

**Women's Participation in Insurgency: A Case of Baloch  
Insurgent Movement in Pakistan**



By

**Sana Saif**

**Registration No: 00000362121**

Supervised by

**Dr. Aqab Mehmood Malik**

**Department of Peace and Conflict Studies**

**Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS)**

**National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST)**

**Islamabad**

**(2023)**

**Women's Participation in Insurgency: A Case of Baloch  
Insurgent Movement in Pakistan**

By

**Sana Saif**

**Registration No: 00000362121**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of MS Peace and Conflict Studies

Supervisor

**Dr. Aqab Mehmood Malik**

**Department of Peace and Conflict Studies**

**Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS)**

**National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST)**

**Islamabad**

**(2023)**

## THESIS ACCEPTANCE CERTIFICATE

Certified that final copy of MS Thesis written by Ms. Sana Saif (Registration No. 00000362121), of the Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS) has been vetted by undersigned, found complete in all respects as per NUST Statutes/ Regulations/MS Policy, is free of plagiarism, errors, and mistakes and is accepted as partial fulfilment for award of MS degree. It is further certified that necessary amendments as point out by GEC members and foreign/ local evaluators of the scholar have also been incorporated in the said thesis.



Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Supervisor: Dr. Aqab Mehmood Malik

Date: 21-08-2023

Signature (HOD): \_\_\_\_\_

Date: 21-08-2023

Signature (Dean/ Principal): \_\_\_\_\_

Date: 09-08-2023

# National University of Sciences & Technology

## MASTER THESIS WORK

We hereby recommend that the dissertation prepared under our supervision by: (Student Name & Regn No.) Ms. Sana Saif, Reg. No. 362121


Titled: "Women participation in insurgency: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Paksitan" be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of MS Peace and Conflict Studies degree and awarded grade \_\_\_\_\_. \_\_\_\_\_ (Initial).

### Examination Committee Members

1. Name: Dr. Najimdeen Bakare

Signature: 


2. Name: Dr. Muhammad Makki

Signature: 

3. Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Supervisor's name: Dr. Aqab Malik

Signature: 


Date: 24 - 08 - 2023

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Head of Department

09-08-2023  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

### COUNTERSIGNED

Date: 09-08-2023

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dean/Principal

## Plagiarism Undertaking

I Sana Saif solemnly declare that research work presented in the thesis titled "Women's Participation in Insurgency: A case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan," is solely my research work with no significant contribution from any other person. Small contribution/ help wherever taken has been duly acknowledged and that complete thesis has been written by me. I understand the zero-tolerance policy of the HEC and National Sciences and Technology Islamabad (NUST), towards plagiarism.

Therefore, I as an author of the above titled thesis declare that no portion of my thesis has been plagiarized and any material used as reference is properly referred/cited.

I undertake that if I am found guilty of any formal plagiarism in the above titled thesis even after award of MS degree, the University reserves the rights to withdraw/revoke my MS degree and that HEC and the University has the right to publish my name on the HEC/University website on which names of students are placed who submitted plagiarized thesis.



Student/Author Signature:  
Name: Sana Saif

## DECLARATION

I Sana Saif hereby declare that this dissertation titled "Women's Participation in Insurgency: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan," is my own original work and has not been submitted before to any institution for assessment purposes.

Further, I have acknowledged all sources used and have cited these in the reference section.



Signature of Student

Sana Saif

MS Peace and Conflict Studies

REGN NO. 00000362121

## **Copyright Statement**

- a) Copyright in the text of this thesis rests with the student author. Copies (by any process) either in full or of extracts, may be made only in accordance with instructions given by the author and lodged in the Library of NUST Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS). Details may be obtained by the Librarian. This page must form part of any such copies made. Further copies (by any process) may not be made without the permission (in writing) of the author.
- b) The ownership of any intellectual property rights which may be described in this thesis is vested in NUST Centre for International Peace and Stability, subject to any prior agreement to the contrary, and may not be made available for use by third parties without the written permission of the CIPS, which will prescribe the terms and conditions of any such agreement.

Further information on the conditions under which disclosures and exploitation may take place is available from the Library of NUST Centre for International Peace and Stability, Islamabad.

## **Acknowledgments**

Foremost, I am thankful to Allah Almighty who provided me with the ability to complete this thesis. Secondly, I am grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Aqab Memood Malik who helped me in every step of this research. This research would never have been possible without his assistance, kindness, valuable time, and mentorship. He was very accommodating and kind.

I am also duly indebted to all the professors at CIPS especially Dr. Makki and Dr. Bakare for motivating us to do better ourselves each day.

I also want to thank my amazing parents who helped me to excel in life and to stay positive. Lastly, I am grateful to the respondents and all the people who helped me in getting the data for this study and whose invaluable time and input helped shape my thesis into a reliable body of work.



## **Abstract**

Many studies have been conducted to identify and address the motivation of women to participate in violent political organizations and non-state actors globally. This research study explores the individual, socio-economic, political, and psychological motivations behind the participation of women with violent non-state actors in Balochistan. This thesis also unfolds the explicit non-traditional occurrence of women in Baloch insurgency, particularly after a few cases of women's Participation with violent non-state actors in Balochistan. The research study has investigated women's participation with insurgents and violent political groups such as the Liberation of Tigers of Tamil Eelam, Palestine, the Colombian Civil War, the Kurd movement, Chechnya, and some others to understand similarities of motivation between women as insurgents and international women as insurgents. The aim is to trace the motivation of women joining violent political organizations and insurgent groups. A qualitative method has been employed to address the drivers of motivation for women to join insurgent groups and a non-reversible change in the Baloch insurgency. This thesis further engaged several respondents to explore a non-traditional change in Baloch insurgency that has taken place due to the participation of women with violent non-state actors in Balochistan.

**Keywords:** Baloch Insurgency, Balochistan, Women's Participation, Non-Traditional Change.



## **Abbreviations**

BLA:	Baloch Liberation Army
BLF:	Baloch Liberation Front
BLUF:	Balochistan Liberation United Front
BNA:	Baloch Nationalist Army
BRA:	Baloch Republican Army
BSO:	Balochistan Students Organization
CDR:	Committee for the Defense of the Republic
CPEC:	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
CPN-M:	Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist
CTD:	Counter Terrorism Department
ELN:	Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional
EZLN:	Zapatista Army of National Liberation
FARC:	Fuerza Armadas Revolucionars de Colombia
IPKF:	Indian Peace Keeping Force
IRA:	Irish Republican Army
LeB:	Lashkar e Balochistan
LTTE:	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
NAGs:	Non-State Armed Groups
PFLP:	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PKK:	Kurdistan Workers Party
PKK:	Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan
PLO:	Palestinian Liberation Organization
SLA:	Symbionese Liberation Army
UBA:	United Baloch Army
WPU:	Women's Protection Unit



# Table of Contents

Abbreviations .....	i
Abstract.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Table of Contents .....	iii
Chapter One .....	1
Introduction and Overview .....	1
1.1. Introduction.....	1
1) Background of Study .....	1
2) Conceptualizing the Term Insurgency.....	2
3) Understanding the Phenomenon of Suicide Bombing.....	4
4) An Overview of Global Insurgencies .....	4
5) The Participation of Women in Baloch Insurgency.....	5
1.2. Thesis Statement .....	6
1.3. Research Questions.....	7
1.4. Research Objectives.....	7
1.5. Significance of the Research.....	7
1.6. Scope of the Research .....	8
1.7. Concluding Remarks .....	8
Chapter Two.....	9
Literature Review and Research Methodology.....	9
3.1. Introduction.....	9
3.2. Literature Review .....	9
3.3. Conceptual Framework.....	15
3.4. Research Methodology .....	17
3.5. Thematic Analysis.....	19
3.6. Concluding Remarks .....	21
Chapter Three.....	23
The Cases of Women’s Participation in Global Insurgencies.....	23
3.1. Introduction.....	23
3.2. The Armed Women in the Kurdish Movement.....	23
3.3. The Armed Women in LTTE Sri Lanka .....	25
3.4. The Armed Women in FARC and ELN Colombia.....	27
3.5. The case of Chechnya .....	29

<b>3.6. The Case of Palestine .....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>Concluding Remarks .....</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Chapter Four .....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>Analyzing Women’s Participation and a Non-Traditional Change in Baloch Insurgency .....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>4.1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>4.2. Determinants Inspiring Women to Participate with Baloch Insurgent Groups .....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>4.3. Women and Terrorist Acts.....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>4.4. Non-Traditional Occurrence of Women in Baloch Insurgency .....</b>	<b>52</b>
1) The Case Study of Shari Baloch.....	54
2) The Case Study of Noor Jehan .....	56
3) The Case Study of Mahal Baloch.....	58
<b>Concluding Remarks .....</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>Findings and Conclusion .....</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Appendix – A .....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Thematic Analysis .....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Appendix – B .....</b>	<b>xiv</b>
<b>List of Interview Questionnaires .....</b>	<b>xiv</b>
<b>Appendix – C.....</b>	<b>xv</b>
<b>Informed Consent Letter.....</b>	<b>xv</b>

# Chapter One

## Introduction and Overview

### 1.1. Introduction

#### 1) Background of the Study

Insurgency refers to a violent rebellion against a government or other established authority, typically carried out by a non-state actor. Insurgencies can take many forms and can arise from a variety of grievances, including political, economic, social, and religious factors. Insurgents often use guerrilla tactics such as ambushes, sabotage, and hit-and-run attacks to achieve their objectives. The participation of women in armed conflicts and insurgency is not an unprecedented phenomenon.

History witnesses that warfare has not been the men's game only rather women stood side by side with men and participated in a range of conflicts ranging from intra-state to inter-state, revolutions, and insurgencies (Jessica Trisko Darden, 2019). Jessica et.al (2019) explained in their magnum opus "Insurgent Women" that the old concepts of saying goodbyes to warfighter husbands, giving them hugs, and kisses, and staying at home and praying for their return have put been to rest in modern times (Jessica Trisko Darden, 2019). Women now fight along with their husbands for the cause of their nation, culture, ethnicity, and religion (Jessica Trisko Darden, 2019, p. 8).

The Baloch insurgency has seen different phases. The inception can be traced back to the events of the partition of the subcontinent in 1947 when Khan of Kalat wanted an independent state for himself. The first insurgency was followed by different waves in 1958, 1963, and 1970, and during the reign of President Musharraf in 2002 when Baloch tribal leader

Akbar Bugti defied the state (Nasar, 2022). During these phases, the insurgency was limited to Balochistan, but it has now extended to other parts of the country and is targeting foreigners, particularly the Chinese. However, currently, women are also witnessed participating with insurgent groups in Balochistan.

## **2) Conceptualizing the Term Insurgency**

The term insurgency is as old as regular warfare. Militarily and economically, powerful nations have been through guerrilla warfare and covert attacks (Hack, 2009). Throughout the history of warfare, smaller groups and rag-tag militias have made use of hit-and-run to stun and confuse regular armies (Hack, 2009, p. 5). Guerrillas can also demoralize nation-states by waging insurgencies (Hack, 2009, p. 5). In most cases, insurgencies can weaken governments that have lost popular support due to corruption and mismanagement (Jomalesa, 2017).

Since the scope of the term insurgency is wide-ranging, it requires a deep understanding and scholarly analysis to understand the term logically. Though there are many definitions of the term ‘insurgency’ available in scholarly literature, however, this research study follows the work of different scholars and journals. The entire conceptual framework of the term ‘insurgency’ rests upon the ideas and illustrations of the above-mentioned scholarly work.

For Janet I. Lewis (2020), the concept of ‘insurgency’ is an armed insurgency of a particular ethnic group within a state aiming to fight against a centralized government and state apparatus on ethnic grounds. Doing so requires insurgent groups to mobilize the local population against the state politically and ethnically (Lewis, 2020).

For M.M.S. Jomalesa (2017), the term ‘insurgency’ is a collocated military as well as political brawl intended mainly to deteriorate the legitimacy and power of an established government and to replace it with their own self-styled ideological and ethnic grounds (Jomalesa, 2017). To overthrow or weaken the control of an established government and its



legitimacy, insurgents employ political, ethnic, religious, social, ideological, and diplomatic. International, domestic, and economic means (Jomalesa, 2017, p. 3).

The editor of the Britannica website (2021) has explained the term ‘insurgency’ as the synonym for revolutionary warfare which is a protracted struggle trying to overthrow an established government or get separated from the territory and form a separate territorial and ideological identification (Britannica, 2021). To carry out their operations, insurgents forge an environment of terror through raids, sabotage, guerilla attacks, and ambushes. In their guerilla operations against state apparatus and armed forces, insurgents seek help from the local population (Britannica, 2021).

Simon Pratt (2010) views insurgency as a civil war based on power asymmetry between the belligerent factions in which the feeble group is constituted as the insurgent, while the stronger is characterized as the government (Pratt, 2010). The core aim of insurgents is to control the government’s legitimate power through the social and ideological manipulation of the local population (Pratt, 2010).

This research venture has conceptualized the term ‘insurgency’ in the light of scholarly work and concluded that insurgency is a systematic and organized mobilization of the local population by a group of rebels aiming to weaken the control of a government or to fight against the state apparatus to form a separate political and ethnic identity. They carry out guerilla tactics against the state security forces as well as against civilians to create an environment of terror. They seek help from multiple internal and external sources such as diplomatic, economic, ethnic, religious, and cultural, and help from the local population to sabotage an established system.

### **3) Understanding the Phenomenon of Suicide Bombing**

Suicide bombing is also not a new phenomenon. In several cases, insurgent groups have used women as a tool for suicide bombing to either assassinate the leaders or target the civilian population. For instance, on May 21, 1991, a female was recruited by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) to blow up Rajiv Gandhi – the then Prime Minister of India – when he was in an election campaign to get re-elected (Cooper, 2014). Jakanal L. Thomas and Kanisha D. Bond (2015) in “Women’s Participation in Violent Political Organizations” have logically discussed the participation of women in violent conflicts around the world. For them, in international politics, women’s participation in the commencement, conduct, and resolution of the conflicts – both historically and in contemporary insurgencies and civil wars – has remained an important field of concern for societies around the world (Bond J. L., 2015).

However, Suttan (2009) in “The Rising Importance of Women in Terrorism and the Need to Reform Counterterrorism Strategy” views the participation of women in insurgencies, violent extremism, and terrorism as an old phenomenon. For him, history witnessed that women have been playing an intrinsic part in insurgencies and violent conflicts throughout the world (Suttan, 2009). Therefore, suicide bombing has been an integral part of insurgencies throughout the history of global insurgencies.

### **4) An Overview of Global Insurgencies**

Insurgencies have been a persistent feature of international relations for centuries, and they continue to be a major challenge for governments around the world. Insurgencies have been fought in many countries, including Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Colombia, and Nigeria, among others. The causes of insurgencies are complex and can vary from region to region. In some cases, they arise from political or ethnic grievances, such as demands for greater autonomy or recognition of minority rights. In other cases, they are driven by economic factors,

such as poverty or unemployment. And in still other cases, they are fueled by religious or ideological beliefs. Insurgencies are typically difficult to defeat, as they often have the support of a significant portion of the population and can operate in areas where the government has limited control. Governments may respond with a range of measures, including military force, negotiations, and economic incentives.

The study of Cindy D. Ness (2005) has addressed global insurgent and insurgency cases in different parts of the world. He found cases in Russia, India, Sri Lanka, Palestine, Germany, and other parts of the world – where women have actively participated in insurgencies and violent extremism, and terrorism. Among them, women's participation in the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), Hamas, Al Qaeda, Communist Party of India (Maoist), Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, Bader-Meinhof Gang in Germany, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Black Widows of Chechnya, Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia (FARC), Islamic State, and the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) are just a few cases that world has experienced and is experiencing today as well (Ness, 2005).

