Part III is dedicated to the representation of people in the legislatures, and in keeping with the historical tradition of Indian Law, there are 24 seats in the Legislative Assembly of IAJK left vacant in lieu of the representatives from the area of the section under Pakistani administration (2019, 14(3)). This symbolic gesture tells of India's assumed ownership over territory and assertion of power. In the new Union Territory, issues pertaining to Police and Public Orders fall directly within the ambit of the GOI's legislation (2019, 9), and subjects the appointment of the Chief Minister dependent on the Lieutenant Governor (2019, 54(1)) and it goes to completely disband the existing Legislative in J&K, also taking away all powers of its members. Further, through the Act, GOI changes the definition of 'State Subject' allowing non-residents to have the same rights as citizens, effectively diluting indigenous rights over land and resources. The GOI reinforced its "Kashmir is an integral part of India" strategy, focusing on the territory and again, not the people and has taken steps to ensure 'complete integration' of the territory by introducing the J&K Reorganisation (Adaption of State Laws) Order (2020) to facilitate the application and repeal of various laws that applied earlier to IAJK. It serves as a reminder to the people of IAJK that the power they do have, is at the mercy of GOI. Chapter 6 analyses several domains of the Act such as the Domicile Law, New Media Policy 2021-30[40], and the New Industrial Policy to dehumanise and depersonalise the Kashmiri Muslim subject. The Act has established a hierarchy where IAJK is always dependent on its' existence, its border, rights for its citizens on GOI.

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[40] Introduced in the year following the revocation of the region's limited autonomy.

Integration of IAJK without any consent of the people through direct Domination of the peoples and territory of IAJK. GOI has been able to carry forward this move with the consent of its own loyal population – who are provided with unquestioned access to IAJK, especially members of security forces who have served in the region for long periods, are familiar with the situation and can occupy a position of power in a society burdened with decades of militarism where the lives of security forces have repeatedly been hierarchized over those of civilians. This also creates a hierarchy between the citizens of India and of IAJK, one being citizens with rights and the other, granted citizenship on a bargain and subsequently stripped of all rights.

4.3 Conclusion

The current chapter analyses the specific strategies of Domination employed by the colonial British Indian state and postcolonial Indian state in the J&K. Through consideration of official state documents, there is an analysis of the first aspect of the colonial matrix of power – hierarchy which is traced from the establishment of the erstwhile state of J&K that constructed the territory over its people to the present, with the introduction of Domicile Law that hierarchies GOI over people of IAJK, who are thus deprived of legitimate political representation. Here I provide a summary of the above, highlighting the constructed narratives and power relations provided above.

Section 4.2 provides evidence of the different modes of Domination used in IAJK and note the narrative formed through state tools – treaties, agreements, laws, and special militaristic orders. This is further complimented with texts from travellers that provide the British perception of the local populace, where the narrative of IAJK as a 'paradise' with expendable locals except servants is constructed. The state documents looked at include the Treaty of Amritsar that defined the borders of the erstwhile state of J&K and notes the inherent coloniality within the Treaty that provided for a region to be sold to a foreign ruler in exchange for goods and services. The chapter further analyses the IOA and Article 370 that used strategies of Coercion and Persuasion, along with occasional Collaboration with the native elites to establish Indian state's rule in the region. This is followed by highly militaristic Acts that provide for the state security forces to act with impunity in the region while constructing the narrative of a 'disturbed zone', 'conflict area'. This is further denial

and suppression of the people of IAJK, actively coercing them. It is important to remember here that all these strategies have been repeatedly resisted through varying means – involving Collaboration with the Indian state to bargain for more rights and limited autonomy for the region, or direct resistance against this rule. This is also the reason why we note the increase in coercive strategies, adopted by the Indian state, such as the complete revocation of limited autonomy of the region, showcasing the postcolonial nation's insecurity.

As Guha notes for British rule in India, the British adopted the language of 'Order', 'Obedience', 'Improvement', 'Rightful Dissent', the Indian state uses the language of 'Peace', 'Safety', 'Development' and 'Nation' to justify their own colonial actions in the region. This hierarchies the Indian state over the territory and people of IAJK.

The states, both colonial and postcolonial, official documents provide narrational legitimisation of modes of Domination in the region complimented by media discourse. This is strengthened by the international system that prioritises states over people as noted in the multiple UN resolutions which have involved only Indian and Pakistani representation. We also note the increase in direct Coercion when the state's Domination is challenged or attempted to be subordinated. The continuation and increase in resistance strategies point to the failure of the state in establishing a hegemony, leading to a situation of Domination primarily dependent on Coercion without hegemony, hence the nature of power is summarised to be colonial.

The J&K Reorganisation Act, 2020 marks the point of complete Domination and gives extraordinary power over the resources and people of the region. As Guha reminds us, this Domination is also subverted through various strategies of collaboration and resistance. Examples of these are briefly provided in Section 7.4. The next chapter looks at the second aspect of the coloniality of power matrix, focusing on knowledge. Knowledge production and dissemination is sought to be monopolised by the state to construct and vilify the 'other' and build consent amongst Indian citizens for continued colonisation over IAJK. The next chapter studies the formation of educational institutes, school textbooks, thinktank publications and the New Education Investment Policy 2021-30 to draw out the coloniality of knowledge in the region.

Chapter 5: Colonising Knowledge Production in IAJK

5.1 Introduction

This chapter breaks down the knowledge and power relations between India and IAJK by demonstrating the Indian state's control over the production of knowledge in J&K and how this knowledge is constitutive of colonial control in the region. The previous chapter showed the domination of the Indian state that established a hierarchy between the Indian state and IAJK and its peoples through legal means with the power to define both their positions and the discourse surrounding Kashmiris such as that of the 'helpless Kashmiri' to the 'extremist Kashmiri'. This hierarchy of power is maintained through official treaties and legal measures, as noted earlier, which is subsequently used to establish the Indian state as the rightful producer of discourse and knowledge on IAJK and its peoples. The focus in this chapter is precisely on this production of knowledge and the associated practise(s) that controls production by deciding what is considered 'knowledge', whom is it defined by who's approach is validated and supported and who is considered a contributor and at the cost of which knowledge systems and traditions.

The chapter then looks at this in the dimensions as defined by Shephard (2018). First, the chapter focuses on the structural and logistical aspect – studying the systems of knowledge production established by the Indian state. The legal state machinery is responsible for setting up of state education departments and vocational training courses that decides the education that is provided to the colonised[41]. Further, this state machinery works in tandem with the central state machinery to ensure that the longevity of the colonising state is maintained through the education provided. What is of interest to this project, is the relations established between the Indian state and IAJK and its peoples through these knowledge systems by representing the "self" and the "other". This production of "self" and "other" is studied through a textual analysis of school textbooks and thinktanks publications. Section 5.6 reflects on the ethical and moral dimension, that is the Indian state's aspirations of a Eurocentric conception of modernity, used to justify colonial rule in the region.

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[41] For a critique of Foucault's work on the same, please see Mignolo & Tlostanova (2006).

Impact of the physical militarized occupation of schools and educational centres within the region are noted as a way of dominating these spaces of knowledge circulation, which due to the current situation of the region cannot be investigated. Existing research on the extensive militarisation of schools has been noted by scholars such as Hassan (2018), Duschinski (2009) and Ahmed (2013) who have studied the impact of military camps/bunkers established within or near schools. There is a focus on noting the levels of insecurity amongst school going children and the link between militarisation and psycho-social problems amongst students in Kashmir. Ahmed's (2013) study found majority of the schools in the region occupied militarily despite the Indian State claiming otherwise, additionally also noting how students had been used by the military officials to run errands. Education for girls had also had a negative impact due to security concerns. Students, where possible have also organised themselves politically and as Pandit (2019) notes their advocacy is not limited to student issues but "places itself squarely in the people's struggle for self-determination and counter-colonial sentiment in the Kashmir Valley" (95). While the impact of militarisation of educational spaces is noted as an important contributor to the control of knowledge production within the region and dehumanisation of students, it is beyond the scope of this research due to research restrictions in the region.

Section 5.2 looks at the first dimension – structural and logical focusing on the legal state machinery's role in colonising knowledge production in IAJK.

5.2 Education Boards and Policies in IAJK

This section provides a brief analysis of historical educational policies in the region enacted by the Indian state.

5.2A J&K State Board of Education

The Jammu and Kashmir State Board of School Education was formed on 28th August 1975 through the J&K School Board Act. This Act followed the J&K Secondary Education Act, 1965 which forms the bulk of the later Act. The 1965 Act was given accent to be enacted by the *Sadar-i-Riyasat* (Head of the State), a post later removed in 1965 when the IAJK Constitution Act was amended. The post was unique to IAJK and its replacement with 'Governor' was a move by the Indian state

to apply same rules across its assumed geographical borders. The 1965 Act states its purpose of establishing a Board of Secondary Education in the state and laying out the regulations concerning the structure of organisation in the education sphere, the schooling and grading system, examination schedules, available subjects and their course material, funding and organisation of the Board itself.

The Act itself has little mention of Students, except a singular line underneath the section on 'Powers and Functions of the Board' (Jammu and Kashmir Board of Secondary Education, 1967, 6) requiring the Board to "adopt measures, to promote the physical, moral, cultural and social welfare of students in recognized institutions" (Ibid, 7) linking the welfare of students to state recognized and approved institutions. This measure is carried over verbatim in the eventual Act of 1975 as well and both Acts also discuss the need to promote 'Women's Education' in the state and the Regulations following the 1965 offer guidelines on mechanisms to adopt for the same. Despite the encouragement of women's education, there exists a gendered view of education and subjects, noted by the restriction of certain subjects such as Music, Household Accounts and Home Science (at different levels) being restricted for girl students only (Ibid, 160-164). There is also an undermining of indigenous knowledge as there is a complete absence of indigenous languages within the list of subjects for the state (Ibid, 37). Additionally, the first subject mentioned in the list is English which is reflective of the Indian state's colonial legacy however the second subject mentioned is Sanskrit and not any of the vernacular languages of the State at the time such as Koshur, Bodhi, Urdu, Punjabi or Dogri. This is emblematic of the State's policy of nationalisation of Sanskrit where the Sanskrit Commission attributed the language to be the "Great Unifying Force of India" (Chatterji & Dave et al, 1958, 80) representative of the assumed heterogeneity of India. Ramaswamy further also states this nationalisation of a language shapes our understanding of India with Sanskrit as the oldest language that all other languages that exist within the subcontinent have derived from which is inaccurate (1999, 42). However, this employment of Sanskrit as a unifying force explains its status on the subject list and the absence of indigenous languages. Another example of the same is the absence of local music cultures in the Music subject which is restricted to Hindustani or Carnatic music only (1965 Act, 164). The deliberate erasure of indigenous languages

and cultures is crucial to eradicating local knowledge systems and reflective of the state's colonial practises[42].

The subsequent Jammu & Kashmir School Board Act 1975 drew extensively on many provisions and structures laid down by the earlier Act which specified the same without many changes. The 1975 Act clearly laid down its agenda of reforming and re-organizing education system in the State with a focus on 'national' integration (Act, 3) through development and universalisation of schools, universities, and students. The Act calls for the universalisation of Elementary education as well and is like the previous Act regarding the promotion of education, with a focus on women's education and regarding the welfare of students. This Act has outlined the schooling system right from elementary school to secondary schools in all possible spheres – access to facilities, disciplines, minimum qualification requirements for teachers and their salaries and paved the way for a homogenised schooling system to produce citizens in sync with the national education system in India. This was followed by the Jammu & Kashmir School Education Act 2002 which universalised elementary education and makes schooling compulsory with punishment for parents responsible for employing their children. While the Act provides for free and compulsory education for all, it is crucial to note that it also opens space for the establishment of private schools which forms an important part of the New Education Investment Policy (J&K Government, 2021) discussed in section 5.4.

The above shows us the state's monopolisation over knowledge production in the region and assertion of languages suitable to the narrative of India. The next section highlights the construction of "self" and "other" in school textbooks and thinktank publications.

5.3 Textbooks and Thinktank publications

The focus of this section is on understanding the epistemic dimension of the coloniality of knowledge with a focus on the knowledge production through state produced school textbooks used in the region. While these are not the only sources of knowledge formation, the analysis is limited to school textbooks to keep the focus on the narrative supported and pushed by the Indian state – for which textbooks offer

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[42] See Kabir (2009) for a detailed discussion on the use of Urdu in the region of IAJK and its impact on Koshur (the most prominent local language in the Kashmir valley).

crucial insights into how the state views itself and the peoples of IAJK. The analysis of textbooks focuses on Social Sciences subjects – History, Politics, Civics from the standards 6th – 12th along with publications from prominent think tanks are analysed to investigate the knowledge circulation within formal means[43]. There are a couple of important points here regarding the material used – majority of the schools in IAJK use textbooks planned and produced by the Jammu and Kashmir State Board of Education (JKBOSE), limited number of schools such as Army Schools and *Kendriya Vidyalyas* (State schools) use textbooks prescribed by National Council of Education and Research Training (NCERT), the overarching national board required to set up the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) that decides the textbooks, syllabus, curriculum and other academic details for all the educational institutes within the territorial borders of India. Hence, the NCERT textbooks are supposed to be designed in a manner that is suitable for all schools within the jurisdiction of the Indian state and embodies nationalist thought throughout with all textbooks beginning with the Preamble of the Indian Constitution (from primary school) and use of national symbols.

The schooling system has been set up in a homogenous manner with all states having to follow the education path of Lower Primary (ages 6-10) until 5th Standard, Upper Primary (ages 11 and 12) until 7th Standard, High School (ages 13-16) until 10th Standard and Higher Secondary which refers to the final years of schooling until 12th Standard (ages 17-18). There are few schools that will offer study of all levels with students changing schools for Higher Secondary. Majority of the students in the region use JKBOSE textbooks until 10th Standard before switching to the NCERT textbooks for the final years at the end of which students are required to pass a national level Board Exam set up by the CBSE (Central Board of Secondary Education). Most universities in India will only accept final school results from CBSE affiliated higher secondary schools hence a greater number of students will be using the NCERT textbooks for their last two years of schooling.

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[43] I am also aware that in IAJK, due to erratic political situations, schools are often shut, and education becomes inaccessible for many students. While this has been documented in the recent news coverage (Ali & Maqbool, 2016), this has also been my personal experience while studying in an Army School in the region between 2001-2003. Classes cancelled at short notices, school buses being vulnerable, school inaccessible due to road blockages were extremely common phenomenon and this gap had to be addressed by parents, guardians or community members. Lately, the state itself has gone on to encourage community schools and provide support for teachers (J&K Government, 2020).

It should be noted that the JKBOSE textbooks draw heavily upon the NCERT ones, keeping the major crux of the material same which is presented with more relatable, localized examples and use of regional languages. The analysis is based upon a critical reading of all Social Sciences textbooks from Standard III which begins with a subject called Environmental Science (EVS) until 5th Standard where EVS is replaced by separate subjects of Social Sciences – History, Geography and Political Science (Civics). Textbooks for History, Geography and Political Science circulated by both Boards have been studied from 6th -12th standard. Only the textbooks for English Medium schools have been analysed however the content for other languages remain the same, so this should not be seen as a shortcoming. In addition to school textbooks, this research also analyses publications from prominent thinktanks in the country that influence public discourse. This has led to a selection of thinktanks that are related to government policy, social science, or issues of war and conflict – but has been limited to primarily focus on thinktanks that directly receive Indian government (central or state) funding and those with international recognition. A list of twenty-one thinktanks relevant with the subject have been found (Appendix-II) of which only six are directly government funded. This analysis is complimented by looking at prominent thinktanks such as the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) which might not be regularly funded by the Indian Government but are regular beneficiaries of funding from various governmental ministries and organisations[44].

From a reading of these subjects, the analysis draws upon two main themes – firstly, the representation of the self (Indian state) as an ancient Hindu land with much diversity and united as a modern nation with secular, progressive and democratic credentials; secondly, constructing the Other (IAJK and its peoples) as a historical part of a "Hindu" India, crucial for its resources and a natural frontier for India. The people of IAJK are reduced to stereotypical representations with thinktanks often focusing on Kashmiris as either innocent and helpless or the other extreme of arrogant people who turn into militants. The section below deals with each of these themes, contextualising the constructs of both, drawing upon the textbooks and thinktank publications followed by a conclusion of how this representation

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[44] For information about ORF's donors, please see: https://www.orfonline.org/declaration-of-contributions/ [Accessed on 26/11/2020]

subscribes to a Western 'modernity' which depicts the postcolonial state's colonial desires of possession, extractivism and appropriation.

5.3A Representation of the Indian state in textbooks

The textbooks work to represent India – nation and state with multiple strategies that involve use of cartographic imagery, homogenising differences and diversity for the sake of the nation while often, marginalising indigenous histories and traditions, invoking and glorifying nationalist symbols such as the Indian Army or leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, emphasising on the benevolence of the state for its citizens, naturalisation of Hindi and Hinduism with India as if the three are bound in a timeless, historical bound. The last aspect also involves the standardisation of Hindi as an alternative language even in non-Hindi speaking areas. This is continued within the narrative propagated by thinktanks that glorify security personnel, and both textbooks and thinktanks seek to 'other' Pakistan. This is to portray India as the legitimate owner over IAJK in contrast to Pakistan. The thinktank reports do so by vilifying and representing Pakistan as the radicalised, extremist, Islamist nation and feeds into building support for Indian policies in line with a global rise in Islamophobia. The research presented elaborates upon these themes with supporting evidence drawn from a textual analysis of the textbooks.

Starting with geographic representations of the postcolonial nation, cartography tells us about how the nation sees itself. In the case of India, there is an attempt to enlarge the actual territory under India and the postcolonial insecurities are on display in the outrage against representations that do not follow the official state line.

The map below is an inaccurate depiction of India in 1947 (JKBOSE, History, 2019, X, 18) as it includes the territory of IAJK, Sikkim, Goa which were not a part of the Indian state at the time. The clipping also shows the territorial desires of the postcolonial nation while also clearly marking out Pakistan, imparting the indissoluble binary of India-Pakistan while other nations such as Ceylon, Burma, Nepal and China remain without any markers. Throughout the textbooks, all maps that include China use the term 'Tibet', laying out the Indian state's dismissal or rather challenge of China's rule over Tibet.

Figure 6: Cartographic representation of India (JKBOSE, History, 2019, X, 18)

The map below is from the History textbook showing the expansion of British rule over India (JKBOSE, History, 2019, VIII, 20). The maps refer to the territory as India through different years, even though India did not exist as a homogenous unit and was ruled by several dynasties and kingdoms over diverse communities. In fact, the subcontinent is seen as the nation, "The Indian nation identifies with the rivers, mountains and regions of the Indian subcontinent" (JKBOSE, Geography, 2019, X, 79). 'South Asia' would have been a better term however these representations effectively impose the narrative of a homogenous territory and history for India that is further substantiated by text.

Fig. 14 a – India, 1797

Fig. 14 b – India, 1840

Fig. 14c – India, 1857

Fig. 11 a, b, c – Expansion of British territorial power in India

Look at these maps along with a present-day political map of India. In each of these maps, try and identify the different parts of India that were not under British rule.
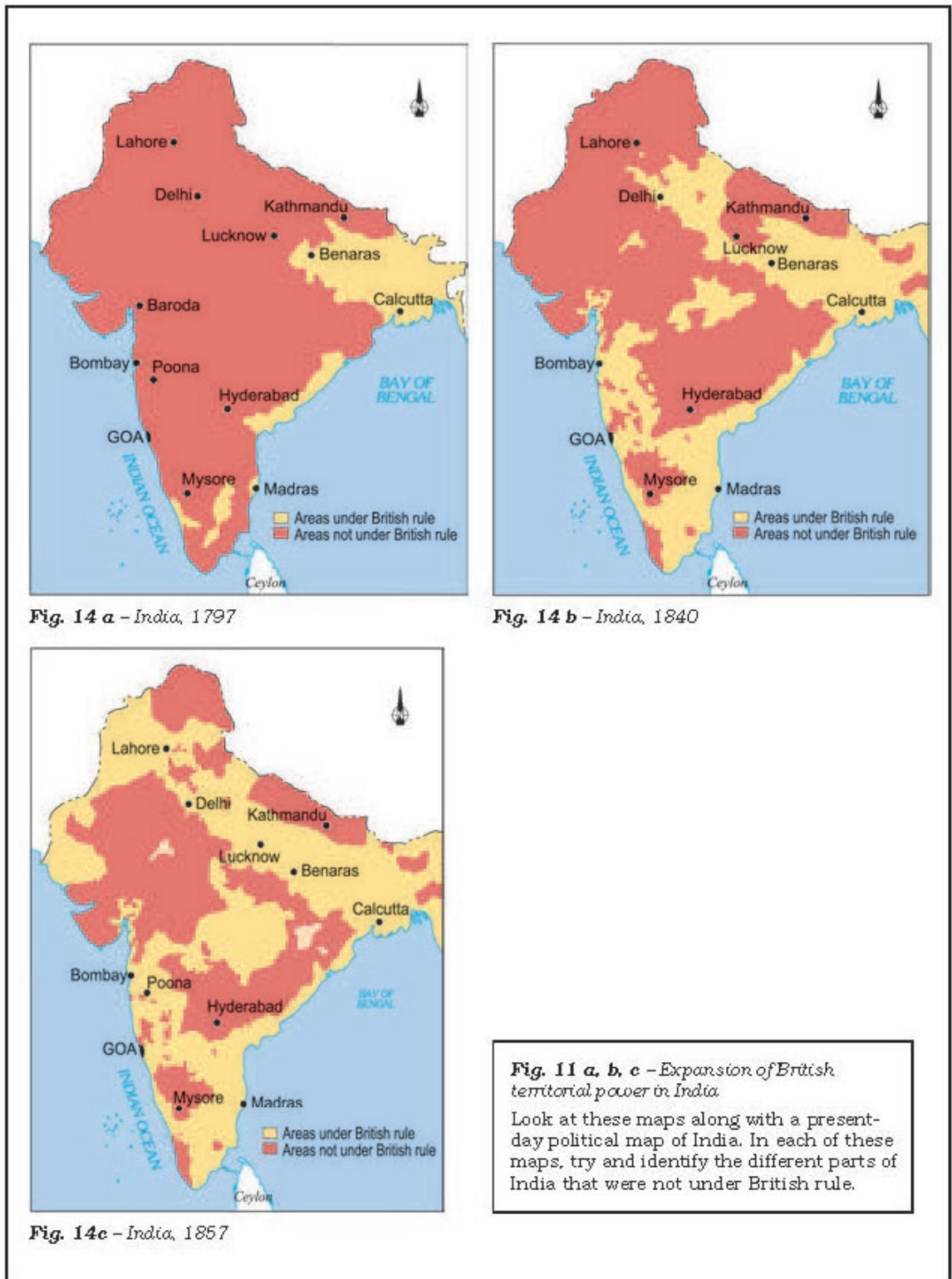
Figure 7: Cartographic representation (JKBOSE, History, 2019, VIII, 20)

Pictorial representations can be deployed as a tool of nationalism, where gender as feminist scholars argue is central to the process of nation-making and the territory is a feminized entity in need of masculine protection (Enloe, 2014, 83-90; Ramaswamy, 2010). Note the depiction of the accession of Goa (below) which is a 'return to the motherland'. This implies that any demands for self-determination within the 'motherland' are akin to dismembering the 'mother', unthinkable for any citizen. Kaul (2018) notes how Kashmir plays into the gendered nationalist imaginary of the Indian state as the head of Mother India 'Bharat Mata' in cartography where any talk of separation becomes akin to beheading the Mother.

Figure 8: Newspaper clipping (NCERT, Political Science(ii), 2020, XII,169)

The cartographic desires of a singular nation are supported by the homogeneity of diverse histories that existed in the sub-continent which build India's image as an ancient entity with Indians living in harmony. There were different kingdoms, but all lived together as Indians and this is achieved through a conflation of the political with the regional, to take an example, the JKBOSE textbook for Geography, in the chapter on Industries, explain,

> India has a glorious tradition of producing excellent quality cotton textiles. Before the British rule, Indian hand spun and hand-woven cloth already had a wide market. The Muslins of Dhaka, Chintzes of Masulipatnam, Calicos of Calicut and Gold-wrought cotton of Burhanpur, Surat and Vadodara were known worldwide for their quality and design (2019, VIII, 57).

