



Abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A and Its Regional Implications: Evidence through Systematic Literature Review Published During (2019-2026)

Abid Hussain,

Deputy Director Library,
Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad,
Email: abidhussain@issi.org.pk

IJKS: Vol. 8 - No. 1/2026

The IJKS

provides a forum for scientific exchange and public dissemination of up-to-date scientific knowledge on the Kashmir conflict. The IJKS is an independent, peer-reviewed, open-access journal. The topics on which we concentrate—Kashmir conflict and violence—have always been central to various disciplines. Consequently, the journal encompasses contributions from a wide range of disciplines, including international affairs, political studies (geopolitics, political economy and other dynamics, diplomacy and public advocacy, law-based approaches, governance and economy (including micro and macroeconomics), self-determination, and other solidarity rights public international law (including human rights and humanitarian laws and intergovernmental organizations), criminology, economics, education, ethnology, history, political science, psychology, social anthropology, sociology.

All articles are gathered in yearly volumes, identified by a QR Code in print volume with article-wise pagination. For more information, please visit www.kpriik.org

Suggested
Citation:

Chicago: Hussain, Abid. "Abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A and Its Regional Implications: Evidence through Systematic Literature Review Published During (2019–2026)." *International Journal of Kashmir Studies* 8, no. 1 (2026).

APA: Hussain, A. (2026). Abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A and its regional implications: Evidence through systematic literature review published during (2019–2026). *International Journal of Kashmir Studies*, 8(1).



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-No Derivatives License. ISSN: 2706-5863

Abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A and Its Regional Implications: Evidence through Systematic Literature Review Published During (2019-2026)

Abid Hussain

Deputy Director Library, Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad, Email:

abidhussain@issi.org.pk

Abstract:

The aim of this study is to examine Articles 370 and 35A, abrogated by the Indian Government on August 5, 2019. This study utilized the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA 2020 guideline). The PRISMA methodology offers a way to encapsulate the systematic, transparent and reproducible identification, screening and synthesis of related literature. PRISMA provides thematic analysis through systematic literature review (SLR). This article investigates the political, legal, security, socio-economic and geopolitical impacts of the Indian government's abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A. Only 11 articles out of 218 were selected from top databases such as Taylor and Francis journals, Springer link, ProQuest, Wiley Inter science and Google Scholars

(see Appendix 1 at the end). All peer-reviewed articles published between 2019-2026 were shortlisted, analyzed and then presented in tabular forms. The findings show that the Indian government's abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A has changed the demographic structure of Indian illegally occupied Jammu and Kashmir. It also confirms that abrogation has caused short-term security benefits, such as the significant reduction of terrorism-related activities, political alienation, erosion of the Kashmiri political voice, and an overwhelming sense of fear of demographic changes with the removal of Article 35A. Furthermore, the abrogation has created a “skin-deep” calm and discredited the majority of the politics in the region. For Pakistan, the removal of Article 35A is a unilateral, illegal declaration of a disputed region, which heightens security dilemmas and constrains relations. The findings recommend that the abrogation of articles 370 and 35A will transform the Kashmir conflict without end, unless democratic processes are reinstated, Kashmiri identity issues are resolved, and effective dialogue is initiated between India and Pakistan. This review identifies significant gaps related to long-term empirical research and provides relevant policy suggestions.

Keywords: Article 370, Article 35A, Abrogation, Jammu and Kashmir, Demographic Change, India-Pakistan Relations, Kashmir Conflict, Self-determination

Introduction

Since the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, the Kashmir region has been the center stage of conflict between India and Pakistan. Both nations have fought four full-scale wars and engaged prolong conflicts to resolve this issue, and these wars have caused great suffering for the people of India and Pakistan. A special importance to this conflict is the special status of Indian law granted to the Kashmir region in the Indian Constitution in Articles 370 and 35A. The government of India revoked Article 370 and annulled Article 35A of the Indian Constitution on August 5, 2019. Under this amendment, the Indian government revoked the special constitutional status previously granted to the state of Jammu and Kashmir.¹ The IIOJK was reorganized into two Union-Territories such as Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh. This amendment placed IIOJK and Ladakh under the direct administrative control of the central government. This decision marked a significant shift in India's policy toward Kashmir and has made irreversible implications across legal, political, security and geopolitical dimensions.²

Article 370 of the Indian Constitution of 1949 allowed Kashmir to create its own constitution and flag, whereas this amendment has brought changes to the rights of the IIOJK people and they were

¹ Iftikhar Ali and Jatswan S. Sidhu, "Strategic Dynamics of Crisis Stability in South Asia," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 57, no. 7 (2022): 1357–1375.

