

INTERNAL COLONIZATION IN PAKISTAN: COLONIAL LEGACIES AND FANONIAN PERSPECTIVES

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ABSTRACT

The present article critically examines phenomenon of internal colonization in Pakistan in light of theoretical framework forwarded by Frantz Fanon. Internal Colonization is a term used to describe reproduction, on soil of state, of structures of control, extraction and cultural domination as they were defined during the colonial era, but now are perpetuated by elites of state. The study is based on Fanon's vision of project of colonialism as both a political and economic and psychological process, and argues that Pakistan was not a complete break with colonial logic and is rather a transfer of power. The inherited hierarchy of languages, legal order and military and bureaucracy remained and were even reinforced in several ways. The article looks at six interrelated aspects of internal colonization, namely: economic exploitation, political repression, cultural, religious suppression, linguistic marginalisation, gendered hierarchy and psychological alienation in context of Balochistan, Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It also takes into account the military as an internal coloniser and neo-colonial aspect added by global capital and projects like China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. The study concludes that, in order to achieve a genuine decolonisation, in radical sense that Fanon was dreaming of, there is a need for transformative action in four structural, cultural and psychological dimensions: decentralisation of power, equal distribution of resources, resurgence of marginalised languages, cultures and complete implementation of provincial autonomy.

Key words: Internal colonization, Frantz Fanon, post-colonial theory, Pakistan, provincial autonomy, structural violence and decolonization key words.

1. Introduction: Concept of Internal Colonization and its meaning and relevance:

Internal colonization is creation of systems of control, oppression and exploitation within a country by a previously independent state over people they previously colonized who are now considered marginalized. Internal colonialism is a process in which structures are imposed from the inside through name of local elite which integrates and perpetuates them. This concept is especially relevant for postcolonial nations suffering remnants of colonialism for a lack of freedom and

independence. This is the case in many of these states, in which independence did not lead to equality and liberation, but to perpetuation of prevailing exclusionary hierarchies and concentration of power in the hands of a small number of people (Fanon, 1963). The concept of internal colonization can be applied to Pakistan to illuminate process of continuism of British colonial institutions, centralisation of state powers and marginalization of perceived peripheral provinces, languages and communities. State is independent for more than 70 years, yet a large

part of the population (Baloch, Sindhis and other minorities) are still being exploited economically, suppressed politically, erased culturally, and subjected to all manner of suppression they faced in colonial times. It is this continuity, which makes one ask the question: to what extent did the establishment of Pakistan break continuity from colonial rule and to what extent did it change the machinery of colonial rule from one set of hands to another? This article will try to answer this question with reference to one of the most important thinkers on colonialism and its effects, Frantz Fanon. It takes place in several stages. It begins by introducing Fanonian framework and why it is relevant to postcolonial states. It then explores colonial legacy of British Raj to Pakistan and looks at continuity of colonial structures in economic, political, cultural and linguistic sphere. It reviews political economy of provincial marginalisation and unique power of military as an internal coloniser, before examining social, cultural and psychological aspects of internal colonisation in six analytical categories.

2. The Fanonian Framework:

Frantz Fanon knew that colonialism was more than a political and economic endeavor, it was also a psychological and cultural endeavor. He argued that impoverishment of colonised individuals, degradation of their culture and imposition of a hierarchy persisted after colonists had been driven out (Fanon, 1963). Decolonization for Fanon was more than a mere transfer of political power from colonisers to colonised; it was a complete restructuring of society, removal of colonial institutions, re-distribution of resources, renaissance of local languages and political awakening of colonised.

Fanon warned that a colonised elite that merely assumed the mantle of colonialism would become a new breed of oppressor, with same strategies of oppression as that of the colonial class. In this case, he said, independence is a hollow existence, it's always under a national surface, there's a system that oppresses it. This is an argument for real decolonization, which is a radical break with colonial past; if not, postcolonial states continue colonial violence in indigenous leadership's

(Fanon 1963, 1967) hands. Another significant source of this study is the analysis of *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967) by Fanon, which has identified the effect of colonial domination on the colonised's self. Machinery of domination is manifested in racial inferiority, the shame over indigenous language/culture and the concept of "double consciousness" of a colonised people's subject. This psychological factor is very important to comprehend internal colonization dynamics that are at work in the communities' self-perception beyond institutions and resources.