##### **5) The Participation of Women in Baloch Insurgency**

The participation of women in insurgencies and revolutionary warfare in these nations is said to be an inspiration for women to fight side by side with their men against the state. Pakistan's largest province – in terms of land – Balochistan also has the largest coastline, transit trade routes, and Gwadar port. This makes the province geo-strategically important. Unfortunately, it is wrecked by sectarian strife, and widespread militancy, and is an ethnic cauldron because of the diverse nature of its population (Nasar, 2022). The Baloch separatist movement has been threatening the national interests of the country for years and has allowed foreign entities like India to intervene and take advantage of the turmoil (Nasar, 2022).

The suicide bomb attack by Shari Baloch – an educated, research scholar and a schoolteacher – on April 26, 2022, that killed three Chinese teachers in Karachi is a vivid example of the new phase of the Baloch insurgency which seems dangerous (Nasar, 2022). The incident has unbolted a new scholarly debate on the occurrence of women in the Baloch insurgency. The trend setter in a suicide bombing has inspired other women like Noor Jehan, Mahal Baloch, and Sumaiya Qalandarni Baloch. More rapid women's participation in the Baloch insurgency will set new standards of gallantry, sacrifice, and awareness. Therefore, this research enterprise is attempted to address the academic gap which covers the non-traditional occurrence of women in the Baloch insurgency.

## **1.2. Thesis Statement**

In the past, Baloch insurgency was never associated with the active participation of women to conduct violent tasks. However, in the wake of participation of women has changed the patterns and the conduct of the Baloch insurgency. The conduct of suicide bombings and other violent tasks by women has embarked on a non-traditional occurrence in the Baloch insurgency. The success story of Shari Baloch has inspired other women to join BLA and contribute to the struggle of the Baloch ethno-nationalist separatist movement. Following the footsteps of Shari Baloch, other cases of attempted suicide bombing by women named Noor Jehan, Mahal Baloch, and Sumaiya Baloch reinsured a non-traditional shift in the BLA strategy to fight against the state. There is a possibility that the first trend settler would inspire more women to contribute to the struggle of Baloch insurgents. It would pave paths for easy recruitment and radicalization of women to participate. However, the participation of women in Baloch insurgency is induced by many factors such as the desire for a separate homeland, family vengeance, Baloch nationalism, and socio-economic deprivation.

### **1.3. Research Questions**

1. What drivers inspire women to participate in Baloch insurgent groups?
2. What are the unconventional tasks women doing to facilitate the Baloch ethno-nationalist separatist movement?
3. What is the relevance of global cases of participation of women in banned insurgent and violent political groups with the Baloch insurgent movement?

### **1.4. Research Objectives**

This research venture is meant to investigate and understand the following objectives with the help of primary and secondary sources of data:

- To study and address the cases involving women in global insurgencies and their relevance to this research study.
- To investigate the phenomena of radicalization or indoctrination that drive women to conduct extremely violent tasks of suicide bombings.
- To investigate the non-traditional change in Baloch insurgency.

### **1.5. Significance of the Research**

This research is meant to address the academic dearth regarding the fresh phase of the Baloch insurgency with particular emphasis on women's participation and recruitment in the insurgency. The suicide attack against the Chinese at Karachi University by Shari Baloch and followed by case studies of Noor Jehan, Mahal Baloch, and Sumaiya Qalandrani Baloch sponsored by the BLA has resulted in the start of the new phase of Baloch insurgency. Therefore, studying the direct involvement of women in the Baloch insurgency will address the academic gap.

## **1.6. Scope of the Research**

The scope of research will address many concerns related to women's participation in insurgency. First, it will shed light on the factors that are driving women to participate in the insurgency. This knowledge could be used to develop more effective strategies for countering the insurgency. Second, it negates that the position of women in a particular society or region to participate in their struggle of liberation. This is important, as women have often been excluded from the socio-economic process in Balochistan. Finally, this research would contribute to our understanding of the role of women in insurgency movements around the world and relevance to the case of the Baloch insurgent movement in Pakistan.

## **1.7. Concluding Remarks**

In conclusion, with the help of scholarly approaches and literature, this chapter has conceptualized the term insurgency and addressed the cases of global insurgency and insurgency in Balochistan. The chapter has set grounds to explore a new phase of Baloch insurgency by addressing the latest cases of women's participation with armed groups. Additionally, the chapter has also pinpointed the statement of the problem, research questions, and scope of the research. This way, the chapter has set grounds for the next chapter which aims to address the scope of existing literature and the methodological grounds for this research study.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Literature Review and Research Methodology**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

This chapter aims to address the scope and relevance of existing knowledge to this research study. The study has reviewed several journal articles, books, reports, news items, and data from archives. The reviewed literature is authored by renowned domestic and international academicians, and scholars. Additionally, the chapter also has addressed the mythological grounds for this research study. The study has employed both–primary and secondary sources of data collection. A conceptual framework has also been developed to address the standpoint of the research. Last but not least, a set of open-ended questions has been formulated to conduct the interviews from selected samples. Therefore, this chapter revolves around reviewing the existing literature and addressing the methodological mechanism.

#### **3.2. Literature Review**

Literature review, as defined by Krley (2019) is one of the important features of the research which is attempted to address the scope of the existing literature for unprecedented areas of research (Krlev, 2019). Glasziou (2001) is of the view that the review of the available literature is a systematic and analytical approach that aims to extract themes from available literature to make a relevant for a new research study (Glasziou, 2001). For Potter (2006), reviewing existing literature helps the researchers to address the research gap (Potter, 2006). Mewburn (2010) believes that a literature review is a tool that offers academic value to the study (Mewburn, 2010). However, for this research study, the following secondary sources of data are employed based on scholarly work on the participation of women in violent organizations and insurgent groups.

Arjuna Gunawardena (2003) in her work “Black Tigers: LTTE Terrorists”, based on Sri Lankan civil war, explains the reasons behind the participation of women in the insurgency. She elucidates that nationalism and the sense of separation were the driving forces of women’s participation in the Sri Lankan insurgency (Gunawardena, 2003). Due to various political and social reasons, they had a desire to establish an independent Tamil Eelam state. Therefore, a sense of separation and nationalism for a Tamil independent state led to the massive participation of women as fighters in the Tamil insurgency in Sri Lanka.

Laura Sjoberg and Caron E. Gentry (2011) in their magnum opus “Women, Gender, and Terrorism” have traced the rising participation of women with terrorist and insurgent groups in the world. They have analyzed the cases of women’s participation in Palestine, Afghanistan, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Lebanon, and Chechnya (Gentry, 2011). They are of the view that this century has witnessed an increasingly large number of women’s participation in armed conflicts particularly in carrying out suicide bombings, taking hostages, and hijacking airplanes (Gentry, 2011). Among them, the above-mentioned states are well known – where women have been actively seen collaborating with insurgent and terrorist groups.

Jakana I. Thomas and Kanisha D. Bond (2015) in their magnum opus “Women’s Participation in Violent Political Organization” have focused on the determinants of women’s participation in violent organizations. The study listed around 166 violent organizations across 19 African countries from 1950 to 2011 (Bond J. L., August 2015). The study also explained the importance of women’s participation in armed conflicts – which they believed – has great importance for violent organizations to carry out their secret and dangerous activities, conflict resolutions, and their conduct (Bond J. L., August 2015). The study suggests that the main determinants of women’s participation are primarily based on the contours of nationalism, economic means, socialization, culture, and sometimes blackmailing and kidnapping, or threats to family (Bond J. L., August 2015). The work women have historically been performing



included suicide bombings, resolutions, and as an individual soldier. The study revolves around violent organizations in the North American continent, Africa, and Asia. Therefore, the journal addresses the participation of women in violent organizations, their patterns, and the determinants that historically led to the participation of women in insurgencies and civil wars.

Reed M Wood and Jakana L. Thomas (2016) in their journal “Women on the Frontline: Rebel Group Ideology and Women’s Participation in Violent Rebellion” elucidate the variations and patterns of women’s participation in armed conflict and with insurgent groups globally. The study found that political ideologies play a central role in ensuring women’s participation in armed groups. Reed and Thomas used a cross-sectional study that addresses the participation of women in armed groups from 1979 to 2009 throughout the world (Thomas, 2016). The study found that the Marxist-oriented leftist political ideology has had a mammoth influence on women leading to their active participation in insurgent groups (Thomas, 2016). Thus, Thomas and Reed are of the view that not religiosity or nationalism but political ideologies like leftists have been the driving force behind the maximum participation of women with armed groups globally.

Mia Bloom and Hilary Matfess (2018) in their work “Women as Symbols and Swords in Boko Haram’s Terror” explained the case of women’s participation in Boko Haram’s armed conflict. The study found that most often women in Nigeria are forced to participate with armed groups. The insurgent groups in Boko Haram victimize women and forcibly ensure their participation in their fight against the state government. The abduction of young girls from schools and colleges by armed groups has been rampant in Boko Haram. They were trained, raped, and sent to commit suicide bombings. Therefore, the work of Bloom and Hilary found that no nationalism, political ideology, or any other determinants but coercive means have been employed by armed groups to ensure women’s participation in Boko Haram armed conflict.

Tiffany Tanner (2019) in “Explaining the Resilience of the Balochistan Insurgency” has elucidated the genesis and the major stakeholders in Baloch insurgency. The work addresses ongoing resilience in the Baloch insurgency. The study also addresses several factors responsible for the current resilience of the Balochistan insurgency. The author is of the view that the resilient in the movement has been driven by factors like the involvement of the middle class, unity among the insurgent groups, cyber and social media as tools in expanding their nationalist ideology, and the politics of grievances over Gwadar port (Tanner, 2019). With these manifestations, the author believes that ongoing resilience in the Baloch insurgency has been serving their political interests which is quite different from the past activities (Tanner, 2019).

Jessica Trisko Darden et.al (2019) in their indispensable work “Insurgent Women: Female Combatants in Civil War” elucidated international cases of insurgencies and the participation of women with insurgent groups. The book also addresses the reasons and driving forces that mainly led to the participation of women in insurgencies throughout the world. The book elucidates two major civil wars in Colombia and Kurdish in the middle east. Women associated with these civil wars mainly sided with insurgent and revolutionary groups. They fought against the writ of their respective governments (Jessica Trisko Darden, 2019). The driving force behind their participation includes neocolonialism and nationalism for a separate independent state based on cultural and lingual attributes (Jessica Trisko Darden, 2019). The participation of women in the Colombian civil war as armed soldiers was primarily based on the desire to detach the state’s ideological grounds and rid of the influence of colonialism. However, the Kurdish movement in the Middle East has grounds based on nationalism and a sense of separation from the existing state. Therefore, the book mainly addresses the core reasons and the driving forces on which women have actively participated in these two civil wars (Jessica Trisko Darden, 2019).

Ayesha Khan (2021) produced a thesis on the dimension of security and vulnerabilities of Balochistan. The work highlights the vulnerabilities faced by the state based on Baloch insurgency in the context of hybrid warfare. The core statement of the work addresses the causes of unrest and hybrid warfare in Balochistan. She viewed the unrest in Balochistan as exploitation by foreign agencies through waging the applications of hybrid warfare aiming to beget unrest in Balochistan (Khan, 2021). The unrest in Balochistan resulted in the destabilization of the country. Ayesha mainly focused on the dimension of security. The work did not address the participation of women in the insurgent groups.

Anne Preesma (2021), a student of MA Intelligence and International Security elucidates the participation of women with banned terrorist and insurgent groups in her article published in Kings College London. She traced the participation of Chechnian women as suicide bombers during their struggle against Russian forces (Preesma, 2021). The Chechnian women called themselves 'Black Widows' due to the loss of their husbands during the conflict (Preesma, 2021). Therefore, Preesma found that the main determinant of the participation of Chechnian women as suicide bombers and guerilla fighters due to the family reasons.

Yumna Fatima (2022) in her article published in Dawn Newspaper raised the issue of women's participation with Baloch insurgent groups. The article stated about the suicide attack in Karachi University carried out by Shari Baloch killing three Chinese nationals and one Pakistani national. The article also stated that the suicide bomber – Shari Baloch – voluntarily joined BLA's Majeed Brigade and carried out the suicide attack (Fatima, 2022). None in her family was missing nor anyone has been killed in the military operation (Fatima, 2022). The article, therefore, elucidated that the strategy of BLA to foment the sense of separation and ethno-national sentiments among the Baloch people has resulted in the participation of women like Shari Baloch with the BLA in Balochistan.

According to Kiyya Baloch and Akbar Notezai (2022), the participation of women with banned insurgent groups is a signal from the BLA that they represent a secular nationalist character in Balochistan (Notezai, 2022). The suicide attack carried out by an educated Baloch woman signifies the BLA as a secular and different group from other Muslim terrorist or insurgent groups in the region such as the Taliban and Al Qaida (Notezai, 2022). They also believed that the occurrence of women in the Baloch insurgency is expected to recruit more women for suicide bombings and other terror activities resulting in the intensification of the Baloch insurgency in the future (Notezai, 2022). Therefore, Kiyya and Akbar believe that the participation of women with banned insurgent groups represents a new phase of the Baloch insurgency.

Abubakar Siddique (2022) in his article “First Female Suicide Bomber Marks Paradigm Shift in Pakistan’s Baloch Insurgency” found that the participation of Baloch-educated women such as Shari Baloch signifies a non-traditional shift in Baloch insurgency (Siddique, 2022). Since 2002, Baloch banned insurgent groups have shifted their recruitment process (Siddique, 2022). The inclusion of women due to various reasons has strengthened the moral, physical, tactical, and strategic position of banned insurgent groups in Balochistan (Siddique, 2022). The future security patterns of Pakistan seem to experience more threats in the form of suicide attacks carried out by women, particularly against civil-military and foreign residencies in Pakistan (Siddique, 2022). The tactic of suicide bombing used by the leaders of violent non-state actors like BLA poses more threats to the security and military bases of Pakistan's armed forces due to the increased radicalization in the Baloch insurgency (Siddique, 2022).

Though the scholarly debate has raised the issue of women’s participation with violent non-state actors around the world in different time and space, the role of women in the Baloch insurgency is subject to research. The recent wave of women’s direct participation with insurgent groups in Balochistan such as the case of Shari Baloch and followed by other cases,

are sound witness to this view. Shari Baloch and Sumaiya Qalandrani Baloch carried out successful suicide attacks in Karachi and Turbat respectively. While Noor Jehan and Mahal Baloch were caught by security agencies. Therefore, this study has been carried out to fill the gap by addressing the non-traditional occurrence of women in the Baloch insurgency – particularly after the recent incidents of women’s participation with Baloch insurgent groups.

### **3.3. Conceptual Framework**

The conceptual framework for women’s participation in the Baloch insurgency is to address the factors and issues that have motivated women to participate in the insurgency. The conceptual framework for this research is derived from an extensive literature review and existing theoretical assumptions to create a relationship between the reasons and drivers that inspired women to join non-state armed actors globally and in the context of Balochistan.

Historically, the Baloch insurgent groups had had a patriarchal approach and setup which kept women aloof from participating with these banned groups. Since 1948, the command and control and the carry out of the missions like suicide bombing or guerilla fighting against the Pakistan armed forces had been carried out by the Baloch men in different times and spaces. However, the recent events of suicide bombings carried out by the Baloch women like Shari Baloch and Sumaiya Qalandrani Baloch and other females such as Noor Jehan and Mahal Baloch alleged their attempts to conduct suicide attacks. These females witness a change in the Baloch insurgency from being traditional and patriarchal to a secular and Marxist-leftist group resulting in the growth of the Baloch insurgency and threats to the internal security of Pakistan.

The participation of women in insurgent groups in Balochistan results from several factors including political, economic, social, and other factors as well. One of the main determinants is the marginalization of the poor class in Balochistan which fuels ethnonationalism in the

region. The ethnonational factor has been most common in armed conflicts throughout the history of civil wars, terrorism, and insurgencies in the world. The inclusion of female combatants in non-state groups affects the relationship between the group and the civilians who support it (Soomro, 2019). The basis of ethnonational ideas primarily legitimizes the group's position due to the belief that its grievances may have strong reasons because of women's participation. In terms of women's participation with banned Baloch insurgent groups, the involvement of female combatants may inspire civilian members to either directly join the BLA or aid them in a closed society like Balochistan (Soomro, 2019). Moreover, the occurrence of women in the Baloch insurgency has established a cultural symbol that aims to inspire more females to actively participate in banned groups.

