

## #thekashmirsyllabus

### COURSE DESCRIPTION

**#TheKashmirSyllabus** compiles a list of sources for teaching and learning about Kashmir. It foregrounds voices, histories, and aspirations of people from within Kashmir, and moves beyond prior scholarship that often took security studies approaches and thereby privileged the statist perspectives of India and Pakistan. This critical body of work on Kashmir allows for a lens into the broader study of the modern state, occupation, nationalism, sovereignty, militarization, social movements, resistance, human rights, international law, and self-determination.

This is an interdisciplinary working syllabus that includes academic scholarship as well as literature, memoirs, and journalistic pieces. It is an incomplete and evolving work in progress. We hope that this syllabus will be used by those within Kashmir studies and beyond, and that it will be useful to academics and non-academics. Although we have minimized repetition across the weekly modules, users are encouraged to think flexibly about how particular readings may also speak to multiple weekly themes across the syllabus.

#### Syllabus goals:

- To understand how Kashmiris themselves have made sense of their political past, present and future, through work that centers Kashmiri experiences
- To foreground emerging perspectives by Kashmiri scholars, activists and artists, including women and other often marginalized voices
- To widen disciplinary approaches to studying Kashmir, beyond international relations (IR) scholarship, which largely presents Kashmir through the statist lenses of India and Pakistan
- To suggest paths for decolonial, transnational and anti-occupation solidarities among movements for freedom and emancipation, through a close study of the region

This syllabus is certainly not an exhaustive or comprehensive list of resources or readings, but we hope that it will allow for a diverse range of teachable materials for each of the weekly themes. If you have any suggestions for additions to make to this syllabus, please email: [thekashmirsyllabus@gmail.com](mailto:thekashmirsyllabus@gmail.com)

### COURSE OUTLINE

#### **BACKGROUND: TIMELINES**

- Al Jazeera English. [“The Kashmir Conflict, Explained,”](#) June 27.
- Umar, Baba. 2017. [“Kashmir’s Never-ending Conflict, a Timeline of 70 Years”](#). *TRT World*, October 27.

#### **WEEK 1: THEORIZING OCCUPATION AND RESISTANCE**

- Bhan, Mona, Haley Duschinski, and Ather Zia. 2018. “‘Rebels of the Streets’: Violence, Protest, and Freedom in Kashmir.” In *Resisting Occupation in Kashmir*, edited by Haley Duschinski, Mona Bhan, Ather Zia, and Cynthia Mahmood. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Duschinski, Haley, and Shrimoyee Nandini Ghosh. 2017. "Constituting the Occupation: Preventive Detention and Permanent Emergency in Kashmir." *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 49(3): 314-337.
- Junaid, Mohamad. 2013. "Death and Life Under Military Occupation: Space, Violence, and Memory in Kashmir." In *Everyday Occupations: Experiencing Militarism in South Asia and the Middle East*, edited by Kamala Visweswaran, 158–90. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Kabir, Ananya Jahanara. 2009. *Territory of Desire: Representing the Valley of Kashmir*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Kaul, Suvir. 2011. "Indian Empire (and the Case of Kashmir)." *Economic & Political Weekly* 46(13).
- Osuri, Goldie. 2017. "Imperialism, Colonialism and Sovereignty in the (Post)colony: India and Kashmir." *Third World Quarterly* 38(11): 2428-2443.
- Wani, Mannan. 2018. ["Words Matter! Mannan Wani writes an open letter."](#) *Kashmir Lit*.
- Wani, Mannan. 2018. ["Words Matter! Mannan Wani writes a second letter."](#) *Kashmir Lit*.

