A Constructivist Analysis of Normative Transference in Indian Foreign Policy:

Implications for Pakistan

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Abstract

This paper undertakes a constructivist analysis of the normative transference in Indian foreign policy. The paper essentially argues that with its growing global power status, India is attempting to position itself as a normative power and achieve its foreign policy goals by transferring its norms and values, based on British colonial legacies and Hindutva-inspired social construct, to other countries in particular its neighboring countries, with the aim of blunting their identities for creating an enabling environment for realization of India's expansive vision of 'Ram Rajya'.

The paper suggests that the norms propounded by India are guided by British colonial legacies under which India perceives herself as vanguard of western colonial interests as well as Hindutva-inspired ideals. These norms pervade the entire Indian political spectrum irrespective of their seemingly secular or right-wing political inklings. The paper suggests that for India, its notion of "Akhand Bharat" or "Greater India" remains at the core of the propounded norms including inter alia "Panchsheel", "Panchamrit", "Vasudhaiva Kutumbukum" and "Vishwaguru". Through these norms, India has been and continues to attempt making its so-called cooperation with other countries contingent upon on their acceptance of

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Indian supremacy at the cost of their own identities. The paper suggests that unlike the European Union, India begins by having a social construct of other countries before undertaking normative transference. Subsequently, India follows the approach of delicately nullifying the identity of target countries through normative transference, alongside threats of punishment in case of defiance of Indian interests and supremacy. In this way, India attempts to normalize and diffuse its norms in the target country.

The paper also undertakes an analysis of Indian attempts of normative transference in case of Pakistan and suggests that this transference has been premised on the notion of 'otherizing' Pakistan as an 'adversary' owing to its Muslim character and aims at nullifying the very idea of Pakistan. The paper assesses that Pakistan's attempts to counter Indian normative transference have remained largely restrained in nature. The implications of Indian normative transference in case of Pakistan could therefore be existential in nature if not addressed proactively. In order to counter this challenge, the paper recommends inter alia positing Pakistan as a normative power; patronizing academicians, historians and political scientists; identifying quislings in the academic and journalistic domains; as well as creating a "league of the willing" for raising global awareness regarding the insidious nature of Indian normative transference.

Keywords: Normative Transference; Foreign Policy Analysis: Artificial construct; Territoriality; Normative Power.

1. Introduction

India, an artificial construct of the British colonial enterprise aimed at serving as a vanguard against Communist China and protector of western interests in the Indian Ocean region, has transmuted into a major global power today. However, a unique feature of modern-day India has been the premise of its ideological edifice on the religio-politico-cultural ideals of Hindutva alongside its British colonial legacies. Unlike commonly perceived, the above aspect traces its origin from the very existence of modern-day post-colonial India which has now assumed dangerous proportions.

The essential premise of Indian foreign policy on Hindutva ideals and British colonial legacies carries huge ramifications for the emerging world order owing to its threats to global peace, stability and sovereignty of other states. In this context, understanding India's social construct of its 'self' and 'others' is therefore important for deciphering India's foreign policy maneuvers in line with its prevalent ideals, norms and values. This perspective could also enable a better understanding of the implications that normative transference in

Indian foreign policy carries for other countries in general and Pakistan in particular.

A holistic assessment of normative transference in Indian foreign policy remains an unexplored research domain. In view of this gap, this research paper is aimed at analyzing as to what are the constituent elements of the normative transference in Indian foreign policy; how this transference actually takes place and what are its implications including inter alia for Pakistan in specific. This research paper also aims at suggesting different recommendations as concerns Pakistan's possible strategic response to the above challenge.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

Following is the Statement of the Problem for this research:

Indian foreign policy is based on the ambition of assuming global power status and inspired by Hindutva ideals as well as British colonial legacies. This carries profound ramifications for the evolving world order in terms of its threats to global peace, stability and sovereignty of other states. An analysis of India's transference of Hindutva and British colonial-inspired norms, ideals, values and social construct to other countries, in pursuance of its foreign policy goals, therefore becomes crucial. This assessment of normative transference in Indian foreign policy could provide a better understanding as to why and how India identifies its adversaries and partners as well as frames concomitant foreign policy approaches. For Pakistan, with a history of tense relations with India, the normative transference in Indian foreign policy carries huge implications and an assessment thereof is important to gauge India's current and prospective approach towards Pakistan. This research paper employs constructivist analytical approach, which identifies with ideas, norms and constructed identities as the explanans of state behavior, for analyzing normative transference in Indian foreign policy as well as assessing its implications for Pakistan, alongside some recommendations for Pakistan's strategic responses in this regard.

1.2. Significance and Scope of the Study

This research paper is expected to assist policymakers and researchers in Pakistan in better comprehending the manner in which normative transference in Indian Foreign Policy takes place by offering an alternative explanation premised on constructivist analytical framework. This research hints at India's ideational paradigm and its social construct of other states, inspired by Hindutva and British colonial legacies as explanans of India's foreign policy.

Scope of this research paper is as under:

i.   Overview of constructivist analytical framework as well as notion of normative transference in foreign policy analysis

ii.   Assessment of India's social construct, norms, ideals and values in its foreign policy

iii.   Brief analysis of some instances of normative transference in Indian foreign policy.

iv.   Elaboration of how normative transference in Indian Foreign Policy is targeted at Pakistan and how has Pakistan responded to it thus far

v.   Assessment of likely implications of normative transference in Indian Foreign Policy for Pakistan

vi.   Recommendations for Pakistan's possible strategic responses to India's normative transference

In the context of scope of this research paper, it may be highlighted that specific responses of the western countries and other global powers to the Indian normative transference towards the South Asian region in particular, as part of its foreign policy agenda, does not constitute the focus of analysis per se.