² Nadia Zaheer, "War of Narrative on Kashmir: Changing Dynamics of India-Pakistan Traditional Rivalry," *Journal of Development and Social Sciences* 2, no. III (2021), [https://doi.org/10.47205/jdss.2021\(2-III\)44](https://doi.org/10.47205/jdss.2021(2-III)44).

deprived of their rights of self-determination. Similarly, Article 35A in the Indian Constitution was amended in a presidential order of 1954. This amendment gave legislative authority to the people of the Jammu and Kashmir State.³ This act defined that the permanent residents of Jammu and Kashmir will enjoy the exclusive rights, privileges and rights to own property. Furthermore, Article 35A also grants the right to civil service jobs and the right to government-sponsored scholarships. The aim of Article 35A was to protect the demographics, culture, and political identity of the majority of the muslim Kashmiris. The Maharaja of Kashmir, Hari Singh, signed the act in 1947.⁴

These articles have polarized opinion for over seventy years. For Indian nationalists, especially for the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), they were seen as being against full national integration, leading to separatism, and dynastic rule and neglecting economic development. In contrast, to a large number of the Kashmiri population and the Pakistani state, Articles 370 and 35A were seen as a solemn constitutional promise of autonomy and protection from changing the demographics of the state.⁵ Pakistan has consistently maintained that

³ Adeela Ahmed, Arsim Tariq, and Rashida Abbas. "Demographic Changes in Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IOJK) and the Future of UN Resolutions." *International Journal of Kashmir Studies* 3, no. 2 (2022).

⁴ Jon Lunn, *Kashmir: The Effects of Revoking Article 370*, August 8, 2019, <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/kashmir-the-effects-of-revoking-article-370/>.

⁵ Shi Xiaolian et al., "Modi's Hindutva Policy and Its Impact on Indo-Pak Relations," *Margalla Papers* 28 (June 2024): 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.54690/margallapapers.28.1.236>.

Jammu and Kashmir is a disputed territory and its final status should be established through a plebiscite in accordance with the relevant UN Security Council resolutions.⁶

The 2019 abrogation was conducted under President's Rule when Jammu and Kashmir had no elected legislative assembly. By a Presidential Order and through Parliament, the Indian government not only removed the region's special status but also changed its administrative structure. The Indian government explained that the decision was to remove terrorism, corruption, and separatism and to ensure development and gender justice in the region. The act was also meant to integrate Jammu and Kashmir with the rest of India. However, along with this move, there was a large-scale security lockdown, detention of political leaders, and a prolonged communications blackout. This raised concerns about Indian democracy and human rights.⁷

From the standpoint of Pakistan, the withdrawal was a one-sided, unlawful attempt to alter the status of the Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK), which has been internationally recognized as disputed. Islamabad has claimed that the decision was an infringement of the Shimla Agreement (1972) and established the foundation for the violation of the bilateral component of the Shimla

⁶ Rashida Abbas, Adeela Ahmed, and Muhammad Tabish. "Mediation in armed conflict: A case of Kashmir." *Pakistan Journal of International Affairs* 5, no. 2 (2022): 1-12.

⁷ John Simte, "The Basic Structure Doctrine, Article 370 and the Future of India's Democracy," *Verfassungsblog*, October 20, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.59704/56b1f3ea9f56c5d6>.

Agreement by permitting the non-Kashmiris to buy land and settle in the territory of IIOJK. Pakistan has found that the abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian constitution has complicated its security dilemmas, increased Pakistan's concerns vis-à-vis the Line of Control (LoC), and has resulted in new initiatives to the United Nations, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), and a strategic approach to Pakistan's relationship with China.⁸

The decision was made more than six years ago. Research has been initiated to analyze the implications of that decision from multiple perspectives. Research has thus far examined the legality of the decision, the implications of the decision on security and governance, and the implications on demographics and identity of the Indian Nation, including the socio-political relationships of India and Pakistan.⁹ Previous literature indicates that much of the literature has been segregated from one another and has been based on extremist positions. There is a significant gap in research that provides an organized and thorough synthesis of the relevant literature that analyzes the years from 2019 through 2026, with a special focus on the realities of the people of Kashmir and the position of Pakistan. Much has been introduced on Articles 370 and 35A in both India and Pakistan; however, there is a persistent gap that covers both amendments in a single article. Although a few articles cover both

⁸ Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Pakistan, "Kashmir Black Day," <https://www.moib.gov.pk/Pages/1203/Kashmir-Black-Day>.

⁹ Aijaz Wani et al., *Article 370 and 35A: Origin, Provisions, and the Politics of Contestation* (2021), 53–77, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-56481-0_3.

amendment; however, nobody has contributed a systematic literature review to cover both the abrogated Articles 370 and 35A. The aim of this article is to examine and synthesize the published literature appearing in Scopus-indexed journals. Furthermore, this article offers a structured analytical framework for policymakers, academic scholars, defence institutions and researchers to reassess the issue through evidence-based systematic review methods. The study also seeks to understand the multifaceted implications of the abrogation, particularly in relation to geopolitical stability in South Asia.

Literature Review

The abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A on 5 August 2019 was a defining moment in the Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) constitutional and political timeline. This literature review relates to the published works of 2019 to 2026, analyzing the historical backdrops, legal frameworks, range of security, governance, demographic and concerns, and possibilities in the context of global politics with a focus on Pakistan and the Kashmir Valley (Indian-occupied Kashmir, IIOJK). The studies reviewed for this purpose have employed various approaches such as strategic assessments, comparative studies, critical discourse studies, and legal studies, reflecting both concurrence and divergence in opinion.

