UOS Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities (UOSJSSH)
ISSN (P) 2224-2341, ISSN (E) 2310-0249
Volume: 10, (1) June, 2026, Pages (102-112)
Journal Homepage: https://uosjssh.su.edu.pk/

A Paradox of Gender, Human Security, and Insurgency in the Protracted Armed Conflict of Balochistan

Asmaa Elzieny

Lecturer at Faculty of Sharia and Law – English Section, Official of International Relations, Supreme Council of Al-Azhar. Email: asmaa.elzieny@azhar.edu.eg

Dr. Hassan Farooq Mashwani

Head of the Department, School of Peace and Counter-Terrorism Studies, Minhaj University Lahore. Email: drhassan.ir@mul.edu.pk

Abstract

Over the last several years, the longstanding Baloch insurgency in Pakistan has seen an influx of female activists. On the one hand, women militants, like Shari Baloch, have become active participants in a series of terrorist attacks launched by insurgent groups like the Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) and the Baloch Liberation Front (BLF). On the other hand, the growing number of females in organizations like the Baloch Yakjehti Committee (BYC) continues to rally in an unarmed resistance movement mobilizing mass protests for the missing persons or the enforced disappearances. However, the Pakistani government appears to be conflating the activities of these groups and advancing a particular discourse that frames women as victims of trafficking, grooming, and coercion by terrorist groups in Balochistan. This paper aims to review the gender-based aspects of the Balochistan conflict through the lens of human security and feminist security discourse to determine if such a framework can offer additional policy insights and research avenues in understanding the manifestations and motivations of female militants and those involved in non-violent protests. It will be argued that while the Pakistani government's discourse on women trafficked and coerced into militant organizations addresses some aspects of the conflict, it may overshadow the efforts of those women who appear to be exercising their agency to further the sociopolitical and economic cause of Balochistan. Secondly, applying this discourse to an unarmed non-violent resistance movement may neglect a more significant human security issue in the region. This paper will contribute to the existing scholarship on the Baloch conflict by providing a more nuanced understanding of the gender-based aspects of the decades-long insurgency in Balochistan.

Keywords: *Balochistan, Pakistan, women, human security, feminism, insurgency.*

1. Introduction

Balochistan, Pakistan's biggest province by area has been a constant theatre of ethno-nationalist insurgency since the inception of the nation. The current wave of this conflict, which began in the early 2000s and dramatically escalated during 2025–2026, is characterized not only by increased lethality and the use of suicide bombing but, most significantly, by the high

visibility of women on both sides of the conflict's gendered divisions. A watershed moment came in April 2022 when an educated middle-class mother, Shari Baloch, carried out the first-ever female suicide attack by the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) against Chinese nationals at Karachi University (Associated Press, 2022, April 26). It also led to the establishment of a women's wing in the BLA's elite Majeed Brigade, which was followed by the formation of a women's wing by the rest of Baloch militant groups such as the Baloch Liberation Front (BLF) and other splinter groups of the BLA. Concurrently, yet operating within a distinct and non-overlapping sphere, the Baloch Yakjehti Committee (BYC), a civilian human rights movement established in 2018 under the leadership of Dr. Mahrang Baloch, who, along with her fellow activist Sibghatullah Shah, has been convicted by a Pakistani anti-terrorism court to life imprisonment on June 22, 2026 (Javed, 25 June, 2026). Dr Mahrang has been convicted of the charges of terrorism, sedition, and murder in connection with the death of a paramilitary soldier during a protest in the coastal town of Gwadar in 2024. Simultaneously, it is also argued by human rights organizations that she has orchestrated some of the province's most substantial protests, and these BYC-led demonstrations are characterized by robust women's leadership and primarily advocate for state accountability regarding thousands of missing persons or enforced disappearances (Amnesty International, 23 June 2026).