Non-state armed groups (NAGs) with a gendered ideology are more likely to search out female combatants for recruitment (Thomas & Wood, 2018). Women's participation as combatants and insurgents in non-state armed groups is evident in those societies where male and female representation in terms of socio-economic opportunities, is parallel (Thomas & Wood, 2018). Such as Marxist-leftist groups in Columbia and now in Balochistan. The occurrence of women in the Baloch insurgency is a response against repression and marginalization.

The desire for leftist and armed groups to engage female combatants may also be influenced by strategic considerations. Women may be willingly recruited by armed groups that need to mobilize a large portion of their force because they would act as an "additional labor force" (Thomas & Bond, 2015). The occurrence of women in the Baloch insurgency as an additional labor force employed by playing roles like guerilla fighters, informers, facilitators, and mobilizers. The non-state armed groups also execute specialized labor" that aims to employ stereotypes of femininity (Thomas & Bond, 2015: P. 490). Thus, those female combatants conduct violent tasks like suicide bombings to break the stereotypes attached to them such as in the case of the Baloch insurgent movement in Pakistan. Moreover, female combatants are

perceived as being "more pacific, more caring, and less physically dangerous than men," giving them better access to civilians and their operation areas (Thomas & Bond, 2015: P. 490).

In 1939, Dollard, Miller, Sears, and Doob established a link between frustration and radicalization to explain the changing behavior of people from normal behavior to violence – particularly when people fail to achieve desired goals (Ojo, May 2022). Later, this assumption was developed further by Miller in 1941 and Leonard in 1969 (Ojo, May 2022, p. 9). According to Miller, the aggressive behavior of people leads to anger and frustration (Ojo, May 2022, p. 9). The ultimate results of the frustration lead to resistance, violent conflict, bad activities, violation of existing law and order, and uprising of a group of people against the state (Ojo, May 2022, p. 9). The frustration and anger of the women in Balochistan are triggered under the guise of traumatic experiences such as human rights violations, forced disappearances of family members, inequality and marginalization have been pushing women towards more radical and violent forms of activism. Therefore, frustration and anger are becoming prominent drivers for women to involve directly with the Baloch insurgent movement.

### **3.4. Research Methodology**

In the field of social sciences, two key methodologies of research are often used broadly as standard methodological strategies to conduct research studies. These two methods are known as qualitative and quantitative research methods (Walliman, 2006). Out of these two methods for the conduct of research, qualitative is mostly used in social sciences. For qualitative method is more organized and relevant in terms of identification, qualification, and analysis of data in research work (Walliman, 2006, p. 71). The core of this approach is primarily based on the construction not testing of ideas, concepts, and theories, and tries to find out the meaning of already constructed ideas and concepts in social sciences (Walliman, 2006, p. 72).

However, due to the requirements and the nature of this research venture – which is exploratory– the qualitative method of research has been employed. The data collected for the fulfillment of the research is based on the applications of the qualitative method. The qualitative method has been employed to address the research questions, research statement, and the gap in research by collecting and analyzing the primary and secondary sources of the data. This research study has been carried out for an academic vision. This study aims to add further knowledge about the non-traditional occurrence of women in the Baloch insurgency. For primary data collection, the study has conducted interviews with 7 female and 7 male participants and 2 respondents from media and journalism – particularly those who better knew the drivers behind the inspiration of women working with BLA. Following the requirements of the research study, the age of respondents has revolved around 28 to 40 years. During the interviews, respondents’ feasibility, their time, and other research ethical grounds have been taken into consideration. The respondents belonging to Balochistan have been selected – particularly those who are greatly familiar with the topic. The questions of interviews are comprised of open-ended questions and thematic analysis has been carried out. The respondents of Balochistan belong to different cities such as Turbat, Khuzdar, and Quetta, and a few of them are currently based in a foreign country and Islamabad due to ongoing conflict in Balochistan. The identity of the respondents has remained confidential and consent letters have been signed by them due to the nature of the research topic. Among the respondents, two of them are chosen because their extended family members have been forcibly disappeared by security forces as told by them. Among the respondents, two of them are human rights activists, and another is an author and advocate for women's rights in Balochistan. One respondent is a political figure in Balochistan and holds a doctoral degree in political sociology but the identity and political affiliations are kept confidential as per requirements of the research ethics. Other respondents are active members of civil society in Balochistan and studying at various well-



known universities in Pakistan. Moreover, as for the secondary sources, relevant books, articles, journals, and opinions have been employed.

### **3.5. Thematic Analysis**

Thematic analysis has an important place in the qualitative approach of the research. The method is employed to analyze the data such as interviews, texts, recordings, transcripts, videos, and pictures that help to understand a particular meaning, idea, and themes linked to a particular study (Caulfield, 2019). In other words, the thematic approach includes a set of tools that help the researchers to collect and interpret the data or any social phenomenon (Caulfield, 2019). The codes and themes are used to interpret and contextualize the phenomenon (Boyatzis, 1998).

The approach has flexibility and openness that helps researchers in understanding in-depth views of any social issues (Yardly, 2004). It also helps to recognize, establish and set patterns, themes, and meanings from any abstraction (Caulfield, 2019). The method gives a path to collect the specific ideas for a particular set of ideas (Clarke, 2006). The process of thematic analysis assigns a set of codes and themes in understanding complex ideas through methods like acquainting data, creating preliminary codes, probing for themes, retrospection of strong themes, explaining and naming themes, and finally, generating reports (Clarke, 2006, p. 4). These categories make a sound mechanism for producing themes and codes for a vague idea.

#### **1) Collection of Complex Ideas**

This part of thematic analysis implies that a researcher should implicate himself/herself in listening, watching, and reading the ideas and vague meanings. Reading interviews, surveys, and reports, watching videos, and listening to audio are the key aspects that help a researcher

to formulate notes. Thus, this phase implies a researcher gets acquainted with reliable data from available data (Clarke, 2006, p. 5).

## **2) Creating Codes**

After acquainting oneself with available data, the second step of thematic analysis is the creation of a scheme. The coding scheme is the basic step towards data analysis in a thematic approach that starts with extracting codes through deep scrutiny of available data. The process helps to create labels and a summary of data (Clarke, 2006, p. 5). Therefore, a coding scheme is undertaken in organizing data to express the research statement and questions.

## **3) Catalyzing Themes**

This is the third step in thematic analysis which begins with catalyzing themes by turning coding schemes into an inclusive theme. In this process, listing codes and preparing of best possible themes help in addressing the core aim of the research questions (Clarke, 2006, p. 6).

## **4) Creating Strong Themes**

This stage implies that a set of coherent and sound themes be arranged. This stage is meant to retrospect already generated themes research has recognized pursuing to scrutiny soundness and coherence of themes concerning addressing the topic and question (Clarke, 2006, p. 7). The creation of themes sets two precedents – the exclusion and inclusion of themes: inclusion of relevant themes and exclusion of themes include ideas considered obsolete in terms of the topic of the study (Clarke, 2006, p. 7). Hence, this part helps to produce strong themes that help to address the research questions.

## **5) Naming Themes**

This phase is the finalization of themes into an appropriate, unique, and specific field of study. The naming and elucidation of themes provide a concrete set of information in a nutshell. The process also defines and shapes some vague pieces of data into a compact set of phrases.

To sum up, the thematic analysis provides pliability for the collection, interpretation, and construction of data into a concrete form of themes and coding schemes that fulfill the required explanations of the said study. Since the study has employed a subjective approach – the roots of the study are based on personal judgment and interpretations of data. The deductive thematic approach has been employed to analyze the data on women's participation in insurgency: a case of the Baloch insurgent movement in Pakistan. The codes and themes are extracted from interviews collected from said sampling population. For each of the interview questions and the view of respondents, a thematic analysis has been used to extract relevant and concrete information on the topic.

## **3.6. Concluding Remarks**

To sum up, this chapter has investigated and addressed various international cases of insurgency involving women as key participants. Women's participation with non-state actors in Palestine, the Middle East, Sri Lanka, and Chechnya has been examined. The participation of women in each region varies due to their geographical landscape, socioeconomic environment and power dynamics. However, there is semblance in the tasks and objectives. The fight of Palestinian, Kurdish, and Sri Lankan women has been concerned with liberation. They have a desire for a separate nation based on their respective cultural characteristics. Therefore, the participation in the armed struggle of the LTTE, FARC, ELN, Hamas, and Black

Widows represents the same goal. The chapter helps to examine and contrast the international cases of women's participation in the Baloch insurgency in the next chapter. The chapter provides a common ground that can be used to address the tasks and contributions of women working for the Baloch insurgent groups in Balochistan. Therefore, this chapter is a crucial part of the thesis for it has set grounds for the next chapter that seeks to examine and address the contributing determinants responsible for the participation of women with Baloch insurgent groups.

## **Chapter Three**

### **The Cases of Women's Participation in Global Insurgencies**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

In international relations, the insurgency has been persistent for years and continued as a challenging force for the governments globally. Insurgencies have been fought in many countries, including Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Colombia, and Nigeria, among others. The causes of insurgencies are complex and can vary from region to region. The impact of insurgencies can be severe, including loss of life, displacement of populations, and economic disruption. They can also have broader regional and international implications, as they can destabilize neighboring countries and contribute to the spread of terrorism and other forms of violence. Overall, insurgency remains a significant challenge for governments and policymakers around the world and requires a nuanced and multi-faceted approach to address the complex underlying causes of these conflicts. Therefore, this chapter is attempted to address international cases of insurgencies with particular emphasis on the participation of women, the contributing factors, and different tasks assigned to women. The chapter also provides a link and grounds for this research study – which assumes that women's participation with banned Baloch insurgent groups is a new phase of the Baloch insurgency.

#### **3.2. The Armed Women in the Kurdish Movement**

Women have been actively participating in the Kurdish armed conflict since 1978 – particularly when Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan (PKK) – a Kurdistan Workers' Party was founded to fight for a separate homeland for Kurds in Syria, Iraq, and Turkey (Editor B. , 2022). Since 1984, this violent political organization has been operating in the mountainous regions of Turkey, Iraq, and throughout the Kurdistan region. The organization has been working to

fight asymmetric warfare against Turkey, Iraq, and Syria and is aiming to establish a separate Kurdish nation by amalgamating the Kurdish majority regions (Editor B. , 2022).

As for the participation of women, since 1978, the PKK violent political organization has been controlled and led by women and men collectively. The political leadership of the organization is equally distributed among men and women (Matfess, 2017). In other words, the organization is non-gendered and believes in the emancipation of women. Since then, around 40 percent of the organization is influenced by the participation of women (Matfess, 2017).

Moreover, several factors stimulate the participation of women in the Kurds' insurgence movement. The first and foremost factor is the emancipation of women through equality in social behavior, education, health, and actions to prevent domestic violence against women (Matfess, 2017). The organization also promotes equality in leadership and every cadre. For instance, two female founding members, Sakine Cansiz and Kesire Yildirim enjoyed leadership roles in their respective times (Matfess, 2017).

The second contributing factor is the political legitimacy and the achievement of political objectives through the participation of women because women can easily be exploited in suicide bombing and other malign acts (Reardon, 2018). In 2018, *the Guardian* – a London-based newspaper – reported that in 1990, the PKK had carried out fifteen successful suicide bombings out of which eleven suicide bombers were women (Reardon, 2018).

The third contributing factor is campaigning for women's rights and liberation which can help the organization to inspire women and increase its membership (Reardon, 2018). The organization principally follows the Marxist approach (Reardon, 2018). The Marxist approach of the organization compels them to initiate an equal platform for men as well as for women (Reardon, 2018). The participation of women in the militant organization has shifted the firm

into a feminist organization working to liberate and emancipate women (Bloom, Bombshell: Women and Terrorism, 2011).

Last, but not the least, the lack of female education leads to the exploitation of women in the name of the preservation of nation and culture. Since its establishment, the PKK has been recruiting a host of women from the countryside – particularly those who are illiterate and can be manipulated easily (Bloom, Bombshell: Women and Terrorism, 2011). The organization is currently influenced by men and women equally at political and leadership levels aiming to promote women's emancipation, rights, and liberation, and to seek a separate nation for Kurdish living in Turkey, Iraq, and Syrian borders.

### **3.3. The Armed Women in LTTE Sri Lanka**

In Sri Lanka, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) is considered a secular and violent non-state actor formed in 1975 to establish a separate Tamil state within Sri Lanka (The history of the Tamil Tigers, 2009). This non-state group – under the central command of its national leader 'Vellupullai Prabhakaran – has a history of killing civilians, assassinating national and external leaders and politicians, and members of other militant groups (Swamy, 2004 ).

The organization is also famous for its gendered approach. Women were recruited as soldiers, commanders, leaders, and suicide bombers to carry the mission of the group. To ensure women's participation in the group, the 'Sea Tiger Leader' wing controlled by women was established as a separate wing to deal with ranks and cadres of women (Swamy, 2004 ). The participation of women in the LTTE was ensured after seven years of the formation of the group to carry out the logistical operations. Moreover, the creation of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in 1983 further increased the participation of women in the LTTE (Alison, 2004). Alison writes in his work 'Armed Violence and Poverty in Sri Lanka' that there was around 20

to 30 percent of women in the LTTE and about 6000 women cadres had lost their lives in their fight against the government of Sri Lanka (Alston, 2004).

As for the contributing factors behind the participation of women in the LTTE, not the awareness of feminism but rather poverty, personal, nationalist, and ideological motives convinced Tamil women to ensure their volunteer participation in the group (Joshi, 2000). Women's emancipation and liberating women from the outdated Hindu and Tamil values were also one of the main contributing factors for women to participate in the LTTE (Joshi, 2000). Though the constituencies of the groups were mainly based on a patriarchal mindset within the cadres of the group, equality was always ensured among men and women to carry out the political agenda (Joshi, 2000).

The group entitled women with political propaganda and terms such as 'Freedom Birds' and 'Birds of Paradise' aimed to manipulate women cadres and ensure maximum participation of women for political gains (Schweitzer, 2003). The group formed a women cadre called 'Black Tigresses' to carry out suicide bombings internally and externally (Schweitzer, 2003). Black Tigresses represented around 24 percent of women (Stern, 2003). Almost 316 were arrested and used in suicide bombings (Stern, 2003). On May 21, 1991, Rajiv Gandhi – the then Prime Minister of India – was assassinated by a woman who belonged to the 'Black Tigresses' women cadre (Stern, 2003). The most prominent women of the LTTE include Velupillai Tharshini (Aka Durga), Vidusha (aka Vidusha Iniya), Thamilini (aka Subramaniam Sivathai), and Dhanu (Thenmozhi Rajaratnam), who served as combatants, military instructors, spreading propaganda, mobilizers, informers, and as suicide bombers (Stern, 2003). Velupillai served as a combatant in the organization, Vidusha served as a military instructor, Thamillini remained a prominent leader and served as a propaganda activist, and Dhanu blew up herself to kill former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on May 21, 1991 (Stern, 2003).



Summing up, since the society was male-oriented, women's emancipation was political propaganda used by the LTTE to ensure women's participation in their fight against the state. Women were exploited and killed throughout the years of conflict. They were motivated to wear suicide bombing belts, use guns, and kill their people. Equally, many self-motivated women sacrificed their lives for the liberation and emancipation of women, but no fruits were cropped.

### **3.4. The Armed Women in FARC and ELN Colombia**

During the Cold War era from 1947 to 1991, the world was divided into two blocs – the communist and the capitalist – backed by the former Soviet Union and the United States of America (Charles W. Bergquist, 2001). The South American continent was an epicenter in terms of the sphere of influence for communists and capitalists. The struggle for political power and sphere of influence and the fear of Americans had culminated in the formation of different leftist organizations in South America (Charles W. Bergquist, 2001). The Fuerza Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC), and Spanish Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN) were established as two major leftist militant political organizations in 1964 aiming to promote Marxist ideology in Colombia (Charles W. Bergquist, 2001).

