

COLONIZING THE NATIVES: A STUDY OF ENDO-COLONIZATION IN THE SHADOW OF THE CRESCENT MOON



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Abstract: *This study analyzes Fatima Bhutto's The Shadow of the Crescent Moon from the perspective of Endo-colonization. The ways of colonization and control take on new forms in the contemporary times. Paul Virilio and Sylvere Lotringer (2008) term this modern form of colonization as Endo-colonization. It involves the colonization of one's own civilian society. This is brought about by employing various techniques and strategies. The study is qualitative in nature and close reading technique is used to explore the Endo-colonial elements in the novel. The selected novel's words, sentences, and characters have been examined to determine the necessary themes and subjects. The researcher also gathered pertinent data by reading relevant books, journals, and articles. Paul Virilio and Sylvere Lotringer's theory of Endo-colonization is used while the acquired facts are explored and weighed. By doing this, it is found that the Pakistani state is using number of tactics to sustain control over its own civilian society, i.e., Mir Ali. Having implications in the area of Endo-colonization, the study explores the strategies used by a state to perpetuate control over its own societal sector.*

Keywords: Colonialism, Neo-colonialism, Domination, Endo-colonization.

Introduction

Throughout history, colonizers have sustained their subjugation through various tactics. Initially during the colonial era, they employed colonial discourses to control the colonized people. Through such devices, they propagated that the colonized people are not capable of self-rule, therefore, they must be ruled. Edward Said and Frantz Fanon are the prominent names among the theorists of colonial discourses. Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) explores how the Western colonial powers produced discourses to keep the colonized people subservient to their rule. Said (1978) argues that such kind of knowledge produced about the colonized people consolidated their hold over

them because "knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge" (p.36). In fact, colonialism was brought about and then sustained through colonial knowledge. The American social anthropologist Dirks (2002) explains, "Colonial knowledge played a crucial role in colonialism, acting as both a tool for conquest and a product of it. In many key ways, the pursuit and creation of knowledge were central to the colonial experience" (p.125). Frantz Fanon is another notable critic who examines the aftereffects of French colonialism on the lives of the black people. In his acclaimed book *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952), Fanon unveils the damage done to the black people through colonial discourses. Frantz Fanon

(1952) explores the profound impact of colonial discourses on identity and representation, illustrating how these narratives dehumanize and alienate the colonized. He argues that the colonial experience creates a psychological condition where the colonized people internalize the negative stereotypes imposed upon them, leading to a fractured and shattered sense of self. Fanon famously states, “I am black; I am a Negro; I am a man” (p. 18), highlighting the struggle for recognition and humanity amidst a landscape dominated by colonial representations. He emphasizes that colonial discourse not only strips individuals of their cultural identity but also forces them into a state of constant self-evaluation against the standards of the colonizer, perpetuating a cycle of inferiority and conflict.

However, after the departure of colonial masters, colonialism was replaced by neo-colonialism. Although, direct colonization was no more practiced, the previously colonized countries still faced new modes of imperial practices. Ashcroft et al. (2006) write in the general introduction to their book, *The Post-Colonial Reader* that “Independence has not resolved the issue of neocolonial dominance, which still exists in some form in all post-colonial states, whether overt or covert” (p. 2). This was done through raising a class of local elites who persisted the same colonial legacies both in terms of economy and governance. Fanon’s theory of “The Pitfalls of National Consciousness” in his *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), demonstrates the fault lines of the national consciousness of a nation. He believes that when a country achieves independence, the middle class of that country take on the roles of the former colonizers to extract benefits and profits from that country. So, decolonization, in fact, eclipsed behind neo-colonization.

In today’s world the ways of domination and control have transformed into new modes. Not only the concept of colonizer has changed but the ways of colonization have also undergone a lot of change. Paul Virilio and Sylvere Lotringer in their *Pure War* (2008) contend that unlike traditional colonization in which a country or an empire used to colonized and control a foreign

country either through physical settlement or remote control, modern colonization involves the colonization of one’s own civilian society. Virilio and Lotringer (2008) term this form of colonization as ‘Endo-colonization’. In order to do so, various tactics and strategies are employed by the state to perpetuate the domination over its own societal sector.