2. Literature Review

Jaishankar (2024) attempts to outline essential framework of India's Hindutva-inspired foreign policy approach as the pivot for its assumption of global power status (Jaishankar, 2024). The book employs Hindu scriptures to divide the world into binaries of good and evil, where India assumes role of the good and anyone else not in line with Indian ideals is taken as the evil. Main limitation of this book is that it only represents how India looks at the world from its ideational perspective while the manner of this normative transference and consequences of this one-sided approach are ignored. This study attempts to address that gap.

(Basrur, 2023) explores the linkages of India's Hindutva-inspired foreign policy in recent years with its past foreign policy approaches (Basrur, 2023). However, this study does not highlight the element of India as a British colonial outpost and resultant effect thereof on India's perception of the world as well as normative transference. This study therefore attempts to address the above gap. (Aryal & Bharti, 2022) assess the influence of Hindu Nationalism in Indian foreign policy manifested through hatred against Muslims (Aryal & Bharti, 2022). However, the study lacks in tracing continuum in India's Hindutva-

inspired political leaning ever since its creation in 1947; as well as fails to encompass normative transference in India's Hindutva-inspired foreign policy while locating the binaries of "us" vs "them" on perceived ethnic nodes in addition to religious factor. This study would attempt to address this gap while assessing normative transference in Indian foreign policy towards countries sharing transboundary ethnicities with India.

(MICHAEL, 2019) has asserted that while India witnessed a Hindutva-inspired foreign policy under Modi during the period 2014-2019, it was essentially pragmatism that took precedence (MICHAEL, 2019). However, while reaching the above conclusion, the author neither takes cognizance of how Indian norms' diffusion took place across different countries, nor the manner in which target countries reacted to norm diffusion and transference. This study attempts to fill the above gap by assessing Indian normative transference in neighboring countries in particular.

(Wang, 2023) argues that India's national identity is based around Hindu nationalism and accordingly, India holds an Indo-centric view of the world with its perceived role as a regional hegemon. However, the study does not provide an assessment of the inferiority complex and perceived security dilemma that led to such conceptualization of 'self' by India. Furthermore, the role of colonial hangover in case of Indian political mindset has also not been assessed in the above study. This study therefore endeavors to cover the above research gap and also synchronizes the impact of British colonial legacies and Hindutva ideals on Indian foreign policy.

(Carnell, 2012) attempts to incorporate the element of impact of United Kingdom and the United States on Indian foreign policy in its formative phase and argues that owing to the role of British colonial rule, India emerged as key player in South and Southeast Asia and had its peculiar foreign policy formulated in response to communism. This study neither assesses nor establishes a coherent linkage of British colonial rule with India's post-creation foreign policy approach of hegemonism however. It also does not encompass the element of Hindutva ideals that formed an important reference point for the framing of Indian constitution and concomitant foreign policy perspectives. This study attempts to fill these research gaps.

(BASU, 2020) argues for the construction of Indian sense of exceptionalism which takes its inspiration from Hindu nationalism. It also seeks to assess the British colonial influence in terms of contouring Indian sense of exceptionalism. The study is essentially pivoted on three main elements. These include India's nuclear discourse; neighborhood policy and India's Ocean policy shaped by Indian sense of exceptionalism. However, the study lacks in

assessing the manner of Indian norms and ideals forming the basis of its foreign policy while taking inspiration from Hindutva ideals; India's social construct of 'others' while identifying its so-called exceptionalism; and the manner in which Indian normative transference takes place in pursuit of Indian wider foreign policy objectives. The study also fails to assess Indian approach of exclusionism towards 'other' regional countries, in the garb of Indian exceptionalism, proffered through its foreign policy. This study therefore attempts to fill the above research gap.

(Malone, 2012) assesses the historical influences on Indian Foreign policy. However, while doing so, the study neither assesses the manner in which India took over the mantle of British colonial approach towards the region nor examines the role of British colonial legacies in defining Indian norms as well as normative transference. This study attempts to address this analytical research gap.

(Chadda, 2020) analyzes the elements of domestic balance of forces as well as relational aspect of power to frame Indian Foreign Policy in the post-Col War milieu. However, the study does not attempt to assess the manner of social construct of Indian foreign policy approaches. This study therefore fills up the above research gap.

(Chacko, 2013) identifies the so-called "civilizational exceptionalism" of India to identify that country's foreign policy behavior. However, at the same time, the book also attempts to incorporate the element of Indian vulnerability to invasion in this regard. The above book is premised on a very weak argument of presuming Indian civilizational existence as a given fact. The book does not however, analyze as to whether India, as a civilizational unity exists or otherwise. This is an important requirement as the norms emanating and defining a country's foreign policy approach draw inspiration from the existence or continuity of a homogenous civilizational entity. Secondly, the aspect of normative transference as a motivation of foreign policy pursuit also remains missing in the book. This study attempts to cover the above indicated research gaps.

(Johannes Plagemann, 2019) argues that populism defines Indian Foreign Policy. However, the study does not identify the influence of British colonial legacies on the foreign policy approaches of populist leaders such as Indira Gandhi as well as Modi. Accordingly, a major element of analysis remains missing from this study. This study attempts to fill this gap by identifying the elements of British colonial legacies and Hindutva ideals as the main reference points for the evolution of Indian Foreign Policy which is then in turn pursued via normative transference by India.

3. Research Methodology

This paper is premised on undertaking a constructivist analysis of the normative transference in Indian foreign policy. Foreign policy analysis entails a socio-psychological process. In terms of their foreign policy behaviors, countries tend to interact with other countries on ideational plane whereby the stronger states tend to diffuse and transfer their norms and values to other countries for achieving their foreign policy objectives. The constructivist theoretical framework enables us to comprehend as to how foreign policy behaviors of the countries are based on their perceptions as well as decipher the above normative transference in foreign policy behaviors of the states and reactions thereto.

This paper's research methodology is qualitative, descriptive and analytical in nature. This includes an analysis of the different foreign policy pronouncements; statements of Indian political leadership; as well as assessment of historical trends and developments in Indian Foreign policy to understand the nature of India's social construct; norms; ideals; and values, inspired from Hindutva and British colonial legacies. In addition to primary sources such as leadership statements, reports and records, a number of secondary sources including journals and research studies employing the above primary sources in an analytical manner, have also been utilized.