Some of the commentators hypothesize that the Pakistani state discourse conflates the two phenomena, the one of which involves female militants and the other one involving unarmed protesters, mostly women, into one comprehensive trend. Hence, the discourse suggests that Baloch women are being recruited, abducted and used by the separatists' camps. Consequently, both the BLA (Baloch Liberation Army) and the BYC (Balochistan Women Conference) are perceived as the single "pipeline for trafficking and terror." Such a narrative serves to advance certain political interests since it partly corresponds to the documented cases of women's forced recruitment and sexual exploitation in the warring sides. Still, some critics argue that the state narrative attempts to undermine the activists' movement that the Pakistani courts have formally recognized as a terrorist organization. Therefore, the article aims to demonstrate how the state narrative obscures the difference between legitimate human rights protection activism and militant activity.

As a result, there are two research questions that the article seeks to address. First, what do the empirical data tell us about the interaction of agency and coercion in women's involvement in the Baloch insurgency? Secondly, what happens to a human security reading of Baluchistan's women when an apparently civil rights movement and an armed militant group are analytically conflated? This article contends that a strong and credible understanding of gender and political violence in Balochistan requires a few critical dimensions to be held in dynamic tension, strategically located within the larger human security paradigm, namely, recorded instances of coercive recruitment and organizational exploitation of women in militant groups; demonstrable cases of women's political agency as narrated in their own stories; and the simultaneous human security threat facing Baloch women not only from insurgent factions but also from state practices themselves. It is important to note that the points of view of the state institutions, Baloch activists, and those of the insurgents are extremely different. The Baloch activists accuse Pakistani state institutions of human rights violations, whereas the state institutions blame the

earlier of participating in most of these coercive incidents in the Baloch areas, to set the stage for blaming the security institutions for such malpractices.

2. The Balochistan Conflict: Historical and Political Context

Balochistan is Pakistan's largest region in terms of territory, which contrasts sharply with its status as the least populous and the least developed, despite natural gas, copper, gold, and a deep-water port of Gwadar, which are also part of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). In theory, this should provide enough fuel for the domestication of Baloch nationalist rhetoric currently promoted by separatists. The main demands of Baloch nationalists include greater autonomy, a larger share of revenue from the region's resources, and an end to immigration and investment associated with the CPEC. Supporters of the status quo in Islamabad believe that all such problems should be discussed in the framework of political compromise, even if violent methods are used to provoke it. The caretaker prime minister of Pakistan, who happens to be a Baloch, wrote on Facebook that those who want to resort to violence in the name of peace can no longer hide behind the protection of civil society their actions will be followed by their bloody consequences and judicial condemnation (The Pakistan Connect, 2024)

Baloch separatism includes five major waves of armed struggles since 1948. The first four were initially aimed at achieving a higher degree of autonomy and political power within the federation of Pakistan. However, the fifth wave began in Balochistan in 2002-2005 and was qualitatively different from the previous ones. In addition to the goal of independence, the separatists' rhetoric explicitly stated the rejection of any compromises, while since 2018; the use of suicide attacks has also begun. The main organization among the active ones is the Baloch Liberation Army (BLA), followed by the Baloch Liberation Front (BLF) and smaller groups, such as the Baloch Republican Army (BRA). It is noteworthy that they are all positioned as single-actor organizations, freely cooperating and coordinating. Analysis of the BLA's operational activity since 2005 and up to the current year 2025 demonstrates that the group's destructive potential has grown exponentially, manifested in the transition from traditional to more sophisticated methods of murder, including the transformation of the Majeed Brigade from a symbolic to a functional suicide unit.