Problem Statement

In the contemporary world, the ways of domination and control take on new forms. It is no longer the era of exo-colonization. Rather, it is the era of endo-colonization in which a state controls or colonizes its own territory. Virilio and Lotringer (2008) call such kind of colonization as ‘Endo-colonization’. The current study aims to explore Endo-colonization in the novel *The Shadow of the Crescent Moon* (2015) by focusing on the strategies which are used to perpetuate control over its own civilian society.

Significance of the Study

The paper holds significance in the area of the politics of control and domination. It provides a deeper understanding of how colonization is depicted in the contemporary literature by exploring how people are kept under control in the postcolonial state. Moreover, it also challenges the general consensus about the prevalent war in the postcolonial states such as Afghanistan and Pakistan. The research also directly corresponds to Goal 10 of the Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations, which aims to reduce inequalities, and Goal 16 of the Sustainable Development Goals, which aims to advance peace, justice, and the creation of strong institutional frameworks.

Review of Literature

A considerable amount of scholarly work is available that is congruent to the various aspects of this study. Through a critical analysis of various research endeavors, this chapter identifies the gaps and limitations in current knowledge, setting the stage for the present study’s investigation and contribution to the field. So, the most relevant literature present on the ways of domination and control is reviewed in this section.

Traditional Ways of Domination

Historically, colonized people have been kept under control through various ways. Initially during the colonial era, the colonizers used violence to perpetuate their control. As Fanon in his *The Wretched of the Earth* (1962) states:

The violence that has governed the ordering of the colonial world has incessantly dictated the destruction of native social forms, thoroughly breaking down economic systems and altering customs of dress and everyday life without restraint. (p.40)

However, very soon they realized that it is not a feasible way of domination. So, they looked for some soft weapons. One of the most significant tactics used to sustain control was colonial discourses. Colonial discourses were fundamental tools to keep the colonized people subservient to the colonial rule. Through colonial discourses the colonizers justified their superior status and propagated that they had the right to rule over the others. Edward Said and Frantz Fanon are the prominent theorist of colonial discourses, “They examine how representations and modes of perception serve as essential tools of colonial power, maintaining the subservience of colonized peoples to colonial rule” (McLeod, 2013, p.17).

Edward W. Said

Edward Said wrote *Orientalism* (1978) in which he looks at the divisive relationship between colonizers and the colonized. Said (1978) explores how the colonial powers produced immeasurable amount of knowledge about the colonized people and how that knowledge helped them to justify their subjugation, “Orientalism is the field through which the Orient has been systematically studied, serving as a subject of inquiry, exploration, and application” (Said, 1978, p. 73). Orientalism as a discipline was systematically approached not because they wanted to give benefit to the Orient. Edward Said is of the opinion that knowledge gives power. If you want power you need to construct knowledge and for more power you need to construct more knowledge. So, the

point he wants to reiterate here is that the colonizers approached Orientalism systematically as a discipline to empower themselves and to perpetuate their control over the Orient. By doing so, Said’s critique is directed upon every field of knowledge which was used as a tool to perpetuate their control. He deduces that true knowledge is not objective. Rather, it is highly politicized. Thus, he challenges its aesthetic autonomy. As he states:

What I am currently interested in is proposing that the widespread liberal agreement that “true” knowledge is inherently nonpolitical (and conversely, that explicitly political knowledge is not considered “true” knowledge) conceals the complex and often hidden political conditions that exist during the production of knowledge. (Said, 1978, p.10)

Frantz Fanon

Frantz Fanon, a notable theorist, critic and a psychologist, extensively explored the profound impact of French colonialism on countless individuals who endured its dominance. He wrote two books *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963). In his book *Black Skin, White Masks*, he talks about the psychological damage caused to the black people through colonial discourses whether that was in the form of depression or instability. He unveils the trauma of black people who suffered because of their skin color, “The white man is sealed in his whiteness. The black man in his blackness” (Fanon, 1952, p.11). Seal, here, refers to the discourse and discourse means the world. It is a body of knowledge within which world can be known. Michel Foucault (1972) defines discourse as:

...a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation; it is not the sentences or the propositions in themselves, but the relation between them, the way they are grouped together, the way they are related to the institution, the social and cultural context, and the way they produce a certain kind of knowledge. (p.117)

So, the white people had the seal of white color and the black people were imprisoned in the seal of blackness. And it was impossible to come out

of that seal. According to Fanon, this whole discourse in which the colonizers have occupied a dominant and superior position is based on colonial discourses which is the mastery and creation of the colonizers, “the black soul is a white man’s artifact” (Fanon, 1952, p.16).

Literature on Neo-colonization

After the departure of the colonials masters from their colonies, colonialism was replaced by neo-colonialism in which the colonizers ceased to exist physically but the domination still prevailed. This was done through raising a class of native elites who persisted and mirrored the same colonial values and practices. They perpetuated that system of governance which favored the external powers over the interest of the local population. Thus, liberation led to another form of domination. As Nayar (2012) says, “All Postcolonial nations have come to acknowledge that, although they have gained independence, the white colonial master is often simply replaced by a dark-skinned leader, with the underlying exploitation continuing unchanged” (p. 109).

Frantz Fanon

Fanon’s theory of “The Pitfalls of National Consciousness” in his *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), demonstrates the fault lines of the national consciousness of a nation. For him, decolonization of a nation does not necessarily often mean the end of colonization. Decolonization often does not lead to liberation. Rather, it leads to another form of colonization called neo-colonization. In this essay, he illustrates that the bourgeoisie leadership of Africa are not equipped technologically and financially to run the independent nation. As a result, they fall back on the colonizers, which devours the purpose of masses having revolted for freedom. He believes that when a country achieves independence, the middle class of that country takes on the roles of the former colonizers to extract benefits and profits from that country:

Emerging after colonial rule, the national middle class is significantly underdeveloped one. It lacks significant economic power and is not comparable to the bourgeoisie of the colonizing

nation that it aspires to supplant. Driven by a sense of self-importance, this national middle class mistakenly believes it can successfully replace the middle class of the colonizer. However, the very independence that pushes it into a corner will lead to severe consequences within its ranks, forcing it to frantically seek assistance from the former colonial power. (Fanon, 1962, p. 149)

Delimitation of the Study

This research studies Fatima Bhutto’s (2015) novel *The Shadow of the Crescent Moon* from the perspective of Virilio and Lotringer’s (2008) theory of Endo-colonization. The research is delimited specifically to Fatima Bhutto and explores the strategies used by the Pakistani state to sustain control over its civilian society. The researcher does not claim that all the South Asian, particularly Pakistani writers consider the Pakistani state as the colonizer of its own civilian society. Also, the study is delimited to the theory of Endo-colonization, and thus the novel can be explored from various other perspectives, such as slow violence.

Research Methodology

This study is qualitative in nature. The approach which is used in this research is an inductive approach. It means that this research is data-driven research. The data is picked in the form of quotations from the novel. The researcher studies these quotations through the lens Endo-colonization. The researcher looks for the data in the novel which supports the concept of Endo-colonization. To collect data from the novel, the researcher applies four stages of reading. In the first stage, the researcher reads the novel to figure out the nature of the novel. This stage of reading for collecting data is known as ‘pre-reading’. In the second stage, the researcher reads the novel thoroughly and underlines the quotations and lines which are related to the area of the research. The researcher writes down all these lines on a separate page so that these quotations can be easy to interpret. This stage is known as ‘critical reading’. In the third stage, the researcher keenly observes all these lines through the lens of Endo-colonization. This stage is known as ‘interpretative reading’. In the

final stage, the researcher critically analyzes all these lines and makes clear interpretations of these lines which are given in chapter four, data analysis, in this research.

Theoretical Framework

Theoretically, this study is based on Paul Virilio and Sylvere Lotringer's theory of Endo-colonization from *Pure War* (2008). The researcher's aim is to find out various characteristics of this new mode of control and domination in the said novel by using the lens of Virilio and Lotringer's Endo-colonization.