Owing to the analytical assessment of different contours of India's normative transference, the quantitative analytical toolkit was not warranted.

It may be added that owing to the employment of constructivist theoretical framework for this research paper, interpretation of the social construct and perceptions of the countries carries pivotal significance. This is a critical element of such investigative paradigm and therefore while valuing subjectivity on one end, it is important to discern social realities conceptualized through the constructivist approach.

3.1. Organization of the Paper

This paper is divided into three main Sections. The first section conceptualizes constructivist Analytical framework as well as normative transference in foreign policies in general. Under the second section, normative transference in Indian Foreign policy is elaborated through an overview of Indian social construct while indicating norms, ideals and values historically constituting Indian foreign policy, working in continuum since India's creation in 1947. Specific instances of normative transference in Indian foreign policy are also highlighted hereunder. In the third section, it is assessed as to how normative transference in Indian foreign policy has been targeted towards Pakistan

alongside Pakistan's response thereto. Implications of normative transference in Indian foreign policy for Pakistan have also been examined in this section. Finally, the overall conclusion of research paper is separately summarized alongside certain recommendations.

4. Conceptualizing Constructivist Analytical Framework and Normative Transference

4.1. An overview of Constructivist theoretical framework for Foreign Policy Analysis

Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) is understood to imply a "study of the conduct and practice of relations between different actors, primarily states, in the international system (Alden & Aran, 2011). In this field of study, an introspection of the process of decision making and individual actors involved in decision making including domestic and external environment influencing these actors forms an important core (Alden & Aran, 2011). Accordingly, a deeper assessment of motivations of the different actors involved in foreign policy analysis take preeminence (Alden & Aran, 2011).

Constructivist theoretical framework in international relations argues that the manner in which world is viewed is socially constructed (Theys, 2018). The prevalent international system is accordingly premised on inter-subjective awareness and human ideas (Wicaksana, n.d). In constructivist theoretical framework, social norms, understood as the standard for a certain behavior under a specific identify, carry huge significance (Theys, 2018). This implies that States are assumed to first ascribe to a certain identity and then behave as per norms that emanate therefrom (Theys, 2018). These relatively stable identities of States constitute the perception or understanding alongside expectations that States hold about their "self" as well as roles (Wendt, 1992) alongside counter-identity of 'others' (Wendt, 1999). In sum, the State's identity of itself is done vis-à-vis 'others' (Behravesh, 2011). As an instance, Russia's perception of its 'self' is premised on Russia's own history rather than as a response or being contingent upon the policy of the United States (Thompson, 2009) (Gras, 2022).

In terms of constructivist analysis of foreign policy, we can therefore note that for observing the process of foreign policy, the perceptions, beliefs, ideas, ideals and norms of 'agents' constitute huge significance as it is these elements that ultimately define and influence their foreign policy choices and behaviors.

4.2. Conceptualizing Normative Transference

'Norms' are often defined as 'standard of appropriate behavior for actors within a given identity' (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). As per Klotz, 'norms' constitute the "shared (thus social) understandings of standards of behavior" (Klotz, 1995). 'Norms' can have non-ethical and functional purposes and origins (Klotz, 1995) and are considered to be constantly in a state of flux and evolution in comparison with other events and norms unraveling across the world (Raymond, 1997). Application of the notion of 'Norms' has been wide-ranging including study of conflict, war, use of force, current and future State behavior (Romaniuk & Grice, 2018) as well as that of International Organizations (Romaniuk & Grice, 2018). As 'norms' tend to define the limits of what is and what is not acceptable as a behavior, the change in behavior of actors also tends to structure international system (Romaniuk & Grice, 2018). When a norm seeps into a country from outside, it can influence thinking attitudes and behaviors (Romaniuk & Grice, 2018). As an example, Canada, alongside some other like-minded nations, led the endeavor to institute an international agreement in the form of Ottawa Treaty for banning all Anti-Personnel landmines. The above norm building efforts finally got seeped across a range of other countries and resulted in banning of these landmines (Romaniuk & Grice, 2018).

As for normative transference, broadly, the term 'normative' implies 'relating to or conforming to norms or standards' (Merriam-Webster, n.d). Similarly, 'transference' is understood as the 'transfer of ideas or methods from one situation to another' (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). Normative transference is treated as one of the factors shaping norm diffusion, the latter being the "transfer and spread of defined norms, specific institutions, or broader ideas from one actor in the system to another" (ECPR General Conference, 2013). Accordingly, 'norm transference' could be understood as exportation of a community's norms and standards through conditionalities (Manners, 2002). In this sense, normative transference implies that when a certain state intends to have its norms diffused into a target State, it essentially uses 'carrot and stick' approach by offering financial and economic assistance while attaching conditionalities of subscription to a certain norm. An example of this is the conditionality of abolition of death penalty that is a norm propounded by the European Union (EU) and is being transferred to other countries in the form of a conditionality for EU accession for aspiring countries (Manners, 2002). Normative transference is also understood in terms of patron-client relationship where a powerful state (patron) having higher level of cultural or socio-economic power indicates to a weaker state under its influence, either actively or passively, to adopt certain set of values and norms. The weaker

client state then has to accept the desire of patron state or localize that norm emanating from the patron state (Bivens, n.d.).

In order to elaborate as to how normative transference is actually taking place across the world, we would take the example of the European Union (EU) which is considered to be a normative power (EU External Action, 2016). The manner in which EU attempts to spread its human rights-related norms across the world are quite instructive (EU External Action, 2016). For instance, EU attaches a number of positive and negative conditionalities to its agreements with the third parties for provision of development assistance (EU External Action, 2016). Similarly, in case of EU's negotiations with North Korea, the Union continues raising its concerns over that country's human rights record (EU External Action, 2016). In a similar manner, the EU's GSP plus-related conditionalities concerning implementation of the 27 essential international legal instruments on human rights, environmental protection, good governance and labor rights (European Union, n.d.) also indicate the manner in which EU attempts to diffuse its norms through normative transference in target countries.