Historical and Legal Context of Articles 370 and 35A

Multiple studies recognize the dawn of the special status provisions. Mir notes that Article 370 originates from the Instrument of Accession (1947), which confined the Indian State to the domains of defence, external affairs, and communications. That instrument of accession, in turn, provided the Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) state with its own constitution, flag, and state autonomy over internal affairs. The 1954 Presidential Order, which added Article 35A to the Constitution of India, authorized the state of J&K to determine the criteria for “permanent residents” of the state and to extend to those residents exclusive rights to state government jobs and state-sponsored educational scholarships. Mir observes that, in Article 370, the “temporary” connotation was to facilitate the Jammu & Kashmir Constituent Assembly to conclude the state’s relationship with the Indian Union, and upon the Assembly’s conclusion, the provision would become permanent. This has been the stance of the Supreme Court, prior to 2019, in various cases (e.g., Sampat Prakash case).¹⁰

Neha et al. argue that Article 370 was, of necessity, temporary and that the revocation of the Article and the bifurcation of the state of Jammu & Kashmir into the Union Territories of Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh (J&K and Ladakh) was a constitutionally permissible act

¹⁰ Mohd Amin Mir, “The Kashmir Dilemma and the Repeal of Article 370: A Comparative Analysis,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 43, no. 1–2 (2023): 173–85, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2023.2241242>.

under President's Rule. He also cites that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's reported opposition to the Article as noted in the Indian Parliament, and argue that Article 370 played a role in the creation of an asymmetric federal structure of India, which facilitated the (incomplete) integration of J&K to the Indian Union.¹¹ In comparison, Mir and Bhatia argue that the provisions protected the identity and autonomy of the people of Kashmir; their removal eroded the long-standing commitments of the Indian State to the people of Kashmir.

Rationale for Abrogation and Discursive Construction

The Indian government claimed to fight separatism, terrorism, nepotism, and underdevelopment to justify its policies. According to Pandya, the Modi government argued that Articles 370 and 35A of the Indian constitution were obstacles to good governance and investment, and that abolishing these Articles would facilitate the government in ensuring equality and eliminating anti-Dalit and anti-tribal sentiments.¹² Bhatia analyzes Modi's speeches and the BJP's narratives regarding the abrogation from the periphery and calls it the "bodies politic" approach and a militaristic habitus. She asserts that using Hindutva to interpret the exceptionality of Kashmir, which is a

¹¹ Neha, Radhika Dev Varma Arora, Surender Ajnat, Harbhajan Dass Sampla, and Gautam, "Abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution: An Analytical Study," *International Journal of Creative Research Thoughts* 8, no. 8 (2020): 1881–1903.

¹² Abhinav Pandya, "An Analysis of the Post-370 Revocation Trends in Kashmir: Issues and Concerns," *Strategic Analysis* 46, no. 5 (2022): 510–41, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2022.2120753>.

threat to the integrated nation with a unipolar Hindu identity, would help in rationalizing the strategy. This legitimizes the central command in the region by presenting it as a transition from a space of violence to one of liberation from terrorism.¹³ Mir questions this reasoning. “Will repealing Articles 370 and 35A extinguish the flames of insurgency, or is it only going to create the alienation among the public by violence of a speculated demographic re-engineering which is a threat to the Indian national identity?” is the central question he poses to his audience.¹⁴

Impacts on Militancy, Separatism and Security

From 2019 onward, the empirical evidence is largely inconsistent. In the absence of empirical evidence, Pandya’s data indicated a significant decrease in all forms of violence: terrorism-related incidents fell by 75% (compared to 2019) by late 2020. Civilian and security force casualties, as well as stone pelting, fell as well. However, he points to several counter trends: around 70% of local recruits were local militants; hybrid militancy developed; drones were used by militants; militancy targeted civilians; and radicalization continued unabated. Operationally, the security forces were largely successful against LeT, JeM, and HM, but local resentment remained

¹³ Aditi Bhatia, “Abrogating Article 370 and Kashmir’s Exceptionalism: A Critical Analysis of India’s Bodies Politic,” *Critical Discourse Studies* 22, no. 2 (2025): 167–82, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2023.2282503>.

¹⁴ Mir, “The Kashmir Dilemma and the Repeal of Article 370.”

due to the COVID-related lockdowns, communication blackouts, and poor governance.¹⁵

Mir states that the few improvements in governance left local leaders with no options in the region, and interventions for local governance initiatives and restructurings of local governance led to the disempowerment of leaders who relied on Article 370. He believes that they contributed to increased local perception of demographic changes that sparked and inflamed separatism.¹⁶ In Farooq et al.'s analyses, they refer to India-Pakistan's "proxy war" (abrogation of Article 370) as a policy of heightened conflict that fails to end the present state of war.¹⁷ Ahlawat and Izarali focus on Pakistan's viewpoint of insecurity and aggression. They claim that revisions to Article 370 are irreversible and are an encroachment of Settler Colonialism on formerly Indian-administered organizations, violating the UNSC's International Norm.¹⁸

¹⁵ Pandya, "An Analysis of the Post-370 Revocation Trends in Kashmir."

¹⁶ Mir, "The Kashmir Dilemma and the Repeal of Article 370."

¹⁷ Muhammad Farooq et al., "India, Pakistan Dispute over the Kashmir Issue and the Current Situation after Articles 370 and 35A," *University of Wah Journal of Social Sciences* 5 (June 2022): 35–54, <https://doi.org/10.56220/UWJSS2022/0501/03>.

¹⁸ Dalbir Ahlawat and M. Raymond Izarali, "India's Revocation of Article 370: Security Dilemmas and Options for Pakistan," *The Round Table* 109, no. 6 (2020): 663–83, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00358533.2020.1849495>.