Fanon's forecasts are very applicable to numerous post-colonial nations in Africa and Asia. Other countries such as Algeria, Nigeria, India became independent, but were often left with similar systems of rule, such as a centralised bureaucracy, police forces deployed for policing, extractive land-tenure, and systems that accord privilege to language of the coloniser. In many instances, ruling elites marginalised marginalised and built national identity on exclusionary bases, thus fostering additional internal conflicts. It did not bring freedom, it brought another form of colonial oppression, an internal colonization. This is case with ethnic and regional differences, differential language status and continued exploitation from peripheral regions. In many, many instances Fanon's theory that native elite would become a conduit for colonialism has been validated. Postcolonial governments have relied on colonial system to sustain their power and have thus instituted a cycle of exclusion/repression. The framework not only diagnoses the postcolonial malaise, but also sets a normative benchmark for evaluating degree of decolonization of a particular process.

3. Colonial legacy of Pakistan and from British Raj to Independence:

One of main factors influencing establishment of Pakistan in 1947 was British imperialism. People demanded liberation in form of freedom, equality and release from exploitation for Pakistan. However, the independence movement in institutional terms resulted in a change in rulers, but not a radical change in state. The colonial structure of government, legal system, military and

bureaucracy were passed on virtually intact to new state. The new state received the colonial system of government and legal, military and centralized systems basically intact (Jahan, 1972). British occupying the subcontinent extracted its resources, deprived its people of them and rearranged societies to suit needs of imperial state. They codified law, created a strong centralised government and enforced use of English as language of administration and authority. They were not institutions that were intended to be useful to those who were ruled, but institutions that were to rule and exploit. Unfortunately, after independence, ruling classes of Pakistan re-established and perpetuated these structures instead of phasing them out. The biggest institutions that were formed by colonial logic became pillars of new state – bureaucracy and army. It helped build up power of an elite and stratification and helped to suppress opposition. Thus cause of freedom had been lost and a colonial government had been put in place by local leadership. It was a change in personnel, not a change in structure, here, that were referred to as Independence. The continuity of these arrangements is the basis for following analysis of specific continuities.

4. Continuities of Colonial Structures:

The impact of colonialism can be seen in various interconnected aspects in present day Pakistan. Themes which illustrate continuation and adaptation of colonial template include economic exploitation, political repression, cultural and religious suppression and marginalisation of regional languages.

4.1 Economic Exploitation:

Balochistan is the representative case of concept of “internal colonization.” The province is endowed with largest mineral and natural resources deposits in country, yet, it is also least developed province in the country. The resources are being devoted to national projects such as China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which are not yielding much for the locals. In fact Balochistan is colonized and resources are taken from it without investment of any money in it, which makes the region impoverished and alienated from it

(Ahmed & Baloch, 2017). It is abstractive logic of periphery for benefit of centre that is economic principle of colonialism. An example of past is the Sui gas fields. Ever since 1950s, the province of Balochistan has been producing natural gas and supplying it to various parts of country, but gas network has been installed in many districts from where gas is produced in region only decades later, if ever. It is not proximity or right to benefit that distributes benefit, rather it is the centre-periphery basis. What Fanon was to say about colonial economy, which is based on transfer of wealth from colonized to colonizer, is exactly the same in this case with difference that receiver is local instead of international. There is no change in material relationship between periphery and centre, but internal successor of colonial economy can be extracted based on national development, whereas the colonial economy was sanctioned on the basis of a civilising mission.

4.2 Political Repression:

Repression of dissent has been part of colonialism and has persisted in hands of post colonial powers. Military operations, enforced disappearance and extrajudicial killings have been common response to demands for autonomy and rights by marginalised groups, especially in Balochistan. The use of the State's own population as tools indicates a colonial attitude towards governance by coercion, rather than consent of governed and inclusive. One of most obvious symptoms of the colonial relationship that is reproduced within nation is rule by coercion instead of the negotiation of consent. To explain coercion is not to provide reason for it, it is also a normal feature of periphery management since 1948, 1958, 1962 etc, and also in 2000s. The colonial world is two worlds, not two worlds, but a world divided in two, and a world divided in two again, by barracks and by police station for Fanon. This Manichaeon division, similar to one that developed throughout state, is reproduced when security-first attitude is taken towards province, as opposed to political accommodation. This vicious cycle is set in motion: coercion is met by grievance, grievance is seen as sedition, and sedition is then seen as justification for further coercion.