The mention of British rule here also serves as a reminder of the "golden age" that India was in prior to colonisation. In fact, there are several attempts to homogenise Indians as one large community whose unity only grew stronger during colonial rule

> The long experience of authoritarian rule under the colonial state convinced Indians that free India should be a democracy in which everyone should be treated equally and be allowed to participate in government (JKBOSE, History, 2019, VIII, 4).

The implicit assumptions here are that all people under British rule in the subcontinent identified as Indians who all wanted democracy, ignoring the reality of many princely state rulers who were supported by their subjects, rulers who supported the British and 'Indians' who worked for the British government. This is correlative to the homogenisation of the experience of the anti-colonial struggle against the British, reflected here:

> Constituent Assembly felt that the freedom struggle had prepared the masses for universal adult suffrage and that this would help encourage a democratic mindset and break the clutches of traditional caste, class and gender hierarchies (Ibid, 12).

The homogenisation of Indian people as a collective unit all sharing the same aspirations and goals is visible in statements such as "We in India pride ourselves on being a democracy" (Ibid, 30) and Partition is portrayed as the event which divided the ancient country as can be seen in the following sentence,

> Partition also meant that India changed, many of its cities changed, and a new country – Pakistan – was born. So, the joy of our country's independence from British rule came mixed with the pain and violence of Partition (Ibid, 126).

Note the emphasis on "new country" in contrast to Ancient India even though neither of the two were countries before. This claim to history is meant to solidify India as an ancient nation and instil the sense of shared history and community among the students, crucial to the process of nation-making and nationalism. The textbooks take

on a primordialist approach[45] to nation making by grounding the identities of people as historically Indian which has changed its current political structure as a modern entity due to the anticolonial struggle. The anticolonial struggle, is credited with uniting different communities, often singularly credited to specific figures such as Gandhi (see JKBOSE, History, 2019, X, 30 and NCERT, History(iii), 2019, XII, 313 for examples). This is useful in providing a continuity to the narrative of India as an ancient entity with a diverse population that came to be united in the anti-colonial struggle.

This homogenisation of history is of a Hindu character, wherein the indigenous population is perceived as Hindu and texts from Hinduism such as the Vedas and Manusmriti are presented in an uncritical, glorified light. The past is referred to in Hindu terms, as can be observed here:

> The British saw Indians as backward and primitive, incapable of governing themselves. In response, Indians began looking into the past to discover India's great achievements. They wrote about the glorious developments in ancient times when art and architecture, science and mathematics, religion and culture, law and philosophy, crafts and trade had flourished. This glorious time, in their view, was followed by a history of decline, when India was colonised. These nationalist histories urged the readers to take pride in India's great achievements in the past and struggle to change the miserable conditions of life under British rule. These efforts to unify people were not without problems. When the past being glorified was Hindu, when the images celebrated were drawn from Hindu iconography, then people of other communities felt left out. (JKBOSE, History, 2019, X, 48)

There is no discussion on the people/organisations that enabled this to happen, and the implications of 'other communities' being left out. The absence of context that makes for a reductionist reading of history. For example, a textbook in the same textbook reads "It was in the twentieth century, with the growth of nationalism, that the identity of India came to be visually associated with the image of "Bharat Mata" (Ibid) with no critique, further saying that "Devotion to this mother figure came to be seen as evidence of one's nationalism." (Ibid) normalising a gendered portrayal of the nation with no mention of its communal, aggressive past. Ramaswamy (2002) provides a comprehensive analysis of the visualisation of India's geo-body to produce a specific nationalist response from its citizens, which in return evokes a

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[45] The primordialist approach insists on the fixed nature of nations and ethnicities which are not susceptible to change (Geertz, 1973, 259-60). This implies a rigidity to the nation as if a modern nation-state is the logical outcome of shared identities.

"patriotic devotion to the nation" (Kaul, 2018). While territory is feminised, the state itself is masculine – to protect the territory and its people.

The masculinist image is specifically Hindu, and upper caste. Even the nation is spiritually primarily Hindu and later, a diverse land though its spiritually has universal impact,

> India's contacts with the World… The ideas of the Upanishads and the Ramayana, the stories of Panchtantra, the Indian numerals and the decimal system thus could reach many parts of the world (JKBOSE, Geography, 2019, IX, 4).

Brahmins and rajas are glorified and credited with the writing of the Vedas and the text specifically mentions how lower caste people could be popular if they could learn the Vedas citing examples of a Slave woman Jubali (JKBOSE, History, 2019, VI, 53). The inclusion of stories from Hindu holy books such as that of the monkey god, Hanuman, a popular character from *Ramayana*[46] in the textbook (Ibid, 93) is worrisome considering a mythological text is included in a history textbook, lending authenticity to be seen as history in contrast to fiction. Hinduism and India are often conflated together to present Hinduism as the normative ethno-religious reality of the country. One example is presented below from the Geography textbook from Grade XI that uses the term 'Indian calendar' for the Hindu calendar:

TRADITIONAL INDIAN SEASONS

In the Indian tradition, a year is divided into six two-monthly seasons. This cycle of seasons, which the common people in north and central India follow is based on their practical experience and age-old perception of weather phenomena. However, this system does not match with the seasons of south India where there is little variation in the seasons.

Seasons	Months (According to the Indian Calendar)	Months (According to the Gregorian Calendar)
Vasanta	Chaitra-Vaisakha	March-April
Grishma	Jyaistha-Asadha	May-June
Varsha	Sravana-Bhadra	July-August
Sharada	Asvina-Kartika	September-October
Hemanta	Margashirsa-Pausa	November-December
Shishira	Magha-Phalguna	January-February

Figure 9: NCERT, 2019, XI(i), 49

There is emphasis on normalisation of Hindi, a language predominantly spoken in Northern parts of India, over local languages as a set standard that everyone is

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[46] A holy book for Hindus.

expected to understand, if not speak. While the Political Science textbook for Grade X also states,

> Promotion of Hindi continues to be the official policy of the government of India. Promotion does not mean that the Central Government can impose Hindi on states where people speak a different language. The flexibility shown by Indian political leaders helped our country avoid the kind of situation that Sri Lanka finds itself in (2011, 17).

The statement above normalises promotion of Hindi with scant attention to what this means for regional languages while also pointing out the benevolence of Indian leaders whom non-Hindi speakers should be grateful to, and for the fact that India is in a 'better' position than its neighbours. This is also carried out through more descript means such as the overwhelming presence of Hindi poetry used in both the JKBOSE and NCERT textbooks that are translated into English (JKBOSE, EVS, 2019, 16, 46; NCERT, EVS, 2019, 2). This trend continues in later classes where poetic space is mainly given to Hindi writers, while automatically marginalising local language poets with smaller audiences. Alternative names for galaxies, stars and other geographical features are repeatedly presented in Hindi and not local vernacular languages, this is also observed in NCERT versions. To take an example, the 'Indian name' for Milky Way is said to be *Aakash Ganga* (JKBOSE, Geography, VI, 6) but it is only the Hindi name, with the name varying in many languages such as Tamil and Telugu, which are also spoken in India. The use of Hindi across textbooks, sometimes even without translation such as the one presented below assumes that all students studying under this curriculum know Hindi and the Devanagari script even though Hindi is not a compulsory subject for students and they can opt to study regional languages. This not only undermines local languages but also excludes non-Hindi speaking student as they are not confining to the 'norm'.[47]

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[47] The New Education Policy Draft 2020 had also attempted to recommend that students in Non-Hindi speaking states learn a regional language, Hindi and English while those in Hindi speaking states learn Hindi, English and a 'modern' Indian language. This was vehemently opposed by political parties in South India, post which the Central government had dismissed this in the final Policy. For complete coverage, see: https://scroll.in/latest/927007/southern-railway-asks-station-staff-to-speak-in-english-and-hindi-avoid-regional-languages [Last accessed on 6/11/2020]

The imposition of Hindi over the country is exacerbated by the conflation of region and religion, India is Hindi-speaking Hindu, is complimented by the political, India is a Hindu nation:

> The name Bharata (Indians) was used for a group of people who lived in the northwest, and who are mentioned in the Rigveda, the earliest composition in Sanskrit (dated to about 3500 years ago). Later it was used for the country. (NCERT, History, 2019,VI,4)

The Veda as has been mentioned previously are religious texts for Hinduism and by linking it to the nation clearly outline the state-religion nexus. This is also observed in how monuments are referred to as Indian such as the Iron Pillar (Ibid, 22) which was built by the Gupta rulers, however the Guptas did not refer to themselves as Indian or their empire as India. It is also pertinent to note that in this Hinduisation of India, the caste system is ever present, and it is the upper-caste narrative that is normalised – the Rig Veda, which notes the first mention of the caste hierarchy is mentioned as the oldest Hindu scripture. The *Manusmriti* is referred to as the "one of the best-known legal texts of early India" (NCERT, History, 2019, XI(i), 39) with no mention of its extremely problematic and regressive positioning on gender and caste. In fact, even when referring to anti-caste movement, the term used is "Non-Brahman movement" (JKBOSE, History, 2019, VIII, 105) – an umbrella term used to refer to *all* social movements critical of Brahmans and the caste system even though the people referred to such as Periyar and Ambedkar were not only critical of the caste system, but Hinduism as a whole including their various scriptures such as Manusmriti and practises such as untouchability while also imagining alternative social systems. In addition, there is an attempt to show the Army as a prime opportunity for lower-caste people to gain societal standing, including referring to the father of B.R Ambedkar, an anti-caste campaigner who was a Dalit himself, teaching at an Army school (JKBOSE, History, 2019 VIII, 101).

This information box in the same textbook below is worth noting:

Who could produce shoes?

Leatherworkers have been traditionally held in contempt since they work with dead animals which are seen as dirty and polluting. During the First World War, however, there was a huge demand for shoes for the armies. Caste prejudice against leather work meant that only the traditional leather workers and shoemakers were ready to supply army shoes. So they could ask for high prices and gain impressive profits.

Fig. 10 – *Madigas making shoes, nineteenth-century Andhra Pradesh*
Madigas were an important untouchable caste of present-day Andhra Pradesh. They were experts at cleaning hides, tanning them for use, and sewing sandals.

Figure 10: An information box from History textbook for Grade VIII (JKBOSE, 2019, 101)

The visual representation of Dalit communities in this chapter portrays them in groups and working, in black and white emphasising on their pastness. The caption for the image above already uses the term 'were an untouchable…' despite the fact the Madiga community is alive and present in present day India, continue to belong to the Dalit community though they are now also involved in other professions.[48] Chaturvedi, notes that caste is taught as history which means students may end up believing that caste does not exist in "modern" India today, and the Constitution is repeatedly invoked as providing protection against any possible form of caste discrimination which Chaturvedi labels as 'textbook gaslighting' (2019). War is presented as an opportunity for people from the Madigas caste to improve their livelihood and while they are deemed "important", and could "gain impressive profits", there is little said if providing shoes for soldiers changed the status of untouchability imposed upon them by upper-caste people.

Anti-caste struggles, and caste violence is repeatedly depicted as an issue of marginalised groups with little focus on the source of the problem, and with very careful attempts to separate religion from the practise, even though the caste system is sanctioned, propagated, and perpetuated within Hinduism. Anti-caste leaders have

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[48] For detailed information on the Madiga community, their beliefs and the Leather industry, see Ilaiah (2009).

been de-radicalised to show how these movements wanted to reform the caste system, such as Ambedkar in this sentence, "This movement for caste reform was continued in the twentieth century by other great Dalit leaders like Dr B.R. Ambedkar in western India and E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker in the south." (JKBOSE, History, 2019, VIII, 104) even though Ambedkar's radical critique of the caste system and Hinduism was titled "Annihilation of Caste" (1936). This de-radicalization of history and of anti-caste figures constitute an erasure of history and simultaneously attempts to water down these struggles in contemporary India while preserving the Hindu nation. The implications of this for people belonging to "lower-caste" are severe and increasingly being opposed by anti-caste scholars, especially in regions such as Rajasthan. In Rajasthan, the state textbooks have sanitized caste as a social professional system rather than a violent social hierarchy, but returning to my argument, this is crucial to note as then the representation of India is not only Hindu, it is upper-caste Hindu which may have had caste-based violence in the past and but not anymore. There is no reference to caste practise in the region of J&K. In any case, if there may be caste discrimination, the Constitution will protect all citizens hence loyalty to the state and Constitution are important for all – even those socially excluded from holding any power in the Hindu nation, see below:

> Adivasis, Dalits, Muslims, women and other marginal groups argue that simply by being citizens of a democratic country, they possess equal rights that must be respected. Many among them look up to the Constitution to address their concerns (JKBOSE, Political Science, 2019, VIII, 95)

The violence relating to Hinduism is repeatedly downplayed, as can be seen in the textbook's coverage of caste, and Hindu extremists. Note how Gandhi's assassin is presented below:

> At his daily prayer meeting on the evening of 30 January, Gandhiji was shot dead by a young man. The assassin, who surrendered afterwards, was a Brahmin from Pune named Nathuram Godse, the editor of an extremist Hindu newspaper who had denounced Gandhiji as "an appeaser of Muslims" (NCERT, History, 2019, XII(iii), 366)

The absence of any mention of the *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS) or the National Volunteer Organisation, the extremist Hindutva organization where Godse was radicalised is in keeping with the general theme of downplaying the presence and role of Hindu extremist organisations. The RSS is in fact presented as a "vocational" organization:

> …this was also the period when the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya
> Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) were gaining strength. The latter spread from its
> Nagpur base to the United Provinces, the Punjab, and other parts of the
> country in the 1930s. By 1940, the RSS had over 100,000 trained and highly
> disciplined cadres pledged to an ideology of Hindu nationalism, convinced
> that India was a land of the Hindus. (Ibid, 387)

Hindutva is also deradicalized heavily as noted here, and presented uncritically:

> … the BJP adopted a broader political platform than that of the Jana Sangh. It
> embraced 'Gandhian Socialism' as its ideology. But it did not get much
> success in the elections held in 1980 and 1984. After 1986, the party began to
> emphasise the Hindu nationalist element in its ideology. The BJP pursued the
> politics of 'Hindutva' and adopted the strategy of mobilising the Hindus.
> Hindutva literally means 'Hinduness' and was defined by its originator, V. D.
> Savarkar, as the basis of Indian (in his language also Hindu) nationhood. It
> basically meant that to be members of the Indian nation, everyone must not
> only accept India as their 'fatherland' (pitrubhu) but also as their holy land
> (punyabhu). Believers of 'Hindutva' argue that a strong nation can be built
> only on the basis of a strong and united national culture. They also believe
> that in the case of India the Hindu culture alone can provide this base.
> (NCERT, Political Science, 2020, XII, 184)

Denial of the extremist nature of these organisations and links to fascist ideologies[49] which these organisations and their founders drew upon, is crucial to the presentation of Hinduism as an inherently peaceful religion hence India being a peaceful country that even fought its anti-colonial struggle majorly based on a non-violent movement led by Gandhi. The intertwining of non-violence and the nation-state is observable in the manner members of the freedom struggle and people considered crucial to nation-making are remembered and represented. The textbooks select figures to glorify while moulding others by choosing what aspects of their writings and actions to depict. As I noted earlier, while a radical figure critical of the Indian state, Ambedkar is de-radicalised, others like Gandhi have not only been highly glorified but completely white-washed and have entire chapters dedicated to him. It is Gandhi who is depicted as a fighter against the caste system while Ambedkar, who fought and won fundamental legal protection to the Dalit community, alongside also providing for their political upliftment is reduced to a sidenote (JKBOSE, EVS, 2019, IV, 169), emblematic of how the nation chooses and promotes its leaders.

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[49] For a detailed explanation on the links between Hindu nationalism and European fascism with archival evidence, please see Casolari (2000).

There is also a gendered dimension to the portrayal of figures – there is an overwhelming focus on men while the few women presented are directly linked with their role in nation-making. It is commendable that the gendered portrayal of women leaders in history is noted to be presented as masculine such as in the case of Rani of Jhansi (NCERT, History, 2019, XII(iii), 313) but the texts often do the same by presenting women in terms of their links to extraordinary achievements such as scaling Mt Everest or the nation such as Bachhendri Pal, mentioned as the first Indian woman to scale Mt Everest with an introduction to the Indian national flag (JKBOSE, EVS, 2019, V, 90). Note the insistence on the "Indian" flag here:

Think

- Why did Bachhendri put up the Indian flag on the peak?
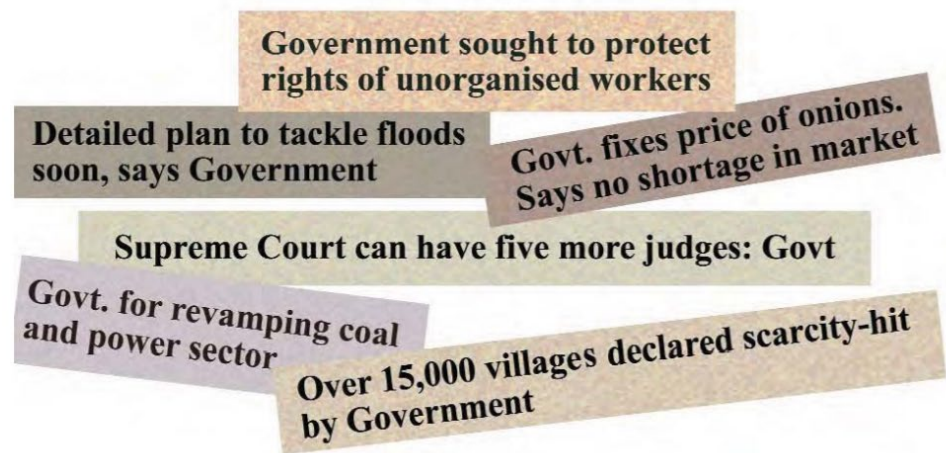- When have you seen our national flag being hoisted?

Figure 11: Cutout from chapter on Bachhendri Pal (JKBOSE, EVS, 2019, V, 90)

The emphasis on "Indian" is crucial to note as until August 5, 2019, IAJK had its own flag often seen as an insecurity to Indian nationalism. Hence, stressing upon the primacy of the Indian flag sends a message of supremacy of the Indian nation over any regional aspirations. Women and the nation are very closely linked and are used to push forth for nationalism under the garb of feminism such as the case of 'Defence Officer Wahida' – a woman from a heavily militarised region joining the Indian army, a move widely celebrated normalizing the presence of Indian Army in local villages in IAJK which presents an overtly positive image and the "honor" associated

in joining the Armed Forces (JKBOSE, EVS, 2019, IV, 115). The insertion of national symbols is noted as naturalisation of the nation and propagating values of nationalism which is complimented by the monopolisation of state violence through glorification of defence (noted in examples relating to Ambedkar and Wahida) and presenting the Police, amongst other tools of state violence, as the ones to protect from criminals (JKBOSE, Political Science, 2019, VIII, 66).

The textbooks make it a point to establish the Constitution as the repository of all solutions to any issues Indians might have. There is little critique offered since the nation and constitution are conflated with the state, presented primarily as a benevolent provider of the people. Note this introduction to the Government through these images in the textbooks for Political Science:

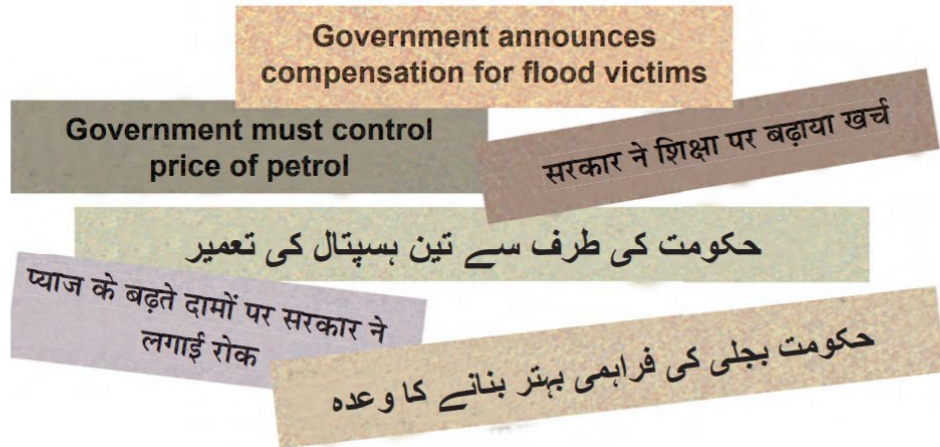*Figure 12: Introducing the Government (NCERT, EVS, 2019, V, 23)*

Government announces
compensation for flood victims

Government must control
price of petrol

سرکار نے شیکشا پر بڑھایا خرچ

حکومت کی طرف سے تین ہسپتال کی تعمیر

پیاز کے بڑھتے داموں پر سرکار نے لگائی روک

حکومت بجلی کی فراہمی بہتر بنانے کا وعدہ

Figure 13: Introducing Government (JKBOSE, EVS, 2019, V, 18)

The government is presented as a caretaker of citizens that protects and guarantees their rights. It is shown as progressive (giving women the right to vote at independence unlike Anglo European nations (34)), here to "make life easier for people" (27) while being pro-active in handling issues of income inequality, discrimination, and resolving conflicts:

> Along with the former Untouchables, the adivasis or Scheduled Tribes were also granted reservation in seats and jobs. Like the Scheduled Castes, these Indians too had been deprived and discriminated against. The tribals had been deprived of modern health care and education, while their lands and forests had been taken away by more powerful outsiders. The new privileges granted them by the Constitution were meant to make amends for this. (JKBOSE, History, 2019, VIII, 131)

Multiple government schemes and campaigns are highlighted throughout the textbooks such as the Narmada river conservation mission (JKBOSE, Geography, 2019, IX, 21), Digital India (Ibid, X, 88), conservation programme for the river Ganga (or Ganges) (NCERT, Geography (ii), 2020, XII(ii), 25), Swach Bharat Abhiyan (Clean India Campaign) to name a few. This is often done with the motive to highlight the 'progressive' credentials of the Indian state, of encouraging women-empowerment, top-down emphasis on cleanliness which is deliberately blind on how this impacts the marginalised.[50] In keeping with this, it is note-worthy that various

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[50] In the case of Swacch Bharat Abhiyaan, a globally celebrated scheme also awarded by the private philanthropic organization, Bill & Melinda Gates has failed to address caste and gender, which severely impact the use of toilets in the country. See Lalwani (2019) and Krishnan (2020a) for more information.

textbooks across different standards do talk about inequalities and discrimination on the basis of religion, caste or sex – however there is very little mention of political suppression creating space for 'progress' within confines of the nation. The image of the benevolent state is complimented by a 'neutral player' entity that does not censor media coverage (JKBOSE, Political Science, 2019, VII, 76), reaffirming its secular credentials (JKBOSE, Political Science, 2019, VIII, 21) and fight social exclusion. The primary difficulties the government faces are handling citizen's problems which are based on financial, systemic, and religious inequalities and any demands that may threaten the state such as secessionist demands are a concern for countries like Canada and Spain (JKBOSE, Political Theory, 2019, IX, 99) while clearly avoiding any mention of self-determination movements that challenge the Indian state. The idea is that secessionist movements exist everywhere, including 'developed' countries so it is only a matter of providing them with better 'development'. This also provides an idea of what issues are deemed as acceptable discussion within classrooms and later, within society while clearly censoring issues such as the the movement for self-determination in IAJK.

5.3B Representation of the Indian state in thinktank publications

Thinktank publications focus primarily on the contemporary politics of India, though it is often grounded within historical and cartographical narratives existing in textbooks. For example, to take the discussion on cartographic representations forward. There are multiple entries on incorrect cartographic representations of the nation and how that is offensive to India:
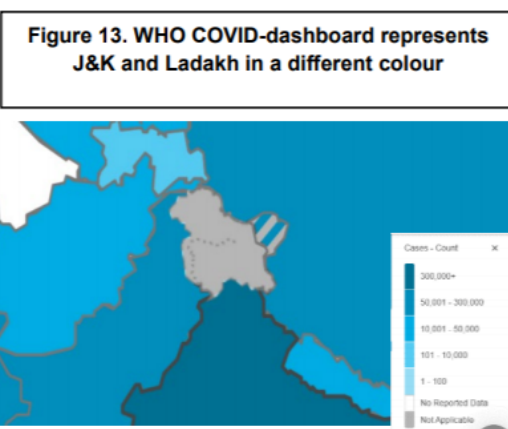
Figure 14: MC & Shukla (2020, 9)

These impressions are recorded since they are offensive to the visual depiction of a homogenous nation. Scholars, foreign media and industries have faced repercussions for depicting 'inaccurate' maps of India (Menon, 2017; Sharma, 2007) along with attempts to make it a crime to show certain regions as 'disputed', including the tabling of the Geospatial Information Regulation Bill 2016, reflective of cartographic insecurities perceived as a threat to a homogenous country united by history.