## WEEK 2: HISTORIES OF THE PRESENT

- Ankit, Rakesh. 2018. "Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah of Kashmir, 1965-1975: From Externment to Enthronement." *Studies in Indian Politics* 6(1): 88-102.
- Ankit, Rakesh. 2016. *The Kashmir Conflict: From Empire to the Cold War, 1945-66*. London: Routledge.
- Dar, Fayaz A and Amir Kumar. 2015. "Marginality and Historiography: The Case of Kashmir's History." *Economic & Political Weekly* 50(39).
- Faheem, Farrukh. 2018. "Interrogating the Ordinary: Everyday Politics and the Struggle for Azadi in Kashmir." In *Resisting Occupation in Kashmir*, edited by Haley Duschinski, Mona Bhan, Ather Zia, and Cynthia Mahmood. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Fareed, Rifat. 2017. ["The Forgotten Massacre that Ignited the Kashmir Dispute."](#) *Al Jazeera English*, November 6.
- Junaid, Mohamad and Hafsa Kanjwal. 2019. ["Resisting Occupation: A Teach In,"](#) March 18.
- Junaid, Mohamad. 2019. ["We, the water-born- a political history in thirty scenes."](#) *Wande Magazine*, February 12.
- Kanjwal, Hafsa. 2018. "Reflections on the Post-Partition Period: Life Narratives of Kashmiri Muslims in Contemporary Kashmir." *Himalaya* 38(2): 40-60.
- Kanth, Idrees. 2018. "The Social and Political Life of a Relic: The Episode of the Moi-e-Muqaddas Theft in Kashmir, 1963-1964." *Himalaya* 38(2): 61-75.
- Kanth, Idrees. 2011. "Writing Histories in Conflict Zones," *Economic & Political Weekly* 46(26-27).
- Kaul, Suvir. 2011. "'An' You will Fight, Till the Death of It...": Past and Present in the Challenge of Kashmir." *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 78: 1: 173-202.
- Lone, Fozia Nazir. 2018. *Historical Title, Self-Determination and the Kashmir Question: Changing Perspectives in International Law*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Noorani, A. G. 2011. *Article 370: A Constitutional History of Jammu and Kashmir*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Para, Altaf Hussain. 2018. *The Making of Modern Kashmir: Sheikh Abdullah and the Politics of the State*. New York: Routledge.

- Parey, Firdous Hameed. 2018. "The Ranbir Newspaper: As an Advocate of the Freedom Struggle in Jammu and Kashmir from 1924-1950." *International Journal of Social Sciences Review* 6(8): 1533-1535.
- Rai, Mridu. 2004. *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights and the History of Kashmir*. London: Hurst.
- Rai, Mridu. 2018. "The Indian Constituent Assembly and The Making Of Hindus And Muslims In Jammu And Kashmir." *Asian Affairs* 49(2): 205-221.
- Rai, Mridu. 2019. "Kashmiris in the Hindu Rashtra." in *Majoritarian State: How Hindu Nationalism is Changing India*, edited by Angana Chatterjee, Thomas Blom Hansen, and Christophe Jaffrelot, 259-280. London: Hurst and Company.
- Rashid, Iffat. 2019. "[Of Silenced Narratives and Political Deceits: Exploding Hyper Nationalism in India and the Case of Kashmir.](#)" *Public Seminar*, May 23.
- Wani, Aijaz Ashraf. 2019. *What Happened to Governance in Kashmir?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yaqoob, Gowhar. 2019. "[In Pursuit of a Nation: Conflicting Formulations of Nationalism in the Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir \(1930-1940\).](#)" *Inverse Journal*, March 16.
- TRT World. "[The Kashmir Conflict in under Two Minutes](#)," October 26.
- Trisal, Nishita. 2015. "[In Kashmir, Nehru's Golden Chain that He Hoped Would Bind the State to India Have Lost their Lustre.](#)" *Scroll.in*, November 30.

### WEEK 3: THE MILITARIZATION OF EVERYDAY LIFE

- Aggarwal, Ravina and Mona Bhan. 2009. "Disarming Violence: Development, Development, and Security on the Borders of India." *Journal of Asian Studies* 68 (2): 519-542.
- Amnesty International. 2011. [A 'Lawless Law': Detentions Under the Jammu & Kashmir Public Safety Act.](#)
- Balagopal, K., M.J. Pandey, Suresh Rajeshwar, and Vinod Shetty. 1996. "[Voting at the Point of a Gun: Counter-insurgency and the Farce of Elections in Kashmir. A Report to the People of India,](#)" July.
- Bandy, Zulkarnain. 2018. "['Journalism is not a crime': The Unlawful Crackdown on the Media in Kashmir.](#)" *Caravan Magazine*, October 15.
- Bhan, Mona. 2008. "Border Practices: Labor and Nationalism among Brogpas of Ladakh." *Contemporary South Asia* 16 (2): 139-157.
- Boga, Dilnaz. 2010. "[Kashmir Valley's Spiraling Drug Abuse.](#)" *Countercurrents.org*, June 10.
- Chatterjee, Angana. 2011. "The Militarized Zone." In *Kashmir: The Case for Freedom*, edited by Tariq Ali, Hilal Bhat, Angana P.Chatterji, Pankaj Mishra, and Arundhati Roy. London: Verso Books.
- Duschinski, Haley and Bruce Hoffman. 2011. "On the Frontlines of the Law: Legal Advocacy and Political Protest by Lawyers in Contested Kashmir." *Anthropology Today* 27(5): 8-12.
- Imroz, Parvez. 2017. [Keynote Lecture](#). 2017 Rafto Conference, Bergen, Norway. *Wande Magazine*, November 5.
- Junaid, Mohamad. 2018. "[The Restored Humanity of Commander Burhan Wani.](#)" *Raiot*, July 14.
- Junaid, Mohamad. 2019. "Disobedient Bodies, Defiant Objects: Occupation, Necropolitics and the Resistance in Kashmir." *Funambulist* 21.
- Junaid, Mohamad. 2019. "Counter-maps of the ordinary: occupation, subjectivity, and walking under curfew in Kashmir." *Identities*, June 24.
- Kaur, Bhavneet. 2016. "[The Poetics of Resistance.](#)" *Kindle*, April 2.