4.3 Cultural and Religious Suppression:

The colonial legislation had prepared ground for development of several devices of religious control in Pakistan. These references to offences against religion, including Section 295-A of the colonial penal code (which was added in 1927), were first used by the British to control communal skirmishes. In the postcolonial period such legislation has been used to suppress the religious minorities. Military dictatorship consolidated their powers considerably, particularly under blasphemy laws of Zia regime during 1980s, which further expanded and strengthened blasphemy statements of law. The route this takes is an example of how the law of colonies got appropriated and adjusted to control the people (Nayyar & Salim, 2003).

4.4. Regional languages are marginalized:

English was used by the colonial government to communicate and all indigenous languages were treated as second class languages. This practice was replicated in Pakistan wherein English and Urdu were given more importance than other languages that are spoken in region like Sindhi, Balochi, Pashto and Saraiki. This marginalisation has led to cultural violence of its own, the same as Fanon defined as cultural violence in colonial context (Fanon, 1963; Rahman, 1996). In this telling, language is not a neutral medium, but one that is used to set up and maintain hierarchy.

5. What is the need of studying Internal Colonization in Pakistan today?

The subject of internal colonisation in Pakistan may not only be of academic interest but it also has policy and justice issues. First, it is important to conceptualise longstanding inequities. But, the differences are significant between provinces and communities, more than seventy years after independence. The following points indicate that even today parts of country such as Balochistan, are not properly catered for and their potential is not utilized to develop them; and language and religious minorities are excluded from national narrative. Secondly, it reveals structural violence. Economic disadvantage is not the only issue with internal colonization; it is also a political

disenfranchisement, cultural subjugation and a violation of human rights. The buildings can be examined to reflect on persistence of inequality and exclusion by state institutions and to remind people that colonialism is far from past. Thirdly, it offers a template for real decolonization. The framework of Fanon makes clear that one must not take step of independence without eradicating colonial legacies. Political power needs to be decentralised, economic resources need to be shared fairly and marginalised languages and cultures need to be revived in Pakistan for true liberation. Only then it became possible for independence to become the real sovereignty of all and not just a few citizens.

6. Political and Economic Environment:

Recurring power struggle between civilian governments, military and judiciary produces institutional instability and discontinuity of policies in political environment of Pakistan. While the democratic institutions have not been significantly enhanced since previous democratic change of government, they suffer from corruption, weak rule of law and accountability. Another obstacle to reform and progress is polarization in political arena. Some of the long-term economic issues are restricted tax base, high government spending deficit, high dependence on borrowing from outside the country and a continuous trade deficit. The economy is still very susceptible to currency devaluation, inflation and external shocks. As always, political interest and elite capture is a formidable obstacle to structural change. There has been a great potential in human capital, industry and agriculture, but growth has not been uniform. Programmes supported by IMF have been dealing with issue of structural change and fiscal consolidation and have faced difficulties with reversing corruption that has halted structural change and prevented popular support. An inclusive economic policy, institutional changes and political stability would be required for long-term development (United Nations Development Programme, 2022).

6.1. Concentrating power and excluding Provinces:

Since establishment of Pakistan as a federal state, issue of concentration of power has been a recurring one in the country; with the decision making power in Islamabad in hands of Federal institutions and the military establishment. It is centralisation that contravenes federalist nature of constitution and frequently breaches constitution's 18th amendment that intended to provide the regions with considerable autonomy. This marginalisation is evident in situations of provinces such as Sindh and Balochistan; natural resources, budgetary allocation and administrative affairs of these provinces are controlled to a very small extent by regional authorities. The marginalisation exacerbates political and ethnic polarization and regional differences and grievances. The reform of legislation is not yet effective due to difficulties in central administration and administration itself. The creation of development projects is often a centrally planned endeavor, without taking into account wishes and needs of local communities. This analysis suggests that 'decentralisation' plays a vital role in strengthening democracy, building national unity and equal development. For this purpose an attempt is made to examine the issue of unequal economic development by looking at the situation in province of Punjab and smaller provinces.