Analysis and Discussion

As already mentioned, Endo-colonization is different from traditional colonization. On the one hand, it involves the colonization of one's own territory. On the other hand, it is brought about by strategies different from the conventional ones. Fatima Bhutto's novel *The Shadow of the Crescent Moon* is set in Mir Ali, a town close to the Pak-Afghan border. The town of Mir Ali is directly controlled by the federal government. The novel shows that number of tactics and strategies are employed by the Pakistani state to sustain control over the town of Mir Ali. Violence is the first strategy used by the state to sustain control over this area. As Virilio and Lotringer (2008) say, "In a national security-oriented society, military forces turn against their own citizens, both to secure the resources needed for continuous conflict and to exert control over the community" (p.107). Bhutto (2015) shows that the armed forces turn against the people of Mir Ali. Every kind of violence is used to control the people. They are tortured, victimized and killed brutally by the state. She writes:

In the dead of night, doors were shattered, men were seized from the streets, women were left widowed, and children became orphans—all to demonstrate to the town the state's unyielding brutality. The next generation of male warriors would not rise in Mir Ali. Inayat wept as he recounted, 'Some of the elders managed to flee across the border into Afghanistan; some of their sons followed them and were ultimately tracked down—killed and abandoned to bleed in a foreign land, buried in no-man's land.' (p.13)

Inayat is one of the main characters in the novel. He has three sons namely, Aman Erum, Sikandar and Hayat. He has devoted his whole life to the cause of Mir Ali. He has fought all his life for the freedom of this area. He narrates the stories of his struggle intermittently. The above passage from the novel provides a glimpse of the brutality and ruthlessness of the state inflicted upon the people to defuse the dissenting voices. Men are kidnapped and killed. Women are widowed and children are orphaned. Those, who survived, fled to some other areas. This dehumanization and genocide of the people of Mir Ali is done to silence the voices and eliminate the identities of those who raise voice against the state. This tactic not only aims to eliminate those directly opposing the regime but also sends a stark warning to others who might consider speaking out.

Samarra also goes through such kind of dehumanized treatment. She is one of the protagonists of the novel and is the daughter of Ghazan Afridi. Initially she is in a relationship with Aman Erum. But as her father disappears, she joins an insurgent group deeply committed to the independence of Mir Ali. She is traced by intelligence agencies and treated ruthlessly:

After being released, she sought refuge at a friend's house to clean herself up, not wanting her mother to witness what had been done to her. When Samarra came to terms with the fact that the damage couldn't be washed away or concealed with soap and makeup, she called her mother to say she would be staying the night at her friend's place. (p.130)

She is tortured so brutally that she cannot face her mother. She thinks that her mother would not be able to see what has been done to her daughter. That is why she decides to spend the night with her friend to temporarily escape the trauma and judgment she fears from her own family. Moreover, the inability to cleanse her body of the scars serves as a powerful metaphor for the lasting impact of violence on her life. Pourya Asl and Mohd Hanafiah (2024) note, "Violence appears in both subtle and overt forms, starting with minor aggressive acts such as pinching or squeezing. Over time, these actions can escalate to more serious levels,

significantly harming the victims' physical and mental health." (p.5). Typically used purifiers, such as soap or make-up, are unable to remove the marks. This implies that she has lost her dignity and respectable status which cannot be regained easily. This taboo and societal stigma is attached to her for the rest of her life. Referring to her dehumanization, Bhutto's (2015) strong imagery is worth noting:

Samarra touched her cheek. His ox-blood boots had left an impression on her face. Torn skin, purple bruises, a constellation of tiny broken capillaries. Samarra held the phone away from her ear. The sound of her mother's voice hurt. She could feel the blood rushing against her temples. (p.131)

These lines vividly portray the effects of physical violence on the body of Samarra. The boots had left marks on her face because her "cheek was pressed against the floor and her skin was red and torn from his hand. He stood up again and dug one of his ox-blood boots into her face. Without meaning to, she bit down on her tongue. Her jaw snapped against his heel with a painful click." (p. 129). Furthermore, she was beaten so severely that she could not hold phone closer to her ear while talking to her mother. Khan et al. (2023) note, "She is made to believe that she does not belong to Pakistan. She is treated like a rebel" (p.1189). All this is done to silence the dissenting voices and intimidate others who do the same. As Pourya Asl and Mohd Hanafiah (2024) believe, "Acts of violence like these sustain a continuous pattern of fear and intimidation, suppressing opposing voices and reinforcing oppressive structures" (p.6).

