

**CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF BALUCH NATIONALISM
IN PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF MARRI TRIBE IN
DISTRICT KOHLU, BALUCHISTAN**



By

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2021**

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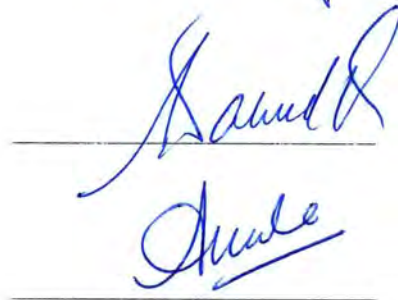
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I express my deep gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Waheed Iqbal Chaudhry, for his support, encouragement, patience, and advice. He has always timely responded to my queries and questions, and as an applied anthropologist, supported me with innovative ideas to generate insights for my thesis argument. I also thank him for helping me in the best possible ways despite numerous administrative hurdles. At Quaid-i-Azam University, I would like to acknowledge Prof Hafeez Rehman's positive inputs, Dr. Aneela Sultana, Dr. Anwar Mohiuddin, Dr. Sadia Abid, Dr. Muhammad Ilyas Bhatti, Dr. Rao Nadeem Allam, Dr. Inam Ullah Leghari, and Dr. Ikram Badshah, and Dr. Waqas Saleem. I also express my sincere gratitude to the administrative staff at the anthropology department at Quaid-I-Azam University for all their support. My greatest thanks go to the Department of Ethnology, University of Heidelberg, Germany, for allowing me to be a part of this prestigious institution as a visiting scholar. I am too obliged for the help of my supervisor Prof. Dr. Guido Sprenger, at the University of Heidelberg, Germany. He dedicated his time, energies, knowledge, and experience in every possible way to help me develop the central thesis argument.

I want to thank Dr. Muhammad Ali Awan, who guided me during the field work and data collection and supported me during the write-up phase. I especially thank Dr. Imran Haider, Dr. Sarfarz Kahn, Dr. Saadat Hassan Bilal, and Muhammad Shahzad (Shiz Bhai) for their support. I am grateful to Dr. Ijaz Hussain, especially for providing office space during the thesis write-up phase. I want to thank all my fellows and colleagues in Pakistan and Germany for their continuous support. I thank Dr. Zara Shahzad, Dr. Lea Stephen, Dr. Amjad Kavish, Adnan Jamil, Dr. Danish Dr. Asad, Dr. Intiaz Khan, Dr. Kamran Baloch, Mian Saqib Mehmood for their support.

The long journey towards submitting this Ph.D. thesis would not have been possible without my family's support. I am thankful to my father, Malik Ijaz Ahmed, my brother Malik Kamran and Zeeshan Ijaz, and my wife Saana Malik for their moral, financial support, and patience.

ABSTRACT

Pakistan is a country with several ethnic identities living in it even before its emergence in 1947. During the last seven decades, Balochistan, one of the federating units, has seen a series of insurgencies and unrest that evolved and transformed the concept of Baloch Nationalism. This research attempts to examine the very foundations, causes, and effects of the Baloch nationalist movement and to document the process of its evolution. The study presents that the locals define Baloch Nationalism based on their sentiments of association and affiliation with geography, culture, language, and ancestry. The political consciousness, struggle for rights, and self-determination is other attributes of Baloch nationalism. The emergence and causes of the movement and consequent insurgencies are deeply rooted in the Baloch people's grievances against the state. The Baloch nationalism and nationalist movement emerged in Kalat, grew in the Upper highlands under the leadership of the Marri tribal elite, and scaled up in Balochistan under the educated middle-class youth of the Makran region with increased participation of women. There are wide ranges of socio-cultural, political, and economic effects of the movement, but most significant are detribalization and migration due to violence, unrest, and continued uncertainty due to insurgencies and military operations in the area. The participation of women meaningfully expanded the movement and flourished it. The contemporary concept of Baloch nationalism mainly revolves around the notion of revenging against the graveness and disrespect of the Baloch code of honor and subjugation and disparities in the provision of necessities by the state.

Keywords: *Baloch, Nationalism, Revenge, Baloch Women, Shift, Grievances*

ABBREVIATIONS

AGG	Agent to the governor-general
AHB	Aghaz-e-Hooq-e-Balochistan
BAP	Balochistan Awami Party
BHRO	Baloch Human Rights Organization
BKP	Baloch Khwateen Panel
BLA	Baloch Liberation Army
BNM	Balochistan National Movement
BNP	Balochistan National Party
BNPA	Balochistan National Party (Awami)
BNPM	Balochistan National Party (Mengal)
BNWP	Baloch National Workers Party
BPLF	Baloch People's Liberation Front
BRA	Baloch Republican Army
BRP	Baloch Republican Party
BSO	Baloch Student Organization
BUA	Balochistan United Army
CPEC	China Pakistan Economic Corridor
CPI	Communist Party of India
DCO	District Coordination Officer
DPO	District Police Officer
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Area
FC	Frontier Core
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HEC	Higher Education Commission
HRCP	Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IDI	In-depth Interview
IPI	India, Pakistan, and Iran
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
JUI	Jamiat Ulema-e Islam
JWP	Jamhoori Watan Party
KII	Key Informant Interview
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
KSNP	Kalat State National Party
LB	Lasker-e-Balochistan
LEA	Law enforcement Agencies
MI	Military intelligence
MICS	Multi Indicators Cluster Survey
MMA	Muthaidda Majlis e Amal
NAP	National Awami Party
NFC	National Finance Commission
NP	National Party
NWFP	Northwest Frontier Province
PBS	Pakistan Bureau of Statistics
PHED	Public Health Engineering Department

PIDE	Pakistan Institute of Development Economics
PIPS	Pakistan institute of Population Studies
PM	Prime Minister
PMLN	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PMLQ	Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid)
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PSLM	Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf
PTV	Pakistan Television
PU	Punjab University
QAU	Quaid I Azam University
TAP	Turkmenistan Afghanistan and Pakistan
TPA	Tripartite Preferential Trade Agreement
TTP	Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan
UNO	United Nation Organization
USA	United State of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
ZAB	Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 Introduction

Balochistan¹ is one of the five federating units of Pakistan. The term 'Balochistan'² is a blend of the two words, 'Balochi' and '*stan*.' In Persian, the meaning of the word '*stan*' is that of a place to live, and Balochistan, populated by the Baloch ethnic group, becomes the land of the Baloch. Balochistan became a part of Pakistan in 1948 but only attained provincial status in 1971. It is located in the southwest of Pakistan. It covers 43 percent of Pakistan's total landmass, making it the largest province with the smallest population of 12,344,408 as per Pakistan's 2017 population census, which is about 5% of Pakistan's total population.

The province shares a long international border of which 723 miles is with Afghanistan and 520 miles with Iran. It also has a vast coastline of 471 miles, where it meets the Arabian Sea in the South. Balochistan is believed to be an entry point into the Middle East and Europe, making its location strategically important to Pakistan and the region. Within Pakistan, it shares borders with Punjab and Sindh's neighboring province on the Eastern side and with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) in the North. Based on topography and land features, Balochistan is geographically divided into four zones: upper high lands, lower highland, plains, and deserts. Ethnically, it is divided into the Pashtun and Baloch belts. The province of Balochistan has six administrative divisions and 32 districts.

Balochistan is a land of mountains and barren deserts, but it is rich and fertile because of its mineral resources. There are numerous mines of coal, gold, copper, gas, and oil. Apart from the Baloch ethnic group, Balochistan has also been home to Pashtuns, Punjabi, Saraiki, Sindhi, and Hazara for ages. As per the 1998 census report of Pakistan, Baloch, with 55% of the population, are the major inhabitants of Balochistan. While Pashtuns' population is 30%, the remaining 15% is the blend of Saraiki's, Punjabi's, Sindhi's, Hazara's, and others. However, these ethnic groups do

¹ In this thesis I am following the spellings of Baloch and Balochistan as per the government of Balochistan

² A brief on the history and geography of Balochistan is detailed in chapter 3.

not identify themselves as a part of the Baloch nation and have distinguished language, culture, history, and ancestry.

In 1947 when British India was divided into two sovereign states, India and Pakistan, both the newly emerged states adopted a federalist government system to stay united and to be able to control different ethnic groups. Studies have shown that federalism can keep diverse societies and ethnicities united (Balcha, 2007; Kymlicka, 1995 & 2006). However, in Pakistan, federalism has faced a challenging situation when unifying the different ethnic groups. Historically the relationship between Baloch nationalist leadership and the state of Pakistan did not remain very smooth and comfortable. Many Baloch nationalists argue that Pakistan annexed Balochistan without consideration of the Baloch people. They claim that the forceful imposition of Pakistani nationalism became a key reason for the chaos in Balochistan. The Baloch and Pakistani state's relationship have worsened over time (International Crisis Group, 2006 & Cohen, 2005). It is also reported that some of Balochistan's people have put forth that the Pakistani state has usurped their autonomy, freedom, and sovereignty. Pakistan has been trying to demolish its identity while exploiting its land and resources for decades (Grare, 2006). In an attempt to retake their autonomy, the Baloch nationalists have executed a series of insurgencies³. In response, the Pakistani military has conducted five military operations in the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 2002 (Bansal, 2005; Harrison, 1981). However, the tribally divided Baloch nationalists started a more organized, united, and sophisticated Baloch nationalist movement⁴ due to the counterinsurgency efforts. The contemporary Baloch nationalist movement demands an independent Baloch national autonomy rather than equal rights or provincial autonomy. The advent of this demand can be found in the region's chaotic and volatile history and its relationship with the state.

Other movements claiming their own ethnic⁵ identity include the once very popular *Sindhi* nationalists who have demanded "*Sindhudesh*" (a separate nation for the *Sindhi* ethnic group). A group of Pashtun nationalists has also been demanding a larger "Pakhtunkhwa." The *Saraiki* ethnic group from South Punjab has laid claims for a "Saraiki Province," The Urdu-speaking people known as *Mohajar* (migrants from

³ The details of all five insurgencies are given in chapter 3.

⁴ The following study is focusing on the Baloch nationalism in Pakistan after 1947

⁵ There are numerous ethnic identities are living in Pakistan, *Sindhi*, *Saraiki*, *Punjabi*, *Pashtuns*, *Baloch* are the dominant ethnic groups in Pakistan

India at the time of partition) are also looking for their separate province. However, when looked at individually, different ethnic groups have different demands based on their ethnic identities and ties with the state-level stakeholders. The Pashtun, Baloch, and Sindhi nationalists have demanded provincial autonomy to sometimes independence from the state itself.

In contrast, the Saraiki, *Hazara*, and *Mohajar* (Migrants) demanded separate provinces within the Pakistani state. To this day, nationalists from all ethnic groups are struggling to achieve their objectives. However, if one compares all the nationalist movements in Pakistan, the Baloch nationalist movement has remained the most trouble-making and *bêtes noire* to the Pakistani federation.

In the past seven decades, the Pakistani state has tried to create a form of homogenous nationalism among all Pakistani citizens without considering their specific history, which has made it a very challenging task. Pakistan is a democratic state, but the influence and inference of the Pakistan army in Pakistan's political system are deep-rooted. They thus are heavily involved in this nation-building process. Particularly in the case of the Baloch nationalist movement, the Baloch nationalists have argued that the robust and dominating military elite has been controlling Pakistan and Balochistan. Baloch nationalists blame the Pakistani military for the annexation of Balochistan with the help of the local *Sardars*⁶. They also feel that the Military establishment imposed several wars on the Baloch people while looting their minerals and other natural resources. The Baloch leadership holds that their sovereignty has been under attack; their elders have been killed and jailed by the state. All these have created and fueled a sense of hatred and anger within the Baloch society. It has plunged the Baloch youth into an armed struggle to fight for their rights.

Studying Baloch nationalism's history reveals that the first wave (1948) of the Baloch insurgency was against Balochistan's perceived forceful merger with Pakistan. This wave divided the Baloch nationalists into two major groups. One of these groups was in favor of armed struggle for the independence of Balochistan, while the other was in support of a political solution (Baloch, 1987). The second wave (1958) of insurgency emerged to protect the Baloch identity and resist the One-Unit Plan. The third and

⁶ In Baloch tribal system, Sardar is a title given to the head of tribe

fourth waves of uprisings, known as *Parari*⁷ or guerrilla movement, started as demands for provincial autonomy for Balochistan, equal rights, and equal distribution of resources. Finally, the current phase of the Baloch nationalist movement and insurgency began with the assassination of Baloch *Sardar* Akbar Khan *Bugti* and the nationalist leader Balach *Marri*. Thus, the demands of the contemporary Baloch nationalist movement are entirely different from what was demanded in the last four phases. Now, the Baloch nationalist leadership is vying for the independence of Balochistan.

The political structure of Balochistan can be divided into three significant schools of thought: a) the separatists, freedom fighters, and insurgents, who are primarily from the middle class and educated youth, and they are struggling for the independence of Balochistan; b) the federalist political parties and leaders that are vying for equal rights and maximum provincial autonomy within the Pakistani federation for the Baloch people; and c) these are primarily tribal *Sardars*-led political parties, which sometimes support the federalist and sometimes favour the separatist demands. Over time, the Baloch separatist nationalist leadership has gained more popularity and support from the masses. On the other hand, the government of Pakistan continues to deny claims and arguments of the Baloch nationalists. It stresses that the movement is tainted by the involvement of foreign forces and enemies of Pakistan.

However, in recent years, the Baloch nationalist movement has gained popularity all over the world. Noticeable features of the movement that have caused this wave of popularity include:

- The Baloch nationalist movement is working under the leadership of an educated class of Baloch youth,
- Baloch nationalists have adopted new strategies of guerrilla warfare,
- The increasing involvement of Baloch women in the Baloch nationalist political wings,
- Baloch diaspora is drawing the world's attention towards Baloch issues,

⁷ *Parari* is Balochi word which mean a person who do not listen anyone and go in isolation to fight or take revenge

- Development of international mega-projects; Gwadar port and international gas pipelines agreements are diverting the world's attention towards and interest in Balochistan,
- Increasing cases of human rights violations in Balochistan.

The Baloch armed groups have been attacking the military and government installations within Balochistan and have also adopted the strategy of suicide attacks. Moreover, the Baloch insurgents have also been attacking Chinese personnel and installations outside Balochistan to stop implementing projects in Balochistan. However, the Pakistani government and establishment have never considered the Baloch nationalist movement a severe issue. The government claims that only 7% of Balochistan's total land mass is in unrest. The government also blames the turmoil on the personal interests of a few tribal *Sardars*. In reality, the nationalist movement and insurgency have affected Balochistan and Pakistan (Mroczek, 2014). The government's indifference, however, is making the Baloch more bitter and violent towards the state. The Baloch youth and leadership do not trust the Pakistani government. While a segment of Baloch politicians has favored a political solution because their demands revolve around maximum provincial autonomy (Grare, 2006 and Baloch, 2007), those pursuing an armed struggle are not ready to trust them. They claim that these Baloch political leaders are the puppets of the Pakistani federal government. The separatist Baloch leadership argues that the only solution to this conflict is the demand for the complete freedom of Balochistan, which the Baloch leadership claims are their legitimate right as a nation. So, the tussle between the stakeholders, the Pakistani state, and the Baloch nationalists continues.

Figure 1: Administrative Map of Pakistan



Source: <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/pakistan-administrative-map.htm>

1.2 Statement of Problem

Pakistan is a nation with diverse ethnicities living in its different regions. A state with seventy-two years of life has been facing many internal and external challenges since its emergence. Pakistan's assimilation criteria based on shared religion and broader national identity could not succeed fully in getting acceptance from all segments of society. However, compared to grievances from other ethnic identities and their time-to-time movements, the Baloch nationalist movement remained a unique and severe issue because of its intensity, geopolitical positioning, and so-called interference from outside countries. However, instead of relying on a political solution to Balochistan's problem, the state mostly resorted to force demolishing the movement, leading to more unrest. This unrest in Balochistan is a continuous obstacle for the state in implementing plans of its economic and strategic interests in the region. The situation somehow has seen five different phases of the insurgency. The government and the military establishment claim that the insurgency is merely a result of the interference of international forces, especially India, which could not entirely focus on the ground-level issues in Balochistan. Military operations and a perceived political, economic, and cultural subjugation of the Baloch people has continuously antagonized them, resulting in a more violent and aggressive Baloch movement. Under the leadership of the new generation of educated Baloch youth, the various arms groups have targeted government and military installations in the recent past. They have also been involved in the killing of non-Baloch migrants and workers in Balochistan. The state's reaction has been remained to employ stricter policies and counter the insurgencies. During and after Musharraf's military regime, the issue of Balochistan gained significance because of the increase in forceful abductions, extra judicial and targeted killings. At the same time, each side blames the other for the chaos and unrest.

The present study investigates the real causes and the drivers behind the current shape of Baloch nationalism and how the situation affects people's lives and the overall scenario. The present study also tried to answer why Baloch nationalists are considered the ray of hope for a few people while being considered the vehicle of trouble and instability for others in Pakistan's rapidly changing political climate. Furthermore, significant shifts in the Baloch nationalist movement have also been investigated and documented to present a comprehensive picture.

This scholarship attempts to find the causes behind the changes and shifts in the Baloch nationalists over time, especially the shift in geography and leadership. In contemporary times, the nationalist leadership has shifted from *Sardars* to the middle-class Baloch. Baloch women have also had a visible involvement in the Baloch nationalist movement in recent times, which is rare. It is essential to explore how such a role has been given to women in a predominantly patriarchal society. Baloch society has worked within the tribal system in its social organization. The prime demand of tribalism is to remain loyal to the interests of the tribe and exhibit obedience and loyalty to the *Sardar*. Post-1947, the Baloch nationalist movements were led by the tribal chiefs and *Sardars*. Most people were not familiar with the movement's ideology and were just following and obeying their *Sardars*. In contrast, today's Baloch nationalism demands one's loyalty to the objectives and is not primarily aligned with any *Sardar* or a specific tribe.

Baloch and Pashtun are the two main ethnicities in Balochistan, dividing Balochistan along with the Baloch and Pashtun belt. The Baloch belt is further subdivided into Koh-e- Suleimanian, Makran, Jhalwaln, and others. The Baloch people have various tribes and sub-tribes. Tribesmen's associations and interests have always remained attached to their tribes. Inter and Intra tribal warfare keep the various groups often occupied; for example, the Suleimanian and Makrani Baloch remain rivals, each claiming to be *real* Baloch. However, today, they can all be seen as accepting each other's Baloch ethnic nationalism. They are now united without earlier considerations for caste, creed, religion, and tribal differences, despite Baloch oral history being full of intra tribal warfare.

The prevailing situation in Balochistan is dominated by the struggle for identity and nationalism, which has been fueling the Baloch movement. This leaves the current time in dire need of a deeper understanding of the socio-historical causes of Baloch Nationalism. Furthermore, the emergence of this movement has also affected the socio-cultural, political, and economic lives of Balochistan inhabitants. Therefore, this study aims to build a comprehensive picture of the current situation in Balochistan and aid in understanding the deeper, comprehensive nature of Baloch nationalism and the situation in the region.

Researchers, writers, journalists, and politicians catalogue Baloch nationalism as per their perspectives and understanding. Some of these also have vested interests, while others simply follow a particular school of thought. Baloch nationalism is mainly being studied and categorized in the context of ethnic nationalism. This is only partly true; there are many other factors to be considered when looking at the evolution of the Baloch movement.

1.3 Research Objectives

The following are the main objectives of the present research,

- To explore the causes of the nationalist movement in Balochistan and its evolution over time.
- To document the construction and the definitions of Baloch nationalism given by locals.
- To assess the effects of Baloch movement on the overall landscape of the area
- To explore the drivers behind the increased participation of Baloch women in the movement

1.4 Significance of the Research

The significance of this research study is two-folds. In the academic field, the work on Baloch nationalism in Pakistan is not very vast. The present anthropological research highlights the causes and effects of Baloch nationalism, along with the major shifts within the Baloch nationalist movement. It is a multifaceted issue, and different scholars, researchers and, writers have documented the issues either in support of the Baloch nationalists or the Pakistani government. Most importantly, the arguments given by the researcher and writers do not capture the holistic picture of nationalism with its culture, history, and current practices. However, this research tries to fill the existing gap and examine the concept of Baloch nationalism and its movement by exploring socio-cultural construction, historical development, geographical shift, and leadership transformation. Hence, the following research aims to understand the Baloch nationalist movement in detail while contributing to the subject's existing literature, specifically by implying Andreas Wimmer's *"The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory."*

Due to security concerns after 9/11, the anthropological investigations in Pakistan and specifically in Balochistan decreased significantly compared to other parts of South Asia; little prominent research has come to the fore on similar topics. Because of the ongoing violent wave of insurgency in Balochistan, there exists a perception that Baloch nationalists kill or abduct people that are not from Balochistan. Many civilian and military personnel have been killed so far; therefore, the issue needs an objective analysis.

The research is also likely to help the Pakistani government and policymakers understand the issue's real sense. A better understanding of the views from different sides and the openly discussed grievances will provide the basis for a comprehensive plan for appropriately dealing with the issue.

1.5 Research Methodology

Selecting an appropriate research methodology is very complicated and can be a tricky part of any research. The smallest of errors in setting the methodology can detract the researcher from the desired research objectives. A comprehensive methodology was developed for the study and has been presented in the following parts.

1.5.1 Thick Descriptions in Interviews and Observations

Being a qualitative researcher throughout the research process, including data gathering and analysis, I preferred to use the thick description. In doing so, I captured the contextual information essential for relevance, meanings, and emotions that support social communications, capturing the emotions and feelings of local natives about the nationalist that are fighting against the government. In addition, it allowed me to capture and reveal the locals' perspective on the region's historical and current situation of nationalism. The researcher spent time with all kinds of nationalists; those, who are fighting for independence, who are supporting a federation, and those who are just looking for their rights.

Thick description enabled me to describe, interpret, and document the social actions of the respondents. It also helped to explain the context of emotions and social relationships between people (Ponterotto, 2006; Denzin, 1989). Social actions depend on others' past experiences, interpreted, and documented by the researcher (Geertz,

1973). Therefore, the element of thick description was ensured throughout the research process like data collection, analyses, and documentation. The data collection, particularly from the Baloch nationalism expert and freedom fighters, was asked to describe the situation, incidents, and experiences in detail. The questions were probed to gain more insight with a possible explanation of the actions. In addition to this, the researcher tried to document freedom fighters' emotions and feelings and the nature of interactions with their friend's families and other concerned people during the interview. Thus, I could precisely absorb the nature and setting of the interactions and document respondents' emotional reactions while talking about nationalism for all explorations.

1.5.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation is one of the essential methods of Anthropological research. Throughout this research, I mainly worked as an active observer. A few times, I also remained passive, as needed by the context. During the start of my fieldwork and rapport-building phase, I practiced active participant observations. During my stay in Quetta, I attended a few study circles, students, and political corner meetings.

Similarly, in Kohlu, I participated in events and functions of a diverse nature. Besides attending the political gathering that was not so open, I also attended cultural events, gatherings, weddings, and sports events. During all these activities, I observed the different aspects of native life. I still remember an expert's words on Balochistan's nationalism in Quetta when I visited him. I wore denim jeans and a polo shirt. That expert was a doctor by profession and from the Kohlu district. A day before my visit, my key informant requested him for an interview. After the introduction, when we arrived, he said to me, "*Why should I give you an interview? I don't know you. From your dressing, you seem like an army man. I don't want to be killed after the interview*". For me, that was a cultural shock, primarily because in Baloch culture, and especially in Marri Baloch culture, hospitality is one of the key attributes. I was a guest there, and a local and influential family member of Kohlu was accompanying me, and the *Marri* doctor was not ready to talk to me. Later, when I provided him with my documents, university letter, and university card, he relaxed and had a long meeting with me, gave me an interview, provided me with references, and guided me in my research. Overall, participant observation helped me a lot in understanding and

narrating the thoughts of the natives. This technique allowed me to capture the contradictions between what people say and what they do or think.

1.5.3 Expert Interviews (EIs)

Before entering district Kohlu, which was my prime locale, I visited Quetta. There were specific reasons behind going to Quetta. The three significant objectives were,

1. Visiting libraries of Quetta filled with the literature related to my research work,
2. Conducting IDIs with subject specialists and people with expertise in the domain of Baloch nationalism
3. To fulfil the bureaucratic/official formalities regarding my research and entering the field.

When I was working on my research proposal, I contacted several famous Baloch writers and researchers to get their insights regarding Baloch nationalism. To pre-test my IDI guide, I also visited Quetta and discussed my research questions with experts to understand the technical and explanatory knowledge on Balochistan and Baloch nationalism. A few of these experts had also remained a part of the insurgency and guerrilla war in the past. My research supervisor also suggested starting data collection from the experts of Baloch nationalism so that I may have had a clearer picture of my research topic and problem.

These experts included researchers, writers, and political leaders. During the interview, they emphasized the need for anonymity. These experts mainly touched on Baloch identity's themes, Baloch nationalism's causes and shared the historical details. They shared the deprivations and grievances and how the government had kept the province and Baloch people deprived. A few of the experts also guided and referred me to other people in the field. They suggested I conduct interviews with the natives of Kohlu and share their contact details and references. I also conducted some of the expert interviews after completing my fieldwork to maintain my data validity. The table below has details of EIs sample distribution.

Table 1: Sample Size for Expert Interviews

S. No	Respondents Type	Methodology	Sample Size
1	Researchers/writers	Expert Interviews	6
2	Government Officials		2
8	Total		8

Source: Research Methodology

1.5.4 In-depth Interviews (IDIs)

Another primary technique that I adopted to conduct this research was In-depth interviews. A detailed IDI guide was developed, and pre-tests were conducted during the phase of research proposal finalization. During the pre-test phase, the tool/guide's validity was measured through face to face and content validity methods. Being a researcher, I also developed the consent letter. Before starting each IDI, I obtained explicit consent and shared it with the respondent verbally. I conducted a total of 29 IDIs with different natives of Balochistan. Each IDI took 60 to 90 minutes on average. I allowed respondents to speak at their own pace and in as much detail as possible. I always kept the IDI guide with me during the interviews. The questions were shuffled as per the need for an interview. To get objective data, the IDIs were conducted in a friendly environment. The researcher promised to maintain privacy. All the IDIs were recorded in an audio recorder with the consent of the respondents. Only three of the respondents requested to switch off the recorder during the interview, and it was done to ensure their comfort. At the start of the interview, the researcher shared a detailed introduction to the research objectives. All the recordings were translated and transcribed from local languages to English. All the transcriptions were transcribed verbatim with the help of key informants.

Table 2: Sample Size for In-depth Interviews

S.No	Respondent Type	Methodology	Sample size
1	<i>Sardars/ Nawab/ Mirs/ Political Leaders</i>	In depth Interviews (IDIs)	10
2	Middle-class tribesmen		5
4	Students both female and male		14
5	Total		29

Source: Research Methodology

1.5.5 Focus Group Discussion (FGDs)

Initially, focus group discussions (FGD) were not part of my research methodology. During the fieldwork and data collection phase, I observed certain contradictions in the data about the notions of Baloch nationalism among Sardars and tribesmen. For me, it was surprising, so to understand these contradictions, with the discussion of my supervisors, I planned two FGDs. I conducted these two FGDs at the guesthouse where I was staying. In the first FGD, there were a total of 9 participants. The combination of participants included Sardars and tribesmen. The first FGD was 60 to 70 minutes, with participants from the Bijrani sub-tribe of the Marri tribe. The second FGD was conducted after one week of the first. In the second, 11 people participated, with participants from all three major sub-tribes Ghazani, Bijrani, and Loharani of the Marri tribe, which went for nearly an hour and a half. Both the FGDs were recorded and further translated and transcribed for analysis. Both these FGDs contributed a lot in clarifying the contradictions in the concepts. I tried to give equal opportunity to each participant to share their ideas. The table below has the details of FGDs sample distribution. Due to tribal cultural constraints, it was impossible to conduct FGD with women in Kohlu.

Table 3: Sample Size details for FGDs

S.No	Respondents Type	Methodology	Respondent NO.
1	Bajarani Marri (Tribal leader and tribesmen)	FGD	9
2	Ghazani, Bijrani, and Loharani (Mix group sub-tribesmen of Marri tribe)	FGD	11
3	Total		20

1.6 Locale

A major part of the research was conducted in district Kohlu⁸. However, I also visited Quetta, Karachi, and Islamabad to conduct a few IDIs and EIs. Kohlu is also known as *Marri* country, bordering Loralai district in the North, Dera Bugti district in the South, East Rojhan Mazari, and *Sibi* district in the West. Kohlu obtained the status of a district in 1974. It is further divided into three tehsils: Kohlu, *Kahan*, and *Mawand*.

1.6.1 Justification for Locale and Choice of Residence

Kohlu district of Balochistan was selected for this research because of numerous reasons:

1. The first and most important attraction was the Marri tribe. Documenting and understating the phenomena of Baloch nationalism without the participation of the Marri tribe would be unjustified. Marri tribes, as major inhabitants of the Kohlu district, were feasible to interact and collect data from the Marri Sardars, Nawabs (feudal lords), and middle-class tribesmen who have remained part of the nationalism movement.
2. District Kohlu is the area where Baloch tribes executed a well-organized Baloch nationalism movement during the 1960s and 1970s under the command of the Marri tribe. So, it was essential to visit Kohlu for the research.
3. As I conducted the fieldwork for my Masters in Anthropology's Dissertation in the same location, I was aware of the locale's language, cultural values, and norms.

⁸ Chapter 2 Area / locale profile giver a detailed overview of the district

4. A local Marri, a trained Anthropologist, was my colleague in the department of Anthropology Quaid -I- Azam University (QAU), who worked as a Key Informant (KI) and sometimes as a translator for me during the data collection.

1.6.2 Entering the Field and Rapport Building

I have long been aware of district Kohlu for specific reasons, the first being my father. A few of my father's friends have been working in Kohlu, so we [researcher and his father] visited those families during the summer vacations during my childhood. So Kohlu was not new to me.

I was going to research a very sensitive topic, one on which native people usually avoid. I felt that having a reliable key informant would be instrumental for my fieldwork. So I corresponded with an Anthropology graduate, a native and local inhabitant of the Marri tribe. He assured his facilitation for the data collection activities in district Kohlu. To proceed further, the researcher acquired an official letter of data collection from the department of Anthropology Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. With the consent of the research supervisor, the researcher began the data collection phase. In the first stage, the researcher traveled from Islamabad to Quetta for two weeks before arriving in Kohlu. One day after my arrival, I met with the District Coordination Officer (DCO Kohlu) presented my university's permission letter. The DCO was happy to see me, a researcher, but he was also worried about given the security situation in Kohlu. The DCO further arranged meetings with the District Police Officer (DPO) and the Commandant Frontier Corps (FC). In those meetings, I shared the detailed objectives of my research. Overall, the government officials were supportive of me, and they fulfilled the bureaucratic formalities on the same day.

After that, my key informant and I planned our daily routine and started informally meeting with people to establish rapport. Being a trained Anthropologist, I was familiar with the importance of rapport building. It would be impossible to collect quality data without gaining trust and rapport building with the community, especially over such a sensitive issue. During the first three weeks, I did not conduct any formal interviews apart from walking around in the local area and attending informal gatherings to be introduced to the community. Early on, I observed that when people found me out there to study Baloch nationalism from the Marri tribe's perspective,

they seemed suspicious of me. However, over time people started trusting me. One of the reasons behind that trust was the company and support of my key informant and his family's position. One day, when having an informal discussion with an older man nearly 74 years of age, who had been the part of the nationalism movements from his university years and was also sentenced to jail many times, he said that,

“The People of Kohlu, the Marri are terrified of the Government; several security agencies work here. You may find spies everywhere. Therefore, they will not speak openly on the topic of your research. It would be best if you were careful while talking to people. Your question can annoy anyone.”

Eventually, things became smoother for me. Sometimes during fieldwork, I would also encounter the insurgents, but they never harmed me. Some people also contacted me personally, as they were interested in sharing their views on my research area. Having prior information about certain Marri tribal structures and keeping in mind those local norms and values, I smoothly completed my fieldwork.

1.7 Sampling Methodology and Respondents Selection

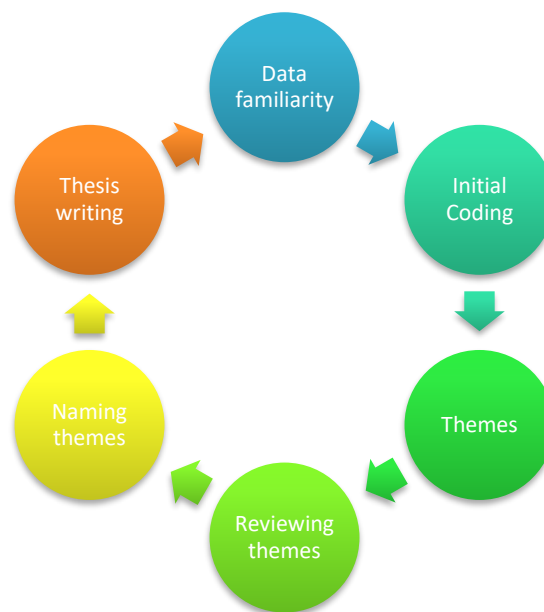
Keeping in mind the sensitivity of my research, I used purposive sampling to conduct expert interviews. In comparison, Snowball and purposive sampling techniques were used to conduct the IDIs. During the data collection and fieldwork, I reviewed the collected data daily. I listened to the audio recordings of the interviews to identify missing information and gaps and document the similarities and differences in data. I documented the data and identified newer information. At one stage, I was unable to find something new from the data. That is when data collection was stopped when new properties were no longer emerging. Similarly, I recruited new respondents by following the principle of theoretical sampling.

1.8 Data Analysis

The data was analyzed manually, and I used the thematic analysis plan. To be more familiarized with the data, I listened to all the recordings several times. Listening to the interviews also helped identify the gaps in data and form ideas about the theme and subthemes. Following the thematic analysis plan at the first stage, the entire recorded IDIs, EIs, and FGDs were transcribed from the local languages Balochi and Urdu to English. At the second stage, all the word-to-word transcriptions were coded

line by line. In the third stage, themes and subthemes were drawn from the data. During the theme and sub-themes generation process, I repeatedly reviewed themes and the data to improve emerging trends in the data. To attain all the possible and maximum themes and sub-themes, I stayed handy to the data. Next, all the themes and subthemes were organized in an excel sheet. I used modest language for the codes to specify the engagements and occurrences in the data. The figure below depicts all the basic steps of data analysis as per the thematic analysis plan.

Figure 2: Steps of Date Analysis



Source: Developed by Researcher

1.9 Keeping Validity and Reliability in the research

Maintaining validity and reliability in qualitative research is supposedly a difficult task. In a broader sense, validity measures whether the research gauges what it has set out to gauge. Reliability deals with consistency and uniformity in research. In comparison with quantitative research, qualitative research often does not have a structured methodology for measuring validity and reliability. However, there are certain ways to maintain validity and reliability in qualitative research. Lincoln and Guba (1985) have suggested a framework to maintain validity and reliability, as a part of the constructivism paradigm. They have suggested that there are following two ways to maintain validity and reliability; '*trustworthiness*' and '*authenticity*,' where trustworthiness in a qualitative study is determined by four indicators – credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability (Lincoln and Guba,1985). Keeping in mind this criterion, I tried to maintain validity and credibility throughout the research, from the tool development to data analysis.

1.9.1 Maintaining Validity in the Research Tools

The validity of research tools was maintained through face and content techniques. All the questions were linked to the objectives of the research to enhance validity. Furthermore, the instrument was reviewed many times to cover all the aspects of the study. The research supervisor also critically reviewed the tool to ensure maximum validity. Finally, a pre-test of the instrument was also conducted to identify any gaps in the question flow.

1.9.2 Maintaining Credibility through Extended Stays and Observations

As shared, I was not a stranger to the research locale. Still, my stay in the field lasted eight months; the first six months were continuous, then I visited the field during the data analysis process after identifying a few gaps in my data. My supervisor suggested that I revisit the field to fill in the data gaps, so I stayed for two months. During this period, I developed a very good rapport with the local community, natives, tribesmen, political leaders, and influential of the area, who were either directly or indirectly associated with Baloch nationalism. It helped me participate in their official and unofficial gatherings, all of which allowed me to have productive discussions and make observations. I also took notes during the meetings. The data that I got from

observations of such sources helped me understand Baloch nationalism more deeply and enabled me to check and maintain the data's validity.

1.9.3 Triangulating Methods, Sources, and Analysis

As mentioned above, I used IDIs, experts' interviews, and FGDs to collect the data. The main reason behind the selection of these three different methodologies was to allow for triangulation. After conducting the first few interviews, I analyzed those interviews during the fieldwork, developed themes and subthemes, and realized certain confusions and differences among the responses. That made me more sensitive to such inconsistencies, and I reviewed my research tools again as well. The constant cross-checking of data through a multi-structured data collection method helped me maintain the validity of the research.

1.9.4 Debriefing

To receive feedback from my key informant, a native of the locale and a trained Anthropologist, I shared and debriefed my key informant on the findings of the first few interviews. I also debriefed my research supervisor through the telephone to incorporate his feedback and suggestions. The feedback from my supervisor and key informant helped me a great deal in maintaining the data's validity and consistency. I also shared the findings of my initial analysis with the same respondents.

1.9.5 Transferability, Dependability, Credibility, and Conformability

To maintain transferability, I remained systematic throughout the whole process. Usually, it isn't easy to maintain transferability in qualitative research, but I maintained its transferability because of the thick descriptions of data and focused sampling. I frequently shared the research findings with many participants and the key informant as needed to maintain credibility. I shared the initial phase results with the key informant, my research supervisor, and the respondents and experts to get their feedback.

Dependability is another key factor that helps ensure trustworthiness in qualitative research. The concept of maintaining reliability is similar to that of maintaining dependability. Being a qualitative researcher, it was very difficult to keep extensive and detailed records of the entire research process. As dependability deals with the

repetition of findings or the results' ability to replicate themselves, I enhanced the dependability using a stepwise replication and coding and recoding strategy.

To address **conformability** in my research involved comparing and reviewing my findings with the existing literature in the field and meant sharing with the experts of my research's domain to confirm that my findings were reliable and consistent. All the feedback was helpful in the entire study throughout the process.

1.10 Limitations in Entering the Research Field

While I was not a stranger to this field, I faced specific issues and limitations while entering the field for data collection,

1. The bureaucratic formalities took a significant amount of time before I could start proper fieldwork, even though in Kohlu district the government supported me a lot, the law enforcement agencies were observing me continuously,
2. Government officials made it clear that they could not participate in the research, as they were government officials, and they could not talk about Baloch nationalism. This hinders my efforts to collect information from the experiences of the state apparatus,
3. Staying and researching in the field for long periods at a time without any economic support or funding was also a difficult task, but my research supervisor and my family supported me and helped me overcome this issue,
4. I was a bit afraid because of the ongoing violent insurgency in the area I researched, but my key informant was a huge support in curbing my fears.

1.11 Thesis Structure

The research is an anthropological inquiry about the causes and effects of Baloch nationalism in Pakistan. The following thesis keeps a total of ten chapters. Chapter 2 offers a detailed overview of the research locale, the district Kohlu of Balochistan, and covers all the major aspects such as physical features, cultural, political, geographical, and religious characteristics of the *Marri* people.

Chapter 3 traces the history of Baloch nationalism before and after the creation of Pakistan. It explains the confederacy of Kalat before the creation of Pakistan and

gives an overview of Balochistan's merger with Pakistan. Further, the chapter describes the evolution process of the Baloch nationalism movement. Finally, it shares the detail of events, chronologically, that became the reason for the nationalist movement and the insurgency.

Chapter 4 is divided into two parts. The first part discusses the concepts of ethnicity, nation, and nationalism in detail and discusses the theories of nation and nationalism. The first part of this chapter further describes the theoretical arguments of nationalism. It explains how Baloch nationalism cannot be explained in accordance with the primordial and modernist school of thought. Finally, this chapter describes how Baloch nationalism can be expressed through "*The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory*" by Andreas Wimmer. The second part of the chapter discusses the major existing literature on Baloch origin, history, and the evolution of Baloch nationalism.

Chapter 5 describes the orientation of the inhabitants of Balochistan on the Baloch nationalism movements. Respondents have tried to explain and define the phenomena of nationalism in numerous ways. As a natural phenomenon, Baloch nationalism depicts the associations and affiliations of Baloch people with their land, language, culture, and ancestry. This chapter also articulates that Baloch nationalism is a modern phenomenon that emerged in the late 20th century.

Chapter 6 attempts to explain the causes of Baloch grievances. There are numerous cultural, political, economic, and geographical issues and grievances that have become the reasons for Baloch's anger towards the Pakistani state. Furthermore, the chapter explains how the disparities in the division of natural resources and mineral royalties have also become a reason for tensions. The issues of law and order, unrest, extrajudicial killings, and missing persons are also discussed.

Chapter 7 deals with the effects of Baloch nationalism on Baloch people and society. It explains why the Baloch people feel deprived. The issue of migrations has also been documented in this chapter. This chapter attempts to clarify how Baloch culture and language are in threat because of the influx of outsiders in Balochistan and how the Baloch has focused on their heritage documentation. The end of the chapter deals

with the issues of increasing violence in Baloch society because of the perceived political, cultural, and economic discrimination.

Chapter 8 examines and explains the major shifts in Baloch nationalism to do with Geography and Leadership. After the creation of Pakistan, the tribal political system of Balochistan remained under the control of Baloch tribal Sardars and Nawaz. Over time the Baloch middle class replaced the Sardars' leadership. Moreover, with the change of leadership, the nationalism movement also shifted its geography.

Chapter 9 attempts to document the involvement of Baloch women in contemporary Baloch nationalism. Being a woman in the patriarchal Baloch society makes it challenging to be a part of political movements and manage protests, agitations, and rallies. In detail, the chapter explains the reasons and possible motivations behind this phenomenon and why Baloch women are now leading the movement from the front.