Since the FARC and the ELN formed as leftist militant political organizations, the participation of women was the foremost priority aimed at ensuring equality between men and women (Eriksson, 2017). The organizations welcomed women's participation and ensured gender issues as their topmost priority. Since then, women had participated in high ranks – both in the army as well as in political leadership (Eriksson, 2017). Since the 1960s, around 30 to 40 percent of armed fighters in FARC and ELN have been women – contributing as leaders, soldiers, and activists (Tordjman, 2012). It was estimated that around twenty thousand women registered in FARC in 2000 and about seven thousand in 2016 in their armed struggle against

the Colombian government (Tordjman, 2012). However, about two thousand women registered in ELN in the initial days, while women's participation is around 25 percent – making ELN a strong militant force in Colombia (Tordjman, 2012). Moreover, during the 1970s, and 1980s, the ELN and FARC increased the participation of women and raised their ranks in leadership (Tordjman, 2012).

As for the contributing factors behind the participation of women in FARC and ELN – seeking political legitimacy, exploiting women in suicide bombings, conveying their leftist ideological principles, using women as a tool for dispute resolution and peace negotiations, and keeping their armed conflict alive have been addressed in academic work (Leech, 2012). The work of Jessica et. Al sums up the factors responsible for the active participation of women in Colombian armed conflicts. For Jessica et al. (2019), women's participation in FARC and ELN had three main motives: to forge leftist ideological commitment and enthusiasm in women, to seek women's support for armed activities like suicide bombing, and, to seek their support in peace negotiations with Colombian government (Jessica Trisko Darden, 2019).

However, as for women personally – as illustrated by Margaret Gonzalez in her work 'Guerrillas in Latin America' – most of them had chosen this path for several reasons. The love for leftist ideology and political struggle could be the top priority (Perez, 2006). Besides, the desire to bring social change, promote gender equality, and liberate people and women from traditional values – which they believed – had been the driving factor to their subjugation at the hands of the bourgeoisie, had also been addressed as the contributing factors behind the participation of women armed conflicts in Colombia (Perez, 2006). The political ideology of leftist armed groups in Colombia also raised hope for women to get themselves liberated from the traditional shackles (Perez, 2006). Therefore, it is to say that, participating in such armed conflicts was the only hope for women in Colombia to seek political shelter for the preferment of women's rights in the country.

The ELN and the FARC had prominent women serving as leaders, peace negotiators, kidnappers, informers, suicide bombers, and guerrilla soldiers and commanders. For instance, women like Victoria Sandino and Elda Neyis Mosquera (aka Karina) in the FARC, Maria Fernanda Perdomo (aka Marcela), and Maritza Morales (aka Sonia) in ELN are just a few names (Perez, 2006). Victoria Sandino served as a prominent leader and peace negotiator for the FARC, while Elda Neyis Mosquera served as a high-ranking FARC commander (Perez, 2006). However, Maria Fernanda Perdomo was involved in extortion and kidnapping, while Maritza Morales was a prominent guerilla commander in the ELN.

As for the success and failures of women's participation in such armed conflicts in Colombia, even in modern-day hybrid warfare, women actively participated with non-state armed groups and engage in peace agreements with the Colombian government. From the 1990s to 2018, the political leadership of women in FARC and ELN conducted peace negotiations with the Colombian government and contributed to the role of spokesperson in domestic as well as external environments (Santos, 2018). They have also been promoting women's rights, the rights of the poor, the liberation of people from outdated sources of living, and getting rid of bourgeois influences to raise the standard of the proletariat.

### **3.5. The case of Chechnya**

The Chechnya region is situated in the North Caucasus of Russia. The country has experienced a series of conflicts and violence over the years. The war between Russia and Chechnya from 1994 to 1998 resulted in the formation of Chechnian violent non-state actors. Their activities and attacks were characterized by female suicide bombers. The female fighters of Chechnya formed a separate female terrorist group named 'Black Widows' (Preesma, 2021). The name Black Widow characterized the symbol that women who lost their husbands during the conflict formed a group to fight against the Russian forces. The role of women in the two

Chechen wars (1994-1996 and (1999-2009) has remained tremendous due to various reasons (Report E. , 2016). The displacement, destruction of communities, loss of husbands and children, and other family members during the conflict resulted in the formation of the Black Widow insurgent group in Chechnya led by women (Report E. , 2016).

The USA designated terrorist group, such as Al-Qaeda, was the inspiration for Chechnian women because Al-Qaeda also employed female jihadis as suicide bombers in Afghanistan (Souleimanov, 2017). There are a host of other reasons contributing to the participation of women with violent non-state actors in Chechnya (Souleimanov, 2017). Due to the commitment and sense of sacrifice, Chechnian women fought alongside men to save their homeland from occupation by foreign forces. The other factor behind the participation of Chechnian women was to avenge the loss of their husbands who were killed during the conflict (Souleimanov, 2017).

Anne also argues that the ideological grounds of being Muslim fighting against the aggression of non-Muslims had also inspired Chechen women to take guns and fight with Russian forces on their soil (Preesma, 2021). To analyze the case of Chechnya, women are also prone to avenge the loss of their loved ones and family members. They are also taking part in ideological and national perspectives to seek a separate homeland for their ethnic-based society. They turn against their state and the government and see them as their enemy. Not all women in Chechnya are characterized and generalized by the notion of insurgency, but a greater population of women in Chechnya supported the cause and joined some other Islamist groups such as Islamic State in Syria and Iraq (ISIS) (Souleimanov, 2017). The prominent Chechen women who fought during the war include Zarema Muzhakhoyeva, Khava Barayeva, Aishat Inaeva, and Zulai Vainakhskaia are just a few names (Souleimanov, 2017). Zarema was a sniper and had marksmanship skills, Khava fought as a fighter alongside the male, Aishat was involved in combat operations, and Zulai had military leadership and fought alongside the

male against the Russian forces (Souleimanov, 2017). Thus, Chechen women had played a prominent role in defending their motherland from occupation by foreign forces.

However, this has set grounds for women in another part of the world where such conflicts and cases are rampant. In this case, the Baloch insurgency in Pakistan is no exception. Women are being indoctrinated by banned groups like the BLA and BLF aiming to achieve their political objectives. Therefore, the case of Chechnya also resembles the case of women's participation, and it has set determinantal grounds for women to support their ethnic groups against the writ of the state.

### **3.6. The Case of Palestine**

Women have also been seen participating in resisting groups in Palestine with different resistance groups at different time and space. In the Palestine resistance movement, women have been playing a very crucial role in a wide range of activities related to political activism and resistance against the illegal occupation of Palestinian territory by Israel (Balsamo, 2021). The participation of Palestinian women includes non-violent protests, arranging movements at grassroots levels, and advocating non-violation of human rights in Palestine by Israeli forces (Haner, 2019). Palestinian women have also played a leadership role in political and women's rights groups. The participation of Palestinian women in resistance groups has also been witnessed against the illegal occupation and human rights violation of Palestinians by Israel. Additionally, women have been participating with some resistance groups in Palestine which include the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Hamas, Fatah, Palestinian Women's Movement, and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (Balsamo, 2021).

Women in Palestine have actively participated in these resistance groups aiming to fight against the illegal occupation of Israel. The PFLP is a left-wing violent non-state organization. A female member of the PFLP, Leila Khaled, was a high-profile hijacker during the 1960s and

1970s (Kuttab, 1993). Ramea Odeh, a popular Palestinian female activist, was also a prominent member of the PFLP for she was convicted by Israel for her alleged involvement in bombing and targeting Israeli forces during the 1970s (Kuttab, 1993).

Hamas is another resistant Islamic and political group with a military wing in Palestine. Though the group is conservative, many women have been playing their role in mobilizing other women and men for the resistance against the illegal Israeli occupation (Haner, 2019). Ahlam Tamimi was a prominent Palestinian woman who participated in the resistance group Hamas in Palestine. Tamimi carried out the planning and execution of the 2001 Sbarro Pizzeria suicide bombing in Jerusalem (Kuttab, 1993). Similarly, Hanan Ashrawi and Samira Ibrahim were two other names of Palestinian women who played them as political and human rights activists in Palestine. Women in Palestine have also been participating with the PIJ- Palestinian Islamic Jihad, a Palestine-based politico-military group, engaged in resisting the atrocities and illegal occupation of Israel (Kuttab, 1993).

Women have been involved in propaganda efforts, and charitable, and social activities linked with the organization. Additionally, women have also been engaged with the Fatah group, a political resistance group in Palestine (Kuttab, 1993). Women have been assigned the task of demonstrations, organizing community-based resistance, and peaceful protests in Palestine against the atrocities of Israel (Kuttab, 1993). Last but not least, the Palestinian Women's movement is another non-state actor aiming to address gender-based issues, advocating the rights of women and contributing to the broader struggle of Palestine against Israel's illegal occupation.

## **Concluding Remarks**

This chapter has set grounds for the next chapter by addressing the participation and struggle of women in various international violent non-state actors or groups such as the role

of women in the Palestine liberation movement, civil war in Colombia, Kurdistan, Sri Lanka, and Chechnya. The armed groups such as the LTTE, FARC, ELN, Hamas, and Black Widows are just a few names. This chapter finds that patterns and struggles of women's participation vary from region to region and country to country, the motivation for the involvement of women with armed groups in every movement has unique political, social, economic, ethnographic, and personal characteristics leading to the active participation of women with violent non-state actors. Similar is the case of women in Balochistan. This chapter recognizes the need to compare with the case of the Baloch insurgent movement in Pakistan. The next chapter attempts to address the factors responsible for the participation of women with violent non-state actors in Balochistan, which has opened a new phase in the Baloch insurgency.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Analyzing Women's Participation and Non-traditional Change in Baloch Insurgency**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter aims to analyze the main determinants of women's participation in Baloch insurgent groups like BLA. The chapter has incorporated secondary as well as primary sources of data to address a new phase of the Baloch insurgency due to the appearance of women. Scholarly work has been linked with the interviews conducted with well-informed and associated persons. To address the interviews, a thematic analysis approach has been employed. Themes and coding schemes have been produced to address the interviews. The main concern of this chapter is to address the participation of women with banned Baloch insurgent groups like BLA and the driving forces inspiring women to join the banned groups. The chapter also aims to address a non-traditional occurrence of women in the Baloch insurgency.

#### **4.2. Determinants Inspiring Women to Participate with Baloch Insurgent Groups**

The contributing factors responsible for the participation of women with insurgent and violent non-state actors are still debatable among academicians and scholars. Many believe that the cases of rape, family vengeance, and restoration of honor are said to be the main determinants (Pape, July 25, 2006). On the other hand, the spirit of ethno-nationalism, desire for a separate homeland, indoctrination, illiteracy, oppression, and restoration of basic rights, are said to be the contributing factors that assist in the participation of women with violent non-state actors (Pape, July 25, 2006). The cases of indoctrination, early nurturing, and the personal subjugation of a woman can also be the determinant factors contributing to the participation of



women in violent acts (Pape, July 25, 2006). However, in the case of Balochistan, the province has been engulfed by many challenges like poor health facilities, poverty, and illiteracy (Soomro, 2019). It is bounded by tribal culture and constitutes the lowest population density as compared to other provinces of Pakistan. People in Balochistan follow the traditional culture where mainly male members dominate, and females are confined to domestic chores and staying in their households (Soomro, 2019).

The female members are dominated by the male members and are marginalized and disempowered (Soomro, 2019). Thus, historically, women did not participate with insurgent groups, instead, they took care of children and homes. However, the recent wave of women's participation in banned insurgent groups like BLA has marked a new era of insurgency in Balochistan. There are numerous factors responsible for the participation of women in banned insurgent groups. Among many factors, the following are driving factors inspiring women to participate in banned Baloch insurgent groups in Balochistan.

### **1) Ethno-Nationalism**

The ethno-national factor has been most common in armed conflicts throughout the history of civil wars, terrorism, and insurgencies in the world. The inclusion of female combatants in non-state groups affects the relationship between the group and the civilians who support it. The basis of the ethno-national idea primarily legitimizes the group's position due to the belief that its grievances may have strong reasons because of women's participation. In terms of women's participation with banned Baloch insurgent groups, the involvement of female combatants may inspire civilian members to either directly join the BLA or aid them in a closed society like Balochistan (Soomro, 2019). Moreover, the use of Shari Baloch and Sumaiya Qalandrani Baloch has established a symbolic name "Branch" as a cultural symbol

that aims to inspire civilian females to actively participate with banned groups in the region (Soomro, 2019).

Female combatants are seen as "more pacific, more caring, and less physically dangerous than men" in comparison to male combatants (Bond J. L., 2015). As Viterna (2013) states, due to the soft image, trustworthiness, and less threatening nature of women, violent non-state actors usually expand their membership and appeal through the trick of ethno-nationalism (Viterna, 2013). The view of Viterna can also be implemented in the Baloch insurgency because the participation of women on ethno-national grounds is set to expand the support for banned groups like BLA, due to the trustworthy, and less threatening nature of women. However, during interviews, a Baloch female respondent said:

“Women are being indoctrinated by the banned groups like BLA, BLF, and BSO Azad to fight against the state for their cause. There are male and female influencers and mobilizers using ethno-national slogans to expand the network of banned groups among civilian women in Balochistan” (Respondent, Women’s participation in Insurgency: A case of Baloch insurgent movement in Pakistan, 2023).

Another Baloch male respondent contributed to this point by saying:

“Ethno-nationalism is the core of BLA’s strategy to mobilize and gather the support of civilian males and females for their activities in the country. Among those female cases, the participation of women like Shari Baloch and Sumaiya Qalandrani Baloch are just a few names who wanted to devote their life to the cause of Baloch nationalism” (Respondent, 2023).

Therefore, with the recent wave of women participation in banned groups, the female members of BLA are approaching sympathizers to join them in their cause and find new members as well. The case of Shari Baloch and Sumaiya Qalandrani Baloch resulted in a potential tactical change within the structure of the BLA leading to more participation of women with banned groups (Fatima, 2022).

## **2) The Desire for a Separate Homeland**

The desire for a separate homeland is also known as a major determinant leading to the participation of women with violent non-state actors. Jessica Davis writes in “Women in Modern Terrorism”, the desire for a separate homeland, oppression, and restoration of basic rights can be a strong motivation for suicide bombers (Davis, January 30, 2017).

During the interview with a journalist on the motivation behind women’s participation. The female activist believed that the era of the 1990s was a turning point in the Baloch insurgency because the struggle for basic needs and provincial autonomy was replaced with the struggle for a separate homeland. He said:

“The desire for a separate homeland has been the core of Baloch insurgency since the 1990s. The shift in Baloch insurgency from provincial autonomy to a separate homeland in the 1990s has inspired many men and women to participate voluntarily with banned groups like BLA. However, these days, women are actively participating with banned insurgent groups like BLA, BLF, and BSO Azad either voluntarily or through other means. The motivation behind their participation primarily lies in the notion of a separate Baloch homeland.” (Journalist, Women's Participation in Insurgency: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan, 2023).

However, during an interview with a Baloch journalist on the inspiration of women's participation in insurgent groups, he asserted that after the death of Akbar Bugti – a Baloch tribal leader – banned groups such as BLA started working on the exploitation of women under the guise of a separate homeland for the people of Balochistan. He said:

“The rise and fall of a Baloch tribal leader Akbar Bugti had embarked on a new phase of insurgency in Balochistan because the struggle for the fulfillment of basic needs and provincial autonomy was replaced with the idea of a separate homeland for the people of Balochistan. This inspiration and doctrine have been adopted by groups like BLA, BLF, and BLUF. These banned organizations have expanded their network by including women as guerrilla fighters, suicide bombers, informers, and social mobilizers. Women are actively participating to join in the struggle for a separate homeland for the Baloch people.”  
(Journalist, 2023).