The state captures and disappears all those people whom it considers dangerous for it. Then they are tortured and killed consequently to get rid of them permanently. One such instance in the novel is when one of the characters named, Azmaray, is protesting by holding a photograph of his disappeared brother, Balach. These people have been disappeared illegally without any warrants because as pests and termites are lethal for the wood so do these people for the state. Bhutto (2015) makes it clear by saying:

Askari disappearances. It was a service, Inayat had said, akin to pest control or termite extermination. While the army had previously detained men without warrants for weeks or even months, but they had not really disappeared before. (p.47)

As a junior professor, Balach had been dedicated to researching and documenting state crimes committed against minorities, striving to shed light on injustices that were often concealed by those in power. As Bhutto (2015) highlights, "Balach, Azmaray's brother, was a well-known radical. He had published a pamphlet, a formal indictment, exposing Pakistan's crimes against its own people—East Pakistan, Balochistan, Sindhis, Pashtuns, Ahmedis, and all the minorities. Balach had listed them all by name" (p.48). By meticulously detailing the state's transgressions against various ethnic and religious minorities—ranging from the plight of the Baloch in Balochistan to the persecution of Ahmedis—Balach aimed to create a comprehensive record that could not easily be dismissed or ignored. However, his efforts to expose these atrocities made him a target. His sudden disappearance shows the lengths to which the state would go to silence dissenting voices.

As a result, both the brothers are killed cold-bloodedly. Their tragic fate serves as a testament to the ruthless tactics employed by those who seek to maintain control through violence and intimidation. The level of brutality suggests a deliberate attempt to send a message and instill fear among others who might dare to speak out. Pointing to their tragic end Bhutto (2015) writes:

Three days later, Azmaray, the philosophy student, was found in the middle of the small university campus. His long hair, which was growing longer still and gave his wiry body the promise of a coming masculinity, was scorched off. His gut was bloated. His left arm, fractured in five distinct places, was twisted awkwardly above his shoulder. Several feet away from his body, his right arm, which had gripped a photograph of his brother, a junior professor, lay motionless. All his teeth had been forcibly extracted from his jawbone. (p.50)

Along with violence, surveillance is another strategy which is used to perpetuate control over the people of Mir Ali. As Virilio and Lotringer (2008) say, “The military class is turning into an internal super-police” (p.106). The omnipresence of the military breeds an environment of fear and submission, where dissent is swiftly and harshly dealt with. Bhutto (2015) shows that this continuous surveillance is facilitated through two primary means. On the one hand, military is deployed in every corner of Mir Ali to watch and observe people. On the other hand, intelligence agencies are used to keep an eye on the everyday routine of the people. As Bhutto says, “The army was both an invisible and an omnipresent force in Mir Ali” (p.28). The very first page of the novel makes it clear when Bhutto (2015) says that roofs of the buildings are occupied by the army having snipers and sandbags. The activities and actions of the people are meticulously observed from above the roofs. Every time people are looked upon with suspicion and any kind of transgressing activity on the part of the local people can be proved fatal for them. Bhutto (2015) describes:

The clouds hang low over Mir Ali, and from afar, the fog creates the illusion that the tanks have vanished. On the rooftops of the buildings of the town, snipers are nestled in their makeshift nests, encircled by sandbags, their military rain ponchos damp and chilling against their necks as they await the start of the day. (p.1)

When one of the characters, Aman Erum, goes to Islamabad for the first time, he observes that military is present there too, but that presence of military is different from the military presence in Mir Ali. As he notices:

The checkpoints in Islamabad contrasted sharply with those in Mir Ali—there were no tanks present, nor were there camouflaged snipers positioned at strategic angles to eliminate anyone attempting to force their way through. The soldiers here showed no hostility; instead, they casually picked their teeth with matchsticks and strolled along the pavements with their arms folded behind their backs, only springing into action when a car honked to announce its

readiness for inspection. (p.23)

As the above passage indicates that Islamabad’s military is different from that of Mir Ali in so many ways. There are no tanks in Islamabad. There is no disguised shooter who fires at anyone who trespasses the limits. Moreover, there is no hostility in the soldiers for the civilians in Islamabad. On the other hand, soldiers are hostile in Mir Ali. People are being interrogated, tortured and victimized by the military. Above all, military is deployed in Islamabad to protect people; while in Mir Ali, military is deployed to keep an eye on them. Further, Bhutto (2015) writes:

The army existed as an invisible yet ever-present force in Mir Ali. On the mornings of significant religious holidays, the rumble of their armored vehicles could be heard navigating the bazaar, positioning themselves at crowded intersections to scan the devoted crowds, just in case. Their black boots left heavy impressions outside the homes they entered late at night, pulling suspected militants out for interrogation at General Headquarters. (p.28)

Bhutto (2015) portrays that military is omnipresent in Mir Ali. In the above passage, she elaborates that how military has penetrated into the everyday routine of the people. The description also implies the lasting effects of their visit. It indicates that how it haunts the people for a long time once they visit a house in search of a militant. By deploying military forces within the public places such as, bazaar and mosques, and meticulously searching the locals the state not only foster as environment of fear and intimidation but also exerts direct control over its population, suppressing dissent and curtailing freedoms under the pretense of maintaining order. This strategy not only deters potential opposition but also normalizes a high level of surveillance and intervention in everyday life.

The second channel of surveillance is the unseen presence of the intelligence apparatus which plays a behind-the-scenes role in watching and controlling the area. Bhutto (2015) elaborates that teachers in schools are paid to report all those who are involved in suspicious activities.

Moreover, those who express separatist views on sensitive issues such as the issue of Bangladesh, Afghanistan or India, are also required to report by the teachers. She writes:

Children must remain cautious, as some of their teachers, funded by the state, are tasked with monitoring subversive activities within the classrooms and on campus. These teachers are instructed to keep an eye on students who express separatist sentiments or discuss their fathers' travels.. (p.46)

The implications of such a system are profound. It not only stifles dissent by discouraging open discussion of sensitive topics such as the issues concerning Bangladesh, Afghanistan, or India, but also fosters an environment where educational institutions become instruments of political control.

The military is ubiquitous in Mir Ali. It has spread its tentacles everywhere. Along with educational institutions, people are given some incentives to report on their household members and families, "they'll be watching every movement of the house, the family, the driveway, the phones. They are the liaisons" (p.53). Aman Erum is the one who, after being granted a scholarship to America, serves as their informant. Aman Erum is the son of the freedom fighter Inayat. He is the eldest of the three brothers. Initially, his father wants him to carry the burden of liberating Mir Ali. However, as he grows up, he starts suffocating in Mir Ali. He decides to go abroad and live his life according to his own will and enjoy the freedom which his hometown lacks. That is where he is traced by the intelligence agencies and ask him to work for them. Bhutto (2015) writes:

Aman Erum orchestrated the deal himself, requiring no effort from them at all. He inquired whether they would expedite his student visa in exchange for his commitment to listen and relay the secrets he uncovered. Would he be granted more than nine months of paid work on his F-1 visa? They assured him his visa would be processed quickly, and he would receive sufficient funds to secure accommodation in the student halls. The Colonel would be in touch. (pp. 81-82)

Aman Erum could not say no to them because he was granted the scholarship on the condition of reporting all the necessary information to them, "Aman Erum asked so he would have something to submit – he needed information that would hold his studies on solid ground" (p.97). So, Aman Erum strikes a deal with them and like a good informant he does not forget his promise and agreement. He calls his home, talks to his father and brothers and reports all he hears to the agencies. Aman Erum is asked to continue reporting them even after he returns to Mir Ali. Colonel Tarik Irshad asks him to use his American education in serving them:

'Here is what we need from you, grana,' the Colonel says, placing his hands on the desk and clasping one damp palm with the other. 'We need you to utilize your American education to gather information on who is behind these attacks—who finances them, and who drafts the communiqués.' Aman Erum nods in agreement. 'Where do they operate from? How do they choose their targets? Why are we receiving advance notifications less frequently?' (p.64)

Once again he could not refuse to work for them because he had heard stories of collaborators who were given such jobs but were killed brutally after they had stopped doing so. Bhutto (2015) relates one such story in which the man who stops doing his work and comes back to Mir Ali. He stops leaving his house. He neither attends Friday prayers nor a local wedding celebration. But consequently he is found dead hanging from the ceiling fan.

The third strategy which a state uses to sustain control over its own civilian society is creating and promoting instability either in the form of militancy, extremism or sectarianism. The lives of the residents are embittered through such instabilities. Paul Virilio and Sylvere Lotringer (2008) discuss this strategy as, "State terrorism is a form of self-regulation that has transitioned from individuals to the state. It involves not the maintenance of peace, but the perpetuation of one's own war" (p.113). Bhutto (2015) portrays that a war between Shia and Sunni sects is imposed upon the people of Mir Ali. She says:

Fleeing the drone warfare and violence in nearby

Waziristan towns and villages, refugees sought shelter on the fringes of Mir Ali, living like phantoms to escape the fighting. They were quickly recruited by militias hidden in the forests and hills, who were waging their own brutal conflict against the state. The militants, as they were labeled by journalists and outsiders, fought against the corrupt and irreligious nation. They showed no hesitation in their use of violence, beheading soldiers and abducting brigadiers without remorse. (p.108)

These militants belong to the Sunni sect. Apparently, they are fighting against the state but actually they are state-sponsored who fight against a targeted community – the Shia community. As Bhutto (2015) says, "They received support from foreigners in bright green countries, who faithfully contributed millions to their cause" (p.108). This line indicates that they are supported and funded economically by some foreign Sunni countries to continue their war in exterminating the Shia community. Farooq and Ahmed (2021) are of the view that the Taliban are trained and funded by Saudi Arabia to exterminate Shias. Virilio and Lotringer (2008) assert, "In short, the only real terrorism is State terrorism, as it is not held accountable to anyone for its deeds" (p.102). Since it is often unchecked and there is lack of accountability too, that is why terrorism promoted by state is the most lethal one. In fact, there is very little difference between the Taliban and their opponents.

Furthermore, when Mina and Sikandar are going to the forest to attend a patient, they are stopped and tortured by the Taliban because they belong to the Shia sect. One of the Taliban asks Sikander about his religion by saying, "Are you a Muslim?" (p.135). After confirming that he is Muslim the Talib asks another question that, "You are a man of the faith?" (p.135). When Sikander answers his question, the Talib brings forth the important part of his interrogation. "Khar bachaya. He whispers the curse at Sikander. Are you Sunni or Shia?" (p.137). He, even, orders him to take off his kameez to confirm that whether he has those special marks on his body or not. As Bhutto (2015) describes:

The Talib is intent on checking his back for any

signs of Ashura marks on his skin. They are curious to find out if he has etched a sword across his shoulder blades, in remembrance of the pain suffered by the Holy Prophet's family during the massacre at Karbala. (p.148)

This conversation between Sikandar and the Talib shows that these militants are targeting a particular community. By demanding to see marks of Ashura - a significant symbol of Shia martyrdom and suffering - the Taliban reveal their deep-seated animosity towards the Shia community. Under the guise of fighting against the state it is a deliberate effort on the part of the Taliban to target and subjugate a specific religious minority. Bhutto (2015) makes it clearer in the following passage:

He cannot speak. If he reveals the truth, they will execute him. Reports from Peshawar described drive-by shootings carried out by men in parrot-green turbans, who would ride on the back of motorbikes and pull up next to the cars of prominent Shia businessmen at red lights to open fire. They targeted unknown traders as well—shopkeepers, small-scale spice vendors, and glass merchants—throughout the smog-filled bazaars of the city. This movement, marked by its green turbans, had already gained considerable traction before the Talib granted them international recognition. (p.146)