Moving on, in the case of thinktanks, it is the high amount of budget allocated to IAJK that is highlighted (Jha, 2020) and the democratic nature of the state that grants all rights to its citizens, the key word here being 'citizens' which demands a sense of loyalty and servitude towards the nation. The statement below from a thinktank called the *South Asia Analysis Group* shows this clearly:

> ..in demanding constitutional guarantees that the people of Kashmir must exercise their democratic right to protest but by using the Indian Tricolour instead of waving Pakistan's Parcham-e-Sitara and integrating the local population with the rest of the country. (Maahi, 2020)

So, the Indian state allows its citizens to protest, but only by methods acceptable to it. The othering of Pakistan is visible too, which is a common theme running across thinktank publications and the source of all problems in Kashmir. Note the examples below:

> While the world is trying hard to combat the COVID-19 catastrophe, Pakistan is busy fomenting fresh trouble inside Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) and along the Line of Control (LoC). (Bhatt, 2020)

> We must watch the neighbour's moves, his begging bowl in one hand, dagger in the other. (Sood, 2019)

And Pakistan as the radical Islamic terrorist state:

> It is well-known that PoK has emerged as an epicentre of terrorism. Pakistan has been using the region as a launch pad to perpetrate cross-border terror attacks against India. The way terrorist groups have mushroomed in PoK all these years could not have been possible without Pakistan exercising tight control over the region (Singh, 2020).

> Since the beginning of terrorism in Kashmir; terror masterminds operating from Pakistan, the DGISPR and their supporters in India, have made every effort to stoke more violence in the Valley. (Bhat, 2019)

There is a distinct attempt to portray Pakistan as a chaotic, undemocratic, military rule, and Islamic terrorist state and this otherisation is important for India to glorify

its own state and provide justification for any criticisms levied against it. This obsession with Pakistan gives light to the idea of the government that allows its loyal citizens to protest is pitted against a military ruled state with no security. The otherisation of the Pakistan allows for large defence investments and for political parties to use it to hype nationalism, garner votes, and by telling their religious minorities to be grateful they were not born in Pakistan and to "Go Back to Pakistan" (Dutta, 2019; TimesofIndia, 2019; Aljazeera, 2019) if they express dissent. The term Pakistan has been subsequently reduced to a slur and a synonym for being anti-national used against dissenting individuals. The case of Amulya Leone, who was arrested for saying 'Pakistan Zindabad Hindustan Zindabad' (Long Live Pakistan, Long Live India)[51] is a clear example of this and she was immediately charged with sedition and imprisoned (Shantha, 2020). Even association with the neighbouring country is reason enough to justify violence since it is a 'Islamic terrorist' state. Contrast this with the glorification of the Indian state's democratic credentials:

> India then, and now even more so, represents the secular, democratic tradition rather than the now-its-on-now-its-off democratic, Islamic state of Pakistan. (Ahluwalia, 2019)

> At the very outset it needs to be stressed that since the decision was announced on August 5, 2019, the Government of India (GoI) has not shied away from giving information and updates on the situation in Kashmir. Whether it is replying to national and international media, in global multilateral forums, parliament, or arranging tour of European MPs, the government has been remarkably forthcoming in providing physical access to the region, within reasonable limits, and in sharing its assessment of the ground-situation and its plans for the future. This approach speaks volumes of India's strong democratic credentials vis-à-vis the nations who blatantly accuse India of HR violations. In contrast, their human rights track record reeks of despotism and brutality. (Sahay & Pandya, 2020, 4)

The thinktank publications attempts to cement India's democratic credentials which the country is more than capable and responsible enough to defend against the backward and extremist Pakistan state. Note the example provided below:

> Two decades later, India has shed the image of a reluctant nuclear power and morphed into being a responsible one. The credit for this achievement can be traced to the wisdom that is embedded in India's nuclear doctrine that has guided the development, growth and deployment of its nuclear wherewithal (Menon, 2019).

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[51] Translation mine.

The above shows us the binary construction of India and Pakistan, while this effectively otherizes Pakistan, this binary is harmful because it actively seeks to obliterate the shared pasts of both these countries. It creates an atmosphere of one or the other instead of scope for dialogue or recommending policies which seeks to better their relations.

5.3C Representing IAJK and its peoples in textbooks

The themes that emerge out of analysing Social Science textbooks referring to the region are representing the region as one of immense diversity and with the potential for development, pictures as a tourist hot spot. Additionally, as an integral part of the Indian nation as historically being Hindu and contemporary as the nation-state saving the region from foreign invaders. I elaborate upon each one of these themes with relevant evidence from the textbooks. It should be noted that many of these chapters are not a part of NCERT textbooks hence they are specifically meant for students within the region. This provides the backdrop in which the Indian state not only attempts to define the students past, present and future creating a template for what the perfect citizen from IAJK should be. This imposition of a specific identity which is favourable to the Indian state is a colonial move and takes place by disregarding indigenous knowledge systems and imposing a standardized, national curriculum. In addition, this information is supplemented with text from thinktank publications where the Kashmir valley is widely covered, where some common themes emerge, such as Kashmir's integrality to India, the region being backward and needing development that is provided by the Indian state, as a disturbed area with radical Islamist tendencies with the people either victims of conflict, arrogant or terrorists.

In the textbooks, keeping up with the tradition of representing the region, but specifically the valley of Kashmir as a 'paradise on Earth', tourism tropes are highly visible within the textbooks. Even the first reference to the region is a chapter on "Visit to J&K" (JKBOSE, EVS, 2019, IV, 73), and they are replete with examples of people from other regions in India travelling to IAJK for holidays and tourism purposes. Note some examples below that depict Kashmir as the ideal tourist spot,

> People from far off places come to see the beauty of Kashmir Valley. They are called tourists (JKBOSE, EVS, 2019, IV, 79)

> However heathful climate of Kashmir attracted the Mughal Kings, and nobility for frequent visits to the enchanting valley. It, therefore, became a tourist resort to which people flocked to pass the summer days in happiness (JKBOSE, History, 2019, VII, 90)

> Tourism Industry is being considered as the backbone of the economy for Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. The beautiful valleys, snow clad peaks, lakes and springs, attracts people from all over the world. (JKBOSE, Geography, 2019, VIII, 78)

The danger of this narrative is the absence of focus on the people this region, as if the valley of Kashmir is an uninhabited land of natural beauty, set up for tourism. A chapter in the Class VII, Political Science textbooks goes so far as to list the districts and tehsils[52] in the Union Territory (Henceforth, UT) of J&K, 20 places with 20 pictures and not even a single one has even one local person in it (JKBOSE, Political Science, 2019, VII, 124), neither in the places in the UT of Ladakh despite one of the pictures including a tall Indian flag (Ibid). The few times that the people of the entire region are referred to, the material echoes colonial stereotypes of these peoples, such as the Dogra community (majority in Jammu) being 'brave' (JKBOSE, EVS, 2019, IV, 74) which is also observed in context of the Gujjar community presented as nomadic tribal people who don't care for the world and people who are happy despite their troubles in life – presenting a romanticised image of tribal people with little control of their resources but happy because they are assumed to be content with their life. For Ladakhis, the text goes so far as to say,

> People of this region rear goats…. Winter is very severe. Villages are at long distances. So life is very difficult, yet people are cheerful, laughing, singing and dancing all the time (Ibid, 80).

> For Kashmiris, the description is of hard-working artisans, with global fame for their blankets, carpets and shawls who are also 'interested to music and dance'. (Ibid, 78).

The reference of these regions such as of Ladakh in religious and of Jammu with names of all the Hindu holy sites also contributes to divisions within, often weaponized by successive colonial powers and successive Indian state governments for their benefit. The region as a whole is presented as a land with religious and cultural diversity (JKBOSE, EVS, 2019, IV, 78), with a Hindu past, or rather it is the parts of the region's history that is palatable to the Hindu nation that are stressed on
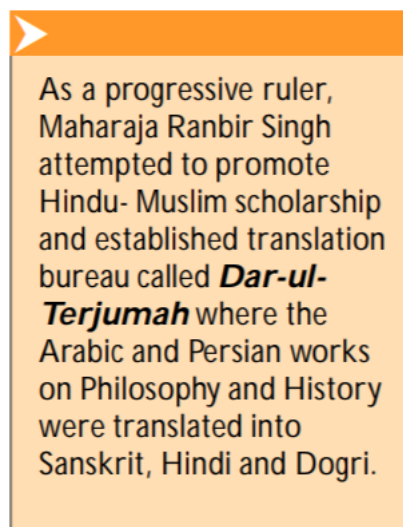
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[52] Small administrative unit.

such as the importance of Jammu for Hindus as a holy site (Ibid, 74) and the celebration of the region's Hindu rulers (JKBOSE, History, 2019, VIII, 143).

Kabir (2009) notes how academic work post 1974 has continued the historical project of the Dogra rulers, the British and the Kashmiri Pandits of promoting the Valley by linking it to Shaivism. She notes how a state department produced analysis of texts from Kashmir upholds Shaivite philosophy as "the "greatest" of Kashmir's many "humanistic achievements"" (2009, 101). Similarly, within textbooks, there is an overwhelming focus on the Hindu history of the region while Islam is clearly mentioned as a foreign religion clearly lending to the narrative and distinction between indigenous Hindus and Muslim foreigners. While focusing on medieval history of the region, the introduction and spread of Islam in the region is specifically looked at while glorifying Sufi saints and upholds Mughal rule in the region for development and rehabilitating the shattered economy, trade, architecture, gardens, promoting art and devaluation of Sanskrit. This supposedly had a firm grounding earlier amongst people (JKBOSE, History, 2019, VII, 100), and "religious gurus had reduced religion to sorcery, magic and exorcism, polytheism, corruption, social conflict, reigned supreme in society" (Ibid, 101) portraying the society as heavily influenced by religion and one of historical conflict which has continued into the contemporary world due to continuous power shifts within the region by external rulers.

In the case of Hari Singh, he is celebrated as a "Progressive ruler" (see box below) who set up free education for all, including women and ended untouchability.

As a progressive ruler, Maharaja Ranbir Singh attempted to promote Hindu- Muslim scholarship and established translation bureau called *Dar-ul-Terjumah* where the Arabic and Persian works on Philosophy and History were translated into Sanskrit, Hindi and Dogri.

Figure 15: An information box (JKBOSE, History, 2019, VIII, 145)

In fact, the region is portrayed as backward and undeveloped where many social evils such as poverty, casteism, forced labour, religious divide existed, and especially oppression of women (Ibid, 146) are seen as major concerns which were sought to be fixed by the Hindu rulers. The ruler is celebrated as having passed major land reforms and abolish untouchability (Ibid, 148) with no mention of the political movements that brought about this change. The glorification of specifically Hindu rulers is crucial to link the region in religious and cultural terms with the history of India through history and geography – "As a result of the Mughal Conquest, Kashmir lost her separate entity and became an integral part of the Mughal Empire (JKBOSE, History, 2019, VII, 91). Complimented by the geo-strategic importance of the region, it was fertile ground for intervention by various kingdoms and rulers and the British colonial government (JKBOSE, History, 2019, VIII, 142).

The accession of the region is presented without any mention of the condition of the plebiscite (JKBOSE, Political Science, 2019, VII, 93), even removing the possibility of questioning the legitimacy of the Indian state. There is a mention of the political aspiration of Kashmiri people with a reduction of the entire region as an 'issue' as noted here:

> "Soon after Independence, the issue of Jammu and Kashmir came up. It was not only a conflict between India and Pakistan. More than that, it was a question of the political aspirations of the people of Kashmir valley" (NCERT, Political Science, 2020, XII, 150)

The narrative continues to refer to the region in specifically religious terms and goes on to justify why revoking the autonomy of the region was done because "inspite of it, J&K experienced violence, cross border terrorism, and political instability with internal and external ramifications. It also resulted in the loss of many lives including that of innocent civilians, security personnel and militants. Besides, there was also a large-scale displacement of Kashmiri Pandits from the Kashmir valley." (Ibid, 151) with no explanation about the same.

This is helpful in building continuity to the narrative of a region in 'perpetual conflict' saved by the Indian Army against invading 'tribals' and choosing to join the Indian union. Note this description below:

> Though the Maharaja was in a dilemma about the accession of the state with one of the two newly created Dominions but the dilemma was short-lived. A

number of events occurred in quick succession which finally led to the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India… Tribal invasions: Meanwhile…Pashtun (the north-western) tribals invaded Kashmir. On October 22, 1947, a large number of armed tribals entered .. their march was temporarily checked at Uri through a brave resistance offered by about one hundred and fifty state soldiers under the command of Brigadier Rajinder Singh who was killed fighting a last ditch battle…Though a meeting of Defense Committee on October 25, 1947 under the chairmanship of Lord Mountbatten in Delhi considered Maharaja's demand for the supply of arms and ammunition but urged that it would not be possible to send in any troops unless Jammu and Kashmir had first offered to accede. Maharaja signed the instrument of accession on 26th Oct, 1947. Later on, on the basis of the information provided by V.P.Menon, military help was provided and the Indian Armed Forces airlifted to Srinagar who were successful in carrying out the rescue operation and pushed back the invaders. Meanwhile, the invaders also made a determined bid to occupy Ladakh. But it was saved owing to the superior strategy of the Indian Military and Air force which built up defense for Ladakh (JKBOSE, History, 2019, IX, 119)

…Pakistan sponsored a tribal invasion of the State in 1947 (NCERT, Political Science, 2020, XII, 155)

By 1989, the State (J&K) had come in the grip of a militant movement mobilised around the cause of a separate Kashmiri nation. The insurgents got moral, material and military support from Pakistan. (Ibid, 156)

This very selective retelling of history glorifies the Indian Army, 'rescues' the region without any mention of who is being rescued and continues on to claim the entire erstwhile state of J&K as Indian territory clearly demarcating it from 'Pakistan Occupied J&K' (Ibid, 120) (JKBOSE, Geography, 2019, X, 6). While the focus here is on the agency of the Indian state and portraying it as the saviour against the invaders, it completely fails to account for the role played by the people of the region itself in the same. While Sheikh Abdullah was in power in the region, a local militia consisting of people of all faiths and notably, women were trained and supported to defend the capital city of Srinagar against the invaders (Whitehead, 2010). However, it is only the Indian Army's role that is highlighted while Kashmiris are once again, erased from their own history in a territory emptied out of its people. This narrative is supported pictorially in textbooks as noted below. In addition, nation- building activities include asking students to mark the areas under 'Pakistani occupation' and to "collect information about the strategic importance of this area" (Ibid, 122) in a move to instil the illegitimacy of their neighbouring country's claim while enforcing Indian nationalism.

Figure 16: Newspaper clipping (NCERT, Political Science, 2020, XII, 154)

This misrepresentation of history is crucial in erasure of the region's history and justifying it's present, hence, India is represented in a positive light as regard to saving the region, approaching the UN, respecting UN resolutions even though India never implemented the UN Resolution calling for plebiscite in the region.

The shift in the region's status to a Union Territory from an autonomous state has already been updated in all textbooks and J&K's historical accession and subsequent changes are presented as 'modernising J&K'. For this, the recent addition of a new chapter in the History textbook for class X (JKBOSE, 2019, 129) titled "Post-Independence Era: J&K on the Path of Modernisation" depicts how the Indian State from the very beginning has been wanting to 'develop' and 'modernise' J&K. Note how it "traces the trajectory of governance, planned economy, state building, reforms in Agrarian, Education & Health Sectors and other developmental programmes that were initiated under the Naya Kashmir Manifesto." (Ibid, 129) without any mention of how this process has been impacted by intense militarization of the region or the sheer violence of the Indian state against people. While the mention of the region's own Constitution is commendable, it is telling of the Indian State's view of the region and its political leaders. It emphasises upon the "Kashmiri secular identity"

(Ibid, 130) and glorifies Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad who sought financial aid from Government of India to modernize Kashmir in contrast to Sheikh Abdullah who wanted to build a self-sufficient independent state. The Indian state is also straightforward as to the future that any talk of self-determination should lead to,

> …there came a paradigm shift in Sheikh Abdullah's political thinking. In the later years of his rule,many of his speeches asserting self-determination for Jammu &Kashmir and his ties with some western Diplomats created apprehensions within the Indian Government. As such the Government of India started losing faith in Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and as a result he was arrested in 1953 and imprisoned for a period of eleven years (Ibid)

And hence we see the representation of the Indian State as one that doesn't tolerate any talk of self-determination but provides for the best conditions for the region to develop and modernise. It goes on to define the priority of the 'nascent state' as *only* economic reforms, while the 'state building measures' were financed by the Government of India. The region of Kashmir as a backward region with a lot of potential in terms of development is visible through many textbooks, note the examples below:

> The river Jhelum has a great potential of generating hydroelectricity and many power projects like Uri -I, Uri -II, Kishanganga are already commissioned and are contributing in the economic development of the region (JKBOSE, Geography, 2019, VII, 82)

The newly accorded status of 'Union Territory' to the bifurcated region (excludes the region of Ladakh but includes the region referred to as POJK) is asserted repetitively identity that has been imposed by the Indian state on the region. This is also made visible through images such as the one presented below with the Indian flag, in a move that erases any evidence of the official state flag existing until 5th August 2019, where all symbols were removed to ensure complete Domination of the Indian state.

Figure 17: J&K Legislature (JKBOSE, Political Science, 2019, IX, 92)

The fact that the image is presented in textbooks to be used within the region is a performance of control that fixes Kashmir in the territory and imagination of India.

The revocation of state autonomy has also been justified in the name of 'development' (Zia, 2020a), an achievement the Indian state claims all ownership on historically through "Infrastructure development: roads and buildings, Industrial growth sped up, Kashmir Chalo Campaign: Boost to tourism and Indian Film Industry" (JKBOSE, History, 2019, X, 132). Presently, it justifies its actions as

> Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh are living examples of plural society in India. Not only are there diversities of all kind (religious, cultural, linguistic, ethnic and tribal) but there are also divergent political and developmental aspirations, which have been sought to be achieved by the latest Act. (NCERT, Political Science, 2020, XII, 158)

The Indian State is presented as the ever-benevolent benefactor of the region with special concessions for the people – if they work hard enough to integrate into the country. This is done by emphasising the financial support provided to the state:

> The State of J&K was among the poorest regions of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 and therefore, it could not think of launching ambitious development plans without financial support from outside. In the post-1947 era the state received huge financial support from the Central Government. About 90% of the State's Five Year Plans were funded by the Centre. The State was categorized as a Special … the Central financial assistance helped the state in carrying out its developmental projects but at the same time, it increased the dependence of the state on the Centre and also led to its indebtedness. (Ibid)

Government schemes are celebrated such as

> PMSSS (Prime Minister Special Scholarship Scheme): it is scholarship scheme for the students of Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh UTs.. introduced to build capabilities of youth of the J&K and Ladakh (JKBOSE, Political Science, 2019, VII, 124).

Hence, we note from the above that the Indian state seeks to construct IAJK in a manner suitable to itself – while the region is presented as a paradise, there is an active erasure of indigenous histories attempting to Persuade the people that their history is complimentary to the Indian state's. While this can also be dehumanising as it seeks to eradicate one's sense of belonging to the region, this is followed by an attempt to offer 'development', 'employment' and avail the generosity of the Indian state in exchange for their allegiance to the Indian state. Hence, we note how this

knowledge production seeks to establish Domination over the people of IAJK through Persuasion.

5.2D Representation of peoples of IAJK in thinktank publications

Post August 2019, thinktanks have used similar language to the textbooks in presenting people of IAJK, taking a more aggressive approach. Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS) published a Special Report on "Article 370 and Reorganization of J&K" in August 2019 itself, that includes views from former military and intelligence related people who have worked in J&K, journalists, diplomats and lawyers. Only one woman is included who is also not from the region, and out of the 10 people interviewed, only 3 are from the region out of whom one is ex-Director General of Police, J&K, and another is an Indian diplomat. There's a very careful attempt to curate the narrative on J&K to suit the Indian state while actively rendering Kashmiris themselves voiceless. The thinktanks offered a wide variety of analysis of the move often parroting the government's narrative of the revocation being justified in the name of development and the liberation of women (Khullar, 2019; Pant, 2020a; Sahay & Pandya, 2020, 12) and referred to as a "masterstroke" (Misra, 2019) as well as "a legal genius" (Sareen, 2019) with few reports highlighting the impact of this move on the people. Often this narrative came from Kashmiri writers (Shah, 2020c,d) but is mainly limited to analysis of terrorism and rarely, human right issues. This is symptomatic of the native informant[53] – a Kashmiri writer who can provide insider knowledge of the Indian mind's understanding of the biggest issue in Kashmir – Islamic terrorism. Here, one can also observe the agency of the writer, wherein they use this space to bring in critique, albeit limited of the state's policies in the region and bring forth the plight of people making an argument for more rights for Kashmiri people, as can be noted here:

> The insurgency that was born out of a state entrenched in corruption undermining the state authority and its institutions, with political-police-bureaucratic nexus made Kashmir a fertile ground for Pakistan to wage its proxy war against India. Decades of unending violence has deprived the poor

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[53] For more on the creation of the native informant, see Spivak (1999) *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason* that seeks to trace the figure of the native informant through a "range of philosophical presuppositions, historical excavations and literary representations of the dormant" (xi). The native informant is often tasked with the burden of representing the whole of the 'other' and this informant is given this title only if they suit the dormant, or in this case, colonisers narrative. This is used to build *consent* for the colonisers policies.

and vulnerable of essential services, leaving them to fear for the safety of their family and suffer daily extortion. (Wani, 2020b)

This assertion and warning of the writer is encompassed in a smart critique that also others Pakistan to effectively bargain for people's survival, an example of the many myriad ways in which everyday resistance might be formulated in the people of IAJK. The position of the Kashmiri individual in this context is rendered problematic – they cannot deny the fact that there is militancy or an issue of governance so they are liable to be used selectively by the Indian state. A critique of the rising militancy will be highlighted while that on corruption of the Indian state or rigging of elections is carefully discarded. Therefore, we can see how in the Indian state's control of knowledge, selective voices are appropriated which is celebrated as granting Kashmiris the right to freedom of expression. It is also reflective of the state's coloniality as being negotiated and reformulated as the coloniser finds new means to continue limiting freedoms so that even basic freedoms, such as the right to expression as upheld as a major democratic step and lends itself to a generous image of the Indian state.

Thinktank publications seek to assert the narrative of India being the 'rightful owner' of IAJK while Pakistan is the illegal occupier:

> Kashmir as 'Disputed Territory' bogey nauseatingly maintained by Pakistan ever since 1947 and permissively perpetuated by past Indian Governments due to political timidity faded into history on August 05 2019 when PM Narendra Modi BJP Government steered through Indian Parliament by overwhelming majority for abrogation of Article 370 and bifurcation of State into two Union Territories. (Kapila, 2019)

This narrative is supported by representing the people of IAJK as 'victims', who are in need of 'development' which a progressive Indian state can provide. Thinktanks support this by labelling only Kashmiris as "victims to various forms of radicalisation" (Shukla, 2020), "blindly" religious (Jha, 2020, 19), Kashmir as a victim of "structural violence" (Kumar, 2019), ignorant people who cannot make their own decisions (Sahay & Pandya, 2020, 12) and have internalized victimhood. Kashmiris as people who have internalized their own victimhood is dismissive of the role of the state in making them victims in the first place, the idea is that these people benefit out of their victimhood hence constantly play this card to gain international sympathy and national funds and benefits.

In contrast to this, there exists the image of the arrogant Kashmiri, the people who view "others with a dignified condescension" (Ahluwalia, 2019), and have "inflicted imperialism" on the people of Jammu and Ladakh (Kapila, 2019a). The third image is that of the 'terrorist" Kashmiri, a figure built on Islamophobic terms as can be noted in usage of terms such as "radicalised jihadi", people fighting for a "caliphate ideology" (Sahay & Pandya, 2020, 6) and emphasizes that the Kashmiri identity has undergone a transition from a Kashmiri one to a Muslim one to eventually, an Islamic one (Kaul, 2020). It is curious that though it is repeatedly stressed that all terrorism in Kashmir is sponsored by Pakistan, there is little discussion on the homegrown militants whose numbers have only increased (Tripathi, 2020) though the accusations on Pakistan range from "being the epicentre of terrorism" (Singh, 2020), smuggling drugs in the valley (Wani, 2020) and even "sending terrorists infected with coronavirus" (Bhatt, 2020). Portraying Pakistan actions extremist, irrational behaviour that often takes on a highly Islamophobic tone is used to contradict with the democratic and progressive, "responsible" (Deb, 2019) image of India, crucial for supporting the Indian state's stance on the region.