The stated interviews suggest that a desire for a separate homeland is also one of the key motivations for women's participation in banned insurgent groups in Balochistan.

### **3) Family Vengeance**

The motivation behind women's participation with violent non-state actors is still debatable among scholars and academicians to sketch a final profile. Davis (2017) is of the view that in most cases, suicide bombers are not uneducated, or poor, rather they hold degrees in different fields and are financially strong as well (Davis, January 30, 2017). In such cases, vengeance for a family member including a brother, husband, and father can also be the source of women's participation with violent non-state actors (Davis, January 30, 2017). Robert Pape in his book 'Dying to Win' writes that determinants such as the revenge of members of the

family or any sexual assault can be the source of women's participation with violent non-state actors (Pape, July 25, 2006). While interviewing a female Baloch activist, she said:

“The collateral damages during operations conducted by the armed forces are two major factors leading to more participation of Baloch men and women with banned insurgent groups. The killing of two students of Quaid-i-Azam University in 2020 in Balochistan by armed forces during a clash between armed forces and banned groups has produced more anger among educated women and men. Therefore, to take vengeance, women like Shari Baloch, Mahal Baloch, and Noor Jehan are voluntarily joining banned groups.” (Respondent B. M., 2023).

Besides, another Baloch female also shared her view on the topic. She was of the view that the issue of missing persons has also angered the young educated generation in Balochistan.

“The anger of women and men over the issue of missing persons has been the source of women's participation with banned insurgent groups. The injustice with the family members of missing persons leaves them no choice but to join banned groups, take weapons, and take the vengeance of their loved ones from the state's security apparatus. This has been the key source of women's participation with banned groups in Balochistan. On the other hand, the local agents of the banned insurgent groups approach those victimized families and mobilize them to become suicide bombers or guerrilla fighters (Female, 2023).”

The primary sources of the research have also found that the vengeance for the member of the family is also a contributing factor in expanding the network of banned insurgent groups in Balochistan. Missing Baloch people, collateral damages during operations conducted by the armed forces, and injustice to victimized families have turned out to be the key sources of motivation for women to join violent non-state actors.

#### **4) The Cases of Rapes**

The cases of rape are also being accounted for by women's participation with violent non-state actors. The idea to reclaim honor in society often compels women to take weapons and avenge the rape. Anne Speckhard (2008) in her paper "The Emergence of Female Suicide Terrorists" women bombers most often carry explosives in their wombs instead of children due to the loss of their social image and honor after being raped in a male dominant society where injustice is rampant in terms of women (Speckhard, 2008). Social image and honor are often challenged when cases of rape occur particularly in patriarchal social structures of power (Speckhard, 2008). The rampant injustice in male dominant societies left women with the few choices, such as to become terrorists to restore their honor in society (Speckhard, 2008). To reclaim their honor, women join violent non-state actors. For instance, the Tamil women in Sri Lanka raped at government checkpoints were left with no choice but to join violent non-state actors, take weapons, or become suicide bombers aiming to avenge and reclaim their honor (Speckhard, 2008).

The close members of the family can also become the source of manipulation of women. The factor of pride in the family creates pressure on women resulting in their participation in banned groups (Speckhard, 2008). However, in case of the Balochistan, though the power structure is male-dominant, no such cases are found or highlighted. Instead, banned

insurgent groups recruit women to beget a sense of shame among the male members of the society.

On women's participation after being raped, almost respondents shared the same view. Among them, one male respondent said:

“The participation of women with violent non-state actors in Balochistan has nothing to do with rapes. There are no such cases that could compel women to join banned groups, rather there are other socio-political and cultural reasons” (Baloch M. , 2023).

Therefore, the participation of women helps the banned groups like BLA and BLF to expand the network of their membership among the male members of the society by exploiting the patriarchal mindset and membership and suicide acts of women.

### **4.3. Women and Terrorist Acts**

The inclusion of female combatants encompasses a variety of reasons, as was previously argued. However, this dissertation asserts that the contribution that women make as "specialized labor" or "additional labor," as noted by Bond J. L., (2015) is important. The BLA has been at war with the Pakistani government for almost 20 years, and over that time, its situation has become worse. When kinetic operations begin, non-state armed groups frequently struggle to find recruits – especially for specialized jobs like suicide attacks. They now see the rationale for enrolling female members (Soomro, 2019). The BLA's current situation makes it highly likely that they may have been dealing with a recruitee shortage. The activities carried out by women are of numerous kinds ranging from suicide bombing, mobilizers, informers, and diplomats to guerrilla fighters. The detail of every task assigned to women by the band groups is discussed below:

## 1) Women as Suicide Bombers

The motivation for women to become suicide bombers is a complex phenomenon and depends upon the circumstances involved. What motivates women to become suicide bombers is still debatable among academicians and scholars. Everyone has their point of view on addressing this issue. For instance, some academicians believe that the motivation for women to become suicide bombers is deeply rooted in the structure of power in their respective countries. Meanwhile, for other scholars, social and political issues like rape, the desire for a separate homeland, political oppression, and suppression of women's rights contribute to the motivation for women to become suicide bombers.

Moreover, suicide bombers have largely personal and political motivations to carry suicide bombings. For instance, the assassination of Indian Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 was carried out by Dhanuvarsha, a female member of the LTTE in Sri Lanka. The motivation for Dhanu was political in nature (Bloom, *Bombshell: Women and Terrorism*, 2011). Additionally, other such names include Hasna Aitboulahcen in November 2015 Paris attacks, Sajida Mubarak Atrous al-Rishwai in the 2005 Amman bombings, and Wafa Idris in the 2002 suicide bombing in Jerusalem (Bloom, *Bombshell: Women and Terrorism*, 2011). However, in the case of women in Balochistan, becoming a suicide bomber is their personal or the choice of their families. In the case of personal motivation, educated women like Shari Baloch participated with insurgent groups and became suicide bombers due to the desire for a separate homeland. One female respondent opined:

“The main motivations for women to become suicide bombers are either personal or impersonal. Personal in a sense that they feel proud to blow themselves for the cause of a separate homeland, while the factor of impersonal resulting due to the pressure from family and



friends. This way, the case of Shari Baloch is personal while Mahal Baloch is blamed as a suicide bomber by the security forces. Mahal Baloch never intended to conduct any attack. She was living in Quetta with her kids. Although, she raised her voice against the illegal disappearance and killing of her family members. Now she has been labeled as a criminal by the security forces.” (Respondent F. , 2023).

The violent non-state actors often prefer women for suicide bombing because of their less threatening nature and behavior of women. For instance, as Mia Bloom writes, “The assassination of ex-Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi was carried by a Tamil Tiger’s female member through suicide bombing (Bloom, 2015)”. Despite this, women in the Colombian civil war, the Kurdish movement, and Shari Baloch in Balochistan are some other cases of women’s participation with banned insurgent groups as suicide bombers. On the participation of women with banned insurgent groups, a female respondent contributed based on anonymity. She said:

“The suicide attack carried by Shari Baloch has been the first case of suicide bombing in the Baloch insurgency. Before Shari Baloch, there was no such case reported. However, the Majeed Brigade of BLA considers itself a secular nationalist group and different from other Muslim nationalist or terrorist groups such as Tehreek – i – Taliban and Al Qaida. Thus, this century marks a new phase in the Baloch insurgency after the inclusion of women as suicide bombers” (Respondent M. , 2023).

The investigation of the motivation for women to become suicide bombers has widely been discussed and debated by various scholars at different times and places, however, the contributing factors include personal and impersonal factors. In the case of Baloch women,

there are also personal and impersonal factors inspiring women to become suicide bombers. Therefore, through consent or by force, both tactics are being employed by the banned insurgent groups in Balochistan.

## **2) Women as Informers**

In conflicts, women have played different roles in global insurgencies including collecting and sharing information for their respective groups. The degree of their involvement may vary depending on the insurgencies, societies, cultures, and geographies. The participation of women with violent non-state actors as informers is seen in different parts of the world. Terrorist groups such Al-Qaeda, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), the Taliban, and FARC are just a few mentions. However, women such as Mata Hari, Valerie Plame, and Melida Anaya Montes have worked as informers for their respective causes (women and Terrorism, 2019). Mata Hari, a Dutch dancer, turned to become a famous spy of Germany during World War I (women and Terrorism, 2019). She was accused of spying for Germany by collecting information from Allied forces (women and Terrorism, 2019). While Valerie Plame was an official of the CIA, worked for the intelligence agency of the United States covertly to provide secret information about nuclear proliferation (Bhattacharya S. , 2019). Melida Anaya Montes, an analyst at the United States Defense Intelligence Agency, spied and collected secret information from Cuban secret intelligence (Bhattacharya S. , 2019).

In the case of the Baloch insurgency, women are also involved in spying and gathering secret information from locals and officials. A female respondent opined during an interview:

“Many female and male students in universities and official places are employed by the banned groups to gather specific information to plan a suicide attack in educational and military institutions. Females at local levels also provide intel to the banned groups for every activity in

particular areas of Balochistan. This way, banned groups make their plans accordingly and expand their network as well” (Respondent M. , 2023).

S. Mahmood writes in “Negating Stereotypes: Women, Gender, and Terrorism in Indonesia and Pakistan” that there are personal and political motivations for women to participate with violent non-state actors. He analyzed two case studies: one on Indonesia and a second on Pakistan. He found that there were personal and political motivations for women in both countries. Women are caught working for violent groups as intelligence gatherers, and infiltrators, in community engagement, communication and courier, and planning logistics in Pakistan and Indonesia (Mahmood, 2019). On such views, during an interview with a male Baloch respondent, she explained almost the same thoughts on the participation of women as informers. He said:

“The recent wave of Baloch insurgency is quite strong and dangerous because they have included women as members and fighters to fight against the armed forces of the country and plan guerrilla attacks on foreign officials and Pakistan’s paramilitary forces. Women perform a range of activities including intelligence gathering, infiltration, community-engagement, communication and courier, planning and logistics” (Respondent M. B., 2023).

Another female respondent shared her point of view on secret tasks performed by women in Balochistan which are yet to be made public. She said:

“Women in Balochistan have been seen as informers of the banned groups. They are involved in various activities which are not public yet. These tasks include monitoring and observing surroundings and of

security forces, addressing targets, identifying vulnerabilities, assisting communication between locals and members of banned groups, providing safe houses to members of banned groups, planning targets, acquiring and transporting weapons, recruiting new members, coordinating of different issues, delivering messages and so on (Respondent M. B., 2023).”

In addition, women play a special role in violent non-state groups that goes beyond suicide missions. The group can still benefit more from them if they perform tasks like providing access, information, shelter, and mobility, among others (Wood D. M., 2020). Female combatants may engage more readily in information-seeking missions and interact more openly with civilian females in a closed society like Balochistan where cultural norms restrict the interaction of male and female members. Moreover, having female members strengthens the legitimacy of a group’s position by increasing support for it (Wood L. T., 2018).

In addition, these elements may have been crucial in the BLA’s decision to incorporate female members, as it would increase the group’s legitimacy, size, access, and tactical advantage to shift in operating strategy. The change in operating strategy by BLA certainly indicates a non-traditional shift in the Baloch insurgency. Thus, women have played a crucial role in armed conflicts ranging from taking care of families to fighting side by side with men. In the wake of Shari Baloch, a cadre of women has been formed by the BLA and BLF to gather information about the locals, officials, paramilitary security forces, foreigners, and armed forces in the country.

### **3) Women as Facilitators and Mobilizers**

Women can perform numerous tasks within violent insurgent and terrorist groups, such as informers, guerrilla fighters, and mobilizers. Historically, the role of women has been

overlooked in debates on insurgencies and terrorism, but in the twenty-first century, women's participation in conflicts and violent groups has become a subject of debate among scholars and academicians (Carter, 2013). In modern-day terrorism and insurgencies, women perform their roles in the process of recruitment and radicalization, propaganda and communication, fundraising and logistics, intelligence gatherers, combatants, guerrilla fighters, and mobilizers. S. Mahmood shares a few such cases of women who performed their tasks as facilitators and mobilizers for insurgent and terrorist groups (Carter, 2013). For instance, Tawakkol Karman's (a Yemeni activist and Nobel Peace Prize laureate) role as a mobilizer during the Arab Spring in Yemen, Samantha Lewthwaite (also known as a white widow), a British woman, married 7/7 London bombers and is suspected as the mobilizer and facilitator of Somalia-based extremist group Al-Shabaab (Eggert, 2017).

Additionally, Hayat Boumeddiene, a French woman, is suspected of facilitating Amedy Coulibaly (one of the perpetrators of the Paris attack of 2015) through logistic support (Eggert, 2017). Last but not least, Asha al-Wafi, who was allegedly involved in the 9/11 attacks in the United States, is an advocate for terrorist groups (Eggert, 2017). The FARC in Colombia had also recruited women such as Victoria Sandino, and Elda Neyis Mosquera Alias who facilitated and mobilized other women and expanded the network of the FARC among women in Colombia (Eggert, 2017). During the Sri Lankan civil war, the LTTE women such as Subramaniam Shivathai, and Dhanu alias Gayatri played significant roles in mobilizing and facilitating Tamil women to expand the LTTE network in Sri Lanka (Eggert, 2017).

Additionally, in North America, Catalonia, and Ireland, similar cases have been investigated. Dolours Price and Marian Price were two vigilant female members of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) who participated with the IRA during the Northern Ireland conflict and facilitated and mobilized a host woman that helped the IRA to enhance its membership among women (Bigio, 2019). However, Sara Jane Olson and Katherine Ann Power were two

female figures who participated with insurgent groups in North America during the epoch of the 1970s (Bigio, 2019). Katherine was a member of the left-wing group Weather Underground while Sara was involved in the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) in the United States (Mahmood, 2019). Additionally, Yolanda and Neus Casanova are two names of female Catalonian separatists. Yolanda was a member of the Basque Separatist Groups ETA and Neus was involved with the Committee for the Defense of the Republic (CDR), a pro-independent movement in Catalonia (Mahmood, 2019).

During the interview with a male Baloch respondent on how women have been taking part in facilitating and mobilizing other women for the violent non-state actors, he said:

“Women are being recruited by the banned insurgent groups in Balochistan. They assign different tasks to them. For example, suicide bombing, fundraising, local support, safe hiding, messages, and communication, operational roles, mobilizing local women and men, and so on are the main roles assigned to women by the banned groups in Balochistan. Not only the illiterate, but the educated women are also taking part voluntarily to carry such roles” (Respondent B. M., 2023).

Women such as Noor Jehan, Mahal Baloch, and Shari Baloch were approached by the mobilizers and facilitators. Those facilitators and mobilizers are allegedly women working as members of the banned groups. Many of them are educated, local women. They have political and personal motivations. One male Baloch respondent said:

“On local levels, educated women like Shari Baloch, Mahal Baloch, and Noor Jehan are brainwashed and mobilized by the local women. There are female cadres in the BLA and BLF. Educated and most specialized women are being recruited to facilitate and recruit more

women to carry their terrorist activities easily” (Respondent B. M., 2023).

The stated cases of women participating in violent groups have addressed that women have been significant members of armed conflicts. They can play highly crucial roles ranging from taking care of families to fighting side by side with men. The cases of women participating in international insurgencies and violent activities are said to be the inspiration for banned groups like the BLA and BLF to carry out violent acts with ease. Therefore, they have modified the structure and culture of the organizations from male dominance to a secular and gender-based one where not only men but women can also help them achieve their political objectives.

#### **4) Women as Guerilla fighters**

Last but not least, the role of women in insurgent and violent groups can vary from region to region but guerrilla fighting has been common among many violent groups. Many women have participated in various conflicts as guerilla fighters. Among them, violent groups such as the FARC in Germany, the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in the Middle East, Sandinista in Nicaragua, Zapatistas in Mexico, LTTE in Sri Lanka, Peshmerga in Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria, Women’s Protection Unit (WPU) in Syria, Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) in Mexico, and the PLO in Palestine are the most frequently spelled organizations which employed women as guerrilla fighters (Haner, 2019). They have socialist, Marxist, and leftist ideological grounds aiming to seek independence and form a separate homeland based on ethno-lingual grounds from their respective governments (Haner, 2019).