- Manecksha, Freny. 2017. *Behold, I Shine: Narratives of Kashmir's Women and Children*. New Delhi: Rupa Publications.
- Mathur, Shubh. 2016. *The Human Toll of the Kashmir Conflict: Grief and Courage in a South Asia Borderland*. London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Maqbool, Majid. 2013. ["In the Shadow of Bunker," Warscapes](#), April 29.
- Medecins San Frontieres. 2015. ["Muntazar: Kashmir Mental Health Survey."](#)
- Medecins San Frontieres. 2006. ["Kashmir: Violence and Mental Health,"](#) December 14.
- Molen, Thomas Van Der and Ellen Bal. 2011. "Staging 'Small Small Incidents': Dissent, Gender and Militarisation among Young People in Kashmir." *Focaal: Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* 60: 93-107.
- Murukutla, Kartik. 2019. ["Is Kashmir under Military Occupation?"](#) War, No War: Podcast by the Polis Project, Interview by Parvaiz Bukhari, February 18.
- Parrey, Arif Ayaz. 2010. "Kashmir: Three Metaphors for the Present," *Economic & Political Weekly* 45(47): 47-53
- Qazi, Fozia S. 2018. "Curfew Diary - Kashmir 2016." In a special issue on Protest in *Women's Studies Quarterly* 46 (3-4) edited by Elena Cohen, Melissa Forbis and Deepti Misri: 237-260.
- South Asia Human Rights Documentation Centre (SAHRDC). 2009. [Armed Forces Special Powers Act \(AFSPA\): A Study in National Security Tyranny.](#)
- Suhail, Peer and Jingzhong Ye. 2015. "Of Militarisation, Counter-insurgency and Land Grabs in Kashmir." *Economic & Political Weekly* 50(46-47): 58-64.
- Varma, Saiba. 2016. "Love in the Time of Occupation: Reveries, Longing, and Intoxication." *American Ethnologist* 43(1): 50-62.
- Varma, Saiba. 2012. "Where There Are Only Doctors: Counselors as Psychiatrists in Indian-Administered Kashmir." *Ethos* 40(4): 517-535.
- Vijayan, Suchitra. 2016. ["Curfew is the Camp." Warscapes.](#)
- Waheed, Mirza. 2016. ["India's Crackdown in Kashmir: Is This the World's First Mass Blinding?"](#) *The Guardian*, November 8.
- Yusuf, Shazia. 2014. ["The Hidden Damage." Guernica](#), October 2.
- Zia, Ather. 2019. "Blinding Kashmiris: The Right to Maim and the Indian Military Occupation in Kashmir." *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 21(6): 773-786.

#### WEEK 4: BORDERS, REGIONS AND BOUNDARIES

- Aggarwal, Ravina. 2004. *Beyond Lines of Control*. Durhan: Duke University Press.
- Aijazi, Omer. 2018. "Kashmir as Movement and Multitude." *Journal of Narrative Politics* 4(2): 88-118.
- Ali, Nosheen. 2012. "Poetry, Power, Protest: Reimagining Muslim Nationhood in Northern Pakistan." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 32(1): 13-24.
- Ali, Nosheen. 2013. "Grounding Militarism: Structures of Feeling and Force in Gilgit-Baltistan." In *Everyday Occupations: Experiencing Militarism in South Asia and the Middle East*, edited by Kamala Visweswaran, 85-114. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ali, Nosheen. 2016. ["Kashmir and Pakistan's Savior Nationalism."](#) *Critical Kashmir Studies*, December 27.
- Ali, Nosheen. 2019. *Delusional States: Feeling Rule and Development in Pakistan's Northern Frontier*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bhan, Mona. 2016. ["Divide and Rule." Kindle](#), April 2.
- Bharat, Meenakshi, and Nirmal Kumar, editors. 2008. *Filming the Line of Control: The Indo-Pak Relationship through the Cinematic Lens*. New Delhi: Routledge.