Chapter 10 is an attempted conclusion and recommendations.

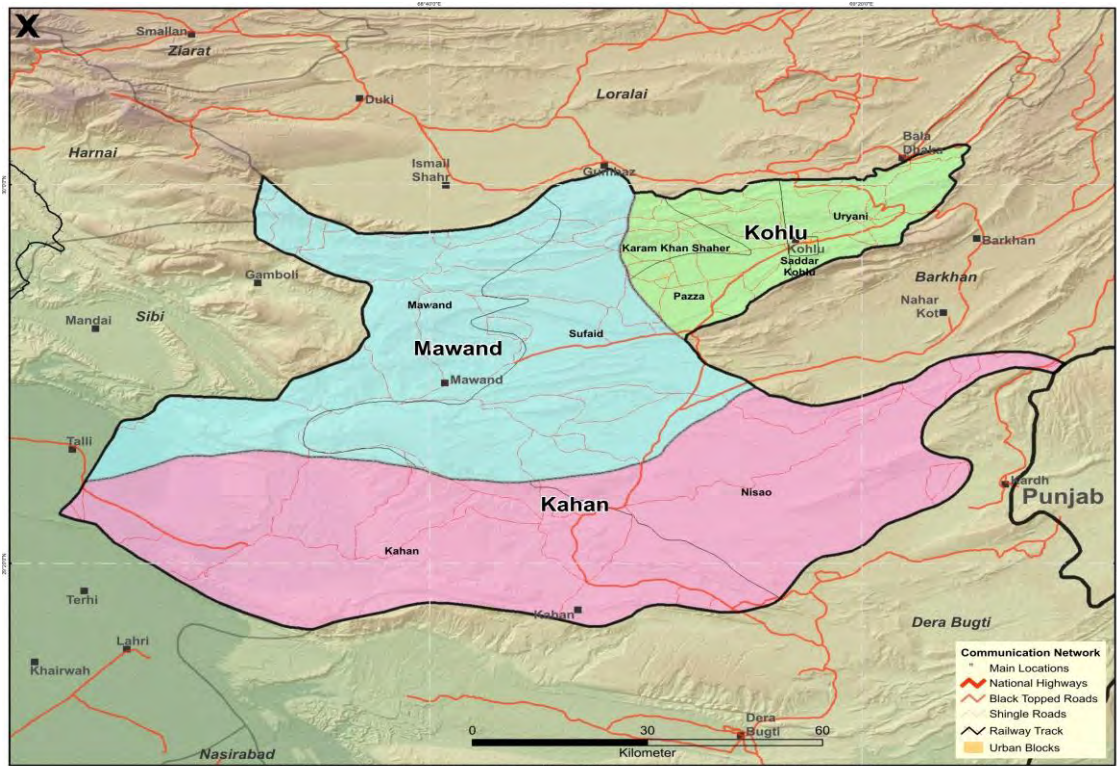
CHAPTER 2: AREA PROFILE

The prime locale of the research was the district Kohlu of Balochistan, and most of the respondents were the Marri people of Kohlu. However, some of the interviews were conducted in Quetta, Karachi, and Islamabad from the Baloch nationalists, political activists, experts, and scholars other than Marri's. The following chapter briefly outlines the area profile along with an overview of the traditions and culture of the Marri Baloch people to provide more context.

2.1 Location, Area, and boundary

The Kohlu district is 7,610 Square kilometers, with three tehsils and eight union councils; it is located 550 km southwest (220 degrees) of the state capital Islamabad and 215 km east (98 degrees) of Quetta city. If one was to look at the map, Kohlu could be found at the end of the Suleiman range consisting of narrow packed hills. The climate in Kohlu remains cold in winter and hot in summers; the monsoon season is the rainiest time of the year. Crops cultivated in the area include wheat, sorghum, barley, millet, mung bean, mash bean, vegetables such as onion, fruits, and fodder. While various agriculture practices are undertaken, water scarcity remains an issue. Animals are raised in arid lands, and it is common to raise herds of many different sizes, where the looking after is done by women and children. The cattle serve multiple purposes, including as a source of meat and milk for sale and purchase, which makes up a large part of their source of income. The government has also contributed towards this by giving subsidies for poultry and providing other facilities such as veterinary institutions where medicines and other facilities have been made available. This is undertaken by the livestock department, which functions under a deputy director along with other staff.

Figure 3: Administrative Map district Kohlu



Source: <https://www.bnPMC.gov.pk/districts/kohlu>

2.2 Name and Nomenclature of Kohlu

Kohlu, a mountainous region in Balochistan, was given the status of a separate district in 1974, and changes were introduced to its structure in 1983. Kohlu town is administered as its headquarters. It is located in the Northeast of Balochistan. Its boundary extends from the District *Barkhan* in the East to the district *Loralai* in the North. District *Dera Bugti* lies in its South, and district *Sibi* is to its West, while Bolan district is to its Southwest. The district's population is comprised of nomads and semi-nomads, and its localities include *Tadri*, *Bijarwadh*, *Kahan*, and *Mawand*. Kohlu, with an area of 7610 square kilometers above mean sea level, has a tough terrain with specific characteristics with military potential. The table below gives a detailed overview of the district:

Table 4: District At a Glance

S.No	Major Facts	Details
1	District Status	6 th February 1994
2	Area	7,610 Square kilometer (Census 1998)
3	Administrative Units	3 Tehsils and 8 Union Councils
4	District Total pollution (censuses 2017) ⁹	428,700
5	Shrine	Mast <i>Tawakali</i>
6	Major Ethic group	Marri (Baloch) and Zaekoon (Pashtuns)
7	Major Languages	
8	Climate	Arid with arm summer and dry cool winter

Source: Developed by Researcher

2.3 History

The history of Kohlu is replete with tribal disputes and political violence. The assertion is widely accepted that the area itself had little to no permanent population before the arrival of the Marri tribe. Hence, the documented history of the area is primarily that of the Marris. However, there is an exception of *Zarkoons* who also claim the Kohlu in terms of its inhabitant. Thus, Kohlu became the hometown of the Marri tribe. However, it was not originally the area of the Marris; it belonged to the *Hasanis*, *Buledis*, and Pathans. Its history can be traced back to Mir Bijar Khan Rind, a cousin of the great Mir Chakar Khan Rind and a commander in his Army. The thirty years war between the Rind and *Lashari* tribes had a devastating impact and destroyed both tribes. Chakar khan Rind decided that his tribe would leave the Sibi area and onwards towards the plains of Punjab. When traveling towards the Indus plains, they stayed at Kahan, where the Chakar Rind migrated to Punjab, but the Bijar stayed in Kahan, despite being asked to continue with the Chakar Rind. Local

⁹ <http://www.pbs.gov.pk/content/block-wise-provisional-summary-results-6th-population-housing-census-2017-january-03-2018>

folklores retell Chakar Rind named Bijar Marri, and local people interpreted it as *Ganokh* and *Jin* (Ghost).

Some historical evidence shows that Bijar Khan waged war against the local Buledis of Kahan, who he managed to drive out of there, and later captured Mawand from the Hasanis. Further evidence suggests that he [Bijar Khan] arrived in Kahan, gathered the local people, and called them *Marri*. Regardless, Kahan was the land of the Buladis, and while some of the people became Marri, others were forced out from Kahan. Over time the tribe spread to other areas and found Kohlu, a suitable place to live along with Kahan and Maiwand. The decedents of Bijar Khan, with their fractions, gradually moved to the northeastern parts and captured what is present-day tehsil Kohlu, along with other regions, from the Puatuns. However, a small population of the Zarkoon clan of Pashtuns continues to live near Kohlu's *bazaar* (market).

The Kohlu district remained the center of insurgencies during the British colonial rule and remained so. The Marri tribe seemed to create immense trouble for the British government in India, constantly coming in conflict with British interests. In 1840 the British government sent an expeditionary force to subjugate the Marri tribe as they had been looting British convoys in Bolan Pass and Katchi plains. This force occupied the fort of Kahan and besieged the Marri. When reinforcements arrived from Jacobabad, the Marri killed the entire force, and their area was reoccupied. The troops in the fort, seeing no way out, surrendered and were given safe passage by the Marris and handed over to the British at Pjulegi (name of the area). Following this, the Marris were in several standoffs with the British. The last war between them was in 1918 at Harab near Maiwand, where the Marri were defeated, and hundreds of Marris were killed along with their leaders Mir Khurshid Khan, Mir Bibrak Khan, and Mir Nihalam Khan. Following this, the district finally came into direct control of the British.

After the Indo-Pak partition, the district fell into Pakistan's territory. After the partition, it remained a political agency and only became a district in status on February 6, 1974. The famous *Perrari* movement of the 1970s originated from this

very district. The present insurgency in Balochistan has its roots in Kohlu, and it is home to the same mountains where Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti was killed¹⁰.

The region's history suggests that Baloch tribes such as *Kalmati* and *Kupchani* had also been there when Mir Chakar Khan was expelled from Sibi. Mir Chakar Khan had settled there for an extended period and later moved to the East with his tribe. He is known as a symbol of Baloch romance, and the history of Kohlu often starts with him. Among his companions, including Bijar Khan, a group of individuals, others including Ali Khan, stayed in Kohlu, the tribe that most likely founded the Marri tribe, while Bijar Khan founded the Bijrani clan. As the initially small group increased in numbers, they began raiding and conquering their neighbors as a means of sustenance; however, the constant struggle later made them weaker. In an attempt to gain human resources, they allowed the other clans and tribes, including Brahvis, Afghans, Jatts, and Khetrans, to join them. Tribal disputes were rampant, and many Marris were killed due to violent attacks, but they managed to maintain their hold because of the policy that allowed the outsiders to adopt the Marri tribe.

The Marris are considered remarkable fighters and have been fighting with other tribes and demonstrated great resentment against the British occupation of Kahan in May 1840 that resulted in their evacuation. The Marris considered the British oppressors and colonizers; despite the many treaties, the relationship remained strained. As a result, they attacked British territories, as well as their allies. Among the main reasons for the resentment was Sardar Khair Baksh Marri (I), who, with his fellow tribesmen, had migrated to Kabul as a symbol of resistance against the British in 1919, only to return later without any conditions.

The independence of India and Pakistan also echo the voices of independent Balochistan. Resultant a nationalist movement began, which was transformed into a small-scale guerrilla war after the arrest of Khan of Kalat in 1958. The army was deployed, but the situation was almost out of hand and proved an impetus for unrest. The well-known "*Parrari* movement" began under the leadership of Mir Sher Muhammad Marri, which had ended in 1969. Later in 1973, the crisis became severe when an elected government was toppled, resulting in a great-scale insurgency in Kohlu. A military operation was held to control the situation, resulting in the mass

¹⁰ The killing of Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti gave a new spark to Baloch Nationalism

exodus of the people to Afghanistan. Among them was Sardar Khair Baksh Khan Marri (II), who self-exiled in Kabul in 1981.

Since then, the political situation in Baluchistan has gone from bad to worse. Military presence in the region became a permanent phenomenon because of the unrest and turmoil. However, successive governments tried to cover up the situation by introducing many new approaches and policies, such as getting the Marris to come back from Kabul after many assurances. The Marri tribe in Kohlu held that their land is the collective property of their tribe. So, it was the prerogative of the Marris that they were consulted before that land was to be used for any purpose by the government. However, their grievances were not addressed, and the conflict continued.

2.4 The Tribal System of Marri Baloch

Marri tribe is one of the major and dominant warrior tribes of Balochistan, who have been playing a vital role in the Baloch Nationalist movement. There are different meanings associated with the word Marri. Historians have said that the *Marri* was being referred to as uncontrollable, like ghosts. Another famous saying about the bravery of Marris claims that they fight at night like wolves. The Marri's of Kohlu are the inhabitant of a very barren and mountainous region of *Koh-e- Suleiman* in Balochistan, which probably accounts for the tales of their bravery.

Like other Baloch tribes, the Marris tribal system also has its internal unwritten rules and regulation system to allow the tribal affairs to run systematically. The Marris have large territories. It is considered the duty of every Marri male to protect and defend their tribal land and boundaries. The Marri tribe is further divided into three significant sub-tribes, namely Ghanzani, Bijrani, and Loharani, further divided into clans. The division of clans is associated with ancestry. The head of the Marri tribe is titled the *Nawab*, *Sardar*, or *chief*. Generally, in the Baloch tribal structure, *Sardari* or chieftdom tends to stay within specific families. It is transferred from one generation to the next; however, some changes in this system have been observed over time. Furthermore, each sub-tribe or clan also has its *Mukhdoom* or *vadra*, who looks after the internal and external affairs of the clan or sub-tribe and stays in close coordination with the chief *Sardar*. Finally, within each family, there is also a *head* known as the *Motbar* or elder (Baloch, 1974).

In the past, the tribal system in Balochistan was relatively rigid. The last few decades of the 20th century have seen a change with the emergence of the Baloch nationalism movement as the educated Baloch middle class rose to challenge the Sardari system. They viewed the Sardars as original puppets of the British government in colonial India and later as puppets of the Pakistani government post-partition. The educated Baloch nationalists remained opposed to this system. Interestingly, the chief of the Marri tribe Nawab Khair Bux Marri, supported the Baloch youth and announced the end of the Sardari system in the Marri tribe, however within the tribe, the system still prevails. Baloch Nationalists from the Marri tribe stated, “*Our [referring towards Marri Baloch people collectively] Sardars ended the tribal Sardari system, but the Pakistani government supported and promoted new Sardars to control the tribes and the area, but their approach has not worked.*” However, it is evident that the Sardari system in Balochistan is weaker than in the past.

2.5 Social Organization of the Marri Tribe

The Marri tribe has existed for long periods based on the tribal system of kinship; over time, with the Baloch nationalist movement, increase in education, and the proliferation of media, the Sardari system is losing its authority. In the Marri tribe, the *Sardar* or Nawab enjoys a special status because of the political and economic powers that come with the title.

The dress and food patterns of the Marri tribesmen are also changing over time. Most of the people still follow the old tribal traditions and code of conduct. For example, the centuries-old traditions of sharing *hal* (news), hospitality, talking *labb* (bride price), the culture of taking revenge from revilers are all still practiced with slight changes. Furthermore, in the rural areas of Kohlu, the elderly male members of the clans still make important decisions and resolve feuds; often, the Marri tribe resolves their feuds at a local level instead of going to the court of law.

Kohlu is a tribal area, and people residing in the area carry tribal identity. The last name of the person is often the name of their tribe. However, cultural values have impeded girls’ education and rights. Women often have to resort to nonscientific or traditional methods to help with any medical conditions. Violence against women is also commonplace, while men continue to have absolute authority. Women's inheritance rights are also violated, their contribution towards financial matters and

politics are curbed, and very few non-governmental organizations have been working for human development (Sarfraz, 1997).

2.5.1 The Family System

The Marri people live in extended and joint families, a practice which is also being eroded with the other changes faced by the tribe. Children, until they reach puberty, are supported by their parents financially. When they get married, they live in their parent's home until and unless they are economically independent. Elders are respected in every manner and are the decision-makers. Compared to Marries, in the Zarkoon's tribe, the females (usually mothers) also influence decision-making and other children's matters. Joint and extended family systems fulfill the economic needs of all family members. In the tribal structure, a more significant number of male family members is considered necessary for the defense of the family (Pehrson, 1966).

The Marris claim that now many family members migrate to cities for jobs and education. The older Marris also sent their younger, married children to settle in bigger cities to keep them away from the nationalist movement and the insurgency. A more senior member of the Marris shared, *“Yes, our family system is changing because we do not want to lose our young people to the insurgency.”*

2.5.2 Marriage Patterns

Islamic laws, similar to the rest of the country regarding marriage, are also practiced by the Marris. Where a man is allowed to have four wives at a time, but the women can only have one husband at a time. However, this polygamy is rarely practiced in the Marri tribe. Furthermore, a Marri man cannot marry two sisters at a time as co-wives. Financial constraints also play a role in the decision to get married. Marris follows a custom known as *lab*, while the Zarkoon follows *Vulver*; both are names for something similar to a bride price. The bride's parents negotiate this amount that the groom has to manage to pay on his own or with the help of his family. The bride price is usually forty to sixty cattle and some additional cash. It is, however, sometimes subject to bargaining. The girl's beauty, status, and age are considered important. The bride price remains the same in the event of a second marriage, even if the girl is considered not conventionally attractive, beautiful, or has a lower status. Thus, marriages within families do not end up charging a higher bride price as compared to

when individuals marry outside their families. In the case of exchange marriages, the bride price is also lower. The amount taken from the groom becomes the collective property of the bride's relatives. If any one of them loses their animals, for example, being separated from the herd, they are not required to contribute to the bride price. A feast is held at the groom's place when the girl moves from her paternal to her marital home. The girl is also given jewelry as dowry from her relatives.

The status of 'marriage brother' is created for the man who speaks on behalf of the bride. He becomes responsible for the bride if she faces hardships after the marriage. While the proposal of a marriage can take place mere six days after the birth of an infant, this has been negated by the tribal council. A husband can dissolve a marriage according to his will, but if he cannot provide reasons for the dissolution, he is fined by the Sardar and no longer entitled to the bride price. But men with influence often do not obey this rule. In the case of a girl wanting to leave her husband, she is to go to the Sardar, and the Sardar arranges for second marriage. The husband is then also paid the expenses for a second marriage. Weddings are often arranged, and endogamy is commonly practiced. Political marriages are also practiced, often to increase political powers and political alliances. Usually, the *Sardar* and *Nawab* families arrange political marriages to build ties with other tribes. Similarly, to resolve old feuds, families or clans involved may arrange marriages.

In all this, the woman's will be often not considered. The legal rights of the women are also concentrated around the personality of their husbands. If a woman is found guilty, involved in some illegal or illicit practice, or harmed by someone, her husband becomes responsible for the settlement. The marriage gives tremendous authority to the man over the woman and is a euphemism for a change of masters. First, the girl's family exercises control over her, and then her husband becomes the new master.

Moreover, fornication and adultery are strictly prohibited and have severe punishments and consequences. If a girl dies, the marriage is dissolved, and her funeral is the husband's responsibility. In comparison, all her tangible and intangible goods pass to her husband. In the husband's death, the widow returns to her close relatives, and the goods she owns go to her children. If she has none, only then can she take those belongings with her. She can be remarried after four months; however, she can live with her children if she does not get married again. If she returns to her

close relatives, in all likelihood, they will arrange for second marriage and receive her bride price. The Marris prefer marriages between close relatives, which has a coiled effect (Pehrson, 1966).

Men and women are segregated at events and occasions; they are also separated during the day while economic activity continues and cannot sit together for meals. While meeting a lover, an exchange of gifts can take place as a reminder of the meeting. These gifts are usually embroidered pouches. However, a secret relationship of this sort is considered immoral and dishonorable by Marris. If a girl has had affairs, and her husband finds out, she may even commit suicide. Over time changes have been observed in Marri marriages. The educated youth and their parents now consider not marrying within the family, even marrying outside Baloch ethnicity.

2.5.3 Kinship Patterns

Many terms are used to distinguish kin from non-kin. The terms *jind* and *aziz* mean relatives, mainly from the father's side of the family. It distinguishes between a closer relative and a distant one. *Aziz* is used in general for a larger group of friends. This criterion is beyond the genealogical distance. Such terms refer to primary relatives as *pith*, *math*, and *brath*. *Fafa* is used for dada (paternal grandfather), *Famo* is for *Dadi* (maternal grandmother), and these are differentiated by the terms used for nana (maternal grandfather) as *Mofa* and *Nani* (Paternal Grandmother) as *Momo* (Pehrson, 1966). *Baba* is used for paternal uncles (related by blood), and *Babu* is used for classificatory father's brother. These structural principles for terminology are generation-based, patrilineal, and sex. They are used as variables in interpersonal relationships and behaviors in the Marri.

2.5.4 Customs of Co-operation

The custom of cooperation is an essential feature of the Marri tribe. It is a part of the Marris tribal code of conduct to help and support each other. The Marri tribesmen used to co-operate in daily life activities and situations of feuds or wars. While the Marris have intra-tribal rivalries, they do not support any outsiders over Marri tribesmen. The Marri tribesmen's cooperation can be observed at the time of marriage. Conducting fieldwork as a researcher, I participated in a few of the marriage ceremonies of the Marris. The friends and kinsfolk of the groom support him economically while also providing animals for the feast for the guests. All of the

friends participate in the marriage and perform several assigned tasks such as receiving guests, providing them space for rest, and serving them food. The economic support of the groom is known as *mana mokh*. The Marri tribesmen help one another through every weal and woe. The Marri men also support their fellow tribesmen in situations where he has to pay any compensation. Similarly, Marris' cooperation can also be noticed during funerals. The friends and relatives of the deceased's family look after their affairs while also providing them with food for a few days.

Additionally, Marris's unity and cooperation against the enemy can be learned from their history. The Marri tribe has a glorious history of resistance to the British, defeating them in many wars. The most significant fight between the Marris and the British army was in February 1918 at Gumbaz Fort, where both the Marri tribe and the British army faced a huge loss. Similarly, after the creation of Pakistan, the well-organized guerrilla movement was also led by the Marri tribe in the Kohlu region (Harrison, 1981). The Marris' united struggle for the cause of the Baloch people is an example of their cooperation.

2.6 Religion

The Marri population is mainly Muslim; however, they do not observe the stricter practices of Islam and take up most of the fundamental principles. As per the 1998 population censuses of Pakistan, 99.65% of the Marris are Muslim. Among the religious minorities are Christians, Hindus, Ahmadis, and other schedule casts. Islamic law is followed in matters like those of inheritance. However, the Marris follow specific rules and regulations in their lives known as the *Dodai Rivaj*, which is the Marri code of conduct. This code of conduct directs their social and political lives. The perceived relationship between Marris and God is like that of a close friend. One of the Marri respondents said, "Allah is our friend, and friends do not harm one another." Admittedly sectarian violence is rare in Kohlu. On the other hand, Marris are soft towards superstitions and visits various shrines.

During the fieldwork, the researcher learned and was told that the religious harmony and peace of Kohlu have fallen in danger over time. Religious extremism and sectarianism are increasing. The researcher observed several religious madrassas from different sects in the city area and the suburbs of Kohlu. One of the respondents

shared, “They [referring to clerics] are here to make us Muslim. They are not the natives of Kohlu. They are the state’s people”. A majority of the inhabitants of Balochistan do belong to the Sunni sect of Islam. At the same time, there is a small representation of Zikris (Shia sect of Islam) as well. Marris have traits of religious harmony and pay respect to all religious minorities living in their areas (Baloch, 1987).

2.7 Important Historical Places

The shrine of *Mast Tawakali* is a well-known place in Kohlu. It is named after the Sufi poet *Mast Tawakali*, who fell in love with *Sammo*. It is a mythical story of romantic fiction. It has been narrated in detail by Dr. Shah Mohammad Marri in his book ‘*Shaksiyat aur Fun.*’ Many devotees visit the shrine every day.

Mast Tawakli's poetry discloses the underlying forces of the socio-cultural life of Baloch tribal Society. It questions and condemns the dangerous and traditional practices concerning the status and social role of Baloch women. Precisely, he has highlighted women's empowerment in the Baloch society. The poetic accounts of Tawakli also echo his connotations, relationships, and belongings with Baloch land, language, culture, and society. He valued the tribal justice system and termed it as a relief for poor tribesmen. It can be said that Mast’s poetry is the true depiction of the Baloch Society in terms of Marris's courage and all other Baloch tribesmen. The Saint Mast Tawakli preached the teachings of love for humanity. Mast Tawakli's love for the Baloch people and Sammo [Mast’s beloved] was endless. The shrine of Tawakli is respected among all the circles of followers (Ijaz and Chaudhry, 2020). However, due to the breakdown of the law-and-order situation in Balochistan, this shrine was also attacked by unidentified persons in 2014.

Figure 4: Researcher at Mast *Tawakli* Shrine along with Marri Tribesmen



Source: Field Photography

2.8 Formal Administrative and Justice System

There exists a formal administrative system in the region. Paramilitary forces called levies to work parallel the regular police. An area of 15 square miles of an urban or town area is under the jurisdiction of two police stations, whereas a larger area is under the control of the levies forces. Provincial levies control a twenty-seven square miles area containing 11 checkpoints, and the federal levies maintain 341 check posts. Against the backdrop of insurgency in Balochistan, explosions and murders have become the major crimes.

Additionally, both forces have provided adequate human and other resources, including vehicles, ammunition, *jails* (prisons) for male and female inmates, with enough capacity for prisoners and other required infrastructure. Judicial services also function in Kohlu. There are district and session courts, a judicial magistrate, and a

Qazi (judicial) court, a district bar, and a few registered lawyers. However, there is a paucity of data on other judicial departments¹¹.

2.9 Public and Private Facilities

For any development to occur, roads and communication infrastructure are crucial, which is the one aspect where the government in Kohlu has paid attention to. Roads are built with thin density, but the difficult terrain of the area makes it a challenge. Electricity is partially available, while gas is entirely unavailable. For communication and correspondence, postal services, banking services, and mobile communications are available. However, a limited number of vehicles are registered with the government indicating that most vehicles are either not registered or illegal. Rail and airways services are also unavailable. Radio and television stations are not based locally, but other limited modes, such as satellite dish channels, are available. Landline and mobile networks also work with limited internet services.

2.10 Education System

Education condition in district Kohlu is poor. The Sardari system and the existence of ghost schools remain a problem for the education in district Kohlu (Chaudhry, Mohyuddin, & Ijaz, 2014). Further, the culture of the *Evzi* system is also a big issue in the progress of the education system (Ijaz & Mohyuddin, 2014). As per the Government of Balochistan (GoB) statistics, there are 444¹² schools from which 355 are boys 89 schools are for girls. Public schools follow the pattern of primary, middle, and secondary level education. In addition to this, there is one intermediate college and five private schools.

According to Multi Indicators Cluster Survey (MICS), Balochistan's school-going attendance ratio was 56%, with girls to boy's ratio of 47:61 in 2010. The data for secondary schools shows a decline in enrollment after primary education. The reasons can be traced in an in-depth study on education in the region but are outside the scope of this study. Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey (PSLM) 2008-09 studies suggest that of children of age 10, only 6 % managed to complete

¹¹ Additional details about these resources can be accessed through the website of the Balochistan government.

¹² <https://www.bnpmc.gob.pk/districts/kohlu>

school while 81 % remain out of school. The literacy rate comes out at 17% for males and 2% for females. The data for rural areas showed an even more deteriorating situation. The government has tried to build infrastructure and encouraged informal education to mitigate this situation: district education departments and development projects have been initiated. The details of these efforts can be accessed through the official Balochistan government website. However, ghost schools in Balochistan are also a reality, teachers are mostly absent, and due to the lack of data on these schools, one cannot paint an exact picture of the situation. Quality education is a major problem; there are structural issues, lack of infrastructure, and the need for teachers' training (Planning & Development Department, 2011).

2.11 Physical Characteristics

The physical characteristics of the people are relatively different from other people in Pakistan; these people are reddish-black, have smart bodies, small heads, and have average height. They have sharp facial expressions, large eyes, and long and healthy hair. The Marri used to keep long hair along with long beards and mustaches. Marri men usually spend hours oiling and brushing these. Among the tribes of Balochistan, Marri tribe members are believed to be the bravest. There is a famous saying that Marri used to fight at night like a wolf.

2.12 Climate and Public Schemes

Mountains surround Kohlu; its climate is cold for the months of November-January. While for June and July, the weather remains hot. Rainfall in Kohlu is average in comparison to other regions of Pakistan. Water facilities are primarily dependent on groundwater resources. According to the Public Health Engineering Department (PHED), fifty-five water supply schemes have been completed, while fifteen were nonfunctional. The rural development department had installed fifty hand pumps for drinking water, and one hundred household latrines were also installed. However, there is still no system for sewerage and solid waste disposal. A large chunk of the population is without access to potable water, and the facility is available only to a mere 18.4%. Ground wells, streams, and springs are the main source of water for most of the population. People get water through pipes, tanks, and they (mostly women) often bring water from far-off places. Medical facilities in the district are negligible, through increased over time. There is a central hospital with adequate facilities.

2.13 Housing Patterns

The 2017 census shows that there were 53,654¹³ houses in Kohlu district (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics [PBS], 2017). Housing in Kohlu is mostly tents, huts, or single-room dwellings. Nomadic practices curb permanent housing. Houses are made up of mud, bricks, and stones. People who can afford baked bricks houses are rare; they use tiles and other iron materials for construction. Kahan is a large village and a traditional central space for the Marris. It has a fortified defensive structure that is called the residence of *Sardar*. There were 400 occupied houses, owned and irregularly inhabited by section chiefs. The residence of *Sardar* is now in Quetta, and Kahan is now depopulated as a result, and also because of the onset of some droughts. Other villages have grown mostly towards the North and are largely populated by Pashtuns. The Marris' population is now mixed, but dominance has remained in the local tribe's hand.

A small segment of the Marri tribe is organized along with a big village settlement. Initially, it was a community with a small unit. Then, *Sardar* or a leader established it not as a permanent village. It was named after the leader or *Sardar*; some of the close members/allies of the leader form families. An equal number of people are attached to this settlement as workers who work on the land or take care of the cattle. These people are like a village's residents, but they live in slum-like settlements, mat tents, or bush shelters. As long as these people live in these conditions, they remain mobile and move from place to place.

The Baloch nomads usually use two kinds of tents; the first kind is that made of sheep and goat fleece known as "*Gadan*," the second kind is that made of dwarf palm and is called "*Kul*" or "*Kari*." However, in modern times nomads also use tents made of cloth and sheets. The semi-nomadic Baloch tribesmen used to live in small rooms made with stone walls and dwarf palm roofs. The same space is used for cooking, eating, and sleeping. Few of the nomads also used to live in caves during the rainy season. In permanent settlements, now people construct big houses with mud and stones mixed, with high boundary walls. They also now have big courtyards and different rooms for the kitchen and for sleeping. To keep warm during winter, an "*angethi*" made of iron is installed in the middle of the sleeping room.

¹³ http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/bwpsr/balochistan/KOHLU_SUMMARY.pdf

2.13.1 Camps / Tents Housing Culture

The tent settlements from a formal and traditional indigenous group remain predominant. It is a fact that these tent settlements form significant enough units in the Marri social organization and cannot be neglected based on their dispersed nature. However, some might be skeptical because they remain less in numbers and are less recognized in traditional political groupings. These camps are small, discrete, and have no definite form or distinct shape. One can hardly identify them or their relations with one another. These tents are set in the deep, narrow, steep-sided valley, especially those formed by running water and under the trees. They are known by the term '*balk*,' which means 'tent household.' It can have between eight to ten small households, but it remains three or four on average. One might even find it loose and random, but the members of the camps find it structured and clear. Its participants only perceive this structure; modifications and changes in the setting are rarely observed, but invisible impediments and separations are still there.

The most significant are the divisions that separate these tents from the outside. Some barriers divide the camp internally; male members avoid approaching women while in the kitchen, and couples have their private space. Children require permission from their parents to have a sleepover with a cousin or a friend in the same age group; however, it is often refused.

Space is reserved for different purposes, depending on whether it is an elder or an individual. Fire, to keep warm, for males is there, and the women's tents remain close to where bread is baked to stay warm. Items for cooking are placed in teapots and other pans. There is usually a place for sleeping at night to protect their belongings, and a separate area is kept for goats and sheep. Regularities in activities depend on the nature of the task and the interaction that takes place among the members of the camp. The consensus between the camp members remains that migration is mandatory; an agreement on certain things is necessary, for example, future settlement and other necessary decisions to do with settlement. There exist different positions on the scale of joint-ness among the communities. For example, joint eating, joint cooking, joint herds and labor, joint expenses of hospitality, and collective rights on cooked food.

Although everyday activities and extended living generate conflict, there are collective interests that unite the community. The various forms of these camps under different circumstances can be understood within this backdrop. Furthermore, there is also a population of isolated married couples. A natural increase is an essential factor in forming a joint group of residents. Every newborn receives an initial position in society from the house where they are born. They exercise common rights with other individuals. The Marri continue to operate on male dominance and honor, and they prefer patrilocal residence. The birth of a son causes an increase in the numbers in the units. This combined with the aforementioned, affects the composition of the Marri camp. However, several other factors also lead to an increase in camps. For example,

- Hardships faced over-sharing,
- Clash of interests and verdicts regarding common policy, particularly migration,
- fright, skepticism, and adultery,
- competition for formal leadership in camps,

These factors, individually or combined, can create a division among the members.

2.14 Institution of *Hal*

Balochi *Hal* is a vital institution of the Baloch society, particularly the Marri and *Bugti* tribes. The arrival of visitors activates the characteristics of the institution of *Hal*. Through this, news of all types is shared, spreading to Baloch society within a few days. The institution of the *hal* is practiced by a complete set of rules and regulations. The head of the family, known as *halk-waja*, will initiate the *Hal*. Until the time of the *Hal*, no identification of the visitor or conversation containing information of any kind can occur. The *Hal* contains the full announcement of the person's identity and other significant news and is always given by the highest-ranking members in terms of age or social status. In larger gatherings, it is also observed that usually the elder or a notable person, Sardar, Mir, *Vadeyra*, initiates the *Hal*. The Baloch "*Hal*" is one of the most important and noticeable features of the Baloch culture. *Hal* is sharing information in detail (Dashti, 2012). While Baloch (1974) says that *Hal* is the Baloch custom of exchanging news (Baloch, 1974). It is a communication pattern; when people interact with one another, after greetings, they say (in Balochi) "*Hal e dey*," which means, '*share hal with me*,' which is a prompt

for the other person to share all details. In the end, the respondent asks the same question, and the other person shares their details. However, unseemly scandals or personal judgments are banned. They come later, if at all, in the *majlis*- the formal bull session of the men.

It is believed to be the most effective source of sharing information. Usually, when someone travels to another place or city, he shares all the details like a good observer on his return. It is also seen as a source of intelligence, through which the Baloch tribesmen remain up to date with their surroundings (Baloch, 1974).

2.15 Language

The primary language of the Marri tribe is Balochi. It's an Indo-Iranian language. Mir Ahmad Yar Khan (Nawab of Kalat state), talking about the languages of Baloch people in his write-up "*Qaum-i-Baloch Wa Khawanee-i-Baloch*," explains that the native language of the Baloch people is Balochi. However, they also speak many other languages, including Persian, Arabic, Sindhi, Punjabi, and Saraiki (Khan, 1970). This can be explained by the number of Baloch tribes living in today's Afghanistan, who used to speak Pashto and Balochi; similarly, the Baloch people living in Iran used to speak Persian and Balochi. In Pakistan, the Baloch tribes living in Punjab usually also speak the Saraiki language, and in Sindh, they speak Sindhi.

In Balochistan, the Baloch living in the Makran region used to speak the Barahvi language. A few writers have also tried to differentiate the Barvahi's and Balochi's, but the Baloch nationalists claim they have the same origin. The Baloch nation is a combination or mixture of different tribes that speak different languages. However, the common way of communication is Balochi (Dashti, 2012).

2.16 Hospitality

Hospitality is one of the major traits of the Marri Baloch tribe. It is considered a part of their religion (Baloch, 1974). A Baloch home always welcomes guests. In a Baloch society, even an enemy is accepted when they arrive as a guest. Serving guests with traditional foods is considered honorable. It is believed to be one of the most cherished values of Baloch society (Dashti, 2012).

2.17 Occupations

The Marri Baloch people are nomadic, as discussed earlier. They move from pasture to pasture to feed their sheep, goats, and camels; hence, the Baloch tribesmen's favorite occupation is rearing animals. To meet the family's expenditures and requirements, they also sell their animals in towns. Keeping animals is believed to be respectable in Baloch society. Agriculture is not too common in the Baloch region because of the unavailability of water resources (Marri, 1972). Over time, the Baloch tribesmen are changing their occupation. The educated youth prefer taking up jobs, and because of the modern agricultural system, they now also practice agriculture.

2.18 Food Patterns

Due to the nomadic way of life, the Marri Baloch tribesmen are usually searching for new pastures to graze their animals (Baloch, 1974), which is why they usually do not keep large stocks of food with them. They remain dependent on their animals for food. The cuisine in Baloch society is very simple and delicious. They usually eat lamb and goat meat. A very famous dish in Baloch society is known as Balochi *Sajji* (roasted meat). With *Sajji*, the Baloch eat bread that is baked on stones, called "*Kak*." They also boil the mutton and make several dishes. To meet food needs during winters, they dry and preserve the meat, "*landhi*." They also use milk from the goats and sheep, making butter, among other things. Generally, the Balochs do not like spicy food. Another famous dish in the Sulemanin region of Balochistan is *Sobat*. This is made by breaking up pieces of bread into a large dish, over which stock is then poured.

2.19 Dress Patterns

The Balochi dress distinguishes the Marri tribesmen from all of the other people in their surroundings. Hence, dress patterns are also a source of identity. The typical dress of women in Baloch society is a combination of long frock and trousers. The Baloch women also wear long shawls (*chadar*) covering their heads. In Baloch culture, a typical Baloch man's outfit consists of a loose shirt (*Qamis*) paired with a colorful waistcoat full of embroidery. The trouser worn by Baloch men is uniquely identified as it is also loose and has many folds known as Balochi *Shalwar*. Baloch men also wear a turban. The color of the turban is usually white or Black. Different tribesmen have head turbans with different styles to be distinguished by their tribal

identity. Even within a single tribe, the men of the sub-tribes can be characterized by their unique turbans, representing their clan. Over time these cultural aspects too are becoming seemingly unpopular in Baloch society.

2.20 Music and Dance

Marri Baloch music and dance is also significant trait of Baloch culture. It is also a source of differentiation and identity. Music and dance are the core recreational activities in Baloch society. Balochi dance is known as “*Balochi Jhumer*” or “*chap*.” It is performed in a circle on the beats of drums and tunes played on an instrument called *sarangi*. Famous musical instruments are *Sorzo*, *Tumburag*, *drums*, *Sarangi*” (Dashti, 2012). *Nar Sur* is also very renowned in Balochistan. It is a way of singing, where the singer continuously sings famous ballads, local war stories, and love stories. At weddings, the *jhumer* or *chap* is performed by men and women separately.

2.21 The feature of Revenge

Revenge or the act of revenge is another very prominent trait of Baloch culture and society. Avenging the blood of a relative or tribesman is a fundamental part of the Baloch code (Dashti, 2012). In Baloch society, there are certain fixed codes and values for being a ‘good’ Baloch. These values are called *Balochiat*, *Baloch riwayat*s, *Balochi ways*, or *Balochmayar*. One of the most important of these is revenge. They can take several years to avenge someone’s blood but never forget it. In Baloch society, feuds or enmities are passed on from generation to generation until resolved.

Usually, disputes and feuds are solved through *med o Maraka* (local ways of dispute resolution). To conduct *med o Marka* the accused party must confess to their crimes and send either female or elderly members to the affected party for reconciliation. The affected party is bound to resolve the problem at any cost if the accused sends female family members for the resolution. In some cases, the accused party could be liable to pay a heavy fine as per the demands of the affected party. Respect and honor are also believed to be significant traits of Baloch society. If a Baloch follows the set Balochi ways, he is believed to be a man of integrity. Helping each other in times of need is also a remarkable trait of Baloch culture and code, which applies even to enemies. If arrived at one’s door, the Baloch will provide food and shelter to his enemy and will

take care of him in every. Helping each other during weddings, illness, or death is called *Bijjar*. It is reciprocal, and those who help are supported in return.

Kohlu, With the Marri tribe's dominance, is one of the poorest districts of Balochistan. Marri people claim that they are the real inhabitants of the region. Kohlu is surrounded by the huge dry mountains, which save Marris from the outsider's attacks. Similarly, the weather conditions of the Kohlu are too harsh. Still, tribal-based traditions are being followed by the Marri tribe. But over time, Marri country is going through the process of detribalization. Marri tribe has a special reorganization in the Baloch nationalist movement. Marri tribesmen under Marri tribal Sardars initiated the Baloch nationalist movement from District Kohlu during the 1960s and 1970s. The contemporary wave of the Baloch nationalist movement also started from Kohlu when the Pakistani army assassinated many Baloch tribesman and Sardars in 2006 in the mountains of Kohlu. The details of nationalist waves in Balochistan are discussed in upcoming chapters.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORY AND ORIGINS OF THE BALOCH AND BALOCH NATIONALISM

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part of the chapter has documented the different theories and arguments about the origin and early history of the Baloch nation and the birth of Baloch confederacies. At the same time, the second part of the chapter discusses the details of Baloch nationalism evolution in Pakistan.

Different historians, researchers, travelers, British officials, and Baloch nationalist writers have different arguments about the origin, ancestry, and early history of the Baloch nation. The majority of the historian and Baloch nationalist writers have identified the Baloch origin from Aleppo based on language. The historians link the origin of the Balochi language with the lost language of the Median civilization of Caspian in the era of pre- Christ. The Baloch origin has been traced with Arabs, Aryans, Persians, Turks, Kurds, and many more. In contrast, few Baloch nationalist writers argue that Baloch is the native inhabitants of Baloch land and connect them with Mehr Garh, one of Balochistan's oldest civilizations. Baloch people are the heterogeneous composition of different ethnic, linguistic, and religious tribes or groups. Few of the writers argue that Baloch's can be ethnically from different origins. They are still geographically and culturally a homogeneous group as they have lived in Balochistan for centuries. Remembering their past Baloch historians and writer always glorified the bravery and unity of Baloch tribes. Folk ballads and folk stories of the Balochi language have Baloch heroes who fought against the invaders and oppressors in history.