The authorities' response to attacks by BLA and other separatist groups has so far been mainly conventional, but over the last decade, they have demonstrated a willingness to use non-conventional methods against civilians. In particular, for more than twenty years, the campaign of enforced disappearances of residents of Balochistan has been carried out, which is officially recorded by the Pakistan Commission of Inquiry on Enforced Disappearances (COI). The existence of this department documents about ten thousand cases of kidnapping of Baloch citizens from 2011 to 2023 only. However, human rights organizations and Baloch themselves claim that the actual number may be several times higher. It is in this context that the Baloch Yakjehti Committee (BYC) was formed, which could be seen as a kind of civic initiative that emerged in response to both the repression of the Pakistani state and the use of armed methods by separatists. Therefore, the growth of the use of female volunteers by armed groups in Balochistan for attacks should be viewed in this light, as should the emergence of new organizations that adhere to the philosophy of non-violence. Such mass protests as

manifestations of the civil position of the citizens of Balochistan have so far been limited mainly to rallies, but they are beginning to attract attention both in Pakistan itself and outside it, and especially when they are held among women. All this is extremely important for both human rights organizations and the Pakistani state.

3. Women, Insurgency, and Political Violence: Literature Review

The role of women in insurgent and terrorist violence is a well-established and emerging area of study in the field of security which seeks to provide a much-needed antidote to reductionist, single-factor accounts of female agency. The early writings on female militants, who were involved in a wide range of conflicts, from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Kurdistan Workers' Party, the Provisional Irish Republican Army, and various jihadist and nationalist groups, all converge on one key point: the diversity of motivations, circumstances, and contributing factors that lead women to join militant organizations. These factors include a combination of ideological, revenge-based, and economic reasons, as well as coercion and manipulation, with the latter being particularly common for many women due to their relationships with male family members.

At the same time, there is a substantial feminist scholarship that discusses the role of women in violent conflicts, which highlights the ways in which the media and popular discourse tend to depict female combatants as either avenging mothers, monstrous figures whose actions are not politically motivated, or prostitutes who are coerced or manipulated into participating in violence. All of these tropes seek to deny women their political agency and limit their motivations to sexual and economic factors, excluding ideology and other reasons that are typically ascribed to men. The same framework of mothers, monsters, whores, and victims can be used to discuss the phenomenon of female militants in Balochistan. The state-sponsored discourse on female militants is also based on the whore/victim narrative, which is used to depict women both as manipulated and controlled by insurgent groups and subjected to sexual violence. However, it also serves to exclude any other potential motivations for female militants to participate in the conflict, despite them being evident in several cases.

Focusing on Shari Baloch in this specific case complicates a purely coercion-based account of female militancy even further. According to widespread journalistic and open-source analyses, the traditional explanation of "familial radicalization," which blames male relatives for women's involvement, may not completely fit her case. Her husband is said to have approved of her decision and not instigated her to do so. Her earlier association with Baloch Students Organization-Azad (BSO-A) also dates back to before her marriage. Further investigations of other female operatives, including Noor Jehan Baloch and Zareena Rafiq of the BLF, also indicate political and organizational pathways to militancy rather than purely coercive ones. These reports also highlight the strategic advantage that militant groups derive from the use of female operatives, who are often less likely to be subjected to intensive scrutiny or suspicion. In their analysis of the BLA's January 2026 "Operation Herof-2" offensive, analysts at the Jamestown Foundation have characterized this phenomenon as a "dual dynamic," where deep-seated grievances, personal trauma, and identity are intertwined with intentional organizational

strategy. They are required a sturdily attention against reducing these multifaceted factors to a modest story of coercion.

It is demonstrably not made up; the dimension of coercion, which says that the extensive literature on female combatants routinely documents genuine patterns of manipulation, limited exit options, and sexual exploitation of female recruits in some armed groups. However, the scholarship on female combatants is highly resistant to the conclusion that the cases of coercion documented in specific cases justify blanket denials of agency across all contexts, or that such patterns can be legitimately extrapolated from an armed group to a civilian movement.