Political, Governance and Socio-Economic Dimensions

The optimistic significances of the abrogation include the establishment of new infrastructures, the strengthening of local self-governments, new employment opportunities, and an increase in anti-corruption initiatives. Though Pandya agrees with these, he argues that public alienation and the perception of lost autonomy and identity have not been adequately addressed.¹⁹ Mir emphasizes that the only way to ensure peace is to incorporate the aspirations of the people of Kashmir, and advocates for the inclusion of the political aspirations of Kashmiris, calling for the renewal of the democratic processes and the addressing of political issues, especially grievances.²⁰ Bhatia argues against the dominant discourse that erases the voices of Kashmiris and all minorities, and cast within India's body politic.²¹ Neha et al. present a much more positive view of the reorganization from a scaling of the application of the laws of India and Fundamental Rights, combining the judicial system, and integrating development into the region that has been underserved.²²

Demographic Change, Identity and Human Rights Concerns

Anxiety of demographic change is a main component in these analyses. Mir uses this fear when describing responses to the repeal

¹⁹ Pandya, "An Analysis of the Post-370 Revocation Trends in Kashmir."

²⁰ Mir, "The Kashmir Dilemma and the Repeal of Article 370."

²¹ Bhatia, "Abrogating Article 370 and Kashmir's Exceptionalism."

²² Ajnat, *Dr. Radhika Dev Varma Arora*.

in Kashmir and the growing disenfranchisement of the Muslim-majority. The alienation is caused by the removal of Article 35A. It allowed non-residents to own land in Kashmir and threatened the existential nature of the Kashmiri persona. This is related to the more expansive identity politics, the radicalization of the Kashmiri people, and the debates within the scope of human rights.²³ Farooq et al. and Ahlawat and Izarali tie this situation to the concern of self-determination for Pakistan and the loss of the unique status of the disputed region.

Pakistan's Perspective, Bilateral Relations and Geopolitics

According to Pakistan, the abrogation is 'unilateral and illegal' and changes the international nature of the dispute.²⁴ In response, Pakistan downgraded diplomatic relations, called on the UN and OIC, and urged China to take action, pledging support for the freedom of Kashmiris. Ahlawat and Izarali elaborate on Pakistan's range of limited choices, the first of which is to diplomatically isolate India. Second, Pakistan may use international platforms like the OIC and UN, and pursue means to avert any military confrontation while addressing the challenges posed by the civil unrest in Kashmir. Sending measures to foster greater trust across the India-Pakistan border is also an option. They argue that an already complex situation

²³ Mir, "The Kashmir Dilemma and the Repeal of Article 370."

²⁴ Farooq et al., "India, Pakistan Dispute over the Kashmir Issue and the Current Situation after Articles 370 and 35A."

is made more difficult by U.S. - Taliban relations and the presence of China.²⁵ Similarly, it is also described that, with the potential for nuclear escalation and regional instability, Pakistan and India must enter into dialogue on the full range of bilateral issues. The authors stress the significance of prioritizing the establishment of dialogue for the sake of regional stability in Southern Asia.²⁶

Research Objectives

The objective of this article is to provide a comprehensive overview of the abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A through a systematic literature review. Furthermore, the article also highlights the critical overview of political, legal, security, socio-economic, demographic, cultural and geopolitical implications for Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK). Moreover, the article also critically analyzed the impact of these constitutional changes on the people and region of Jammu and Kashmir after encompassing those articles published during 2019 and 2026, with particular focus on governance, regional stability, human security and socio-political transformation.

Main Research Question: What are the political, security, legal, socio-economic, and geopolitical ramifications of removing Articles 370 and 35A from the contested region of Kashmir, and how do they affect India-Pakistan relations after the post-abrogation?

²⁵ Ahlawat and Izarali, "India's Revocation of Article 370."

²⁶ Farooq et al., "India, Pakistan Dispute over the Kashmir Issue and the Current Situation after Articles 370 and 35A."

Sub-Research Questions:

1. What impacts have the abrogation had on the identity and autonomy of Kashmiris, given the changes to the political and constitutional status of Kashmir?
2. How have militancy, separatism, governance, and social demography been impacted?
3. What are the main dilemmas of security and what are the strategic costs of this decision for Pakistan?
4. How have India and Pakistan (including the International Community) responded, and how have their relations changed? What are the geopolitical implications and what is the nature of their diplomacy?
5. What are the options available, and what do you believe are the best policies to advance us in an appropriate and sustainable manner?

In keeping with Pakistani perspectives and long-term outcomes, the above questions must be answered in order to conduct a thematic synthesis of the literature.

Research Methodology

This study utilized the PRISMA 2020 guidelines to conduct a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) on the abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A and its impact in Indian-administered Jammu and Kashmir (2019- 2026). The PRISMA methodology offers a way to encapsulate the systematic, transparent and reproducible identification, screening and synthesis of related literature. The methodology breaks down into

four primary segments: Planning, Selection, Extraction and Analysis.²⁷

Stage 1: Planning

Data were sourced from influential academic databases such as Google Scholar, Taylor & Francis, JSTOR, ProQuest and Wiley Online Library. Peer-reviewed journal publications in English, dated from August 2019 to May 2026, were the only ones included in the search. Advanced search features were used with combinations of keywords and Boolean operators. The main search string was as follows:

("Article 370" OR "Article 35A" OR "abrogation of Article 370" OR "revocation of Article 370" OR "Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Act 2019") AND ("Kashmir" OR "IIOJK" OR "demographic change" OR "separatism" OR "militancy" OR "Pakistan" OR "self-determination" OR "security dilemma"). The research examined the abrogation of the articles and the implications thereof from the political, legal, security, and socio-economic, as well as the demographic, and the geopolitical perspectives, with a special focus on the views of both Kashmir and Pakistan.