Like the origin and early history, there are numerous arguments about the genesis of the Baloch nation and confederacies. The British historians have mentioned the Baloch confederation of 44 tribes during the 11th century BC led by Mir Jalal Khan. To make their arguments valid, the Baloch nationalists and historians significantly used to mention the names of Mir Chakar Rind as a Baloch nation-builder during the 15th century. Mir Chakar Khan formed the first formal but short-lived Baloch tribal confederacy, which collapsed because of the inter-tribal feuds. Few of the writers argue that Chakar Khan's confederacy was based on tribalism. So claiming the sense of Baloch nation and nationalism seems illogical during the 15th century. Baloch as a

nation emerged during the early 18th century with the foundation of the Kalat confederacy. Kalat confederacy under the leadership of different Khan's united and organized the scattered Baloch tribes and expanded the boundaries of Kalat confederacy. Overall, the historical literature reveals that Kalat (Balochistan) state enjoyed its sovereignty until the British arrival in 1839. British colonialists fought for more than forty years with Baloch (Kalat state) tribal army to control the area. Finally, the British colonialists succeeded in maintaining a peace treaty with Kalat state in 1854. Over time the British colonialist adopted the strategy of dividing and ruled with the help of tribal Sardars and divided Kalat state confederacy Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. Kalat confederacy finally lost its sovereignty in 1948 and was merged into Pakistan.

This chapter has a detailed investigation of the shifts of the Baloch nationalism movement from 1948 to 2018. Baloch as a nation emerged under the Kala confederacy. The idea of Baloch nationalism later emerged during 1839 with the British occupation and developed over time. The Baloch nationalist movement in Pakistan emerged in 1948 with the Kalat state annexation and is still going on. Over time, the Baloch nationalism movement objectives and nationalist leader's ideology changed. The contemporary phase of Baloch nationalism is more organized and more violent than the previous phases of movement. Today the Baloch nationalist leadership is looking for the independence of Balochistan.

3.2 Baloch Origins and History

The literature available on Baloch and Balochistan is not too comprehensive. Historians, travelers, researchers and, anthropologists all have different interpretations of the foundations of Balochistan, with varying interpretations about its roots, origin, and genealogy of the Baloch people and Balochistan. Griffiths (1967) writes about Balochistan, "*the dump where Allah shot the rubbish of creation*" (Griffiths, 1967, p. 10). Different writers and historians root the Baloch people in different ways. Due to the limited chronological history, written literature, and anthropological data, there are several speculations about the historical origin and ancestry of Baloch folk. There is a very popular ballad in all the Baloch tribes that the Baloch migrated from Syria (Aleppo). Few Baloch historians also associate their origin with the Semitic Chaldean rulers of Babylon (Baluch, 1977). The origin of the Baloch is also associated with the

Turks, the Aryans, and the Arabs. In his write-up "Travels in Balochistan and Sindh," Sir Henry Pottinger related the Baloch with Turkic origins (Pottinger, 1816). On the other hand, George Rawlinson, in his book "*The Sixth Great Oriental Monarch*," seems inclined towards the Semitic origin of the Baloch (Rawlinson, 1873).

A very famous writer, Naseer Dashti (2012), agrees with Spooner that many tribes migrated South from the Middle East and settled in the Iranian region of *Balashakan*. The people living in the region of *Balashakan* were known as *Balashchik*. Over time those *Balashchik* people became the Baloch, and the region's name became Balochistan (Dashti, 2012; Spooner, 1988). The name Balochistan also stems from several arguments. Some writers hold that the word Balochistan is taken from *Bel-ak-istan*, the place of the Sun God. It is also said that the name Balochistan signifies *Bel-a-Kush-stan*, the place of the sun-worshipping people (Baloch, 1974). But the modern Baloch nationalist writers hold that Balochistan is the name of the Baloch land. In his famous book "Tareekh Balochistan," Rai Bahadur Hatto Ram writes that the people who lived in the mountains and deserts were called the Baloch in the Halab language. He also says that Baloch was the name of a family's head many years ago, and his successors became the Baloch. Talking about the meaning of Baloch, Mir Gul Khan Nasser, a very famous Baloch writer, poet, and politician, explains in his book "*Koch o Baloch*" that the word Baloch originated from the Urdu word *Bud* (*Bad*). Historically, most Baloch tribes have been associated with invasions and (*Loot Maar*) looting of caravans (Naseer, 1998). He adds that the Baloch associates the name with the Persian word "*Barloch*" and explains that *Barloch* refers to the naked people living in the desert, where the Baloch people spend most of their lives.

Most of the researchers hold that the Baloch people traveled there from the Middle East and traveled along the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, and further migrated to the areas now known as Pakistani and Iranian Balochistan (Harrison, 1981). These migrating tribes also brought their language and culture. They spread over a vast land as nomads starting from the river Indus in the east to the Persian Gulf in the west and southwest. The native tribes also adopted their language (Balochi) and culture as they became a majority there. Over time, Baloch tribes created an independent confederacy, faced ups and downs, and lost their sovereignty to the British in 1839 (Janmahmad, 1989).

However, certain writers view the Baloch as natives of the land where they currently reside. H. W. Bellew, in his book "*From the Indus to the Tigris: A Narrative of a Journey through the Countries of Balochistan, Afghanistan, Khorasan, and Iran*," does agree with the perspective that the Baloch are migrants from the Middle East. He says that the origin of the Baloch race can be traced to the Rajput's (Bellew, 1874). On the origins of Baloch, a very famous Baloch scholar and writer Dr. Shah Muhammad Marri rejects all the theories mentioned above and claims that the Baloch are the native of this land and are one of the oldest civilizations. In proving his arguments, he connects the Baloch race with the *Mehrgarh* civilization 1000 years old (Marri, 2010). In contrast, this theory does not seem appealing; insufficient archeological records and written history support this. Regarding the existing literature, I observed that the Baloch are a mixture of different tribes. They share a common culture, but the tribes speak different languages, even though Balochi's major language. Overall, there are four major, agreed-on theories about the origins of Baloch, 1. The Baloch are Arab Semitic, 2. The Baloch are Aryans, 3. Baloch are indigenous to Balochistan and, 4. Baloch's are a mixture of different ethnic, racial, and linguistic groups (Ahmed & Khan, 2017).

Coming back to the name/word Baloch again, there are several different views. Writers and historians associate Baloch with the "*Belus*," the king of Babylon (Baloch, 1974). Most Baloch historians agree that the great Kaldian¹⁴ God was called *Belus*, and followers of the *Belus* were called the *Belusis*. Even today, in Pakistan, the Pashtuns call the Baloch the *Balos*. Due to the unavailability of standard history books on this subject, historians and Baloch writers associate their origins with the Semitic race of Syrian origins. They initially lived in Northern Syria and then established their empire in Babylon, and so the Baloch got their name from the Babylonian God "*Belos*" (Baloch, 1974). The origin of the name Baloch is also associated with '*Ballicha*,' a clan of Chauhan Rajput's of the Subcontinent (Bellew, 1874).

There are several misconceptions, even about the boundaries of Balochistan. The Encyclopedia of Islam gives out the boundaries of Baloch land or Balochistan, encompassing the southeastern part of the Iranian plateau, from Kirman desert to the

¹⁴ Kaldian density was established by the Nimrood (fire holder), also associated contemporary with the Prophet Ibrahim about 2400 BC. As in Quran it is also said that Nimrood set a fire and threw Prophet Ibrahim in it.

western borders of Sindh Punjab. The Encyclopedia of Britannica explains that the boundaries of Balochistan are from the Gomel River to the Arabian Sea in the south and from the borders of Iran and Afghanistan in the west to the Suleimanian Mountains in the east. Muhammad Sardar Khan Baloch, in his book "*Baloch race and Balochistan*," says that "the boundaries of Baloch country lie between the Russian borders to *Bunder Abbas*, from the West to the East between Iran, Afghanistan and the western bank of the Indus River (Baloch, 1977). Lord Curzon said the boundaries of Balochistan were "the land between the Helmand and Arabian Sea and between Kirman and Sindh." Meanwhile, Sardar Khan Baloch said that the total area of Balochistan is nearly 340,000 square miles, which is now divided among three countries. It also consists of 960 miles of coastline (Baloch, 1977).

Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri Baloch's book "Searchlight on Baloch and Balochistan," says that all other accounts are often exaggerated. However, he said it is agreed upon that most parts of the Baloch inhabited land are mountainous, dry, desert, and uncultivable. There is no permanent riverine area, which is why tribes are nomadic and semi-nomadic. He puts the boundaries of Balochistan from *Bunder Abbas* to Kirman, further ahead, he holds, it includes the few parts of Afghanistan, Punjab, and Sindh. This region comprises nearly 2 500 00 square miles (Baloch, 1974).

3.3 Origin of the Baloch Confederacies and Kalat State

There are several debates and questions about the emergence of the first Baloch confederacy. Written records about the first Baloch confederacy are not available, but there does exist the oral history. Baloch people have preserved their history and essential records through their poetry (Baloch, 1974). The Baloch nationalist writers write that the foremost Baloch union was found in the 11th or 12th century. In his book "The Problem of Greater Balochistan," Inayat Ullah Baloch coated Hattu Ram and Mir Ahmad Yar Khan Baloch that the first Baloch confederacy was instituted under the headship of Mir Jalal Han. At that time, 44 tribes were part of that Baloch confederacy (Baloch, 1987).

Similarly, Pottinger and Dams are also of the view that the first Baloch Confederacy was founded in the 11th century BC under the leadership of Mir Jalal Han (Pottinger, 1816, Dames, 1907). Mir Jalal Han's name comes up in the Balochi folklore and Ballads. Baloch nationalists, writers, poets, and historians have paid great regard to

Mir Jalal Han as he was the founding father of the first Baloch confederacy (Baloch, 1987). After the death of Mir Jalal Han, an enmity began among his sons, but Mir Chakar Rind remained dominant. Harrison writes that after Mir Jalal Han, Mir Chakar Rind has been cited as the Baloch nation builder. Mir Chakar ruled from 1487 to 1511, and his capital remained Sibi (Harrison, 1981).

Mir Chakar is also very famous in Balochi poetry as a great leader, warrior, and legend. He also founded the Baloch tribal confederacy and made serious efforts to unite the Baloch tribesmen. It is said that Rind and Lashar tribes were united under Mir Chakar (Baloch, 1974), but this unification was not long term. Due to the culture of war and feud within Baloch tribes, Mir Chakar remained unsuccessful in keeping this unification and harmony (Janmahmad, 1989). Unfortunately, his confederacy was destroyed by the famous war of the Rinds and Lashars (Harrison, 1981). After the Chakarain Confederacy collapsed, there were more divisions (Hughes, 2002), and the Baloch remained busy in tribal warfare and occasional encounters with foreign invaders. During the Chakarain confederacy, tribal unification existed to protect the various groups, not nationhood (Ahmed & Khan, 2017). However, most Baloch nationalists and historians argue that the Baloch did seemingly emerge as a nation with the Kalat Confederacy's establishment by Mir Ahmed Khan in the 1660s (Khan, 2014).

The Rind and *Lashar* tribal warfare records can be found in Balochi poetry and ballads. Few of the ballads describe that the wars were because of the conquests of lands. It is also said that the reason for the war was a horse race between the Rind and *Lashri* tribes. Few of the ballads explain that the Rind and *Lashar* war happened because Mir Chakar protected a woman. Either way, the thirty years-long war destroyed the Baloch unification (Baloch, 1974). There are different views about the result of the wars on Baloch poetry and literature. There are two major perspectives on Mir Chakar's confederacy. First, it is imagined that Mir Chakar was defeated by the *Guhram Lashiri* and migrated towards Punjab with his army. However, most of the Baloch nationalist writers disagree with that perspective. The second opinion is that Mir Chakar marched towards Punjab to invade it and conquer many South Punjab areas, including Multan (Dames, 1904).

The Baloch nationalist writers have maintained the genealogy of Mir Chakar with the help of Baloch poetry and ballads. These ballads praise the legendary Mir Chakar's bravery and are being sung in Balochi music. After Mir Chakar's confederacy's death during the 16th century, the Baloch and Balochistan were divided into three primary geographical states, 1. Makran State, 2. *Dodai* Confederacy of *Derajat* 3. Kalat confederacy (Baloch, 1987). After the death of Mir Chakar, dated 1511, the Mughuls of India made several attempts on Balochistan to conquer it but remained unsuccessful. Baloch tribes defended their areas' tribal-based bonds. However, the Baloch remained incapable of (re)establishing any unity until 1666, when the Ahmadzai tribe established the Kalat confederacy (Harrison, 1981). Then there came the most significant era in Baloch history known as the Kalat Confederacy or Khanate of Balochistan. Compared to the Makran state and Dodai Confederacy of Derajat, the Kalat confederacy maintained its respect and popularity because it unified the Baloch on a single platform. Dodai Confederacy of Derajat was a combination of feudalistic alliances and depended on the Mughals. On the other hand, the Makran state could not expand due to the Iranian invasion and Kalat's invasion. The Kalat state ruled and unified all the Baloch regions under the authority of a central government and provided a holy document, an unwritten constitution known as *Rewaj or Dastur* (Baloch, 1987).

There are different theories about the early history of the Kalat confederacy; few writers say it was established during the 14th or 15th century. Others are of the view that the Kalat confederacy rose during the 16th century. In 1666 Mir Ahmad (I) was elected as a Khan of Kalat by the tribal assembly; he tried to unify the Baloch tribes under the Kalat confederacy. Besides expanding the confederacy's borders, he also focused on the Kalat state's sovereignty. He fought many wars against the Afghans and the Mughals to keep the Kalat independent. Mir Ahmad was a fearless warrior; he maintained a good army and trained in warfare and tactics. He also maintained good relationships with the powerful Mughal king Aurangzeb Alamgir. With the Mughal king's help, he also invaded the territories of Iran and Afghanistan (Baloch 1987).

After the death of Mir Ahmad (I), Mir Mehrab (I) became the new Khan of Kalat. He also followed Mir Ahmad's (I)'s policies and expanded the boundaries of Kalat, and kept Kalat a sovereign state. Mir Mehrab was followed by Mir Samandar and Mir Ahmad (II) for a short period. During the 18th century, Mir Abdullah Khan became

the Khan of Kalat who succeeded Mir Ahmad (II), the most potent Khan of Kalat due to his political wisdom. He unified the Baloch across Afghanistan, Iran, and in the bordering areas of Punjab and Sindh. He not only challenged the Iranians and Afghans but also denied Mughal supremacy. The boundaries of Abdullah Khan's Kalat confederacy reached far-flung areas(Harrison, 1981). Most of the historians are of the view that Abdullah Khan was the founder of an independent Balochistan. However, he did unite most of the Baloch regions under one flag (Baloch, 1897).

After Abdullah Khan Baloch, scholars also praise Mir Nasir as the Khan of Kalat. Mir Nasir became a Khan in 1741 and ruled the Kalat confederacy for more than half a century (Harrison, 1981). Mir Nasir Khan is believed to be the most powerful and successful Khan of Kalat. He remains notable for several reasons; he established the united Baloch army that kept nearly 25,000 men and 1,000 camels. He gathered most Baloch tribes under the agreed military organization system and introduced a proper political system. He finalized the unwritten constitution (*Rewaj*) and introduced a centralized bureaucratic system that combined the feudal and federal systems. During the Mir Nasir Khan era, there were finance, law, foreign affairs, internal affairs, judiciary, defense, and intelligence departments. A *wizri* (Prime minister) looked after the departments with his team. There was a Baloch parliament consisting of an upper and lower chamber. Khan also worked on Kalat's infrastructure and built roads and shelters for *caravans* (Harrison, 1981).

Furthermore, during the regime of Nasir Khan, the Kalat state had its national flag. The flag was a combination of red and green colors (Baloch, 1970). The national language of the Kalat state was Balochi, while the written language was Persian. Mir Nasir Khan also started his currency known as "Nasir Shahi" (Pottinger, 1816). He maintained the land appropriations and tribal organization. He focused on the communications system and trade and the foreign policy of Kalat, sending his ambassadors to Iran, Afghanistan, Oman, and Turkey (Baloch, 1987).

He was believed to be an extraordinary figure in Baloch history because he organized the Baloch tribes as per the Asian standards of the eighteenth century, and he is appreciated as a Khan, as a soldier, and a prince. Mir Nasir Khan died in 1821. After his death, his son Mir Mehrab Khan became the Khan of Kalat. The new Khan of Kalat inherited a very vast Baloch confederacy. He was a brave soldier and leader; he

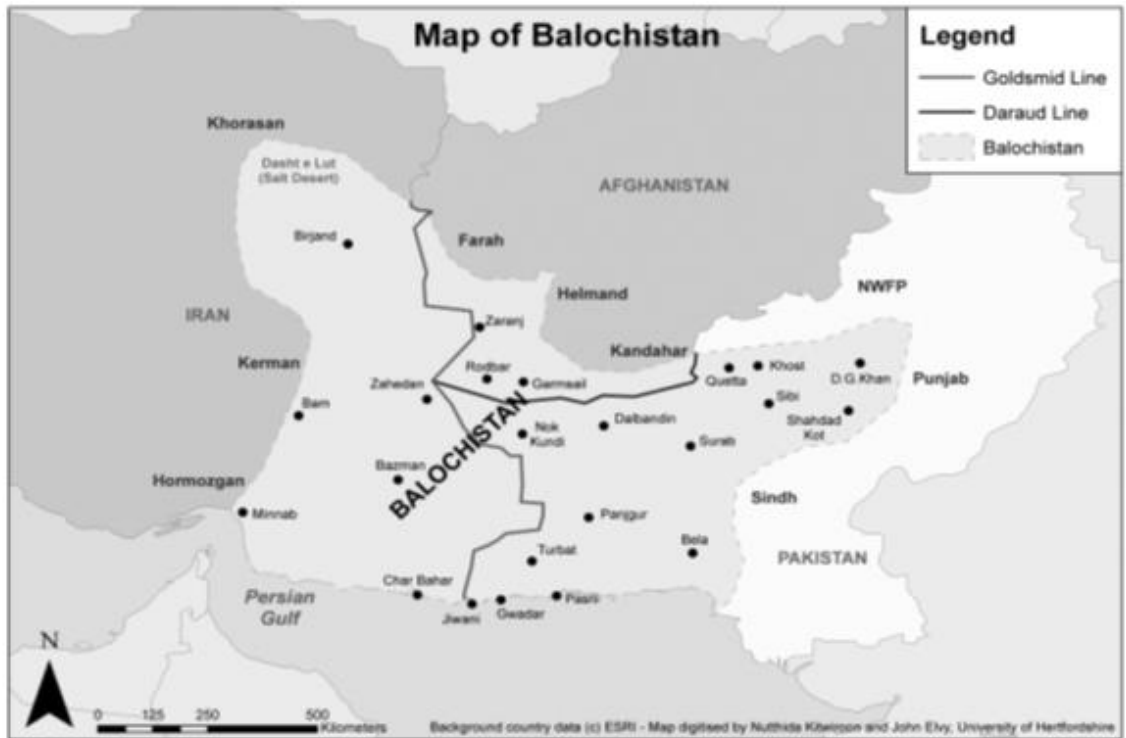
tried to fulfill his responsibilities with great vigor. He faced tribal conflicts and dealt with the Afghans, which became the reason for his downfall. Mir Mehrab Khan was killed by the British army in 1839, after which they invaded most of the areas administrated by the Kalat state. All the invaded regions were annexed to the Kabul Kingdom. The British also announced a puppet Khan of Kalat, Shah Nawaz Khan, unbearable for the Baloch tribes. So, they started a movement against Shah Nawaz under the leadership of Nasir Khan (II). He, along with his companions, took refuge in Kharan. The British and Shah Nawaz tried to arrest him, but Nasir Khan, along with his *Lashkar*, captured the British commander and Shah Nawaz ran over to Sindh (Baloch, 1974). Finally, in 1841 the British used their diplomatic tact and accepted Nasir Khan (II) like the Khan of Kalat. The British also imposed certain treaties on Nasir Khan. As a Baloch and the Khan of Kalat, all these things were humiliating for Nasir Khan, so he again began to organize the Baloch tribes under Kalat's umbrella. He organized a sizeable Baloch army to seek revenge from the British and Kabul. Unfortunately, Nasir Khan was killed (poisoned) in 1857 by the British. After Mir Nasir Kahn II's death, his son Mir Khudadad was appointed as the Khan of Kalat (Baloch, 1987).

During Mir Khudadad's era, there was unrest in Balochistan. Even the family members of the Khan of Kalat were in-fighting to gain power and *Khangi*. Most of the tribes were fighting for lands and control. Tribes were invading each other's lands, and the British supported the unrest for their interests. Khan's army under the leadership of Mir Khudadad Khan tried to curb these issues, but it was more complicated; because of the unrest, the Kalat state's economy had also been getting weaker. Nevertheless, he still managed to crush most of the issues. In 1871 British officers tried to sort out the tribal conflicts, but they remained unsuccessful and unable to get concrete results on tribal land boundaries issues.

The British Government also stopped supporting Khan financially, and in 1875 the British Government appointed Sir Robert Sandeman as an agent to the governor-general (AGG) in Balochistan. The British increased their influence in Balochistan; the British agents began to control the tribal chiefs by offering them bribes. People close to the Khan started to spy for the British, and the Kalat state was weakening. Mir Khudadad Khan was prisoned in 1893 and died in 1903. After Mir Khudadad Khan's death, the British appointed his son Mahmood Khan as the Khan of Kalat. He

was already a puppet of the British and obeyed his British bosses. He stayed at his residence and did not interfere in state affairs while the British officers looked after the State's affairs. The British also used force against the tribal chiefs that tried to rebel. Mehmood Khan died in 1931, and after his death, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan became the last Khan of Kalat in 1933. At the time, Kalat had economically collapsed. The British destroyed the State in every way. Mir Ahmad Yar Khan remained the Khan of Kalat until 1955. The State of Kalat had emerged, experienced great success, and then declined with the last Khan. Finally, the Baloch nation lost its sovereignty, and it merged into the newly established federation of Pakistan in 1948.

Figure 5: Kalat State during Mir Nasir Khan Nori I regime



Source: Dashti (2013:186)

Figure 6: District Wise Map of Province Balochistan



Source: <https://www.politicpk.com/balochistan-province-list-tehsils-districts-divisions>

3.4 Post Pakistan Baloch Nationalist Political Activities

There are different arguments about the political activities and Baloch nationalist movement before the creation of Pakistan. During the last few decades of the British Raj, several young Baloch nationalist leaders had been struggling and dreaming for greater Balochistan independence. Baloch nationalists were trying to establish political alliances with different national and internal groups for the liberation of Balochistan. Baloch nationalist leadership, with the support of the last Khan of Kalat, issues the map of greater Balochistan, which includes the parts from Iran and Afghanistan. As per the Wimmer multilevel process theory, Baloch nationalists adopted different strategies of defining and refining their political and ethnic boundaries to get their objective. Ethnic and political boundaries depend upon the systematic struggle and dialogues between all stakeholders living within a social field. The different strategies of defining boundaries are adapted based on three primary characteristics (See: Wimmer, 2008).

Over time the British oppression provoked a sense of unity among the Baloch-educated youth before the creation of Pakistan. To preserve Kalat State sovereignty, a few of the Baloch educated nationalists became active during the anti-colonial movements in India. Therefore, observing the political situation of the sub-continent and Kalat, few of the politically active and educated Baloch youth established a political platform with the name of “Young Baloch” under the leadership of Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd, son of a high ranked official in Kalat State (Dashti, 2012). Another active Baloch nationalist, Yousaf Ali Magsi, whose father the tribal chief Magsi tribe, also became popular among the Baloch political circles because of his article ‘The Lament of Balochistan’ published from Lahore in 1929. The article focused on the socio-economic issues and political disparities in Balochistan. In, this article Yousaf Ali Magsi advised the people of Balochistan to resist British slavery. As a result, the British government imprisoned and fined Yousaf Ali Magsi (Marri, 2009).

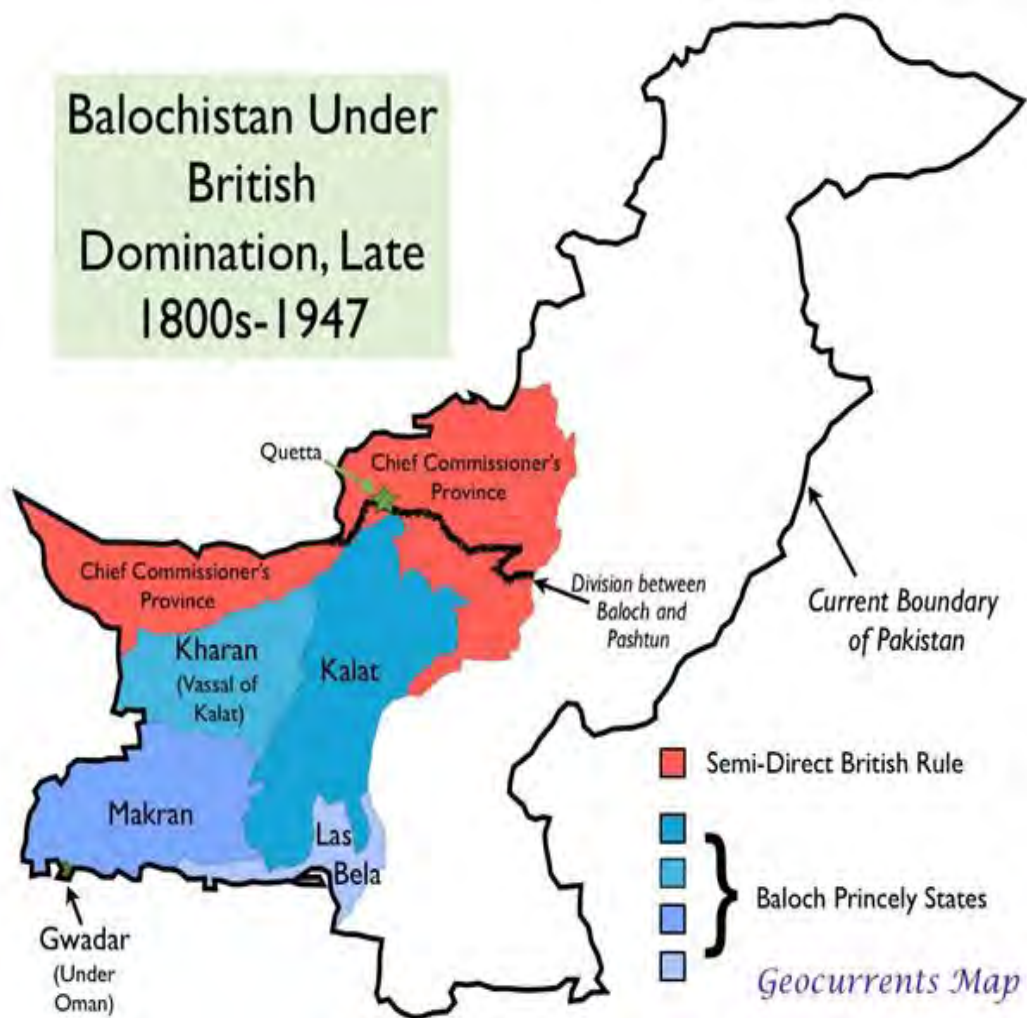
Further, Abdul Aziz Kurd, with the coordination of Yosef Ali Magsi, who was in jail, Hussain Unqa, and others, converted ‘Young Baloch’ into a political organization named *Injuman-e-Etihad-e-Balochistan* (Organization of the unity of Balochistan) in 1930. The ultimate objective of the *Anjuman* was the united independence of Balochistan. In 1933, this group published the map of independent greater

Balochistan in the weekly newspaper *Al-Baloch* of Karachi (Dashti, 2012; Naseer, 2010). Again, the demands of the *Anjuman* were against the British and tribal Sardar's interests. In reaction, the British government ordered to arrest the Baloch nationalist leadership affiliated with *Anjuman*. In reaction, the Baloch nationalist leadership speeded up their political activities. They started publications against British oppression to awake the Baloch nation. They organized arranged coroner meetings, seminars, and conferences to mobilize the Baloch masses politically active and organized (Breseeg, 2004). In reaction, the British colonial government arrested many of the Baloch nationalists and political activists. Numerous educated Baloch's lost their jobs because of their nationalistic agenda. These circumstances affected the *Anjuman's* activities and feared the Baloch people. Overall, the political activities of Baloch nationalists secured the British government and the tribal Sardars who were supporting British colonialists (Kutty, 2009).

Further, the founding father of the *Anjuman* died in 1935. Finally, in 1927 the *Anjuman* was transformed into the Kalat State National Party (KSNP) to achieve independence for the unified Balochistan. Later, KSNP continued their struggle for the independence of Balochistan till 1947 (see: Dashti, 2012; Naseer, 2010; Marri, 2009; Kutty, 2009; Breseeg, 2004; and Baloch, 1987).

During this phase of the struggle, the Baloch nationalist leadership maintained a good relationship with the ethnic groups living within Balochistan, especially with Pashtuns. This phase of struggle continued till 1947 when in August 1947, Pakistan and British colonialists accepted Kalat as a sovereign state. In this phase of the struggle, the Baloch nationalist's leadership remade and refined the political, ethnic, and geographical boundaries and alliances as per the interests of the Baloch nation. Throughout that phase of the struggle, Baloch nationalists adopted different strategies of defining their boundaries over time. They used the strategy of expansion when they demanded the unified greater Balochistan along with Pashtuns. They faced numerous institutional, power distribution, and political networking related problems from the British colonialists and the British oriented tribal Sardars

Figure 7: Balochistan Map under British Raj



Source: Lewis (2011)

3.5 Section 2: Creation of Pakistan and Balochistan's Annexation

Pakistan was created on August 14, 1947, and Kalat State announced its status as an independent state on August 15, 1947. Later, in 1948 Balochistan was merged¹⁵ into Pakistan. Thus, Balochistan and Pakistan have had 72 years old relations. During this period, the Baloch people have witnessed five waves of nationalist movements and insurgencies. Over time, the Baloch nationalist objectives, ideology, grievances, leadership have fluctuated. Initially, the Baloch nationalists were looking for the independence of Balochistan unitedly. However, after a few years, during the 2nd, 3rd and fourth waves of the Baloch nationalism movement, the nationalist leadership focused on provincial autonomy and equal rights.

Further in the contemporary phase of the movements, the Baloch nationalist leadership is again demanding the freedom of Balochistan. Similarly, over time, the nationalist leadership of the Baloch nationalism movement initially remained under the control of the educated middle class and then shifted towards the Baloch tribal Sardars. Finally, the nationalist leadership gains shifted towards the Baloch youth and educated middle class.

Pakistan was created on August 14 in 1947. During the same month, Kalat state's representatives signed an agreement with the British Government in which Kalat retained its status of sovereign State as it had been in 1838. The very next day, on August 15, the Khan of Kalat announced its independence. The Khan of Kalat offered Pakistan a special relationship in defense, foreign affairs, and communication. After surviving a few months, the Kalat state lost its sovereignty and merged into Pakistan in 1948. There are different perspectives about the annexation/merger of Balochistan into Pakistan. The current Baloch nationalists claim that it was a forceful annexation in which Pakistan's Government did not consider the Baloch people's wish. The germination of Baloch nationalist movements in Pakistan began with the Baloch's subjugation by the Muslim League regime of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1947 (Harrison, 1981).

¹⁵ There are number of arguments about the merger of Kalat, Balochistan into Pakistan. The Baloch nationalists claim it a forceful annexation while the Pakistani State argue that the Khan of Kalat willing signed the annexation document for the survival of Balochistan. Arguments have been document further in detail

In British Balochistan, the Baloch Sardars were supported by the British colonial administrators for their interests during the British regime. Apart from a narrow strip of territory bordering Afghanistan, the British colonial administrators did not enforce their administrative machinery of British Raj in the tribal Baloch areas of current Pakistan. The British colonial administrators also paid tribute to and subsidies to the tribal Baloch Sardars because they did not interfere in the British military's access to Afghanistan. Thus, the Baloch Sardars enjoyed their powers and control of their tribal affairs.

During the last years of the Kalat State, there were three main stakeholders, or that the Kalat state was the combination of tribal Sardars (British Balochistan), small princely States (Lesbela, Kharan, Makran), and Kalat State along with educated nationalist youth. The educated youth was against the Sardari system and favored a free Balochistan with the support of the Khan of Kalat. On the other hand, the Baloch Sardars were interested in their tribal sovereignty, while the small sovereign states were interested in annexing Pakistan. As per Paul Titus, the annexation of Balochistan was a willful act by the Khan of Kalat. As the small sovereign states like Kharan and Lesbela were already going to join Pakistan, there was no other choice but to join Pakistan. On August 11, 1947, an agreement was reached between Pakistan and the Kalat state; as per the agreement, Pakistan had accepted Kalat as an independent state. However, Pakistan recognized Kalat as a sovereign state in the Delhi accord but later refuted this claim (Titus, 1998). When the Khan of Kalat announced the independence of Kalat, around the same time, Shahi Jirga and Quetta Municipality (both were the nominated bodies by the British) decided to join Pakistan. In all these pressures, the Khan of Kalat formed a parliament and conducted the first election. The Kalat National Party (KNP) participated and won a high majority.

Within the first few months after the creation of Pakistan, many autonomous princely states situated in Punjab, Sindh, and KPK announced their merger with Pakistan. Apart from this, in Balochistan, Lasbella and Kharan also showed interest in the merger with Pakistan. Keeping the situation in mind, on March 27, 1948, the Khan of Kalat accepted and signed the annexation documents with Pakistan. Khan's decision was resisted and criticized by the KNP and many other Baloch leaders (Dehwar, 1994). Simultaneously, several Baloch Sardars were happy with this annexation as the Pakistani Government had promised to keep them empowered as they had been

during the British colonial administration. After the annexation, Pakistan's Government took certain strict measures against the KNP's nationalist leaders. Their party was banned, and the leadership was put behind bars. The Pakistani Government now controlled the administration and ended the independent status of Kalat.

Since the British departure, subsequent Pakistani governments have tried to reverse the policy of tribal autonomy. The Pakistani government has been attempting to adopt hard policies against the tribal Sardars adopted by Iran. Unfortunately, those policies have failed in the case of Pakistani Baloch Sardars. Because in Iran, governments have empowered the Baloch tribesman by providing education and other development opportunities. In Pakistan, governments have suppressed the tribesmen and have never offered them any opportunities for education and development. These policies fanned the fires of political awareness and grievances in the Baloch people. The Pakistani policymakers and nation builders believed that with the breakdown of the powerful Baloch chieftains, they would merge the Baloch identity into the Pakistani identity. However, the Baloch identity and tribal identities have strong bonds. Hence, the Pakistani nation-builders could not understand these layered identified and the challenges of the Baloch social structure. However, all such efforts further cemented Baloch nationalism in Baloch society (Shahid et al., 2015).

3.5.1 First Wave of Baloch Nationalist Movement and Insurgency

After the Balochistan annexation's nationalist sentiments emerged among the Baloch young and KSNP leaders, they believed that the annexation was forceful, and the wish of the Baloch people was not considered. Given the history of rebelling against the British, Baloch dissent in post-partition Pakistan began in 1948 when the former princely State of Kalat has forcibly acceded to Pakistan (Titus & Swidler, 2000). The Khan of Kalat declared independence on August 15, 1947 but acceded to Pakistan on March 27, 1948. However, the Khan's younger brother, Abdul Karim Khan, the governor of Makran, refused to recognize what he believed was a forced accession and launched a rebellion against the Pakistani State in May 1948 (Khan, 2003). Along with his 700 followers, he gathered arms, ammunition, and treasury funds and declared a revolt against Pakistan. They crossed the border of Afghanistan and called their movement the Baloch National Liberation Movement. Karim stayed in Afghanistan for a few months, but he could not get any substantial assistance from the

Afghan Government. The main reason behind the lack of Afghan support was the greater Balochistan slogan that claimed some of the territories that fell under Afghanistan. During his stay in Afghanistan, a letter was sent to the Khan of Kalat by Karim in which he spoke about the dominance of Punjabis in the Pakistani Government's structure. It reveals how early the roots of Punjabi domination had sprouted in the minds of the Baloch people (Siddiqi, 2012).

After his return from Afghanistan, he started his armed guerilla campaign against the Pakistani military in the Jhalwan district of Balochistan. The Pakistani Government influenced the Khan of Kalat to call for Karim Khan's surrender and promised amnesty in exchange for submission. The high Pakistani officials promised and took oaths on the Quran that the army would not harm Karim Khan and his followers if they surrendered but later arrested them. Karim and his followers were fined and put behind bars (Titus and Swidles, 2000). Following a skirmish between the military and the rebels, Abdul Karim Khan was arrested in November 1948 and sentenced to seven years in prison. Karim Khan's insurgency or nationalism movement did not muster up any achievements because he could not get support from the tribal chief and the Government of Afghanistan. He only created the sentiments of *Balochism* among the people of Balochistan. After the end of the revolt, the Balochs were divided into two major factions. The first demanded independence and favored war and insurgency, while the other group favored resolution through dialogue (Kundi, 2009).

During the first wave of Baloch nationalism uprising, the two main points of considerable importance are; the forceful annexation, without considering the wish and will of Baloch people, and the sense of self-determination. Baloch leaders believed Baloch is a nation with a distinctive language, culture, history, and well-defined geographical boundaries. Therefore, if they were to merge with Pakistan, they were likely to become a minority. They also considered that the Pakistani Government had challenged their ego and *rwayat* or the Balochi code of conduct by the annexation. All these things ignited the Baloch people's nationalist sentiments and led them towards the first rebellion.

3.5.2 Second Wave of Baloch Nationalism, Insurgency

The first radical wave of nationalist movement and insurgency ended in 1948. However, the young Baloch nationalists that were in favor of independence continued

their struggle. Most of them were involved either from jail or remained underground. After the first decade of the first bloodshed, the martial law of Ayub Khan paved the way for the second insurgency in Balochistan. As Pakistan was a combination of different ethnicities, the task of Pakistani nation-building was not simple. In 1955 the Pakistani Government planned the One Unit scheme to promote national unity. As per the scheme, all four provinces of West Pakistan were to be merged into one Unit, and Baloch nationalists strongly opposed this plan (Ziring, 2004).

The Baloch nationalists and the Khan of Kalat vocalized their concern regarding the scheme and strongly condemned it. They believed that they had already lost their independence and the scheme would further curtail their autonomy. To suppress the Baloch nationalists' voices, the Pakistani Government imprisoned the Khan of Kalat, took the Khan's privileges away, and imprisoned most of the Baloch nationalist leaders (Ali, 2005). The imprisonment of the Khan and many other Baloch leaders sparked unrest in Balochistan. Baloch people found it disrespectful to the entire Baloch nation and saw it to destroy their identity and suppress their autonomy. As a result, agitations against the One-Unit policy began to spark all over Balochistan. This time the insurgency was led by a ninety-year-old Baloch Sardar of Zarakzai tribe named Nawab Nauroz Khan. The intensity and period of this insurgency were longer than the previous one. This wave shook the entirety of Balochistan. Nawab Nauroz Khan demanded three major things from the Government of Pakistan, 1) Withdrawal of One Unit policy, 2) Extrication of Khan and his followers without any punishment and, 3) Exemption to Baloch lands from the new land reforms.

Baloch guerrilla forces fought a series of battles in different areas of Kalat and Jhalwan areas of Balochistan under the leadership of the old Nawab Nauroz Khan to regain the pride and dignity of the Baloch. The Government of Pakistan and the military tried their best to negotiate, but the Baloch remained steadfast in their struggle. Finally, after one and half years of the long war, the Government of Pakistan brought Nawab Narouz Khan's nephew to the peace process. The Government of Pakistan and the military took an oath on the Holy Quran once again, pledging that they would accept all the demands.

However, once again, the Baloch's were deceived by the army. Pakistan's army arrested the old Nauroz Khan along with his followers. Many of them were killed, and

Nauroz Khan was sentenced to life imprisonment by the military courts (Janmahmand, 1982). Nawab Narouz Khan's son, along with eight of his nephews, were hanged. The old Baloch hero died in jail in 1964 (Awan, 1985). The death of Nawab Nauroz Khan made him a hero for the Baloch people. The end of this second wave of insurgency turned the Baloch nation even more nationalist. The literature indicates that the Government of Pakistan did not respect or keep its promises, became very popular among the Baloch nation. The Government of Pakistan disregarded both agreements made with Karim and Nawab Nauroz, following its policy of breaking treaties, which was also considered highly disrespectful in Baloch culture (Axman, 2009), sowing the seeds of hatred and dissent deeper in their hearts. Further, the leadership and geography of the Baloch nationalist movement shifted towards the upper highlands of Balochistan, where the Marri tribe led the movement and demanded an autonomous province for the people of Balochistan.

3.5.3 Third Wave of Baloch Nationalism (Marri *Parari* movement)

After crushing the second wave of insurgency in 1959, Pakistan's army began setting up new garrisons in different areas of Balochistan. Many troops were from other parts of Pakistan and were not aware of Baloch culture's values. They disrespected the Baloch people and culture. The Baloch nationalist somehow kept their struggle underground. In 1962 General Ayub Khan introduced the presidential system, won the election, and became Pakistan's president. During these elections, a few of the Marri, Bugti, and Mengal tribe's Sardars became the Members of Parliament. General Ayub Khan was not happy with these Sardars because they supported Nawab Nauroz Khan during the previous insurgency. So, these elected Sardars were replaced forcefully by the nominated Sardars. These incidents paved the way for another insurgency in Balochistan. Marri, Bugti, and Mangel tribes started the insurgency under Shair Muhammad Marri's leadership. They were politically influenced by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and called themselves *Pararis*¹⁶ (Harrison, 1981).

Parari leadership became famous all over Balochistan. Local tribal people supported them as they were fighting for the demands of the autonomous province and the dignity rights of the Baloch people. During the early months of 1963, *Pararis* established several base camps of various sizes. Their camps were spread over 45,000

¹⁶ It's a Balochi word used for a person who does not agree for any negotiations. Baloch Guerrilla warriors were also named as *Pararis*.

square miles, from Jhalawan (Mengal tribe areas) to the Marri, Bugti areas in the North. Each camp was under the supervision of a camp commander. The *Pararis* had several encounters with Pakistan Army's troops. The *Pararis* used old guerrilla war tactics and attacked army convoys through ambushes and raids (Harrison, 1981). Pakistani military responded to the raids with counter strikes and bombarded the tribal areas of the insurgents' tribes, especially the Marri areas. The Pakistani military also destroyed the houses of Shair Muhammad Marri, along with his agricultural lands. The *Pararis* ended up agreeing to a ceasefire, and Shair Muhammad Marri came down from the hills with the withdrawal of the One-Unit administration in 1969 by General Yahya Khan (Khan, 2003a).