5.3E The use of 'othering'

From the above discussion, we note a deliberate strategy to represent the 'self' and 'other' with a specific goal of normalising and legitimising Indian state's Domination in the region. The overwhelming emphasis on benevolence of the Indian state is crucial to persuade the people of IAJK, and for consent of mainstream Indian citizens and the international community. Further the lack of inclusion of the people of IAJK within textbooks committees is reflective of the voice ignored and silenced. This results in certain knowledges – in the form of histories and oral memory tend to be systematically excluded to conform to the standard Indian identity. The dismissal of regional history for the 'nation's history' displays strategies of Coercion and Domination as practised via the medium of school textbooks. The attempt to 'erase' is deliberate which becomes exceedingly obvious when the regional history textbooks for example of Rajasthan, a state in north-west of India are rewritten to accommodate the local community's version of history – which has also been accepted without material evidence (Chowdhury, 2018) showing the dual standards of how the Indian state deals with different regions and the specific coloniality in its control over IAJK. Hence, it is noted that the indigenous history, culture, and

knowledge systems of IAJK are subordinated to the Indian state's which dominates knowledge production and circulation within the region.

There is also an imposition of an understanding of 'modernity' that the state seeks to implement on its own citizens and the peoples of IAJK. This 'modernity' is not completely Eurocentric it in terms of understanding of what is 'democratic', 'secular', 'development', however in the postcolonial nation state of India, there is a glorification of the lost "Hindu" past which is a world with modern technology but traditional customs and rituals especially regarding roles of religious minorities, lower caste peoples and gendered minorities. The next section explores this trajectory of postcolonial 'modernity' and its interaction with coloniality, specifically looking at a postcolonial nation state constructing a colonial modernity and its implications for the people of IAJK.

5.4 Morality of Modernity?

The last aspect of coloniality of knowledge – is the ethical and moral stance taken to justify the 'othering'. The modern credentials of the Indian state are crucial to justify its actions and policies, but especially so in regions with heavily asymmetric power relations with the Centre. The idea of what it means to be 'modern' is based on a European conception – involving the development of infrastructure and natural resources, be they democratic, individualised, liberal, secular, progressive, parliamentary, or technological, and this idea of modernity is not only celebrated but also held as the ideal which the Government shall lead the peoples to, especially those from 'backward' or 'uncivilised' regions. This role of imposing European modernity on the subcontinent grants a paternalistic role to the Indian state whereby it performs its functions for the development (betterment) of its citizens. Note the examples below which uphold colonial institutions,

> … experience gained by Indians in the working of the legislative institutions proved to be very useful for the country in setting up its own institutions and working in them. That is why the Indian constitution adopted many institutional details and procedures from colonial laws like the Government of India Act, 1935" (JKBOSE, Political Science, 2019, IX, 24)

And asserting the Indian state's capability to impose democratisation on the region of IAJK are presenting below. In addition to claims about Indian state's capacity to democratise other regions, note the implicit paternalism that assumes moral and legal

authority in Indian state for democratisation which would be achieved through "development" and "integration of hearts" (Wani 2020b).

> It is now the duty of the government of India to restore the confidence of the people of Kashmir, especially the disgruntled youth, in the democratic institutions of India and the freedoms and civil liberties enjoyed by the people in any other state or Union Territory. (Wani, 2019)

The above examples are from thinktank publications, which are more likely to influence public policy, also the space where Kashmiris demand better governance and protection for their region. The narrative created is reflective of the "civilising mission" trope employed by colonisers who in the name of democracy impose the majority rule on a minority population.

The benevolent state trope is complimented with stressing upon individual responsibility towards the state, nation, and the planet where the individual is emphasized over the collective:

> So it is we ourselves who have depleted our forests and wildlife. The greatest damage inflicted on Indian forests was during the colonial period .. after Independence, agricultural expansion continues to be one of the major causes of depletion of forest resources..parts of the tribal belts, especially in the northeastern and central India, have been deforested or degraded by shifting cultivation (jhum), a type of 'slash and burn' agriculture (JKBOSE, Geography, 2019, X, 17)

Focus on the individual is useful to distract students from asking questions as to who is responsible for these issues and the state's responsibility in the same. Providing individual solutions to collective, rather even national problems serves as a mere distraction for the citizenry that is asked to change its own behaviour rather than demand large-scale change such as defunding military institutions to increase education or clean energy expenditure. It enables the state to evade responsibility, as it also does in the case of indigenous people who are often perceived as backward and deny taking any responsibility for their displacement by using vague statements such as, "Powerful forces have often colluded to take over tribal land." (JKBOSE, Political Science, 2019, VIII, 86). The relations between the indigenous populations and the Indian state also shares many colonial forms of power however this is beyond the purview of the current research.

One of the defining features of European modernity is Industrialisation which is upheld as a goal of modernity with prominent Indian industrialists being celebrated (JKBOSE, History, 2019, X, 42) while the tribal communities they displaced are presented as 'helping' them with discovery of natural resources (JKBOSE, History, 2019, VIII, 65) and marking Tata Steel industry as the "largest in the British empire" (Ibid, 78). The nature/culture divide also contributes to this narrative and humans are expected to control nature for economic development (JKBOSE, Geography, 2019, X, 1).

Not only ideas of development but ideas such as that of democracy are also attributed to the Europeans,

> After the Revolution, the French people approved a democratic constitution. Since then it has become a practice in all democracies to have a written constitution. (JKBOSE, Political Science, 2019, IX, 22)

Further, explaining concepts such as democracy and feminism also take a Eurocentric approach, such as the definition of feminism provided below that remains confined to gender binaries universalized through European colonialism. There is little discussion of indigenous philosophical thought or discussion of these concepts.

> Feminist: A woman or a man who believes in equal rights and opportunities for women and men (JKBOSE, Political Science, 2019, X, 41)

Access to education and rural/urban divide is treated as a marker of one's knowledge, as can be observed here:

> If you travel to remote parts of our country and speak to the less educated citizens, you could come across people who may not know anything about our Constitution or about the nature of our government. (JKBOSE, Political Science, 2019, X, 72)

> Many members of the Constituent Assembly wanted Village Panchayats to be the basis of democracy in India but they were concerned about factionalism and many other ills present in the villages (NCERT, Political Science(i), 2019, XI, 180)

We see from the above how the Indian State adopts, rather embraces, a Western notion of modernity though it does assert how Western modernity and Indian culture have interacted to create a hybrid system. This is visible in the eagerness of the Indian state to showcase itself as a modernising, progressive, liberal state that is a

provider for its citizens even if they might not identify with the nation in the first place. Both the sections above and the current one show how a state projects itself as and represents these people. It shows us how a postcolonial state in general sees itself (this may apply to other postcolonial nations too) the way a colonial state would have – with a triumphalist, self-assured goodness and the colonised are also essentially innocent victims but they are raw material who can be polished into being good and obedient subjects of the state by making use of the generous opportunities provided by it. Additionally, the New Education Investment Policy (henceforth 'Policy' unless stated otherwise) further portrays the Indian state's desire to develop the educational sector in the region, as analysed in the next section.

5.4A New Education Investment Policy

This Policy aims to outline the need for reform in educational practises followed in the region. It acknowledges the relatively high-literacy rate in the region while stating the shortcomings in infrastructure facilities for the education sector and lack of exposure for students (Policy, 2020, 7). It is also noted how there are 208 existing private colleges in IAJK but many lack basic infrastructure and other facilities. However, the Policy emphasizes heavily on the need for increased private sector intervention for achieving the goals of this document which is to create a world class education system with capability to retain students within the region itself (Policy, 2020, 11). The clear neoliberal leaning is visible within the policy itself where the terms 'world-class' and 'national' are referred to eight times while there is no mention of any local or regional based knowledge production or growth. Despite the failure of the existing private universities, private players are repeatedly encouraged to invest in the region to set up residential schools, offer faculty support and training, vocational training and a mega project to set up an Education City (Policy, 2020). The Policy goes so far as to refer to the education sector as a "unique and emerging business opportunity, which balances investor returns with social responsibility" (Ibid). The Policy contributes and builds the narrative of education as a commodity that must be capitalized on, especially while presenting it as profitable in two aspects – capital gains and covering social responsibility.

While the commercialisation of the education sector including research is glaringly obvious, this neo liberalisation is also accompanied with a strong depoliticisation of

the education sector and students. Starting from the beginning, the Policy states the aspirations of the region:

> Jammu and Kashmir aspires to create a trained workforce of creative, culturally competent and critically reflective human capital who contribute to every sphere of scientific, cultural and human development in the country and worldwide (2020, 6)

The above lines seem to aspire to a holistic development of people through education however there is no mention of any socio-cultural educational services for students. The Policy also asserts the link between the Policy and India's new education system which is supposed to "touch the life of every citizen" (2020, 6) but it fails to account for the ground reality which is the extreme militarisation of the region, which doesn't exist in other places within the country. It goes on to state the desire of making youth "more employable" (2020, 12) without addressing the lack of jobs in the first place. In the section on 'Residential Schools' where the Policy invites Private industries in this manner,

> This gap (of not having residential schools) offers a huge potential of building such facilities in Jammu and Kashmir. The bounties of nature, rich natural bio-diversity and the pristine environment of Jammu and Kashmir provides a suitable atmosphere for overall learning and development of the students (2020, 8)

While the above description may be true of the region's landscape in a physical sense, the claims of a 'pristine' environment in the world's most militarized zone is misleading. The Policy in a similar vein state that the removal of the special status of the state offers a "stable ecosystem for governance with the zeal to transform J&K as hub." which is not reflective of the reality in schools in J&K which remained shut for over seven months post the shift in the region's special status. In fact, from 2016 onwards Schools in the region have been forced to shut down often with 130 school days lost in 2016 (UNHCR, 2018, 34), and in 2019 schools officially re-opened in October, though schools remained largely empty as parents feared for the lives of their children (Zargar, 2020; Ali & Maqbool, 2020; Maqbool, 2020). The Policy is deliberately silent on the existing political suppression and deadlock in the region making any access to education complicated.

The Policy speaks of the importance of the internet in developing the education sector in IAJK and has a section dedicated to providing technological support to

institutions and students. It further offers quick online approval schemes for foreign and private investors to encourage them to set up institutions in the region however this is highly problematic for a region that has recorded over 55 cases of internet shutdowns in 2019 alone including the longest internet shutdown in the world lasting 213 days (internetshutdowns.in)[54]. This is a grave concern for students in relation to accessing classes or other internet-based learning systems, but it also implies that local investors will not be able to partake in the profits from the new education sector, shifting control and ownership of knowledge production within the region to foreigners. Dismantling local knowledge systems and disempowering local people from investing into their own community creates dependency on the State and foreign investors, to ensure the Indian state's monopoly on knowledge production and circulation in the region. The state has also handed the current education department to a non-Kashmiri, Bishwajit Kumar Singh (Patel, 2021, 383) showcasing the state's attempts to side-line the people of IAJK in matters of their own education. In line with this, the state has also taken over the responsibility of land allotment for educational purposes. This is a clear Domination over knowledge and resources by the Indian state, with the Policy designed to facilitate and sustain external control over the education system in IAJK.

The neo liberalisation of education by the postcolonial state is reflective of the colonial power matrix established by the Indian postcolonial state. The end goal as with Anglo European colonisers is a capitalist modernity where privatisation of the education sector is seen as the only way of providing education of global standards. Quijano notes that a colonial matrix of power reflects and reproduces empire (1998) and hence, coloniality also determines the shared goals of the original coloniser and the postcolonial colonising state – upholding the global networks of capital and knowledge that enabled European modernity in the first place. The New Education Investment Policy 2020, through a focus on benevolent development is a tool for the complete privatization of the state's education sector through foreign and industrial investment. It also puts technical and scientific research above other disciplines as these are more marketable. The cost of creating a world-class educational system must be questioned when the existing system has severe shortcomings for the students of the region – in keeping with 21st century capitalism "grounded in politics

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[54] Please access https://internetshutdowns.in/ for detailed reports on Internet Shutdowns in IAJK.

and economy of extractivism" (Walsh & Mignolo, 2018) advancing destruction of lands, being and knowledges, each of them perpetuating coloniality. This effectively, denies the involvement of regional players in knowledge production as discussed above, and the next section argues how this process is based on creation of the 'other' – in this case, the people of IAJK through control over knowledge production which relegates the local population as 'incapable' of producing knowledge unless in Collaboration with the State.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter studies coloniality of knowledge in IAJK through a critical analysis of prevailing educational policies, school textbooks and thinktank publications. The setting up of J&K State Education Boards notes the monopolisation over production of knowledge by the Indian state and the dismissal of indigenous languages and knowledge. The next part deconstructs the narrative of 'self' and 'other' presented through textbooks and thinktank publications to study the relationality between the two. Within the textbooks there is an overwhelming attention on the Indian state – the 'self' while in thinktank publications this attention shifts to IAJK and its peoples. As textbooks are written for a younger, more impressionable audience the ideas is to instil an 'Indian-ness' in the readers, a sense of belonging to the democratic, benevolent and progressive state. For thinktank readers, who are looking for more in-depth analysis of issues they may already be slightly aware of, there is an attempt to build upon assumed shared knowledge of what IAJK is like, how the residents are portrayed in mainstream media, and works to justify or applaud policies of the Indian state about them. The funding sources of thinktank publications by government and related agencies must also be remembered during this analysis as it is a marker of the narrative the state wants to push forward, and the ones it silences.

This is reflected with a thematic analysis showing the representation of the 'self' and 'other' and the colonial relation between them where the Indian state dominates knowledge production and circulation while subordinating regional knowledge systems. This is done under the umbrella of a postcolonial modernity, explored in the last section through textual analysis and studying the New Education Investment Policy but invokes the same tropes of 'civilising mission' that erstwhile colonial powers have done. This erasure of history and delegitimisation of regional

knowledge systems is crucial to the process of depersonalising the people of this region while building consent for its policies. This coloniality of knowledge enables the Indian state to create and sustain a political economy based on possession, extractivism and exploitation, central to colonialism.

The next chapter looks at the final pillar of the colonial matrix of power, coloniality of being, looking specifically at the new land laws imposed in the region along with the brutal exploitation of the Kashmiri Muslim body for India's colonial project in the region.

Chapter 6: Coloniality of Being

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 argued that the Indian state establishes a hierarchy between Indian and Kashmiri identities wherein the British empire and the postcolonial Indian state view themselves as the rightful 'owners' and decision makers for the region. In chapter 5, I demonstrated the control over knowledge production within IAJK by othering the peoples of IAJK and undermining local knowledges and languages to legitimize colonial Domination of the 'self' over 'other'. However, as Seroto (2018) notes, coloniality of power does not only impact authority, knowledge, economy, and sexuality, but also a "general understanding of being" (1). Mignolo argues that the concept of Coloniality of Being helps in making sense of the effects of coloniality in lived experience and not just in the mind (2007, 242), by raising issues of colonial difference in a material sense, human ontology, and dehumanisation.

Scholars of the decolonial school provide a theorization of coloniality of being, key takeaways from which are the conceptualisation of 'Being' as Eurocentric and placed within a linear progression of history (Torres, 2007; Wynter, 2003), exclusion of the 'Other' almost placing them in a zone of non-being, and the overarching link between the coloniser and colonised, often manifested in the desire to mimic the coloniser while also repudiating the coloniser (Memmi, 1957; Fanon,1952). This coloniality of being is the "normalisation of extraordinary events that take place in war" (Torres, 2003, 55) and is part of an attempt to constitute control of the body and existence of the colonised[55].

However, to apply this concept to a postcolonial nation state , 'coloniality of being' can result in essentialising the being – whether it be 'Indian' or 'Kashmiri', ignoring the constructed nature of these identities that has been influenced by political, social and historical realities. To avoid this, I utilise the work of anti-colonial and postcolonial scholars, from which I identify three main strategies of dehumanisation, dispossession and depersonalisation as direct strategies adopted by colonial powers. I borrow the concepts of dehumanisation and depersonalisation from Fanon (1967) who recognised these as the psychiatric effects of French colonial rule on

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[55] The idea of totality comes into play post Dussel's intervention of viewing the globalised/capitalist modernity as a totality that the erstwhile colonial powers seek to control and dominate (1993).

Algerians[56]. I use these concepts as an analytic tool noting which strategies, if any, employed by the Indian state fit within these themes. Due to the 'material' focus of a coloniality of being and drawing upon contemporary work by Anand (2018) and Kaul (2021), dispossession is used by colonial powers to mark territorial control and is integral to colonialism.

For the postcolonial nation-state that identifies as a democracy, it uses a range a legal and non-legal mechanism for dehumanisation, depersonalisation, and dispossession of the residents of IAJK. These can often be in the form of laws that control ownership of land, identity, and expression. The Kashmiri subject that refuses to accept the state face severe repercussions and in contemporary times, Kashmiri Muslims face a disproportionate impact marked by global and local Islamophobia justified by the Indian state as a reasonable response for their alleged inclination towards India's neighbouring hostile state, Pakistan. The term 'alleged' is used here for two reasons, first, despite evidence of certain Kashmiri Muslims taking up arms against the Indian state, at times funded by the Pakistani state, little attention is paid to understand political subjugation as a potential cause. Second, it does not justify policies and punishments where in it is not the Kashmiri militant who is targeted by the Indian state, rather the Kashmiri collective. In summary, this chapter focuses on strategies of dehumanisation, dispossession and depersonalisation carried out by the Indian state in IAJK against primarily, the Kashmiri Muslim subject.

The next three sections provide evidence of policies and direct violence as practised by the Indian state. Each section provides a brief theoretical and analytical explanation of the theme, providing historical and contemporary evidence to substantiate them. There is an explicit focus on changes implemented following the revocation of the special status of the region and these are studied through new laws, rules enacted by the Government of India and local state authorities (who are directly under the Union Government). The implications of such policies are garnered through local media reports and reports produced by local and international organisations that take note of unlawful and arbitrary detention, curbs on freedom of

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[56] It is interesting to note the shift between the state-individual in Fanon's work. In the work of most anti-colonial scholars, the coloniser is often looked at as the state/country/nation while the colonised is studied individually, insights from which draw conclusions on the colonised society/culture. In this research, the term 'Indian state' is preferred to show the continuity of colonial patterns embedded and exercised by the State, despite the different individuals who work within the state.

speech and expression and violence by security and defence personnel. I argue that the aim of such policies is to encourage political assimilation of the Kashmiri Muslim subject, itself a clear manifestation of the coloniality of being.

6.2 Dehumanisation

Denial of one's humanity is the simple understanding of dehumanisation. Torres, based on Fanon's work argues that "invisibility and dehumanisation" is the prime expression of coloniality of being (1967). He is referring to the invisibilising of the humanity of the colonised while dehumanisation is the active denial of one's humanity. Fanon used the term to refer to the implications of colonial exploitation on the 'native'. In "The Wretched of the Earth" (2001) Fanon notes the coloniser employs tactics such as degrading language that compares natives to animals, using "scientific rationale" to justify racism against native population and concentrated attacks on indigenous cultural practise (1967). These policies were carried out to question the humanity of the natives, marking them as 'inferior', 'uncivilised', and 'undeveloped', essentially un-human in contrast to the coloniser who is human and has a 'moral duty' to develop the 'primitive' native. Hence, the process of dehumanisation is crucial for the coloniser to assert their moral and physical superiority over the colonised to justify their oppression.

Fanon argues that the coloniser commits to destroy people's originality and reduces it to "religious, magical, fanatical behaviour" (Fanon, 1967, 66). This dehumanisation allows the colonial powers to escape the contradiction between Western proclamation of democracy/self-rule/individual autonomy and the brutal suppression of the native on the other. Additionally, this dehumanisation destroys the native's sense of 'self' in almost a "fatalistic" sense, removing all blame from the oppressor. But Fanon also notes, the native is never completely convinced of their inferiority, and it is in this very doubt, the native realises their humanity and "begins to sharpen the weapons with which he (they) will secure victory" (1963, 127). The process of dehumanisation is for the purpose of sustaining colonial rule but it pushes the natives to reaffirm their own humanity by protecting their culture and identity. I provide few examples of this in section 6.2A of Kashmiri Muslims demanding accountability from the Indian state in response to enforced disappearances.

As the armed insurgency in Kashmir gained popular support among local residents, the response of the Indian state worked to dismantle this insurgency and exploit it to reduce the Kashmiri Being as one in opposition to the Indian state by dehumanising them. Even though, the material losses incurred have been carefully noted, such as the loss of life of over 70,000 people and the enforced disappearance of 8000 men (IPTK & APDP, 2015, 3) the Indian state has also justified these in the name of the nation. Just in 2018, around 160 civilians were killed (UNHCR, 2019, 13). It becomes apparent that Kashmiri lives have not mattered to the Indian state, including those who are not part of the majority Kashmiri Muslim population, it is noted how there is a specific attempt to *other* only Kashmiri Muslims done by legal impositions, colonising knowledge production and through physical brutalisation and dehumanisation. The next few sections show how the state carries out enforced disappearances, torture, use of sexual violence and the denial of bodily autonomy to achieve this.

With this frame of reference, in the case of IAJK, there is a significant literature of work documenting how the Kashmiri Muslim body has been exploited, brutalised and rendered 'disposable' under Indian rule. Prominent ones include reports produced by civil society organisations based in the region such as the Jammu Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society who would produce Monthly newsletters until December 2018 in addition to comprehensive reports on *Structures of Violence* (JKCCS, 2017), "Torture" (JKCCS, 2019), *Militarization with Impunity: A Brief on Rape and Murder in Shopian, Kashmir* (IPTK 2009), *My World is Dark: State Violence and Pellet-Gun Firing Shotgun Victims From the 2016 Uprising in Kashmir* (APDP, 2019). I use these documents written primarily by people from the region in keeping with a decolonial framework, to provide a brief context of the normalisation of violence against the Kashmiri Muslim subject.

We can observe how a Kashmiri has come to signify one who is in a complicated relationship within the Indian state. Malik (2020) notes how the Kashmiri has come to be seen as "primitive", "full of vengeance but unpatriotic", and "a body that can be corrupted but not trusted" (100). This is in keeping with the representation of Kashmiris in knowledge production carried out by the Indian state (Chapter 5) with the prime motive being reducing the Kashmiri body as one lacking the "capacity to think and reflect on his/her political condition" (Ibid). This study notes the use of three strategies to dehumanise the peoples of IAJK namely: enforced disappearances,

torture; and gendered and sexual violence. Furthermore, I take two contemporary cases and critically analyse the state's response in both cases to illustrate the forms of denial of one's autonomy that takes place in the region.

6.2A Enforced Disappearances

The practise of enforced disappearance in IAJK refers to the arrest, abduction, or detention of persons by the Indian government where no information about the said person is provided to the family. In Kashmir, 8000 Kashmiri men have been disappeared (APDP, 2011, 6) with the direst consequences being faced by the women – mothers, daughters, and wives of those disappeared who are also often harassed by the state officials on their quest to find their missing members (Ibid, 10-14). The purpose of enforced disappearances is manifold – it targets and 'disappears' any resistance that might be within a community (Zia, 2017), terrorises the family and by extension, the high numbers of disappearances normalise the perception that it might happen to anyone thus creating fear and insecurity within all people (APDP website, n.d). Enforced disappearances specifically target Kashmiri Muslim men to firstly 'emasculate' the Kashmiri man by denying him the role of 'protecting' his family and community and paint them as 'terrorists' to justify the disappearance if the State ever accepts its role in them.