Stage 2: Selection:

218 records were identified from database searches, and additional records were found through citation tracking and manual search

²⁷ Hussain, Abid, and Arslan Arif. "Bibliometric Analysis of Regional Studies—A Quarterly Journal of Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad, Pakistan." *Library Philosophy and Practice (e-journal)* 5157 (2021).

activities²⁸. Figure 1 shows these results (n = 218); 56 duplicate records were removed, and 162 records were screened. One hundred and four irrelevant records were excluded. The remaining 58 records were reviewed for eligibility assessment and selection. Only eleven quality peer-reviewed articles were selected for in depth analysis²⁹.

Stage 3: Data Extraction

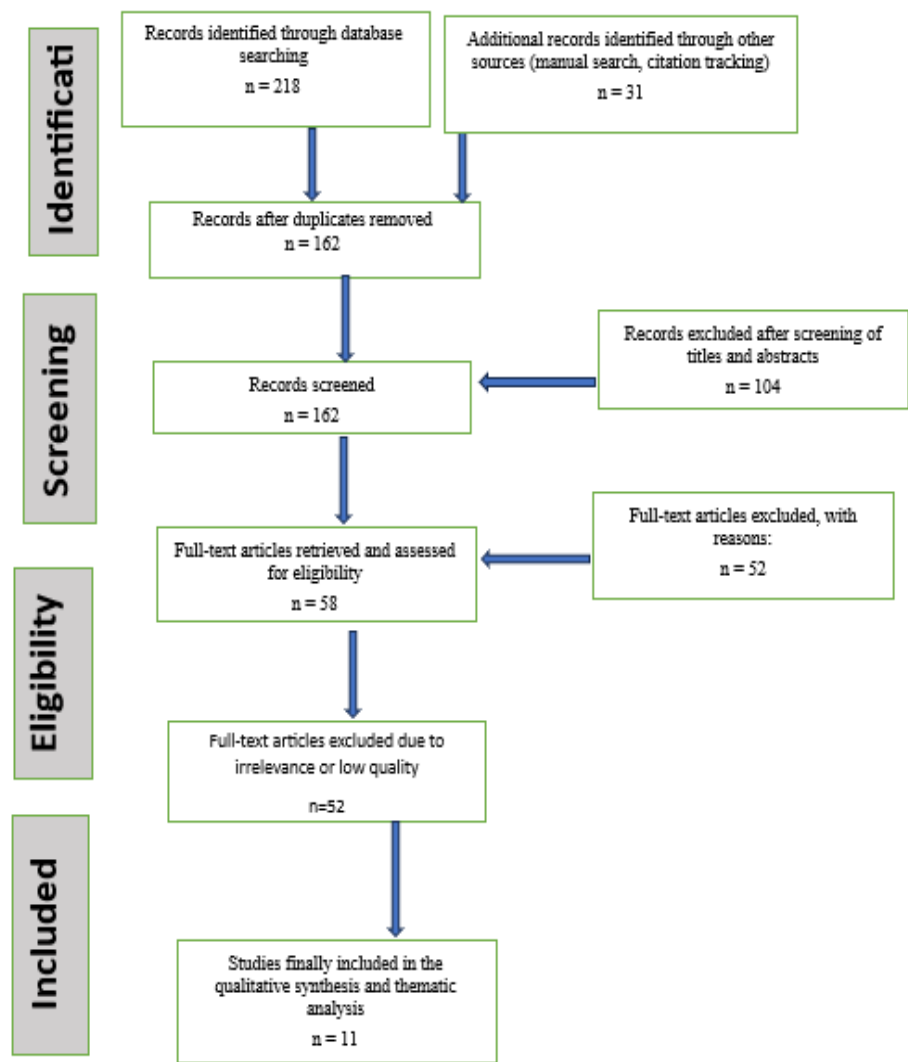
To document essential information such as authors, publication years, and research methodologies, a data collection sheet was constructed. This sheet also focused on the main findings and research perspectives, which include Indian, Pakistani, or neutral. Each article was assessed for its relevance to the research questions and for the rigor of its research methodology³⁰. The evaluation also included the article's contribution to the identified themes. Using these themes, the findings were then synthesized, and major themes were identified; these included the legal aspects, trends in research on security, issues of population, the impact of governance, and the dilemmas of security concerning Pakistan.

²⁸ Hussain, Abid, and Saeed Ullah Jan. "Mapping the Research Output of the Journal 'Strategic Studies'-Islamabad: A Statistical Review." (2020).

²⁹ Hussain, Abid. "Research Output of Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science (CJILS): A Bibliometric Analysis from 1993-2021." *Library Philosophy and Practice* (2022): 1-12.

³⁰ Haq, Ikram Ul, Abid Hussain, and Muhammad Tanveer. "Evaluating the scholarly literature on information literacy indexed in the web of science database." *Library Philosophy and Practice* 5230 (2021).