3.5.4 Fourth Wave of Baloch Nationalism, Insurgency (1973-1977)

The martial regime of General Yahya Khan was short-lived and ended in 1970. In the 1970 General Election, the National *Awami* Party (NAP) won a majority in Balochistan. It was the first democratically elected Government of Balochistan, and Atta Ullah Mangal became the Chief Minister, and Ghaus Bukhsh Bizenjo became the governor of Balochistan. In February 1973, the insurgency began when Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto dismissed Balochistan's provincial government on the grounds of lawlessness, lasting until 1977 (Dunne, 2006). Apart from dismissing the elected provincial Government, Mr. Bhutto banned NAP's political activities and arrested NAP's leadership, including Khair Bukhsh Marri, Atta Ullah Mengal, and Ghaus Bux Bizenjo (Weaver 2003). The dismissal of the NAP government given by the Government of Pakistan was that a cache of 350 Soviet submachine guns and thousands of rounds of ammunition had supposedly been discovered in the Iraqi embassy Islamabad and were destined for Baloch nationalists (Harrison, 1981). In reality, the Iraqis had made it clear that the ammunition was meant for the Iranian Baloch, not the Pakistani Baloch nationalists, and Mr. Bhutto was not happy with NAP's provincial Government. The NAP government was much more demanding and focused on Balochistan's progress.

After the third insurgency, the Pakistani Government believed Baloch *Pararis* had stopped their organizational structure and network. However, Shair Muhammad Marri, with many other rebels' support, kept organizing the warriors and their camps. *Pararis* organized camps all over Balochistan and gathered more manpower. After the

NAP government's dismissal and arrest of Baloch leaders, *Pararis*, including fighters from the Baloch Students Organization (BSO) and the Baloch People's Liberation Front (BPLF), launched a guerrilla war against the Pakistan army's presence in Balochistan. By July 1974, the rebels could disrupt the infrastructure and natural resource exploration in the province. The army was able to suppress the insurgency by 1974, its primary tactic being sheer military might and indiscriminate targeting of villages suspected of harboring insurgents.

This fourth wave of Baloch insurgency that started in 1973 and ended in 1977 is considered the worst. It holds that the exact number of casualties on both sides was not recorded properly, and it is estimated that thousands of people died. This insurgency had nearly 11,500 combatants and killed almost 3,300 army men and 5,300 Baloch freedom fighters. The Pakistan army also killed several children, women, and older people. The Iranian Government supported the Pakistani government in suppressing the Baloch nationalists and provided Huey Cobra Helicopter to destroy the Baloch warriors (Harrison, 1981).

In 1977, President Zia ul Haq brought this insurgency to an end, who overthrew Z.A Butto's Government and imposed Martial Law. President Zia ul Haq ordered the release of all the Baloch leaders and announced a general amnesty for all Baloch men involved in the insurgency. The new government attempted to appease the Baloch by investing in infrastructure development, including roads and power grids. The Baloch nationalists also participated in the party-less elections held in 1985 (Niazi, 2008).

3.5.5 The Fifth, Ongoing Wave of Baloch Nationalism Movement and Insurgency

From the 1948 annexation of Balochistan to date, Baloch nationalism has evolved and reached its peak in the shape of insurgency and violence. Baloch nationalist movements have faced many hardships, ups, and downs, but the Baloch nationalists have kept their struggle alive. With time the Pakistani Government and military's policies have also evolved into stricter policies. The Government of Pakistan continues to try and demolish Baloch identity and culture to promote Pakistani nationalism. In an attempt to do so, the Pakistani nation-builders annexed Kalat, followed by a series of broken treaties. The Pakistani nation-builders have always deceived Baloch nationalist leaders. During the first wave of the Baloch insurgency,

the Baloch nationalists fought for Kalat's state autonomy. During the second wave of insurgency, the Balochs fought to save their ethnic identity as Pakistan merged Balochistan under One Unit. The Baloch have also fought to uphold their culture, respect, and dignity, initially fighting for these, eventually turning into the struggle for freedom and independence.

The current phase of the insurgency began in 2005, but Baloch grievances had been intensifying for years. After President General Pervez Musharraf assumed power in 1999, he pursued mega development projects in Balochistan, particularly the Gwadar port project. The Baloch grievance pertaining to natural resource exploitation became central as their leaders believed that the projects were being initiated without their input and consent. It heightened their marginalization feelings with fears that eventually, the Baloch will become an ethnic minority in their territory (Bansal, 2006). By 2000, as construction in Gwadar picked up the pace, and more army cantonments began to emerge in Balochistan, the Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) began carrying out bomb blasts and acts of sabotage against government institutions and energy infrastructure in the province. In June 2003, the army was deployed to Dera Bugti, and the head of the Bugti tribe, Nawab Akbar Bugti, was pressurized to surrender (Wirsing, 2008).

Another factor that fueled the nationalism and insurgency was the 2002 General Elections in Pakistan. General Musharraf and his team engineered the results suited to their interests. This election was staged under the military establishment's supervision, with pre-poll rigging. The results of the elections were as per the fears of the Baloch nationalist. As a result, the Baloch nationalist leaders were removed from the political scene, and a new group of pro-establishment people was introduced.

Furthermore, the newly elected Government began pursuing the planned development projects, again without involving the Baloch. All these factors added up to pile on the 'insider' and 'outsider' perceptions. Baloch nationalists believed that the Government was trying to turn the Baloch land into non-Baloch land (Akhtar, 2007).

In January 2005, the rape of a female doctor working at a hospital in Dera Bugti sparked off a full-blown insurgency. The accused was an army officer, and while the Baloch demanded due process, Musharraf declared the officer innocent. By December 2005, insurgent activity, including attacks on gas pipelines and a rocket attack on

Musharraf's entourage, escalated the conflict, and the Pakistan army subsequently launched a military operation in Balochistan. More than 10,000 troops were deployed to the province, and Musharraf threatened the rebels, stating that they would not know what hit them if they continued to push the Government (Rooney, 2010). In August 2006, *Nawab Akbar Bugti* was killed in an army operation, igniting further protests and unrest across Balochistan. Despite some political, economic, and military overtures by the Pakistani State to address the Baloch's grievances, the insurgency continues today.

3.6 The Marri Tribe and the Baloch Nationalist Movement

Any discussion of the Baloch nationalism movement is incomplete without the Marri tribe. Balochs have always appreciated the struggle of the Marri tribe for the Baloch cause and their contribution in defending the Baloch's sovereignty. The Marri tribe's fighters have always remained the most active during all phases of the insurgency and fought with full zeal and bravery and organized the proper guerrilla war and training camps.

The Marri tribe is believed to be the most radical patriot Baloch tribe. Additionally, the principal guerilla development was made by Sher Muhammad Marri, under the supervision of Sardar Khair Bux Marri. Sher Mohammed Marri, a guerrilla pioneer, born in 1935, was married and left behind a son. He died in New Delhi in 1993. Sher Mohammed Marri was a living legend for a vast part of a century for Pakistan's Baloch people. He spent a lifetime fighting off as a Marxist, nationalist government a When he was not in the mountains with his guerrillas, he was either in jail or exiled abroad. Sher Muhammad Marri was born in Kohlu, a little town in the Marri tribal reach; he was the offspring of a minor group chieftain of the Marri tribe. Sher Mohammed was self-trained; he voyaged all over India meeting people while taking up odd occupations to make a living. In Bombay, he was influenced by the Marxists, with the expert Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI) but remained an untouchable among the westernized and elitist CPI pioneers. He never upheld their musings of a normal revolt against the British. He saw revolt synonym to patriotism and initiating the tinier nationalities, and in that sense, he was more of the tradition of Mao and Ho Chi Minh than Lenin. He was detained a couple of times by the British and was also banned from Balochistan.

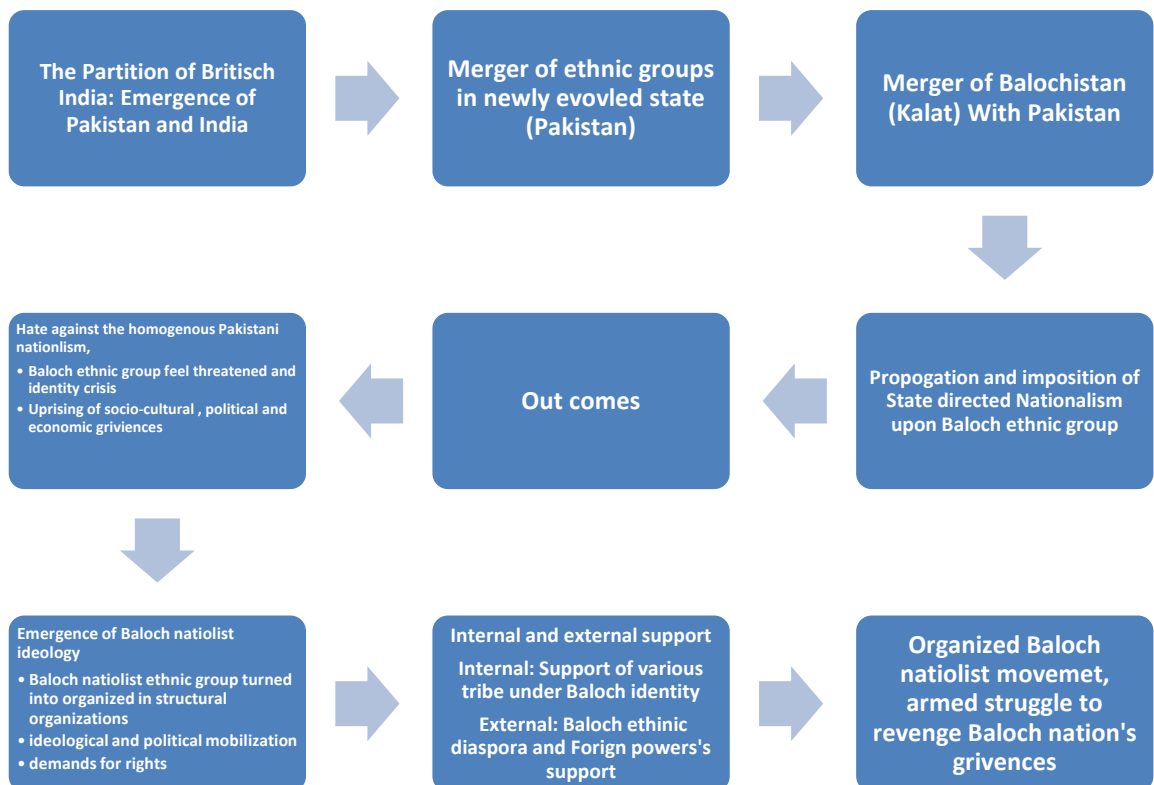
In Balochistan, he became known for his exceptional political work, verse, and translation of the Baloch epic verse into Urdu and distinctive lingos. He could discuss any subject under the sun and imparted it in English and the five languages of Pakistan. In 1947, as the British left India, he joined the Baloch loyalists in their fizzled attempt to form a self-ruling Balochistan. A brief uprising against Pakistan was outfitted with some power in 1948, which he joined; however, it was promptly squashed.

His finest hour came in the 1960s when he drove the guerrilla war against the one-party military rule of President Ayub Khan. He based himself in the Marri slants south of Quetta, from where his forces moved guerrilla ambushes. After that, combat followed a two-week battle against an entire division, passing the organization's antagonistic to a stop. A *détente* was organized after Ayub Khan fell from power in 1968; Sher Mohammed rose to a near holy person for the Baloch youth. He was nicknamed 'General Sheriff' and the 'Che Guevara of Pakistan.' When the Baloch rose again, against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's organization, to demand more imperative ordinary independence, Sher Mohammed was caught in 1973 and put in jail for four years. Like other Baloch pioneers, he went on trial for shamefulness. When Bhutto fell, he was released, and he went to Kabul, where the new Marxist organization offered a safe house to the Baloch rebels. He was joined in Kabul by his friend and guided Sardar Khair Bux Marri, the chieftain of the Marri tribe, and around 10,000 Marri activists. A comprehensive history of the Marri tribe shows that from the period of the British, all the way to contemporary times, they have been fighting for their independence. Right now, the mainstream Baloch freedom fighters are from the Marri tribe. Baloch Liberation Army is one of the dangerous banned militant organizations fighting for the rights and independence of Balochistan. The leadership of this organization is made up of the Marri people.

Overall, Bloch nationalism is a multifaceted and multidimensional movement with numerous political, cultural, economic, and ethnic-based orientations. From 1948 to the current day, the Baloch nationalist fought five wars to achieve their multiple objectives. The constituents of the first phase of the Baloch nationalist movement and insurgency were both cultural and political. Politically, Baloch nationalists fought for the independence of Balochistan, and they took Kalat's annexation as an insult to the Baloch code of honor. The second insurgency phase emerged against the One Unit

Plan to save the Baloch identity and Kalat state respect. The Marri tribe led the third and fourth waves of the Baloch nationalist movement. During these phases of movement, the Marri tribe nationalists demanded political autonomy and Baloch rights. The contemporary wave of the Baloch nationalism movement is entirely different from the previous phases. Today, the Baloch nationalist are united to avenge the Baloch economic, political, cultural, and many more grievances. The primary objective of the Baloch nationalism movement is the independence of Balochistan. The details of Baloch grievances are discussed in upcoming chapters.

Figure 8: the evolution Process of Baloch nationalism



Source: Developed by Researcher

CHAPTER: 4 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals primarily with discussing some of the main concepts upon which this research's arguments are based, such as ethnicity, nation, nationalism, and theories of nationalism. It also discusses the existing literature and current debates on the themes mentioned above. In exploring the existing theoretical dimensions of nationalism, the researcher links these dimensions to Baloch nationalism. The chapter ends with a discussion of the theoretical dimensions of boundary making and nationalism given by Andreas Wimmer. Finally, the chapter also includes and discusses some of the critical pieces of literature on Baloch nationalism.

4.2 The Debate about Ethnicity, Nation, and Nationalism

Nationalism is a contested concept with no universally agreed-upon definition. Social scientists, researchers, historians, political scientists, and anthropologists have varying definitions for the concept, where the debate largely revolves around whether the concept is new or old. However, before discussing the various theories of nationalism offered by scholars, it is necessary to unveil or to point out the general meaning of the term “Nationalism.” Usually, the term is used to mean one of the following,

- **A feeling of association** with a nation; popular sentiment
- **An ideology that gives** supremacy to the idea of the “Nation” based on ethnicity, religion, culture, language, territory, or common ancestry.
- **A political movement** that seeks self-determination for a particular group of people.

The phenomenon of Baloch nationalism is a very complicated and multifaceted nationalism movement. The predicaments that make it complicated include,

1. Does the Baloch being a group fulfil the conditions of being a nation?
2. The Baloch are divided into tribes and have two distinct languages and many internal rivalries; despite this, how did they unite and start the nationalist movement?
3. Is the ethnic origin and ancestry of all the Baloch tribes the same?

4. And so, can the Baloch nationalism movement be defined and explained as a nationalist movement?

In contemporary Baloch nationalism, we can find all of the attributes mentioned above of nationalism. The people of Balochistan have feelings of nationhood associated with the Baloch nation. They have affiliations with their common, shared myths, history, and memories, culture, language, territory, and ancestry. Historically, Balochistan was a separate and independent nation divided between Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan. The people of Balochistan believe that they have a very distinct culture, language, history, territory, and all these things give them a greater right to self-determination. The geographical boundaries of Balochistan also add to the Baloch being a distinguished nation. Before discussing the theories of nationalism and Baloch nationalism, it is important to understand the concepts of ethnicity, nation, and nationalism. Most scholars believe that these three phenomena are connected. Most scholars of nationalism, such as John Breuilly (1993), and Paul Brass (1991), agree that the concept of nationalism and ethnicity are interconnected. The concept of Nationalism enhances the understanding of ethnicity, and the understanding of the concept of ethnicity makes the concept of nationalism clearer (Breuilly, 1993; Brass, 1991).

4.3 Meaning and Evolution of Ethnicity

Ethnicity is an essential feature of human identity. The origin of identity is seen to be different in different societies. It reflects diversity in the society where its internal harmony and stability can depend on how ethnic diversity is accommodated in a pluralistic framework of state and society. The existing literature about ethnicity gives a clear picture of its origin and evolution. While ethnicity is capable of provoking nationalism, it can also be a constraint to the national identity and is often considered a threat to the process of national integration. It has remained an impediment in nation-building, and so has also remained the concern of governments in multiethnic societies like Pakistan.

What exactly characterizes a group of people as “a group,” “a nation,” or “an ethnic group” has remained an enigma for anthropologists, and the lack of precision in the use and definition of these terms has long been noted. These terms are used more often in a rhetorical fashion with either overt or subliminal political overtones. One

reason for this may be the historical political circumstances under which ethnicity became an object of study in the social sciences- a term which entered academic discourse only as recently, indicating that while ethnicities have existed for as long as humans have lived in groups, their study within academic discourse is relatively new, making the concepts seem new as well

There are two major debates on ethnicity; the first one is the 'essentialism vs. constructivism' debate, where 'essentialism' claims that ethnicity is a prime feature of society that molds the thoughts and actions of group members. The proponents of 'constructivism' believe that ethnic identities are a socially constructed phenomenon. The second debate is 'primordialism vs. instrumentalism,' where 'primordialism' believes that ethnicity is externally given, distinguished by identifiable cultural features. At the same time, 'instrumentalism' believes that identity is a community-based political strategy developed and utilized by interest groups (Cohen, 1969; 1974).

The word ethnicity is derived from the Greek word "Ethnos" and has numerous meanings (Smith, 1986), the most significant of which is associated with people living together. The same jargon has been used from the 14th to the 19th century in English, but over time the term has been linked to racial features (Griffith & Callaghan, 2003). Since the 1960s, the terms ethnicity and ethnic groups have distinguished different groups and arranged people into groups based on their shared myths, memories, history, language, ancestry, and culture.

People describe themselves based on ethnicity or ethnic identity to express their identity and affiliations with a specific group. The origin of these affiliations can be diverse and different groups are arranged and constructed based on ethnicity. Rex (1996) deals ethnicity with the social feelings and sense of belonging to one specific group. Ethnicity evolves in all kinds of groups, whether situational or permanent (Rex, 1996). Max Weber (1978) defined ethnicity as a subjective belief in similar physical features and common ancestry. He further connects it with shared memories (Weber, 1978). Similarly, Milton J. Esman (2004) held that ethnicity gives a sense of solidarity and physical and psychological security. Further, its boundaries are expanded based on kinship and family (Esman, 2004).

All these explanations and definitions of ethnicity highlight the absence of a single binding condition that makes the concept more inclusive, instead of illuminating that ethnicity has some objective and subjective markers. These markers are essential factors in the formation of in-group and out-group. The subjective markers are cogently associated with the qualities of individuals given by their associates at birth through socialization. These attributes are adopted by an individual at will and are often externally visible in group activities, racial features, and family characteristics. The objective markers are the psychological affection and mental and emotional processes that help identify associations with a specific culture or group.

4.4 Background of Nation and Nationalism

As a doctrine and political ideology, nationalism has played a significant role in organizing and modeling the contemporary world. Millions of people have sacrificed their lives to protect their nation and national identity, even justifying violent killings of other groups in doing so. While there are various arguments about its origins, most scholars agree that nationalism gained significant traction in the Twentieth century where people began to focus on collective interest beyond their bloodlines. The invasion of powerless people and celebrations of their murder was also promoted in the name of nationalism (Anand, 2010). Nation and nationalism are complicated and multifaceted doctrines, so various schools of thought associate different meanings and attributes to them, particularly the dynamics of their relationship. Some of these are discussed in the following pages of this chapter.

4.4.1 Nation

The term nation originated from the Latin word *natio*, which means ‘to be born.’ Initially, the word *natio* was used to identify an outsider’s community living within the boundaries of a specific city and not integrated with the other communities living in that city. Later, the word *natio* evolved into the word *nation*. Today, distinguished people or the elite communities of a state are also known as *natio* (Plesu, 2001, p. 10). Durkheim associated the word nation with state and nationality. Weber explained that a community inclined towards its separate state is known as a nation (cited in Smith, 2001, p. 25 and see Guibernau, 1996, p. 33). According to Durkheim and Weber, the existence, desire, or demand of having an independent state is essential to becoming a nation. A nation is only imaginable if there is an independent and sovereign state.

Several scholars have criticized this argument. The main critique of this notion is that several nations do not have their sovereign state; for example, Tibet, Northern Ireland, and Catalonia are all nations merged with different powerful states. Similarly, numerous multi-ethnic sovereigns are not identified as singular nations. India and Pakistan are good examples of sovereign states without a nation. Many nations of the world that are multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-ethnic, face some sort of aspirations for national sovereignty, for example, the Tamil Tigers' movement for a separate Tamil state in Sri Lanka and the Sikh ethnic group's struggle for Khalistan in India, and the Kashmiri people who are also struggling for their independence and self-determination.

In contrast, Montserrat Guibernau (1996) held that a group of people could be a nation if they have the consciousness of becoming a community based on a common culture, commonly defined territory, politics, and history. Here, the condition for group consciousness is to do with group psychology (Guibernau, 1996). However, not all nations have to meet all of the conditions of group consciousness to form a nation. Different scholars have defined the term nation by following different conditions. For some scholars, a common language, culture, history, or ancestry is enough to make a nation, while others claim it has more features (Uzelac, 2002). For many scholars, a common language remains the essential aspect of being a nation, without which national existence can be challenged (Anderson, 1983; Hasting, 1997). The members of a nation have associations with and attachments to one another based on several different characteristics. These commonalities can be language, culture, or common interests. Some scholars define nations based on a shared myth of common ancestry. Connor (1994) says that a "group of people characterized by a myth of common descent" is known as a nation (Connor, 1994, p. 75). Numerous scholars define a nation based on a single element. Apart from language, culture, and common ancestry, a specific territory can also be the single constituent of a nation; more so, control over a specific and defined geography and territory is often an essential feature behind the emergence of a nation (Billig, 2005; Breuilly, 2005). However, there can also be nations called imagined political communities where people are attached to their fellow countrymen or nationals simply by virtue of being part of the same nation (Anderson, 1983).

There are also numerous schools of thought and scholars who disagree with the definitions of a nation that rely on a single element or factor. They are of the view that a single element cannot define a nation; rather, many are involved where the importance of the involved elements can be high or low. For example, Smith (2001), held that *“a named human community occupying a homeland, and having common myths and a shared history, a common public culture, a single economy common legal rights and duties for all members”* (Smith, 2001, p. 13). Similarly, when defining a nation, Brass (1991) says it is *“an ethnic community politicized, with recognized group rights in the political system”* (Brass, 1991, p. 13).

All the concepts related to nation seem ideal type; either we took single or multiple constituent elements of a nation (Uzelac, 2002). These definitions of a nation cannot be generalized because there are several multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-lingual states. Similarly, there are also nations without a state, where people do not have equal rights and national consciousness (ibid, 2002). In some of the definitions of a nation, a few constituting elements of a nation seem vague. For instance, when Smith discusses the term, he associates it with a single economy and common legal rights, which is not practiced in many states of the world, especially in the case of Pakistan and India, where legally all citizens are equal but in practice vast discriminations exist. For example, in India, the people of Kashmir have access to equal common rights, while in Pakistan, there are also numerous issues related to these rights. If we were to take the single economy as an element of nationhood, then several nations do not fall in the criteria of being a nation; for example, the Kashmiri, Baloch, Kurd, and Tamil are all parts of larger states, but they claim to be individual nations as well. According to the United Nations Organization (UNO), 193 sovereign states are members of UNO, but there are an estimated 5000 ethnic groups, 6500 language groups, and nearly 4200 religious' groups around the world. So, if we apply the element of language as a constituent of nationhood, then there must be 6500 nations.

Similarly, if we apply the basis of common religion as a criterion for a nation, then there must be 4200 nations. If we were to follow Durkheim and Weber's arguments, then the count of sovereign states around the globe would be between 5000 to 6500 states. Keeping in view the above, it can then be stated that a nation is more of a social phenomenon that depends on time and space. Moreover, to make and remake alliances and to maintain their sovereignty, nations keep changing the constituent

elements. Therefore, it isn't very easy to define nations without digging out any one nation's specific constituent features (Uzelac, 2002).

Essentially, an umbrella definition of a nation sees it as a group of people living and defending particular geography, with deep affiliations, oneness, and belonging based on the shared geography (a specific land or territory), cultural traits, ancestry, language, and religion. The nation can increase or decrease the number of constituting elements as per space and time. The same can be analyzed for whether or not the Baloch are a nation. Many Baloch nationalist scholars and writers argue that the Baloch are a nation, given that they have defined geography, a shared history, origin, language, culture, traditions, political system, and religion. A few writers also claim that the Baloch are not a nation, based on the arguments that they are a tribal society and lack a nation's constituent elements (Ahmad, 1998). This research, however, argues otherwise and holds that given that they possess most of the constituent elements of a nation, the Baloch are indeed a nation. Within this context, one of the Baloch nationalists shared that the *“Baloch are a complete nation. It was the British colonialist and the Pakistani establishment that has tried to divide us on the tribal and lingual basis”*.

4.4.2 Nationalism

As the phenomenon of a nation, nationalism is also multifaceted and often debatable. In the contemporary world of the modern nation-state system, it is challenging to separate nationalism from the nation. The term nationalism has had different meanings and definitions, one of which is an association with a nation. It can also be an ideology that gives supremacy to the idea of the “nation” based on ethnicity, religion, culture, language, territory, or common ancestry. It can even be a political movement that seeks self-determination for a particular group of people. Hence, nationalism has different explanations depending on the time and circumstances. Different scholars and social and political scientists have explained and defined the phenomena in various ways. Of these, the scholars who hold that nationalism is a political doctrine say that the ultimate objective is to achieve its state and power (Anand, 2010).

Nationalism can also be the group's feelings, ideas, and actions linked by ethnicity or territory to control their state. Breuilly (1993) related nationalism to actions, ideology,

and emotions and proposed three different ways to understand the sense of nationalism. In the contemporary world, nationalism deals with politics and the power to control the state (Breuille, 1993). Discussing nationalism as an ideology and behavior, Kellas (1991) argues that nation and nationalism are interconnected. Furthermore, nationalism as an ideology depends on the idea of a nation where the actions are taken can be both political and non-political, judged through their behavior (Kellas, 1991, p. 28). Regardless, most hold that nationalism is a western doctrine of the nineteenth century in which the ultimate goal revolves around the nation and the state. The world is a blend of different nations, and every nation wants to have a state of its own (Kedourie, 1994).

The modern concept of state in Europe is also attached to the concept of nationalism. Scholars of the modernist school of thought hold that nationalism is political thought and principle. Gellner, the most prominent name of the modernist school of thought, defined nationalism as “*a political principle, which holds that the political and nation unit should be congruent*” (Gellner, 1983:1). As per his perspective, nationalism is the ideological support for the modern nation-state. Furthermore, nationalism, as an ideological movement, works to attain and maintain national sovereignty. Smith (1971) thus defines nationalism as,

(1) securing fraternity and equality among co-nationals or citizens by integrating them into a homogenous unit; (2) unification in a single nation-state of extra-territorial co-nationals; (3) stressing cultural individuality through the accentuation of 'national' differentiae; (4) a drive for economic autarchy and self-sustaining growth; (5) attempts to expand the nation-state, to maintain international power and status; (6) renewing the cultural and social fabric of the nation through sweeping institutional changes, to maintain international parity. (p. 171)

Smith (1995) further explains that nationalism is an ideological movement and argues that nationalism enhances unity, autonomy, and identity. He says,

nationalism holds that the world is divided into nations, each of which has its character and destiny, that an individual's first loyalty is to their nation; that the nation is the source of all political powers; that to be free and fulfilled, the individual must belong to a nation...and that a

world of peace and justice can only be built on the autonomous nation.
(p. 55)

Nationalism is an ideology that aims to get and maintain power. It is also attached to the concepts of loyalty, identity, and unity of a certain group of people to their nation. Nationalism seeks to form a state to safeguard the group's interests. It is also focused on the provision of peace and justice and is further associated with the sentiments and loyalties of the people to their nation, culture, language, and traditions. Based on nationalism, people of different nations are identified based on symbols. All these factors and attachments lead to the sentiments of patriotism that give the sense and consciousness of *nationality*. Hayes (1960), for example, writes, "*In simplest terms, nationalism may be defined as a fusion of patriotism with the consciousness of nationality*" (Hayes, 1960, p. 2); nationalism is defined similarly by Snyder (1964), where he holds that:

Nationalism is a condition of mind, feeling, or sentiment of a group of people living in a well-defined geographical area, speaking a common language, professing literature in which the aspirations of the nation have been expressed, being attached to the common traditions, and, in some cases, having a common origin. (p. 2)

In other definitions, however, instead of feelings of belonging to a specific nation, Nationalism is the desire for national prosperity. Scholars of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (1939:16), held that nationalism is "*a desire to forward the strength, liberty, or prosperity of a nation, whether one's own or another.*" When a nation is oppressed, the people belonging to that nation react against that oppression to uphold their identity and sovereignty. Some scholars argue that elements of nationalism emerge when a nation or national identity is threatened. Plamenatz (1975), for example, states that "*Nationalism is the desire to preserve or enhance a people's national or cultural identity when that identity is threatened, or the desire to transform or even create it when it is felt to be inadequate or lacking*" (Plamenatz, 1975, pp. 23-24).

Nationalism can thus be explained as a political movement or a political ideology to defend a nation based on culture, language, religion, ancestry or economy, and politics. It can be used to protect one's nation or desire to become a more powerful

and prestigious nation. The state can produce nationalism, and it can also be nation-oriented. The constituent elements of nationalism also vary greatly. No universal definition exists, which can be justified given the specific time and place it may arise across the globe. For example, somewhere, nationalism may seem state-oriented, while nationalism may arise based on language, culture, and traditions in other places. Similarly, ethnicity, religion, and economy can be the driving forces of nationalism. Thus, nationalism is a diverse phenomenon and cannot be explained with the help of a single theory and a single constituent element (Breseeg, 2004).

While there are various types of nationalism, most scholars have divided them between civic and ethnic nationalism (see, for example, Smith, 2001; Wirth, 1936; and Storey, 2001). The scholars who deal with civic nationalism argue that nationalism is connected with tolerance and liberalism and discourages ethnic-based divisions. On the other hand, ethnic-based nationalism seems more aggressive and violent (Shevel, 2009). The defenders of ethnic nationalism explain that the associations with a nation are determined by birth. It is not based on choice. Ethnic nationalism further transformed and expanded into the shape of territorial, cultural, and political nationalism (Smith, 2001).

Most of the scholars, writers, and the Baloch people claim that the Baloch are a nation. The researcher also agrees with this notion based on a nation's available definitions and based on a nation's constituent elements. Usually, Baloch nationalism is believed to be ethnic-based nationalism. The researcher argues that while it may seem as such if we were to look into the history and rise of Baloch nationalism as a political movement, other things come to view. Initially, Baloch nationalists demanded a united, independent Balochistan for all ethnicities, including the Pashtuns living within the boundaries of Balochistan (Baloch, 1987). So it can be said that Baloch nationalism was, in fact, civic nationalism, which went beyond ethnic divisions.

Similarly, after Pakistan's creation, as shared in chapter 3, Balochistan was annexed to the Pakistani state. The Baloch nation never accepted the state-oriented nationalism, as the Pakistani state promoted nationalism based on religion which was always rejected by the Baloch nation. After Balochistan's merger with Pakistan, the Baloch nation resisted. The people of Balochistan began their insurgency against the

Pakistani state to defend and safeguard their boundaries, culture, language, and traditions. From 1948 to the present day, the constituent elements of the Baloch nationalism movement have faced several changes. Initially, the constituent of the movement remained the Baloch nation's independence. Then in 1956, the Baloch nationalist movement was focused on attaining a Baloch identity and a separate province. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Baloch nationalism movement became more tribal-based, and the constituent elements became equal rights and equal economic distribution. The constituents of the contemporary Baloch nationalism movement are cultural, political, ethnic, and geographical. The major constituent of the ongoing Baloch nationalist movement leans more towards vengeance. The Baloch nationalists discouraged tribal divisions and organized the Baloch people for the Baloch cause. They are looking for the independence of the Baloch lands want revenge against the oppressions inflicted by the Pakistani state.

Thus, while the initial phase of Baloch nationalism was not oriented towards ethnicity, the contemporary face of Baloch nationalism is all about the Baloch ethnicity, placing Baloch nationalism within Smith's (1991) definition of nationalism. The Baloch nation is struggling for its independent state to self-rule, and in doing so, is trying to protect its geography, identity, culture, and language.¹⁷

4.5 Theories of Nationalism

Theories of nationalism are not only numerous but also quite diverse. Therefore, it may be useful to investigate the longstanding debate amongst scholars of nationalism about the nature of the phenomenon and how and why nationalism movements emerge. There are two principal debates within the study of nationalism: one is about what nations are, i.e., whether they are a timeless phenomenon or more recently socially constructed ones. The second debate is linked to the first one and is about how nations and nationalism develop and which came first nation or nationalism. Different schools of thought and theorists answered these questions in different ways. However, most scholars did adopt the three main schools of thought, primordialist, modernist, and ethno symbolist, to study the debate of nation and nationalism (Smith,

¹⁷ Broadly, the Baloch nationalist are divided into two groups. The first group wants to protect the Baloch rights and identity living within the Pakistani state. While the second groups want an independent state for the Baloch nation. Baloch nationalism as a political ideology revolved around the Baloch autonomy and sovereignty.

1995; 2001). I will discuss each of the theories in detail and relate it to the Baloch nation and nationalism.

4.5.1 Primordial Theories of Nationalism

Primordialism is one of the oldest schools of thought adopted by many nationalist writers and scholars to understand nation and nationalism. The theorists who deal with the primordialist school of thought argue that the nation is not a social construct but rather an old age entity, with roots in the pre-modern or even ancient times and is based on “innate” attachment and is the permanent part of human history. Primordialism believes that identity is a given entity. In all the societies around the globe, the nation's members or geography have affiliations based on language, culture, geography, ancestry, or religion (Llobera, 1999). A very noticeable primordialist, Clifford Geertz (1973), believes that what appears as primordial attachments are rather socially constructed assumed ‘givens’ which derive their legitimacy from sharing a particular set of traditions, language, religions, and culture (Geertz, 1973). He proposed three major ideas working on the primordial positions of nationalism:

1. Primordial identities are natural or given,
2. Primordial identities are deep-rooted and coercive,
3. Primordial identities deal with sentiments.

Most primordialists claim that the state and nationalism come after the emergence of a nation and that nations try to attain the status of a nation-state and nationalism. They explain that a nation is a cultural-based community (Madianou, 2005 and 2002). Primordialists also claim that human identity is associated with birth within a specific group of people. Human identity and affiliations with a particular group can be perceived based on physical features, skin, eyes, and hair color, given and family names, mother language, religion, history, and geography (Isaacs, 1975).

Furthermore, the Primordialist school of thought is divided into socio-biologists, culturalists, naturalists, and perennialists. The naturalist approach of Primordialism holds that identities are a given and are a natural part of every human. They further argue that every human is assigned their national identity by birth. The socio-biologist approach deals with the biological character of identity and connects nations with blood relations or kinship. They believe kinship is a key constituent of nation and nationalism. Primordialist theories explain that ethnic attachments are ‘natural’ and

learned from past experiences within families. Family attachments remain significant because of blood ties (Shils, 1957, p. 142). Perennialist arguments about nation and nationalism are similar to other existing primordialists. The perennialist approach believes that nationalism can be a modern phenomenon, but nations themselves have pre-modern era roots. Therefore, they reject the theory of primordialism that holds that a nation is a natural phenomenon. The most significant name of this school of thought, Anthony Smith, takes nationalism as an ideological movement, which tries to attain and maintain autonomy based on identity and unity (Smith, 1995). Smith defines a nation based on a “common shared geography, myth and memories, culture, a single economy, and common equal rights and duties for all members” (ibid). Smith states that nationalism is the byproduct of a nation based on preexisting group history, common memories, traditions, shared culture, and belief systems. The nations select cultural stock selectively to create a common identity. He says that nations are based on ‘ethnicities,’ and certain preconditions are required for ethnicities to become a nation. Smith also offers an illuminating proposition for why ethnic nationalism, as opposed to civic and territorial nationalism, has become a powerful force in contemporary academia (Smith, 1995). The primordialist school of thought thus tries to explain nation and nationalism through various perspectives, as discussed above. However, this school of thought has also faced extensive criticism.

Primordialist failed to differentiate between nations and ethnicity. They were also unsuccessful in capturing and documenting the origin and changing characteristics of identities and ethnic groups (Madinau, 2002). Some scholars criticize the primordial school of thought by arguing that assumptions about the given and fixed identities are not factual. National cultures and identities have often faced the process of evolution and are also often simply invented (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012).

Primordialism can still be better understood by focusing less on the biological constituents of nations. Regardless, primordial bonds are an essential part of human life, but it depends on the individual and what affiliation they might prefer (Llobera, 1999).

4.5.2 Modernist Theories of Nationalism

Another major school of thought that tries to define and explain nations and nationalism is modernism. The major argument of the modernist school of thought is

that nations and nationalism are not age-old phenomena and that they are entirely modern concepts. According to this perspective, nationalism emerged during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Anderson, 1991; Hobsbawm, 1992b) while claiming that a nation is the byproduct of nationalism. Before the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the political system of the world was often explained based on religions and in dynastic terms (Gorentas, 2018). The development of nationalism has remained one of the major mysteries of the modern world (Billing, 1995). Modernist theorists also hold that that nationalism and nation-states have connections with the emergence of capitalism. A renowned scholar, E.M. Wood (2002), argues that the capitalist economic system and the nation-state first emerged in Europe. In pre-capitalist times, the modes of production in Europe were characterized by a unity of economic and political power (Wood, 2002). The fragmented state power was the reason for the distinctive political, judicial, feudal lordship's power. The feudal ruling class was compelled by capitalism to join sovereign, united monarchies (Wood, 1999). The change in the mode of production and its effects on the socio-political system has mostly been examined and evaluated by Marxist scholars (see: Harvey, 2006; Hobsbawm, 1992b; Jessop, 1990; Smith, 2010; Wood, 2002).

Initially, capitalism was an economic system dealing with profit earning by providing and producing goods and services. The economic and profit earning capitalist system increased competition between the firms and enterprises. As a result, greater capital became the main source of survival, resulting in the new capitalist state (Jessop, 2003). The modernist theorists argue that nation and nationalism emerged in Europe with these new capitalist states (Stokes, 1986; Wood, 1999). E. M. Wood (1999), talking about the English nation-state's emergence, states that "*the social transformations that brought about capitalism were the same ones that brought the nation-state to maturity*" (Wood, 1999, p. 3).

Gellner (2006), in his book, *Nations and Nationalism*, argues that industrialization became the reason for the socio-political transformation of Europe, which furthered nationalism. He discussed this transformation in detail of the agricultural societies towards industrial societies. For him, this transformation is crucial to understanding nationalism (Gellner, 2006, p. 17). In contrast to agricultural societies, the social and cultural differences between rulers and those being ruled remain unclear in industrial

societies. He proposes that the transformation in the mode of production occurs to fulfill the needs of industrialism for more literate labor (Gellner, 2006).

Furthermore, Robinson (2010), adds that before the 19th century, the public education system was unavailability. The transformations were made to meet the needs of industrialism. It became the state's duty to provide the required workforce for industrialism and economic needs. Thus, it was the state's responsibility to educate the citizens toward a specific cultural standard (Robinson, 2010). These factors can create homogeneity among the working, educated labor, which is a primary demand for nationalism. Through the educational system, a homogeneous culture can be transmitted to people so that it becomes a *higher, universal culture*, according to Gellner, and then was further transformed into '*an age of nationalism*' (Gellner, 2006, p. 39). He argues that '*if an industrial economy is established in a culturally heterogeneous society (or even casts its advance shadow on it), tensions will engender nationalism*' (Gellner, 2006, p. 104). Gellner, however, struggled to justify how nationalism was the outcome of industrialism's demand for educated, mobile labor.

Anderson (1991) tried to connect the upsurge of nationalism to 'print capitalism. He states that '*the first modern-style mass-produced industrial commodity was the book.*' He explained that print technology and capitalism shaped a new 'imagined community' in the modern nation-state. He said that print technology became the reason behind a unified language and communication, and it gave fixity and power to language (Anderson, 1991). According to Anderson, the nation is both inherently limited and sovereign. Later in history, state consolidation created groups of people in the colonies and Europe subjected to political and cultural repression. The technology of print capitalism proved vital in creating imagined 'national' communities that eventually succeeded in shaking off alien rule, i.e., decolonization (Anderson, 1999 cited in Llobera, 1999, p.12). The transformation in production mods triggered a political and social change in societies that desired a new state system. The primary responsibilities of this new state system were to fulfill capitalistic demands related to production, re-production, and capital accumulation. They bound people in solid ties of cultural homogeneity with the help of education and a common language within a specific geography.

However, within the modernist school of thought, there is significant variation. There is the 'instrumentalists' strand that believes that the nation is a construction of the local elite vying for power, and these elites manipulate the people's sentiments through the use of familiar and emotive symbols, which resonate with people because of the prevailing insecurities of the time rather than because of any deeper attachments to the group or the cultural symbols used by nationalists. Hobsbawm (1990), in fact, goes as far as to describe the nationalists as 'evil-minded' and denies any connection between the proto-national communities and the political nationalism that emerges within them (Hobsbawm, 1990).