However, women as guerrilla fighters in such violent organizations include Tania La Guerrilera from Argentina, Roza Shanina from the former Soviet Union, Margarita Martinez from Mexico, Leila Khaled from Palestine, Sivakami from Sri Lanka, Marighella Moraes from Brazil, Teodora del Carmen Vasquez from El Salvador, Ana Maria from Colombia, and Nawal

El Saadawi from Egypt, are just a few names among many female guerilla fighters in global insurgencies and terrorism (Haner, 2019). The role they have played within their respective groups vary but in common, arranging protests and resistance against oppressive regimes, fight for social justice and equality, political activism, advocate the indigenous rights and rights of women, and for the cause of a separate homeland based on ethno-lingual grounds (Haner, 2019). The case of Balochistan, however, is no exception here. The women are inspired and recruited by the banned groups on account of missing persons and the marginalization of the poor and women in the province. A male respondent stated:

“If women have put on guns and bombs and started fighting on behalf of the banned groups is merely the result of injustices and marginalization of the poor and women in the province. The landlords – equally the bureaucrats and other officials pay little attention to the grave issues faced by the people of Balochistan. This whole spectrum creates a situation of being victimized and marginalized society which results in the motivational factors for women to become suicide bombers” (Respondent M. , 2023).

The sympathy for the banned groups among the educated youth of Balochistan has been increasing due to the corruption and feudalism in Balochistan. As a result, the young educated youth of Balochistan become subject to the exploitation of local politics and family pressure. Resultantly, they happily devote their life to the cause of violent non-state actors. A male respondent opined:

“The narrative of the state has been weakening due to the increase of social media and the leftist education in Balochistan. A bulge of the youth in Balochistan with consent moved towards the banned groups



to seek a separate nation for themselves and to rid of the so-called state oppression. In such cases, one can find the example of educated women like Shari Baloch, Noor Jehan, and Mahal Baloch. Shari Baloch, with her own choice, became a suicide bomber for the BLA and blew up herself without thinking about her husband, father, and children. Noor Jehan and Mahal were almost doing the same but caught timely. Thus, the whole scene is worrisome news not only for the state but for the people of Balochistan on how the youth is being exploited and mitigated for the political objectives of perpetrators” (Baloch M. , 2023).

The cases of women’s participation with banned insurgents and violent groups are not a new phenomenon, rather it is as old as the history of human beings on planet Earth. The epoch of the 1960s and 1970s throughout the world has been a turning point in the history of intra-conflicts and inter-conflicts. The socialist-Marxist and leftist-separatist ideologies have been witnessed in the global political arena to decolonize the states based on ethno-lingual grounds. This led to the emergence of separatist movements in Asia, Africa, North America, and Europe. As a result, not only men but women were also made significant members of the organizations to carry out suicide missions, diplomatic, and political roles, roles as informers and mobilizers, and guerrilla fighters to achieve their desired political goals. Therefore, Balochistan has been one of those places where insurgent groups have sought the participation of women to carry out their notorious operations against foreigners, civilians, officials, paramilitary and armed forces of the country.

#### **4.4. A Non-traditional Change in Baloch Insurgency**

In different regions, the involvement of women in armed conflict is documented. Among the few instances, there are female members of the LTTE in Sri Lanka, Al Qaeda, Hamas, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), Bader-Meinhof Gang, the Islamic State, and Columbia's FARC (Taylor, 2009 ). However, Baloch society is conservative and male-dominated where participation of women in the armed conflict has remained aloof, but this is not the case in the modern-day Baloch insurgency. The Baloch armed groups have begun recruiting women to target the Chinese and the civilian population in the country. The non-traditional occurrence of women in the Baloch insurgency has taken place. The patriarchal armed groups are shifting to become gendered through the maximum participation of women. A female respondent stated:

“Baloch insurgency is no longer a gender-restricted field, but an open and flexible platform where everyone can play their role. The new shift in Baloch insurgency is the result of social media and the increase in the literature on the Marxist-socialist approach among Baloch students. The inclusion can challenge the well-disciplined strategic position of the Pakistan armed forces in Balochistan” (Respondent F. , 2023).

A common misconception about female combatants is that they are emotional and angry by nature (Bhattacharya S. , 2019). However, empirical research asserts that one of the primary factors for female combatants' motivation is their love for their fathers, husbands, culture, and the armed groups themselves (DeGroot, 2001). The motivation for females to pick up arms or blow themselves for the cause can vary from case to case. The case of Shari Baloch and Sumaiya Qalandrani Baloch as suicide bombers has revoked the traditional notions of female participation in armed groups. Traditional factors like lack of education, unawareness, and forced actions are denied in this case.

The participation of women like Shari Baloch and Sumaiya Qalandrani Baloch in a suicide attack has broken the traditionally stereotypical notions of a woman who refrains from indulging in violent acts. The involvement in a suicide bombing shocked the entire country and marked a new phase in the Baloch insurgency. These cases have been witnessed as a non-traditional change in the Baloch insurgency. The explicit occurrence of women is seen because women have been kept aloof from acts of terrorism since 1948. However, in 2023, the participation of women has been promoted by the BLA aiming to strengthen their acts and their position in the province. During an interview, a female respondent was asked about the non-traditional occurrence of women in the Baloch insurgency. She said:

“Yes, there is a new change in the Baloch insurgency. Before the participation of Shari Baloch, everyone was well aware of the male-dominant and patriarchal structure of the banned groups in Balochistan. It was due to the cultural constraints in the Baloch society where the females have been restricted within the four walls of the house. Adding women with insurgent groups to take guns and fight was considered a sin and a big crime in Baloch societies. However, recent cases like Shari Baloch and Sumaiya Qalandrani Baloch are witness to the fact that the banned groups have replaced the Baloch cultural values with modern Western values. (Respondent, 2023).

Therefore, this shift embarks on a new phase of the Baloch insurgency. The cases of recent violent acts carried out and planned by women are discussed below through an academic approach that significantly addresses the non-traditional occurrence of women in Baloch insurgency from a male-dominant and patriarchal structure of power into a secular and gender-based structure by including women side by side with men.

## 1) The Case Study of Shari Baloch

Shari Baloch hailed from the Kech district of Balochistan (Siddiqui, 2022). She was a teacher by profession and taught in a secondary school in her native Kech (Siddiqui, 2022). She also had a master's degree in Zoology and an additional bachelor's (B.Ed.) and master's (M.Ed.) in education (Siddiqui, 2022). With such an excellent educational background, her decision to participate in suicide bombing is astonishing. (Siddiqui, 2022).

The driving factor behind the membership of Shari Baloch in the BLA came after her political activism in Baloch Student Organization (BSO) in 2020 (Siddiqui, 2022). She was secretly working for BLA, and no one was aware of her decision in the family (Siddiqui, 2022). Shari was the daughter of a district council member and a government official (Siddiqui, 2022). Her husband worked as a dentist and taught at Makran Medical College (Siddiqui, 2022). While her background is unusual for a suicide bomber, some reports speculate that her actions may have been motivated by her father's forced disappearance and her repeated legal battles that failed (Baloch S. , 2022).

While interviewing a female Baloch about the non-traditional occurrence of women in Baloch insurgency, she said:

“The suicide attack carried by Shari Baloch under the directions of the Majeed brigade of the BLA is a turning point in the history of Baloch insurgency. Before this case, women have been kept aloof from violent activities and the patriarchal culture in Balochistan had never allowed any banned group to include women in such actions. However, the case of Shari Baloch has brought a new change in Baloch insurgency in terms of gender, and more recruitments of women are possible in future” (Student F. B., 2023).

Further, a Baloch journalist shared his knowledge on the participation of women with banned insurgent groups and about the non-traditional occurrence of women in Baloch insurgency. He was of the view that the suicide attack of Shari Baloch was a shocking piece of news for the people of Balochistan.

“We have never seen or experienced women participating in violent activities in the history of Baloch insurgency. This has been the first time that women like Shari Baloch, and Sumaiya Qalandrani Baloch were working for banned groups, because the cultural history of Balochistan has always restricted women to the four walls of the house, and they have been given a respected place in the society. Thus, a new shift in Baloch insurgency in the wake of women’s participation with insurgent groups has challenged the traditional values and core objectives of early Baloch insurgent groups” (Journalist B. , 2023).

The bulge of educated and young Baloch students is leading the ongoing Baloch insurgency. They inspire other educated male and female students to participate resulting in a shift in the Baloch insurgency. Another female Baloch respondent shared her views on the participation of women with banned insurgent groups in the following way:

“The currently banned insurgent groups are led by a bulge of young and educated Baloch youth. They have changed the previous patterns and structure of the insurgency. The early movement was masculine in nature in which women were kept aloof, while the ongoing insurgency is led by educated Baloch students who consider themselves secular and socialist-nationalist. Thus, participation of women like Shari

Baloch and Sumaiya Qalandrani Baloch is a strategic weapon for them”

(Respondent F. B., 2023).

The inclusion of women with banned insurgent groups has an important place for Baloch insurgents to carry out their terrorist activities easily. A male respondent said:

“The inclusion of women by banned insurgent groups has shifted the conducted of the Baloch insurgency. The inclusion of women has become an important part of Baloch insurgency as women achieve their objectives easily comparatively than male members” (Student M. B., 2023).

Therefore, the participation of Shari Baloch with banned insurgent groups like BLA has provided grounds for a new phase of the Baloch insurgency. The banned groups have been shifted to gender-based participation including women as suicide bombers, guerrilla fighters, informers, and mobilizers.

## **2) The Case Study of Noor Jehan**

Noor Jehan was arrested with her male partner by the Counter Terrorism Department (CTD) during a raid in Turbat City of Balochistan on 16 May 2023 (Baloch B. , 2022). The arrested man is a member of banned BLA’s Majeed Brigade. During the raid, the CTD recovered a suicide jacket, six hand grenades, and some explosive material (Baloch B. , 2022). During the interrogation, Noor Jehan disclosed that more women are being trained by the BLA and its supporters like the wife of late Aslam Alias Uccho to carry out terrorist acts – particularly suicide attacks – against foreign nationals and armed forces of the country (Baloch B. , 2022). Noor Jehan also revealed that foreign funding is also being provided to the banned Baloch insurgent groups from foreign sources.

The case of Noor Jehan has also become a significant point in terms of a shift in Baloch insurgency from the old patriarchal structure into a secular position. When a participant was asked about the new shift in the Baloch insurgency, he said:

“The occurrence of Noor Jehan and other Baloch women is a shift within the structures of banned insurgent groups in Balochistan. Noor Jehan had to be indoctrinated or compelled by their families and relatives and the conditions of the society to commit suicide bombing. However, more women are expected to commit suicide bombings in the future because Baloch insurgents have employed a guerilla tactic to target officials and foreigners by exploiting women like Noor Jehan in Balochistan. The non-traditional change has taken place in Baloch insurgency due to the participation of women with banned Baloch groups which has threatened the security patterns in Pakistan” (Respondent M. , Women Participation with Insurgent Groups: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movemnet in Pakistan, 2023).

Another female Baloch respondent shared her view on non-traditional change in the Baloch insurgency as a result of women’s participation with banned groups in Balochistan. For her, a new shift has taken place in Balochistan due to the involvement of women with banned groups on account of various reasons.

“Women are being inspired through stories of different international insurgencies, civil wars, and revolutionary cases such as the civil war of Sri Lanka, Colombia, Syria, Palestine, and some others. The violent non-state groups are circulating the leftist socialist literature among women through different mobilizers aiming to mobilize them under the

guise of a separate homeland. The struggle of women in Sri Lanka, Syria, Kurdistan, Palestine, and Chechenia is being taught to them through different sources. Therefore, a non-traditional change has taken place in Baloch insurgency as a result of women's actions like Noor Jehan, Shari Baloch, Mahal Baloch, and Sumaiya Qalandrani Blaoch, and others are exploited and used for suicide bombing by banned groups like the BLA and BLF" (Respondent F. B., 2023).

Therefore, the participation of Noor Jehan Baloch with banned insurgent groups like BLA has provided grounds for a new shift in Baloch insurgency. The banned groups have been shifted to gender-based participation including women as guerilla fighters, suicide bombers, informers, and informers.

### **3) The Case Study of Mahal Baloch**

Mahal Baloch is another Baloch woman who was arrested by the Counter Terrorism Department (CTD) from Quetta (Female suicide bomber arrested in Quetta 'supported' BLF, 2023). According to the CTD, Mahal's husband is a member of BLF and she was forcibly prepared for a suicide attack. Mahal was among the missing persons who were later caught as a member of the BLF (Report S. , 2023). According to the CTD, the case of missing persons has become a part of BLA and BLF's part of propaganda (Female suicide bomber arrested in Quetta 'supported' BLF, 2023). They use this propaganda against the state's security forces to damage their value and trust and increase sympathizers for their violent activities (Female suicide bomber arrested in Quetta 'supported' BLF, 2023). However, in the wake of such incidents, the voluntary or forced participation of women with banned insurgent groups has resulted in a non-traditional change in Baloch insurgency. One female Baloch respondent supposed:



“Mahal Baloch is an educated woman. She was forced by her family and relatives to partake in banned groups in Balochistan. This shift in the Baloch insurgency has taken place due to the educated cadre of male and female members in the BLA and BLF. They have gone through a plethora of literature on revolutionary, leftist, and socialist events in the world. They are inspired by the work of socialist and revolutionist leaders like Vladimir Lenin of Russia, and Che Guevara. They have also been inspiring Baloch families and women to contribute to their cause. They have learned the tactics and methods how to motivate families and women to fight for their cause. Therefore, this is a new phase in the Baloch insurgency after the participation of women like Mahal Baloch has made the situation worse because the cadre of women is recruiting more women through their social mobilizers in the province” (Respondent F. B., 2023).

This way, the participation of Mahal Baloch with banned insurgent groups like BLF has set grounds for a non-traditional change in Baloch insurgency from patriarchal male-dominated roles to the participation of women as suicide bombers. The banned groups have been shifted to gender-based participation including women as mobilizers, suicide bombers, informers, and guerilla fighters.

## **Concluding Remarks**

This chapter has addressed factors of motivation and different tasks assigned to women in Balochistan by banned insurgent groups. The chapter, with the help of primary and secondary sources, has also pinpointed a non-traditional change in the Baloch insurgency – particularly keeping women’s participation as a turning point. With the help of well-informed

males and females from Balochistan, the chapter has found that women in Balochistan are involved in various activities linked with banned groups like the BLA and BLF. The motivations of women are based on the ethno-national, lingual, cultural, and desire for a separate homeland. However, the tasks assigned to women in the Baloch insurgency include informers, suicide bombers, facilitators, and mobilizers. The personal and political factors are resulting in the participation of women with the banned groups in Balochistan. In the end, the chapter has set grounds for the preceding chapter which aims to sum up findings and core areas of concern.

## **Findings and Conclusion**

The participation of women in conflicts and with violent non-state actors is not a new phenomenon. Historically, women fought side by side with men. However, in the wake of modern technology and the expansion of social media, the participation of women in armed conflicts has become visible in the world. The political scenario during the epoch of the Cold War (from 1945 to 1990) brought significant changes in the patterns of war. The use of guerrilla tactics and the participation of women in armed groups marked a significant shift in international conflicts. In such an environment, the insurgency in Balochistan is no exception. With the help of primary and secondary sources, this thesis venture has produced the following findings.