- Gupta, Radhika. 2014. "Experiments with Khomeini's Revolution in Kargil: Contemporary Shi'a Networks between India and West Asia." *Modern Asian Studies* 48(2): 370-398.
- Gupta, Radhika. 2013. "Allegiance and Alienation: Border Dynamics in Kargil." In *Borderland Lives in Northern South Asia*, edited by D. Gellner. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Kabir, Ananya Jahanara. 2009. "Cartographic Irresolution and the Line of Control." *Social Text* 27(4(101)): 45-66.
- Mahmud, Ershad. 2018. "The Contingencies of Everyday Life in Azad Jammu and Kashmir." In *Resisting Occupation in Kashmir*, edited by Haley Duschinski, Mona Bhan, Ather Zia, and Cynthia Mahmood. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Malik, Inshah. 2018. "Kashmiri Desire and Digital Space: Queering National Identity and the Indian Citizen" in *Queering Digital India: Activisms, Identities, Subjectivities*, edited by Rohit K. Dasgupta and Debanuj DasGupta. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Mathur, Shubh. 2013. "The Perfect Enemy: Maps, Laws and Sacrifice in the Making of Borders." *Critique of Anthropology* 33 (4): 429-446.
- Robinson, Cabeiri deBergh. 2013. *Body of the Victim, Body of the Warrior: Refugee Families and the Making of Kashmiri Jihadists*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Smith, Sara. 2013. "In the Past, We Ate from One Plate": Memory and the Border in Leh, Ladakh." *Political Geography* 35:47-59.
- Smith, Sara. 2012. "Intimate Geopolitics: Religion, Marriage, and Reproductive Bodies in Leh, Ladakh." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 102: 1511-1528.
- Snedden, Christopher. 2013. *Kashmir: The Unwritten History*. New Delhi: Harper Collins.
- Sökefeld, Martin. 2018. "'Not Part of Kashmir, but of the Kashmir Dispute': The Political Predicaments of Gilgit-Baltistan." In *Kashmir: History, Politics, Representation*, edited by Chitralkha Zutshi, 132-149. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Beek, M. 2003. "The Art of Representation: Domesticating Ladakhi Identity." In *Ethnic and Religious Revival and Turmoil: Identities and Representations in the Himalayas*, edited by M. Lecomte-Tilouine and P. Dollfus. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Wahid, Siddiq. 2001. "Ladakh: Political Convergence and Human Geography." *India International Centre Quarterly*. 27/28(4/1): The Human Landscape: 215-225.
- Zakaria, Anam. 2018. *Between the Great Divide: A Journey into Pakistan-Administered Kashmir*. New Delhi: Harper Collins.

## WEEK 5: STATE OF EMERGENCY AND THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF IMPUNITY

- Duschinski, Haley. 2009. "Destiny Effects: Militarization, State Power, and Punitive Containment in Kashmir Valley." *Anthropological Quarterly* 82(3): 691-717.
- Duschinski, Haley. 2010. "Reproducing Regimes of Impunity: Fake Encounters and the Informalization of Violence in Kashmir Valley." *Cultural Studies* 24(1): 110-32.
- Duschinski, Haley and Bruce Hoffman. 2011. "Everyday Violence, Institutional Denial, and Struggles for Justice in Kashmir." *Race & Class* 52(4): 44-70.
- Duschinski, Haley and Mona Bhan. 2017. "Law Containing Violence: Critical Ethnographies of Occupation and Resistance." *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 49(3): 253-267.
- Fazili, Gowhar. 2018. "Police Subjectivity in Occupied Kashmir: Reflections on an Account of a Police Officer." In *Resisting Occupation in Kashmir*, edited by Haley Duschinski, Mona Bhan, Ather Zia, and Cynthia Mahmood. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ganai, Naseer. 2018. "[Killed While Wandering, Mentally Challenged People Are Victims Of Kashmir Insurgency](#)". *Outlook*, November 14.