Another group of modernists emphasizes the economic factors that fuel nationalism. They believe that nationalism is essentially another form of class consciousness. The Marxist school, a branch within the modernist school, views nationalism and particularly the nation-state as a historical phenomenon that coincided with capitalism. Just as capitalism created an 'oppressed' and an 'oppressor' class, it also created 'oppressed' 'oppressor' nations. Lenin, too, had similar but more fluid ideas of a nation, but in line with Marxism's central philosophy, favored larger political associations and believed that the divisions of people into separate nation-states undermined the internationalist project, particularly because of its divisive effect on the proletariat. Lenin did, however, support the right of self-determination for all oppressed nations (Lenin, 1999, p.14). More recently, various Marxist approaches have been popular in the Pakistani and Baloch leftists. One of these is the theory of 'internal colonialism' offered those states exhibit strong internal inequalities along ethnic lines and that industrialization takes place unevenly, which results in certain regions and ethnic groups being privileged and others subordinated to them, adding further that this process merely accentuates existing inequalities. Ethnonationalism is merely a response to a situation of perceived dependence and exploitation. Another Marxist, Tom Nairn, in a similar but distinct theory of the 'uneven development of capitalism' believes that nationalism is essentially a conflict between a developed core and the underdeveloped periphery (Nairn, 1981).

The scholars of the modernist school of thought briefly also defend the modernity of the nation and nationalism. They argue that the nation and nationalism emerged during the French revolution, specifically associating the emergence of nationalism and nation with capitalism, industrialism, communication, and the emergence of the

modern state. The common factor amongst these various modernist theories is the depiction of nationalism as a rational response to economic and social inequalities that emerged from modernization and industrialization.

However, numerous scholars criticize the modernist scholars, arguing that it is not essential that capitalism and modernization or even industrialization pushed states towards nationalism and nations, given that not all nationalist movements emerged in the same way. The modernist perspective only explains the emergence of nationalism in European society. Smith (1995 & 2001) also criticizes the modernist school of thought, arguing that modernity is being engendered by nation and nationalism, calling the perspective misleading and outdated. He argues that modern nations have been shaped based on preexisting ancient identities (Smith, 1995 & 2001). Smith also claimed that indoctrination could not be the only reason behind a nation or nationalism. Furthermore, Modernist theorists also missed some key elements, such as the importance of commonly shared memories, myths, and traditions. Smith suggests that both the modernist explanation and primordial attributes like descent and ancestries should be investigated (Smith, 1996). Finally, scholars argue that several nationalist movements around the globe emerged before the French and the industrial (Smith, 1995).

4.5.3 Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism

Proponents of ethno-symbolism argue that, as mentioned above, modernity is engendered by nation and nationalism. The followers of this school of thought have adopted a middle ground between primordialists and modernists to help explain nation and nationalism. The most significant argument of ethno-symbolism is that the old primordial communities are an extended form of the modern nation. Ethno-symbolists relate the modern nation to preexisting ethnic and cultural groups (Smith, 1995; 2001; and 2004). Because both schools of thought failed to account for the pre-modern history and exact date of the formation of the modern nation and nationalism, also failing in documenting the changing characteristics of identities, ethno-symbolism emerged as the middle ground (Smith, 2001; Madinaou, 2005). Ethno-symbolists agree that nation and nationalism are a modern phenomenon but also claim that these modern nations have primordial roots and ancient history and that they “*accept the continuity of the ethnic traits, but recognize their transformation through modernity*” (Madianou, 2005, p.9).

To ethno-symbolists, culture commonly shared myths, memories, and history constituents' primordial ties among people. Smith (1999 & 2001), the most prominent theorist of ethno symbolism, says that collective ancient cultural identities can play an important role while understating the nation and nationalism. But the relationship between past, present, and future depend on different kinds of links. It depends on communities' external circumstances and on the internal resources (Smith, 2001). Ethno-symbolist thoughts and explanations are homogenous compared to primordialists and modernists towards studying nation and nationalism. Their central argument revolves around ethnicity, which further formed modern nations. The founders of ethno-symbolism believe in the modernity of nations but also focus on the rise of the modern nation within ancient ethnicities. They also argue that in a few specific cases, nations are older than nationalism. Smith (2001) shows its interest in the nation before nationalism. But, in general, my approach has focused on the way that prior, and often pre-mordent, ethnic ties and ethnicities have influenced, and in some cases formed the basis for, subsequent nations and nationalism (Smith, 2001).

Ethno-symbolists focus on the steadiness between modern and pre-modern social consistency, along with the changes of modernity. However, like the other schools of thought, this too has its share of criticism. Conversi (2006) pointed out that the conceptual grounds of ethno-symbolists are weak and announced that Smith's definition of a nation is not clear. He says that "*the inclusion of 'common rights and duties in the definition seems to refer citizenship rights which can be fully granted by the existence of a state or autonomous region'*" (Conversi, 2006, p. 23). Most scholars also hold that ethno-symbolist definitions and explanations of nation and nationalism are too comprehensive and confusing. It mixes and confuses the concept of a nation with that of a state.

To encapsulate, there are three major debates on nationalism were three separate groups of theorists try to explain the concept. Primordialists believe nationalism to be an ancient and natural entity; modernists consider nationalism to be a distinctively modern political doctrine, and ethno-symbolists adopt the middle ground and define nationalism as an extension of existing ancient identities. The primordialists have been criticized because they assume nationalism is timeless, which is not true as modern forms of nationalism appeared during the 18th and 19th centuries. The modernist theorists have explained the genus of the nation accurately, but they failed

to trace the cultural aspects of nationalism. Similarly, the Marxist theorists of nationalism relate nationalism to economic discrepancies but fail to explain the roots of the violent features of nationalism in developed and underdeveloped nation-states. Generally, most of the theories of nationalism fail to define nationalism movements in third world countries because they pin the origin of nationalism to Europe and industrialization. These arguments do not completely cover Baloch nationalism in Pakistan. However, these theories have developed methodologies and concepts that are helpful when studying nationalism with some conceptual modifications.

4.6 Baloch Nationalism and Theories of Nationalism

Baloch nationalism is difficult to explain using a single theory of nationalism because it is extremely multifaceted. However, most scholars have associated the modernist theory of nationalism with Baloch nationalism primarily because, at least in the early years, it demanded independence for the Baloch nation from Pakistan, demanding a sovereign state of its own. In contrast, the concept of “*Balochness*¹⁸” in Baloch society, which is believed to be the ancient spirit that exists in every Baloch, resonates more with the primordialist theory. Therefore, most of the scholars of Baloch nationalism are influenced by Primordialists who define Baloch nationalism within the domain of primordialism. This research argues that the Baloch as a nation can be defined through primordialism. The Baloch’s have a million-year-old history, a distinguished language, culture, traditions, myths and memories, ancestry, and geography (Baloch, 1987). However, Baloch nationalism cannot be explained alone through primordialism because modern Baloch nationalism as a political doctrine began during the 1930s and is not timeless. Baloch nationalism can thus be best explained using the ethno-symbolist school of thought, as it adopts the middle ground between primordialists and modernists. Baloch, being an ancient ethnic group, has attributes of nationalism as per Smith’s definition of nationalism.

Baloch nationalism can be explained using ethno-symbolism because; Firstly, for most Baloch writers, the Baloch are an ancient group of people, and the first Baloch confederacy is said to have come into being as far back as the 12th century (Baloch, 1987; Breseeg, 2004; and 2009). Secondly, the Baloch nation meets the criteria of all the elements of a shared language, culture, origin, history, and other subjective factors

¹⁸ A concept of belongingness with Baloch mother land

such as sentiments, affiliations, and attachment, with common interests for the future. Thirdly, Baloch nationalism as a political doctrine is a modern concept and emerged only in the 19th and 20th centuries, evolving over time.

However, my argument is that ethno-symbolism cannot completely explain contemporary Baloch nationalism because, after 1947, there were numerous changes in the objectives, constituting factors and attributes of Baloch nationalism. Contemporary Baloch nationalism is the reaction of Baloch people to social, economic, political, cultural, and geographical grievances, including other issues like unequal distribution of resources and powers, provincial autonomy, and the issue of Baloch representation.

In Baloch nationalism, most of these theories fail to explore the changing characteristics of Baloch nationalism over time. The existing theories of nationalism and ethnic boundaries fail to account for the social closure, political salience, cultural distinctiveness, and historical stability. The researcher explains Baloch nationalism using Andreas Wimmer's (2013) *The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory*. Baloch people keeping the ancient history, have adopted the modern attributes of nationalism to preserve their sovereignty. They have maintained, refined, and extended their ethnic Bourdais by adopting different strategies of the boundary-making process (Wimmer, 2013).

4.7 A Multilevel Process Theory

As discussed, the dimensions, objectives, and characteristics of Baloch nationalism and Baloch as an ethnic group are changing and transforming. According to the multilevel process theory, ethnic boundaries are defined, redefined, and negotiated between different actors of a social field. Shift or change in the ethnic boundaries can be sudden and slow and depends on different internal and external factors. The ethnic groups that believe in multigenerational unilineal genealogy remain ethnically stable, while the ethnic groups that do not remain unstable (Wimmer, 2013). This theory holds that the political and social boundaries are determined based on institutional order, distribution of powers, and political alliances. Wimmer has also tried to explain the endogenous and exogenous mechanisms of change (Wimmer, 2013).

Wimmer holds that alliances are usually shaped among co-ethnics in the case of salient political boundaries (Wimmer, 2002). The differentiation and characteristics of political salience rely on specific situations and social contexts. The framework outlines how certain social and political forces such as institutions, powers, and networks play their role in boundary making in a specific situation and context. Economic interest and competition are also other features that affect the dimensions and formation of ethnic boundaries. Political logic also plays an important role in the formation of ethnic boundaries (Hale, 2004).

Social Closure or “Groupness” is another feature that needs to be understood in Baloch nationalism and ethnic boundaries. Relationships of groupness with outsiders are made and remade based on interest and resources. Wimmer (2008) said that “*sometimes, ethnic boundaries are associated with high levels of discrimination*” (Wimmer, 2008), and the Baloch nationalists claim that the Pakistani state has always tried to impose a Pakistani national identity on the Baloch nation. Richard Jenkins (1997) differentiates between the imposed ethnic category and the self-assumed ethnic category based on a sense of belonging. Some scholars argue that the imposed identity may be transformed and accepted as a self-assumed identity over time. Within Balochistan, it can be seen that certain groups have accepted Pakistan’s imposed identity while others vehemently refuse to accept it. According to Max Weber, the formation of ethnic groups is in the process of social closure. Dominant groups do not allow outsiders to cross their boundaries to protect their identity and resources. In Baloch nationalism, the Baloch as an ethnic group does not want outsiders to loot their resources, but the more powerful Pakistani state cannot be stopped. Scholars claim that social closure works in symmetric ways (Wolf, 1957). However, ethnic categories can shift according to internal and external factors and interests, classified as ‘ethnicity without boundaries.’

The Baloch, as a distinct ethnic group, differentiates themselves from the other ethnic groups based on geography, language, ancestry, and culture. My argument here is that cultural differentiation can be a feature of ethnic boundary making. Cultural differentiation can draw boundaries of a quasi-nature (Patterson, 1975). Ethnic boundaries and cultural differentiation don't need to divide the people, and if people from different ethnic backgrounds practice a homogeneous culture, it may unite them.

For example, in the Baloch ethnic group, numerous religious and linguistic groups have adopted Baloch culture and live within the dominant Balochi culture.

4.7.1 Elementary Strategies of Ethnic Boundary Making

The following theoretical framework has tried to explain the characteristics and structure of ethnic boundaries as per the viewpoint of institutional structures, the network of alliances, and the distribution of power. The model is a combination of numerous steps. The first step explains the different strategies, possibly adopted by a group according to time and space. To establish a new boundary, the following five steps have been discussed, 1) Shifting boundaries via expansion 2) Shifting boundaries via contraction 3) inversion 4) repositioning 5) Blurring boundaries (Wimmer, 2007). Ethnic groups can shape and refine their boundaries by adopting the strategy of expansion and contraction. In the case of expansion, smaller groups or tribes can make a larger ethnic group. Similarly, the existing ethnic group boundaries can be contracted by excluding the minor ethnic groups from the majority.

It can be observed that Baloch nationalism and ethnic boundaries have seen an evolution over the several decades of its existence. In the contemporary Baloch nationalist movement, Baloch leadership is remaking and refining their ethnic boundaries. For their interests, they have involved more and more tribesmen in the nationalism movement, uniting for the Baloch cause while also threatening the migrants in Balochistan to leave the Baloch land. Compared with the contraction and expansion, inversion challenges the hierarchical ordering of ethnic groups within said geography. Dominant or powerful groups are challenged by the excluded or minor groups. In Baloch nationalism, the Baloch middle class is challenging the tribal Sardars and dominant Pakistani government. They are looking for new ethnic and political alliances. The strategy of repositioning is entirely different from the above-discussed strategies of ethnic boundary making. In this category, one individual or ethnic group changes its position. The integration of a minority into the majority is known as the repositioning strategy, and there are numerous examples of repositioning around the globe (Wimmer, 2008). The Baloch tribal identity is being assimilated into the major Baloch identity.

Furthermore, the regional and linguistic ethnic boundaries have been merged into the wider Baloch nationalist boundaries. In the category of blurring boundaries, the

legitimacy of race, ethnicity, and nation is undermined to promote non-ethnic values. In this category, group membership remains dependent on humanity. Thus, the Baloch nationalists also define the boundaries of Baloch nationalism as being human: the acceptance of others based on humanity is dominant in the Baloch nationalist culture.

4.7.2. Institutions, Power, and Networks

It is evident that actors face numerous constraints when choosing any of the above-mentioned strategies of ethnic boundary making. As per Wimmer's multilevel process theory, there are three major types of constraints or factors that control the strategies of boundary making. The first driving factor is the institutional environment, the second factor is power distribution, and the final is political networking.

The institutional model focuses specifically on the political institutions of ethnic boundary making. Moreover, the model considers the dominant political institutions of the modern nation-state that are influential on the world's politics. These political institutions decide the establishing, shifting, and maintaining of ethnic boundaries (Wimmer, 2002; Mann, 2005). Because of these institutional factors, state elites in any nation-state try to expand their ethnic boundaries to assimilate more of the smaller ethnic groups to form national culture and nation-building. Thus, in the modern nation-state system, ethnic minorities can adopt the strategy of normative inversion into the "nation" (Wimmer 1993). Furthermore, the ethnic minorities can also demand their sovereign state or simply more autonomy as a federating unit within the existing nation-state based on language, culture, and history. Similarly, within the modern nation-state, economic discrimination and inequalities can also push minorities to shift boundaries. Thus, in the modern nation-state, ethnic minorities can adopt any of the strategies mentioned above of boundary-making under the guidance of institutional factors.

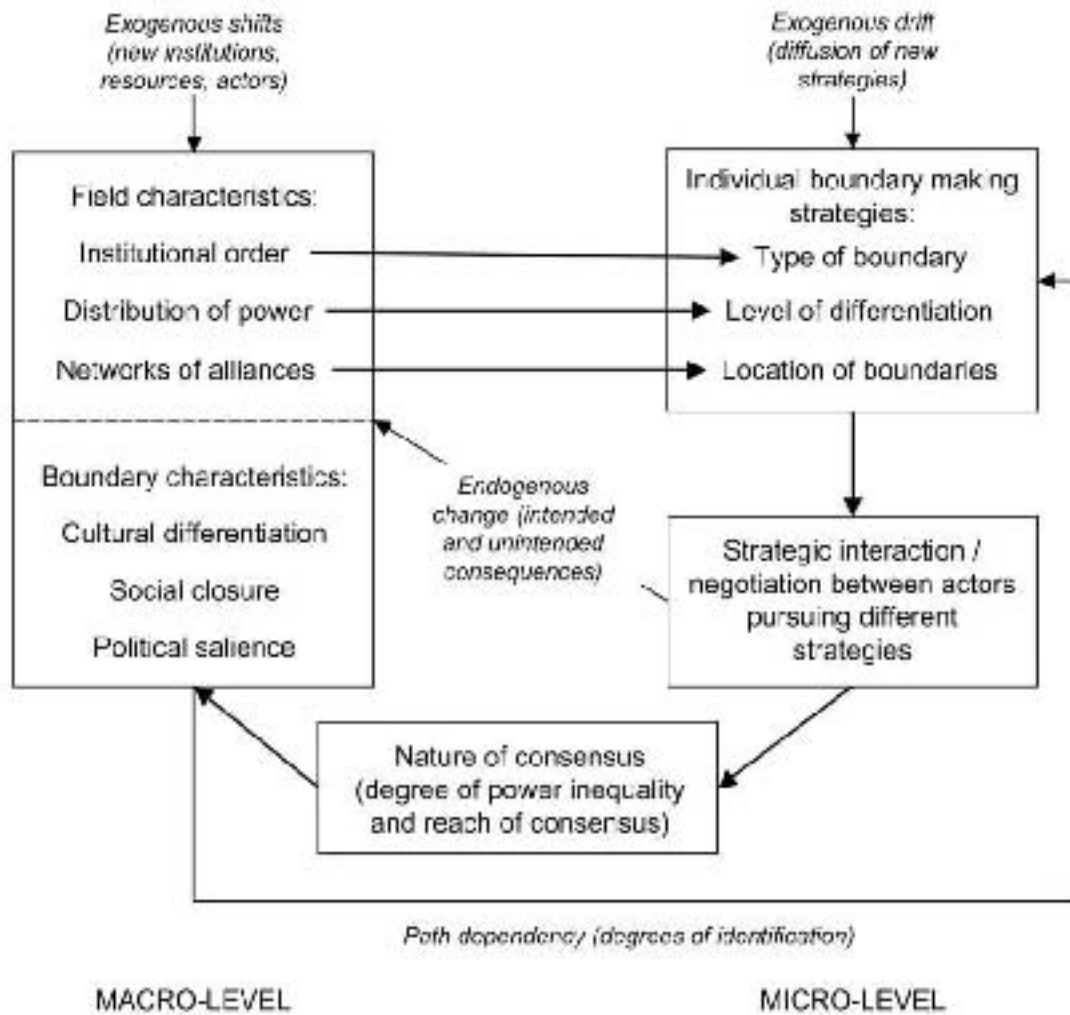
The nation-state intuitions provide opportunities to the state elites and ethnic minorities to maintain emphasized ethnic boundaries. Of the various ways of drawing ethnic boundaries, the one that will be adopted depends on the actor's interest and priorities. Of the different levels of ethnic differentiation, the one that will be selected depends on its position in the hierarchies of power established by the institutional order. The properties of power can be explained in two ways. First, an actor will try to adopt the type of ethnic differentiation based on its political and economic interests.

Keeping in view the institutional order and environment, the actors select a cognitive scheme and set its priorities and interests. The actor takes the initiative to achieve its desired objectives (Esser, 2002). The actor's interests remain dependent on many factors apart from the intuitional environment and power distribution. Apart from determining the adopted strategy of ethnic boundary making, power distribution also focuses on the importance of the selected strategy for others. The powerful actors and state elite can impose boundaries by adopting the strategy of blurring boundaries, for example, expanding boundaries by concocting 'being Muslim rather than being Pakistani' (Jacobson 1997).

As discussed, institutions and power explain the adaptation strategies by the actors. The type of classification that is adopted, based on ethnicity, tribe, village, or religion, depends on institutional environment and powers distribution. Finally, the networks of political alliances decide exactly where the boundaries will be drawn between "us" and "others" and decide an individual's classifications. Classification deals with which individual will be a part of which ethnic group. The argument of drawing boundaries between "us" and "others" can be explained using the example of nation-building. In nation-building, political networks and alliances play an important role in defining, expanding, and contracting national and ethnic boundaries? The state elite adopts different strategies for the inclusion and exclusion of different ethnic groups. In the Baloch nationalism movement, the Baloch nationalists have adopted different strategies of defining and redefining the political and ethnic boundaries of the Baloch nation. The upcoming chapters will explain how and why the Baloch nationalist have adopted these strategies of ethnic boundary making with regard to institutions' environment, power differentiation, and political alliances and networks. The figure below gives a detailed image of the multilevel process theory of making and unmaking ethnic boundaries.

Figure 9: Model of Multilevel Process theory

Source: Wimmer (2008)



4.8 SECTION 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The existing literature about Baloch nationalism can be divided into four major categories. The first category of literature deals mainly with the origin, history, culture, and language of the Baloch people. Within the context of this work, Persian and Muslims historian of the medieval period are prominent. After the Muslim historians, British travelers, scholars, and government work on Balochistan is remarkable (Breseeg, 2004). The very first comprehensive and formal writing on Balochistan was “*Travels in Balochistan and Sindh*,” written by a British traveler, Henry Pottinger, in 1816. In his work, Pottinger (1816) details the origin, history, culture, and geography of Balochistan. Following Pottinger’s tradition, another British officer N. P. Grant (1839), in his work, explored the socio-political dimensions of the Baloch land and documented the political and economic relations they had with their neighbors (Grant, 1839).

Another British official and the philologist Longworth Dames is also known as a foremost authority on the Baloch and Balochistan. Dames (1904), in his book “*The Baloch Race*,” details the origin and history of the Baloch race. He also documented the racial divisions between the Balochi (The Sulaimani Baloch) and Brahois (Makranina Baloch) along with their tribal organizations (Dames, 1904). Another famous book, ‘*Popular poetry of Baloches*,’ by Dames, was published in 1907. Dames (1907) documented Balochi ballads, verses and folklore, and Balochi poetry with its origins, classifications, and signing methods (Dames, 1907). The Balochi-English vocabulary is also a well-known book written by Longworth Dames that deals with the origins of the Balochi language along with the grammar and dialects of the language. This work significantly contributed to the literature on the history, origin, and political culture of Balochistan.

Moreover, the British officers who served in Balochistan also contributed to the literature on the Baloch and Balochistan. Their work and experiences were published in the shape of books and essays. In addition, British officials studied and documented Balochistan from an anthropological, archaeological, historical, geopolitical, and linguistic perspective to rule the Baloch nation. During the 19th and 20th centuries, British officials Sandeman and Ramsay also contributed to the literature on Balochistan (Breseeg, 2001).

Apart from these, some of the Baloch poets, historians, and political leaders also contributed to the literature on Baloch and Balochistan. One of the most significant names among these is Gul Khan Nasir, the writer of *Tarikh-e Balochistan* (The History of Balochistan). The book's first volume was published in 1952, while the second volume was published in 1957. In his book, Gul Khan Nasir documents the detailed history and origin of Baloch nationalism. Gul Khan Nasir was not only a writer; he was also a prominent Baloch youth political leader who started the struggle for the independence of Balochistan during the 1930s (Harrison, 1981). The *History of Baloch Race and Balochistan* (1958), written by Sardar Khan Baloch, is another contribution from the nationalist leaders to the literature. Sardar Khan Baloch was also a well-known Baloch political activist and nationalist of the 1930s. In his book, he explored and explained the history and origin of the Baloch race along with its ancestry. Following the footsteps of Gul Khan Nasir and Sardar Khan, in 1974, Justice Mir Khuda Bakhsh Bijrani, a Marri Baloch, in his book '*Searchlight on Baloches and Balochistan*' documented Baloch origin, history, customs, and language. He traced the Baloch origin Tell-Hariri in Northern Syria and detailed the Baloch confederation of 500 tribes and clans (Baloch, 1974). Dr. Naseer Dashti (2012) '*The Baloch and Balochistan: A historical account from the beginning and fall of Baloch State*' gives an extensive history of the Baloch genesis and the conquest of Balochistan by different rulers and their imprints on the cultural and social sphere of Baloch lives. This work is a mixture of the ancient and modern history of the Baloch people who have struggled for their distinct identity. The writer appreciated Nasir Khan I as the Khan of Kalat and documented his era as the golden era in the history of Balochistan. The writers also highlighted the different insurgencies, political movements, and uprisings before and after the creation of Pakistan (Dashti, 2012). This category provides valuable insights into who the Baloch are, their history, culture, and conquests and conquerors.

The second category of literature deals with the concept of Baloch nationalism as an ethnonationalism movement. There has been a tussle between different writers and researchers. Some of the writers claim that the Baloch nationalism movement is an ethnic nationalist movement. Within this context, a very famous Pakistani writer, Dr. Tahir Amin, in his book '*Ethno national movement of Pakistan: Domestic and International Factors*', deals with ethnicity and ethnonational movements in Pakistan.

In his work, he has thoroughly outlined the factors of the various ongoing ethnic-nationalist movements in Pakistan. Further, he explains the rise and falls of the Baloch ethnic nationalist movement and lists the grievances of the Baloch, criticizing the role of the Pakistani establishment that has been worsening the situation in Balochistan (Amin, 1988).

Western scholars have conducted numerous researches' during the 1960s and evaluated the Baloch language, culture, history, and origin from different perspectives. These researches' include books, Ph.D. Dissertations and official reports. Of these researches', the work of Brain Spooner is remarkable. Spooner (1988), in his dissertation '*Baluchistan, Geography, History, and Ethnography,*' reviewed and discussed the problems related to the history, origin, and ethnography of the Baloch. He outlined the geography and Baloch migration towards Balochistan. He also discussed the establishment of the autonomous Kalat state and its relationship with the British. This ethnographic work significantly contributes to the Baloch nation and nationalism literature (Spooner, 1988).

Different writers and researchers have focused on different perspectives of Balochistan and the Kalat state. For instance, a famous Anthropologist Nina Swindler (1969) conducted her Ph.D. research on "*The Political Structure of a Tribal Federation: The Brahui of Baluchistan.*" Nina Swindler focused on the political economy, tribal political structure, and Baloch nationalism. In her book '*Remotely Colonia: History and Politics in Pakistan*', she examined the relationship between Baloch tribalism and nationalism. Swindler (2014) explained that the Kalat state's geography was remotely colonial, and British interests were connected with its geostrategic location. The British colonialist empowered Baloch Sardars and introduced the Jirga (tribal court) system to maintain peace in Balochistan (Swindler, 2014). She also blames the colonial government for the post-colonial ethnic-nationalist movements in Pakistan. *The Essays on Baloch National Struggle in Pakistan* by Janmahmad (1989) and *Balochistan: Its Strategic Importance* by Syed Iqbal Ahmad (1992) are also significant periodicals in this respect. Further, a Soviet scholar Yu. V. Gankovsky (1971), transformed the feudal nationalities because of British capitalism. In discussing the post-colonial bourgeois nations, the Baloch remain slower than the Sindhis and the Pashtuns.

Understanding contemporary Baloch nationalism is impossible without studying the work of Inayat Ullah Baloch and Selig S. Harrison. Inayat Ullah Baloch documented the political history of the Baloch and Balochistan by using the western methodology. Baloch's work is famous in nationalist circles. In his work, '*The Problem of Greater Balochistan*' (1987), Baloch explained that Baloch nationalism and nationalist movement were the right to self-determination from a historical viewpoint. He argues that Baloch nationalists and other ethnic groups of Balochistan were looking for the independence of a greater Balochistan (Baloch, 1987). Like Baloch, Selig S. Harrison's work on Baloch nationalism has also gained popularity among the scholars working on Baloch nationalism and the Baloch nationalists. Harrison conducted fieldwork during the 1970s when the Baloch nationalist movement was at its peak. During his fieldwork, Harrison interviewed the most prominent Baloch nationalist leaders and freedom fighters. He also visited the Baloch armed group's camps in Pakistan and Afghanistan to document the Baloch fighters' arguments. In his Book *in Afghanistan's Shadow* (1981), Harrison produced details regarding the post-colonial movement of Baloch nationalism. In his work, he documented the exact reasons for the waves of insurgencies and armed conflict. He also focused on the most organized armed conflict of 1973-77, in which the Marri tribe remained the sole troublemaker for the Pakistani army. In this work, Harrison also discussed the involvement of BSO and Punjabi students in the Baloch nationalist movement (Harrison, 1981). Harrison's work is still famous in the Baloch nationalists and armed group circles. Similarly, Taj Mohammad Bresseg's (2004) '*Baloch nationalism: its origin and development*' is a systematic study of Baloch nationalism, its origin, and evolution. The central theme of his work is based on two basic arguments: does Baloch race have significant advanced national awareness? And if so, is the national realization of the Baloch, the resolve to uphold their national personality, and their wish for self-government. He narrated the evolution of Baloch nationalism from 1920 to 1980 and discussed the sources of political and cultural awareness among the Baloch people. He also explained the impacts of Baloch nationalism on the region (Bresseg, 2004).

There are also a few Pakistani scholars and writers who do not accept Baloch as a nation and reject the existence of Baloch nationalism. In his book *Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan* (1998), Feroz Ahmad defines the Baloch nation as a confederation of different tribes with different origins, ancestry, and languages. He argues that the

Baloch and Brahui have diverse ethnic origins. Similarly, he claimed that numerous Balochs live in Sindh and Punjab who do not speak the Balochi language and do not associate themselves with the Baloch nationalism movement. “*On the one hand,*” Feroz Ahmad points out, “*the people of African origin, because of an exclusive emphasis on paternal heritage, are considered Baloch... But, on the other hand, any person of the Baloch ‘race’ who may have culturally, economically, and politically assimilated into Sindhis or Punjabis, is still regarded as Baloch and expected to support Baloch nationalism.*” (Ahmad, 1998), and thus rejects the Baloch question of self-determination and nationalism.

The third category of the existing literature deals with the insurgency and unrest in Balochistan. Different writers identified different causes of the unrest. Most of the writers focus on the economic deprivation of the Baloch people as the perpetrator of the unrest in Balochistan. Adeel Khan (2003), in his work ‘*Baloch Ethnic Nationalism in Pakistan: From Guerrilla War to Nowhere*’, discussed the reasons behind involving the Baloch nationalist in an armed struggle. He documented poor governance and economic and political marginalization as the major causes of unrest (Khan, 2003a). In his work ‘*Renewed Ethno nationalist Insurgency in Balochistan, Pakistan*’, he claims Balochistan is at war. The Pakistani LEAs blame tribal Sardars as the cause of the insurgency and violence in Balochistan. At the same time, the Baloch Sardars and nationalists claim that the Pakistani LEAs are colonizing the Baloch nation to loot their land and resources. The conflict has been on the rise because of economic disparities (Khan, 2009). Explaining the causes of insurgency in Balochistan, researcher Yunas Samad (2014) argues that certain internal and external factors exist behind the ongoing insurgency in Balochistan. Violence in Balochistan has increased because of cultural, economic, and political grievances (Samad, 2014). In his write-up ‘*The revival of Insurgency in Balochistan*’, another famous researcher and writer, Alok Bansal (2005), argues that the main reason behind the insurgency in Balochistan is the forceful merger of Balochistan with Pakistan. Since the creation of Pakistan, Baloch insurgents have been struggling for the freedom of the Baloch nation. He documented several causes behind the insurgency in Balochistan and focused on the involvement and support of foreign powers (Bansal, 2005). In his perspective, the Pakistani state’s oppressive policies and economic deprivations have increased the Baloch people’s grievances. The increasing violence and instability in

Balochistan are affecting the whole region (Bansal, 2006). In continuing his work, Bansal's (2008) '*Factors leading to the insurgency in Balochistan*' tried to explain the leading factors behind the insurgency in Balochistan. As per the Pakistani government's perspective, a few of the feudal lords, tribal Sardars, backed the insurgency and unrest of their interest. However, Bansal argues that there are deep-rooted social, political, economic, and geographic causes behind the insurgency in Balochistan (Bansal, 2008a).

Nasreen Akhtar (2013), in his work '*Ethnic politics in Pakistan*,' explains the root causes of ethnic issues in Pakistan and blames the Pakistani rulers for the current situation of Balochistan. She compared Balochistan to East Pakistan, present-day Bangladesh. Because of the discriminatory policies and unequal distribution of powers, Pakistan isolated the Bengali people and formed their independent nation. Balochistan is going through something similar right now. The fragile economic situation in Balochistan is increasing the sense of deprivation. These deprivations and inequalities can push Balochistan away from Pakistan (Akhtar, 2013). She argues that because of the injustices and inequality of the Pakistani nation builders, they have failed to integrate Baloch, Sindhi, Pashtuns, and Saraiki ethnicities in Pakistani nationhood. Instead of giving them autonomy and representation, the Pakistani rulers have adopted a military-led oppressive system to deal with the grievances of the ethnic groups. All these things are increasing the unrest in Balochistan and Pakistan. The involvement of national and international powers is adding to the tense situation in Balochistan (Akhtar, 2011). Balochistan, because of its geostrategic location, is attracting the world. Its importance increased with the execution of mega-development projects like Gwadar port and Iran, Pakistan, and India Gas pipeline. National and international powers are trying to exploit the Baloch nationalists for their economic and political interests. Insurgency in Balochistan is an increasing challenge for the Pakistani government (Akhtar, 2017). Most writers and scholars argue that economic grievances, inequalities, and exploitation of mineral resources are the major factors of the conflict between Pakistan and Balochistan. The poverty, unemployment, and execution of mega projects like Gwadar Port and Gas Pipelines without the involvement of the Baloch people are also fueling the insurgency and hate against the state (Khan & Ullah, 2017). The Pakistani central government has discriminated against the Baloch nation since its incorporation into Pakistan. Following the British

colonial footsteps, the Pakistani government tried to oppress the Baloch nation in different ways. Instead of addressing economic grievances, the Baloch nationalists raise their voices against the extrajudicial killings and abduction of the Baloch people (Khan, 2012).

Aasim Sajad Akhtar (2007) said that “*It is clear that the present phase of the struggle has emerged in response to the current military regime's initiatives to establish greater control over the resources and territory of Balochistan*” (Akhtar, 2007). The ongoing wave of Baloch insurgency started in 2001-2002 when the government started building new military cantonments in the districts Kohlu, *Dera Bugti*, and Gwadar, and then the assassination of Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti (2006) and Balach Marri (2007) destroyed the remaining peace in Balochistan (Shukla, 2018)

Instead of provincial autonomy and control over mineral resources, the Baloch nationalist demands national independence (Javaid, 2010). One of the major problems between the Baloch and Pakistan is the exploitation of Balochistan's natural resources. The Baloch argue that the government of Pakistan is looting the mineral resources of Balochistan without giving its share to the Baloch people. These exploitations factors increase the trust deficit between the Baloch and Pakistani states (Tariq, 2013).

The Pakistani government adopted the ‘forward policy’ inherited from the British to control the tribal society and made and remade alliances with tribal Sardars (Noraiee, 2015). The Baloch middle class argues that the Baloch tribal Sardar is also responsible for the pathetic condition of Baloch and Balochistan, and now the movement has become increasingly violent. The LEAs have adopted the harsh policy of killing and dumping (Noraiee, 2020). All these factors have given birth to a new Baloch society in which women are also becoming a part of the political movement. The educated middle class has challenged and replaced the tribal Sardars’ leadership. The Pakistani forces are now focusing on the middle class because of their active involvement in the Baloch nationalist movement (Mroczek, 2014). Finally, ‘*Conflict and Insurgency in Balochistan*’, a report by the Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, discusses the several social, political, economic, and strategic features of the insurgency in Balochistan.

The authors, as mentioned above, researchers, scholars, travelers, and government officials have not only presented and documented a detailed history of the origin, culture, political system, and economic patterns of the Baloch before and after the colonial period. They have also provided a thorough history and evolution of Baloch nationalism while also providing significant multidimensional discussions about the causes and grievances of the Baloch people.

CHAPTER 5: DEFINITIONS AND FUNCTIONS OF BALOCH NATIONALISM

5.1 Introduction

The chapter is divided into two parts for a better presentation of the findings. The first part compares the indigenous definitions of Baloch Nationalism with the existing definitions of nationalism within the literature. The second part of the chapter attempts to explain the major functions of Baloch Nationalism, including a focus on Baloch rights and the fight for survival as per the results of the study.

The definition of nationalism is widely contested within the literature; however, most scholars agree that to define any nation's nationalism adequately, it is essential to consider the native's definition. In this research exercise, the researcher attempted to document the definitions and perceptions of the Baloch nationals regarding nationalism. Interestingly, Baloch tribesmen from different tribes and strata have defined Baloch Nationalism differently based on their orientation, education, worldview, and experience. Most indigenous tribesmen hold that nationalism is a natural phenomenon: a sense of belonging, love, devotion, and loyalty to the Baloch nation and everything associated with a Baloch identity. They associate this with the soil, geography, mountains, trees and animals, rivers, and the region's language, culture, history, and ancestry. This association is considered natural and owed by virtue of being born of the Baloch land. Other nationalists have also defined Baloch Nationalism as inspiring a sense of unity and devotion to defending Baloch rights, land, and identity.

As per the data collected from many educated youths, they relate nationalism to their Baloch nationality consciousness. Furthermore, Baloch Nationalism was also presented as a political and armed struggle against the state's discriminations, inequalities, injustices, and violence towards the Baloch nation. Therefore, the major functions of Baloch Nationalism were associated with the Baloch nation's *survival* and *revenge* for the injustices they have faced that have brought the Baloch people together. Thus, Baloch Nationalism was defined in various cultural, social, economic, and political perspectives; however, none of the views were associated with any religious ties to nationalism.

5.2 Indigenous Definitions of Baloch Nationalism

One of the significant objectives of the research was to dig out what the Baloch tribesmen believe about Baloch Nationalism: how they perceive and define Baloch Nationalism, what are the constituents behind Baloch Nationalism, and most importantly, why they believe Baloch Nationalism is different from the other nationalist movements in Pakistan. To get detailed responses, the researcher discussed the phenomenon with the respondents during the IDIs and EIs. Furthermore, to ensure validation, the phenomenon was also discussed during the FGDs. The participants of the research shared their perspectives and orientations in detail. The respondents were asked to define Baloch Nationalism (*Qoum Parsti* or *Watan Parsti*). Several perspectives were gathered about the definitions of nationalism, defining it in various ways, such as nationalism as a natural phenomenon, nationalism as a political doctrine, etc. These perspectives are discussed in detail below.

5.2.1 Baloch Nationalism as a Natural Phenomenon

Most scholars have explained nationalism as the modern form of a human tendency; however, they also hold that social, cultural, and natural tendencies cannot be ignored and often remain dominant. Hertz (1944:292) points out that nationalism is "Certainly but one expression of human instinct and not a bit more natural and more 'latent' than tribalism, clannishness... Yet it is nationalism, far more than any other expression of human gregariousness, which has come to the fore in modern times."

Most tribesmen also held that their nationalism was a natural phenomenon. Humans, animals, and all other species loved and had an emotional attachment with the area where they were born, where they were brought up, and where they spent their lives. Humans have shared myths and memories with the regions they belong to. Like others, the Baloch also has particular relations, feelings, and attachments with their homeland that extend towards their native language, culture, dress patterns, food patterns, and other native living patterns such as their land and people. This is not unique to humans; the Baloch people held, and animals often exhibit these feelings, and these associations and sentiments are as old as the Baloch people. Shafer (1980) made a similar point, saying, "Group and community sentiments are as old as humankind; nationalism is a late modern, powerful, and pervasive variant" (Shafer, 1980). Most of the respondents believed that Baloch sentiments and associations with

their land and people were natural. One of the scholars on Baloch Nationalism explained this in the following way,

"Baloch sentiments and association with their land and people are ancient. Therefore, we may define Baloch Nationalism, keeping in mind only their sentiments and associations towards the Baloch land and people. In the modern world, we may call it Baloch Nationalism but our elders' sentiments and associations, while the same, was never named 'nationalism.' As per the older and even the younger generations, sentiments of attachments with the Baloch land and people are the basic and natural features of being Baloch."

Modern nationalism has connections with the primordial definitions of nationalism. Hayes (1968:12) states that "modern nationalism signifies a more or less purposeful effort to revive primitive tribalism on an enlarged and more artificial scale" (Hayes, 1968:12). Baloch people lived in a cultural-based, tribal structure, where tribal loyalties were considered evident and vital. Modern and traditional Baloch tribesmen define Baloch Nationalism based on the old, commonly shared myths and memories. The primary objectives of Baloch Nationalism have remained the same as they were hundreds of years ago. A Baloch native's natural affiliations are closest to their family, and then the clan, the subtribe, the tribe, and then to the Baloch nation. Explaining the idea of Baloch Nationalism as a natural phenomenon, one of the older respondents from the Marri tribe shared,

"Loving one's land, people, and culture is a natural thing. Everyone learns that from the moment they are born. I am a Marri Baloch by birth; that's why I identify as a member of the Marri tribe here in my land. Here my associations with the Marri tribesmen and the Marri tribe's territory are higher. I have learned that my tribal identity is Marri, but my ethnic identity is Baloch. We Marri are part of the Baloch nation. So, after the Marri tribe, my love and associations toward the Baloch nation are significant. It is everywhere: the Punjabis love Punjabis, and the Sindhis, Saraikis, and Pashtuns love their own. An American prefers American people, and German likes and loves German people and nation".

Most of the respondents held that nationalism was natural to human beings and matured with time. The love for one's nation, land, and identity can grow and evolve with time, embedding the sense to protect one's region, culture, people, language, etc. They held that people feel more comfortable and safer when surrounded by others of their nation or ethnicity. If one's a foreign individual in someone else's land, they may feel unable to express themselves freely. One of the BSO leaders, defining Baloch Nationalism, said,

"I do not know what is written in the books; I define Baloch Nationalism in two ways. Firstly, Baloch Nationalism is love, attachment, and a sense of belonging to the Baloch land and nation. Secondly, it is the extreme form in which you think your ethnic group or nation is important, and because of this, you might foster hate towards other races. I prefer the first one as it's a natural phenomenon. When a man who speaks a language similar to yours, a sense of respect for them comes naturally".

Another political leader defined Baloch Nationalism in the following way,

"I think the love for one's country, nation, and humanity lie inside every human. It is in any shape, just like I am Pakistani, and if I go outside somewhere, then we support our cricket team, and there comes the natural feeling to support it. If somebody is Baloch, he will love Balochi songs. Similarly, a Saraiki and Pashto or Sindhi speaking will also love their languages, cultures, and traditions; this can even relate to religion".