Firstly, the research study has investigated international conflicts and cases of women's participation with violent political organizations and insurgent groups and concluded the entire discussion by linking it with the non-traditional occurrence of women in the Baloch insurgency. On women's participation in armed conflicts and with insurgent groups internationally, this thesis has found and concluded that though women's participation with violent non-state actors is an old phenomenon, it has been expanded to its zenith during the epoch of the Cold War – when the two ideological and political rivals were in an indirect struggle over the sphere of global influence. The struggle for influence and political power between the United States and

the former Soviet Union resulted in civil wars and insurgencies in different parts of the world. North and South America, Asia, Africa, and Europe are the regions where conflicts erupted leading to the participation of women as suicide bombers, informers, mobilizers, and facilitators. The cases such as women in the FARC and LN (in Colombia), the PLO and PFLP (in Palestine), the LTTE (in Sri Lanka), CPN-M (in Nepal), IPKF (in India), PKK (in the Middle East), and IRA (in Ireland) are just a few mentions. These fascist, Marxist-socialist, and leftist organizations formed due to an indirect war between two superpowers based on ideological and political spheres of influence. Gradually, the patterns and the structures of these groups expanded throughout the world and impacted the very security and stability of the nations such as Pakistan. The Baloch insurgency is the outcome of these international events. However, the ongoing new phase in Baloch insurgency following the inclusion of women has primarily roots of inspiration from other international conflicts around the world. Therefore, the beginning of the Baloch insurgency and the recent non-traditional occurrence of women within the patterns and structures have solely taken place on account of the historical conflicts.

Secondly, the research study has investigated and discussed determinantal factors responsible for the participation of women violent non-state actors. With the help of primary and secondary sources, the thesis has concluded that women throughout the world and in Balochistan participate with violent non-state actors on account of several factors. The first and foremost factor is personal choice. Women have taken part in violent conflicts in Colombia, Sri Lanka, Syria, Iraq, Palestine, Cuba, Argentina, Catalonia, and other parts of the world due to their own choice. The choice has been influenced by the factors such as the protection of ideological and cultural norms, a sense of responsibility in the community, women's rights protection, the vengeance of the family and friends, cases of rape, and so on so forth. The other contributing factor is political motivation, which includes the sense of separatism, and a desire for a separate homeland based on ethno-lingual characters. The entire international conflicts

were held based on these two factors. Similarly, in terms of the Baloch insurgency, women are also inspired by these two factors at large. The fight for a separate homeland and the missing people from Balochistan has triggered educated women like Shari Baloch, Mahal Baloch, and Noor Jehan to commit heinous acts against the state. The study suggests that previous security policies be reconsidered and new policies be formulated while adopting new challenges to prevent suicide attacks and murder of innocent lives in the future.

Thirdly, this research study has also focused on the roles and tasks assigned to women by banned violent groups during the conflicts. To address this field of study, primary and secondary sources of data have been employed. After a deep analysis of primary and secondary sources of data, this thesis found and concluded that women were granted different operations at different places and times, and regions, but the common roles include suicide bombing, gathering and sharing sensitive and secret information, mobilizing other members of the society, efforts for diplomacy and reconciliation, facilitating and supplying arms and other required resources to the locals as well as to banned groups. These roles have been given to women by the LTTE in Sri Lanka, the PKK and the PLO in Palestine, Kurds in the Middle East, Chechens in Chechnya, the ELN, and the FRAC in Colombia. Similarly, the study found that women are also assigned the same tasks by banned Baloch insurgent groups in Balochistan. Therefore, the suicide attack carried out by Shari Baloch and Sumaiya Baloch, and failed attempts of Mahal Baloch and Noor Jehan, and the mobilization and recruitment of women by women are said to be the cases that vividly elucidate that women are also involved in different roles.

Fourthly, this thesis has also investigated a non-traditional occurrence of women in the Baloch insurgency – particularly in the wake of cases of suicide attacks by women like Shari Baloch, Mahal Baloch, and Noor Jehan. With the help of primary and secondary sources, the study has found and concluded that a new change has taken place in the Baloch insurgency.

The patriarchal, feudal, and traditional approach of the Baloch insurgency has been shifted to a secular and gender-based approach. The new approach has taken place due to the inclusion of women in banned groups with different roles. For instance, the cadre of women facilitate and mobilize new female members to carry out suicide attacks, collect secret and sensitive information, mobilize local members of families, and so on. Before 2021, there were no cases of participation of women with banned groups in the province. The history of the Baloch insurgency from 1948 to 2020 was primarily male-dominant and patriarchal in nature. Women were kept aloof from taking guns and carrying suicide bombs. It was due to the Baloch culture which is traditional, conservative, and patriarchal characters. Therefore, the active participation of women with banned Baloch insurgent groups like the BLA and BLF has resulted in a non-traditional change.

Finally, the non-traditional change in Baloch insurgency in the wake of women's active participation, the thesis has concluded that the recent wave of Baloch insurgency has posed severe implications to the security of Pakistan and the previous security patterns need to be changed. The new security policies be formulated by taking the participation of women with banned groups into consideration, because, the covert and guerilla tactics of Baloch banned groups, have challenged the established security mechanism in the country. Therefore, in the meantime, the non-traditional occurrence of women in the Baloch insurgency requires the state's security apparatus to bring a shift and address unprecedented challenges – particularly posed by the covert participation of women with banned Baloch insurgent groups in Balochistan.



## Bibliography

- Activist, F. (2023, April 08). Women's Participation in Insurgency: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)
- Alsion, M. (2004). Armed Violence and Poverty in Sri Lanka. *University of Warwick: Centre of International Cooperation and Security*.
- Baloch, B. (2022, may 18). Woman held for 'planning suicide attack' produced in court. *Dawn*.
- Baloch, J. (2022, march 02). *Shari Baloch*. Retrieved from Twitter: [https://twitter.com/Jam\\_\\_Baloch/status/1499022565217550343](https://twitter.com/Jam__Baloch/status/1499022565217550343)
- Baloch, S. (2021, dec 13). *Shari Baloch*. Retrieved from twitter: <https://twitter.com/Shariba67903532/status/1470391503570841606>
- Baloch, S. (2022, april 24). *Shari Baloch*. Retrieved from Twitter: <https://twitter.com/Shariba67903532/status/1517988099451621377>
- Balsamo, I. (2021, Feb 24). Palestine: The Role of Women in Conflict. *Peace for Asia*.
- Bhattacharya, S. (2019). Gender, insurgency, and terrorism: Introduction to the special issue. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 30(6–7), 1077–1088.
- Bhattacharya, S. (2019). Gender, Insurgency, and Terrorism: Introduction to the Special Issues. *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, 1077.
- Bigio, J. (2019). *Women and terrorism*. Council of Foreign Relations.
- Bloom, M. (2011). *Bombshell: Women and Terrorism*. Pennsylvania: Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Bloom, M. (2015). Mother, Daughter, Sister, Bomber. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist*, Vol.61, No.6, 54-62.
- Bond, J. L. (2015). Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations. *American Political Science Association*, Vol. 109, No. 3, 19.
- Bond, J. L. (2015). Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations. *American*.
- Bond, J. L. (August 2015). Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations. *American Political Science Association*, Vol. 109, No. 3, 488-504.
- Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development*. London: Sage Publications .
- Britannica, T. E. (2021, November 15). Insurgency. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/insurgency>
- Bryman, A. (26 Feb 2007). The Research Question in Social Research: What is its Role? *International Journal of Social Research Methodology Volume 10, 2007 - Issue 1*, 5-20.



- Carter, B. (2013). Women and Violent Extremism. *GSDRC*.
- Caulfield, J. (2019, Sept 6). How to do thematic analysis. *Scriber*.
- Charles W. Bergquist, R. P. (2001). Violence in Colombia, 1990–2000: Waging War and Negotiating Peace. *Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources*.
- Clarke, V. B. (2006, Jan). Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *ResearchGate*.
- Cooper, K. J. (2014, August 3). Leader Of India Falls From Power. *Military History Fandom*.
- CTD arrests outlawed Majeed Brigade's terrorist, woman in Turbat: Balochistan govt spokesperson. (2022, May 18). *Bol News*.
- Davis, J. (January 30, 2017). *Women in Modern Terrorism: From Liberation Wars to Global Jihad and the Islamic State*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- DeGroot, J. G. (2001). A few good women: Gender stereotypes, the military, and peacekeeping. *International Peacekeeping*, 8(2), 23–38.
- Dr. Bahadur Ali Soomro, S. M. (2019, May 21). Socio-cultural and economic obstacles faced by female students of Balochistan, Pakistan: An academic achievement perspective. *RSIS International*.
- Editor. (2023, Feb 07). Female Suicide Bomber Arrested in Quetta Supported BLF. *The Tribune*.
- Editor, B. (2022, Sept 29). Kurdistan Workers' Party. *Britannica*.
- Eggert, J. P. (2017, Aug 14). Women in Modern Terrorism. *LSE*.
- Eriksson, J. (2017). Women in Leadership and Sexual Violence—A Case Study of the Role of Women in FARC. *Uppsala University*.
- Fatima, Y. (2022, May 26). Female Suicide Bombers: What the state must do to prevent others from attacker's footsteps. *Dawn*.
- Female suicide bomber arrested in Quetta 'supported' BLF. (2023, Feb 19). *The Express Tribune*.
- Four Killed in Multiple Suicide Blasts in Maiduguri. (2018, May 4). *Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://t.guardian.ng/news/four-killed-in-multiple-suicide-blasts-in-Maiduguri/>.
- Gentry, L. S. (2011). *Women, Gender, and Terrorism*. Georgia: The University of Georgia Press.
- Glasziou, P. (2001). *Systematic reviews in health care: A practical guide*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gunawardena, A. (2003). *Black Tigers: LTTE Suicide Terrorism – the Sri Lankan Experience*. Leicester: University of Leicester, UK.
- Hack, K. (2009). The Malayan Emergency as Counter-Insurgency Paradigm. *Journal of Strategic Studies* 32, no. 3, 388.
- Haner, M. (2019). Women and the PKK: Ideology, Gender, and Terrorism. *Sage*.

- Jamal Baloch @Jam\_Baloch. (2022, march 02). Retrieved from Twitter: [https://twitter.com/Jam\\_\\_Baloch/status/1499022565217550343](https://twitter.com/Jam__Baloch/status/1499022565217550343)
- Jessica Trisko Darden, A. H. (2019). *Insurgent Women: Female Combatants in Civil Wars*. Georgetown: Georgetown University Press.
- Jomalesa, L. C. (2017). Basic characteristics of insurgency and the whole of government approach as counter-insurgency (the Philippines setting). *National Defence*, 19.
- Joshi, C. L. (2000, June 1). *Sri Lanka: Suicide Bombers*. Retrieved from Far East Economic Review: [http://www/faer.com/\\_0006\\_01/p64currents.html](http://www/faer.com/_0006_01/p64currents.html).
- Journalist. (2023, April 02). Women's Participation with Insurgents: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)
- Journalist, B. (2023, April 8). Participation of Women with Insurgents: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)
- Khan, A. (2021). Hybrid Warfare in Balochistan: Examining the Causes of Unrest. *NUST*.
- Kivunja, C. (2017). Understanding and Applying Research Paradigms in Educational Context. *International Journal of Higher Education Vol. 6, No. 5*.
- Knipe, N. M. (2006). Research dilemmas: paradigms, methods, and methodology. *Issues In Educational Research*, 16, 1-15.
- Krlev, G. (2019, May 14). The death of the literature review and the rise of the dynamic knowledge map. *LSE*.
- Kuttab, E. S. (1993). Palestine Women in the Intifada: Fighting on two Fronts. *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol.15, No.2, 69-85.
- L. Cohen, L. M. (2007). *Research methods in education (6th ed.)*. New York: Routledge.
- Lather, P. (1986). Research as praxis. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56 (3), 257-277.
- Leech, G. M. (2012). *The FARC: The Longest Insurgency*. London: Zed Publisher.
- Lewis, J. I. (2020). *How Insurgency Begins*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- M. Gall, D. J. (2003). *Educational research: An introduction (7th ed.)*. Boston: MA: Pearson.
- Mahmood, S. (2019). Negating Stereotypes: Women, Gender, and Terrorism in Indonesia and Pakistan. *School of International Studies*.
- Matfess, J. W. (2017). Exploding Stereotypes: The Unexpected Operational and Demographic Characteristics of Boko Haram's Suicide Bombers. *West Point, NY: Combating Terrorism Center at West Point*.
- Mewburn, I. (2010). *5 ways to tame the literature dragon*. London: Thesis Whisper.
- Nasar, R. (2022, May 24). Imperative to address Baloch insurgency. *Asia Times*. Retrieved from <https://asiatimes.com/2022/05/imperative-to-address-baloch-insurgency/>
- Ness, C. D. (2005). In the Name of the Cause: Women's Work in Secular and Religious Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28, no. 5, 353-373.

- Notezai, K. B. (2022, April 28). Pakistan: Woman suicide bomber change in Baloch rebels' strategy? *Aljazeera*.
- Ojo, S.O. (May 2022). Gender Issues, Insurgency, and Violence in Nigeria, Implications on Sustainable Development for Women. *International Journal of Humanities, Art and Social Studies (IJHAS)*, Vol. 7, No.1/2, 12.
- Pakistan: Woman suicide bomber changes in Baloch rebels' strategy*. (2022, April 28). Retrieved from Aljazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/4/28/pakistan-woman-suicide-bomber-change-in-balochrebels-strategy>
- Pape, R. (July 25, 2006). *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. Random House Trade Paperbacks.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods (3rd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks: CA: Sage.
- Perez, M. G. (2006). Guerrillas in Latin America: Domestic and International Roles. *Journal of Peace Research* 43, no. 3, 313–29.
- Potter, S. (2006). *Doing Postgraduate Research, 2nd edition*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Pratt, S. (2010). What is the difference between counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism? *E-International Relations*. Retrieved from <https://www.e-ir.info/2010/12/21/what-is-the-difference-between-counter-insurgency-and-counter-terrorism/>
- Preesma, A. (2021, March 16). Female Suicide Bombers: An Uncomfortable Truth. *Kings College London*.
- Reardon, S. (2018). Colombia: After the Violence. *Nature News*. Retrieved from <https://www.nature.com/immersive/d41586-018-04976-7/index.html>
- Report, E. (2016). *The North Caucasus Insurgency and Syria: An Exported Jihad?* International Crisis Group.
- Report, S. (2023, Feb 19). BLF propaganda on arrested suicide bomber Mahal Baloch exposed. *Pakistan Today*.
- Respondent. (2023, April 02). Women's Participation in Insurgency: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)
- Respondent. (2023, April 02). Women's Participation in Insurgency: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)
- Respondent, F. (2023, April 12). Women's Participation with Insurgents: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)
- Respondent, F. (2023, April 2). Women's Participation with Insurgents: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)

- Respondent, O. M. (2023, April 10). Women Participation with Insurgent Groups: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)
- Richards, K. (2003). *Qualitative inquiry in TESOL*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Santos, S. P. (2018, January 20). Colombia's Milestone in World Peace. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/26/opinion/colombias-milestone-in-world-peace.html>
- Schweitzer, Y. (2003, Oct 29). A Fundamental Change in Tactics. *Washington Post*.
- Sharibaloch بلوچ شاران (2021, dec 08). Retrieved from twitter: <https://twitter.com/Shariba67903532/status/1468629485553659908>
- Siddique, A. (2022, April 29). First Female Suicide Bomber Marks Paradigm Shift in Pakistan's Baloch Insurgency. *Radio Liberty*.
- Siddiqui, S. Y. (2022, April 27). KU blast: Inside the mind of a woman suicide bomber. *express tribune*.
- Souleimanov, E. A. (2017). THE NORTH CAUCASUS INSURGENCY: DEAD OR ALIVE? *SSI*, 139.
- Speckhard, A. (2008). The Emergence of Female Suicide Terrorists. *The Emergence of Female Suicide Terrorists, Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 31:11, 995-1023.
- Stern, J. (2003, December 18). When Bombers are Women. *Washington Post*.
- Respondent, B. F. (2023, April 05). Women's Participation with Insurgent Groups: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)
- Respondent, F. B. (2023, April 12). Participation of Women with Insurgent Groups: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)
- Respondent, F. B. (2023, April 11). Participation of Women with Insurgents: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)
- Respondent, F. B. (2023, April 05). Women Participation with Insurgent Groups: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)
- Respondent, F. B. (2023, April 05). Women Participation with Insurgent Groups: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)
- Respondent, M. B. (2023, April 05). Women's Participation in Insurgency: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)
- Respondent, M. B. (2023, April 10). Women's Participation with Insurgent Groups: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)
- Respondent, M. B. (2023, April 15). Women's Participation with Insurgents: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)
- Respondent, M. B. (2023, April 15). Participation of Women with Insurgents: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan. (P. Interview, Interviewer)

- Sutten, M. L. (2009). The Rising Importance of Women in Terrorism and the Need to Reform Counterterrorism Strategy. *KS School of Advanced Military Studies*, 46.
- Swamy, M. R. (2004 ). Tigers of Lanka: From Boys to Guerillas. *Colombo: Vijitha Yapa Publications*, 267-276.
- Tanner, T. (2019). Explaining the Resilience of the Balochistan Insurgency. *Honors College*, 533.
- Taylor, K. J. (2009 ). Female Terrorism: A Review. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 21(3), 499–515.
- The history of the Tamil Tigers*. (2009, April 28). Retrieved from Aljazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2009/4/28/the-history-of-the-tamil-tigers>
- Thomas, R. M. (2016). (2016)Women on the Frontline: Rebel Group Ideology and Women’s Participation in Violent Rebellion. *JSTOR*, 31-46.
- Tordjman, P. C. (2012). *Women’s Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence*, 2nd ed. New York: UN Women.
- Viterna, J. (2013). *Women in war: The micro-processes of mobilization in El Salvador*. London: Oxford.
- Walliman, N. (2006). *Social Research Methods*. London: Sage Publications.
- Webster, M. (n.d.). *Paradigm*.
- Who is Shari Baloch, the woman suicide bomber who targeted Chinese citizens at Karachi University? (2022, April). Daily Pakistan.
- women and Terrorism. (2019). *Council of Foreign Affairs*, 42.
- Wood, D. M. (2020). Framing the Narrative: Female Fighters, External Audience Attitudes, and Transnational Support for Armed Rebellions. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 64(9), 1638–1665.
- Wood, L. T. (2018). The social origins of female combatants. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 35(3), 215–232.
- Yardley, D. M. (2004). *Research Methods for Clinical and Health Psychology*. London: Sage Publications.