Sikandar cannot reveal his true identity. Because if he were to do so, his fate would be the same as that of the Shia businessman, merchants and shopkeepers. As Khan et al. (2023) contend, "Taliban exclude Sikander and his sect from the community of Pakistani nation" (p.1188). Further, Bhutto (2015) shows that this issue of targeting the Shia community is not limited to Mir Ali only. In fact, Shia doctors and businessmen are targeted and killed in other cities of Pakistan as well. "It had already spread far and wide, this green-turbaned movement, before the Talib gave them international recognition. In the years before the Talib assumed the mountainside the attacks had not been confined to Peshawar" (p.146). Moreover, if they had really been fighting for the cause of Mir Ali, they would have been admired by the people. But the fact is that they are not welcomed and well received by the local people.

As Bhutto (2015) says:

However, they were not embraced by the local population; their arrival was far from welcome, at least at first. The militants had expected to be greeted as heroes, believing themselves as champions. And why shouldn't they? Just look at the fights they waged against the state—the state that everyone despised, the one that inflicted pain on all. Yet, they were far from being heroes. (p.108)

In fact, they are not different from what the state was doing in terms of violence and corruption. As the state is involved in illegal and dehumanizing deeds so do these militants. "Violence and corruption barely set them apart from their enemies" (p.108) So, the people of Mir Ali are sandwiched between the animosity of the state and the Taliban. On the one hand, they are tortured and victimized by the state and its institutions; and on the other hand, this war of sectarianism is imposed upon them in which all the people burn equally. Virilio and Lotringer (2008) aptly put this by saying, "turning a state of war into a war against one's own population" (p.107). In both the cases, the lives of the people are jeopardized.

Khan et al. (2023) also subscribe to this view by saying that one of the reasons of the sense of marginalization prevails in Mir Ali is the sectarian violence in Pakistan and especially in FATA in which Shias are targeted.

Conclusion and Findings

This section of the paper reflects upon the important components of the whole study. It includes the findings, conclusion of the present research and the recommendations for the future researchers.

It is found out that the state uses various strategies and tools to subjugate the people of Mir Ali. First and foremost, violence is used to control and silence the dissenting voices. Bhutto (2015) clearly illustrates that the armed forces turn against its own civilians. People are tortured, victimized and killed brutally. The state kidnaps and disappears all those whom it considers dangerous for it. Then they are killed ruthlessly.

It is also found out that along with violence, the state uses surveillance as a significant tool to control and dominate people. Bhutto (2015) portrays that surveillance is done through two ways. On the one hand, it is done through militarization. Military is deployed in the every corner of Mir Ali to keep an eye on the people. On the other hand, people are watched through intelligence agencies. The citizens are also given some incentives to work as their informants and report on their families and friends.

Moreover, from the analysis of the novel it is also found out that the state creates instability in the form of sectarian war to sustain control over the people of Mir Ali. Bhutto (2015) shows that a war between Shia and Sunni sects prevails in Mir Ali. Militancy is on its peak here. Apparently, the militants are fighting the state but actually they are targeting the Shia community. Interestingly, they receive foreign funding as well to continue their war. Hence by doing so, Bhutto (2015) not only unveils the strategy employed by the state to subjugate the people but also challenges the general consensus about the prevalent war in the postcolonial states. She believes that this sectarian war is imposed upon the people in which everyone suffers, irrespective of his or her caste or religion.

Recommendations

The current study focuses on the Endo-colonial elements in Fatima Bhutto's novel *The Shadow of the Crescent Moon* (2015), specifically exploring the strategies employed by a state to sustain domination control over its own civilian society.

This study is delimited to the theory of Endo-colonization, and thus the novel can be explored from various other perspectives, such as Slow Violence. Future researchers can explore that how the ways in which violence is directed upon human subjects has had a devastating impact on a number of non-human entities which barely register as materials.

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