Overall, for most Baloch tribesmen, sentiments of associations and affiliations with one land, people, language, culture, and ancestry are natural and given phenomena. Human affiliations with their surroundings get evolved. It is known as nationalism in the modern world, but it is an ancient human instinct feature. The basis of sentiment and associations defending one's land, language, and people can also be defined as nationalism.

5.2.2 Baloch Nationalism Associated with Baloch Geography

The Baloch people are the ancient inhabitants of the geography, today known as Balochistan. Under the leadership of different nation-builders, Baloch emerged as a prominent nation with diverse origins and history. The Geographical positions of the Baloch nation changed over time as per circumstances (Breseeg, 2004). The Baloch association and attachment remain deep-rooted with their geography throughout history. The role of geography has significant importance in protecting Baloch identity (Baloch, 1987). Most scholars also said that a commonly shared geography could also include constituent a nation and nationalism. Billing (2005) believes that shared geography is an essential feature of becoming a nation. The indigenous Baloch tribes have centuries of with the region where they are living today. Keeping in view the definitions of a nation and nationalism, common geography remains a vital constituent, making Baloch justifications of nationalism valid. People living in the geography of present-day Balochistan had a common, distinguished culture, language, history, and ancestry. While they are divided into different tribes, their origin is the same, defending their boundaries for hundreds of years. One of the BNP (M) political leaders shared,

"We Baloch are a complete nation on our own. We fulfill the defined criteria of a nation. We have a long history and origin. Our culture, language, traditions, and geography make us different from others. Every Baloch had deep-rooted associations with Balochistan geography. Historically, we have defended our lands from numerous invaders and British colonialists unitedly".

There are numerous arguments about the ethnic and national borders of Balochistan. The distinctive features of Balochistan's geography preserved Baloch identity and protected Baloch people from the invaders (Baloch, 1987). They further explained that the Baloch population is scattered throughout Balochistan, Iran, and the Afghan regions. Then, in Pakistan, the Balochs live all over Pakistan, but they all relate to the Baloch identity and associate feelings of Nationalism with Balochistan. Like the external or international boundaries of the Baloch nation, internally tribal geographies and territories are also defined. In the event of rivalries, these boundaries are

protected. In peace times, other tribes are given safe passage, allowing water and land for grazing animals, and their concerns lie greatly over their national boundaries and protection. This sense is deep-rooted and can be seen in their love for their language. Talking about the language, a respondent shared:

"Our language is very different from all the other languages of Pakistan. Persian has impacted it, but it's still different from it. Our language also has its history. Though we speak different accents of Balochi, the origin is the same. Balochi language is being spoken in a specific geography, and that is Balochistan. Geography and Language are the sources of attachments among the Baloch people all over the world".

The respondents also held that the cultural values, history, and commonalities distinguish Baloch people from others and unit them within their common Baloch identity. The standard practices of the Baloch people make them more unified as a nation. Defining Baloch Nationalism based on a common culture, one of the Marri tribesmen shared,

"We are connected like body parts. The reason behind it is that Balochistan is like the heart in a body. We have the same culture, language, history, territory, ancestry. Our food patterns, hospitality, and dress patterns are the same. We have been living here together for centuries, which is why we have an affiliation with and respect for every man of Balochistan."

Taj Muhammad Breseeg (2004) says that the geography of Balochistan has played an important rumple in the unification of Baloch tribes as a distinct nation. Baloch people's interactions with their land and geography give them the confidence to protect and defend it (Breseeg, 2004). Within Baloch society, inter-tribal rivalries have remained a common feature of Baloch society; against outsiders, they have remained a unified force. Defining Baloch Nationalism, one of the Bugti tribesmen and political leaders shared,

"Baloch Nationalism can be defined as the dedication and devotion towards the Baloch nation. First, it's a devotion and desire to work for

the prosperity of the Baloch motherland and its people. Second, it is a desire to protect the Baloch land and geography. Third, the wish is to protect the Baloch language, culture, and traditions. Finally, it is a desire to protect the Baloch identity".

Balch tribesmen affiliations remain deep-rooted with the geography of Balochistan. Commonly shared geography played an essential role in the unification of tribal-based divided Baloch tribes. Further, the United Baloch nation defended its geography from the outsider throughout history. Balochistan's geographical, natural barriers like rugged mountains and harsh weather conditions also protect the Baloch independence.

5.3 Baloch Nationalism as a Political Doctrine

Baloch Nationalism can be defined as a cultural phenomenon and a political doctrine at the same time. In describing it as a cultural phenomenon, Baloch tribesmen define it as their attachments with the shared history, origins, culture, and language. Defining it as a political doctrine or ideology, Baloch Nationalism explains the consciousness of self-determination, Baloch freedom, and sovereignty. Most of the existing schools of thought working on nationalism, such as primordialism, modernism, and ethno-symbolism, are all agreed on the cultural and political tendencies of nationalism. A very famous scholar, Plamenatz (1976), holds that "nationalism is primarily a cultural phenomenon, although it often takes the political form" (Plamenatz 1976:23- 36). Defining Baloch Nationalism as a political doctrine, one of the BSO leaders explained:

"Baloch Nationalism was not a political doctrine in the past. Baloch people are cultural and tribal people, where cultural features are dominant in society. However, Baloch Nationalism became a political doctrine during the 1930s when a few educated Baloch youth organized a political party, "young Baloch," and discussed ideas of "Being Baloch." After that, Baloch people, especially the educated class, became conscious of their identity, and as a political doctrine, Baloch Nationalism became a way of defending Baloch rights and identity."

The educated Baloch define Baloch Nationalism more as a political and philosophical doctrine, in line with the proponents of modernism and ethno-symbolism school of thought, which justify sovereign rights and autonomous government. As a political doctrine, the primary unit of the political organization revolves around the Baloch nation. Kellas (1991) states, "nationalism is both an ideology as well as a form of behavior." He further explains that nationalism, as a political ideology depends on the idea of the nation. Human actions, attitudes, affiliations, and sentiments of attachment, language, culture, and ancestry constitute a nation (Kellas, 1991:27). As a political ideology or doctrine, Baloch Nationalism defends Baloch national rights and seeks a sovereign state. Defining Baloch Nationalism as a political ideology and doctrine, one of the political leaders from the Marri tribe shared,

"Today, Baloch Nationalism is not only its association with language, culture, geography, and ancestry. It's above all an ideology, which united the Baloch tribal people under the umbrella of Balochism. It is a political thought that discourages tribal division and makes the Baloch people conscious of their identity and rights. It is a political doctrine that discourages the patriarchal system and allows Baloch women to participate in mainstream politics. Finally, a political philosophy challenged the tribal Sardars and replaced them with educated middle-class youth".

Most of the educated youth hold that nationalism as a political phenomenon is relatively modern, and the association of nationalism with more natural elements is what the ancient people believed in. Historical records show that the ancient Baloch found it natural to defend their homeland, to go to war for it, and exhibit loyalty to one's tribe and nation with being an inhabitant of the Baloch land; it was essential to follow the Baloch *rewaj*, what is today known as Baloch Nationalism. As a political doctrine, it did not emerge until the late 19th century and early 20th century, where its main objective was the demand of a sovereign nation. Most scholars do hold that nationalism in this form was a modern phenomenon. For instance, Kedourie (1994: 1) defined nationalism in two ways. First, he says, "Nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century," and further he added,

Nationalism pretends to supply a criterion for determining the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively its own, for the legitimate exercise of power in the state, and the right organization of a society of states. Briefly, the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government". (Kedourie, 1994: 1)

Proponents of Baloch Nationalism as a political doctrine claim that the Baloch nation consists of different Baloch tribes and many other ethnicities that inhabit the Baloch land. This supports the arguments presented by Kedourie (1994) that humans are divided into several nations. Defining Baloch Nationalism as a political doctrine, one of the experts on Baloch Nationalism shared,

"Historically, the Baloch were divided into tribes like Marri, Bugti, Mengals, and many more. Similarly, they were divided based on ancestry (Baloch and Brahvi), geographically (Makrani and Suleimani), and with the emergence of Baloch Nationalism, internal divisions and rivalries are now decreasing. Baloch Nationalism, as a political doctrine, is trying to get the world's attention. Today, the Baloch nation is politically well aware, and they are demanding their right of self-determination."

Gellner's (1983) definition of nationalism is "a political principle, which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent" (Gellner, 1983:1), and most of the educated Baloch youth define Baloch Nationalism using the same lens. A BSO political and human rights activist described Baloch Nationalism as,

"Baloch Nationalism made the Baloch people politically aware and conscious; however, I think it is an idea they borrowed from the British colonizers. Baloch Nationalism gave them a sense of political and national unity. Furthermore, Baloch Nationalism demanded Baloch freedom, rights, identity, and equality. The main contributor in Baloch

Nationalism as a political doctrine is the BSO, highlighting how the Pakistani state intentionally demolished Baloch's national identity".

Another Baloch activist of BSO defined Baloch Nationalism as per Smith's definition of nationalism,

"Baloch Nationalism is an ideological and political movement. The main objective of Baloch Nationalism is to maintain national autonomy. Baloch Nationalism is also focusing on the unity of the Baloch nation. Furthermore, it is struggling for the Baloch national identity, which is uniquely Baloch and not Pakistani. Balochistan's merger with Pakistan and the division of its territories between Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan has damaged the Baloch national identity. Now, the Baloch nation is trying to get back its power based on Baloch Nationalism".

A few of the educated, young, Baloch nationalists and tribesmen also defined Baloch Nationalism as the strength, liberty, and prosperity of Balochistan. They claim that Baloch Nationalism, as a political doctrine and cultural phenomenon, has strengthened Baloch people to struggle for their national liberty and prosperity. As a political ideology, Baloch Nationalism has been defined as a movement of national independence and as an ideological movement to attain a Baloch-led government. One of the Baloch political activists and a Ph.D. scholar at Heidelberg University, Germany, said,

"As a political doctrine, the major objective of Baloch Nationalism is national independence. Historically, the Baloch have remained a sovereign nation under the rule of Baloch rulers. After the creation of Pakistan, Balochistan was forcefully merged with Pakistan. As a result, the Baloch independent nation lost its sovereignty. There are numerous threats to the Baloch language, culture, and identity. Baloch Nationalism as an ideology is a source of consciousness and is struggling to get back its lost independence".

Some scholars working on the political doctrine of nationalism argue that nationalism can result from any threat to a nation's identity. Plamenatz (1976) states that *"Nationalism is the desire to preserve or enhance a people's national or cultural identity when that identity is threatened, or the desire to transform or even create it when it is felt to be inadequate or lacking"* (Plamenatz,1976:23-4). Baloch tribesmen also hold severe threats to their identity, with fears of becoming a minority in their homeland because of migrations inwards and outwards. Baloch Nationalism can be holistically explained and understood when all considerations and perspectives are taken into account. The primordial definition, the political doctrine of nationalism, and the ethno-symbolism ideas of identity all explain how different factions and eras of Baloch society understand and project their nationalism.

5.4 Baloch Nationalism as Patriotism

Nationalism is believed to be the blend of different feelings of emotional attachment. Most of the modernist and ethno-symbolist scholars of nation and nationalism relate nationalism to patriotism. Patriotism is an ancient concept of humankind's emotional attachments and love towards their native soil or birth land. The scholars claim that the trend of patriotism is also a natural phenomenon. While humans do have affiliations and emotional attachments with political entities for the sake of identification, some scholars hold that natural claims of land take precedence.

Prof. C.J.H. Hayes (1926) defines nationalism as *"a modern emotional fusion and exaggeration of two phenomena: nationality and patriotism"* (Hayes, 1926:5). If we compare patriotism and nationality, patriotism seems to be more of a natural and inborn feature, while nationality seems a political characteristic. Baloch Nationalism is thus also defined as patriotism and emotional attachments with the Baloch land. Furthermore, this patriotism, loyalty, and love increase under various social conditions and pressures. E Gellner (1983) of the modern school of thought argues that nationalism is *"a distinctive species of patriotism, and one which becomes pervasive and dominant only under certain social conditions, which prevail in the modern world, and nowhere else"* (Gellner, 1983:138).

Similarly, one of the scholars of Baloch Nationalism explained,

"Baloch Nationalism or Baloch patriotism depends on the social and political conditions of Balochistan. For example, Baloch tribesmen became more patriotic when the British colonialists attacked their sovereignty. Similarly, Baloch's forceful annexation with Pakistan invoked Baloch patriotism, so when any outsider disrespects Baloch culture, the Baloch exhibits more patriotism. Nationalism and patriotism are a natural phenomenon, but its intensity is forever increasing or decreasing".

Tribesmen also defined nationalism as patriotism, further defining patriotism as the love for one's place of birth, deeming it a natural phenomenon. Representing Baloch Nationalism as patriotism, one of the female BSO political activists shared,

"I am from the Makran region of Balochistan, and my village is tiny and far away from the city. The love for my motherland Balochistan is the same as my love for my village, and it remains the same for Balochistan, be it a part of Pakistan, Iran, or Afghanistan. The people living in these areas are my people, and this love makes me a patriot. But I think everyone living here loves Baloch land. Because it the land of our forefathers, and we are the protectors and caretakers of this land".

Patriotism as nationalism also includes the drive for the protection of one's land and nation. This drive is two-fold in the Baloch, where the first comes from the need to protect their tribe, and the second comes from the need to protect all Baloch nation, regardless of tribe. One of the Marris explained that,

"This is the homeland of our forefathers. We have to defend and protect our motherland. We defend our village or tribal lands from other native tribes. If they try to invade our tribal boundary, we resist. Similarly, as Baloch land and country inhabitants, it is compulsory and a feature of the Baloch code of conduct to remain patriotic, and I think every Baloch is a patriot. Everyone is ready to sacrifice for their motherland".

Patriotism also has to do with loyalty to one's motherland. Human loyalty to their nation marked the beginning of Nationalism (Kohn, 1942:97). It can be said that the blend of nationalism and patriotism constituted modern nationalism. In the case of Baloch Nationalism, both patriotism and nationality have been associated with the Baloch nation. Most of the respondents held that patriotism comes from love and loyalty. If one is a patriot but is not loyal to the land and people of his motherland, they do not fulfill the measures of being a patriot and nationalist. One of the political leaders and scholars on Baloch Nationalism said,

"Baloch Nationalism and patriotism are both the same thing. Patriotism and nationalism demand love and loyalty with the motherland. Every Baloch is a patriot and a nationalist as he learns to love and be loyal to his/her motherland from the moment of their birth. History reveals that the Baloch have always proved their love and loyalty to the Baloch nation and motherland".

Some of the respondents also believed that patriotism could invoke sentiments of hatred or dislikes towards those who do not belong to one's nation of the motherland. For example, the Baloch have exhibited dislike and grievances towards people from other provinces, including Punjab, because they feel they unfairly treat them.

Kedourie (1960) held that *"patriotism, affection for one's own country, or one's group, loyalty to its institution, and zeal for its defense, is a sentiment known among all kinds of men; so is xenophobia, which is a dislike of the stranger, the outsider, and reluctance to admit him into one's group"* (Kedourie, 1960:72). Echoing this, one of the Bugti tribesmen shared,

"What I believe is that most of the time, patriotism can also lead to hate and anger towards outsiders. Earlier, being a Baloch patriot generally meant that one was highly attached to the Baloch nation and could even die to defend the Baloch nation. However, that also means that an individual was capable of killing someone else for the nation. Thus, it can also lead towards conflict and violence".

Baloch loyalties with their land, language, geography, and people remain significant. Baloch tribesmen unitedly not only protected but also sacrificed to

define their motherland. Within Baloch society, internally, the loyalties remain associated with the tribal identities at the first level. At the second level, internationally Baloch tribesmen loyalties remain dominant with the Baloch nation.

5.5 Baloch Nationalism as State of Mind

Most Baloch tribesmen have also defined Baloch Nationalism as a state of mind. Humans identify and associate themselves with a specific group of people based on language, religion, ethnicity, or ancestry. Most scholars dealing with nationalism have also defined nationalism as a state of mind or set of ideas with which humans express their feelings of association and identity. K.R. Minogue (1967) depicts nationalism as "*a set of ideas.... a form of self-expression by which a certain kind of political excitement can be communicated from an elite to masses*" (Minogue,1967:53), while Prof. Hans Kohn (1965) defined nationalism as *a state of mind*'. Keeping in view these existing definitions of Nationalism, Baloch tribesmen also defined Baloch Nationalism as a state of mind in which they associated and expressed their ideas of attachment with the Baloch nation. One of the BSO political leaders, and a student of politics at Quaid I Azam University, said that,

"Yes, Baloch Nationalism is a state of mind. It is the state of mind in which Baloch identify themselves with the Baloch nation. It is a state of mind, a set of ideas that forces them to help a Baloch anywhere in the world. It is a state of mind in which we feel the pain of each other's miseries. When we go to our homeland, we can feel the fragrance of our soil, so these emotions, feelings, and sentiments are indeed a state of mind".

Another famous scholar and writer on Baloch Nationalism, Dr. Rahmat Baloch, also said,

"We think and feel good and positive, and sometimes we think and feel bad and negative. All this depends on various external and internal factors. For example, if the weather is pleasant, usually we feel good. Similarly, Baloch Nationalism for the Baloch people is a state of mind where they feel good and pride identifying themselves as members of

the Baloch nation. Being Baloch, they think for the betterment and prosperity of the Baloch nation".

Many of the respondents were also of the view that when we discuss Baloch Nationalism, it means we are, by definition, talking about the state of mind in which there come ideas and sentiments and being the member of the Baloch nation, these sentiments and ideas are expressed through various actions. A very prominent scholar of Nationalism, Breuilly (1993), echoed this and said that "nationalism refers to ideas, sentiments, and actions" (Breuilly,1993: 404).

5.6 Baloch Nationalism as Sense of Belonging

Most of the modernist proponents of nation and nationalism believe that nationalism is a modern phenomenon. In contrast, the theorists and scholars from primordialism have called Nationalism a natural and given phenomenon. They have associated and claimed the existence of nationalism in old civilizations like the Greeks. A deep association to the soil where one is born and grown-up establishes a sense of attachment to that soil, its people, and everything that belongs to that soil. Over time the concept or doctrine of nationalism has gone through different forms and expressions. A prominent authority on Nationalism, Prof. Hans Kohn (1965), defined nationalism as *a state of mind* in which a person feels loyalty to one's nation (Kohn, 1965: 9). Because of this definition of nationalism, most Baloch respondents defined Baloch Nationalism as a sense of belonging, attachment, and association with the Baloch nation. As one of the famous scholars of nation and Nationalism, Guibernau (1996: 43) holds about nationalism,

"A sentiment that has to do with attachment to a homeland, a common language, ideals, values and traditions, and with identification of a group with symbols such as a flag, a particular song, and piece of music or design which define it as different from others. The attachment to these signs creates an identity; and the appeal to that identity has had in the past, and still has today, the power to mobilize people". (Guibernau, 1996: 43)

The definitions of Baloch Nationalism are the true depiction of Guibernau's definition of nationalism. Baloch nationalists and tribesmen claim that they have attachments

with their language, culture, values and traditions, identity, and all the material and nonmaterial aspects of the Baloch nation. Furthermore, nationalism may be explained as "a sentiment, loyalty, or sympathy that binds a group of people together through common institutions and culture, thus creating unity" (Royal Institute, 1939). Baloch people's association with the Baloch nation, geography, culture, and language are based on their shared myth, memories, and origin, as one of the Marri tribesmen shared,

"A sense of belonging, feeling of attachment is natural in the case of every human. Every human has a sense of belonging towards any nation, land, language, or territory. We cannot measure or quantify these feelings. But being a member of a nation, if we have a sense of belonging, we can express it through our acts. For example, being members of the Baloch nation, we show our associations in different ways. We used to speak our language, dress like our forefathers, and defend our geography, and so all these things fall under a sense of belonging to the land."

They also hold that Baloch Nationalism is about the inner feelings, love¹⁹, attachment, and affections that Baloch people have for their land, language, culture, traditional values, dress patterns, and the area where they live.

A few of the respondents also looked at Baloch Nationalism as merely the process of evolution. They believed that it is simply human nature that humans be attached to a place where they start living. Those feelings of affiliation, association, and attachment with a geographical region can be called Baloch Nationalism, and for them, it is a natural thing. Simultaneously, some respondents also associated nationalism with self-interest, deeming it a product of one group or another's political interests. Some also held that nationalism was a modern concept, provoked by the powerful and the elite for their benefits, including gaining control. A few respondents also held the Sardars under a similar view. Furthermore, some held that nationalism is simply a feature of Baloch civilization and a tribal culture built on concepts such as revenge.

¹⁹ The respondents used the Urdu word *Mohabbat (Love)* which is for their intimacy, likeness, association and affection with their land, language, culture, ancestry

However, some respondents also saw Baloch Nationalism responding to discrimination, injustice, inequality, violence, and disrespect to Baloch cultural values. They also associated Baloch Nationalism with the demands of Baloch identity and independence. A famous Marri Baloch writer and scholar, Dr. Shah Muhammad, said on the topic,

"Baloch Nationalism is neither new nor surprising. Like every other nation, Baloch people have a deep-rooted, historical association with their language, geography, culture, traditions, and people. In modern terminology, you may call it nationalism or patriotism or anything else. Baloch tribesmen's affiliations start from their family, move towards their tribe, and then towards the whole Baloch nation and Balochistan. The intensity and depth of affiliation can vary from person to person and from tribe to tribe. Few people show more affiliation with the tribe, while the others show more towards the Baloch nation. In the past, the Baloch people defended their land, people, and culture from outsiders, and today, they are doing the same. So there is nothing strange or new to this."

Defending one's territory has remained a core feature of a group's association with and grab over its homeland. The Baloch people have also done the same, fighting for both their tribes and their nation as a whole. Disusing Baloch Nationalism as a sense of belonging to Baloch soil and defending it, one of the Marri tribesmen said,

"I think that Baloch Nationalism is simply the love that the Baloch feel for their land, for their soil, and everything in it, including the birds, mountains, rivers, animals, everything. And in this love, the Baloch have defended and sacrificed their lives for their land."

Baloch Nationalism, subjectively defined as a sense of association and feelings with Baloch culture, language history, myth and memories, and geography, remains a dominant feature of Baloch Nationalism. As a state of mind Baloch's sentiments of affiliations with the Baloch nation evolved. The sentiments evolved to protect and preserve the Baloch nation.

5.7 Section 2: Functions of Baloch Nationalism

The research found that the inhabitants of the Baloch land have indicated that Baloch Nationalism played various functions, mainly pushing the struggle for the survival of the Baloch nation, highlighting key issues of poverty, unemployment, injustice, and inequality in the region, and the need for acceptance of Baloch grievances. These are detailed below.

5.7.1 Baloch Nationalism and the Survival of the Baloch Nation

For centuries Baloch people are sacrificing to defend the Baloch nation and its identity. After the creation of Pakistan, the Baloch nation has faced a series of insurgencies. In most of the insurgencies, Baloch fought with the Pakistani state on a tribal basis. There was a scarcity of political and ideological unification. The Baloch nationalists claim that thousands of Baloch male, female segments of society have been either killed or migrated from Balochistan to save their lives. Increasing violence enforcing the Baloch tribal people for migration. Specifically talking about the initial years of contemporary civil war in Balochistan that started during the Musharraf regime, about 84,000 people have been affected by the military operation in districts Dera Bugti and Kohlu. July-August 2006, about 33,000 children and 26,000 women were found internally displaced people (IDPs) in the different districts of Balochistan and Sindh (International Crisis Group, 2007).

Further, about 8000–10,000 Marri and Bugti tribesmen were reported dead by a fact-finding team of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) during 2005 and 2006. Unfortunately, the government remains unsuccessful in facilitating the displaced people (Aslam, 2011). The facts provoked a sense of deprivation among the Baloch people, and they united on the Baloch nationalism platform to survive as a nation. The inhabitants of the Baloch land hold that their nationalism is an attempt to ensure their survival, which they believe has been under threat for a long time. Historically, the people held their own as a sovereign state; however, with colonization and forcefully annexed by Pakistan, the once sovereign Baloch lands are now divided between Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan. Despite this, Baloch people all around the world feel in each other's pain.

Furthermore, the Pakistani state's incursions threaten Baloch socially, culturally, and economically, another assault on their struggle for sovereignty. Today, most Baloch

tribesmen define Baloch Nationalism as a hope for the Baloch nation's survival. One of the Marri tribesmen was of the following view,

"For me, Baloch Nationalism is Baloch survival. Look, before the accession, we were living in our areas as a free nation. We were enjoying our own cultural and tribal life. But now, we feel as if we are slaves of the Punjabi ethnic group. Now, there are several threats to the Baloch nation. Our culture, language, history, and identity are under threat. The Baloch Nationalism is our last hope for survival as the Baloch nationalists are uniting the Baloch and demanding our freedom".

Baloch people face numerous economic, cultural, and political discriminations in Pakistan, much more than any other ethnic group. The Baloch nationalists claim that all these inequalities are to keep the Baloch nation oppressed and deprived. Furthermore, the Pakistani military has also conducted numerous military operations to crush Baloch Nationalism. The Baloch people believe that the Pakistani federal government and establishment have adopted these strategies to destroy the Baloch nation and its nationalism. They also say that there is a genocide going on where Baloch people are killed every day, and they live as if colonized by some external power while living in their land. However, in all this, Baloch Nationalism is trying to protect their economic and cultural rights. One of the female BSO political leaders explained,

"Most of the government jobs in Balochistan are being taken up by Punjabis or people from other provinces, and we are only given the lower-ranking jobs. Baloch Nationalism demands an end to this discrimination, and as the movement has pushed forward, the government has at times tried to show its concern, especially the PPP government".

Another threat that Baloch nationalists find is the Afghan refugees in Balochistan. They hold that the government provides them with identity cards and lets them purchase land in Balochistan to dilute the Baloch majority, endangering their culture and language and hence their survival. Baloch Nationalism is seen as the reaction to

all this, increasing political awareness in the people and slowly becoming the hope for survival.

5.7.2 Baloch Nationalism and Baloch Rights

"Demanding equal rights is Baloch nationalism, but for the Pakistani state, that is treason."

Baloch Nationalism has essentially also been the struggle for equal rights for the Baloch, given that the Pakistan state has failed to treat the inhabitants of Balochistan equally. One of the Baloch political leaders shared, *"when we demand equal rights, they call us traitors."* Baloch nationalists are only pushed further and motivated by the state's continued discrimination against the Baloch. As per the constitution of Pakistan 1973, the government is responsible for providing health, education, jobs, drinking water, good infrastructure, and all other necessities of life. The law remains equal for all the citizens. But in the case of the Baloch nation, there is deprivation and oppression. One of the Marri tribesmen and political leader added,

"The Pakistani government is not treating us as equal citizens of Pakistan. There is a lack of basic facilities of life in Balochistan. We do not have access to good health and education facilities. Infrastructure and development are not visible. The state must protect our rights, but where the state is looting our rights. We have huge amounts of energy and mineral resources, but the poverty level is at its peak. When the Baloch people demand our rights, the Pakistani state oppresses us and uses force. All these factors produce a sense of hate and a sense of discrimination in the Baloch people. Now, however, the Baloch nationalist movement is forcing the Pakistani state to give us equal rights too."

The respondents explained further that while Balochistan makes up 47% of the country's landmass, and its resources add significantly to the country's economy, including natural gas from Sui, the Baloch people do not get to reap any of these benefits and are deprived even of their basic human rights. One of the young political leaders of BSO shared,

"Natural Gas from Balochistan is used all over Pakistan, but our people are still collecting firewood to keep warm and to cook. Similarly, other mineral resources like oil, iron, coal, and even gold benefit Pakistan while the Baloch is getting nothing. The Pakistani state is not ready to develop Balochistan and is focused on Punjab, adding to our grievances against the state, that are being highlighted by the nationalist movement".

They further claim that when they demand their rights, they are met with the only bloodshed, and the region continues to lack good jobs, healthcare, education, etc. They also added that the Baloch were only allowed to join the armed forces during the president Musharraf era and that before that, the state did not trust them enough. Therefore, they hold that the movement is a reaction to the state's neglect, and the day the state treats Baloch people like equal citizens, the issue will resolve itself.

5.7.3 Baloch Nationalism as a Result of Injustice and Inequality

Some of the respondents were also of the view that Baloch Nationalism plays the function of responding to the injustices and inequalities inflicted on the Baloch people and that the intensity of the severities they are facing has united them under this movement against their powerful oppressors. One of the political leaders from BSO shared,

"Inequality and Injustice stems in most problems in human societies. The Pakistani state treats people in Balochistan differently from the rest of the countries and has different policies for us with no consideration of our culture and values. Discriminations in the policies provoke the sentiments of hate in Baloch youth. Baloch Nationalism is a platform that discourages these inequalities".

As per the definitions and constituents of nationalism, injustice, inequality, and threat to national identity remain significant nationalist movement features. Especially among the developing countries, there is an increasing trend of right-based nationalist movements. Baloch people are also subjected to the unjust implementation of force against people by the state. One of the Marri tribesmen, talking about the injustice and inequality in the Baloch society, shared,

"In Balochistan, everything is different for the rich and poor. Baloch people are oppressed by the economic and political elite of the province. So poor Baloch people remain silent. But over time, things are changing because of Baloch Nationalism. Now, people are challenging the powerful elites and demanding justice based on equal rights. All this is because of the Baloch nationalist movement and the middle class' struggle".

Baloch nationalists claim that the Baloch nationalist movement is a platform that demands equal human rights for Balch people. With the lowest literacy rate and highest mortality rate, Balochistan reveals the government's seriousness towards the development of Baloch people. Sixty-two percent of Baloch people do not have access to pure drinking water. Instead of having rich mineral and energy recourse, 78 percent of the population does not have electricity access. Although Balochistan owns vast gas reserves, 70 percent of the Baloch people survive without gas facilities(Aslam, 2011). Further, the poor availability of basic infrastructure, poverty, unemployment, and unrest in the province increase Baloch population expectation towards the Baloch nationalist as they always demand Baloch rights.

5.7.4 Baloch Nationalism as Baloch Revenge

Baloch Nationalism is also a way for the nationalists to avenge the miseries and injustices they have had to deal with at the state's hands. This need for revenge goes back to 1948 when the struggle against the state first began and is a reaction to the government's merciless' campaigns against the Baloch. This is also an attempt to avenge Pakistani politicians' false promises of better education, healthcare, and facilities to the Baloch people. The final nail in the coffin was perhaps the genocide against the Baloch people that resulted from oppressive state practices and that the nationalist movement is trying to avenge. One of the scholars on Baloch Nationalism said this:

"Taking revenge is natural to every Baloch. It's part of our culture, and we learn that from when still in the womb. If someone harms us, we take revenge. The same is the motive of Baloch Nationalism. The Pakistani state has harmed our culture and identity. Now they are

killing our people based on Pakistani nationalism. In reaction, the Baloch nationalist armed groups are avenging the Baloch people".

Another respondent explained further,

"Everyone is taking revenge from the Punjabi government of Pakistan as per their capacity. All the nationalists and freedom fighters take revenge on their dead brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, fathers, and mothers. They are taking revenge for their homeland".

Most of the respondents believed that the movement is, in fact, revenge against the Pakistani government and the security agencies that have targeted the Baloch people—the act of revenge is embedded in Baloch culture and tribal way of life. Everyone involved in the movement has lost someone or, in some way, that has created in them the need for vengeance from the state. Many Baloch families lost their children to the war, the insurgency, and the state's response. The collective sentiments for the need for revenge against their oppressors unite them under a unified nationalist movement.

5.8 Nationalism and the Self-interests of the Sardars

The elite groups of oppressors of the Baloch society also include the Sardars. Their historical roles are significant, and they have held an important place in Baloch society and tribal systems. However, their authority has been challenged by an emerging, educated, and middle-class leadership of the Baloch Nationalism movement. However, the Sardars have used nationalism to advance their interests. Simultaneously, the Pakistani government has often dismissed the nationalist movement as a mere ploy of the Sardars. One of the government officials posted in the district Kohlu shared,

"Look, Baloch Sardars are using the simple tribesmen for their interests. Initially, all these Sardars were interested in joining Pakistan after the separation. The government was paying huge sums of money and provided privileges to the Sardars. The Sardars' demands increased over time. When the government denied those demands, they used their tribal people against the government and started the insurgency. I do admit there are issues in Balochistan, but I believe the

Sardars are responsible. These Sardars are also members of provincial and national assemblies. Why do they not ask for the development of Balochistan in those platforms? They want to keep the Baloch nation deprived for their benefits."

However, the Baloch youth continues to blame the Sardars for many of Balochistan's problems. Some also held that the Sardars were using nationalism to advance their agendas while not really contributing to the movement and only using it to blackmail the government into meeting their own goals. One of the Marri tribesmen said,

"Tribal chiefs are involving their people in such kind of movements because of their interest. When those Sardars have a good relationship with the government and benefit, they remain peaceful. But whenever the government tried to get the upper hand on the Sardars, they started an insurgency. Every tribe has a Sardar or chief, and that Sardar decides the fate of the people. Though in the previous few years there has come a shift due to education".

Very few of the respondents also held some very different views and said that nationalism is a phenomenon that is the product of self-interest and benefits. They said such terms, and then the ensuing ideologies are produced by the elite classes of the society not only for their benefits but also to suppress the poor and the common people of their areas. Then they blackmail the people with these and use them for their interests. Talking about nationalism, one of the respondents was of the view that,

Nationalism is a very ambiguous term, whether it's the love for one's nation or something else beyond that is subjective. Many people even relate this term to Marxism. But if we look into Marx's approach, that deals with people of every class and race. Marxist ideology does not believe in the division of people based on nations. But nationalists are working for the interest of their specific nation".

As shared earlier, Sardari or feudal system remains a significant feature of Baloch society. Baloch people's tribal loyalties and associations have remained high throughout history. The Baloch nationalists argue that the Baloch Sardars have used the Baloch tribal people for their interests. After the creation of Pakistan, the

nationalist movements during the 1960s and 1970 depict a sense of tribalism. Marri tribesmen dominated the guerrilla war to preserve their tribal Sardars Status that was dismissed by the prime minister ZAB. In comparison to the past, today, the Baloch are united, and their loyalties are with the Baloch nation.

5.9 Conclusion

The prevailing complexity in defining the term "nationalism" is evident in the literature from various social sciences disciplines. Nevertheless, the most prominent debate about nationalism in Anthropology has existed in three prominent schools of thought: primordialism, modernists, and ethno-symbolism. All these three schools of thought have their positions to propagate the concept of nationalism. Whereas primordialists prominently perceive nationalism as a natural and given phenomenon. In comparison, the modernist consider nationalism a modern political doctrine that emerged after the industrial revolution—both schools of thought have an opposite standpoint. However, the ethno - symbolist scholars have a standing position where they take theoretical advantages from both sides – primordialist and modernist – and create a theoretical bridge in between.

The concept of Baloch nationalism presented in this chapter is categorically aligned with the ethno - symbolist School of thoughts' conceptual boundaries and inherited some of the concepts coming from primordialists and modernist scholarship. Pertinent to primordial, Baloch Nationalism was conceptualized as a natural and ancient phenomenon. The people of Balochistan defined Baloch Nationalism based on their sentiments of affiliation, associations, geography, and loyalties with Baloch soil and its protection. Moving further, based on the data gathered in this research and modernist standing point, Baloch nationalism is also a sense of belonging and cognitive construction of attachment with their nation. Nevertheless, political awareness and self-determination to achieve the desired rights are other existing attributes of Baloch nationalism. Overall, at the moment, Baloch nationalism has been constructed in relation to the nationalist movement that is struggling to survive Baloch as an independent nation and avenge the Baloch people's grievances. In this way, nationalism serves the functions to ensure the Baloch nation's survival and safeguard its rights.

CHAPTER 6: CAUSES OF BALOCH NATIONALISM IN PAKISTAN

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part of the chapter deals with the cultural, political, geographical, and economic-based causes of Baloch nationalism. In contrast, the second part of the chapter discusses the international involvement in the Baloch nationalist movement. Further, I have tried to highlight in Baloch diaspora and the role of religion in Baloch nationalism.

Baloch nationalism²⁰ is an immensely complicated phenomenon; it challenges and denies the existing theories of nationalism. It is a multifaceted movement with different causes. According to many scholars, writers, and researchers, nationalism is a modern phenomenon. Contemporary nationalism theorists relate nationalism to the industrial social formation, but Balochistan is the least industrialized region, with the low literacy rate in the country (Khan, 2003a). The causes of Baloch nationalism are controversial. But most of the writers agree that the movement started before the few decades of the formation of Pakistan in 1947. Baloch nationalism was the byproduct of tribal-based conflicts. It maintained the interests of tribal Sardars of their alliances with powerful entities for their perks and privileges. This first emerged during the anti-colonial struggle and, the second rise was seen after the creation of Pakistan (Titus & Swindler, 2000).

Initially, the educated Baloch youth worked with the Pashtuns and struggled for the “Oneness” of Balochistan. Still, when the Pashtuns demanded a separate land for the Pashtun people, the notion of “Oneness” ended (Titus and Swindler, 2000). The problem between the Baloch and the Pakistani state began after the Baloch people held the unlawful annexation of their land after Pakistan had recognized the autonomy of the State of Kalat but backtracked on its promises. Soon after, violent clashes between the insurgents and the state began. Despite the violence and Prince Karim’s revolt of 1948, the people in Balochistan eventually accepted their merger with Pakistan, and the struggle for greater provincial autonomy began. As a result, several

²⁰ As this thesis is focusing on the Baloch nationalism movement after the creation of Pakistan in 1947. So here the issues documented focus what happen after 1947.

Sardars held public offices. The descendants of nationalist Sardars such as Akbar Bugti, Khair Bux Marri, and Atta Ullah Mengal are still involved in Pakistan's political system. Balochistan faced another long-turned phase of tribal-oriented nationalist movement during the 1960s and 1970. During the 1960s Baloch nationalist movement emerged with a demand for a separate province for the Baloch people. In 1973, the Baloch once again started insurgency when Mr. Bhutto dismissed the Balochistan first elected government and abolished the Sardari system as a prime minister of Pakistan. The Baloch tribes, especially the Marri tribe, took it as disrespect of their Sardars. The primary objective of the movement was provincial autonomy. The phase of insurgency ended up in 1977. The Baloch people adopted the conversion strategy as per the multilevel process theory and assimilated with the Pakistani until 2000. During these years of peace, they mobilized and organized Baloch people ideologically.

During Musharraf military regime in Pakistan, the Baloch nationalist with new leadership, ideology, geography, and objective once again emerged and challenged the Pakistani state writ in Balochistan. This time the Baloch nationalist expressed several cultural, political, economic, and geographical concerns. They organized the people to take revenge on the Baloch nation's grievances. The nationalist argues that the government of Pakistan did not and is not empowering the masses. Instead, Pakistan empowered the Sardars, who sowed division and used the movement to gain in line with colonial-era policies. The representatives in the provincial and national assemblies from Balochistan are also from tribal Sardari families and advance their interests in mainstream politics and government while the middle-class struggle for Baloch rights, identity, and equality. The middle-class masses of Balochistan are now leading the Balochistan nationalism movement at the front. With the several cultural, political, economic, geographical injustice, and inequalities-based grievances, the Baloch nationalists again demanded independence. The chapter will further discuss the details of each grievance in more information.

6.2 Cultural causes of Baloch nationalism

Cultural causes of Baloch nationalism have been contextualized in relation to Balochistan annexation as an Insult to the Baloch nation. Kalat state, as a representation of the Baloch nation, has dignity within the Baloch people. Therefore,

the forceful merger of Kalat has been considered as disrespect of the whole Baloch nation. Further, the Baloch code of honor or *rewaj* is like an unwritten constitution in Baloch society. The Baloch nationalists claim that the Pakistani state has constantly disrespected the Baloch *rewaj*.

6.2.1 Annexation as an Insult to the Baloch Nation

The Baloch nationalist leadership of KSNP, the Baloch youth, and the Khan of Kalat assumed the forceful annexation of Kalat as an insult to the Baloch nation. In 1947 the Pakistani government accepted Kalat as an independent and sovereign state but in 1948, with the help of British colonialists, created such a situation that the Khan of Kalat was forced to sign the papers of annexation. Baloch nationalists believed that the annexation was preplanned. At the same time, the Baloch tribal Sardars were busy with making and remaking their political alliances as per the need of time. The creation of Pakistan in 1947 and then the annexation of Balochistan with Pakistan was a shock for the Baloch nationalists who were struggling for the independence of Balochistan(Harrison, 1981). One of the respondents, experts on Baloch nationalism, shared,

“The Baloch were looking for their independence and sovereignty; they were of the view that they have an entirely different culture, history, language, and ancestry. Their lifestyle and level of thinking were also different from the people of Pakistan. Finally, in 1947 they got their sovereignty with the announcement of Kalat as an independent state. But suddenly, the annexation of Balochistan in 1948 disappointed them. The people of Balochistan took it as an insult. The annexation demolished the dignity and identity of the Baloch nation. So, all this created an atmosphere of hate and anger within the people of Balochistan”.

Adding on to this, one of the Baloch nationalists from the Marri tribe shared,

“We are traditionally tribal. We have always resisted the outsiders who tried to interfere in our territory. We resisted whenever someone tried to demolish our identity and freedom. We are resisting today because the government of Pakistan tried to demolish our freedom by dismissing the Kalat state’s government. The arrest of Baloch

nationalist leaders and Banning KSNP was an insult to every Baloch. So we retaliated under the leadership of Prince Abdul Karim to retain our sovereignty. The Baloch believed that the annexation would make them the servants of Pakistan and will snatch their freedom”.