Studies also report that most of the disappeared men come from rural areas and more than 90% were from Kashmir Valley and Poonch district of Jammu region (D'Souza, 2015, 79). 99% of the disappeared are Muslims, nearly 63% of them illiterate (Ibid, 80), and nearly 83% of them were between the ages of 25-50. These numbers are telling of a pattern that determines the targeting of young folk whose disappearance they expect, will not warrant accountability. The State has established relief mechanisms for the effected families, especially half-widows[57], by offering financial compensation and/or employment for one family member in a government job (Bhattacharya, 2016; Qutab, 20212). Yet, this effort is questionable as Bhattacharya (2016) finds that most women refuse this compensation as it is a committee of security agencies who decide the eligibility and it is accompanied without any acknowledgement of their loss or the political situation. Eligibility factors include that

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[57]The term half-widows refer to women whose husbands or partners have been disappeared. The term 'half' symbolises the wait for the return of the partner while at the same time connotating their loss which in most cases, is never confirmed.

the said committee must recognise the family's kin to be dead and the family must have no links with militancy. Bhattacharya concludes "A half-widow, therefore, has literally no remedy available in the administrative sense, because in case of disappearance, death cannot be unambiguously ascertained, and the government bodies begin with a presumption that the deceased does have a nexus with militant pursuits" (2016, 75).

The plight of half-widows and other family members is often met with state apathy, and the process of calling for accountability or justice from the Indian state has been unsuccessful and often results in increased harassment of the family from state agencies. Post August 2019, the strategy of disappearing people, especially those with any political clout returned and it was noted how young boys and teenagers had been picked up after the abrogation of Article 370 (Fact Finding report, 2019). The direct aggression and threat to the people by disappearing their loves ones was done primarily with the motive to silence any dissent as now parents or relatives of those disappeared would be extremely discouraged as this could potentially result in losing them forever. Furthermore, these young people were marked as 'disposable' by the Indian state who could only live, exist, protest at the mercy of the state and be invisibilised when inconvenient to the state. Post August 2019, the Indian state issued illegal verbal orders of detention without any record, Amnesty India found that atleast 1249 Kashmiris, including children had been detained (Patel, 2021, 371). The lack of mainstream media coverage of the same highlights the state's media suppression (discussed later in more detail) but also shows how Kashmiri lives were actively dehumanised as their disappearance was not considered worth questioning.

In the region, the links between militarism and masculinity results in "competing patriarchies of oppression and resistance become mutually constitutive, and that women are at the sharp end of both" (Kaul & Zia, 2020). This has also resulted in a nuanced agency of Kashmiri women that drawing from their struggle and continued efforts to find their disappeared family members and challenge their pre-defined position in a society where conflict has only deepened the patriarchal divide (Zia, 2016). The case of the Association of Disappeared Parents (APDP), a "collective of relatives of victims of enforced and involuntary disappearances in Kashmir" (APDP website, n.d.) is a perfect example providing a glimpse of the many ways in which Kashmiris, and primarily women through protests, legal cases and material and

emotional support have worked diligently to centre the victims and their relative's narrative while demanding the state to provide answers and relief. This is also reminiscent of the Fanonian idea of what would account as the stimulus for an end to their dehumanisation as by collectively resisting and mourning, they are reclaiming their humanity. While APDP continues to do most of its work, their monthly protests no longer take place due to the state's restriction on dissent and collective gatherings, showcasing their increasing paranoia.

6.2B Use of Torture

Torture is a widely studied subject along with its role and perception in society. Throughout history, torture has been used by different political and social groups, including governments, previously attributed to "primitive urges" (Scott,1940) and later as a governmental technique to discipline citizens in the context of modern nation-states (Rejali, 1994). Asad (1996) recognises a different category within liberal democracies where it is the non-citizens who are subject to torture to assert control over them. This broadens the understanding of torture to include psychological Coercion in which "disorientation, isolation and brainwashing" are used (1995). Rejali provides us with a comprehensive definition of torture referring to the "the systematic infliction of physical torment on detained helpless individuals by state officials for police purposes: that is, for confession, information, or intimidation" (2011, 26).

From a decolonial perspective, it becomes imperative to note that many of the strategies of policing used today are the direct legacies of colonial empires which are practised till date. The colonial lineage of torture as a practise to increase state control can be directly traced to the British colonial rule where it was perceived as a standard means to extort confessions from indigenous peoples and in revenue collection, often carried out by Indians working for the empire (Heath, 2017). The use of Indians themselves to torture other Indians meant that the British government could absolve all responsibility for the same blaming it on the 'Indian character' that was barbaric, cruel and tyrannical (Rao, 2001, 4126). The Indian state in turn, has simply refused accountability for the custodial violence carried out in the region and it either heavily minimizes the extent of torture or simply refuses its existence (Deol & Ganai, 2019). There is a huge amount of literature that says otherwise including reports from international human rights organisations such as Amnesty International (1995, 1996,

2000, 2005, 2011) and Asia Watch as part of Human Rights Watch (1993), local organisations such as JKCCS (2019) and APDP (2019) and Indian organisations such as that by Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee (APCLC) (1990, 2001).

These reports have focused on both physical and psychological methods of the infliction of pain, ranging from questioning and verbal abuse to outright inhumane treatment often involving extreme forms of violence that have resulted in death of the victim. These reports provide a comprehensive overview of the methods used, the locations where they took place, documenting the experience of the victims and their families. Some of the starkest evidence provided documents brutal forms of torture including physical mutilation and torturing children has been documented in the region (JKCCS, 2019, 18). The Amnesty International report notes on torture, "It has left people mutilated and disabled for life" (1995, 2) and cites an Indian security personnel to have said that talk of 'human rights' for Kashmiris in custody was not applicable as they were not humans (Ibid, 4) clearly displaying the dehumanisation as embodied by the state, often, reinforced through media and public discourse.

It is not surprising that accusations of torture have been met with either brutal violence, denial or complete dismissal. In 1993, when police forces revolted against the custodial torture and death of their fellow colleague, the Indian Army was called to "storm in" and "crush" the revolt (Hazarika, 1993). This also set a hierarchy where the Indian Army (under the central government) has the right to overpower the local state police forces signifying that even a state institution, if it is majorly composed of Kashmiri subjects, has limited powers. Their only acceptable role is to act on the Indian government's behalf in controlling the Kashmiri population but if ever they digress, their rights and powers are rendered contingent on the Indian state.

The Indian government continues to deny accusations even from international organisations like the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) which has documented several testimonies from people in detention centres in IAJK (Wikileaks, 2007). The same WikiLeaks cable also noted that the Indian government condoned torture in J&K and the Northeast region of India. In such cases the reports are termed as 'propaganda' and human rights as a 'western concept' which seeks to undermine the documentation work but also to negate the testimonies of Kashmiri people. This is

akin to silencing them as this denial of actual physical evidence shows how the Indian narrative holds more weight than that of the victims.

With the release of the UNOCHR report (2019) and the JKCCS's report (2019), the Indian government chose to cut off a UN panel rather than addressing their concerns or allowing the UN Special Rapporteurs on Extrajudicial Executions, Torture and Right to Health to visit the region instead choose to blame the report on the 'individual bias' of the High Commissioner of Human Rights (Haider, 2019). No other reason was given apart from the fact that the Commissioner at the point of the time was Muslim and hence must be anti-India and pro-Kashmiri. This technique of laying blame on the organisation or individuals themselves rather than addressing the concerns raised serves well as a distraction to the Indian public rather than centring the actual and very real concern of human rights.

After the revocation of the region's special status, along with midnight raids where people, including children (mostly young boys) were taken away by the state's security personnel, has been several documented pieces of evidence of torture as a tactic for extracting information and to intimidate people (Bisht, 2019; Hashmi, 2019; Masih, Slater & Irfan, 2019). People have been subjected to beatings, electric shocks, and humiliating tactics such as putting the detainee's beard on fire, and this has happened without any official charge against these people nor any formal orders for their detention or arrest. The lack of paper trail is useful in the denial of these acts ever being carried out, were it not for the people's resolve to tell their stories despite extreme fear and the journalists and media platforms that covered these stories. In all these cases, the Indian Army's response has been to simply deny the charges and label them as 'malicious intent' (Masih, Slater & Irfan, 2019) while applauding its own record of upholding human rights even though those victimized, claim otherwise with one saying, ""If this continues, I'll have no choice but to leave my house. They beat us as if we are animals. They don't consider us human."" (Hashmi, 2019).

The repeated trope by the survivors of torture as to how they were not treated as humans reflects their dehumanisation. Torture is, by-definition, dehumanising, in the case of Kashmiri Muslims it leads to the degradation of the population as "anti-national, Muslim "others" and objectified as sources of intelligence and targets of interrogational and terroristic torture" (Ibid, 25). Along with the practise of torture, the

systemic denial and dismissal of the Kashmiri narrative then results in giving more weightage to the state's narrative over the voices of its 'citizens' with every criticism by an outsider is seen as an attack against the nation.

Hence, we see the exercise of colonial power take place through direct Domination over the Kashmiri body or through brutal Coercion that dehumanises the Being.

6.2C Use of sexual violence

The last two sections show how the Kashmiri Muslim body is rendered disposable through practices of enforced disappearances and torture, this section focuses on the use of sexual violence as "all Kashmiri bodies have suffered brutal violence at the hands of the state, the infliction and effects of such violence are gendered, as men and women are 'tortured and abused in different ways'" (Cockburn, 1999, 11). However, it is important to provide a brief discussion about the historical context of state violence on women in the region. The motive here is to firstly highlight, the specific ways in which the 'disposability' of a Kashmiri body is gendered, and secondly, to demonstrate the use of sexual violence as a strategy of the Indian state to assert colonial Domination.

Explicit violence against women, though not an official policy of the Indian state is widely documented and noted. Some reports focusing exclusively on the same are, "Militarization with Impunity" (JKCCS, 2009), Amnesty International's Report (1995) and Medecins Sans Frontieres report (2006). These reports have studied the prevalence of sexual violence against Kashmiri women with the most cited cases being the mass rape at Kunan Poshpora, Handwara and the Mubeena Gani rape case (Batool et al. 2015, 82; Anjum, 2020, 117). In the Kunan Poshpora case, the Indian Army was conducting search operations in the Kupwara district of the Kashmir valley, where "at least 23 and perhaps as many as 100 women" (Goldston & Gossman, 1991) were raped by soldiers of the Fourth Rajputana Rifles and until now not a single person has been charged. There is evidence that women of all ages and marital statuses were targeted, including pregnant women. The Handwara case where an Army officer was accused of raping a woman and her daughter is one of the few cases that went to trial (Ahmad, 2005). While the officer was acquitted of charges of rape, he was dismissed from service. The Mubeena Gani case led to the temporary suspension of 7 Border Security Forces (BSF) soldiers but in accusations of rape against security forces, the military

and government authorities discredited the allegations, did not follow any procedure following the accusations and complaints often creating difficulty for the collection of evidence, and further referred to it as militant propaganda – a strategy used by state agencies to discredit all Kashmiri Muslim women who do not subscribe to the image of an oppressed victim of religious fundamentalism and militancy.

The idea that the rape of a woman is equivalent to rape of the community is present across many communities (Seifert, 1996, 3) and hence the practise is used to undermine and 'emasculate' the community. The repercussions faced by women who have faced sexual violence often face ostracisation, and a report also highlighted those women "suffer from trauma, physical ailments and that many have to undergo hysterectomies as a consequence of the violence" (Kashmir times, 2018). Women as sympathizers or supporters of dissidents are also subjected to sexual violence to "punish and humiliate 'subversive' women for what are perceived threats to national security" (Anjum, 2020, 117). The motive is to create an overall culture of fear where women are subjected to Domination by the state security forces and their agency further curtailed while having to function in a highly militarized society. Functioning with impunity, the colonial state aims to represent Kashmiri women as either victims of a patriarchal Muslim society or brainwashed terrorist sympathisers who in both cases need to be saved. Echoing Spivak's words, "White man saving the brown woman from brown men" (1985), in the case of the Indian state it changes to, "Indian man saving Kashmiri Muslim woman from Kashmiri Muslim Men".

Mushtaq (2019) also points out how the cordon and search operations carried out in the region, often in the name of national security, and the hyper militarised gaze renders women even more vulnerable in a conflict area. The Indian state uses this vulnerability to show itself as the benevolent saviour of these women, apparently 'saving' Kashmiri women from the very violence created by the state in the first place.[58] Kashmiri women on the other hand are subjected to multiple patriarchies, of the state and society. In a conflict society where the state dominates and seeks to maintain dominance, women are doubly restricted and marginalised – as was noted

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[58] Chapter 5 also noted how the increased military gaze also leads to restricted access for women to spaces of education and impacts their freedom of movement.

with the survivors of Kunan Poshpora, many of whom faced social exclusion, a lack of employment and financial hardships.

Despite this, Kashmiri women also adopt several strategies to resist and register their resistance against the Indian state and against patriarchy in their own society. These have ranged from taking up arms, mobilising through organisations like APDP (See Section 6.2A) and a more recent youth group, Zanaan Wanaan, political participation, disseminating and preserving culture, to name a few. However, the Indian state also attempts to subvert this by removing all agency from Kashmiri Muslim women and portraying them as acting on behalf of the men in their society and victims of religious oppression.

In the above three strategies of dehumanisation, the central aim is to deny any autonomy of the body to the 'other'. In the next section, I provide two contemporary examples to show how this happens in ways that may not be as explicit as torture or sexual violence.

6.2D Denial of Autonomy over 'Self'

In the cases discussed above, the dehumanisation of the Kashmiri Muslim body is observed through direct violence. In Kashmir, no category of Muslim identity is immune to it and they are subject to the state's favour. This implies that people within Kashmir do not enjoy autonomy over their own bodies as these are subject to colonial scrutinization and appropriation. Denial of bodily and personal autonomy is an attack on an individual's dignity and is consequently, dehumanising. I illustrate this point, in this section, with two examples focused on denials of dignity and autonomy that have ranged from a small child and his grandfather being used for military propaganda to the way in which the body of a prominent Kashmiri Muslim leader was cremated. These are two of the many examples frequently reported by media and civil society but they are particularly illustrative of the Indian state's desire for control over the Kashmiri Muslim body as nobody, ranging from a prominent leader, to a Grandfather with his kid, is out of the state's range.

On 1st July, 2020, social media in India and Kashmir was filled with the image of a three year old child sitting on the corpse of his grandfather in Sopore, South Kashmir, leading to shock and outrage. Soon after, another image went viral, this time of the

same child being carried by an Indian security personnel with a tweet by the official state police's twitter account captioned "JKP #rescued a three-year-old boy from getting hit by bullets during #terrorist #attack in #Sopore." (Twitter, 2020)[59]. While the image clearly violated many codes of ethics, prominently against the Indian Constitution's own Act against sharing the unblurred picture of the child without the consent of their family (Ministry of Law and Justice, 2005), it also raised questions of the photographer and the death of the grandfather. The security forces allege that the 65-year-old man, Bashir Ahmed Khan, was caught in the middle of an encounter and fell to the firing of 'terrorists' while Khan's family has clearly blamed the security forces for deliberately dragging Khan out of his car and staging his death.

Despite a lack of witnesses and credible evidence, the tweet after the episode highlights the motive of the image. It cleverly employs the language of saviourism wherein a Kashmiri child is 'rescued' from a 'terrorist' attack and his young body made to perform to garner sympathy from an Indian audience – without any evidence or context of the attack itself. An article also talks of how the policemen provided him with treats to "ensure he doesn't cry much and come out of the shock" (Daily Excelsior, 2020) showing the caring attitude of the police. Another video from the right-wing daily, Swarajya Magazine rightfully notes how children have been used for propaganda in war zones which is a wrong practise but is a continuation of the strategy adopted by the 'Left'. It also completely fails to mention the cause of the conflict, though there is a mention of terrorism sponsored by Pakistan in the same video (Swarajya, 2020). The result of this is the focus on victimising Kashmiri children who are also shown in pictures in the video crying with their mouth wide open to create an image of helpless children with absolute silence on *why* are children being used for propaganda and whose propaganda do they serve? Eventually, there erupted a series of fake posts on Facebook showcasing the same 3-year-old with a stone in his hand to fit in the image of the 'stone-pelter' Kashmiri, ungrateful for even being rescued by the security forces (Usha, 2020).

With the deliberate denial of the child's rights and reducing him to a mere object the media's motive becomes clear – to humanize the security personnel. Firstly, they show the grandfather as incapable of protecting his grandchild and photograph the 'rescue'

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[59] See the original tweet at: https://twitter.com/KashmirPolice/status/1278177597948489729/photo/1 [Accessed on 14/04/2021]

to showcase how the security personnel is not a tool of the state but rather, a person who cares about Kashmiri children and is there to protect them. The need to photograph this and share it on social media (in the complete absence of photojournalists) is demonstrative of the narrative the state wants to construct where Kashmiris can be saved if they let the state security personnel do so. This also deprives people the agency to protect or save themselves and are in turn portrayed as helpless individuals stuck in the crossfire of militants and security forces. There is a deliberate silence on the cause of the conflict as then the media can report on how such cases are "routine life in Kashmir" (Swarajya, 2020) without addressing *how/why* it is so which would require a more critical approach to the state itself.

A more recent case was noted after the death of a prominent Kashmiri resistance leader, Syed Ali Shah Geelani who died due to ill-health after more than a decade of house imprisonment and was denied his last wishes of being buried at the *Mazar-e-Shuhada* (Graveyard of Martyrs). Instead, the family was harassed and denied any burial rights, with the state officials carrying out the burial before sunrise. A clear denial of any autonomy on one's body which had already been jailed was continued even once the body was lifeless since the mere body of a Kashmiri Muslim leader is a massive threat to the Indian state. It is a body that has the potential to mobilise people in a way beyond the control of the state. This is enough for excessive retaliation by the Indian state justified in the name of security and maintaining law and order.

It is noteworthy that it was not only Geelani and his family who were subjected to humiliation by the Indian state even in death, but the entire population of the Kashmir region was collectively punished. Family members were immediately charged with the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA) (Ganai, 2021) as an internet and communication shutdown was imposed (internetshutdowns.in, 2021) on the entire population for over 3 days. People were denied the right to grieve and express themselves publicly as a strict curfew was imposed, reminding people once again that the right to their bodies and lives and rituals lay with the Indian state. However, as Kashmiri writer Mirza Waheed asserts, "both these sites (referring to the graves of two Kashmiri leaders – Sheikh Abdullah and Syed Ali Shah Geelani) signify a defeat of the Indian state in its long war against the Kashmiri mind" (2021), there is also a strong awareness of the colonial tactics of control and appropriation by the Indian state which is often resisted at multiple levels. For example, during the curfew, the Shia

community, a minority religious community in the region was granted permission by the state authorities to conduct Muharram processions that had been hitherto banned since 1980s. This move was constructed as an appeasing move by the Indian state which was rejected by many Shia mourners as they emphasized on the shared oppression of all Kashmiri Muslims (*Shia Sunni Bhai Bhai* or Shia Sunni are brothers), and thus as a rejection of the divisionary tactics of the state (FPK Webdesk, 2021).

The above sections show how the Kashmiri Muslim body is rendered 'disposable' in the nation-making project of the postcolonial state of India through the specific practises of dehumanisation focusing on enforced disappearances, use of torture and sexual violence and the denial of personal autonomy. The examples reiterate that the impact is often faced in differing degrees depending on one's gender, profession, religion, class but the wide range of people targeted means that nobody is immune and must live in a state of "humiliation and loss of dignity" (Duschinski, 2009) while perpetuating further alienation of the people from the state. The next section focuses on the practise of dispossession and its importance to sustain colonialism through continuous extractivism. Dehumanization is followed by dispossession based on extractivism under the garb of development and security wherein the Indian state seeks to gain direct access and control to all the land in the region. The next section analyses the changes in land laws and the media policy following the same.

6.3 Dispossession

The term dispossession can simply be understood as loss of ownership, generally referring to property and land and is fundamental to the practise of colonialism. One of the main motives of colonialism historically has been control over land and its resources. Anand (2018) argues, "coloniality is about proprietorial control, dispossession, and chasm in power between dominant securitiser and dominant securitised". Harris (2004) studies the region of British Columbia and observes that dispossession was determined primarily by physical Domination of the empire, the ability to derive profit from these lands and through settlers. The legitimisation and moral justification depended on the use of language to portray indigenous residents as 'primitive' or 'savage' who would be developed via dispossession. The practise itself was maintained through a set of disciplinary technologies such as maps and law, the authority of which rested with the state or empire (Ibid). In IAJK, I identify three

modes of dispossession as practised by the Indian state– the use of law, the use of gendered and Islamophobic rhetoric, and the use of development.

Section 6.3A provides a textual analysis of the relevant laws while taking note of the material implications for people living in those lands. Section 6.3B looks at the weaponisation of a progressive language that uses gendered and often Islamophobic language to legitimise dispossession. Section 6.3C illustrates the use of neoliberal development as marker of coloniality (Kaul, 2021). Through this I demonstrate, how under coloniality, land is removed from its community and commodified for the purposes of security, progress or development. The Land Laws studied here have all been introduced or amended post the revocation of the region's special status and will primarily focuses on Land Acts, the J&K Industrial Development Policy 2021-30, and the revocation of the Roshni Act. They highlight the contradiction between the postcolonial state's perception of land and the relationship of land with its residents and an contrasting example is provided of a Kashmiri subject's relationship to their land. This shows us the complex relationship of coloniality, where the postcolonial nation state and individuals who claim loyalty/allegiance to this state seek to create a discord between the Kashmiri Muslim subject and their resources while the Kashmiri subject, through different modes of expression such as slogans and music re-assert their link with land. Coloniality while dehumanising the subject also commodifies the subject's resources which often results in a more aggressive approach by the state. Thus, the state uses legal and extra-legal means mostly cloaked in a narrative of development to exercise colonial power.

6.3A The Use of Law

The Indian state has consistently introduced land laws, forest acts and industrial policies to control land and profit from the region's resources, while simultaneously making the residents of IAJK dependent on the Indian state. In this section, I focus on policy changes introduced after the revocation of the region's special status which was accompanied with repealing existing laws. The major land laws which have been either repealed or amended include the Big Landed Estates Abolition Act-1950, the Jammu and Kashmir Land Grants Act-1960, the Jammu and Kashmir Alienation of Land Act-1938, the Jammu and Kashmir Agrarian Reforms Act-1976 and the Jammu and Kashmir Land Revenue Act-1996. For the erstwhile state, the J&K Alienation of

Land Act 1938 prohibiting land to be sold to anyone has been repealed, clearing the path for any citizen of India to purchase land in the region. Post that the J&K Development Act (1970) was modified by the Central government – without any representation from the region despite the J&K Reorganisation Act (2019) stating that J&K would be a Union Territory with a Legislative Assembly. All these Acts have now been replaced by the overarching J&K Reorganisation Act (2019) which is analysed below along with the J&K Industrial Policy 2021-30.

A common factor in this change is the replacement of the earlier category of 'Permanent Resident' with 'Domicile', thus giving the same rights to all Indian citizens, including Kashmiris, to give all states equal rights. Contradictorily, there are several other states that enjoy special protections regarding land use such as Himachal Pradesh and Sikkim. Yet, in the case of IAJK, policy changes are implemented without consulting those who will be impacted despite the new Act calling for a Legislative Assembly which would be formed of representatives. However, as we have seen this blatant disregard for the residents' voices is not new who are only expected to be either silent victims or grateful beneficiaries. The Act deletes the term 'Permanent resident' (2020, 69) and makes housing for those from economically marginalised backgrounds open for everyone. It investigates development concerns which are addressed by the establishment of a J&K Industrial Development Corporation (2020, 72-89). While removing all barriers to enable non-residents to be able to buy land and set up industries in the region, the military has played a major role historically in land grabs.

After the Kashmiri Pandits were forced to leave, the military was quick to occupy residential and non-residential buildings including schools and cinemas (Nabi & Ye, 2015). Post 1947, the military has acquired 53,353 hectares of land in Kashmir (Haroon, 2009) and this number is expected to have only increased as the last documented numbers are already over 21,7511 hectares (Wani, 2018). The State, under the new policy goes a step further in according special powers to the Indian Army by stating that,

> "the Government may on the written request of an Army officer not below the rank of Corp Commander, declare an area as Strategic Area within a local area, only for direct operational and training requirements of armed forces, which may be excluded from the operation of this Act and rules/regulations made there under in the manner and to the extent specified in the declaration and the Government may satisfy itself about the reasons cited for declaring the area as

strategic area and will have such area notified accordingly with such conditions as may be required." (2020, 69-70)

As we have seen in earlier chapters, militarisation is a key to maintaining direct colonial control in the region with the Kashmir Valley being the most militarised zone in the world. This Act empowers the military to not only occupy land but to officially take it over. Earlier, the military forces were also required to obtain a 'No-Objection Certificate' from the local administration which has now been done away with. The disguise of temporary bunkers has also now been done away with, as the state accepts its colonial desire for the territory of J&K while making it legally acceptable for the military to occupy civilian land. Both these moves, of opening up land for use by non-residents and making it easier for the Indian Army to take over civilian land has been celebrated by right-wing platforms with one magazine going as far as to say, "Now all Indians can buy land in J&K as Home Ministry in a historic move notifies new land laws" (IANS, 2020).