This is the point where the Baloch Yakjehti Committee (BYC) has to be taken up for separate analytical consideration. Unlike the BLA or BLF, the BYC has not been documented to be exclusively involved in carrying out armed operations against the state institutions and does not claim to do so. It has consistently said that it abides by the Constitution of Pakistan and condemns violence against innocent people. The prosecution of Dr. Mahrang Baloch was widely reported by numerous international human rights organizations, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and Front-Line Defenders, as the case of the prosecution of the leadership of BYC were also under the attention of these organizations. In particular, such reports covered the arrest of Dr. Mahrang Baloch and his life imprisonment by the court under anti-terrorism legislation in March 2025 and his sentencing in May 2026. In turn, these reports demonstrate the positions of these organizations regarding the prosecution as violating human rights, which are not related to recruitment issues. Thus, the presentation of the BYC as a recruitment tool for the BLA is considered a state-articulated thesis, which largely contradicts the narrative of BYC and the Human Rights reports.

4. Theoretical Framework: Human Security and Feminist Security Studies

This article draws on two complementary theories, which will serve as the starting point for its analysis. Human security is a new concept that was first introduced in the United Nations Development Program’s (UNDP) 1994 Human Development Report, which fundamentally reorients the analysis of security. It focuses the primary referent from the state to the individual, covering seven interrelated dimensions – economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security – of security from fear and security from want. Further developments, notably Kaldor's (2007) important work on human security in the context of the ‘new wars', highlight how long-term intra-state conflict almost always produces complex forms of insecurity for civilians. Such insecurity is driven by several at once, and sometimes conflicting, factors: insurgent violence, the state's counterinsurgency strategies and the failure of the normal functioning of the economy and social sphere that support everyday living.

The second framework is Feminist Security Studies (FSS), which holds that gender is not an incidental variable but rather is part and parcel of the way in which security threats are conceptualized, experienced and narrated. Two important learnings from FSS are relevant to this analysis. The 'protection racket' criticism firstly points to the "paradoxical situation" in which the State, which is supposed to protect women from external or non-State forces, often becomes the cause of violence against women. This reality is a direct threat to the notion of female security,

which is guaranteed by state security. This is a basic challenge to the notion of "female security" as guaranteed by "state security." Second, the "agency versus victimhood" dichotomy, which is core to the research on women combatants, is a serious warning not to reduce the concept of women to any binary between the complete agency of the political subject and the total victimization of the political object. But in most cases, empirical realities show a complex continuum, influenced by structural constraints, organizational strategies, and individual choices.

This study brings together the two lenses and forms a strong analytical lens. This lens is that insurgent recruitment practices are part and parcel of the problem of insecurity of Baloch women, and should be included in any broader human security analysis of the issue. However, if it is done wholesale, this can hardly be considered a complete or analytically sound study if it fails to take into account the malpractices that, individually and directly, threaten the personal and political security of this very population, and are primarily used for this purpose: forced disappearance, arbitrary arrest and detention, and the criminalization of peaceful protest.

5. Research Design and Methodology

This study makes use of a qualitative, document-based analysis method, rather than relying on original field research, and the limitations of this approach should be noted. At present, a significant security risk exists in the region of Balochistan, which renders scientific field research, particularly that based on interviews, extremely difficult and, perhaps, even impossible. For this reason, this paper utilizes the analysis of existing reports and articles on the studied topic. More specifically, there are three types of sources used for this study. First, a number of security reports written by experts who analyze the emergence and development of the BLA and related groups, constitute the basis of this paper. Second, the article refers to reports on particular militants, often with quotes from court hearings, provided by Jamestown Foundation, New Lines Magazine, and similar open sources. These resources usually summarize materials from various foreign and local newspapers, as well as interviews with the militants' relatives and other witnesses. Third, the present study refers to human rights reports on the disappearances of Baloch people and the persecution of BYC militants conducted by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Front Line Defenders, and local Baloch NGOs.