6.2. Unequal Economic Resources between Punjab and Smaller Provinces:

There is marked imbalance in economic development in favour of the largest province of Pakistan, Punjab which is also the most politically strong province. Central planning and policy have tilted the infrastructure, industrial investments and access to public services in favour of Punjab. This has led to higher levels of literacy, health and economic outcomes than have the smaller provinces. On the other hand, underdevelopment, unequal resource distribution and underrepresentation in the federal decision making processes are problems in underdeveloped provinces such as Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and to some extent in province of

Sindh. These are areas, that are highly endowed with natural resources but lack necessary infrastructure, have high poverty rates and provide few employment opportunities. Inter-provincial tensions and political polarization are worsened by lack of fair income-sharing and development investment. The solution to economic imbalance and the preservation of national unity and even economic progress is equitable distribution of resources, more devolved control of fiscal resources and development programmes, particularly for the under-served regions.

6.3. Stories of resource extraction in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Sindh and Balochistan:

The rest of 6.3% of population is engaged in resource extraction in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Sindh and Balochistan. Despite the fact that all smaller provinces are in great natural abundance, their economic development is still low, because systematic extraction of their natural resources is still carried out by the federal government. Balochistan is rich in gas, mineral and metal deposits, but it is very impoverished and underdeveloped, receiving very low income for country. Likewise, Sindh with its large oil reserves and main commercial center of the country, Karachi, plays a significant role in national economy but at the same time exhibits low investment and rural under development. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is an under-developed province, with very little control over its energy policies, or over mineral royalties, while it has a very large hydropower potential and has a lot of mineral resources. This "exploitation without just benefits" generates internal political tension, escalates autonomy claims and leads to discontent. But rectifying these injustices of past and making national growth inclusive, would need to see resources distributed equitably, and for royalties to be transparent, and for locals to be genuinely involved in resources development. The extraction is exactly like the classical colonial extraction: value is removed from the periphery to enrich the centre, the producing zone is depleted.

6.4 The Military as an Internal Colonising Force:

The army has a strong control over civilian institutions, a considerable influence on resources and decision making and hence it can be called an "internal coloniser" and it is also a part of the political economy in Pakistan. Military also has a large economic base in civilian activities in the shape of military owned enterprises such as Fauji Foundation and Army Welfare Trust in manufacturing, real estate and agriculture. This military economic control takes people's money away from the people and makes gap between citizens and state larger and provides less room for public economic development. In past, military has restricted autonomy at regional level, placed civilian government under military control, controlled foreign policy and manipulated elections, all of which have harmed democracy consolidation. Given its dominance, it further exacerbates feeling of marginalisation in Sindh & Balochistan as power is concentrated in the military structures, which are mainly based in Punjab. But a genuine economic and political democracy requires a redefinition of civil/military relations, more transparency and even tighter constraints on the unchecked power of military in the economy and politics.

6.5. Capitalism and Neo-Colonialism:

Neo-colonialism is the other form of colonization in Pakistan which is marked by economic and political power of multinational companies and foreign countries over Pakistan without acquiring any territory. The structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), such as those offered by World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), prioritize market economy and repayment of debt rather than social welfare in order to achieve development and investment. These programs are often designed to weed out the poor, to make people dependent on them, and to challenge sovereignty of state, as well as to contribute to maintaining economic inequality through resource extraction, privatisation of services and favouring of foreign companies. These policies, which are currently in real practice, are reflected in Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and particularly China-Pakistan Economic Corridor

(CPEC), which will further consolidate the geopolitical influence in Pakistan from outside and make it a peripheral economy in the global economy. The badness of investment is not an intrinsic one, but rather the nature and distribution of investment might be a global rendition of centre-periphery dynamics of internal colonization.