The Baloch nationalist has always documented and recalled the annexation as an enforced act, while the Pakistani government held it was within the wishes of the Baloch. The Baloch leadership organized protests and rallies against the Pakistani government. Educated Baloch leadership began a political awareness campaign all over Balochistan (Breseeg, 2004). Baloch leadership and the youth became aggressive and harsh after losing their autonomy; however, this activism won the Baloch people's good wishes. A Baloch nationalist explained,

“The Pakistani and especially the Punjabi leaders betrayed the Baloch nation in the shape of the annexation. It was a forceful annexation without considering the Baloch people's demands. First, the Pakistani forces entered and occupied the Kalat State. Then the house arrest of the Khan was another insult. The Pakistani Army and government also betrayed and deceived Prince Karim and his followers. They even disrespected their oath on the Quran.”

Balochistan's annexation with Pakistan is known as the root cause of today's Baloch nationalism. It sowed mistrust among the Baloch nationalists and the Pakistani Government (Sial and Basit, 2010). One of the scholars on Baloch nationalism explained,

“Baloch Nationalists never accepted the merger of Balochistan with Pakistan. Baloch people and nationalists believed that the Pakistani government had deceived the Baloch nation with the help of the Sardars, and the arrest of Khan and other Nationalist leaders fanned Baloch nationalism. After the annexation, the government's Sardar-centric policies also disappointed the people of Balochistan.”

The political turmoil in Balochistan became more active after the annexation of Balochistan in 1948. The first revolt under the leadership of Prince Agha Karim was unsuccessful in achieving its objectives. This revolt, however, became the source of

national unification. Selig S. Harrison describes that a Baloch national identity rather than tribal identity was prioritized and became visible in 1948 (Harrison, 1981). Y. V. Gankovsky adds that the first Balochi publication in monthly *Ouman* is evidence of Baloch nationalism and national identity during the 1950s (Gankovsky, 1971). One of the respondents, a political activist of BSO, shared regarding this,

“We Baloch have a long history as the inhabitants of the Baloch land. We are the sole honor of this land. We have been living in and protecting our land for generations. Of course, we have internal conflicts being members of a tribal society. But for the outsiders, we are united. The merger of Balochistan with Pakistan was a step to demolish our sovereignty which was unacceptable and unbearable for the Baloch nation. Everyone reacted and protested against this decision in their way.”

The Baloch people connected the contemporary Baloch nationalist movement with the forceful annexation of Balochistan, and they took it as an insult to the Baloch nation. The first Baloch revolt under the leadership of Abdul Karim was the reaction of Baloch insult. The Baloch reacted with an armed struggle to attain the lost dignity of Kalat. The Baloch nationalist connects the forceful annexation with the disdain of the Baloch code of honor or *rewaj*.

6.2.2 Disrespect of the Baloch National Code of Honor (*Rewaj*, *Balochmayar*)

Balochmayar is the essential and unwritten constitution of Baloch society. It guides their individual and societal lives and is known and written as *Balochiat*, *Laj*, *nang*, *namus*, *Izzat*, and *ghriat* (Baloch, 1987). The creation of Pakistan and further the annexation of Balochistan with Pakistan invoked a political consciousness in Baloch nationalists. Still, it also challenged and insulted the *Balochmayar*, fanning anti-Pakistani sentiments in Baloch society. The arrest of the Khan of Kalat and Nationalist leaders was seen as an insult to the Baloch *rewaj* and Baloch code of conduct. One of the Baloch nationalists was of the view that,

“Prince Karim began an armed struggle by the orders of the Khan of Kalat. The Baloch youth also supported him because the people took

this annexation to be against the Baloch traditions. During this armed struggle, Baloch remained unsuccessful in getting support from Afghanistan and the Soviet government. But they were successful in attaining national support from their people. But at the end of the armed struggle, the Baloch nationalists were divided into two groups, one supported the armed struggle while the other supported the political struggle. In reality, both groups were struggling for the Baloch state's dignity.”

Revenge is an essential part of this code of conduct, and the people consider it almost a responsibility that an insult must be avenged (Baloch, 1987: 80-81). To take revenge for the lost dignity of Kalat started an armed struggle. One of the older Baloch nationalists who had remained a part of the armed struggle shared,

“We Baloch are very concerned about Balochiat and Balochmayar. It is true that it is unwritten but here in Balochistan, everyone respects and follows it. By dismissing the Khan's government, the Pakistani government insulted the Balochmayar. The Pakistani government challenges the Baloch Izzat and Namoz [Respect and dignity]. The Baloch can't tolerate the insult of Balochmayar. Being tribal and traditional, we have certain unwritten rules and regulations to control our society. The incorporation of Balochistan with Pakistan was the disobedience and violation of Balochmayar as the Pakistani Government had accepted Kalat as an independent state in 1947 and then deceived the Baloch people by annexing Kalat with Pakistan. So, it became the duty of every Baloch to revenge this betrayal.”

The Baloch code of honor emphasizes the importance of loyalty and truth, and as a result, honor (Titus, 1998). The Pakistani government and establishment never respected the Baloch code of honor and disrespected and humiliated Baloch culture and identity, resulting in resistance from the Baloch people. In Baloch society, the unwritten code of honor guides every Baloch on how to survive. Respect, truth, and loyalty are the main pillars of our code. Insulting Baloch code of honor is like a sin. If someone does not respect our honor code, the Baloch resist and take revenge for our insult. Since the annexation of Balochistan with Pakistan, the Baloch nationalists have

continuously tried to protect their *Balochiat*, *rewaj*, and dignity. Baloch code of honor is an essential and sensitive feature of Baloch culture. Baloch does not compromise over the *Balochiat*. Over time, Baloch sentiments and associations have increased with the Baloch *rewaj*. Till today, Baloch does not compromise over the Baloch honor and dignity.

6.2.3 The Humiliation of Baloch Culture and Language

The Baloch nationalists claim that the Balochi language and culture have been discriminated against across Pakistan. Balochistan is a multicultural and multiethnic province of Pakistan. The major ethnic groups are Baloch, Barohi, Pakhtuns, and many other smaller clusters of migrants. The nationalists have held that being integrated with Pakistan has been a threat to their unique identity as an ethnic group as one of the respondents explained,

“Our culture, language, and identity are in danger due to the oppressive policies of the Punjabi-led Pakistani government. The Punjabis are trying to make our minority in Balochistan. 60% of our population is Baloch, but the Pakistani government has adopted colonialism and structural discrimination policies, sending more and more migrants here in Balochistan to make us a minority. Jobs are given to outsiders, and Balochi is not the official language of Balochistan. All these factors are threatening our culture and language.”

Another Baloch student leader was of the view that,

“Pakistani government wants to demolish the Baloch identity. The government has imposed military operations systematically to demolish the Baloch race. Then displacements, target killings, and genocide of Baloch have become a regular practice in Balochistan. The government has deprived the Baloch nation of representing their culture, reading, and writing their mother language. To eliminate the Baloch identity government banned cultural gatherings in Balochistan. They are killing our singers and writers.”

Baloch people are sensitive about their cultural identity. Cultural traits create a sense of superiority in Baloch people. The culture is a source of differentiation. Baloch nationalism movement also claims the preservation of Baloch language and culture. Another respondent shared,

“To preserve our culture, the Baloch students wear the traditional Balochi dress here in Balochistan. However, the security officials (Army and FC) find it weird and stop people from following their cultural traits. So, we usually wear broad shalwar (trousers). In many cases, the FC personals humiliate the people who are wearing those trousers. At the Army and FC check posts, officials even keep scissors to tear up Baloch trousers. I think this is the peak of humiliation for any nation.”

A majority of the respondents claimed that they were united under the umbrella of the Baloch identity due to Baloch culture and language. The roots of Baloch nationalism are deep-rooted and connected with Baloch culture. Baloch traditions and cultural values are different from the other natives of the sub-continent (Baloch, 1987). The Baloch people feel proud of their culture and history and transfer it from one generation to another. One of the respondents explained,

“We have many fears here in Pakistan. We have economic, political, cultural, and many other fears. We are the majority here in Balochistan, but the Pakistani government is making us a minority systematically. First, with the arrival of Afghan refugees here in Balochistan, our demography changed. The majority of the Afghans are Pushtuns, so it increased the Pashtoon population. Then the Pakistani government imposed Urdu and English languages here in educational institutions and government offices. As a result, non-Baloch people come here to Balochistan for jobs and business and become the settlers here.”

Most Baloch nationalist political parties and freedom fighters also hold that the federal Punjabi-dominated government is trying to convert Balochistan's primary ethnicity into a minority. In addition, Baloch nationalists have raised their voices and concerns about Afghan refugees and immigrants.

6.2.4 Sense of Deprivation and Marginalization Because of Inequality and Injustice

Inequality and injustice are provoking a sense of deprivation and marginalization in Baloch society. The Sardars and security forces running Balochistan attempt to marginalize the Baloch nationalists and tribesmen using force and violence. The security forces, along with the help and support of Sardars, used every means to keep the Baloch people deprived and marginalized, and the promotion of Sardars and their oppressive ways in causing problems for Balochistan. One of the Baloch nationalists shared,

“Sardars, with the help and support of the military establishment, marginalize us in every way of life. They kept us dependent and deprived by keeping us away from education. Our middle-class leadership is labeled traitors. We do not have access to modern facilities of life. The powerful and influential people are doing this for their benefit. They are so empowered that no one can challenge their authority.”

Another one of the respondents shared,

“I would like to share an example of the sense of deprivation. Natural gas was excavated in Balochistan in 1952. Natural gas from Balochistan fulfills 38% of the needs of Pakistan, while Balochistan is getting only six or seven percent. I think 83 percent of the gas is distributed in Punjab, and only the remaining gas is available in four districts of Balochistan. The government is paying the lowest royalty rates to Balochistan. Similarly, there are inequalities in the policies of education, health, development, jobs, and businesses in comparison to other provinces. These things produce a sense of deprivation within the Baloch society.”

The Pakistani government ensures this instability prevails by using the Sardars who only seek to benefit themselves. This leads to the situation of instability and anarchy in the province (Khetran, 2011). One of the respondents shared,

“Most of the members of national and provincial assemblies from Balochistan belong to the Sardars and influential families, and they are not elected democratically by the people. The establishment selects them, the Sardars and tribal chiefs bribe higher government officials, and after getting authority, they misuse their powers to suppress their political opponents and nationalist leadership. They provide jobs to their people. In reaction, the middle class is adopting the strategy of violence.”

One of the respondents shared,

“British people developed the feature of inequality in our society. British empowered Sardars, and they were treated differently by the government in comparison to the tribesmen. The empowerment of the Sardars gave birth to corruption and nepotism. Through their access to the British officers, Sardars demolished the merit process and selected their relatives in the Levis force and other government jobs. The system continued after Balochistan’s annexation with Pakistan. Today Sardars are more empowered. They hold key positions in the government system.”

Apart from the Sardars, the officers appointed in Balochistan are also mainly from the other provinces of Pakistan, and they are not aware of the cultural values of Balochistan. They typically speak Urdu, English, and Punjabi, and the poor tribesmen cannot speak these languages. Another one of the respondents shared,

“In the offices of our province, we cannot speak Balochi because of non-Baloch officers. We cannot convey our problems due to limited access to officers and because of language barriers. Then in the offices, the attitude of the officers also oppresses us. Our educated people do not have jobs. If they want to get jobs, they must pay heavy bribes to the Sardars or officers. Even Punjabi officers prefer to work with Punjabi subordinates. All these factors are demoralizing the Baloch people. So, because of frustration, hate, and anger, they are joining the nationalism movement.”

One of the respondents was of the view,

“I believe when you become powerless and cannot do anything, frustration takes over. Baloch people are frustrated. No one is ready to solve our problems. Revenge and resistance are part of our blood. The Baloch nationalist cannot kill the powerful Punjabis, so to hurt them, they attack ordinary people from Punjab. I know it’s a bad thing, but they don’t see any other way out.”

The health and education condition of Balochistan is the poorest. Similarly, corruption, nepotism, and law and order situation are the worst. The governance of the province is in the wrong hands. Pakistani government never treated Balochistan equally. The most significant reason behind the Baloch unity and nationalism is the inferiority complex (ehsas e mehromi). The list of deprivations (*mehromian*) is too long(Aslam, 2011). State policies towards the Baloch and Balochistan are wrong and unjust, and without understanding our issues, the government always uses force, which is against our culture. There is no continuity in the government’s policies for Balochistan. Every new government uses new tactics to deal with the Baloch people. Over time, the sense of marginalization and deprivation has increased in Balochistan because of the stat-based discrimination.

6.3 Political Causes of Baloch Nationalism

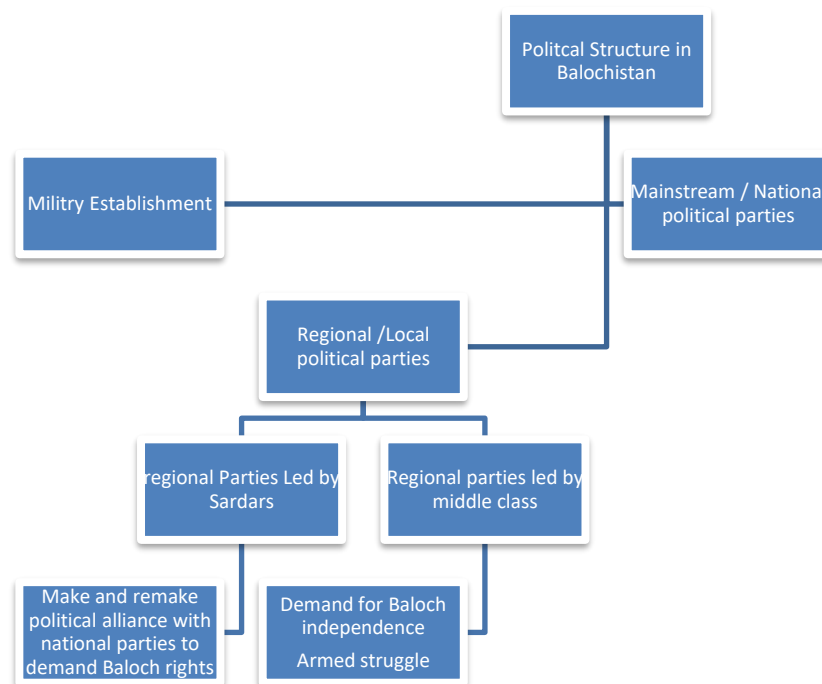
There is also a sense of political deprivation among the people of Balochistan. Baloch nationalists and tribesmen are facing several political inequalities and discrimination within Balochistan and Pakistan. Political events like the forceful annexation and insurgency of 1948, the imposition of One Unit policy and 1958 insurgency, the dismissal of NAP government during the 1970s and the insurgency, empowerment of Sardari systems and Sardar led political parties, killing, banning, and jailing middle-class political leaders, became the significant causes of the Baloch nationalist movement. This part of the chapter documents the series of political events chronologically that fueled the sentiments of nationalism in the Baloch people.

6.3.1 Political Structure in Balochistan

The political system in Balochistan is very complicated: a combination of local, regional, and national political parties and the influence of military establishment all

come together and influence governance. Local and regional parties are divided into two different categories. Firstly, there are regional nationalist political parties led by the tribal Sardars. These political parties demand Baloch rights and autonomy within the federation of the Pakistani state. The second is the regional nationalist political parties or groups led by the educated middle class that raise the slogan of Baloch sovereignty and independence. These political parties and groups have always boycotted the elections. Most of these groups are involved in the armed struggle to attain Baloch autonomy. Then there are also mainstream political parties like PPP, PMLN, PMLQ, and JUI. The regional political parties make and remake political alliances with national parties as per the instruction of the military establishment and agencies. The military establishment's influence is deep-rooted within the political culture and structure of Balochistan. The military establishment also makes and remakes political parties as per the need of time. The military establishment then replaces the regional political parties as per the requirement of the situation. The figure below describes the political structure in Balochistan.

Figure 10: Political structure in Balochistan



Source: Developed by Researcher

Local, regional, and mainstream political parties remain interconnected through direct or indirect political alliances in Balochistan. Regional political parties have worked as

facilitators and keep a check on national political parties. This relationship of political parties set the ground for democracy. One of the political leaders of the Baloch national party talking about the political structure of political parties in Balochistan shared,

“Most of the Regional parties create tribal Sardars and influential people of Balochistan for their interests. Regional political parties like BNM, JWP, NAP, and NP make and remake alliances with the mainstream political parties like PPP, PMLN, JUI, etc., as per the need of time. Regional political parties somehow play a more important role in making the federal government of Pakistan. Usually, the provincial political parties are directed by the military establishment of Pakistan. Suppose any political party in Balochistan tries to show its affiliation towards Baloch nationalism. In that case, the establishment replaces that party with some new political party, the BAP is a prominent example of this.”

One of the respondents added,

“The provincial/regional political parties are working under the control of the Sardars, and the Sardars are under the supervision of the establishment. So, the alliances and pressures are built over the federal political parties as per the establishment's guidance. In Balochistan, the candidates of regional political parties are selected by the establishment. So, the people of Balochistan do not accept the parliamentarians as their representatives. These selected parliamentarians are the reason for inequality and injustice in Baloch society.”

The representatives of regional or provincial political parties have tried to establish a link between the masses and the federal government. In this way, the demands of the masses are communicated to the federal government and policymakers. However, regional political parties focus on specific regions and their particular ethnic groups. Due to these limitations, these regional political parties work mainly for a specific area and ethnicity (Kopecek, 2010). However, with the support of local masses, the

regional political parties can often quickly put pressure on the government to get their demands.

6.3.2 Evolution of Regional Political Parties in Balochistan

The local political parties, led by Sardars, are pro-Pakistan and pro federation. These parties demand Baloch rights within Pakistan. Whereas the political parties led by the middle-class nationalist leaders are anti-Pakistan and demand for the independence of Balochistan, they are also running the armed struggle. They do not believe in parliamentary politics. The evolution of the regional political parties could be first seen in 1920 with the creation of *Anjuman-i-Ettihad-i-Balochistan* by Mir Yusuf Ali Magsi and Abdul Aziz Kurd. The leadership of the *Anjuman* was working for the united independent Balochistan (Baloch, 1987). Initially, both major ethnic groups Baloch and Pashtuns, worked together under the *Anjuman-i-Ettihad-i-Balochistan*. But later, the *Anjuman* was divided into *Anjuman e Watan* led by the Pashtuns leadership and the KSNP under the Baloch leadership with the support of the Khan of Kalat (Khan, 2017). KSNP was created by the left-wing of *Anjuman* under the leadership of Aziz Kurd in 1937.

In contrast, the right-wing of *Anjuman* was looking for British support (Baloch, 1987). The KSNP's leadership began its struggle against the Sardari system and the illegal taxes. All these policies of KSNP's leadership made the Baloch Sardars and the British furious. As a result, the Sardars and the British were united against KSNP (Baloch, 1987). One of the political leaders shared,

“The rivalry among the Baloch nationalist and Sardars (Pro-government and anti-government) started when the KSNP's middle-class leadership supported the concept of detribalization in Balochistan. The British government was against the KSNP leadership, so the British colonial government empowered the Sardars against KSNP. After the creation of Pakistan and the Pakistani government replaced the British colonial system, the alliances remained the same. Baloch nationalists demanded Balochistan's independence while the Sardars supported the Pakistani government. Consequently, the Sardars created their political parties to become more powerful with the support of government.”

The Sardars led an attack on the KSNP leadership during the annual party meeting in 1939. Khan of Kalat, due to specific reasons, supported the Sardars at the time and banned the KSNP in 1939. All the active leadership of KSNP was exiled from Kalat to Quetta and continued their political activities from there. During and after World War II, the Khan continued the restrictions. In 1941 Baloch nationalists decided to ally with some major political parties of the subcontinent. Under the leadership of Qazi Esa, Baloch leadership invited the leader of the All-India Muslim League, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who refused to help the KSNP. The KSNP continued their struggle after the creation of Pakistan, making and remaking political alliances with the Muslim League and Indian congress. Finally, in 1944 KSNP, with the help of Nehru, joined the All-India States people's Indian Congress (Baloch, 1987). During the 1940s, KSNP was also divided into two groups. One group supported the merger of Kalat with India, while the other group demanded the independence of Kalat. So, the founder of KSNP, Aziz Kurd, found another political party called the "Baloch League" and supported the demands of an independent Kalat²¹. In 1947 the regional parties in Balochistan were then the KSNP, Anjuman e Watan, Baloch League, and Baloch National Workers Party (BNWP). Of these parties, Anjuman e Watan and KSNP were in alliance with congress while the other two demanded the independence of Kalat. One of the respondents shared on this,

"From the day of Balochistan's incorporation with Pakistan, there were two major political groups in Balochistan. One supported the incorporation, and the other resisted the incorporation. The political leaders who supported it are enjoying power and privileges today. At the same time, the leaders and followers who were in support of independence are in the worst of conditions and are still dreaming of the independence of Balochistan. Furthermore, the powerful people found their political parties to get more privileges. These influential people are equally responsible for the anarchy in Balochistan."

²¹ Weekly Bolan, 27 September 1946 and 26 March 1947

Table 5: Major Regional Political Parties²² in Balochistan

S.NO	Name of the regional political party in Balochistan	Year of establishment	Political ideology	Leadership
1	<i>Balochistan National Movement (BNM)</i>	2004	<i>Left, Nationalist</i>	<i>Khalil Baloch</i>
2	Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP)	1990	<i>Left Nationalist</i>	<i>Shahzain Bugti</i>
3	<i>Baloch Republican Party (BRP)</i>		<i>Left Nationalist</i>	Brahmdagh Bugti
4	Balochistan National Party (Awami) (BNPA)	1997	<i>Left Nationalist</i>	Israr Ullah Zehri
5	Balochistan National Party (Mengal) (BNPM)	1996	<i>Left Nationalist</i>	Akhtar Mengal
7	National Awami Party (NAP)	1957	<i>Nationalist</i>	
8	National Party (NP) ²³	2003	<i>Nationalist</i>	Abdul Malik Baloch
9	Balochistan Awami Party (BAP)	2018	<i>Federalist</i>	Jam Kamal Khan
10	Baloch Khwateen Panel (BKP)	<i>Not sure</i>	<i>Left Nationalist</i>	<i>Not sure</i>

Source: Developed by Researcher

There are certain factors behind the origin and evolution of these regional political parties in Balochistan. The first and the most important reason was the failure of the Muslim League to garner support in Balochistan. After the creation of the Pakistan Muslim League, it failed to build alliances and provincial branches in Balochistan. That created space for the new regional political parties. The behavior of the Muslim League's leadership was also authoritative. The leading political parties and their leadership delayed developing the constitution, creating further space and reason for the new political parties. After the creation of Pakistan, the central government and

²² Only the major regional political parties are listed here. There are number of smaller political parties in Balochistan like Haq Tawar (Kahir Bux Amrri) and Anjuman.e.Ittehad.e.Marri and many others.

²³ National party is the merger of Balochistan national movement (BNM) and Balochistan national democratic party (BNDP). <https://www.dawn.com/news/119114/national-party-formed-as-bnm-bndp-merge>

bureaucracy were not ready to transfer powers and provincial autonomy to the provinces. Especially in Balochistan, due to anarchy and political instability, the central government failed to give equal rights to the people of Balochistan. To attain provincial status and provincial autonomy, many regional political parties became active in Balochistan. At the same time, to counter Baloch nationalism, the Pakistani establishment also established a few political parties. Tribal Sardars also created political parties to maintain their power and authority (Subhan & Kasi, 2018). One of the political leaders said of this,

“Political system in Balochistan is different from the other provinces of Pakistan. Here, the tribal and Sardari system has a strong influence on politics. Sardars lead political parties with the support of tribes and the establishment. No one even considers the problems of a commoner. Everyone is facilitating their relatives, kith, and kin, and their tribesmen. Poverty, unemployment, and scarcity of basic needs add to the frustration and a sense of deprivation in the masses. Now, most of the younger middle class, educated people are gathering under the umbrella of radical leftist parties to get their rights.”

Geographically Balochistan is divided into tribal and non-tribal parts. Tribal and Sardari based politics is an essential feature of the political system of Balochistan. The loyalties of the tribesmen remain with the political party led by their tribal Sardars (Siddiqi, 2012). Interestingly, most Sardar-led political parties claim to be nationalist political parties to maintain their popularity among the masses. In reality, they are the products of the establishment. So the Sardars and their regional political parties stay close to the nationalist and the establishment for the sake of their survival, as one of the political leaders of BNP-M shared,

“It is not an easy task to survive here in Balochistan as a leader of a political party. Any party or political leader can’t openly go against radical nationalists²⁴ or the establishment. So Sardars are running their political parties with the support of their tribesmen. Now the affiliations of the tribesmen are shifting towards the leaders who care

²⁴ The nationalist parties those are struggling for the freedom of Balochistan like BLA, BLF, BUA etc. are known as radical parties and their members are called radical nationalist because they do not want negotiations. They just want the independence of Balochistan.

about Baloch national rights. Because of this, Sardars are already being challenged. The regional political parties also have pressures from the establishment. So these political parties keep changing their narrative and affiliations.”

Another political leader of the district Kohlu explained,

“All the regional political parties in Balochistan are controlled by the establishment or from Islamabad. Sardars get to enjoy their perks and privileges and so prefer to work in coordination with the establishment. Mainstream political Sardars are not living in their native areas. They are living in big cities like Karachi, Islamabad, Lahore, and Quetta. They visit their constituencies’ during the elections. They don’t even like to shake hands with the poor tribesmen. But over time, because of detribalization and education, the establishment’s supported Sardars’ popularity decreased. If any Sardars go against the narrative of establishment, he is sure to be replaced with some new face.”

Due to anarchy and insurgency, the influence of the army is increasing all over Balochistan. The military establishment selects and rejects the political leaders during the elections. One of the political leaders shared,

“Winning elections without the military establishment’s support is impossible here in Balochistan. Here, the affiliations and votes are purchased. The upper classes of society are not even a little interested in the layman’s problems, as seen during the elections of 2018 when the regional parties showed reservations regarding the poor conditions of the province. The military establishment supported the new political party, BAP. Now they are in government with the support of the federal PTI government. Tribal-based regional political parties work under the influence of federal government as well as under the supervision of military establishment.”

Another respondent added to this,

“We are a frightened nation because of the ongoing violence, inequality, and injustice in our society. We cannot speak openly against powerful institutions and people. In reality, the governance system in Balochistan is under the control of the military establishment. No one can work without their permission.”

The matrix below is drawn to explain the regional political parties’ structure in Balochistan. Overall, the leading influential institute is the military establishment. Regional political parties make and remake alliances with the mainstream political parties as per the military establishment’s instructions. Mainstream political parties play an essential role during the peace talks with the radical Baloch nationalist political parties. However, the Baloch youth is trying to fill the gap of potential political leadership and are met with opposition from the ruling elite and the military establishment.

Figure 11: Political structure in Balochistan



Source: Developed by Researcher

6.3.3 Usurping the Baloch with the Annexation of Balochistan

There are three major perspectives about the annexation of Balochistan with Pakistan. The Baloch nationalist believes that Pakistan had forcefully occupied Balochistan without the consent of the Baloch people. While the Pakistani Government never

agrees with the nationalist's viewpoint, and as per the Pakistani government's perspective, the Khan of Kalat joined Pakistan willfully. Finally, the third school of thought says that the Khan of Kalat, with the support of the tribal Baloch Sardars, joined Pakistan voluntarily but perhaps pressured. The last argument indicates that there was no other choice for the Khan of Kalat than to join Pakistan. This issue is still controversial (Noraiee, 2015). Another respondent shared,

“The annexation of Balochistan was forceful. Pakistani leadership and its supporters systematically grabbed the sovereignty of Balochistan. First, they won the loyalties of the tribal Sardars. Then they helped escalate the situation of anarchy within the Kalat state and forced the leaders of princely states such as the Jam of Lesbaila to join Pakistan. All these factors closed the options of Kalat's future. Moreover, Kalat state's border with Iran and Afghanistan was snatched along with the sea routes to survive as an independent state. So the khan decided to sign the annexation documents, which grabbed the freedom of the Baloch nation.”

Balochistan was a complex mixture of the different administrative units during the colonial period. The major units were the Kalat State²⁵, British Balochistan, and princely states. The interests based tussle continued within the administrative divisions of Balochistan during the British era (Titus & Swindler, 2000). A few months before the creation of Pakistan, the authorities of British Balochistan decided to join Pakistan due to internal and external problems and pressures. The Khan of Kalat signed the annexation document, and Balochistan became a part of Pakistan (Titus and Swindler, 2000). One of the Baloch nationalists shared,

“Pakistan accepted the independence of Balochistan/Kalat before its creation. But, in reality, the Pakistani leadership was not happy with the independence of Kalat. So they adopted the smart strategy of

²⁵ Kalat state along with the princely states was directly administrated by the Khan of Kalat while the British Balochistan was administered by the British Government. The core of Kalat State consisted of the provinces of Sarawan, Jhalawan, and Kachhi. The coastal areas of Las Bela and Makran as well as the western area of Kharan had been largely independent prior to the expansion of Kalat in the mid-18th century and became so again with the weakening of Kalat's power during the unrest of the mid-19th century: see Balochistan (Pakistan), Balochistan District Gazetteer, Kharan (Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1986), 33-35 (originally published in 1906), and Baluchistan (Pakistan), Baluchistan District Gazetteer, Makran (Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1986), 26 (originally published in 1906)

incorporating the princely states with Pakistan. With the incorporation of Lesbaila and Makran, Kalat became weaker. So there was no other option other than joining Pakistan. So I think it was forceful annexation because the Baloch never wished to join Pakistan. So this annexation usurped the freedom of Balochistan.”

The forceful annexation of Balochistan resulted in the first armed struggle or insurgency in Balochistan under the leadership of Prince Abdul Karim in May 1948. Who, along with his followers, started a revolt against the Government of Pakistan to revive the status of Kalat as an independent state? Prince Karim led the national liberation movement and migrated to Afghanistan for support. Unfortunately, Prince Karim remained unsuccessful in receiving any help from Afghanistan and Russia. The national liberation movement organized by Prince Karim was not a politically and economically well-organized movement. Despite this, he was able to unite the people and garner local support. This forceful annexation and Abdul Karim’s insurgency fueled nationalism and political consciousness among the Baloch youth.

6.3.4 One Unit Policy a Challenge to Baloch Identity

The first Baloch revolt indeed failed in achieving its short-term objectives. But in the long run, it became a source of political consciousness, and the educated people focused on the political struggle by involving more educated people in the Baloch nationalism movement. On the other side, the Pakistani government started its policies to crush the Baloch nationalist sentiment.

The Punjabis dominated the government to maintain the political powers and planned and executed the one-unit policy for West Pakistan. As per the policy, the western provinces of Pakistan were combined into a single unit (Harrison, 1980). After the creation of Pakistan, government policies focused on homogenous Pakistani nationalism policies without consideration of million years’ old ethnic groups like Baloch, Saraiki, Sindhi, and Pashtuns. In this regard, the government of Pakistan pursued and imposed centralizing policies all over Pakistan. These policies fanned the nationalist sentiments of all major ethnic groups living within Pakistan. Sindhi, Baloch, and Pashtuns started resisting the one-unit policy that demolished the ethnic

identities. However, in 1954, the constituent assembly executed the One Unit²⁶ plan to bring Balochistan, Sindh NWFP (known as KPK), and Punjab in a single platform to abolish the difference between East and West Pakistan. One of the Baloch nationalists of NP shared on this,

“The execution of the One-Unit worked as fuel for the fire of nationalism of all ethnic groups. But it is a reality that Baloch nationalists resisted one unit plan most aggressively. The educated middle-class nationalist became more active against it. They considered One Unit a threat to their Baloch identity. There were protests against the government.”

In response to the One-Unit, the educated Baloch leadership reacted in different ways. Ghous Baksh, Bezanjo started stressing political awareness among the students. Later he formed a Baloch student political organization, called BSO, to save the future of Balochistan. Gul Khan Nasir focused on nationalist poetry to stimulate and arouse the nationalist sentiments of the Baloch masses. His poetry focused on Baloch national rights and national integration.

On the other hand, Prince Karim, who completed his prison term, organized a party known as *Ustoman Gal* (People’s Party) in 1955 with the support of the Khan of Kalat. This time Prince Karim demanded the creation of a Unified Baloch province (Harrison, 1981). One of the respondents said,

“The formation of One Unit was another betrayal to the leaders and people of Balochistan. During the first decade of Pakistan’s formation, the status of independent and sovereign Balochistan was reduced to a tiny part of West Pakistan. It also violated the identity of Baloch by explicitly merging Baloch with other ethnic groups in West Pakistan. Furthermore, the inclusion of Pashtoon areas in Balochistan and more Pashtoon in the administration of Balochistan fanned the Baloch nationalist sentiment and so began the armed struggle.”

²⁶ One-Unit was the title of a scheme launched by the federal government of Pakistan to merge the four provinces of West Pakistan into one homogenous unit, as a counterbalance against the numerical domination of the ethnic Bengalis of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh).

The Pakistani government and military establishment were observing the activities of the Baloch nationalists keenly. To control the restless situation in Balochistan, the Pakistani Army gained control of Kalat on October 6, 1958. The next day, General Ayub Khan imposed Martial law, and Pakistan fell into a military regime. All the nationalist political parties were banned in Balochistan as well as in Pakistan. Military establishment placed the Khan of Kalat under house arrest, and nearly 300 Baloch nationalist leaders were sent to different jails of Pakistan. The military government imposed additional charges of *ghadari* on the Khan and his family (Harrison, 1981, p. 27). But Khan of Kalat and his family rejected all the charges, and the charges were out as a ruse to curb the movement (Baluch, 2008). One of the policymakers and government representative shared,

“I do believe that the one-unit Plan was a wrong policy. The situation of the newborn country was already in poor condition. This was the time to deal with the ethnic minorities with respect and dignity to spread the homogenous Pakistani nationalism with care. But the government was hitting the sensitive spots of the ethnic groups. Baloch people were already angry due to the incorporation of Kalat. With the arrest of the Khan and Baloch political leaders, the one-unit policy and military coup only provoked hate and anger in Balochistan.”

During the Ayub Khan's military regime, the government tried to crush every voice against martial law. The military started patrolling the cities and villages of Balochistan. Most of the military officers and *Jawans* were not familiar with the culture and traditions. The Baloch people were already of the view that the one-unit government wanted to crush their Baloch identity. Then the deployment of more and more military, non-local troops increased their fear of depravedness. Tensions rose when the Baloch people treated the army troops and demanded putting their weapons in local police and levies stations. This series of cultural shocks led to guerrilla warfare in Jhalawan and Sarwan. So began another armed struggle against the One-Unit. Nawab Nauroz Khan, a ninety-year-old Sardar of the Zehri tribe, and his family led this second insurgency in October 1958, along with 750 to 1000 followers (Harrison, 1980). The demands of the Baloch fighters were the withdrawal of One Unit and safe-conduct for the Baloch fighters. The insurgency ended in the early 1960s with an agreement of safe conduct between the Baloch and Pakistan military

representatives. The Baloch nationalists claimed that the Pakistani military establishment defrauded the Baloch people by arresting the Nauroz khan and hanging five of his companions (Baluch, 2008).

6.3.5 Construction of Army Cantonments and the Marri *Parari* Revolt of 1962

The Ayub Khan crushed the second wave of insurgency in 1958 with the imposition of Martial law, but his cruel policies promoted Baloch nationalism and the Baloch struggle. The Baloch youth continued their political activities secretly. Field Martial Ayub Khan introduced the presidential government system and became the president of Pakistan in 1962. Under this presidential system, a few Sardars of Balochistan became members of parliament. Being the members of the Ayub-led Government, tribal Sardars like Sardar Khair Bux Marri, Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal, and Sardar Ahmad Nawaz Bugti became a threat to the Ayub government (Siddiqi, 2012). One of the respondents from the Marri tribe shared,

“Baloch nationalists were somewhat happy with their representation in the parliament. The elected Sardars were considered Baloch nationalists. Baloch people were hoping for a better future in Balochistan. But the military dictator Ayub Khan replaced these elected Baloch representatives, as they were challenging his policies. The Baloch saw this as yet another insult to Balochmayar and Baloch dignity, leading them one step closer to the Parari revolt.”

Marri, Bugti, and Mengal are some of the most influential and powerful tribes in Balochistan with enormous manpower. When the Government replaced them, the entire tribe turned against president Ayub Khan. The grievances and wounds of annexation, Prince Karim’s revolt, and the One-Unit were still not forgotten, and this new mistake by the Ayub government reignited older grievances. The new government went a step further and began constructing military cantonments in Marri, Bugti, and Mengal areas. They saw one as an encroachment on their freedom, paving the way for the 1960s insurgency (Harrison, 1981). One of the respondents explained,

“Ayub Khan was trying to control everything within Pakistan. He was not familiar with the powers of Baloch tribes, especially the Marri, Bugti, and Mangel tribes, who are more sensitive about their Sardars’

respects. So the marri tribe started the parari guerrilla movement to take revenge of their Sardars' dignity; the Mengals and Bugti also supported them."

The *Parari* movement was started under the Leadership of Shair Muhammad Marri with the support of Sardar Khair Bux Marri in the surrounding Marri areas of district Kohlu. As it is already shared that Shair Muhammad Marri started this movement for the oppressed Baloch nation. The government did not respect the Baloch leaders and intentionally insulted the Baloch traditions by constructing military camps in their tribal areas. One of the respondents was in the view that,

"After the creation of Pakistan, the relation of Baloch with the state remains critical. Besides solving the problems and filling the gaps of mistrust, the Ayub government increased the gap between Baloch and the central Government. Disrespecting the Baloch Sardars challenged the Baloch code of honor. Then Sending the military to Marri and Bugti areas was another mistake. All that resulted in the Parari movement."

The *Parari* movement began in 1962 and ended in 1969 with the withdrawal of One Unit by General Muhammad Yahya Khan (Asia report, 2006). There were multiple causes behind the third Baloch rebellion in the Marri areas of Balochistan. First, the chain of events was linked to the 1948 incorporation of Kalat. After that, broken treaties were also added to the list of grievances. Second, during Ayub's regime, the imposition of the presidential system and the construction of military bases in Balochistan became the main reason for the insurgency and the armed struggle. Third, the government supported the Sardars' harsh policies towards the NAP and KSNP, and the regime adopted even more brutal policies to demolish Baloch nationalism and identity. Baloch nationalists, along with KSNP and BSO, began their agitation against the Ayub military regime. Finally, the *Pararis*, under the Leadership of the Marri tribe, started guerrilla warfare and organized camps in the Marri, Bugti, and Mengal tribal areas (Nadeem, 2011).

This long-run militancy attracted Baloch nationalists from all over Balochistan, especially the young educated middle class from BSO that joined the *Parari* movement in huge numbers. The *Pararis* avoided direct engagement with military

troops and attacked government installations instead. The first direct encounter with the Pakistani military was in 1964 when the angry Sardars challenged the government's writ. Both sides faced a significant loss of life, and the Pakistani military demolished several villages and agricultural properties of the involved tribes. The armed forces also launched airstrikes against the Baloch fighters.

6.3.6 Dismissal of the NAP Government

After the 1969 ceasefire, the Baloch Pararis abandoned their guerrilla activities but continued their political organization and struggle. The *Pararis* leaders organized and united the people in different camps, where they focused on the movement's organizational structure and trained more and more people. General Muhammad Yahya Khan's military regime ended with the 1970s elections, and Balochistan was given the status of a province and allowed to hold elections. Bhutto also supported the free and fair elections and endorsed the establishment of Balochistan's provincial assembly (Harrison, 1981). The election resulted in a majority win for NAP, and Attaullah Mengal became the first elected Chief Minister of Balochistan. Sardar Ghus Bux Bazinjo became the governor, and Sardar Khair Bux Marri became an assembly member. For the angry Baloch nationalists, it was good news (Siddiqi, 2012). However, on February 12, 1973, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto suddenly dismissed the elected government of NAP in Balochistan and ordered the arrest of Mengal, Marri, and Bazinjo. The dismissal of the NAP government rekindled the insurgency (Weaver, 2003).

One of the Baloch nationalists said of this,

“The Baloch nationalists were happy with the NAP government. Balochistan got the status of a province, and the dismissal of One Unit was a positive step towards bringing peace in Balochistan. But ZAB repeated the mistake of Ayub Khan and dismissed the NAP government. This dismissal played a significant role in the Baloch nationalism movement. Baloch nationalists were already ready to react, and this time the hate and the intensity of the strike was forceful.”

Different perspectives are trying to explain this dismissal. The Baloch Sardars were trying to educate the natives, replaced the non-natives in high and official positions,

and demanded that Balochistan's resources be given to the natives. This created a conflict between them and the central government (Jetley, 2004). Bhutto began to distrust the NAP government, considering them a threat to his hold on power. He believed that the NAP government had crossed the constitutional limits and challenged the central government (Harrison, 1981). To this distrust was added the allegation that Balochistan's government had smuggled a bulk of weapons from Iraq for the Baloch insurgents to use against the Pakistani government. While the allegation was never proved and always refuted, the excuse was enough. One of the Baloch nationalist and political leaders of PTI shared,

“I think the allegation of arms smuggling was false. The main reason for the dismissal was the promotion of the Baloch people and especially the demands of natural resources' royalties that they were receiving. ZAB himself was a Sindhi nationalist, but his team provoked negative sentiments against the NAP and Sardars. He, too, repeated the mistake of insulting Baloch Sardars. I think, of course, the Iranian government was also involved in that plot. Regardless, it led to another insurgency.”

Another respondent, a young BSO leader, shared,

“The Pakistani governments, military or otherwise, have always treated the Baloch as second-class citizens, never respecting our norms or our leaders. So the movement is simply a reaction to the government's action. The removal of the NAP government was an insult, so we, the Baloch people, started an armed struggle, knowing the state only speaks the language of violence with us.”