5. Normative Transference in Indian Foreign Policy

5.1. Post-colonial India's Social Construct, Norms, Ideals in Foreign Policy

India is essentially an artificial construct created out of the British Indian Empire and the notion of the British having given a semblance of unity to what we know as India today is accordingly, deeply embedded in Indian strategic thought process (Tanham, 1992) (Rafique, 2021). This has had two impacts on the Indian social construct. Firstly, as the British Indian Empire was the greatest achievement of "British imperial policy" (Tharoor, 2017) and left the post-colonial India as vanguard of the western and imperial interests in the region specifically against China (Rafique, 2021), India perceives itself to be the continuum of British Indian Empire and therefore considers countries in the region in the same spirit (Xihui, 2023). For instance, India's colonial approach towards Sikkim that was occupied by India in 1974; India's repeated involvement in Nepal; use of Bhutan as a satellite state practically shorn of its sovereignty; military involvement in Sri Lanka; and armed aggression against formerly East Pakistan are all manifestations of India's self-perception as an Empire redux, taking its roots from the British Indian Empire (Rafique, 2021). This element has led to India's conceptualization of other countries in the region either as adversaries (who tend to oppose India's hegemonic design and tendencies) or as the dependent inferiors or courtiers but not as equal partners. Accordingly, this social construct of India also influences the manner in which

India seems to be dealing with its neighboring countries in the region. The enigma of India's cooperative projects with its neighboring countries, coupled with threats to these countries in parallel, to tow India's line of strategic thinking, can be understood through the above explanation.

Secondly, in order to legitimize its geographical layout created by the British, India has evolved a unique artificial paradigm wherein it considers itself to be a civilizational state in line with its peculiar conceptualization of territoriality. Briefly, "Territoriality" is taken to be spatial in character and carries material as well as emotional powers or manifestations (Penrose, 2002), thus transmuting it into a social construct (Sack, 1986). Accordingly, territoriality is contingent upon the ideas as well as ideals of a group as to what it considers to be its territory (Penrose, 2002). The notion of "Bharat Mata" or "Mother India" (Abraham, 2014) inspired from the Puranas (Goswami, 2004) is traceable across all spectrums of Indian political leadership since 1947 and it is precisely for this reason that even Indian Constitution reflects the notion of "Bharat" to identify India (Kumar, 2023). The territorial expanse of this perception of Bharat spreads across parts of Central Asia as well as South East Asia for India (Choudhury, 2021). This constitutes the node of legitimacy that India tries to weave for itself to legitimize its existence as if something natural and not carved out.

India's perception of itself as being a continuum of the British Raj (Carnell, 2012) coupled with India's self-image and expansive notion of territoriality has led to the evolution of the Indian norm of self-projection as a civilizational state (Gupta, 2022) and Ram Raj. As we would note, India attempts to diffuse this norm of being a civilizational state across the world especially its neighbors for achievement of its expansionist designs accordingly.

Owing to its projection and assumption of role as an inheritor of the British Indian Empire (Carnell, 2012) as well as Hindutva's consideration of other nationalities that do not belong to Indian soil as the enemy 'other' alongside 'racist supremacism' (Skaria, 2021), India has also evolved a certain mindset of presenting itself as the world leader. For this reason, India has evolved the norm of Vishwaguru or 'global teacher' for itself (Estrada, 2023). The roots of this norm can be traced to India's creation in 1947 when the then Indian Prime Minister Nehru promoted India as a country that knew the best of all and that India's neighboring countries should align themselves with India's security interests (Pande, 2017) (Gopal, 2017).

Another important norm that has been evolved by India is called "Vasudhaiva Kutumbukum" meaning that the entire world is one family (Sidhu, 2017). This notion is taken from the 'Maha Upanishad' and has historically been employed

by the entire Indian leadership, be it secular or right-wing, with different meanings and interpretations, but for the same purpose i.e. India's global leadership role (Sidhu, 2017). For instance, former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi employed the above term in 1989 to present the notion of "Earth Citizen" and contradict the notions of first, second and third worlds (Sidhu, 2017). In a similar manner, in 2002, the then Indian Prime Minister Bajpai used the same term to emphasize India's narrative on human rights (Sidhu, 2017). In 2007, the then Indian premier Manmohan Singh used this notion for advocating India's approach on climate change (Sidhu, 2017). Finally, the incumbent Indian Prime Minister Modi used this term in 2014 to proffer India's bid for permanent seat at the UN Security Council (Sidhu, 2017). In recent years, Indian Foreign Minister Dr. Jaishankar has also been proactively promoting the above notion as India's norm to be diffused throughout the world (Jaishankar, 2024). However, if one takes a closer look at the above norm, a number of hidden intentions behind it become clear. For instance, while India proffers the above norm to argue that the entire world is a family, the answer of who will be the head of the global family remains unaddressed (Sidhu, 2017). The answer to this deliberate omission could be found in the linked norm of "Vishwaguru" which is used to present India as the global teacher. India's civilizational overhang and complex is such that it indeed projects itself as the leader or elder of the world family. Accordingly, the norm of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbukum" is basically aimed at promoting a world where India as a civilizational state takes the lead role.

Another norm expounded by India is regarding the neighborhood of India being part of the so-called 'Indian civilization' (DAS, 2023). This norm is basically related to India's expansive sense of territoriality and aimed at diluting the sense of self-identity of smaller nations.

The Indian norm of 'Global South' takes its inspiration from the Indian approach of non-alignment, where India despite being a vanguard of western interests in the region camouflaged itself behind the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) to project its leadership role across the world. The same goes for the norm of 'Global South' being propounded by India as that country intends to showcase itself as leader of the 'Global South', represented mostly by the developing countries, and garnish its own interests therefrom.