6.6. Retracing the Paths of People's Resistance:

There are many forms of anti-neo-colonial and anti-economic colonisation movements in Pakistan. International financial institutions like IMF and World Bank have been implementing a series of economic policies for last few years, which have emphasised privatisation and austerity measures and have provoked anger from civil society, grassroot organisations and progressive political groups internationally. Major forms of resistance include labour unions against the privatisation of state-owned enterprises like Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) and Pakistan Steel Mills (PSM), peasant movements challenging exploitation and land grabs in Punjab and Sindh, opposition to CPEC especially in Balochistan, where locals have protested resource extraction and displacement without benefit, student and leftist movements calling for social justice and economic autonomy including *Awami Workers Party* and *Progressive Students Collective* and political and judicial challenges to unfair trade deals and unconstitutional business practices. Such conflicts are only a part of a greater struggle for transparency, fair development and economic self-determination. They are examples of a new collective political consciousness, the Fanonian pre-condition of decolonisation of marginalised.

7. Language and Communication Skills:

Fanon's concept of internal colonization reflects that postcolonial states after independence internalize process of colonization, marginalizing at same time. In Pakistan it is manifested through exclusion of linguistic, cultural and religious minorities in mainstream by the dominant elites. The section looks at six internal colonies (language politics, cultural assimilation, education, gender and class hierarchy, media discourse and

psychological alienation) and with Fanonian framework in mind, it raises question of why term 'colonization' has been employed in this manner. Taking the Fanonian framework into consideration, six areas of internal colonization (language politics, cultural assimilation, education, gender and class hierarchy, media discourse and psychological alienation) are examined and question is raised of why term 'colonization' has been used in this way. These together illustrate a failure of Pakistan to be pluralistic and its continued rule in a recognisably colonial style.

7.1. Regional Languages (Urdu):

One of main fields of internal colonization in Pakistan is language. Urdu term was declared as national language in 1947, but it was mother tongue of less than ten per cent of population (Rahman, 1996). The majority of Pakistanis were able to speak Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, Saraiki or Balochi (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2017). This ruling made an attempt to deny linguistic diversity and to impose a national identity. In East Pakistan, Bengali was not given status, which caused Language Movement of 1952 and eventually the nation of Bangladesh was split from Pakistan in 1971 (Chaudhuri, 2010; Jahan, 1972). The regional languages received little attention while there was a dominance of Urdu in West Pakistan. Ethnic conflicts with Urdu speaking *Muhajirs* (Panhwar et al., 2018) and Punjabi, though widely spoken, is 'stigmatised' and not represented, due to Sindhi Language Bill of 1972 (Rahman, 2010). The use of said hierarchy in language creates Fanonian psychology of inferiority in which Urdu and English languages denote prestige and regional languages are seen as backward, which causes a sense of cultural shame amongst speakers of these regional languages (Fanon, 1967).

7.2. Culture of assimilation and suppression:

Culture assimilation in Pakistan is advocating uniformity in Islamic Urdu culture and diminishing regional diversities in Pakistan. After formulation of One Unit policy (1955-1970) ethnocentric identification was removed in favor

of supremacy of the Punjabi language and ethnic resentment was promoted (Saleem, 2014). The official curricula taught by Pakistani schools ignore history of Sindhis, Baloch and Pashtuns and Two Nation Theory (Nayyar & Salim, 2003) is an Islamic-centre theory. This is reinforced by media outlets dominated by Urdu content, over-idealisation of cultures of the regions in a depoliticised context (celebration of Sindhi Ajrak) and translation of demands for autonomy as separatism (Fanon, 1963). They are practices that are similar to colonial policies of cultural suppression.

7.3 The Education System and the Colonial Mentality:

The logic of colonisation is entrenched in Pakistan's education system. English is the language of instruction in elite schools, while Urdu is the language in Government schools and only a few teach regional languages (UNESCO, 2015). This is a colonial ideology, which does not distinguish that English and Urdu are languages of power while regional languages are backward (Rahman, 1996). There was a unitary Islamic Urdu ideology in National Education Policy 2009 which resulted in the rejection of indigenous Knowledge System. Rote learning is a process that generates conformity, in keeping with Fanon's arguments that colonial education produces docile subjects (Fanon, 1963). Children from peripheral areas (Baloch and Pashtun students) are linguistically excluded, feel alienated and consequently underperform (UNESCO, 2021).