It should be noted that each of these three categories is biased, which is why this study refers to all three and points out the controversial nature of many of these sources. For example, the reports published by official state and security agencies acknowledge the threat posed by various Baloch separatist groups but attempt to interpret all decisions of Baloch women as extremist acts or actions encouraged by outside agglomerations. On the other hand, Baloch sources, including NGOs and foreign newspapers, tend to be strongly biased toward the negative attitude of the Baloch towards the Pakistani government and deny any repressive policies carried out by the separatist militants. The reports from third-party think tanks, including Jamestown Foundation, New Lines Magazine, and Human Rights Watch, represent a special category of sources, which are based on extensive research, numerous interviews, and verification of facts. As such, while they are also not immune to potential bias, such reports are the most reliable, and the information from them is used as a reference point in this paper, while the information from other, more biased sources, is used with caution. This approach is the result of the necessity to work with

available resources, as field research is unavailable to most studies, including those conducted from a Baloch separatist perspective.

6. Analysis

The evidence presented in this study suggests that women's involvement in Baluchistan's conflict cannot be interpreted in only one sense. It appears that political, organizational, coercive, and voluntariness factors overlap in women's recruitment, which does not allow depicting their participation as purely voluntary or forced.

The Pakistani government's counter-insurgency narrative points to the prevalence of coercion as the major phenomenon affecting women's involvement in Baluchistan's conflict. The state insists that the main reason why women join the ranks of separatists is trafficking, grooming, or kidnapping by radical groups. In this way, Pakistan's narrative is not exceptional in a certain sense, as there is evidence that different militant and terrorist groups worldwide employ coercion, limited opportunities for disengagement, and exploitation as tools for recruiting and employing female fighters. For example, Boko Haram's terrorism has resulted in the abduction of thousands of women who are coerced to become combatants, sexual slaves, or suicide bombers. Other radical groups, such as ISIS and the Taliban, have reportedly used women as human shields or subjected them to forced labor. Therefore, there is no doubt that coercion is an element of women's involvement for some of the conflict participants.

However, the evidence presented in this study demonstrates that, in the case of Balochistan, women's participation has been advanced by other influential factors. The biography of Shari Baloch plus the article about Noor Jehan Baloch and Zareena Rafiq suggest that both were politically active even before becoming involved in the conflict. Both seem to be guided by Pakistan's nationalism and have radical views about Baluchistan independence from Pakistan. In this regard, recruiting such women can be viewed as promoting their interests and views. The perspectives on militant women in Baluchistan chime with the arguments and reports on female agency in the existing feminist security literature and research. It is notable that female agency does not offset the fact that these women are coerced to participate in terrorism due to particular circumstances. Nonetheless, their involvement suggests that they are not just passive actors.

The evidence on women's involvement in the Baluchistan conflict offers another important insight into the issue. It suggests that in case of Baluchistan, women's involvement in fighting is the outcome of deliberate decisions made by separatist organizations to benefit from women's presence at checkpoints to avoid suspicion. Thus, their involvement is conditional upon the tactical advantages. It can be concluded that women's involvement in the conflict is complicated by several factors, and their participation should not be viewed as the outcome of their political or ideological inclinations only.

One of the critical issues that needs addressing concerns the state's narrative that aims to depict all women's organizations as tools for advancing militancy and insurgency. The state's narrative seems to be contradictory, as in some cases it presents women's rights organizations, such as the

Baloch Yakjehti Committee (BYC), as both defenders of rights and recruiters for insurgent groups. Unlike the Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF) and Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA), the BYC has a legal status in Pakistan and operates within the framework of the state's legislation. Several independent human rights organizations have reported the BYC's allegations of the Pakistani government targeting innocent community members, restricting their rights, and preventing dissent. Therefore, on the current evidence, the claim that the BYC is a platform for recruiting women for the BLA's ranks appears to be an attempt to justify the government's crackdown on the organization internationally. The BYC's legal status and the evidence from women's rights organizations can be employed to prove the violations of human rights, international law, and the sovereignty of the Baloch people.