Figure 1: Four-phase PRISMA Flow Diagram



Stage 4: Execution

The final selection was rooted in stringent principles of quality. Only those peer-reviewed journal articles concerning the post-2019

abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A and its multi-dimensional implications were included. Purely historical articles, articles that are not empirical or analytical, and articles that do not relate to the research were excluded. Inclusion and Exclusion criteria is given below in table 1:

Table 1: Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Sr.no.	Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
1	Peer-reviewed journal articles	Conference papers, books, book chapters, theses, reports
2	Published between August 2019 and May 2026	Published before August 2019
3	English language	Non-English language
4	Directly address abrogation of Articles 370 and/or 35A and its implications	Only pre-2019 historical background
5	Focus on political, legal, security, demographic, or geopolitical aspects	Irrelevant to research questions
6	High academic quality and analytical depth	Low quality or purely opinion-based articles

Mir (2023), Bhatia (2025), Ahlawat & Izarali (2020), Pandya (2022), Neha et al. (2020), and Farooq et al. (2022) have been selected for inclusion in this review for various reasons. The systematic nature of the selection process provides transparency and minimizes bias, increasing the reliability of the review findings.

Findings

An analysis of the eleven scholarly articles published between 2020 and 2025 demonstrates the multifaceted picture of the abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A of August 2019. The short term operational and administrative goals attained by the Indian Government, the articles highlight the continued political alienation, security issues and demographic concerns as well as increased geopolitical tensions, especially with Pakistan.

Legal and Constitutional Dimensions

All accounts agree that the revocation of Jammu and Kashmir's 'special status' was through an order of the President and a Parliamentary resolution under President's rule, which resulted in the division of the state of Jammu and Kashmir into two Union Territories. Neha et al. provide a favorable legal evaluation and argue that Article 370 was designed to be temporary, and that its removal, along with Article 35A, was justified. They argue that the removal of Article 370 and Article 35A led to the creation of a federal system of structure that is both asymmetric and hinders the application of laws and the fundamental rights of the citizens of India.³¹ In opposition to their claim, other critics argue that some of the previous judgments of the Supreme Court of India regarded Article 370, once endorsed by the J&K Constituent Assembly, as an essentially and effectively

³¹ Ajnat, Dr. Radhika Dev Varma Arora.

permanent provision. There is consensus in the literature that the revocation brought an end to the state's quasi-autonomous position.

Security and Militancy Trends

According to empirical data reported by Pandya, there is no doubt about a significant improvement in the security situation in the short term. The number of terrorist activities decreased by around 75% compared to 2019 levels by late 2020; stone-throwing incidents decreased by 87%; and there was a reduction in casualty figures for both civilians and security forces. Operationally, security forces were successful in removing many of the leadership members of various militant groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM), Hizbul Mujahideen (HM), among others. Counter-trends reported by Pandya however, include local recruitment of militants (as high as 70%), “hybrid militancy,” use of drones, and continuation of targeted civilian killings.³² The validity of the central claim by the government about the repeal ending separatism and terrorism in Kashmir is called into question by Mir. The works of Farooq et al. and Ahlawat & Izarali put these trends into the wider context of the India-Pakistan proxy war in which Pakistan supports Kashmiris’ self-determination rights as per international resolutions. It is clear that, whereas kinetic operation results were positive, the root causes of militancy (grievances and radicalization) are still unaddressed.

³² Pandya, “An Analysis of the Post-370 Revocation Trends in Kashmir.”

Political and Governance Impacts

The erosion of conventional politics in Kashmir is widely noted across the literature. According to Mir, the abrogation ultimately discredited the mainstream political parties that legitimized their political activities under the provisions of Article 370. The arrest of leaders and the continued lockdown of communications intensified public dissatisfaction.³³ Pandya, on the other hand, observes the introduction of positive governance initiatives and the establishment of anti-corruption initiatives, infrastructure, and local self-government, as well as employment initiatives.³⁴ However, these efforts have had little positive effect on the public's perception of the governance initiatives and have left the feelings of alienation in the Valley's population largely unchanged. Bhatia, through CDA, points out that the BJP has been able to create a narrative whereby the abrogation is promoted as the completion of a Hindutva-inspired national integration. Kashmir's so-called "exceptionalism," in this narrative, is created as a justification to centralize control of the Indian state, while legitimizing the marginalization of the aspirations and identity of the people of Kashmir.³⁵

Demographic Change and Identity Concerns

Of all the findings, the fear surrounding demographic change is at the forefront. According to Mir, "demographic change" is the most significant consideration when interpreting the repeal in Kashmir.

³³ Mir, "The Kashmir Dilemma and the Repeal of Article 370."

³⁴ Pandya, "An Analysis of the Post-370 Revocation Trends in Kashmir."

³⁵ Bhatia, "Abrogating Article 370 and Kashmir's Exceptionalism."

There are growing apprehensions in the Valley regarding the non-local settlement, land transfers, and the dilution of the Muslim majority status due to the removal of Article 35A. This fear of identity loss in Kashmir is contributing to growing alienation and the intensifying calm state in the Kashmir Valley, which conceals the resentment of the Kashmiri people. There are a number of studies and surveys that associate the fear of demographic change with popular discontent, the threat of radicalization, and the likely social unrest, which, in the current scenario, is really likely to happen if the Kashmiri political alienation remains unaddressed.³⁶

Implications for Pakistan and Geopolitics

From Pakistan's perspective, the abrogation is a total disregard for international law and a unilateral and illegal change in the status quo concerning a disputed territory. Islamabad claims that it also contravenes UN Security Council resolutions and facilitates the budding of settler colonialism. The initial Pakistani responses were a downgrade of diplomatic relations, suspension of trade, and international campaigning via the United Nations (UN), Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) and China.³⁷ According to Ahlawat & Izarali, Pakistan's main security dilemmas are limited international options, the growing domestic demand for support for Kashmiri "freedom," and the need to avoid direct military conflict while

³⁶ Mir, "The Kashmir Dilemma and the Repeal of Article 370."