Occupation of land especially that of agricultural and forest land has led to "dispossession, de-peasanti-sation, loss of livelihoods and forced commoditisation, severely affecting the food sovereignty of the peasantry in rural Kashmir" (Nabi & Ye, 2015) and enables the Army and state agencies to make profit from the land's resources. Lately, nomadic communities have also been denied access to their traditional lands accused of 'encroachment' (Rehbar, 2020). Along with the militarisation, the state's eagerness for industrialisation has also led to dispossession.

The J&K Industrial Development Corporation also grants corporations overarching powers to acquire movable or immovable property, while making it harder for people to complain against the Corporation. Repealing protections to the land are a clear attempt to dispossess the people of J&K while the focus on Industrial Development is motivated with a clear link to extract as much profit as possible from the land with little concern for the environment or its residents. The next section offers a critical analysis of the J&K Industrial Policy 2021-30 and the J&K Industrial Land Allotment Policy focusing on the representation of the region, which is exoticised and de-peopled with a motive to whitewash the Indian state's violence in the region while presenting the land as optimum for extraction and exploitation.

The J&K Industrial Policy 2021-30 aims to mark a new era of industrialisation which is the "key to foster economic growth, create employment opportunities and bring prosperity to the people" (2021, 2). There is little to no mention of how this prosperity will be brought to people, the language used, as with the textbooks in last chapter centres neoliberal development. The repeated use of the terms "industrialized territory" (Ibid, 7), "high potential Union Territory" (Ibid, 7), "Aspiring Investment Destination in India" (Ibid, 7) and "ideal investment destination" (Ibid, 7-8) reiterate the importance of the land which can be achieved if only industries invest in it. The invitation to foreign industries along with promising to ease the conduct of business undermines the capacity of the residents to develop their land. Meanwhile, in return for them to allow the takeover of their land, they are tempted with employment opportunities.

To further the above agenda of industrialisation, it is complimented with the J&K Industrial Land Allotment Policy 2021-30 that lays out the procedure for allocation land to new industries and create land banks for entrepreneurs. It also specifies the setting up of special economic zones (SEZs) to encourage industrialists. The Policy vision is stated to "augment the industrially viable land into a highly structured industrial land bank readily available for allotment to genuine entrepreneurs, that would transform the regional economy from a land constrained one to a receptive industrial investment destination in tune with the national policies" (2021a, 3). The lack of discussion on *why* the land is 'constrained' or how much of the land has been occupied by the security forces already or the fact that this Policy is made for a highly militarised zone is not shocking but goes further to highlight the state's attempt to erase all political conversation while portraying itself as focused on economic and social development which would be achieved through rapid industrial development, reminiscent of a 'civilising mission'.

These Laws are already being used to acquire more land, especially by the state security forces and for increasing militarisation. State land has been transferred to the the paramilitary Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) and the police in South Kashmir, including a popular tourist resort for the accommodation of security forces (Ganai, 2021). Both the above discussed policies work to add to the narrative emphasizing on the potential of the territory with little consideration of its peoples. Furthermore, the portrayal of the region as one with high potential for industrialisation

and development along with the measures taken to provide ease of occupation of land (In Policy, 2021a) works to invite foreign investors to develop the region and this move is marked as a new beginning wherein the earlier closed off territory of J&K is now open for exploitation and development. The terms "domicile" and "permanent resident" are not mentioned anywhere in these acts specifying the 'openness' of this land for commercial purposes, as previously observed with historical treaties and travel writings.

6.3B The use of Islamophobic and Gendered Rhetoric

The Indian state presents these changes as an opening to the gates of "paradise" for Indian citizens. This should be contextualised with the dominant narrative in the Indian state where the narrative of 'Land Jihad' has been invented, capitalized and weaponized by the ruling right-wing BJP government. In 2001, the J&K Government at the time had passed the J&K State Land (Vesting Ownership to Occupants) 2001 or the Roshni (Light – translation mine) Act which provided for the transfer of land to people already occupying it for a government determined fee. Funds generated would be used for electricity generating projects in the state, this electricity being used mostly outside of the region. However, this was repealed in 2020 and all land transfer carried out under this Act was declared null and void. This was referred to as a "surgical strike" on "land jihad" by the BJP Party members (Sharma, 2021) in keeping with the Islamophobic Hindu right-wing language that glorifies violence against Islam and its followers. The use of the term 'land-jihad' itself is used to invoke images of historically pious Hindu lands being taken over by (violent) Muslims as it was assumed (wrongly) that the major benefactors of the Roshni Act had been Muslims when in reality, the list of land encroachers included several BJP members (Ibid). This is directly linked to the right-wing understanding of Indian history as being primarily Brahmanical Hindu (also shown in the previous chapter) followed by a Muslim invasion, arguing that all of India belongs primarily to Hindus who have a rightful ownership over all land, especially one under majority Muslim control. This communal narrative is central to the making of the Indian Hindu's empowerment which is sought to be achieved through a reclamation of all Hindu history, including 'Hindu land' apparently taken over by Muslims. It plays on the insecurities of the majority Hindu citizens, pitying themselves against Muslims wherein opposition to

"love jihad" and "land jihad", imaginary concepts, becomes central to the Hindu being's identity.

Similar to the points stated in the previous section, the Indian state uses a 'feminist narrative' to justify dispossession in the name of saving Kashmiri women. In the speeches made by prominent ministers in India's Parliament, revocation of Article 370 was celebrated as one that would result in greater gender equality in the region however this is based on false facts. The assertion that Kashmiri women lose their state subjects rights or property rights has been countered by legal scholars (Kannan, 2017), journalists (Mahajan, 2020; Jamwal, 2020) and Kashmiri women themselves (Mushtaq, 2019). Despite this, the false narrative of gender equality has been pushed forth to show the Indian state as the paternalistic saviour and guarantor of Kashmiri women's rights. Further, this move was sought to be legitimised by using the figure of the Kashmiri women to parrot the state's agenda of 'progress' and 'development' (DD News, 2019) though these women were already officially state representatives at local levels. There was no inclusion of women from any other background. This move is especially paternalistic because the abrogation itself did not include the voice of Kashmiri women, it is based on the state's assumed moral authority over the people to tell them what they want and what their version of gender equality should be.

Additionally, the Indian state carried out several contradictory measures such as the scrapping of J&K State Commission for the protection of Women and Child rights (Kuloo, 2021), an organization set up to protect women's rights safeguarded under the Indian Constitution. The proclamation of furthering gender equality while actively removing protections for the same is reflective of the state's motive which is not actually concerned with protecting women but with furthering the narrative of the oppressed Kashmiri woman. The state's paternalism was also accompanied by rampant misogyny as many Indians (men) celebrated on social media how after this revocation they could marry 'fair' Kashmiri women (Mukherjee, 2019). It is not as if this was not possible before, but it is symbolic of how Kashmir and its people have been represented as an exotic being that is now *finally* under India's possession – with its people and resources available for use by Indians. The desire to possess Kashmiri women mimics the state's desire to possess the region (Kaul, 2018) and is reflective of colonial empires exoticising colonised women.

6.3C Use of 'development' rhetoric

This section highlights the how the Indian government justified the revocation of Article 370 by promising 'development' in the region. This rhetoric is integral to acquire land for industrial and developmental projects by dispossessing the residents of the state. Section 4.5 provides evidence of state officials and documents justifying the abrogation of Article 370 in the name of 'development'. The region's current economic situation and unemployment was blamed solely on Article 370, considered to be the roadblock for IAJK's development. This was contradictory to figures shared by the state itself which placed the state of Jammu and Kashmir better than most Indian states in areas of human development indices (Indian Express, 2019). Rajeshwari analyses state data, notably the National Family Health Surveys (NFHS), the Sample Registration System (SRS) and Human Development Reports (2019-20) to conclude that territorial bifurcation, which the revocation of Article 370 led to, does not lead to result in equitable development or reduction of poverty levels (Ibid).

I contextualise the above with Kaul's (2021) work on development as a marker of coloniality in IAJK and finally, I demonstrate that 'econonationalism' subscribes to the idea of Eurocentric and neoliberal development. Scholars have noted that the Indian state has used the promise of development for disempowering and dispossessing indigenous communities (Kjosavik & Shanmugaratnam, 2007; Andreas, Kale & Levien, 2020). In this case, IAJK is an exception for two reasons, the loud nationalist rhetoric that accompanies this dispossession which Kaul terms 'econonationalism' and the absence of consent.

In the narrative of 'econonationalism', a key aspect is equalising state development to liberation, an idea supported by conceptual, ideological, and historical reasons (Kaul, 2021, 120). Hence, the state employs progressive narratives such as that of feminism to push development onto people without their consent in the name of their liberation. This development is dependent on the "deprivation of autonomy and statehood and the continued collective punishment of Kashmiris" (Ibid, 122). Then the kind of development the Indian state wants to coerce on Kashmiris panders to the hegemonic nationalist narratives that portrays Kashmiris as backward Muslims who will be uplifted, saved, and liberated by the Indian state. Econonationalism is dependent on the exploitation of natural resources without considering the people who depend on

these resources and closely links to traditional forms of colonialism and the 'civilising mission' carried out by European colonial powers.

The neoliberal tendencies of the Indian state exacerbated under the Hindu nationalist government (Kaul, 2017), specifically in the case of IAJK fits in perfectly with the dominant Eurocentric conception of modernity/coloniality. This has dire impacts for the residents and also makes the Indian state immune to criticism from global powers as they too subscribe to the same notion of modernity/coloniality. They expect that the colonised will realise their liberatory aspirations once 'liberated' through neoliberal development or they also seek to profit from this development via investments in India or IAJK. Consequently, because of this and the other reasons discussed above, namely the use of legal means, and the use of Islamophobic and gendered rhetoric, the Indian state is able to dispossess the residents of IAJK.

6.4 Depersonalisation

Fanon used the term depersonalisation together with dehumanisation to note the repercussions of French colonial rule in Algeria. While working in a psychiatry clinic, he noted how colonial rule had led Algerian subjects to experience a feeling of "unreality" (1989, 96) in one-self. He noted how the imposition of French on Algerian subjects through mass-media such as radio was one such move which can be seen like the Indian state's move to stop the use of indigenous languages in school textbooks in IAJK (Chapter 5). Depersonalisation has to do with the person and how they view themselves, which Fanon understands as the 'self', a key component of identity. The colonial state is wary of this claim of identity, and it seeks to make identity perform in manners suitable to its sustenance. When this doesn't happen, the colonial powers will seek to assimilate or obliterate these identity claims. Hence, I use Fanon's conceptualisation to understand the depersonalisation of the Kashmiri Muslim subject with one marked difference. While Fanon studied the colonised Algerian mind in a clinic setting, I highlight the Indian state's policies, laws and extra-legal orders which seek to colonize the Kashmiri identity. Other regional identities in IAJK such as people from Jammu, Gujjars, Ladakhis are not perceived as a threat by the Indian state so such identities are allowed to exist within the Indian state. However, the Kashmiri identity, has become almost anti-thetical to the Indian state so we note a barrage of measures

undertaken to assert Dominance and superiority over specifically, the Kashmiri Muslim identity.

In this section, I argue that depersonalisation is carried out for the political assimilation of the Kashmiri Muslim subject. I use the concept of 'Assimilation' used by scholars in the context of colonialism.[60] Yinger (2010) notes how assimilation is a process of "boundary-reduction" between two or more groups/societies[61] and is a function of the four sub-processes: amalgamation (biological), identification (psychological), acculturation (cultural) and integration (structural) (249,250).

The amalgamation process has already been observed in the dehumanisation and brutalisation process of the colonised subject's body. The identification aspect is studied in relation to the new Domicile Law which authorizes the Indian state to decide who is a legitimate resident of IAJK and undermines pre-existing land and human relationships. We also note the construct of 'Kashmiriyat' and how this construct has been routinely used by the Indian state to construct its ideal kind of Kashmiri. The structural aspect is useful to bring in here since the postcolonial nation state utilises its existing structures such as Courts and its security apparatus to legally assimilate the region and its peoples. Lastly, the cultural aspect is noted in the repeated attempts to appropriates aspects of Kashmiri identity which are profitable to the colonial state while dismissing or punishing the rest. Several of these assimilation strategies would be bound to have a depersonalising impact on the Kashmiri subjects hence it makes sense to consider both of them. The state basically uses colonial assimilationist strategies to depersonalise its Kashmiri subjects. This, as I argue later should only be seen in the purview of colonial violence as it seeks to destroy any sense of 'self' of Kashmiri subjects and allows a specific kind of identity suitable to the state to dominate all other ways of being.

Firstly, I study the Domicile Law and the historical appropriation of 'Kashmiriyat' to showcase the Indian state's attempts to define Kashmiri identity, followed by a textual

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[60] See, Caprio (2009) for a comprehensive review of British and French Assimilation policies followed by a close analysis of assimilation policies followed by Japan in Korea (also Sawada,2004), Belmessous (2005) for understanding assimilation and racialisation as a core French colonial policy, and Pasternak (2020) for an analysis of Canadian assimilation policies.
[61] This process is not usually between societies or communities of equal status. Assimilation usually points to the process by which a minority population is absorbed into a prevailing dominant culture (Warry, 2008, 23)

analysis of the New Media Policy 2021. Section 6.4C illustrates the use of culture and tourism to appropriate specific aspects of Kashmiri identity which can be capitalised upon by the state. In the last section, I argue that the Indian state supports the creation of an environment of distrust and suspicion to break up pre-existing cultural, religious and regional bonds amongst residents of the region through extensive surveillance policies. This results in the breakdown of communities, leaving members alienated from one-another which benefits the colonial state as it reduces possibilities of resistance by the colonised.

6.4A Kashmiriyat & Domicile Law

Historically, the term Kashmiriyat was used to refer to a shared culture and peaceful co-existence between residents of Kashmir following different religious practise (Puri, 1954, 1995; Akbar, 1991). As a political term, it has been propagated by the NC(Rai, 2004) and later employed by secular nationalists such as the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (Hassan, 2010, 6) and has been critiqued by socio-religious groups as a front for the occupation (Ibid). Zutshi notes how successive state governments, starting with NC used the trope of Kashmiriyat "as proof of their loyalty" to India (Zutshi, 2019). However, after slogans such as "Kashmiriyat, Insaniyat, Jamhooriyat" (inclusive culture of Kashmir, humanitarianism and democracy) by right-wing ideologues and leaders such as Vajpayee followed by, more recently, Modi under the garb of a "healing touch", the term has come to be rejected widely by Kashmiris. The attempt was for the state to intervene and define what exactly classified as Kashmiriyat to invoke a foregone romanticised past wherein all communities in Kashmir lived happily together, however this has largely failed as the term is now widely recognised and dismissed as one affiliated by the state.

In a similar attempt to define identity, the Indian state introduced a new provision in lieu of assimilating IAJK with the rest of India – the right for all Indians to be able to apply for jobs and buy land in the region. Earlier, the people of J&K were granted citizen rights through a 1927 order enacted by the then ruler of the region, Maharaja Hari Singh (Gupta, 2012, 54). This was continued post the signing of the IoA via Article 370 which provided that any individual who had been a state subject since 14 May 1954 or had been a resident of the state for ten years or had immovable property acquired by legal means within the state was entitled to be a 'Permanent Resident'

(PR) (Constitution (Application to J&K) Order, 1954). This title gave access to state jobs, funds, education and the ability to buy/own land and was seen as an important tool to preserve the Kashmiri identity since it barred foreigners from settling in the state.

In April 2020, following the abrogation of Article 370, the state introduced a revision to the J&K Civil Services (Decentralisation and Recruitment) Act wherein the category of Permanent Resident is replaced with 'Domicile' to be defined as anyone who has resided in the region for 15 years or studied for a period of 7 years and has taken the Class Xth/XIIth examinations in a local institution. Furthermore, it also extends domicile rights to migrants and to children of government officials who have "served in J&K for a total period of ten years" (Act, 2020, 53). This shift in law has been widely supported and is especially portrayed as making all 'Indians' equal and providing them with equal access. The mainstream Indian media has celebrated this as a generous move by the Indian state that seeks to make amends for the Kashmiri Pandit community that had to leave their homes in Kashmir and this law could now ensure that these people enjoy the same rights as any other resident of J&K (PTI, 2020). It also capitalised on the issues faced by migrant workers within the region and by refugees from West Pakistan to claim this move would be in their favour as despite being residents of the state, they could not avail of the special privileges granted by the state. Assuring rights of minoritised groups helps the state in reiterating its 'benevolent' image through a paternalistic move where the Indian state did not seek any input from any other representatives but made this move as a guardian figure.

As the Indian state claimed for the revocation to be beneficial to the residents' progress, the policy speaks otherwise in action. For allocating state departments and responsibilities, the Centre has prioritised non-Kashmiris in major departments such as Home and Revenue, Finance; Law, justice, and parliamentary affairs; Education, Information and Public Affairs; Labour and Employment while departments such as Tribal Affairs, Stationery and Supplies, Culture and Horticulture have been handed over to Kashmiris (Patel, 2021, 383). This move speaks volumes about the Indian state's perceptions of Kashmiris and what they may be capable of – local issues but not matters with possibly, larger implications. The allocation itself is a patronising move, conducted without consultation of Kashmiris but this denial of space further marginalises Kashmiris within the Indian political and social structure.

Several Kashmiri Pandit organisations have welcomed the revocation publicly through press releases and their social media accounts (Tikoo, 2020) though it is pertinent to mention that the law had to be amended just three days after being passed due to opposition from people in Jammu (Hindu majority) as they were concerned that they might lose out on jobs and other benefits if non-residents could apply for the same (Jaleel, 2020). This did not deter the state to continue showcasing its steps as beneficial to the Hindu community.

The strategy to showcase this move as fulfilling the demands of Kashmiri Pandits works in three ways. Firstly, it assures the majority of Indian citizens that such acts being implemented benefit the displaced Pandit community paving the way for them to return to their homes in Kashmir. Secondly, it deepens the divisions between Kashmiri Pandits and Kashmiri Muslims by favouring one while actively dehumanising and exploiting the 'other', a notion that continues the earlier preference of the Dogra regime as also discussed in Chapter 4. Thirdly, it demonises Kashmiri Muslims with the state taking away even the little privileges it granted, as a move to tell them that their existence is solely dependent on the whims and fancies of the Indian state. The move is seen as pandering to the demands of some at the cost of rights to others (Bhatia, 2020) resulting in being a specifically anti-Kashmiri move.

The issuance of domicile certificates is also a tool to categorize the population of J&K and making it a pre-requisite to apply for government jobs leaves little space for people to resist this move. The imposition of this law is to impose the identity of being an Indian resident of the newly formed Union Territory of J&K while also a reminder that belonging to IAJK is no different as being from any other Indian state, as now any Indian can claim to be a domicile. This move seeks to increase the dependency of people on the State as they would need to register themselves for any economic activity they want to participate in or apply for jobs or access state scholarships while also obliterating the Kashmiri identity as it gets subsumed within the larger Indian one.

Several scholars have expressed the fear of demographic change being orchestrated in the valley (Jaleel, 2020; Javaid, 2020; PTI, 2020) and this was in keeping with the celebration of the first non-Kashmiri to get a domicile certificate. A man from Eastern India, after retiring from a government job was celebrated nationally with a local newspaper also claiming, "Navin Choudhary of Darbhanga becomes the first person

to settle in Jammu and Kashmir" (Vardhan, 2020). The blatant use of the term 'settle' highlights how the domicile law is perceived to be within the Indian mainstream – as a ticket to J&K, as a right which has been long denied to them. There is no regard for the Kashmiri Muslim identity while the Hindu Indian identity is expanding, as it is seen to be providing for the grieved Kashmiri Pandits and continuing to accept Kashmiri Muslims within its Union.

6.4B New Media Policy 2020

The New Media Policy represents the state's objectives concerning its portrayal on public media while providing for tools that can be weaponized against anti-state media coverage. I argue that this move leads to depersonalisation of the Kashmiri Muslim subject as it denies expression of the person, especially dissent, expecting them to conform to the state. In the Policy's own stated document, the requirement of this new Policy is stated as "a fresh and pro-active media policy is required to carry the message of welfare, development and progress to the people in an effective manner" (Media Policy, 2020, 1). This is expressed repeatedly as, "foster a genuinely positive image of the Government", "creating awareness of government policies" (Ibid, 3-4) and this is to be achieved through shifting focus from print to digital media, focusing on radio and television as tools of disseminating information, and through promotional events such as media tours while providing for additional advertisement funding on these platforms. Despite this, the Policy ignores the on-ground reality wherein internet shutdowns are a norm and internet speeds are often curtailed, disrupting the work of online media platforms (Sahu, 2020).

The Policy clearly marks that it would not support media coverage in any format that "carry out any act or propagate any information prejudicial to the sovereignty and integrity of India" (Policy, 2020, 12, 22, 27, 29). This not only means that dissemination of information is controlled and there is a promotion of media platforms which are favourable to the state, but it also puts state bureaucrats in charge of deciding what should be covered and how. This is reflected in the following quote,

> "The authorities must also satisfy themselves that the newspaper/magazine has not indulged in any unethical, anti-social or anti national activity or publication" (Ibid, 19; Information Department, 2020).

No definition of what qualifies as unethical, or anti-social or anti-national has been provided giving the state enough power to frame the narrative exactly as it would suit them. Journalists have been a prime target of this media policy, especially local journalists who now are expected to undergo background checks, even authorising government officials to be able to act against journalists and media organization deemed to be unethical or anti-national.

The harassment of journalists within the country itself is nothing new with India dropping to 150nd rank in the World Press Freedom Index 2021 (Reporters Without Borders, 2021) noting that "Ever since the general elections in the spring of 2019, won overwhelmingly by Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party, pressure has increased on the media to toe the Hindu nationalist government's line" (*Ibid*). While this is more recent, the harassment of journalists and attempts to control media have a long history in IAJK. Post the abrogation of Article 370, the curtailment of free media has only heightened with several Kashmiri journalists detained, put under surveillance which involved restrictions against travel, harassing family members, repeated detentions and questioning to name a few (Malik, 2020). The New Media Policy 2020 legalises these actions and justifies them in the name of national security and maintaining public decency, yet it completely fails to acknowledge the lack of a free press in the region.

The Policy, while dangerous for journalists and media professionals aims to create a 'sustained' narrative for the government. It is justified in the name of "national security" as

> "J&K has significant law and order and security considerations. It has been fighting a proxy war supported and abetted from across the border. In such a situation, it is extremely important that the efforts of anti-social and anti-national elements to disturb the peace are thwarted." (Information Department 2020).

The securitisation of press freedom works to convince the Indian population of the necessity of this Policy to safeguard their state, in spite of the costs incurred by Kashmiris. This Policy effectively curbs the rights of certain 'citizens' to express themselves leading to self and broader censorship.

6.4C Use of sports, cultural events, and tourism

Culture, sports, and tourism are often used as a tool for assimilation and while sometimes their violent implications might not be easily visible, it is important to question its implications for the indigenous culture and their residents. Enforced assimilation will lead to depersonalisation as an individual is separated from their own culture and forced to adopt and pander to the coloniser's culture. Post 2019, the Indian Army has adopted an almost over-enthusiastic approach to showcase normalcy in the region in the form of cultural events (often supported by Ministers and Bollywood actors), celebrating India's national and sometimes religious holidays, to downplay their draconian violence inflicted upon residents. This research already notes the utilisation of a development paradigm and discourses of peace building and humanitarianism that are used by the Indian Army in Operation Sadhbhavana to legitimise the military's role in IAJK (Aggarwal & Bhan, 2009). In the next couple of paragraphs, I provide evidence of the same through a study of the Indian media coverage surrounding programmes organised by the Indian Army.