According to the human security framework, the evidence presented in this study indicates that the security dilemma of the Baloch women derives from multiple sources. While the insurgent and terrorist organizations, such as the BLF and BLA, can pose a threat to Pakistan's national security, the authoritarianism of the state and the alleged persecution of some individuals and the organizations with dissenting voices can also present a far greater threat to the overall Baloch people's human security. Therefore, it can be concluded that women's involvement in the conflict can predominantly stem from their response to the deteriorating socioeconomic and political conditions in the region, and association with radical ideologies may be just tools for achieving their goals. This is not to deny the role of coercion, which resonates strongly with women experiencing violence and abuse at the hands of their oppressors.

The perspective of feminist security studies offers an insight into the ways in which the repressive practices of the Pakistani government can be detrimental to achieving human security in Balochistan. Women's involvement in separatist activities can be interpreted as the manifestation of their agency in promoting their interests. At the same time, the state's portrayal of female separatists as victims of manipulation supports the narrative of its own protective role in the region. However, the evidence presented in this study demonstrates that some of the actions of the Pakistani government appear to be contradictory in various aspects. The restrictions on women's organizations that claim to operate legally in the country can significantly undermine their human security, and, accordingly, the government's ability to protect the Baloch people effectively. The state's portrayal of female insurgents as manipulated instruments of war does not appear to mitigate the erosion of human security, as its policies may be counterproductive to the women and their communities. In fact, the international criticism of the Pakistani government's treatment of the Baloch people challenges its credibility as an entity genuinely concerned with human security, as some of the evidence demonstrates that certain actions may eventually threaten the welfare of the very people that the Pakistani authorities claim to protect.

7. Conclusion

It can be concluded that the analysis of gender and political violence in Balochistan should go beyond simplistic dichotomies. Taking into account a variety of factors, such as women's

position in the context of pervasive powerlessness resulting from overall cultural and gender-related oppression, the specific characteristics of the political and military organizations, the role of sacrifice as a catalyst for resistance, and the impact of various forms of political violence, whether stemming from the state or non-state actors. One of the possible strategies for further research could be the attempt to consider all these elements together, highlighting the role of women as both empowered subjects and objects of violence in situations of multifaceted insecurity at multiple levels. In turn, women's-led organizations such as the BYC should completely dissociate themselves from the rhetoric of insurgents' political violence and transnational terrorism to garner broad community support on the national and international fronts.

References

Alison, M. (2009). Women and political violence: Female combatants in ethno-national conflict. Routledge.

Amnesty International. (2025b). Enforced disappearance in South Asia. https://www.amnesty.org/en/projects/enforced-disappearance-in-south-asia/

Amnesty International. (2026, June 23). Pakistan: Authorities must immediately release Baloch activists handed life sentences following secret trial. *Amnesty International*. https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2026/06/pakistan-authorities-must-immediately-release-baloch-activists-handed-life-sentences-following-secret-trial/

Amnesty International UK. (2026, January 30). Forced disappearances in Pakistan: The case of Mahrang Baloch. https://www.amnesty.org.uk/get-involved/join-the-movement/join-a-group-or-network/country-coordinators/country-specialists-blog/forced-disappearances-pakistan-case-mahrang-baloch/

Associated Press. (2022, April 26). *Female suicide bomber kills Chinese teachers in Pakistan*. Retrieved from https://apnews.com

Bloom, M. (2011). Bombshell: Women and terrorism. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Brighter Kashmir. (2025, August 29). Balochistan: Land of the disappeared. https://brighterkashmir.com/balochistan-land-of-the-disappeared

Countercurrents. (2026, April 1). Baloch women's struggle for human rights. https://countercurrents.org/2026/04/baloch-womens-struggle-for-human-rights/

Dawn. (2024, September 8). The women of the Baloch Spring. https://www.dawn.com/news/1857509

Front Line Defenders. (2026). Human rights defenders Mahrang Baloch and Sibghatullah Shahji sentenced to life imprisonment by Anti-Terrorism Court. https://www.frontlinedefenders.org/en/case/human-rights-defenders-mahrang-baloch-and-sibghatullah-shahji-sentenced-life-imprisonment-anti

Gentry, C. E., & Sjoberg, L. (2015). Beyond mothers, monsters, whores: Thinking about women's violence in global politics. Zed Books.