- Ghosh, Shrimoyee Nandini and Haley Duschinski. 2017. "[How New Delhi uses Constitution to Control Kashmir.](#)" *Kashmir Ink*, September.
- Ghosh, Shrimoyee Nandini. 2017. "[Public Safety Act: The Making and Unmaking of the Dangerous Individual in Kashmir.](#)" *Café Dissensus*, February 20.
- Javaid, Azaan. 2018. "[Kashmir's Infamous Prisons Are Destroying The State's Troubled Youth.](#)" *HuffPost*, October 25.
- Kak, Sanjay. 2013. "[The Apparatus: Laying Bare the State's Terrifying Impunity in Kashmir.](#)" *The Caravan: A Journal of Politics and Culture*, March 1.
- Kak, Sanjay. 2018. "Stand Up and Be Counted: Elections, Democracy, and the Pursuit of Justice in Jammu and Kashmir." In *Contesting Justice in South Asia*, edited by Deepak Mehta and Rahul Roy, 157-200. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Mathur, Shubh. 2012. "Life and Death in the Borderlands: Indian Sovereignty and Military Impunity." *Race & Class* 54 (1): 33–49.

## WEEK 6: MARTYRDOM AND MEMORYSCAPES

- Ali, Agha Shahid. 2009. *The Veiled Suite: The Collected Poems of Agha Shahid Ali*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.
- Fareed, Rifat. 2017. "[In Kashmir, a Father's Fight against Forgetfulness.](#)" *Al Jazeera English*, December 12.
- Ghosh, Amitav. 2002. "[The Ghat of the Only World': Agha Shahid Ali in Brooklyn.](#)" *Postcolonial Studies* 5(3): 311-323.
- Junaid, Mohamad. 2018. "Epigraphs as Counterhistories: Martyrdom, Commemoration, and the Work of Graveyards in Kashmir." In *Resisting Occupation in Kashmir*, edited by Haley Duschinski, Mona Bhan, Ather Zia, and Cynthia Mahmood. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Maqbool, Majid. 2017. "[The Curious Afterlife of Burhan Wani.](#)" *Arre*, July 8.
- Pandit, Huzaifa. 2019. "[Maqbool Bhat on the 'Ganga Hijacking Trial.'](#)" *Wande Magazine*, February 23.
- Rather, Nayeem. 2017. "[Memoir of a Siege: Life between Resistance and Repression.](#)" *Kashmir Narrator*, February 1.
- Rather, Nayeem. 2018. "[The Blood and the Ink of a Scholar: A Journalist's Journey to Manan Wani's Garrisoned Hometown.](#)" *Free Press Kashmir*, October 12.
- Roy, Arundhati, editor. 2006. *13 December: The Strange Case of the Attack on the Indian Parliament*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- Tahir, Muhammad. 2019. "[Maqbool Bhat's famous 1969 speech at Muzaffarabad.](#)" *Wande Magazine*, February 21.
- Wande Team. 2019. "[The Life and Times of Maqbool Bhat.](#)" *Wande*, February 11.
- Yaseen, Suvaaid. 2018. "[The Beloved Rebel, Professor of Sociology.](#)" *Raiot*, May 8.
- Zia, Ather. 2018. "The Killable Kashmiri Body: The Life and Execution of Afzal Guru." In *Resisting Occupation in Kashmir*, edited by Haley Duschinski, Mona Bhan, Ather Zia, and Cynthia Mahmood. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

## WEEK 7: WOMEN'S ORGANIZING IN KASHMIR

- Ahangar, Parveena. 2017. [Keynote Lecture](#). 2017 Rafto Conference, Bergen, Norway. *KashmirLit*, November.
- Anjum, Aaliya. 2011. "[The Militant in Her: Women and Resistance.](#)" *Al Jazeera*, August 2.



- Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP) and Jammu Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society (JKCCS). 2011. [“Half Widow, Half Wife? Responding to Gendered Violence in Kashmir,”](#) July.
- Bhan, Mona and Parvaiz Bukhari. 2017. [“Inside Kashmir – A Heroic Fight for Justice.”](#) *Sapiens*, May 25.
- Critical Kashmir Studies. 2018. [“Decolonial Statement on #MeToo in Kashmir.”](#) *Critical Kashmir Studies*, October 7.
- Falak, Uzma. 2018. “The Intimate World of Vvestoan: Affective Female Alliances and Companionships of Resistance in Kashmir.” In a special issue on Gender and Kashmir in *Economic & Political Weekly* 53(47), edited by Nitasha Kaul and Ather Zia.
- Jha, Abishek. 2015. [“Beyond ‘Victimhood’: Uzma Falak’s Film On The Role Of Kashmiri Women In The Resistance.”](#) Interview with Uzma Falak in *Youth Ki Awaz*.
- Kanjwal, Hafsa. 2018. “The New Kashmiri Woman: State-led Feminism in ‘Naya Kashmir.’” In a special issue on Gender and Kashmir in *Economic & Political Weekly* 53(47), edited by Nitasha Kaul and Ather Zia.
- Kanth, Mir Fatimah. 2018. “Women in Resistance: Narratives of Kashmiri Women’s Street Protests.” In a special issue on Gender and Kashmir in *Economic & Political Weekly* 53(47), edited by Nitasha Kaul and Ather Zia.
- Kaul, Nitasha. 2018. “India’s Obsession with Kashmir: Democracy, Gender, (Anti-)Nationalism.” *Feminist Review* 119: 126-143.
- Kaul, Nitasha and Ather Zia. 2018. “Knowing in Our Own Ways: Women and Kashmir.” In a special issue on Gender and Kashmir in *Economic & Political Weekly* 53(47), edited by Nitasha Kaul and Ather Zia.
- Kaur, Khusdeep Malhotra. 2019. [“On Kashmiri Sikh Women and their Experiences with Militarization”](#). *Wande Magazine*. March 21.
- Kazi, Seema. 2011. *In Kashmir: Gender, Militarization, and the Modern Nation-State*. Boston: South End.
- Kazi, Seema. 2016. [“Sexual Crimes by State Personnel and Kashmir’s Case for Self-Determination.”](#) *Kashmir Narrator*, May 5.
- Malik, Inshah. 2019. *Muslim Women, Agency and Resistance Politics: The Case of Kashmir*. London: Palgrave Pivot.
- Malik, Inshah. 2018. “Protest, Death and Public Funerals: The Affective Site of Feminist Politics in Kashmir.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 20(4): 660-662.
- Malik, Inshah. 2018. “Gendered Politics of Funerary Processions: Contesting Indian Sovereignty in Kashmir.” In a special issue on Gender and Kashmir in *Economic & Political Weekly* 53(47), edited by Nitasha Kaul and Ather Zia.
- Manecksha, Freny. 2017. *Behold, I Shine: Narratives of Kashmir’s Women and Children*. New Delhi: Rupa Publications.
- Misri, Deepti. 2014. [“‘This Is Not a Performance’: Public Mourning and Visual Spectacle in Kashmir.”](#) In *Beyond Partition: Gender, Violence and Representation in Postcolonial India*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press.
- Mehraj, Irfan. 2015. [“Censorship in Kashmir: Through the Prism of Ocean of Tears.”](#) *Contributaria*, June.
- Mushtaq, Samreen. 2018. “Home as the Frontier.” In a special issue on Gender and Kashmir in *Economic & Political Weekly* 53(47), edited by Nitasha Kaul and Ather Zia.
- Osuri, Goldie. 2018. “Reflections on Witnessing with the Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons, Kashmir.” *Feminist Review* 119(1): 144-153.

- Osuri, Goldie. 2018. "Sovereignty, Vulnerability, and a Gendered Resistance in Indian-Occupied Kashmir." *Third World Thematics* 3(2): 228-243.
- Pervez, Ayesha. 2015. "[The Politics of Rape in Kashmir.](#)" *The Hindu*, February 19.
- Rafiq, Zahid. 2016. "Shadows of a Dark Night." In *Garrisoned Minds: Women and Armed Conflict in South Asia*, edited by Laxmi Murthy and Mitu Varma. New Delhi: Speaking Tiger.
- Rashid, Afsana. 2011. *Widows and Half Widows: The Saga of Extra-judicial Arrests and Killings in Kashmir*. New Delhi: Pharos Media and Publishing.
- Yousuf, Shazia. 2016. "Widowhood of Shame." In *Garrisoned Minds: Women and Armed Conflict in South Asia*, edited by Laxmi Murthy and Mitu Varma. New Delhi: Speaking Tiger.
- Zia, Ather. 2016. "The Spectacle of a Good Half-Widow: Women in Search of Their Disappeared Men in the Kashmir Valley." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 39(2): 164–75.
- Zia, Ather. 2019. *Resisting Disappearance: Military Occupation and Women's Activism in Kashmir*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- For Additional Readings, see [Resource Guide for the Annual Kashmiri Women's Resistance Day Campaign](#), February 23, 2018.