Kabir (2009) has previously noted how the Indian state's promotion and incorporation of Kashmiri handicrafts mimic the state's desire to assimilate the Valley through the state of J&K (124). In recent times, cultural festivals and programs provide a good example of this, such as the *Junoon-e-Hunur* (Celebration of talent) cultural programme where schoolchildren were invited to showcase their talents to commemorate India's victory in the India-Pakistan war in 1971. The event organised by the Indian Army was widely celebrated and covered on social media to showcase enthusiasm of the youth (ANI, 2021) in participating in such activities and to show normalcy. Local events such as *Jashn-e-Baramulla* (Celebration of Baramulla) is also a good example here, as such events always note high attendance of army personnel and their families with Kashmiris as performers. This demonstrates how certain aspects of the Kashmiri identity are put up for display and consumption by the Indian state though this is often resisted by Kashmiri subjects who might refuse to participate or use a strategy of 'disindenitification' (Munoz, 1999) wherein they might use the colonial state's platform for marking their own voice in opposition to the state.

In a similar light, tourism is intricately connected to the region and the Indian state is focused on presenting IAJK as a 'safe space' for tourists. It is important to mention the 'for tourists' aspect as there is little to no concern for the safety of residents. The exoticisation of the region has previously been noted in Chapter 4 & 5 and so I do not

delve into much detail here except to reiterate that such moves only seek to alienate the people from their own resources as tourists – Indian and foreign, are given more importance than the local communities. In fact, during the recent shutdowns in November 2021 after fake encounters conducted by Indian security forces, the city was in complete shutdown and any local in Srinagar was subject to extensive stop and search policies. Tourists could move about easily and were ensured of their safety by the state administration.

These moves are depersonalising as they prioritise the lives and safety of tourists over the residents. Additionally, certain aspects of the Kashmiri Muslim identity are appropriated and exoticised, to be capitalised on by the Indian state. The identity of the Kashmiri Muslim is then always under suspicion and sought to be controlled by the state. The next section discusses surveillance strategies as a tool to depersonalise individuals.

6.4D Surveillance

Section 6.4B noted how media has been brought under control by the state, where the news published by a platform decides if it is eligible for funding or not, often leading to self-censorship amongst media platforms. Post the abrogation of Article 370 most newspapers could not carry on publishing due to government restrictions relating to distribution, the ones that continued published fewer copies filled with advertisements and empty editorials. On the other hand, articles relating to nature, beauty tips and classical English literature shot up (Murthy & Seshu, 2019). However, this media control and surveillance further flows into surveillance of individuals. This is carried out in the form of surveillance of expression and of the Kashmiri Muslim body.

The Kashmir valley is heavily surveilled via the military and public infrastructure. Surveillance has been a crucial part of the ruling apparatus in J&K and digital surveillance is accompanied with surveillance of the Kashmiri body in a more sinister fashion. The extensive militarisation of the region ensures that the security apparatus of the state, including soldiers who are now enmeshed in bureaucratic governance of the region have powers to question and stop civilians, search their bodies and homes in the name of security, and through CCTV cameras, which are highly visible in the capital cities. The Home Ministry has also undertaken a project of installing over 3000 CCTV in 20 districts of J&K and the fact that the cameras

will be monitored by J&K Police, controlled by the Union Government is telling of the fact that the cameras are not to increase public safety but to tighten the noose of control, further dehumanising the individual.

Similarly, phones taps are a common phenomenon with over 1 million phones being tapped only in the valley of Kashmir by 2014 (Sirnate, 2014). When people decided to move to encrypted messaging platforms or use VPNs, they have been forced to provide their passwords by security agencies to access social media accounts (Sharma, 2020). In 2021, when it was discovered that the Israeli spyware Pegasus had been used to spy on various Indians, Kashmiris reflected how there was no need of such a software in Kashmir as the security forces would simply demand any passwords or access codes to view somebody's private information. A Kashmiri legal consultant shared his experience on social media:
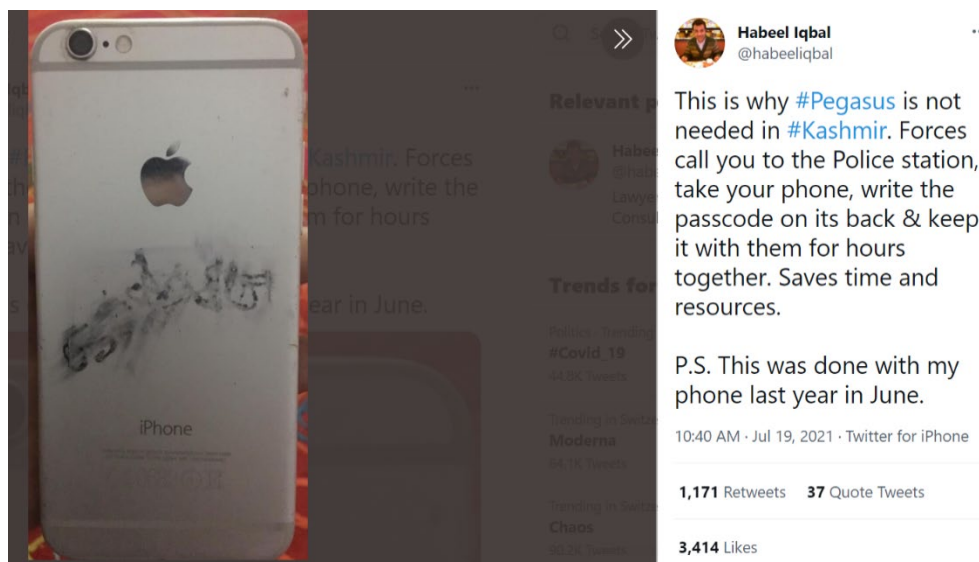
Figure 18: A screenshot of a tweet explaining the extent of surveillance in Kashmir.

Additionally, the state has also created a network of informers, called *Mukhbirs* who are to report on the local populations on matters that may be relevant to the state. Initially established as a counter-intelligence network, they inform the police and military on civilians. This network was employed and then positioned within local communities which often resulted in suspicion and distrust amongst people (Falak, 2015). An environment of fear and uncertainty provided the perfect ground for rumours which creates the impetus for surveillance by the Indian state.

As noted in *The Basic Psychology of Rumors* (1945), rumours circulate because they serve twin functions – of explaining and reliving emotional tensions felt by individuals and to give language to personal tensions (49). Hence, they can be seen as a group response to situations which are affecting an entire group. In the case of Kashmir, where trust in government and state authorities is extremely low, rumours crop up as and when societal changes take place which mostly occur without the consent of residents.

The revocation of Article 370 was preceded by extensive troop build-up, the hurried evacuation of tourists and shutdown of all communication. Rumours speculated the revocation and were ultimately proven right (Ganai, 2019; Manzoor, 2020) which has led to further distrust of the state authorities. A recent example of a rumour circulating amongst Kashmiri Muslims was that the Indian Government would soon be bifurcating J&K into a separate Union Territory for Kashmiri Pandits (Mugloo, 2021). Other associated talks included asking residents to leave their homes for the return of Kashmiri Pandits along with the usual speculations of the shutting down of internet and telecommunication. The increased troop movement along with a history of a lack of trust in news created widespread panic amongst Kashmiris, leading to stockpiling in case of shutdowns, a genuine cause of worry while a few days later, these rumours were put to rest by the State authorities. Along with this, the state used this opportunity to further police Kashmiris by stating that strict action would be taken against those circulating rumours (Kashmir Times, 2021).

Rumours often link up to fit a particular narrative but as Das points out in her work on the role of rumours in 1984 anti-Sikh violence across India (2007), they also reflect memories that come to life. In the case of Kashmir, the repeated lies by the state, the last one being the revocation of Article 370 where it was promised that Kashmir's special status would not be removed underlies the new rumours with a basic common understanding amongst civilians of the unpredictability and brutality of the state's actions. Rumours seem to be an almost obvious expression of state of anxiety (Orock, 2020), as it produces a state of suspicion which is a "key emotional state and relational lens produced in times of war and social order". While this culture of suspicion and paranoia is perpetuated and promoted by the state, it if often, as noted above, weaponised against local people.

Therefore, the Kashmiri Muslim subject is denied any free public or private expression, a refusal to acknowledge their Being. Heavy surveillance in all possible spheres leads to an environment of distrust and suspicion which is exploited by the state to create a structure of paranoia. This environment provides space for rumours, which historically have also been seen as a mobiliser (Guha, 1983) or a method of "collective deliberation" (Das, 2007) that may create panic amongst people but will also be used against the state. This means, the Indian state seeks all control of expression and assertion of identity of Kashmiri Muslims. Failing to achieve this, the punishment can range from dismissal from a job (Sharma, 2021) to being used as a human shield by the Indian Army or being killed/disappeared. The Indian state actively seeks to create a situation where Kashmiri Muslim subjects are restricted to what Agamben would refer to as "bare life" (1995), resulting in depersonalisation.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter studies the last aspect of the coloniality of power matrix enabling us to understand how the Indian state's coloniality functions in IAJK. In keeping with a decolonial framework, the focus is on the methods employed by the postcolonial nation state on the subject it seeks to colonize – in this case, the Kashmiri Muslim subject. I categorise the strategies employed by the state as dehumanisation, dispossession and depersonalisation to establish coloniality of being. I have kept the focus here on primarily those actions of the Indian state which are linked to the everyday lived reality of Kashmiri subjects.

I use the categorisations of dehumanisation, dispossession and depersonalisation via political assimilation. These terms have been previously used by anti-colonial and postcolonial scholars to explain, and on occasion, make sense of the colonised mind. I use these categories to analyse the Indian state's actions undertaken for its be-ing centring those who are forced to bear the brunt of these actions. The section on dehumanisation notes the brutal subjugation of the Kashmiri body, often specifically targeting the Kashmiri Muslim body through gendered practises of oppression such as torture, use of sexual violence and complete denial of any form of autonomy over one's body. It also invokes an extremely violent record of the Indian state's atrocities that far outdates this project. The two recent examples are only evidence as to how these practises have continued under new justifications often turning it into a battle

of narratives played out on social and traditional forms of media. In such a case, the Kashmiri body is 'othered' primarily by the Indian state, and then also by the state's loyal subjects.

The arbitrariness with which actual human bodies and lives are treated is a testimony to the state's paranoia of gaining total control over an individual's reality. In October 2021, over 900 civilians, mostly youth in the region were detained, including schoolteachers following a spate of civilian killings especially from minority communities, responsibility of which has been claimed by a local militant group and "unknown gunmen" (Kathju, 2021). For people living in this highly militarised zone, one can be detained, put on a 'travel ban' list, fired from state jobs for "anti-national remarks" (FPJ Web desk, 2021) and so on with no recourse to justice. The Kashmiri subject is deliberately dehumanised by the state, hoping to exercise complete control over their lives.

After this I study the practise of dispossession wherein recent policies that seek to extract land and resources of the region are examined. The research highlights how the postcolonial nation state doesn't use only brute force but also legal methods to profit from resources of the region, take land away from their owners and empower the Indian Army to be able to take over any land for their own use. This follows years of accusations against the Army for occupying land illegally (PTI, 2018) and occupation of social spaces such as schools and mosques by security forces to intimidate and monitor local populations who are forced to live in an atmosphere of constant scrutiny in their own homes (Hassan, 2018). Often, this dispossession like a "white man's civilising burden" and depicted as development or progress and Kaul (2021) warns us of this and reminds us that "the nationalist project in India, as elsewhere, is deeply gendered, and the Hindu nationalist project of the BJP on Kashmir is filled with contradictions in how it combines coloniality with social conservatism as well as the language of liberation" (130).

The last category looks at depersonalisation which is carried out via political assimilation noted in the recent Domicile Law and extensive surveillance policies. The state seeks to enforce a central identity on these subjects, one of being a nationalist Indian and whenever they fail to do so, they are punished for the same. The State allows different identities (gender, region, and religion, to an extent) to

exist if it doesn't challenge the authority of the primary identity, that of an Indian being. This is precisely what the coloniality of being aims to do, to subsume all other identities for this imagined 'developed' and 'successful' democracy, taking the form of its own coloniser. This chapter illustrates the mechanisms adopted by the postcolonial nation state, India to uphold the coloniality of be-ing in IAJK and carefully analyses them using a decolonial and postcolonial approach. As we noted in this chapter, coloniality of power and knowledge are also intricately linked to the process of being and the final chapter of this thesis will reflect on this and note its implications for the future of the postcolonial nation state more generally and India in particular.

Additionally, I as a non-Kashmiri subject, highlight responses of Kashmiri subjects to these policies as the colonial exercise of power by the Indian state as not unilateral. This is to remind us that it not only the postcolonial state making these policies, the response of the subjects whom this policy is directed towards also impacts, challenges and sometimes, overthrow these policies. As the state seeks to dehumanise, de-personalise and dispossess the subject, the subject often seeks to hold on to a specific understanding of self, an understanding often formulated with countering these colonial policies at its core. This is an attempt to preserve the 'self' despite the state's desire to produce compliant subjects. It is an urgent need to preserve the self, the self-outside of the colonial state but marked by coloniality, deliberately formulating a construct 'outside' of coloniality. Hence, reiterating what many postcolonial, decolonial and anti-colonial scholars have said before, it is the colonised or the oppressed subject in this case which can provide us with a path out of coloniality.

For example, in the case of dispossession and the reduction of land to territory, the importance of land to their residents cannot be overstated, especially with the threat of their land and homes being taken away. The Indian state's narrative is colonial in nature because it ignores how this land will be acquired in the first place. The sheer violence against residents and the attempts to break down generational linkages with the land of the residents while at the same time opening the area for outsiders is a deliberate move to challenge the Kashmiri identity, which like any other people, consider their land as an important part of their identity and history as expressed in one of the popular slogans used during protest marches in region (Raafi, 2020):

> "Jis Kashmir ko khoon se sencha, wo Kashmir hamara hai" (The Kashmir that we have irrigated with our blood, that Kashmir, is ours. – translation mine).

This move to undermine the historical link is a standard settler colonial move, turning land, a place with historical and cultural value, one to which the residents would have an intimate connection into "property" and "strategic area". As discussed in Chapter 1, the Indian state has always expressed its desire to own/conquer the territory of exoticized Kashmir but without its people, specifically, its Muslim inhabitants. This turning of land into property, then allows it to be viewed by the Indian state as a barrier against more Islamic threat embodied in Pakistan, hence it is land that must be defended by violence.

People of the region have previously asserted rights over the ownership of their water and land-based resources and taken cognisance of the state's actions as a tool to maintain political control over the region (Hakeem, 2014). While earlier, for example hydropower projects have been set up to provide electricity to outside regions, this time the entitlement over the resources is much more direct and aggressive. Bhan (2020) notes the extensive militarization has historically led to exploitation of resources and natural calamities such as the flood in 2014 (Ibid, 192). Hence, there is a prevalent understanding of how territorial sovereignty in the region is linked not only to environmental concerns but also to the sovereignty of the people.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The last three chapters have analysed the Indian state's exercise of power in IAJK with coloniality as an analytical tool. This concluding chapter draws out the links between the previous three chapters and highlights observations in the CMP of a postcolonial nation state, India. It does so by providing a summary of each chapter, drawing out the main arguments (section 7.2) and noting its implications for CMP in section 7.3. The chapter includes examples of subversion of the colonial state carried out by peoples of IAJK. The final section notes the contribution of this research and its potential scope.

7.2 Summary

The thesis begins by providing the key arguments and discussions pertaining to colonialism. It notes that colonialism has been studied as a historical phenomenon. It provides a redefinition of the term colonialism to reflect a broader understanding that focuses on the structures set up by colonialism, their nature while centring the colonised. This is done by using postcolonial and decolonial approaches challenged this understanding studying the lingering effects of colonialism – coloniality, in modern day politics. The review found that this literature had largely ignored study of the coloniality in postcolonial nation states and this research addresses this gap in the context of the Indian state and its relationship with IAJK. Additionally, it discusses the work of scholars who have studied colonialism in non-European context such as Anand (2018) whose work provided useful insights directly relevant for this project.

The third chapter directs the theoretical framework which is based on a collaborative postcolonial and decolonial approach. It engages with the literature on CMP explaining the key arguments made by Quijano (2000) relating to coloniality of power, knowledge and being. Coloniality is used as an analytical tool to look at the implications of CMP for a postcolonial nation state. It provides a rationale for using a collaborative approach as both schools interrogate colonial power based on how it is experienced by the subjects, providing for an innovative range of methods to be used

for analysis and share similar objectives. It then proceeds to provide a structural description for the rest of the research.

In the fourth chapter, official treaties and state documents are studied in a chronological manner to highlight the social and political hierarchies between the Kashmiri subject and the state in power. This provides a historical context to the region. I use the term 'state' here as this has shifted from the British rulers to Dogra rule to finally, the Indian state. The treaties studied include Treaty of Amritsar (1846), Instrument of Accession (1947), Acts such as Public Safety Act (1978), Armed Forces Special Powers Act (1990) and Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. This is supplemented with British traveller's accounts to look at the politics of exoticisation of IAJK where the literature gives more importance to the territory than to the people, with a few exceptions. This helps in establishing the hierarchisation of the Indian state over the peoples of IAJK. Drawing upon Guha's work, it further notes how this hierarchisation is established via Domination through Coercion over the territory and peoples of IAJK.

The fifth chapter argues that the Indian state controls knowledge production and dissemination within the region by studying different Acts pertaining to different levels of education. It does so by constructing the people of IAJK as 'other' by representing them as 'backward', 'dependent on Indian state' and IAJK as a tourist destination emptied of its peoples. Additionally, the chapter provides a detailed and lengthy engagement with the representation of the 'self' referring to the Indian state. It is useful to understand how the state justifies its actions in IAJK and how its production of consent amongst 'Indians' for its policies in IAJK. Main sources for this analysis were the school textbooks used in the region and reports produced by relevant prominent thinktanks. This 'othering' is crucial to justifying Indian state's control in the region by legitimising themselves as an 'anti-colonial', and 'democratic' country that is benevolent towards IAJK and is the 'rightful owner' to 'develop' them properly. Coloniality of knowledge is dangerous to a community as it dismisses indigenous knowledges and languages, subordinating their identities and cultures.

The sixth chapter studies the impact of colonial power on the lived realities of the people of IAJK. This is done by focusing on the implications of said rule – as

categorised in three ways – dehumanisation, dispossession, and depersonalisation. These categorisations are borrowed from the work of postcolonial and anticolonial scholars who have looked at the implications of colonialism on the colonised. The main objective of this is to establish control over the Kashmiri Muslim subject and create grounds for taking over territory in the region. Territorial desires and control are central in the colonial aspect of these strategies which aim to dispossess people. For this chapter, a range of state and non-state sources are used such as Acts and Policy changes implemented after the revocation of the region's special status. A historical context is provided by studying existing reports produced by regional and international NGOs and civil society organisations.

From the above discussion, it becomes clear that the Indian state establishes colonialism as defined in Section 2.5. It notes how the colonial state, both British and Indian are hierarchised over the peoples of IAJK through Domination, which is then sustained via controlling knowledge production and circulation and finally seeks to dehumanise, depersonalise and dispossess peoples of IAJK and specifically, Kashmiri Muslims. It exercises this power in a patriarchal fashion involving feminisation of territory, using gendered discourse to justify dispossession of residents and employing tropes of saving 'oppressed Kashmiri women'. Further, the various official documents enable us to see how the modern nation-state structure provided the laws to establish colonial Domination in the region through legal means under the garb of 'democracy', to create consent for its actions amongst its own citizens and the international community. Hence, the Indian colonialism in the region is not only based on dehumanising, dispossessing and depersonalising peoples of IAJK but on legitimacy for its rule granted by a majority of its population and the international world system. The next section studies this transition in more detail.

7.3 CMP in a postcolonial context

The three chapters demonstrate the Indian state's coloniality in the region based on the CMP. Hence, we find the replication of CMP through setting up hierarchies, controlling knowledge producing and trying to colonise the being. There are three findings relevant to the CMP I explain here – the interdependence of the three aspects, their subscription to a Eurocentric modernity and that coloniality in a postcolonial nation state establishes colonialism through the CMP.

First, the three aspects of CMP are interrelated and the functioning of one has consequences on the other. I demonstrate this with two examples. The multiple treaties imposed by the Indian state on the peoples IAJK such as the IOA or revocation of Article 370 are not based on the consent of the individuals involved. There is an active denial of the people's agency which sets up a hierarchy where the Indian state gets priority over people, and it has dehumanising implications for people. It comes as no surprise that the revocation of Article 370 was seen as a "humiliation" of Kashmiri people (Kaul, 2020; Mohan, 2019; Ellis-Peterson, 2019). We also need to see this "humiliation" as a deliberate strategy as Kaul (2021) reminds us that the first anniversary of "India's constitutional coup" was celebrated with the inauguration of the Ayodhya temple that had been the site of violence when Hindu vigilantes attacked a mosque of historical significance in 1992. The revocation is seen as a victory, a Hindu victory over the territory and Muslims of the region. This coloniality of power then leads to coloniality of being which reinforced hierarchical relations.

The complete shutdown of mobility and communication in specifically the Kashmir valley, that accompanied the revocation, was dehumanising and depersonalising. New Land Laws also provides for dispossession of territory for reasons of 'security' and 'development' which the Indian state sees as its democratic and paternalistic responsibility. Additionally, the education policies in the region, both historical and contemporary 'other' the residents of the region and marginalise indigenous knowledge production. So, the coloniality of power is reinforced through coloniality of knowledge while colonising the being.

The second example is focused on the Domicile Law. It establishes a hierarchy of prioritising the security forces and people who have worked with the Indian government over residents. It also seeks to categorise and control residents of IAJK because their access to jobs, land, and other resources is based on them subscribing to the Indian definition of a J&K domicile. Hence, the state is producing knowledge as to who constitutes as a resident, disrupting the sense of belonging and ownership that locals have to their land and resources as now their relation must be approved by the state. The state considers itself the authority as it marginalises indigenous notions of belonging and it is colonising towards the being as it denies the autonomy of Kashmiris in defining their own identity. In both examples, there exists a nexus

between the three aspects as they overlap, interact, and reinforce one another thus contributing to the colonial matrix of power. These connections are not always overtly spelt in the thesis but add to our understanding of how CMP is sustained in a postcolonial context.

Second, these three aspects all subscribe to a Eurocentric version of modernity as seen with the state-centric approach through coloniality of power, validating and centring Anglo-European knowledges and using colonial tactics to dehumanise, dispossess and depersonalise the being. However, there is one major difference in the case of a postcolonial nation state, specifically in the case of India though this may be applicable to other nation-states. Post 2014 with the normalisation and continued rule of the Hindu right-wing central government, there is an allegiance to neoliberal development, central to 'modernity' but this is accompanied by the glorification of a Hindu 'golden age' (See section 5.4 and 5.4B). This is important in the context of a postcolonial nation-state as this displays a crack in the idealized identity and self-perception of the state.

On one hand, it attempts to embody an anti-colonial image, on the other it seeks to imitate its coloniser. Hence, the postcolonial state ends up replicating the coloniser and exercises colonial power. However, the end of colonial rule on the state itself is a warning to the 'postcolonial' state of its own end or rather challenges in the form of anti-colonial movements and thus it seeks a different strategy of what I refer to as 'falsifying historical connections' to justify its colonialism. In this case, the postcolonial nation state asserts a non-hierarchical relationship between itself, and its 'colony' based on shared history, often fabricated, or selectively woven into the nationalist narrative of the dominant narrative. The Indian nation state asserts that IAJK is a historical part of India due to their shared Hindu affiliations emphasising on the Hindu aspects of Kashmiri culture, co-opting tribal communities in the region as Hindus and pushing the narrative of Islam as a foreign religion in the region. This completely ignores the prevalence of other religious traditions in the region, Buddhism being a prime example which is also the one of the oldest religious traditions in IAJK. However, it enables the Indian state to completely deny the possibility of being a 'coloniser' as IAJK is tied 'naturally' to the perceived image of the ancient, historical nation of Hindu India. To conclude, strategies of colonial power are justified on Eurocentric defined indicators of development and progress,

the claim to exercise these strategies comes from falsified historical narratives of the post-colonial nation state.