## Appendix – A

### Thematic Analysis

#### Data Analysis: Themes and Coding Scheme

#### 1. Themes:

**Question No.01:** What are the determinants that inspire women to participate with Baloch insurgents?

<i>Debates</i>	<i>Codes</i>	<i>Context</i>
<p>Women are being brainwashed by banned groups like BLA and BLF to fight against the state for their cause. There are male and female <b>influencers and mobilizers using ethno-national</b> slogans to expand the network of banned groups among civilian women in Balochistan.</p>	<p><b>Ethno-Nationalism</b></p>	<p>This indicates that the <b>factor of ethno-nationalism inspires women to part with insurgents.</b></p>
<p>The desire for a separate homeland has been the core of the Baloch insurgency since the 1990s. The shift in Baloch insurgency from <b>provincial autonomy to a separate homeland</b> in the 1990s has inspired many men and women to participate voluntarily with banned groups like BLA. However, these days, women are actively participating with banned insurgent groups like</p>	<p><b>Separatism</b></p>	<p>This indicates that <b>women participate in banned groups to seek a separate homeland</b> for themselves.</p>

<p>BLA, BLUF, and BLF either voluntarily or through coercive means. The <b>motivation behind their participation</b> primarily lies in the notion of <b>a separate Baloch homeland</b>.</p>		
<p>The <b>collateral damages</b> during operations conducted by the armed forces are two major factors leading to more participation of Baloch men and women with banned insurgent groups. The killing of two students of Quaid-i-Azam University in 2020 in Balochistan by armed forces during a clash between armed forces and banned groups has produced more anger among educated women and men. Therefore, to <b>take vengeance on students, educated women</b> like Shari Baloch, Mahal Baloch, and Noor Jehan are voluntarily joining banned groups.</p>	<p><b>Vengeance</b></p>	<p>This indicates that <b>educated Baloch men and women fight against the state to avenge the loss of their loved ones</b> in the conflict.</p>

**Question No. 02:** What are the main operations given to and performed by women by the banned insurgent groups in Balochistan?

<i>Debates</i>	<i>Codes</i>	<i>Context</i>
<p>The main motivations for women to become suicide bombers are either personal or impersonal. Personal in a sense that they feel proud to blow themselves for the cause of a separate homeland, while the factor of impersonal resulting due to the pressure from family and friends. This way, the case of Shari Baloch is personal while Mahal Baloch was impersonal because she was forced by her folks to become a suicide bomber.</p>	<p><b>Suicide Bombers</b></p>	<p>This indicates that women are recruited to become suicide bombers for the banned groups in Balochistan.</p>
<p>Many female and male students in universities and official places are employed by the banned groups to gather specific information to plan a suicide attacks in educational and military institutions. Females at local levels also provide intel to the banned groups for every activity in particular areas of Balochistan. This way, banned groups make their plans accordingly and expand their network as well.</p>	<p><b>Informers</b></p>	<p>This indicates that women are also playing the role of informers by gathering secret information for the banned groups in Balochistan.</p>



<p>Women are being recruited by the banned insurgent groups in Balochistan. They assign different tasks to them. For example, <b>suicide bombing, fundraising, local support, safe hiding, messages, and communication, operational roles, mobilizing local women and men</b>, and so on are the main roles assigned to women by the banned groups in Balochistan. Not only the illiterate, but the educated women are also taking part voluntarily to carry out such roles.</p>	<p><b>Mobilizers and Facilitators</b></p>	<p>This indicates that <b>women are also participating as facilitators and mobilizers</b> for the banned groups within local areas of Balochistan.</p>
<p>If women have put on <b>guns and bombs</b> and started fighting on behalf of the banned groups is merely the result of <b>injustices and marginalization of the poor and women</b> in the province. The <b>landlords – equally the bureaucrats and other officials pay little attention</b> to the grave issues faced by the people of Balochistan. This whole spectrum creates a situation of being victimized and marginalized in society which results in the <b>exploitation of women as suicide bombers</b> by the banned groups.</p>	<p><b>Guerrilla Fighters</b></p>	<p><b>This indicates that due to rampant injustices, women are siding with banned groups and becoming guerrilla fighters.</b></p>

**Question No.03:** What do you think about the participation of women such as Shari Baloch, Noor Jehan, Mahal Baloch, and Sumaiya Baloch as a new phase in Baloch Insurgency?

<i>Debates</i>	<i>Codes</i>	<i>Context</i>
<p>Baloch insurgency is no longer a gender-restricted field, but an open and flexible platform where everyone can play their role. The new shift in Baloch insurgency is the result of social media and the increase in the literature on the Marxist-socialist approach among Baloch students. This non-traditional occurrence of women can challenge the well-disciplined strategic position of the Pakistan armed forces in Balochistan.</p>	<p><b>Non-traditional Change</b></p>	<p>This indicates that due to the inclusion of women in the Baloch insurgency on account of various reasons, a new shift has taken place in it.</p>
<p>women are being inspired by stories of different international insurgencies, civil wars, and revolutionary cases such as the civil war of Sri Lanka, Colombia, Syria, Palestine, and some others. The banned terrorist groups are circulating the leftist socialist literature among educated women through different mobilizers aiming to mobilize them under the guise of a separate homeland. The struggle of women in Sri Lanka, Syria, Kurdistan, Palestine, and Chechenia is being taught to them through different sources.</p>	<p><b>Non-traditional Change</b></p>	<p>This indicates that a non-traditional change has taken place in the Baloch insurgency due to the participation of women.</p>

<p>Therefore, a non-traditional change has taken place in the Baloch insurgency as a result of women's actions like <b>Noor Jehan, Shari Baloch, Mahal Baloch</b>, and others are exploited and used for suicide bombing by banned groups like the BLA and BLF.</p>		
---	--	--

## 2. Coding Scheme

<i>Codes</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Examples</i>
<b>Ethno-Nationalism</b>	This indicates that ethno-nationalism is one of the main factors of motivation for women in their way to join banned insurgent groups in Balochistan.	The mobilization among the educated male and female students for an 'Azad Balochistan' (Free Balochistan).
<b>Mobilizers &amp; Facilitators</b>	This indicates that women's roles within the banned groups include mobilizers of local people and facilitators of the banned groups.	The case of Noor Jehan and Mahal Baloch who were mobilized and facilitated by women to carry out a suicide mission.
<b>Guerrilla Fighters</b>	This indicates that women are also participating as guerrilla fighters with banned groups in Balochistan.	Such cases of women's participation with banned insurgent groups in Balochistan are yet to be mainstreamed.
	This indicates that women who participate in Baloch-banned insurgent groups	The case of Shari Baloch, Noor Jehan, and Mahal Baloch are witnesses to this

<b>Separatism</b>	have a desire to create a separate homeland for themselves.	point. They have invested their lives for the sake of the separatist movement in Balochistan.
<b>Vengeance</b>	This indicates that vengeance is another factor that ensures the participation of women with banned insurgent groups in Balochistan.	The case of Shari Baloch who killed herself through suicide bombing to avenge the killing of students in Balochistan.
<b>Suicide Bombers</b>	This indicates that women also participate as suicide bombers for the banned Baloch insurgent groups in Balochistan.	The suicide attack was carried out by Shari Baloch, Mahal, and Noor Jehan.
<b>Informers</b>	This indicates that women in Balochistan work as informers for the banned groups.	Collection of secret intel and connection between banned groups and locals.
<b>Non-traditional change</b>	This indicates that a non-traditional change has taken place in the Baloch insurgency after the participation of women.	Women such as Shari Baloch, Mahal, Noor Jehan and Sumaiya Baloch.

## **Appendix – B**

### **List of Interview Questionnaires**

#### **Introduction**

This research study is being conducted for the fulfillment of a Master's degree from the National University of Science and Technology (NUST) Islamabad. The selection of the research topic is based on the phenomenon of the suicide bombing attack conducted by Shari Baloch at Karachi University, followed by other cases like Noor Jehan, Mahal Baloch, and Sumaiya Qalandrani Baloch. Shari Baloch is the trend settler to conduct such violent action and BLA marked a non-traditional change in their operational strategy. To conduct the interview, the following open-ended questions are designed which will take one to hours:

- 1. What do you think about the participation of women such as Shari Baloch, Noor Jehan, Mahal Baloch, and Sumaiya Baloch as a new phase of Baloch Insurgency?**
- 2. What are the main operations given to and performed by women by the banned insurgent groups in Balochistan?**
- 3. What are the determinants that inspire women to participate with Baloch insurgents?**
- 4. What implications an unconventional change in Baloch insurgency has posed to the security arrangements in Balochistan?**

## Appendix – C

### Informed Consent Letter

#### **“Women’s Participation in Insurgency: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan”**

- **Introduction**

You as a volunteer asked a participant in the research study of **“Women’s Participation in Insurgency: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement in Pakistan.”** This research is being conducted as a part of academia for the fulfillment of a Master’s Degree. It will take you 30 to 40 minutes to answer open-ended interview questions. Thus, before giving interviews, you are asked to read this form and ask any questions that you may have regarding this study.

- **Purpose of The Study:**

This research primarily focuses on **“Women’s Participation in Insurgency: A Case of Baloch Insurgent Movement In Pakistan.”**

- **Confidentiality:**

- This study is anonymous.
- I will not be collecting or retaining any information about your identity.
- The records of this study will be kept strictly confidential.

- **Right to Withdraw:**

The decision to participate in this study is entirely up to you. You may refuse to take part in the study *at any time* without affecting your relationship with the investigators of this study.

- **Consent:**

Completing the interview session along with your signature below indicates that you have decided to volunteer as a research participant for this study and that you have read and understood the information provided above.

Participant Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

# sana saif thesis

*by* Turnitin 1

---

**Submission date:** 28-Jul-2023 12:15PM (UTC-0700)

**Submission ID:** 2033809288

**File name:** 138154\_Turnitin\_1\_sana\_saif\_thesis\_888537\_282525479.docx (93.54K)

**Word count:** 18054

**Character count:** 99385

# sana saif thesis

## ORIGINALITY REPORT

3%

SIMILARITY INDEX

2%

INTERNET SOURCES

2%

PUBLICATIONS

1%

STUDENT PAPERS

## PRIMARY SOURCES

1	Submitted to Higher Education Commission Pakistan Student Paper	1%
2	<a href="http://www.tandfonline.com">www.tandfonline.com</a> Internet Source	<1%
3	JAKANA L. THOMAS, KANISHA D. BOND. "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations", American Political Science Review, 2015 Publication	<1%
4	<a href="http://www.oefresearch.org">www.oefresearch.org</a> Internet Source	<1%
5	<a href="http://debangshusarkar.blogspot.com">debangshusarkar.blogspot.com</a> Internet Source	<1%
6	Submitted to Aberystwyth University Student Paper	<1%
7	Marius Mehrl. "Female combatants and rebel group behaviour: Evidence from Nepal", Conflict Management and Peace Science, 2022	<1%



Publication

---

8	<a href="https://eprints.lancs.ac.uk">eprints.lancs.ac.uk</a> Internet Source	<1 %
9	<a href="https://globaljournals.org">globaljournals.org</a> Internet Source	<1 %
10	<a href="https://journals.sagepub.com">journals.sagepub.com</a> Internet Source	<1 %
11	Cherilyn Elston. "Women's Writing in Colombia", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2016 Publication	<1 %
12	Submitted to University College London Student Paper	<1 %
13	Submitted to University of Edinburgh Student Paper	<1 %
14	<a href="https://cacianalyst.org">cacianalyst.org</a> Internet Source	<1 %
15	<a href="https://doc.rero.ch">doc.rero.ch</a> Internet Source	<1 %
16	<a href="https://www.eurasiareview.com">www.eurasiareview.com</a> Internet Source	<1 %
17	Heidi Riley. "Male collective identity in the People's Liberation Army of Nepal", International Feminist Journal of Politics, 2019 Publication	<1 %

---

18	N Baskota, M.P. Acharya, S Upreti, M Dahal, S Shrestha. "Exploration of Problems, Prospects and Marketing Potential of Game Poultry Birds in Nepal", Nepalese Veterinary Journal, 2023 Publication	<1 %
19	aoav.org.uk Internet Source	<1 %
20	southasiajournal.net Internet Source	<1 %
21	www.nytimes.com Internet Source	<1 %
22	Amanda Third. "Gender and the Political", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2014 Publication	<1 %
23	Madan Singh Deupa. "Teacher Education Programme in Nepal and India: A Case of Four Selected Universities", Scholars' Journal, 2021 Publication	<1 %
24	Victor Asal, Nazli Avdan, Nourah Shuaibi. "Women Too: Explaining Gender Ideologies of Ethnopolitical Organizations", Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 2020 Publication	<1 %

25	<a href="http://www.diva-portal.se">www.diva-portal.se</a> Internet Source	<1 %
26	<a href="http://www.nation.com.pk">www.nation.com.pk</a> Internet Source	<1 %
27	<a href="http://www.rsis.edu.sg">www.rsis.edu.sg</a> Internet Source	<1 %
28	Katharina Von Knop. "The Female Jihad: Al Qaeda's Women", <i>Studies in Conflict &amp; Terrorism</i> , 2007 Publication	<1 %
29	<a href="http://satp.org">satp.org</a> Internet Source	<1 %
30	<a href="http://search.credoreference.com">search.credoreference.com</a> Internet Source	<1 %
31	JAKANA L. THOMAS. "Sisters Are Doing It for Themselves: How Female Combatants Help Generate Gender-Inclusive Peace Agreements in Civil Wars", <i>American Political Science Review</i> , 2023 Publication	<1 %

Exclude quotes Off

Exclude matches Off

Exclude bibliography Off