7.4. Gender and Class Dimensions:

Internal colonization is a phenomenon that is embedded under gendered and classed hierarchy. In Balochistan, which is economically neglected and marginalized, maternal deaths have been recorded at 785 per 100,000 live births (UNFPA 2019). This implies that the women in these regions face two marginalisation; one as women and another as ethnic minority groups. Urban elite enjoy privileges and peasants and rural workers suffer in feudal systems of Pakistan (especially in Sindh) in poverty (Ahmed & Baloch, 2017). This is a symbol of Fanon's concept of

'colonisation as a multiplier of inequalities', which functions via both economic and physical control (Fanon, 1963).

7.5 Media Discourse and Representation:

Voice of periphery remains unheard in Pakistan, largely in newspapers, which are mostly Urdu and English language newspapers from urban areas. Balochistan is said to be an area of insurgency, Pashtuns are portrayed as militants and Sindhis as folkloric, legitimating the control of the central state (Shah, 2018). The censorship (International Federation of Journalists, 2021) suppresses and labels Pashtun Tahafuz Movement and Baloch movements anti-state. This is because it plays into Fanon's argument that 'othering' of oppressed by colonial media is meant to justify colonial domination of oppressed (Fanon, 1963).

7.6 Psychological Impacts:

The psychological wounds referred to by Fanon (1967) is internal colonization. Parental shame about language contributes to discouraging use of regional languages and thus to their perception of inferiority. In the educational institutions where Urdu and English language are used, learners of periphery have to deal with Fanonian double consciousness. This trauma is manifested in protest movements, and in poetry of poets like Faiz Ahmed Faiz, which has been longstanding since days of colonial alienation (Ali & Khan, 2022; Shah, 2020). The psychological aspect emphasises that decolonisation is not about sharing resources but also addressing internal effects of domination. As a whole, six dimensions show systemicity of internal colonization. The politics of language establishes a hierarchy of prestige, cultural assimilation normalises it as a national identity, education system passes it on to new generations, gender/ class effect between weakest and strongest members of nation, media represents it as policing of its boundaries, psychological effect of same by colonised individual. They provide support, strength and reinforcement for one another: a language bill, a curriculum change, a media code cannot break down the structure on its own. Hence Fanon contended that decolonisation should be

complete and not partial; the system that operates at multiple levels, at institutional, cultural and psychological levels cannot be disassembled in any individual manner down in any particular way.

8. Synthesis: Internal colonization as an integrated system:

The above analysis reveals that internal colonization of Pakistan is not a series of separate grievances but rather a system of interrelated aspects of domination, including economic, political, cultural, linguistic and psychological. The post-colonial elites exploit marginalised by colonial structures inherited from colonial era (centralised rule, economic extraction, cultural erasure) which more clearly manifests in terms of Baloch, Sindhis and other minorities. The common thread that connects these aspects is Fanon's notion of colonialism as a political-economic-cultural attack and possibility of only reacting to colonialism through a radical restructuring of colonial order, a redistribution of resources and a restoration of the indigenous cultures (Fanon, 1963). At the opposite extreme, when rupture does not happen, elites form a new oppressive group and internal colonization persists, such as in post-colonial countries as Algeria and India where colonial language hierarchy and colonial bureaucracy persist. The economic dimension is based on extraction of resources from periphery for benefit of centre. While Balochistan is endowed with minerals and hence is a poor province which is the backbone of numerous national projects such as CPEC, Sindh's oil reserves and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's hydropower potential provide sustenance to the national economy and both provinces experience underdevelopment and political marginalisation. This is the same as colonial situation where a colony's resources were employed in interests of others and colony's people were impoverished and disenfranchised.