Third, in the context of the Indian state, the flow of CMP is reversed. Meaning, the European colonisers, according to decolonial scholars sustained colonialism through the CMP. While, in the case of the Indian state, also a postcolonial construct, it exercises powers through the CMP to establish structures of colonialism. The earlier flow was illustrated as:
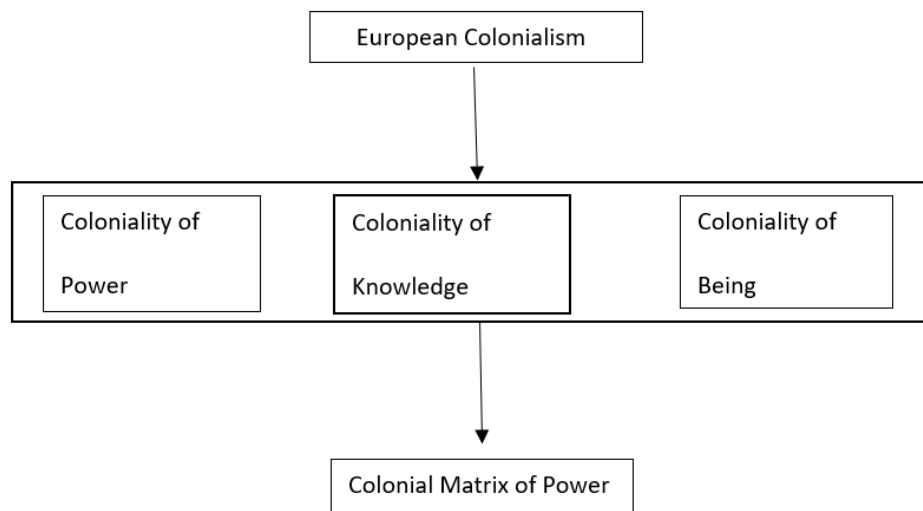
Figure 19: Original depiction of CMP

In the case of British colonialism in India, CMP establishes the modern Indian nation state, based on colonial institutions and notions of government, directly dependent on the British[62]. This nation-state exercises power through CMP, hence, is colonial in nature and establishes 'Indian' colonialism or postcolonial colonialism. The above figure changes to Figure 20 on the next page.

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[62] The Indian constitution might be seen differently in this regard as the Constitution makes adopted several laws and ideas from Constitutions across the world, not just the British.
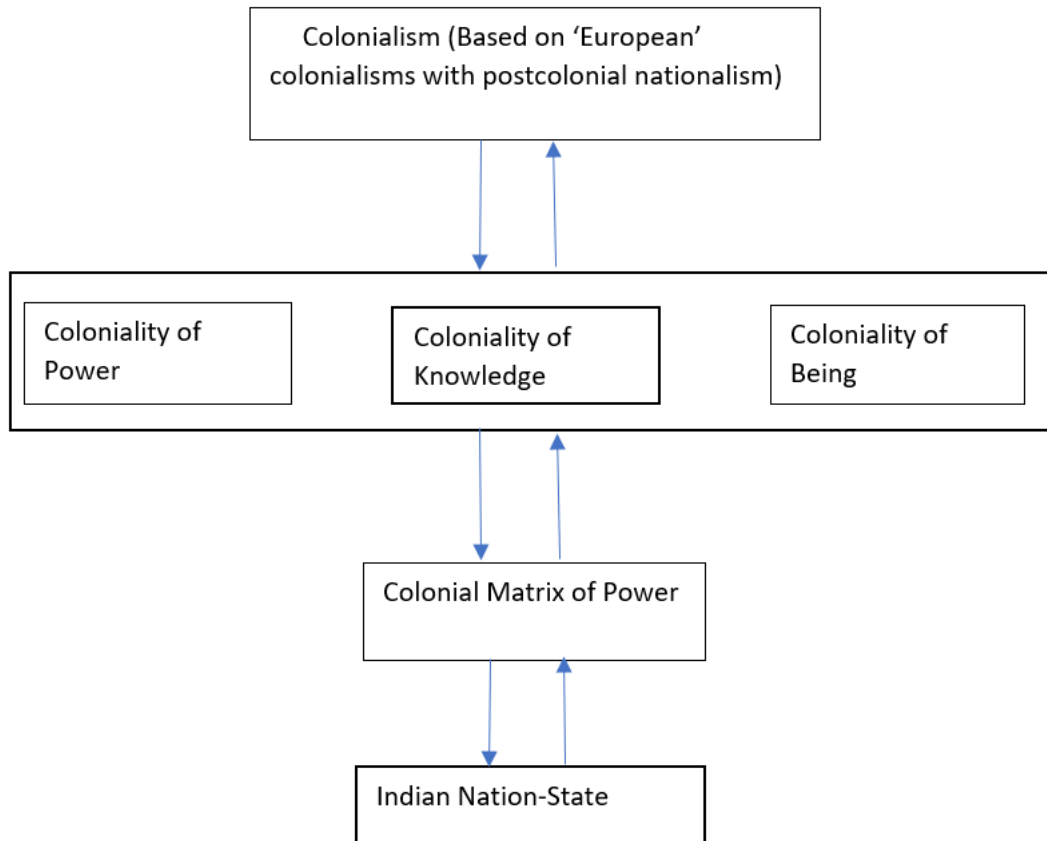
Figure 20: CMP in context of Indian nation-state

The colonialism so established has the characteristics of European colonialism – it is based on a patriarchal structure where power flows in an asymmetrical manner, it seeks to dehumanise and depersonalise its subjects to continue exerting power on them, acquires land and resources through legal and illegal means and imposes a single narrative of capitalist modernity. In the context of a postcolonial nation state, the above is carried out and justified in the name of postcolonial nationalism, crucial to build consensus amongst its citizens for its colonial actions.

This model enables us to view the Indian exercise of power in IAJK as contemporary colonialism. It allows us to study colonialism in the postcolonial context, taking note of the effects of its colonial experience and how this contributes to colonialism today. The CMP, in the above figure, established the Indian nation-state but there are other facets of society which have been impacted by colonialism, such as

understandings of caste and gender.[63] In India's case, this research only looks at how coloniality functions in IAJK and not the functioning of coloniality in other regions or spheres.

This model should be seen not as an adoption of a decolonial framework, rather its extension as the findings asserts the formation of a postcolonial nation-state that is modelled on the Eurocentric nation state but is marked with its own potential of contemporary colonialism(s). This newly created state uses its colonial past to glorify its pre-colonial past, often based on fabricated history that whitewashes the oppression of specific groups such as those belonging to minoritised castes or genders. It is postcolonial and anticolonial approaches that allow for a rigorous critique of colonial Domination reflecting the necessity of bringing the three approaches together. Hence, scholars of decolonial thought must move away from only critiques of eurocentrism to recognise and call into question coloniality as practiced by postcolonial nation states.

With the focus on coloniality, it is important to remember that this power is often subverted, challenged and resisted in multiple ways. The next section provides a glimpse of this with a focus on Guha's idiom of Subordination. The next section provides evidence of subversion of colonial power as visibilised in the manifesto of Naya Kashmir (1944) and an open letter by a Kashmiri militant. These documents offer a glimpse of the political aspirations of their times and while this is not sufficient to understand the various dimensions of the resistance movement in Kashmir, it brings forth the idiom of 'Collaboration' and 'Resistance', shedding light on the agency of the peoples in IAJK to counter the narrative where indigenous populations are dehumanised to a 'voiceless', 'uncivilised', 'uneducated' being.

7.4 Subordination

Subordination, in Guha's analysis is relegated to the domain of the precolonial, precapitalist 'native' in practices of Collaboration and Resistance. As Guha stresses, practices of Domination and Subordination exist in a relationship and their interplay in the colonial period can create new forms of the components (1989, 61).

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[63] A relevant work for the same I want to highlight here is Nishant Upadhyay's work on the Hindu Nation and its queers, arguing that to decolonise law, state and sexuality would entail annihilating caste and Brahminical structures (2020).

Domination is challenged through Collaboration or resistance, which can again take varying forms depending on the specificity of the colonial condition. The focus of this thesis is primarily on the Indian state, and while actions of the state have led to subordinating the peoples of IAJK, I do not study these practices at length. However, I provide evidence of actions undertaken by the peoples of IAJK to subvert colonial rule – focusing on a textual analysis of the Naya Kashmir (New Kashmir) manifesto (1944) and an open letter by a militant. The two writings remember and counter the narrative where the indigenous population is often dehumanised to a 'voiceless', 'uncivilised', 'uneducated' being.

7.4A Naya Kashmir (New Kashmir) (1944) – An assertion of political sovereignty

The Dogra regime witnessed large uprisings which were brutally oppressed by state forces. There was heavy discontent amongst the Muslim population against state policies that had systematically denied political representation to them within the Dogra kingdom and access to education and land resources (Bazaz, 1954; 142-160). In 1932, the Glancy Commission was appointed by the Maharaja to calm the protestors which recommended the establishment of a legislature, called the *Praja Sabha* (People's Association, translation mine) which would have members from the kingdom and elected from the people with reservations for Muslims. The All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference was founded by Sheikh Abdullah and Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas in 1932, both would later go on to play important roles in the political mobilization of the Muslim peasantry and in the State's political future as key leaders. In 1934, the first Praja Sabha elections were held which saw a gradual growth of the All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference, expand into the National Conference (henceforth, NC) in 1939 opening their membership to all people of the state as opposed to only Muslims (Guha, 2004, 80). In 1944, Abdullah called for Constitutional Monarchy within the region by presenting a manifesto, *Naya Kashmir (*New Kashmir) to the Maharaja.

This document is spectacular for multiple reasons and is a testimony to the demand for self-determination of Kashmiris. The document was envisioned by Dr Kanwar Ashraf, a Kashmiri leftist leader and the constitution after its formulation also depicted its socialist underpinnings quite clearly. The diverse group of people who worked on Naya Kashmir included party members of NC, lawyers, poets, social

activists and was open for people of all religions. The first draft was written in English but was translated in Urdu to increase its accessibility amongst the local population (Abdullah & Taing, 1985). The document was one of the first of its kind to have a special section for 'Charter of Women's Rights' which included economic, social, legal, educational rights which even included provisions for maternity leave and natal care. In fact, the document perceived that men and woman must work together to build a new nation and promised the creation of a separate department that would deal only with specific issues women may have (Whitehead, 2020). While most historiography on this document portrays it as a liberating document for women (Akhter, 2015; Whitehead, 2020; Khan, 2010), scholars like Hafsa Kanjwal have pointed out that after 1947, women's empowerment was co-opted by the J&K state, often in a paternalistic manner denying the growth of an "indigenous feminist movement" that was not dependent on the state (2018, 41). The critique against the ruling party in the state is based on their acceptance of the IOA and idealising the modern Kashmiri woman to be "educated, progressive and a secular nationalist" (Ibid, 40).

However, I argue that the document is progressive for women, especially from an anti-colonial sense as the document had no contribution or influence from the overarching ruling British Indian government, and actively demanded their sovereignty, Subordinating colonial rule. The importance of Naya Kashmir lies in the fact that post-1954, when the Indian Government officially assumed control of IAJK, Abdullah implemented many policies of the document including abolishing the feudal system. The J&K and Indian state interference in social movements in the state, by extent of its political goals, is to be expected (as Kanjwal (2018) provides evidence for) but the document's importance cannot be understated. Largely ignored by the Indian government, it was a unique and progressive manifesto that depicted the aspirations of Kashmiri people, including women[6] by their own representatives, challenging the monarchy and the British colonial government and aimed for a collective society based on equal distribution of resources and power - challenging the Eurocentric notions of 'progress' and 'development' while asserting their own identity.

In 1946, Abdullah launched the 'Quit Kashmir' Movement against all imperial control of Kashmir – the Maharaja and the British, but he was arrested, and Nehru

attempted to go to Kashmir to defend him but is also arrested and forced to go back. At the same time, in October the Muslim Conference launched a 'Campaign of Action' with the same demands as the 'Quit Kashmir' movement, leading to the arrest of Abbas (Korbel, 1966, 23). It is remarkable that despite their differences, there was a strong unity of hatred against the Maharaja which speaks volumes about his role in the region. The Maharaja and the state authorities were also responsible for sowing and deepening the communal divide in their region. His reactions to their agitations only infuriated and strengthened their demands more. Furthermore, the NC demanded that the Amritsar Treaty be abolished, and Kashmir should be ruled by its people – and for the first time we see a clear demand of self-determination expressed politically at the state level, a clear sign of resistance against the British Indian state.

The above is extremely important to note because it is at this moment that despite all the similarities and interconnections in the resistance politics of India and Kashmir, their political demands differ. The All-India State People's Conference had different aspirations of responsible government under the aegis of rulers and Nehru expressed personal displeasure at this difference. However, at the same session we see a shift in Nehru's stance as well, who while acknowledging that the demands raised by NC were understandable considering the continued oppression in their state, compared the situation to other states under British rule, making the rulers increasingly more unwelcome even as 'constitutional heads', reiterating that 'sovereignty will have to reside in the people', radically altering notions of pre-existing notions of self-rule and independence of India (Kashmir Life, 2018). It is interesting to note the impact of Abdullah's and the NCs ideas on Nehru, and consequently the Indian Freedom Struggle, rarely credited in the retelling of the Indian Freedom Struggle, actively denying any agency to the role of Kashmiri leaders in the Indian freedom which signifies a colonial strategy of discrediting local leaders.

7.4B Challenging hierarchies – Dr Mannan Wani

Dr Mannan Wani was a research scholar based at Aligarh Muslim University who joined the Hizb-ul-Mujhahideen post the killing of Prof Rafi Bhat (Ahmad, 2018), who had picked up arms hours before being shot down by the Indian state security forces. Wani's letter begins by quoting Malcolm X, neatly marking his political affiliations, and his letter is crucial for highlighting several understandings and issues

within the Kashmiri discourse. While as a person not belonging to the community the letter was written for, and my positioning as being a citizen of the GOI, I do not seek to define the worth of this letter in defining Kashmiri politics but to draw out the arguments being made by a Kashmiri scholar who picked up arms to demonstrate the prevailing narratives amongst the people of IAJK. His letter, in a scholarly fashion, explains the working of Indian occupation basing his understanding firmly grounded on his lived experiences and workings within the system. The text is demonstrative of his self-reflection as he lists out his reason for choosing to express himself in the written word as he had already given that up to pick up arms. His reasons are multiple – firstly to counter the collaborators who profit off the lives of Kashmiris, and secondly, to counter Indian media termed as 'demonizing us' (2018) referring to the constant dehumanisation not only portrayed through state policies but further implemented, practised and brought into the mainstream by media – comprising of films, news, documentaries, advertisements. He further writes that as 'their' (referring to citizens of J&K) people have been forced to adhere to a specific understanding of Kashmiri resistance, the state has co-opted to profit off either the 'violent, militant Kashmiri' or the 'helpless victimised Kashmiri' done through an illogical argument. Wani in a Fanonian sense asserts that he is writing back to the Indian state to "reply in the same language", reminiscent of Fanon contextualizing the use of French by the colonised people in Algeria to respond to the French colonial state in a language it would understand. Another reason to include the letter is also the author's unique positioning as he asserts himself as an "… insider also puts his point of view to get the facts straight.". The letter demonstrates the lived experienced of a person in a colony transferring to a multi-faceted understanding as he seeks to challenge the coloniser state through a vigorous critical reflection of the modern Kashmiri Resistance movement. He specifically addresses the differences between people based on religion and class that has been manufactured and maintained by the Indian State and goes on a lengthy description of how this has perforated through their society. He summarizes this as

> they are willfully trying to change the historical and political realities of Kashmir. Day in and day out, new discourses are being circulated in media through various individuals and agencies.

> India is very cleverly trying to confuse the people of Kashmir by

> manufacturing the narratives suiting to justify their military presence and oppressive measures used to contain the populace of J&K.

In addition, he refers to the specific divides created by the Indian state to divide people and challenges the Indian state's labelling of people fighting occupation as "terrorism". He adds that they do not target or kill civilians unlike the Indian state. Post critiquing India's colonial exercise of power and military occupation, he questions the Indian state itself on the need for excessive militarisation to handle "200 young boys with AK47s". Wani's intellectual contribution is crucial for lending a united front to the Kashmiri resistance movement where he envisions a place for each Kashmiri, if they are resisting occupation in their own ways, whether it be through writing, teaching, in government service, practicing medicine, journalists, saying "we are all soldiers of resistance". His letter goes beyond Kashmir and problematises the GOI's rule in the North-East and the accession of a right-wing government that he aptly terms to be applying their "fascistic ideology". The paternalistic civilizing mission narrative is also dismissed by Wani who dismisses any exchange for development and education bargained for "rights and dignity". He upholds Islam as his personal belief and uses the same to justify arguments against slavery and oppression while at the same time, reiterating that the priority aim of the Kashmiri Resistance movement is to overthrow the occupying state and then "create an environment of peace and justice wherein every thought and ideology would be discussed and debated, and people will be given their right to choose whatever they like." Encapsulating a right long been denied to the people of IAJK by the GOI. The letter is a strong demonstration of firstly, marking and unifying the Kashmiri resistance; secondly, critiquing India's colonial exercise of power via his lived experience; thirdly, calling for people to be "intelligent" in terms of being aware of the many variations of power as exercised by the Indian state and unifying their resistance. The letter was aptly banned and taken down off all Indian and IAJK media platforms. Wani was killed in October 2018, mere months after his decision to pick up arms against the Indian state was announced.

The above offers a glimpse into the counter-narrative offered by a Kashmiri person which seeks to subordinate and challenge the Indian state's rule by laying bare the state's tactics of Domination in the region and beyond. Section 7.4 offers a brief reflection on strategies of Subordination in the form of the Naya Kashmir manifesto

that offered a political alternative in resistance to British rule and expressed political aspirations for self-determination. The second document, a letter by a Kashmiri militant elucidates his resistance strategy and is a strong example of Subordination of the Indian state's rule by multiple means – armed resistance and challenging the dominant narrative. The final sections looks at the contributions, shortcomings and future potential of this research.

7.5 The contributions of this research

This research has three main contributions – it provides a method to use a postcolonial and decolonial approach for analysis, the effective use of CMP to demonstrate contemporary colonialism and comprehensive evidence of colonialism as established by the Indian state in IAJK. I elaborate on these here. The section concludes with a discussion on the shortcomings of this research and how they may be addressed.

Postcolonial and decolonial approaches focus on colonial power in terms of its implications for the colonised. Both schools provide a detailed critique of Anglo-European colonialism and the decolonial school's concept of coloniality allows us to study the lingering impacts of colonialism. I draw upon both to study the coloniality of the Indian state in IAJK and while the thesis focuses on the Indian state, the state is de-centered with a critical reading of the state's policies and actions juxtaposed with the experience of the colonised. This allows us to move beyond the hegemonic state narrative, highlighting its coloniality and allowing us to interrogate colonial desires of the postcolonial nation state.

Finally, this research provides comprehensive, exhaustive evidence of Indian colonialism in IAJK. These colonial structures are upheld by narrative means such as controlling knowledge and using gendered and Islamophobic language to justify subjugation of the peoples of IAJK, and it notes the territorial claim and dispossession as the material impact. This brings to the fore the problematic relationship postcolonial nations share with territory and the imposition and subsequent internalisation of western conceptions of progress and development based on the oppression of peoples.

This research adopts the complete model of the CMP, and since its application is based in a South Asian postcolonial nation context, it has been modified based on the work of postcolonial and anticolonial scholars to study the colonial exercise of power by postcolonial nation-states, which has been largely ignored in the discipline of International Relations. The decolonial focus on eurocentrism leads to an ignorance of the postcolonial nation-state's hankering for a fabricated and glorified precolonial past which, as I argue in Section 7.3, plays a crucial role in legitimising postcolonial colonialism. Shifting the analysis on to postcolonial nation-states demands these schools of thought shift from only critiquing eurocentrism to challenge postcolonial nationalisms and colonialisms. The case study of IAJK centres the people of IAJK to expand decolonial and postcolonial concerns of 'Western' dominance to develop a framework with the motive of recognising that different colonial systems might share tools of establishing Dominance without hegemony however, we must move beyond a Eurocentric focus to challenge all modes of colonialism, for a true decolonisation.

The research already noted shortcomings in the theoretical framework which have been addressed in Chapter 3. During the course of this research, certain shortcomings cropped up. One of these was the obvious limitations on research was due to the political climate which restricted access to the region meaning that functioning of the colonial structures so established by the Indian state could not be studied as closely. Future studies of coloniality in the region should strive to address this gap by studying institutions of governance such as the local government structures and their implications for the residents of IAJK[64]. The next was the limited focus on caste. The decolonial framework and to some extent, the postcolonial school do not center caste and the role of caste in functioning of Indian coloniality in the region demands further study. Caste will also invisiblise social hierarchies and their interactions with structures of colonialism. Apart from this, this research project opens up the space in the discipline of International Relations to move beyond the focus on western states

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[64] This will have to be done with utmost attention to the safety of the residents especially keeping in mind the increasing domination of the Indian state in the region. Following the decolonial school, this research must centre the voice of the people of the region, including them as knowledge creators to challenge coloniality in all its manifestations.

to study coloniality of postcolonial nation-states and challenge the various mutations of colonialism.

Appendix 1: List of textbooks

JKBOSE Textbooks*:

Contemporary India – 01 [IX] (2019) (Geography)

Contemporary India – 02 [X] (2019) (Geography)

Democratic Politics – I [IX] (2019) (Political Science)

Democratic Politics – II [X] (2019) (Political Science)

Environmental Science [III] (2019)

Environmental Science [IV] (2019)

Environmental Science [V] (2019)

India & The Contemporary World – I [IX] (2019) (History)

India & The Contemporary World – II [X] (2019) (History)

Our Environment [VII] (2019) (Geography)

Our Pasts – I [VI] (2019) (History)

Our Pasts – II [VII] (2019) (History)

Our Pasts – III [VIII] (2019) (History)

Resources & Development [VIII] (2019) (Geography)

Social & Political Life – I [VI] (2019) (Political Science)

Social & Political Life – II [VII] (2019) (Political Science)

Social & Political Life – III [VIII] (2019) (Political Science)

The Earth Our Habitat [VI] (2019) (Geography)

*All the latest editions of the textbooks (2022 edition) are available from the JK Bose website: https://jkbose.nic.in/TextBooks.html (Last accessed on 22/05/2022). The textbooks do not feature any major changes from the 2019 edition and do not impact the findings of the textual analysis carried out in Chapter 5.

NCERT Textbooks*:

Contemporary India – 01 [IX] (2019) (Geography)

Contemporary India – 02 [X] (2019) (Geography)

Contemporary World Politics [XII] (2019) (Political Science)

Democratic Politics – I [IX] (2019) (Political Science)

Democratic Politics – II [X] (2019) (Political Science)

Fundamentals of Human Geography [XII] (2019) (Geography)

Fundamentals of Physical Geography [XI] (2019) (Geography)

India & The Contemporary World – I [IX] (2019) (History)

India & The Contemporary World – II [X] (2019) (History)

India People & Economy [XII] (2019) (Geography)

India Physical Environment [XI] (2019) (Geography)

Indian Constitution at Work [XI] (2019) (Political Science)

Looking Around (III) (2019) (Environmental Science)

Looking Around (IV) (2019) (Environmental Science)

Looking Around (V) (2019) (Environmental Science)

Our Environment [VII] (2019) (Geography)

Our Pasts – I [VI] (2019) (History)

Our Pasts – II [VII] (2019) (History)

Our Pasts – III [VIII] (2019) (History)

Political Science – II [XII] (2019) (Political Science)

Political Theory [XI] (2019) (Political Science)

Resources & Development [VIII] (2019) (Geography)

Social & Political Life – I [VI] (2019) (Political Science)

Social & Political Life – II [VII] (2019) (Political Science)

Social & Political Life – III [VIII] (2019) (Political Science)

The Earth Our Habitat [VI] (2019) (Geography)

Themes in Indian History – I, II & III [XII] (2019) (History)

Themes in World History [XI] (2019) (History)

*All the latest editions of the textbooks (2022 edition) are available from the NCERT website: https://ncert.nic.in/textbook.php (Last accessed on 22/05/2022). The textbooks do not feature any major changes from the 2019 edition and do not impact the findings of the textual analysis carried out in Chapter 5.

Appendix – II

List of thinktanks

1. Association for Democratic Reforms
2. Centre For Asian Strategic Studies – India
3. Centre for Air Power Studies
4. Centre for Civil Society
5. Centre for Development Studies (Government)
6. Centre for Land Warfare Studies
7. Centre for Policy Research
8. Centre for Study of Science, Technology and Policy (Government)
9. Foundation for Democratic Reforms
10. Indian Council of World Affairs
11. Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis
12. Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (Government)
13. Institute for Social and Economic Change (Government)
14. Karnataka Knowledge Commission (Government)
15. National Institute of Advanced Studies (Government)
16. Observer Research Foundation
17. PRS Legislative research
18. South Asia Analysis Group
19. Strategic Foresight Group
20. The Takshashila Institute
21. Vivekananda International Foundation

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