We now move to the norm of 'ahimsa' or non-violence oft propounded by India across the world. The modern-day craftsman of this notion in India was Gandhi who introduced this norm into Indian politics after 1915 in order to take advantage of the rise of Hindu nationalism in Indian politics (Hazama, 2022). It is argued that by introducing the notion of 'ahimsa', Gandhi gave a Hindu

character to his nationalist agenda (Hazama, 2022). Another important point to note regarding the norm of 'ahimsa' is its recent import into the Hindu faith (it was actually Buddhists and Jains who propounded this norm (Fitz, 2007)). It is interesting to note that in fact Hindu religious scripture "Bhagavadgita" endorses use of violence (Hindutva Watch, 2019) or 'himsa'. Accordingly, the norm of 'ahimsa' does not entail non-violence but use of violence as a means of self-protection (Jain, 2022). 'Ahimsa' is therefore camouflaged as self-protection by India to justify violence at the global stage. The employment of this seemingly peaceful norm to legitimize and find reasons for violence against other countries is a feature of Indian foreign policy comparable to that country's western and colonial progenitors.

Another norm propounded by India is "Panchsheel" i.e. mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; peaceful co-existence; cooperation; equality; mutual non-interference; and mutual non-aggression (Correspondent, 2015). However, as we critically examine the actual manifestation of this norm, it would be noticed that normative transference hidden therein relates to India's condition for smaller neighbors to align themselves with the Indian security interests.

The norm of "Total peace" was expounded and transferred by India across neighboring countries by former Indian Prime Minister Gujral with the aim of isolating Pakistan and China. Under this norm, Pakistan and China were excluded as hostile neighbors and "total peace" was offered to remaining regional countries (Sharma, 2012). However, clearly, this normative transference again carried the condition that 'total peace' would be possible with smaller neighbors of India only by excluding the influence of Pakistan and China while accepting Indian hegemony.

The continuity of the norm of 'Panchsheel' can be seen in the form of "Panchamrit" propounded by incumbent Indian Prime Minister Modi that inter alia connects the notions of "Samriddhi – shared prosperity" with "Suraksha – regional and global security"; and "Sanskriti evam Sabhyata-cultural and civilizational linkages" (Ganguly, 2015)]. However, all these elements are contingent upon Indian leadership role (Ganguly, 2015) to be recognized by other states.

5.2. Instances of Normative Transference in Indian Foreign Policy

It would be recalled that the very first normative transference propagated by India was that of "Panchsheel" that inter alia called for respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity of states as well as non-interference and aggression

(Correspondent, 2015). However, in actual practice, while transferring this norm across the region, India's condition for other states was quite brute and categorical. India's above normative transference was actually contingent upon recognition by other states of India's hegemony. For instance, India's first Prime Minister Nehru, while referring to India's small neighbors, openly threatened that these countries were in fact "doomed" and could only "survive as a cultural, autonomous area but not as an independent political unit" (Nehru, 1956). In case of Sri Lanka, Nehru argued that that country should join as "an autonomous unit of the Indian federation" (Nehru, 1972) (Nehru, 1956) (Silva, 2013). This clearly indicates that India's normative transference of non-violence under the garb of "Panchsheel" came with the condition that the target country should accept Indian hegemony at the cost of losing its own autonomous status and sovereignty. Any defiance of this condition was to be met by Indian interference in that country's internal affairs on any pretext deemed appropriate by India. The manner in which India occupied and later absorbed Sikkim is self-explanatory as to how India employed normative transference of Panchsheel as a diversion and used it as a garb while continuing to violate territorial integrity of other independent smaller states.

In a similar manner, the normative transference of Indian norm of "Panchamrit", incorporating the notions of so-called "Samriddhi" (i.e. shared prosperity); and "Suraksha" (i.e. regional and global security) is assertive in nature (Lahiri, 2017) with the underlying expectation of Indian regional domination as a precondition and that too as a Hindu State. An example of this norm transference is the case of Afghanistan where Indian aid disbursement is conditional upon reduced role of Pakistan in that country (Lahiri, 2017).

 We now turn to Indian norm of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbukum" or "entire world is one family". There are various instances of India's transference of the above norm to neighboring countries with ulterior motives. When India approaches its neighboring countries, it applies its peculiar understanding of the notion of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbukum" to assert its superiority and leadership role under the garb of entire world being one family. An important element of India's transference of above norm has remained that through the above norm, India makes its hegemony in the target country, an implied condition for collaboration.

In the above context, Nepal is a case in point. While India has undertaken a number of development projects in Nepal, these projects come with an implied condition of absorbing the norm of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbukum" in such a manner that India is accepted as the elder or leader of Nepal. For ensuring this, India has also been supporting separatist Madhesi movement in Nepal

(Jnawali, 2023) whenever it felt threatened from China's increasing influence in Nepal. Similarly, while having the norm of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbukum" transferred in Nepal, India has been using the method of sanctions as well (Ethirajan, 2020) to ensure that Nepal also absorbs the Indian norm of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbukum" where India is set at the centre stage in the form of a patron with Nepal in the role of a subordinate or client state.

As mentioned earlier, India has also been promoting the norm of 'Vishwaguru' around the world to promote itself as the global teacher. Embedded in this norm is also the Indian complex of presenting itself as the moral leader of the world. Former Indian Prime Minister's Nehru's "Curzonian Mindset" premised on his ideational approach of "Delhi knows best" (Pande, 2017) (Gopal, 2017) explains India's conceptualization of 'self' as a global moral teacher. This norm has also been seen to be getting visibly transferred across the smaller and weaker neighbors of India with the Indian expectation that these smaller countries should unconditionally accept India's status as their moral teacher.