Global South Forum. (2026). Mahrang Baloch: A defiant voice for justice in Balochistan. https://www.globalsouthforum.org/article/mahrang-baloch-a-defiant-voice-for-justice-in-balochistan

Jamestown Foundation. (2025, July 22). A profile of Shari Baloch: The first Baluch female suicide bomber. https://jamestown.org/a-profile-of-shari-baloch-the-first-baluch-female-suicide-bomber/

Jamestown Foundation. (2026, March 13). Growing role of women in Baloch militancy. https://jamestown.org/growing-role-of-women-in-baloch-militancy/

Javed, F. (2026, June 25). The woman who fought for Pakistan's disappeared men now faces life in jail. *BBC*. https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c0ry07x87kvo

Kaldor, M. (2007). Human security: Reflections on globalization and intervention. Polity Press.

MacKenzie, M. (2012). Female soldiers in Sierra Leone: Sex, security, and post-conflict development. New York University Press.

New Lines Magazine. (2023, December 14). Women suicide bombers and the changing trajectories of Pakistan's Baloch insurgency. https://newlinesmag.com/argument/women-suicide-bombers-and-the-changing-trajectories-of-pakistans-baloch-insurgency/

Ness, C. (Ed.). (2008). Female terrorism and militancy: Agency, utility, and organization. Routledge.

The Pakistan Connect. (2024). *Pakistan's ex-caretaker PM Kakar*. Retrieved from https://thepakistanconnect.com/pakistan-ex-caretaker-pm-kakar/

Parashar, S. (2014). Women and militant wars: The politics of injury. Routledge.

Sjoberg, L. (Ed.). (2010). Gender and international security: Feminist perspectives. Routledge.

Sjoberg, L., & Gentry, C. E. (2007). Mothers, monsters, whores: Women's violence in global politics. Zed Books.

Taylor & Francis Online. (2025). Between insurgency and terrorism: The escalating operational sophistication of the Balochistan Liberation Army, 2005–2025. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09592318.2025.2581001

The Conversation. (2026, May 13). Baloch insurgency: Suicide bombs and uptick in violence threaten Pakistan, regional security. https://theconversation.com/baloch-insurgency-suicide-bombs-and-uptick-in-violence-threaten-pakistan-regional-security-282513

The Diplomat. (2026a, January 23). Use of female suicide bombers spreads across Baloch militant groups. https://thediplomat.com/2026/01/use-of-female-suicide-bombers-spreads-across-baloch-militant-groups/

The Diplomat. (2026b, April 15). Why are educated Baloch women turning to militancy? https://thediplomat.com/2026/04/why-are-educated-baloch-women-turning-to-militancy/

Tribune/ANI. (2026a, April 28). Baloch Women Forum appeals to UN, global rights bodies over alleged enforced disappearances of Baloch women. https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/world/baloch-women-forum-appeals-to-un-global-rights-bodies-over-alleged-enforced-disappearances-of-baloch-women/amp

Tribune/ANI. (2026b, December 19). Baloch Voice for Justice condemns enforced disappearance of Hajra Baloch, cites pattern of targeting Baloch women. https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/world/baloch-voice-for-justice-condemns-enforced-disappearance-of-hajra-baloch-cites-pattern-of-targeting-baloch-women/

United Nations Development Programme. (1994). Human development report 1994: New dimensions of human security. Oxford University Press.

Wibben, A. T. R. (2020). Toward an ethical politics of security. In The Routledge handbook of feminist security studies (introduction). Routledge.