³⁷ Farooq et al., "India, Pakistan Dispute over the Kashmir Issue and the Current Situation after Articles 370 and 35A."

managing a prolonged crisis.³⁸ According to Farooq et al. unresolved conflicts surrounding Kashmir increase the likelihood of nuclear war and the sustainment of instability in South Asia. They emphasize the importance of ongoing multilateral negotiations to address the range of issues.

Synthesis

The findings capture a contested phenomenon. Pro-integration views argue that there is an opportunity for economic and social development and improvement of security and positive changes in normative frameworks.³⁹ Critiques and Pakistan-centric approaches argue that deepening political alienation, erosion of identity, and distrust in bilateral relations are a concern. Although the concentrated efforts of the state through centralization in administration and the use of counter terrorism have created a positive change in the short-term, the authors contend that political discontent, demographic concerns, and erosion of Kashmiri self-rule still remain. Silence in Kashmir is perceived to be a result of suppression and not legitimate acceptance.⁴⁰

The findings also show that the abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution continues to redefine the Kashmir conflict. The prospect of long-term peace in the region is likely to be a function of the will and determination of the Government of India to address the aspirations of the Kashmiri people and their concerns regarding

³⁸ Ahlawat and Izarali, "India's Revocation of Article 370."

³⁹ Pandya, "An Analysis of the Post-370 Revocation Trends in Kashmir."

⁴⁰ Ahlawat and Izarali, "India's Revocation of Article 370."

demographic changes, coupled with the restoration of a viable democracy and a greater engagement of both India and Pakistan in this direction. The studies covering 2023–2025 believe that the years 2024–2026 will be the most relevant years in determining the outcome of India-Pakistan relations, as the integrationist gains of India are likely to be consolidated, or new cycles of unrest may appear. The thematic synthesis demonstrates various convergences regarding factual statements and significant divergences regarding interpretation. The result is a reflection of the post 2019 Kashmir conflict and its complex nature.

Discussion

The amputation of Articles 370 and 35A in August 2019 is one of the most notable examples of how the Indian Constitution has allowed for the engagement of Jammu and Kashmir to change. This systematic literature review shows that the Indian government's short-term successes in the swift completion of the security and administrative integration of Jammu and Kashmir deepened the political alienation and identity anxieties of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and increased tensions between India and Pakistan. The literature shows that the removal of Articles 370 and 35A eliminated the special autonomous status of the state and the scope of Jammu and Kashmir's laws. With this legal move, the administrative integration of Jammu and Kashmir also eliminated the political agency of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Similarly, it was argued that the abrogation deeply intensified the trust deficit between the Government of India

and the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The perception of this legal move as a unilateral integration of the state, coupled with the prolonged administrative integration, has politically alienated the people of Jammu and Kashmir, as opposed to politically including them.⁴¹

Based on the existing research, terrorism-related cases and deaths during his study recorded a decrease during the early years of the program. However, local recruitments, targeting killings, and militant hybrid behavior show that issues that underline problems and conflicts persist. The author believes that the justification for the removal of Article 370 to reduce both terrorism and the separatism of the region was partially successful. As with the research of Mir, the author believes that the removal of Article 370 will deepen the radicalism and the civil unrest in the region, as the program of demographic encroachment will continue if the main issues are not solved. This has been proven through the defense integration approach, and the author believes that securing the region is a necessary condition that must be coupled with addressing the pertinent political issues.

Fear of demographic shifts has been analyzed in a number of studies and stands out as a major concern in this area of research. The removal of Article 35A gave the residents of the rest of India the right to own land within the region, which could be a major threat to the cultural

⁴¹ Bhatia, “Abrogating Article 370 and Kashmir’s Exceptionalism.”

and religious identity of the people of the region. This threat, combined with difficulties in governance and communication, has provided a false sense of calm that has been socially deep-rooted.⁴² Based on the studies and the evidence, it is evident that development in India and the hopes of the Kashmiri people for self-determination will be at odds with one another.

From Pakistan's view, findings articulate deep security concerns. Farooq et al. describe abrogation as a "one-sided" modification of a disputed region, characterized by a disregard for UNSC resolutions. Pakistan describes the abrogation as an attempt to alter the demographic and "settler colonialism," leading to initiatives to diplomatically isolate India, petition the OIC, and China, alongside perpetual moral and political support for the Kashmiris. The literature shows that while Pakistan's policy options remain limited in the control to reverse the abrogation, in the absence of the abrogation, Kashmir will remain "dormant explosively" and result in real nuclear escalation. It state that the "uncontrollable" escalation in the Kashmir dispute will irrevocably undermine the peace and economic cooperation in the rest of South Asia.⁴³

From a theoretical standpoint, abrogation and retention of the Kashmir conflict articulate competing paradigms. Integration, as opposed to "nation-building," would support the resolution of the Kashmir conflict. About the Pro-abrogation works, argue that the

⁴² Pandya, "An Analysis of the Post-370 Revocation Trends in Kashmir."