Indian Prime Minister Modi's arrogant pronouncements pertaining to democratic lecturing to the world emanates from Indian leadership's desire to pose to the world that India has special mission and wisdom to offer to the world (Hall, 2019). Accordingly, India is presented as a chosen one with destiny to lead others. It is also argued that India's 'Vishwaguru' norm is aimed at securing international recognition of the long-term agenda of right-wing Hindu leadership to enforce a future Hindu world order (A.G.Noorani, 2021).

As another example of norm diffusion of 'Vishwaguru', India tends to transfer this norm across the western liberal world who in turn intend placing India against China. India transfers the above norm to the West with the condition that in return for India's stand against China, India should be recognized as 'Vishwaguru' reflecting Indian Prime Minister Modi's vision of Indian superiority on global stage while ignoring democratic erosion in India (Estrada, 2023).

Bhutan offers another instance of the manner in which India transfers its norm of "Vishwaguru" to other countries while ensuring that the target countries accept Indian leadership role and consider Indian strategic interests as supreme. In case of Bhutan, India has assumed the role of "protector" for that country and even got this notion recognized by Bhutan through the so-called "India-Bhutan Treaty of Friendship" (Xihui, 2023). This clearly indicates the manner in which India gets its norm of "Vishwaguru" diffused across that target country. If we examine this element closely, we would also note that the

above Treaty puts the responsibility of protection of Bhutan on India (Xihui, 2023). By doing this, India assumes for itself the role of 'Guru' or leader and indicates as to how the normative transference of the notion of Vishwaguru is accomplished through the above Treaty in case of Bhutan. While recognizing or absorbing the 'Vishwaguru' norm of India, however, Bhutan is practically forced to consult India on matters pertaining to its security, defence and economic relations (Xihui, 2023) implying recognition of Indian hegemony at the cost of its own sovereignty. Such is the normative transference in India in respect of Bhutan that the country is not allowed to engage with China for resolution of its border disputes and even interfered in Bhutanese elections in 2013 to prevent a pro-China political party clearly in lead, from assuming power by stopping its economic assistance to that country prior to voting (Xihui, 2023) as a gesture of what could happen in case that political party came into power. The above elements clearly manifest that the conditionality attached with the so-called protection of Bhutan from external aggression is that Bhutan cannot expand its diplomatic ties with other countries without the will of India nor can it resolve its border disputes with China owing to the fact that this does not tend to serve India's strategic interests in the region.

6. Normative Transference in Indian Foreign Policy and Pakistan

6.1. Normative Transference in Indian Foreign Policy targeted at Pakistan and Pakistan's response

India has been attempting normative transference in respect of Pakistan since the latter's independence in 1947. India's social construct of Pakistan has been premised on the Hindutva approach of 'otherizing' the Muslims of subcontinent in general, owing to their lack of affiliation with the notion of 'Bharat' being a Holy Land (Chandrasekaran, 2012). Interestingly, this approach has not been unique to the right-wing Hindu political forces. For instance, India's first Prime Minister Nehru used to link India's geographical claims to India's so-called 2000-years old civilizational heritage which was associated by the Indian Ministry of External Affairs under Nehru to the Hindu holy scriptures (Balachandran, 1996) (Deshpande, 2003). This clearly implied nullifying the very idea of Pakistan owing to its predominant Muslim population who were not considered indigenous to the so-called Holy Land conceptualization by Hindu political leadership. One can therefore clearly discern that the Indian leadership, irrespective of their seemingly secular or right-wing political inklings had the Hindutva-inspired belief and understanding that the Indian neighborhood including Pakistan formed part of "Indian civilization" (Pande, 2017) populated by the 'others' i.e. Muslim

population. As another instance of India's social construct of Pakistan as the enemy 'other', during the twilight period of British Indian Empire, when the future of Punjab and Bengal was being debated, Nehru exposed his Hindutva-inspired mindset by arguing that there was "no question of Hindus in Bengal agreeing to live under permanent Muslim domination" (Thinkers Talk, 2020). This clearly manifests that Hindutva-inspired social construct of Muslims and Pakistan as the enemy 'other' was deeply entrenched in the mindset of Indian political leadership, irrespective of their political inklings.

The challenge with Hindutva is that it is premised on locating India's adversaries outside the frontiers of India as well as playing the victimhood card (Chandrasekaran, 2012) (Rafique, 2020). Accordingly, as Pakistan is considered to be the enemy 'other' in India's social construct, its normative transference in case of Pakistan has remained different from other countries and always started off by the element of negating the very existence of the idea of Pakistan. For Pakistan, therefore, the normative transference by India occurred in the form of first villainizing Pakistan as an aggressor and painting the so-called Indian norms as being of a superior nature. As a next step, Pakistan was expected to absorb the Indian norms of so-called 'non-violence' with the presumption that Pakistan being a Muslim villain country was violent, as well as acceptance of Indian hegemony. For instance, as mentioned earlier, the "Gujral doctrine" that carried an embedded norm of so-called 'total peace' excluding Pakistan and China as hostile neighbors, was aimed at smaller neighbors of India and carried the condition that 'total peace' would be possible with smaller neighbors of India only by excluding Pakistan and China and that the smaller neighbors accept Indian hegemony. For Pakistan, the above norm carried negative connotation as diffusion of the above idea across Pakistan, that its own nature and existence stood in contradiction to 'total peace', amounted to self-villainizing. This was aimed at getting the idea across Pakistani nation that in order to become normalized with the notion of 'total peace', Pakistan needed to accept Indian hegemony. It is evident from this norm that India was intended to be the centerpiece of 'Total peace' and the normative transference of 'total peace' was contingent upon interpretation by India only.