Political dimension is expressed by force. The behavior of military in country including forced disappearances, suppression of dissent, particularly in Balochistan, are all symptoms of a colonial approach to rule over an unwilling population. This internal colonization is also

strengthened by disproportionate political economy role of military institutions like Fauji Foundation or AWT, which can control resources, influence policy and have power to disregard rule of civilians in the interests of institution and in its benefit. This is not in keeping with spirit of federal structure of constitution and especially of Eighteenth Amendment, which promised greater provincial autonomy, which was fought against by bureaucratic opposition and by “elite”, who dominate system. The cultural and linguistic dimension operates through the promotion of prestige of Urdu and English languages, while suppressing pluralism expressed in Sindhi, Balochi, Pashto and Punjabi languages. The hierarchy of languages leads to consciousness of subordination in regional language speakers, a situation which is akin to one Fanon describes in *Black Skin, White Masks* in his analysis of colonial people. It is still consolidated in the education system which prioritizes Urdu and English language over indigenous knowledge, history, and creates colonized mentality, cultural shame, and alienation. This is also confirmed by the media, which is dominated by urban center and which represents periphery as uneducated or risky and therefore gives reasons for its subordination and silencing of its political voice. Fanon's criticism of media as tools of “othering” oppressed is evident in suppression of *Pashtun Tahafuz* Movement and Baloch movements for democratic autonomy and distortion of their movements in colonial media. Social dimension is part of the gender dimension and class dimension and they are further contributors to inequity. Women in poorer provinces like Balochistan and interior Sindh are being ignored – there is high maternal mortality rate and they have limited access to education and political representation. The feudal approach of state elites continues to maintain system of bonded labor and gender discrimination particularly in case of lower caste women. Class division is best for urban elite of Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad and does not benefit rural working class in any way, thus helping to establish a stratified society, as Fanon defines it as one of characteristics of colonialism. These intertwined oppressions imply an internal colonialism, i.e.

physical and psychological as well as economic and political.

There is a lot of mental stress involved. The marginalization of language and culture engenders Fanon's double consciousness—the consciousness of citizens of the peripheral areas, who are torn between a consciousness that is supposed to be theirs and a consciousness that is not theirs. In urban universities, like Baloch and Pashtun students face alienation because of an overwhelming Urdu-English environment. This trauma is transformed into literary voice – that of Faiz Ahmed Faiz to present era of Baloch poets who speak of the invisibility and dehumanisation of marginalised masses. What decolonization cannot just be a material imbalance, it is also about psychic trauma, the wounds and the internal colonisation that are part of the process.

9. Conclusion:

Frantz Fanon's idea of internal colonization provides us with a framework to comprehend inequalities and structural violence in the postcolonial experience in Pakistan. Instead of the independence that appeared to be a birthright with the dawn of 1947, Pakistan has merely continued colonial dynamics of centralisation of power, economic extraction, failure to preserve its culture and psychological alienation of its citizens. They have introduced inequalities that have promoted oppression of peripheral provinces, of linguistic communities, of religious minorities, and of socio-economically disadvantaged that resembles the oppression of British Raj (now wielded by local elites). The study explores social, cultural, political and economic aspects of the internal colonized population to show how ruling structures of Pakistan have failed to deliver on the promise of autonomy, equality and self-determination, and instead has created a structure where a few have a great deal of power. Pakistan is a good illustration of the fact that post-colonial elites might also serve as a “transmission belt” of colonialism, as Fanon claimed. The colonial mindset was replaced by changing power, as was evident in the British institutions inherited, which included bureaucracy, military and law and language hierarchy.

The complete transformation of those inherited structures, fair distribution of resources and recovery of suppressed languages and cultures are all part of radical decolonisation that Fanon envisioned. In Pakistani environment, it means devolution of power, the proper implementation of Eighteenth Amendment and adoption of inclusive policies, which transform Pakistan's pluralism into a strength, rather than a weakness. Labour unions, peasant movements and resistance around CPEC in Balochistan are all expressions of the growing need for economic and/or political autonomy; need to reacquire agency and rebuild the national identity on inclusive foundations, as demanded by Fanon. To realize vision, however, would involve challenging military dominance, changing governance around accountability, and challenging neo-colonial dimensions (IMF austerity and global capital) which sustain dependency and inequality. While CPEC is promoted as a development agenda, it also poses the danger of establishing Pakistan as a dependent economy in the global economy, hence policies based on local empowerment and not external interest is crucial. To sum up, a real decolonization of Pakistan in any true sense would entail a deep reflection, a cultural and psychological shift to embrace differences within Pakistan as a strength and a long-term process. Only such a radical break could enable Pakistan to keep its pledge of liberation and create a society that embodies aspirations of all peoples living in it so that sovereignty and dignity belongs to all and not to a select few.

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