⁴³ Farooq et al., "India, Pakistan Dispute over the Kashmir Issue and the Current Situation after Articles 370 and 35A."

constitution should be streamlined, whereas hegemonic majoritarianism and the “weaponization” of national identity are present in normative critiques.⁴⁴ This division reflects the Kashmir conflict. The degree of irreconcilability in these discourses highlights the need for multi-stakeholder approaches that balance concern for the Kashmiris and other regional security dilemmas.

Conclusion

In August 2019, the repeal of Articles 370 and 35A marked an important political shift with serious constitutional repercussions for the state of Jammu and Kashmir. With this systematic literature review, based on eleven key peer-reviewed studies (2019–2025), the study argues that the Indian government achieved only limited success during the period 2019-2022 by reducing the number of incidents of terrorism, establishing better control, and initiating developmental activities. All of these successes were further rendered inconsequential by the continuing political alienation, the erosion of Kashmiri identity, and the growing demographic concerns in the region.

The revocation of Articles 370 and 35A ended the special status and special autonomy of the region and brought it into the Union of India more completely, but at the same time, it undermined the mainstream politics of the region, and together with the repeal of Article 35A, created the perception of demographic change along with a “false” sense of peace and a lack of real reconciliation. From Pakistan’s point

⁴⁴ Bhatia, “Abrogating Article 370 and Kashmir’s Exceptionalism.”

of view, this is an increased unilateral breach of the status of the disputed territory, deepening security issues and growing bilateral tensions. For India, it has meant security and governance advantages. However, it has increased distrust and intra-state tensions. Again, the Kashmir conflict will remain an unresolved case and an ongoing source of instability for South Asia, unless there is renewed dialogue and the democratic process is reinstated.

Policy Recommendations

For India: Politically, trust and let Jammu and Kashmir have their full statehood. Start an honest conversation with every section of the Kashmiri society. This includes the conventional and moderate Kashmiris and will help address their concerns regarding identity and demographics and implement effective anti-corruption. This will allow for a development boost while managing the apprehensions regarding demographic changes, land and property policies.

For Pakistan: Institute practical policies to begin to resolve issues to peace through diplomatic channels. Advance from supportive comments towards confidence-building measures (CBMs) at the Line of Control (LoC) and initiate back-channel negotiations with India regarding Kashmir and beyond.

For Both Countries: Begin a comprehensive dialogue regarding Kashmir, water sharing and trade. Bringing together people-to-people contact from both sides, active trade and reducing the level of cross-border terrorism.

Broader Recommendations: China and the US should be encouraged to bring their approach of quiet diplomacy. There should be engagement on the ground to acquire the views of Kashmiris until 2026. Taking steps to protect the human rights of the people, coupled with reform to ensure inclusive governance, will combat radicalization and provide peace to restive regions. A genuine attempt to implement these recommendations will be able to convert the post-370 area from conflict to co-operation.

Table A1: Datasets Extracted from Selected Articles on the Abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A

Author(s)	Year	Journal / Publisher	Main Focus / Key Contribution	Major Findings / Impacts	Challenges / Criticisms Identified
Mohd Amin Mir	2023	Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs	Comparative analysis of repeal and its consequences	Discredited mainstream politics, intensified demographic fears	Increased alienation, failure to reduce separatism
Aditi Bhatia	2025	Critical Discourse Studies	Critical discourse analysis of BJP's narrative	Abrogation framed as national integration through Hindutva	Marginalization of Kashmiri voices, militaristic discourse
Dalbir Ahlawat & M. Raymond Izarali	2020	The Round Table	Security dilemmas and options for Pakistan	Unilateral move altered status quo, limited options for Pakistan	Heightened security dilemma, risk of nuclear escalation
Abhinav Pandya	2022	Strategic Analysis	Post-370 security trends and governance	Short-term decline in terrorism but rise in local recruitment	Hybrid militancy, radicalization, public alienation

Neha et al.	2020	International Journal of Creative Research Thoughts	Legal analysis of abrogation	Move was constitutionally valid and necessary for integration	Creation of asymmetric federalism before abrogation
Muhammad Sabil Farooq et al.	2022	University of Wah Journal of Social Sciences	India-Pakistan dispute after 370 abrogation	Increased bilateral tensions, need for composite dialogue	Persistent proxy war, unresolved self-determination issue
Ganguly & Kapur	2021	Asian Survey	Political consequences in Kashmir	Integration strengthened central control	Erosion of regional autonomy and trust deficit
Najam, W.	2021	Pakistan Horizon	Strategic & geopolitical view of Kashmir	Kashmir's location enhances regional power dynamics	Power politics dominate over peace efforts
Kapoor, T.	2021	Global Journal of Human-Social Science	Legal analytical study	Abrogation essential for integration	Threat to unity before abrogation, complex political dimensions
Wani, M. A. & Rather, Z. A.	2022	Kashmir Journal of Social Sciences	Ground realities & human rights	Increased central control but public resentment	Mass detentions, loss of democratic space
Ahmad, F. & Bukhari, S.	2023	Pakistan Journal of International Relations	Pakistan's policy options post-370	Diplomatic & domestic challenge	Balancing domestic pressure with strategic restraint