The Indian normative transference of "Panchamrit" expounded by Indian Prime Minister Modi has also been evident in respect of Pakistan in its own peculiar way. The Joint Doctrine of Indian Armed Forces (JDIAF) is for instance premised on identifying Pakistan as part of India's conceptualization of "continental view of threat" alongside China (Rafique, 2020). Accordingly, when considering the notions of "Samriddhi" (i.e. shared prosperity); "Suraksha" (i.e. regional and global security) as well as "Sanskriti evam Sabhyata" (i.e. cultural and civilizational linkages), under "Panchamrit",

Pakistan is externalized and isolated as a common enemy of India and its socially constructed "allies". However, this normative transference occurs in respect of Pakistan to emphasize upon the Pakistani nation in general that unless they accept Indian hegemony and normalize the Indian social construct of what constitutes regional security, their country would not be associated with the Indian perceived notion of "Samriddhi" or "Sanskriti evam Sabhyata".

Let us now turn to the Indian norm of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbukum" to assess as to how transference of this norm takes place in case of Pakistan. It would be recalled that there have always been attempts by India to repeatedly contradict the very idea of Pakistan as well as transfer the norm of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbukum" across Pakistanis, where India is placed at the centre of Indic civilization as its undisputed leader and Pakistan is identified just as a part of the larger Indian civilizational space. It would be noticed that India has been employing the academia and media in specific as supportive elements, in addition to its official efforts for building up a narrative where the identity of Pakistan is mixed with that of India and the unique national identity of Pakistan is deliberately suppressed. Furthermore, a number of pseudo-intellectuals and pseudo-journalists are also used by India to peddle the negation of the very idea or movement of Pakistan. An instance in this regard is the posing of decision of migrations from India to Pakistan at the time of independence of Pakistan as wrong moves (OpIndia Staff, 2023) by such pseudo-intellectuals.

India also attempts to identify its own interpretation of the notion of terrorism and use it to create conceptual confusions with the ongoing freedom struggles or movements for expression of right to self-determination in different territories/regions occupied by India, while at the same time, marking Pakistan's moral support for such freedom struggles as terrorism. The manner of this normative transference is an emphasis upon Pakistanis that unless they stop supporting the ongoing freedom movements in India, their country (i.e. Pakistan) would be isolated and labelled as a state that sponsors terrorism. The condition therefore for Pakistan is to accept India's interpretation of what constitutes terrorism and let go of its principled position on Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK) for instance.

In case of Pakistan, our response to counter Indian normative transference has unfortunately been limited. The challenge for Pakistan has been in terms of limited effectiveness to carve out an alternative narrative, decoupling from India to begin with. Pakistan's political strategy is essentially based on publicly negating India and its norms, but at the same time there appears to be tolerance as concerns the internalization of these norms in an informal manner by not

targeting those employing for instance, the social media to malign the idea of Pakistan, while promoting India's social construct and ideals. A major challenge in this regard has been that in the name of so-called academic freedom and demystifying historical myths, normative transference by India is being constantly tolerated without cultivating and patronizing those authors, academicians and journalists who are currently working in silos to diffuse or neutralize Indian normative transference launched against Pakistan.

6.2. Assessment of Implications of Normative Transference in Indian Foreign Policy for Pakistan

India's normative transference in foreign policy has historically been premised on promoting India's interest-based ideas behind the camouflage of its oft claimed moral high grounds and norms. Another challenging element of the peculiar normative transference undertaken by India is that while on the face of it, India does not directly link up its collaboration with the target countries to its normative transference, it delicately links up its cooperation with those countries to their acceptance of Indian hegemony and letting go of their unique national identity or value system.

The normative transference by India starts off with the identification of Pakistan as the villain or enemy 'other' in the entire spectrum of India's weaved norms and then the same is diffused across Pakistan as well as other countries across the world through academic and media landscape in order to make the Pakistani nation conceptualize itself in a negative manner. This has far-reaching implications for Pakistan.

A major implication of the peculiarly patterned normative transference by India in respect of Pakistan is that it could lead to what may be termed as "otherizing" the "self" by the Pakistani nation. For instance, as India employs its normative transference across Pakistan, be it in the form of "Panchamrit" or "Vasudhaiva Kutumbukum", it essentially 'otherizes' Pakistan by villainizing her through attempts at nullifying its history as well as ideas, heroes and villains. As Pakistan is taken as an antithesis of India, anything associated with Pakistan is therefore excluded from the prism of commonality of shared prosperity or a vision of family by India. The net result is that an embedded message is conveyed to Pakistanis in parallel that Pakistan is excluded from the above conceptualization because of the alleged wrong ideas and vision that its leadership and founding fathers had promoted or stood for. This propaganda spread through normative transference is ultimately aimed at making people of Pakistan start 'otherizing' their 'self', i.e. taking their own self, heroes as well as ideological values as enemies, in order to get linked up with the norms of 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbukum' or 'Panchamrit' that are posed

to be promoting notions of family and common civilizational linkages although only as a camouflage. This dangerous trend could subsequently have existential consequences for Pakistan in the long-run.

Another likely implication for Pakistan as a result of the above normative transference by India, coupled with the ongoing economic challenges faced by Pakistan could be that the country may decide to acquiesce to Indian regional domination and hegemony. However, unlike other regional countries, the challenge is that for India, Pakistan constitutes the irreconcilable enemy 'other' and therefore, in its conceptualization, exclusion and nullification of Pakistan in entirety is a must for the purposes of realization of its vision of 'Akhand Bharat'. In case the normative transference by India continues unabated in respect of Pakistan, this could also result in not only Indian regional hegemony but again add to serious existential threats to Pakistan.

With the continued normative transference by India in respect of Pakistan, another implication could be that Pakistan may face increasing international isolation as the world, in the absence of a proactive response from Pakistan, would start normalizing the Indian normative transference. This could have serious consequences for the regional and international peace as well, because the problem with Indian normative diffusion and consequent normative transference is the centralization of India as the leader and focus of power.

Another implication of normative transference by India worldwide and Pakistan in specific is that this could lead to furtherance of western colonial interests and Hindutva ideals. This is therefore part of the wider objective of weakening China. In sum, this could carry implications for Pakistan who economic revival has deeper linkages with China's economic and political power.