#### WEEK 8: MAPPING SEXUAL VIOLENCE: FROM KUNAN POSHPORA TO SHOPIAN TO HANDWARA

- Anjum, Aliya. 2018. "Moving from Impunity to Accountability: Women's Bodies, Identity, and Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Kashmir." In a special issue on Gender and Kashmir in the *Economic & Political Weekly* 53(47), edited by Nitasha Kaul and Ather Zia.
- Batool, Essar, Ifrah Butt, Samreena Mushtaq, Munaza Rashid, and Natasha Rather. 2016. *Do You Remember Kunan Poshpora?* New Delhi: Zubaan.
- Batool, Essar. 2018. "Sexual Violence and Patriarchy in a Militarized State." In a special issue on Gender and Kashmir in the *Economic & Political Weekly* 53(47), edited by Nitasha Kaul and Ather Zia.
- Boga, Dilnaz. 2017. "[The Story I Never Got to Tell--of Rape and Torture by the Indian Army.](#)" *The Daily Vox*, Feb. 4.
- Boga, Dilnaz. 2016. "['We Will Not Protest This Year'](#)- A 2007 Report from Kunanposhpora." *Sanhati*, April 6.
- Duschinski, Haley and Bruce Hoffman. 2018. "Contesting Law, Contesting the State: Jurisdictional Authority of the Majlis-e-Mushawarat in Kashmir." In *Resisting Occupation in Kashmir*, edited by Haley Duschinski, Mona Bhan, Ather Zia, and Cynthia Mahmood. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Fazili, Gowhar. 2014. "Localized Agitations in a Globalized Context: A Case Study of Shopian and Bomai." In *Civil Wars in South Asia: State, Sovereignty, Development*, edited by Aparna Sundar and Nandini Sundar. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Ghosh, Shrimoyee N. 2014. "[The Kunan Poshpora Mass Rape Case: Notes from a Hearing.](#)" *Warscapes*, September 9.
- Ghosh, Shrimoyee Nandini. 2016. "[How a Kashmiri Girl's Search for a Bathroom Became Truth vs. Lie, Us vs. Them and Patriot vs. Traitor.](#)" *The Ladies Finger*, July 12.
- Kazi, Seema. 2018. "Sexual Crimes and the Struggle for Justice in Kashmir." In *Resisting Occupation in Kashmir*, edited by Haley Duschinski, Mona Bhan, Ather Zia, and Cynthia Mahmood. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Mathur, Shubh. 2012. "This Garden Uprooted: Gendered Violence, Suffering and Resistance in Indian-Administered Kashmir." In *Gender, Power, and Military Occupations: Asia Pacific and the Middle East Since 1945*, edited by Christine De Matos and Rowena Ward, 217–38. London: Routledge.



- Shah, Nazia. 2018. "[Kunan Poshpora 1991.](#)" *Wande Magazine*, March 9.

## WEEK 9: KASHMIRI PANDITS AND THE POLITICS OF HOMELAND

- Ali, Agha Shahid. "[A Pastoral.](#)" Poetry Foundation.
- Ali, Agha Shahid. "[Farewell.](#)"
- Bhan, Mona. 2018. "[The Pandit Across the Lidder.](#)" *Outlook*, July 4, 2018.
- Bhan, Mona, and Deepti Misri. 2016. "On the Limits of Reconciliation." In *Conflicted Democracies and Gendered Violence: The Right to Heal*, edited by Angana P. Chatterji, Shashi Buluswar, and Mallika Kaur, 242-244. New Delhi: Zubaan Books.
- Datta, Ankur. 2017. *On Uncertain Ground: Displaced Kashmiri Pandits in Jammu and Kashmir*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Datta, Ankur. 2017. "Uncertain Journeys: Return Migration, Home and Uncertainty among a Displaced Kashmiri Community." *Modern Asian Studies* 51(4): 1099-1125.
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- Association for Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP)
- Jammu Kashmir Coalition for Civil Society (JKCCS)

Shoutout to the [Puerto Rico Syllabus](#) and the [Islamophobia is Racism syllabus](#) - in solidarity.