India's norm of Vishwaguru or 'global teacher' draws its roots from India's conceptualization of "manifest destiny" (Nehru, 1956) which in itself alludes to the revisionist and expansionist tendencies of India (Rafique, 2021). This clearly highlights the Nazi-Germany styled racist proclivities of India. This could have serious consequences for the regional stability in general and Pakistan in particular. Accordingly, as a result of the above normative transference from India, Pakistan could face challenges similar to those of Austria just prior to Nazi Germany-Austria Agreement of 1936, unless the normative transference by India and its concomitant manifestations and modes of interference are proactively addressed in a timely manner.

7. Findings

From the discussion above, following findings can be drawn:

i. India is attempting to position itself as a normative power through creation and diffusion of norms across the world in general and the neighboring countries in particular.

ii. India's norms draw their inspiration from British colonial legacies and Hindutva ideals. These norms have a peculiar feature of placing India at the centerstage while posing India as the pivot and in leadership role. There is no difference between the approach of Indian leadership with varying political inklings when it comes to India's norms creation, diffusion and consequent transference to other countries.

iii. A unique pattern of India's normative transference is that unlike European Union that transfers its norms by making them a condition in different economic agreements that it concludes with other countries, India attempts to normalize its norms by forcing the countries in a stand-alone manner to let go of their identity and accept Indian hegemony as well as supremacy of so-called Indic civilization through acceptance and absorption of India's created norms. The case studies of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan in specific identify as to how Indian Normative Transference to these countries is heavily contingent upon making these countries either lose their sovereignty (case of Sikkim) altogether; have limited sovereignty (Bhutan) or become a client state (Nepal). This is quite different from the approach of normative transference adopted by the European Union.

iv. India employs apparently moral-based norms to advance its expansionist foreign policy agenda (Akhand Bharat) across the region. These norms that India transfers, owing to their focus on Indian supremacy, are racist in character and therefore carry wide ranging implications for regional and global peace and stability.

v. Based on its Hindutva-inspired ideals, India has socially constructed Pakistan as the enemy 'other'. Accordingly, its normative transference in respect of Pakistan adopts a different course where the target audience i.e. Pakistani people are oriented towards 'otherizing' their 'self'. India therefore implicitly excludes Pakistan from the so-called moral based normative structure by arguing that Pakistan could only form part of Indian conceptualization of the 'entire world being a family' when it lets go of its identity and accept Indian hegemony.

vi.   Owing to the identification of Pakistan as the enemy 'other', acceptance of Indian hegemony is not the only expected outcome but the nullification of Pakistan and its identity in its entirety are the ultimate objectives of India's normative transference.

8. Conclusion

India is attempting to position itself as a normative power by undertaking normative transference with a view to achieving its wider foreign policy objectives of attaining global power status and "Akhand Bharat" or "Greater India". Indian norms are premised on British colonial legacies as well as Hindutva ideals which are pivoted on the ambition of placing India as leader of the world. This, element coupled with the racist tendencies of norms propounded by India carry huge ramifications for the evolving world by threatening global peace, stability and sovereignty of other Nation States. It is because, India's normative transference is essentially motivated by the aim of diluting the national identity of the target countries and thus forcing them to acquiesce to Indian hegemony and leadership as a condition for Indian perceived and constructed vision of the entire world being a family. The neighboring countries of India including Bhutan, Nepal, Sikkim and Sri Lanka offer vivid examples of how India's normative transference to these countries has caused damage or loss of their sovereignty.

India's social construct of Muslims is premised on their 'otherization' as an enemy. In case of Pakistan, normative transference in Indian foreign policy is pivoted on social construction of Pakistan as an enemy 'other', owing to its Muslim character. Indian normative transference in respect of Pakistan posits that country as a villain excluded from the so-called moral based norms and therefore in case of Pakistan, the nullification of that country and its idea in its entirety remains pivotal for India. Such an approach is aimed at suggesting to the Pakistani nation that for normalization of Indian conceptualized normative transference, Pakistan's identity would need to nullify itself i.e. 'otherizing' of the 'self' by Pakistani people themselves. This implies the entire nullification of Pakistan. This aspect carries huge implications for Pakistan, which if not addressed in a proactive and timely manner could have existential consequences for Pakistan.

While the above research, owing to its limited scope, has remained focused on identifying normative transference in Indian Foreign Policy, there remains scope to further assess as to how a normative resistance framework could be instituted in order to counter the threats posed by Indian normative transference attempts in respect of the region as well as at a global scale.

9. Recommendations

Following policy recommendations are suggested for Pakistan's strategic responses to counter India's normative transference:

i. In order to effectively address the challenges posed by India's normative transference targeted at Pakistan, there is a need for positing Pakistan as a normative power as well. Pakistan should therefore start evolving its own paradigm of norms for diffusion across the South Asian region and world based on Pakistan's indigenous value system pivoted on honor, respect, tolerance, dignity and goodwill towards all.

ii. Government of Pakistan should patronize academicians, historians and political scientists who are currently working in silos to neutralize fake history endeavors of India by offering alternative historical explanations to different events currently misrepresented and misinterpreted by Indian intelligentsia. Efforts should be made at nullifying the social construct and idea of India itself at the academic landscape while raising global awareness regarding the notion of India being an artificial construct created by British Empire for safeguarding western interests in Asia. This should be done in collaboration with China that acts as a counter-hegemon in the region contrary to Indian hegemonic pursuits.

iii. Identification of quislings in academic and journalistic domains in or belonging to Pakistan and exposing them is very important in order to make common Pakistanis understand the fallacious propaganda being promoted by these elements. There should be an effort at the public level to isolate and expose such elements.

iv. Normative transference by Pakistan across Indian society should be undertaken with a view to initiating the 'otherizing' within Indian social milieu.

v. An international 'legion of the willing' should be patronized for raising awareness across the world regarding the insidious nature of Indian norms and normative transference. This legion should employ media as well as academic landscape in order to expose the Nazi-Germany styled character of India and its normative outpourings in the regional countries in specific and globally in general.

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