After the termination of the NAP government, the PPP government arrested the Baloch Sardars Mengal, Marri, and Bazinjo, along with many other political Baloch nationalists, and put them behind bars and banned the political activities of NAP all over Pakistan. A few weeks after the dismissal of the NAP government, the Baloch Pararis began attacking the military bases and convoys. The Pakistan government, with Iranian aid, also began a military operation to demolish the movement. This phase of insurgency only ended with Zia ul Haq's imposition of Martial law. This phase of the Baloch struggle changed the dimensions of Baloch nationalism. The

majority of the *Pararis* were the older ideological companions of Shair Muhammad Marri, joined by the young, educated youth from BSO. One of the Marri nationalists who remained a part of the insurgency during the 1970s explained that,

“In the Parari movement, the fighters were from everywhere from Sindh, Punjab, and Balochistan. We were fighting against the poor and harsh policies of the Pakistani government; we had no other choice given our oppression. We were using guerrilla warfare tactics, so the cost of our loss was less than the military’s loss. We knew the land and had local support. But the Pakistani military began killing women, older people, and children and started destroying the villages. All that was too horrible.”

Another one of the respondents said that,

“ZAB dismissed the NAP government in Balochistan to save West Pakistan. East Pakistan (Bangladesh) was already out of their hands. The influential policies of the NAP government scared the central government as the Baloch were getting powers and they were against the annexation.”

In this four years insurgency, nearly 80,000 Pakistani military troops participated, killing indiscriminately. The Pakistani Army used a cobra helicopter given by Iran to demolish the *parari* movement. In Chamaling, when the Pakistani Army attacked the families of the Marri tribe, nearly 15000 Marri tribesmen arrived to protect their families (Harrison, 1981). The exact count of casualties is not available, but it is estimated that around 5300 Baloch guerrilla fighters and 3300 army persons were killed (Harrison, 1981). During this phase of the rebellion, Baloch *pararis* fought for the social and political rights of the Baloch people. They struggled to save the mineral resources of Balochistan. Under the command of General Tikka Khan, the Pakistani military, also known as the “Butcher of Balochistan,” killed nearly five thousand Baloch fighters (Alamgir, 2012). The Baloch *parari* Leadership migrated to Afghanistan to keep the movement alive, but they continued their guerrilla attacks on the military and government installations. Finally, General Zia took over the ZAB government and to pursue peace in the country. He ordered to release of the Baloch

leadership and guerrillas. But he also banned political activities, and in Balochistan, BSO was under the particular focus of law enforcement agencies.

6.3.7 Empowerment of the *Sardari* System and Sardar-led Political Parties

Tribal Sardars, also called ‘bloodsuckers’ by some writers on Baloch nationalism because of their opportunistic tendencies, were empowered by the British and the Pakistani government to continue the exploitation policies. The *Sardari* system remained to be a prominent hurdle in the liberation of the Baloch nation. British conquered Balochistan with the help of the Baloch Sardars. Then Pakistan incorporated Balochistan with the help of these Sardars. Baloch Sardars remained the oppressors of the Baloch nation(Harrison, 2009). One of the leaders of BSO was of the view that,

“It’s simple, the government, along with the help of Sardars, wants to keep us their slaves. Mainstream parliamentarians are Sardars; they are in bureaucracy and are dominant and powerful. Where is the middle-class representation? Baloch Sardars and government policies have always oppressed the Baloch nation. If the Government wants peace in Balochistan, I think the government should focus on the middle-class representatives. Things in Balochistan are not in the control of the Sardars anymore.”

The *Sardari* system was not as feudalistic or nepotistic in the Baloch tribes before the arrival of the British. The British empowered the Sardars to exploit and oppress, becoming a hindrance to the peace and prosperity of the province. This oppression was continued into the next era when Pakistan was formed. There are different narratives about the role of Sardars in the politics of Balochistan. The young and educated Baloch nationalists believe that Baloch Sardars and tribalism are the impediments in the way of Baloch nationalists. One of the respondents blamed the British colonials and shared,

“We Baloch were spending a prosperous life before the arrival of British colonialists. Tribal Sardars were selected by the tribesmen democratically. But British colonialists introduced the inherited Sardari system. They selected specific families from each tribe and

empowered them economically. They fixed a certain amount of money and wheat for every selected Sardar. With money, for their benefits and management, they introduced the Levies force (tax collectors). In this way, systematically, they stole our freedom and indirectly made us servants.”

The last Khan of Kalat, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, said Baloch folks were treated as lifeless pawns on the chessboard (Khetran, 2011). Baloch Sardars, supported by the Pakistani establishment, are fueling the insurgency in Balochistan, and creating hurdles in developing projects for their interests. The Sardars also do not support education and other development areas and consider it a threat to tribalism and authority. One of the Baloch nationalists was of the view,

“Pakistani establishment is a hypocrite. They use the Sardars when it suits them. In 1970, with the NAP government's dismissal in Balochistan, the government used Sardar Akbar Bugti, and now in 2006, the government killed him. They claim to stand against tribalism and support the oppressive Sardars, so the Baloch people do not trust them. When PM Bhutto demolished the Sardari system, and middle-class nationalists were happy. Unfortunately, this was only on paper, and no real change followed. The Sardars, even today, live with an exclusive sort of privilege. Even now, a person's worth is measured by the status of their family. Educated people are being discouraged because of this attitude and policy of the government.”

One of the BSO leaders said that

“The government of Pakistan empowered these Sardars by involving them in parliamentary politics. This democratic voting system gave us another loss. Here, Sardars can simply purchase the vote with their money. The Sardars also use force against the people who try to oppose them. The election and voting system are strange here. For example, the provincial assembly speaker won 500 votes officially, so then does he represent only those 500 people? He will be looking out for special interests only.”

Balochistan is divided into two zones. One of these is run like the other provinces of Pakistan, but the other is under the control of the tribal Sardars, while the army is significant all over. The Sardars use levies²⁷ forces from their tribes to maintain control and power (Samad, 2014) and use this against other tribes and sometimes even the government. The government tried to abolish this system for the first-time during Bhutto's regime, then again during Musharraf's rule in 2006 when he tried to abolish the Bugti tribe Sardari system (Editorial, 2006). The Pakistan People's Party recently attempted to eliminate the B zone's status by introducing the Balochistan Package (HRCP, 2011). One of the respondents explained that,

“Government tries to abolish the Sardari system in Balochistan, but in reality, that was for some Sardars who did not accept the government's policies. For example, Bhutto tried to abolish the Sardari system because of the Maris, Mengal, and Bazenjo. These three Sardars were not supporting the Bhutto government. Similarly, Sardar Akbar Bugti challenged military dictator Musharraf, and in his reaction, he tried to demolish the Bugti Sardari system. Otherwise, no serious step has been taken.”

Young, educated nationalists are against this system and want to unite the Baloch under the umbrella of Baloch identity. Even in the earlier phases of the movement, the younger people supported a united Balochistan and rejected divisions (Noraiee, 2020). At the same time, Sardars, for their power and authority, support the tribal system. On the other side, the state and establishment always supported the Sardari system to achieve its objectives.

6.3.8 Musharraf's Military Regime and the Assassination of Baloch Sardars

Most of the writers documented that the post-80s period remained a peaceful period in Balochistan. After the death of the military dictator General Muhammad Zia ul Haq in August 1988, Pakistan saw the beginning of civilian supremacy and civil rule. During the civilian government of PM Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, the political

²⁷ Levis force was the product of Sandeman (1867) forward policy, in which Sardars were empowered and paid to keep arms men (named as Levies force) to keep law and order in their areas as well as for the tax collection.

atmosphere of Balochistan remained peaceful for nearly a decade. There are different reasons given behind the political peace of Balochistan during the late 1980s. The first argument explains that after the Bhutto regime's insurgency (1973 – 1977), most of the insurgent Baloch and leaders migrated to Afghanistan and Russia to survive and get support from the pro-Russian government of Afghanistan. The collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union disappointed the Baloch nationalist. Furthermore, the victory of Taliban Mujahedeen in Afghanistan and the failure of the pro-Russian government in Afghanistan created more problems for the Baloch migrants in Afghanistan. The Baloch nationalists preferred to come back to Balochistan and chose to stay peaceful. One of the older Marri men who were part of the Bhutto regime's insurgency explained,

“Mr. Bhutto conducted a massive military operation with the help of Iran here in Kohlu and its surroundings. We indeed faced a hefty loss. Our leadership Nawab Marri, Shairo Marri, and Mir Hazar Khan Ramkhani decided to migrate to Afghanistan to remain alive. But then the Taliban defeated Russian, and the Soviet bloc collapsed, and suddenly it wasn't safe for us. So during Zia's military regime, with the announcement of amnesty, we came back to our homeland.”

Another political leader and Sardar of the Marri tribe shared,

“The insurgencies and battles of the previous decade had weakened us. They killed our people, and the military burnt our lands, fields, garden, and houses. There was no other option but to migrate. The war badly impacted the Marri people, and with no external support, we decided to remain peaceful on our return.”

The second reasoning is that when Zia Ul Haq announced an amnesty, most Baloch warlords came back. During the civil supremacy period of the post-Zia regime, the Baloch Sardars showed their interest in the mainstream politics of Balochistan and Pakistan. They organized and created political parties to participate in politics. Because of the long war and migrations, they were tired and powerless. They remained peaceful and showed their interest in political affairs to attain their powers instead of through warfare. Leaders like Atta Ullah Mengal and Nawab Marri handed over their tribal and political legacies to their sons. The sons of the Sardars not only

participated in politics but ruled Balochistan's government in 1998. On this, one of the older Marri men shared that,

“After coming back from Afghanistan, the leaders knew that people were tired of war and weakened, and so they chose peace. However, apart from that, there was also some inter-tribal division. In Afghanistan, problems arose between the Ghazzini and Bijjarani fictions of the Marri tribe. The enmity increased into a brutal war with the murder of Justice Muhammed Nawaz, Bijjarani Marri. Sardar Khair Bux Marri was arrested in this murder case, and the government supported the Bijjarani's in this case.”

The sons of Baloch Sardars like Mengal, Bizenjo, and Bugti established their political parties and contested elections in the newly democratic Pakistan (Grare, 2013). Some writers claim that Baloch fighters, especially the Marri tribe, were tired after fighting long wars. So, they were trying to reestablish their organizations. However, in 1999 when the military establishment took power in Pakistan, the Baloch nationalist leadership rejected the military regime. The military government replaced the Baloch nationalist with their puppet rulers, the Muthaidda Majlis e Amal (MMA) in Balochistan.

The military regime of General Pervez Musharraf (2001 to 2008) pushed the region into its next phase of instability and conflict, with the situation getting worse this time around (Singh, 2016). The policies were harsher, and things escalated when a female doctor, Shazia Khalid, was sexually abused by a member of the Pakistan army, Captain Hamad, in district Dera Bugti. Sardar Akbar Bugti raised their voice against the crime committed and demanded punishment for the army officer (Alamgir, 2012). Things got worse when Musharraf began executing large-scale projects such as those in Gawader with no involvement from the locals, marginalizing them more (Bansal, 2006, p.50). The Baloch Sardars, especially Akbar Bugti, challenged General Musharraf's regime's military intervention in Balochistan. He demanded provincial autonomy and criticized the federal government over the execution of mega projects in Balochistan without the consensus of the Baloch nation. Tension increased between Baloch nationalists and the Pakistani military when the Baloch lands were provided to

the US military for their bases. Finally, in 2000, there was a new wave of insurgency in Balochistan. One of the respondents shared on these escalating tensions,

“An army officer raped a lady doctor here on Baloch land. So it was our responsibility to fight for her justice, and she requested to herself. But Musharraf protected his officer and took no serious action. Musharraf also tries to execute projects without the involvement of Baloch leadership. All these things challenged Baloch dignity, so they responded by attacking the gas pipeline”.

There began a small-scale insurgency in Dera Bugti and Kohlu where Nawab Akbar Bugti supported the Baloch fighters. The problem became worse, however, when the Baloch nationalists attacked General Musharraf’s helicopter in Kohlu. BLA accepted the responsibility for the attack, and General Musharraf gave aggressive orders to conduct a massive military operation against the Marri and Bugtis. The Baloch militants responded to the military operation and started a massive war in Balochistan. The violence reached its peak with the assassination of Sardar Akbar Bugti on 26 August 2006. The Balochs became more violent and more united for their revenge. Akbar Bugti became a hero and a symbol of resistance (Baloch, 2010). One of the Baloch nationalists shared regarding this,

“This was a great mistake. The killing of Nawab Akbar, an older man, shocked the whole Baloch nation. The Baloch forgot their grievances and became united. I think before that, the Baloch had not been killing the outsiders, but after the killing of Nawab Akbar, they became aggressive and violent. The Baloch all around the globe started protesting against the cruel acts of Musharraf. This time again, the Baloch youth started the demand for Baloch freedom.”

The assassination of Akbar Bugti in 2006 escalated the violence to new heights. Then the killing of Balach Marri, the grandson of Nawab Khair Bux Marri, in 2007, ruined any chances of peace in Balochistan. Baloch nationalists started attacking the military installations, convoys, and even laborers working with the army-led projects. All these political factors boosted unrest in Balochistan. Which further promoted the mistrust among the Baloch people? All these factors spoiled the relations between the nationalist and Pakistani central governments.

6.3.9 Governance and Relation with the Central Government

The governance of Balochistan is poor because of incompetent political leaders. Administrative institutions are almost entirely under the control of government-supported political leaders and Sardars. The rule of law in Balochistan is only for the poor. Due to corruption and nepotism, the political leaders do not facilitate the people (Khetran, 2011). One of the respondents shared that,

“Educated people of Balochistan are not involved in the governance system of Balochistan because they demand equal rights. That’s why the establishment supports the Sardar because they do not demand anything for the people. They are concerned with their benefits. They just obey the orders of their bosses. They also control the bureaucracy of Balochistan and appoint their favorite officers. All these inequalities are fueling hate and anger in Baloch masses.”

Almost all of the regional political leaders are selected by the establishment to serve them. More than 90 percent of the parliamentarian from Balochistan belong to Sardar families. The establishment controls them. Throughout the history of Pakistan, it can be observed that the Baloch Sardars have remained loyal to their bosses, be it the British or the military establishment. The central government designs and implements policies in Balochistan with the help of political leaders without reviewing the local community's needs. One of the BSO students shared that,

“These Sardars and political leaders are not our representatives. They are the representatives of the establishment. They do not demand our rights. On the contrary, they always try to oppress their people. The condition here in Balochistan is terrible. There is poverty and unemployment. Basic life facilities are scarce. But they are not concerned. They remain obedient to their bosses.”

Talking about the representation of the Baloch in the provincial and national assembly, one of the political experts shared that,

“It is painful that our representation in parliament is the smallest. We have one seat for over five and six districts. Our MNAs and MPAs cannot visit their constituencies during the five years of their

government. That's why they do not know the problems of the people. We have huge districts with scattered populations, but constituencies' boundaries can be redefined to increase our representation and seats in the assembly. This poor representation is fueling the hate and anger."

Bad governance in Balochistan is due to the lack of adequate coordination among the Balochistan provincial government and Pakistan central government. Corrupt political leaders and bureaucrats are not interested in looking for the solution to public problems.

6.4 Geographical Causes

The geographical significance of the province has already been discussed: its long coastline, international borders, and riches of minerals and other resources make it extremely valuable to the country. One of the respondents, talking about the geographic importance of Balochistan, shared that,

"Our land is wealthy. We have international borders for trade and deep seaports. Our land is rich in minerals. That's why international forces seem interested in our land. Every Superpower wants to influence Balochistan. Russia, America, and China are in the race here. They want to excavate the mineral resources of Balochistan. They also want to influence the Arabian Sea. We have such an important region, but our condition is still worse of all."

Another Baloch nationalist writer and researcher shared that,

"The land of Balochistan was divided between Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. With this division, Baloch ethnicity is divided between three countries. Our relatives are living across the border, but we cannot meet them without a visa. This is also an important factor behind Baloch Nationalism: one brother lives in Pakistan, and the other is in Iran. The government banned trade across the border too, the security forces on the border are no better, and these issues come together to fuel feelings of nationalism."

India, Pakistan, and Iran (IPI) had signed a gas pipeline project. The project is delayed due to the world's political situation, but Iran will provide gas to India and Pakistan through Balochistan through this project. Similarly, Pakistan signed a gas pipeline project with Turkmenistan and Afghanistan (TAP). Through this pipeline project, Turkmenistan will provide gas to Afghanistan and Pakistan through Balochistan. These projects will be able to fulfill a significant source of energy. The Pakistani establishment is focusing on Balochistan due to its geographical significance in the region.

Similarly, the geography of Balochistan is safe for military installations. Pakistan's establishment is more concerned about the Gwadar port due to its naval base (PIPS, 2008). From a total of three bases, two naval bases of the Pakistan navy are in Balochistan. Another respondent added,

“Balochistan’s geography is a challenge for the Baloch and Pakistan. Due to its long international borders, the enemies of Pakistan can easily interfere in Balochistan and Pakistan. Baloch land is rich, but the Baloch people are poor. Pakistan is exploiting our resources with the help of international powers. Baloch is against major development projects because the government does not involve local people.”

Baloch people are familiar with the geographic importance of their land, and their lack of involvement angers them and adds to their grievances: their lands are being robbed, and they are only worse off because of it.

6.5 Economic Causes of Baloch Nationalism

Due to cultural, political, religious, territorial, and economic discrimination and exploitation, Balochistan has instability. In reality, Balochistan is in a state of civil war. The exploration of civil war started with the debate of greed and grievances. Most scholars agreed that injustice, inequality, political oppression, and clashes over the ownership of resources led to the civil war. But later on, it was emphasized that greed among influential people also became the primary reason for the civil war (Aslam, 2011). The deprived people's economic and social grievances increased with financial instability, discrimination, poverty, inequality, and injustice, which gradually united the deprived people for their more significant political and economic rights. One of the respondents was of the view that,

“Disparities and grievances are over 70 years old. Balochistan is treated as a colony. Compared to the other provinces of Pakistan, development is zero, education, health, and infrastructure are the worst. Injustice and inequality are on peak. Balochistan covers 44% of Pakistan's landmasses while they get only 6% of the GDP. How is it possible to develop the 44% with just 6% of the national income?”

The natural resources of Balochistan are contributing to the economy of Pakistan on a massive scale. But, unfortunately, the contribution of natural resources in the development of Balochistan is not visible leading to dissatisfaction in the locals. One of the respondents shared that,

“Balochistan is the main contributor to the production of mineral resources. But the situation of development is the lowest here. Apart from mineral resources, Balochistan has a 720 km long coastline. This 720 km sea is not only useful for trade but also contributes to fisheries. Several fish types are rare in the world. This is a suitable breeding area for those fisheries. The government is not introducing policies to help advance our indigenous agriculture. There is no law against drilling here in Balochistan. Now over time, water is also getting difficult to find. The Baloch population also has many serious concerns and threats regarding the development of Gwadar port and CPEC. In Gwadar city, migrants are coming for investment. This migration will demolish our culture, language, and majority. Government develops policies without considering the wish of the indigenous people”.

Balochistan fulfills 40 percent of the energy needs of Pakistan (Gazdar, 2007). Natural gas was first excavated in Balochistan in 1952. After the natural gas discovery, Balochistan remained the sole gas provider of the country for about one and a half-decade (Bengali, 2018). As per the geological survey of Pakistan, Balochistan also has huge reservoirs of coal, copper, silver, platinum, aluminum, gold, and uranium. The primary 40 minerals are mined from Balochistan. The survey indicated that the world's largest reservoirs are in Balochistan²⁸. These are exploited

²⁸ See geological survey of Pakistan, <http://www.gsp.gov.pk/>. Requiem for Gold Peak: Exploitation in Balochistan, http://www.unpo.org/images/requiem_for_gold_peak.PDF.

without consideration, escalating the conflict. On this, one of the respondents shared that,

“They are looting our natural resources continuously without considering our grievances. We have resources but do not have development. We are providing energy, but our houses are in darkness. We are providing gold, but we do not have access to pure drinking water. We provide them uranium to compete globally, but we do not have access to health and education facilities. These inequalities result in hate, frustration, and feelings of revenge among the Baloch people.”

The Baloch youth has also seen how their contributions contribute to the economy and development of the rest of the country, but they are spared from this development. This inequality in the distribution of resources is an important variable in the conflict (Samad, 2014). One of the BSO students highlighted the exploitation of mineral resources and said that,

“Natural gas was explored in the district of Dera Bugti Balochistan in 1951 or 1952. Today the people of Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar, and even Kashmir have access to gas for domestic and industrial use. But the people of Balochistan do not have access. Even Sui, Dera Bugti, and the closer districts like Kohlu, Barkhan do not have a gas supply. So women still have to collect wood and use it for fire. Balochistan's revenue depends upon the natural resources as we do not have much agriculture, but natural resources are under the control of the federal government.”

Economic-based grievances are one of the major factors behind the unrest and insurgency in Balochistan. The Baloch nationalists argue that the Pakistani state has been looting its mineral and energy resources for decades. Baloch nationalists struggle to have a satisfactory and equal share in national economic resources, equal representation in the national government, and equal quota in government jobs. Unfortunately, the Pakistani state remains unsuccessful in fulfilling the Baloch demands. Over time the economic disparities have been increasing. All these factors are fueling sentiments of hate and ethnic-based polarization within the Baloch people. As a result, the government is facing a problem in maintaining writ in Balochistan. As a result, Baloch nationalists became more united to revenge out their grievances.

6.6 Section 2: International Involvement in Baloch

Nationalism Movement

There has been contention because of international involvement in the Balochistan issue as well. Some powers support the nationalists, while others support the government against them (Khetran, 2011). During the cold war, Afghanistan and Russia supported the Baloch nationalists to secure their interests. During Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's regime, Iran helped the Pakistani government conduct a military operation against the Baloch insurgents. Similarly, during the Musharraf regime, the US executed several development projects in Balochistan as US forces attacked the Taliban in Afghanistan from Balochistan. Security agencies and military establishments claim that Baloch is supported by various international powers (Samad, 2014). While the Baloch nationalists and separatists always rejected this stance. This blame game played an essential role in the recent phase of the Baloch nationalism movement. One of the political experts on Balochistan was of the view that,

“The Baloch nationalists are not getting any significant support from external powers. They are still fighting the old-fashioned guerrilla warfare. They are distributed in different groups. These groups also have tribal and ideological conflicts with each other. They do not have modern weapons. They used to spend a miserable life in the mountains without food and basic medical facilities. But it does not mean that they do not have support. Pakistan has enemies in the region. There is still the possibility of the involvement and support from these enemies.”

One of the Leaders of BLF shared,

“We do not have any support. We wish the outer world could understand our issue and support us. But, yes, we do have the support of the Baloch people. They provide us food and economic support, and so several groups are struggling and fighting for their rights and freedom.”

One of the Government officials who worked in security forces for many years in Balochistan said,

“Look, this is very clear that insurgencies and movements need financial support. So Baloch nationalism is also getting support from foreign forces. India is capable of supporting Baloch nationalism to spread insurgency in Pakistan. Similarly, the involvement of Iran is also possible due to the Gawadar port. Similarly, the US can support Baloch nationalists to counter China's involvement in the area. However, we do not have solid evidence of the involvement of Iran and the USA. We do have concrete evidence of the involvement of India and Afghanistan. We have arrested an Indian spy from Balochistan. Afghanistan provides shelter to Baloch insurgents as well.”

6.6.1 Afghanistan and India's Involvement

Durand Line, the international border between Pakistan and Afghanistan, remains another unresolved territorial dispute for Pakistan. Afghanistan never accepted that international border and always raised the slogan of Pukhtunistan²⁹. Since its creation, the relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan has remained terrible. Both countries remain busy in proxy wars against each other (Liuhto, 2018). Currently, because of the ongoing insurgency in both countries, the relationship between the two countries is the worst. Looking into the history of Baloch nationalism and rebellion, one can get a clear picture of Afghanistan's involvement in the Balochistan issue. During all phases of the insurgency, the Baloch insurgents migrated to Afghanistan for support and shelter. In 1948 Prince Karim migrated to Afghanistan, and then during the 1970s, most of the Baloch leaders migrated to and stayed in Afghanistan. Afghanistan provided training camps and economic support to the Baloch people (Breseeg, 2004, p. 353). During the Musharraf regime, Pakistan shared a list of Bugti insurgents with the USA, who were planning and operating their insurgencies from Afghanistan (Samad, 2014). Even today, the Baloch nationalists and armed groups are running from Afghanistan. One of the government officials shared that,

²⁹ The Durand Line an international border was marked by the British colonial during 1839 between British Indian and Afghanistan. Pakistan inherited that border from British in 1947. Unfortunately, Afghanistan never accepted that border. In order create problem Afghanistan supported the demand of Pukhtunistan issue. Which claims independent Pukhtunistan state of native Pukhtun tribes on both sides of the Durand Line.

“There is no doubt that Baloch insurgents or freedom fighters have safe havens in Afghanistan. In 2018 BLA insurgents attacked the Chinese consulate in Karachi. After a few days, their leader, mastermind of the attack, Ustad Alam Acho, was killed in Afghanistan. The existence of Pakistan’s most wanted insurgent in Afghanistan clears all doubts. The Afghan government is supporting the Baloch insurgency, especially by providing shelter to insurgents.”

The Baloch nationalist does not accept the Pakistan government’s stance, however. One of the Baloch nationalists was of the view that,

“Historically, Balochistan was divided between Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. So, Afghanistan is also our land. Our relatives are living in Afghanistan. When we Baloch demand for the greater Balochistan, it means we also demand our territory from Afghanistan. How can Afghanistan support us? Apart from this, Afghanistan is also in a civil war and is not in the situation of helping others.”

On the other hand, Afghanistan's government believes that Pakistan supported the Taliban with the USA's help to counter Russians in Afghanistan and claims that the Pakistani establishment always supports violence in Afghanistan, and supporting the nationalists, with India’s help, is only retaliatory. Indian influence was visible in Kabul till the end of the cold war. During the 1970s, Khair Bux Marri, Atta Ullah Mengal, and all other Baloch leaders migrated to Afghanistan to get support from Russia, Afghanistan, and India. But with the termination of the Soviet Union and Russian supported government in Afghanistan, Indian's influence was lost. During the Taliban government in Afghanistan, the Baloch felt unsafe and migrated from Afghanistan because the Taliban and Pakistan were powerful in Kabul. The US intervention in Afghanistan against the Taliban empowered the Northern Alliances in Kabul that increased the Indian influence in Afghanistan. Due to several grievances, the current Karzai government in Afghanistan remains an important ally of India and provided space to Indians on the western borders of Pakistan to support Baloch nationalism. Over time, Delhi seeks to increase its influence in Afghanistan (Samad, 2011, p. 87). One of the political analysts on India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan’s relationship from Quaid I Azam University was of the view that,

“There are certain realities about Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan. India and Pakistan are well-known enemies. Both countries try to create trouble for each other. During the Soviet War in Afghanistan, India was in the Russian bloc while Pakistan supported the Taliban with the US's help to stop the Russian invasion. Pakistan's influence increased during the Taliban regime. Pakistan, with the support of the Taliban government, targeted Baloch nationalists in Afghanistan. With the end of the Taliban government, India is influential and supports the Baloch insurgency.”

One of the Baloch nationalists said that,

“We are in the state of war, and we will always welcome any foreign support. Yet, we are not receiving any support, especially from India. The Indian government is highlighting the Baloch issue, and it is good news for us. The Indian government has started a radio program in the Balochi language. This is a good gesture from the Indian government. But the Pakistani government is blaming us for Indian support to suppress our movement. This is just to produce hate for Baloch nationalists among the people of Pakistan.”

However, India has undoubtedly played a major role in regional political matters, as is evident from its apparent involvement in the civil war that separated East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) from Pakistan (Khetran, 2017). Due to the changing geopolitical atmosphere of the region, Indian involvement in Balochistan cannot be ignored (Fazl-e-Haider, 2015). India has many reservations about the execution of mega development projects in Balochistan with the help of China, especially the construction of the Gawadar deep seaport. The presence of China in Pakistan and further in the Indian Ocean via Gwadar port is a genuine threat to India. The Indian government and intelligence agencies have created a Hindu Baloch forum to create an impediment in CPEC. India has also inaugurated an office of the free Balochistan movement in New Delhi to get Baloch nationalists' attention (Hanif, 2018). One of the writers and researchers on Balochistan nationalism share,

“Pakistan and India both interfere in each other's internal and external affairs. The Indian involvement in the unrest of Pakistan and

Balochistan is obvious. India is financing it in Iran and Afghanistan, while China is financing it in Pakistan. The CPEC project and Chinese involvement in Gawadar are insecure for India because these factors will challenge its hegemony in the region. India also has historic rivalries with China. With the help of Baloch separatists, India wants to damage the CPEC project.”

Pakistani intelligence agencies have arrested an Indian Spy, Kulbhushan Jadhav, in March 2016 from Balochistan. The Pakistani government claimed that the Indian spy was involved in the Balochistan insurgency and many terrorist activities around the country. But the Indian government rejected that claim and argued that Pakistani agencies kidnapped Jadhav from Iran. Similarly, in November 2016, Pakistani intelligence agencies exposed an Indian spying network from the Indian high commission in Pakistan. All the involved people were expelled due to their involvement in causing unrest in Pakistan (Kheran, 2017). One of the Pakistani Government officials said on this,

“We have enough evidence regarding Indian involvement in the insurgency. India not only supports the Baloch people but also helps the TTP terrorists. Pakistan has produced this evidence to India and the international community. India is making a fool of the innocent Baloch people for their interests. The Baloch leaders exiled in Afghanistan used the Indian passport to travel to Europe. A few years ago, BRA leader Brhamdagh Bugti even invited Indians to attack Pakistan for the freedom of Balochistan.”

6.6.2 Iranian Interests and Involvement in Balochistan

Historically the relationship between Pakistan and Iran has remained stable. During the 1970s, the Iranian government helped the Pakistani government demolish the Baloch nationalism movement and the insurgency. Iranian government provided military and economic support to conduct the operation in Balochistan (Harrison, 1981), supporting Pakistan because of fear of spillover of the insurgency to Iran. One of the respondents shared that,

“There is a huge Baloch population in Iran. The Balochs living across the border have affiliations with one another. They have ethnic and blood relations. The Iranian government has remained concerned about the Baloch people living in Iran. During the 1970s, the Iranian government developed the Baloch population’s area to win their loyalties. Iran’s government also supported the PPP government to demolish the Baloch insurgency because they were afraid of it inspiring the Iranian Baloch.”

The Pakistani government and intelligence agencies have doubts about Iranian involvement in and support of the Baloch nationalism movement. Over time, the relationship between India and Iran is growing. India has executed many development projects in Iran, Especially the construction and development of Chabahar Port under the Tripartite Preferential Trade Agreement (TPA). On the other hand, China is developing Gawadar port under the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) in Balochistan. The construction of both these ports has started a competition between the countries involved (Khetran, 2018). Recently, the arrest of an Indian spy near the Iranian border created more doubts about Iranian involvement in the Balochistan insurgency and subsequent unrest (Asif, Minhas, & Ahmad, 2018). The construction of ports in both countries has increased the economic competition and replaced the earlier cooperation (Notezai, 2018). The researchers and political analysts believe that with the execution of the development project in Balochistan, especially with the Gwadar port and all other CPEC projects, the importance of Iranian port Bander Abbas and Chabahar will decrease.

Furthermore, Pakistan has always remained in the USA and Saudi Arabia Bloc, which automatically pits it against Iran. All these factors can be the reason for Iranian support to Baloch nationalists, but the Baloch and the Iranian governments have always rejected this argument. Talking about the international involvement in the Baloch nationalism movement, one of the experts said that,

“In the modern world, every country prefers its interest. The construction of the Gawadar port is a threat to Iran, India, and Afghanistan. Iran and India have an economic and security threat. Gawadar port will balance the defense powers of Pakistan within the

Indian Ocean. Similarly, the Chinese navy's deployment in the Indian Ocean will challenge the Indian influence in the region.”

Historically, the border between Iran and Pakistan was considered the most peaceful international border around the globe. Still, due to these new rivalries and increased competition, the Iranian forces have carried out rocket attacks and mortars across the border (Baloch, 2013). The violation of international border rules is growing tensions between Iran and Pakistan. Iranian border guards have attacked the local population of the border area many times. There are different reasons given for this. Iran claims its forces attacked because the local population kidnapped Iranian security persons (Notezai, 2018). There are several possible factors behind the involvement of Iran in the Pakistani Balochistan insurgency. The ethnic bonds between the Baloch residing across the border are deep-rooted, and Iran does not want Pakistani Baloch interference in Sistan. Iran has also made territorial claims over several bordering areas of Pakistan. All these factors are disturbing both countries' relations. One of the experts of CPEC shared that,

“I think Iran will never support the Baloch insurgency because it can directly hit the Iranian sovereignty with the greater Balochistan's demand as the Baloch claim that Sistan is also part of greater Balochistan. The Baloch population in Iran can stand with Baloch separatists and can demand their freedom. On the other side, Iran earns revenue from Pakistan because Pakistani Shia Muslim pilgrims visit Iran every year. Iran could be against Pakistan in Pakistan's closeness to the Saudi, and so that hostility could have an indirect effect.”

6.6.3 Involvement of China and USA in Balochistan

Chinese involvement in Balochistan is seen as positive by Pakistan, and it is for the development and prosperity of the region. While the Baloch nationalists and separatists claim that China is looting the Baloch land with the help of Pakistan. Baloch nationalists have warned China many times and asked them to stop interference in Balochistan. The Baloch nationalists have also kidnapped Chinese engineers and attacked the Chinese consulate in Karachi as a warning.

One of the Baloch nationalists argued that,

“The Chinese are thieves. They are here in Balochistan for their benefit. They are colonialists. They want to control our land and resources with the help of Pakistan. The Pakistani establishment is our enemy, and their friends are also our enemies. We do not want any development, not the kind of development that destroys our identity. They have started projects that make us a minority in the region. Where is our representation in the projects? It will be better for the Chinese to stop and leave our land. Otherwise, they will be treated like the Pakistani security agencies.”

Chinese influence has increased in Pakistan regardless of the execution of CPEC. Both governments believe that the project will be beneficial for the people of both countries. For China, CPEC will open up access to the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea (Sial & Basit, 2010). However, with the execution of CPEC, unrest in Balochistan has increased. The people involved in the development projects are from China. To invest in Gawadar, a significant population from Punjab, Sindh, and KPK has also migrated to Gawadar and Balochistan. Baloch people and nationalists view it as another threat to the culture. Migrants can marginalize the Baloch population in Balochistan. The Baloch culture, language, and identity will be destroyed over time; the nationalists call it the “Chinese Imperial Designs” (Kundi, 2017).

However, the security situation because of CPEC has raised concerns for the countries. The intensity of attacks on Chinese and Pakistani security agencies has increased with the start of CPEC (Chaudhry, 2018). Separatist groups like BLA, BRA, and BLF are targeting CPEC installations continuously, perhaps aiming to create mistrust between Pakistan and China. On the other hand, Pakistan and China want the smooth implementation of the project for the prosperity of Balochistan and Pakistan. One of the Baloch nationalists said that,

“The Chinese are paying Pakistanis for the exploitation of Baloch land and resources. With CPEC, the Pakistani security agencies, with Chinese help, are killing our people. They are conducting massive operations just to demolish Baloch identity. Pakistani forces are paid, killers. They are not interested in the development of the Baloch

people. They just want money. If the Chinese want to develop our lands, they should come to us for the negotiations.”

The USA also has its stake in Balochistan and the insurgency. China’s growing influence in the region is a concern, especially with its access through CPEC. The USA is also relevant given its role in the global war on terror. Post 9/11, Balochistan was the USA’s entryway into Afghanistan. While initially, the USA’s policy seemed to be against the insurgency, the issues of human rights and state-driven violence in Balochistan came up in a bill presented in the US (Shaukat, 2015). Most Baloch separatist leaders appreciated that bill, especially the BLA leader Barhamdagh Bugti, who invited the world powers to help the Baloch struggle for freedom (Baloch, 2012). On the other hand, Pakistan showed reservations on that bill's presentation (Zain, 2016). One of the political Anthropologist and experts on the Balochistan issue shared,

“The involvement of foreign forces in the Baloch insurgency is an obvious thing. Balochistan is in the phase of anarchy. Its strategic importance is increasing with the development of Gawadar Port. The involvement of China is making the world powers conscious. To counter China's world's power, the US and Russia can support the Baloch separatists. Iran, India, and Afghanistan also have several old rivalries and reservations regarding the development of Gawadar. So their involvement can be assumed behind Balochistan's insurgency.”

Pakistan always raised the issue of foreign-backed Baloch insurgency in Pakistan. The Pakistani government provided documents and evidence of foreign involvement in Balochistan to the UN Security Council. On the other hand, Baloch nationalists and separatists never accepted it. Instead, they justified the Baloch insurgency and unrest through the harsh and oppressive policies of the Pakistani government and establishment.

6.7 Baloch Nationalism the Baloch Diaspora

The involvement of the Baloch diaspora in Baloch nationalism is not hidden. The Baloch diaspora supports the Baloch nationalism movement and separatists through funding, political support, and awareness and highlights the Baloch issue worldwide. The majority of the Baloch people living in Europe and America are involved in

political activities like arranging protests and rallies to draw the world's attention towards the issue of Balochistan. In contrast, the Baloch diaspora living in Oman and Gulf support Baloch nationalism financially. They have an affiliation with the Pakistani Baloch because of their common ancestor and origin. One of the Baloch students studying in Germany shared that,

“I am a student and staying here in Germany, but my feelings and associations are with the people of Balochistan. I can feel their pain because they are my people. I cannot support them financially; that’s why I arrange protests here and the other students. We provide information to the people of the world about the problem of Balochistan. We arrange study circles to highlight Baloch issues. Yes, the Balochs are doing jobs and earning, and they support the Baloch cause financially. They also support us in arranging protests.”

It is estimated that there are around nine million Baloch people around the world. The Baloch population is the largest in Pakistan. From a total of nine million, approximately seven million Baloch are residing in Pakistan. Similarly, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, and Oman also have huge Baloch populations. Many Baloch folks are in the middle east, Europe, America, and Russia (Samad, 2014). The influence of Baloch in the Middle East, especially in the Gulf States, is significant. Till 1958 Gwadar remained a part of Oman with a majority of Baloch inhabitants. When the Pakistani government purchased Gwadar in 1958, many Baloch people migrated to Oman and are now the citizens of Muscat and Muttra. Within the Gulf army and police, the dominance of the Baloch is significant. Several Balochs served on high ranks not only in the military and police but also in the politics of the Oman government. The Baloch diaspora is connected and concerned about the issues of Balochistan. One of the respondents shared that,

“Yes, we are getting support from the Baloch diaspora. They are our people. Everyone is working for the Baloch cause. We are involved in political activism. Others are joining the armed struggle. At the same time, the diaspora is supporting us financially and defending our case in the UN. Today the whole world is familiar with Balochistan’s problem, and the reason is the Baloch diaspora. We are working with

cooperation and understating. For the movement, we need the money, and everyone is supporting the cause as per their economic status.”

The Pakistani government claims that narcotics and smuggling are the primary sources of funding for the Baloch insurgents. With the help of Iranian and Afghan groups, Pakistani Baloch insurgents are also involved in human trafficking. A few criminal groups have been said to fund the Baloch insurgency, so Baloch separatists do not create any problem for their networks and activities (Samad, 2014). The money collected from the Baloch diaspora is transferred to the Balochistan insurgents with the help of the money laundering nexus of Dubai (USSD, 2009, 2010b). One of the government officials said,

“Pakistani border with Iran and Afghanistan is too long. The border does not have complete control of forces. So, the criminal groups and networks enjoy freedom under the supervision of Baloch separatist groups. These groups earn from the smuggling of drugs, oil, and many other things. They also get money from the human traffickers to provide them safe passage. The insurgent groups also earn money from the oil and gas companies. In Kohlu, Chamaling coal mines companies are paying BLA for the safe transportation of coal. Unfortunately, the government cannot maintain its writ all over Balochistan.”

There is a vast difference in the activities and modes of support between the Baloch diasporic of the Gulf and the Baloch living in Europe and America. The Baloch living in the Gulf States do not actively propagate their support due to government policies. While the Baloch diaspora from Europe and America openly proliferate the Balochistan issue. The Baloch nationalists in exile in Europe and America are also lobbying to highlight the UN, Geneva, and Security Council issues. In addition, they are using social media to highlight the issues of Balochistan. Because of this, many websites and pages are blocked by the Pakistani government. The Pakistani government has also lobbied to declare Baloch armed groups as terrorist groups and deport them (Samad, 2014).

6.8 Religion and Baloch nationalism

There are various contradictory theories about the religious affiliations of the Baloch people. Baloch scholars and writers document that before the advent of Islam, the Baloch were Zoroastrians or Mazdakis. According to popular ballads, after the advent of Islam, the Baloch became followers of Shia Islam. After the murder of Hazrat Imam Husain (r.a.) the Baloch were expelled from Syria and Iraq and migrated to Persia. Today the Baloch are predominantly Sunni Muslims. The reasons for their conversion to Sunni Islam are unknown. Inayat Ullah Baloch (1987) suggests that the Baloch adopted Sunni Islam to maintain their distinctive religious indemnity in the face of Persian Shia domination (Baloch, 1987). However, the Baloch approach towards religion is soft and relaxed. Most of the writers documented peaceful attitudes towards religion (Harrison, 1981; Oliver, 1890; Pastner, 1980). In Baloch society, secular authority and spiritual authority is vested in the Sardar (Baloch, 1987, p. 76). Overall, the Baloch are not religiously radical and live together with various religious groups and sects peacefully. Talking about religion, one of the Baloch writers and researchers said that,

“The Baloch are not religious. The majority are Sunni Muslims. Religious harmony was one of the notable features of Baloch society. Many Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, Shia Muslims, and Zikris are natives of Balochistan. There is only one burial place for Jews in Karachi, which is safe because the custodian of that place is a Baloch family. Even a colony of Atash parast (follower of fire) can be found in Quetta city, but nothing happens to it. It’s safe. We have seats for the religious minorities in our provincial assembly in Balochistan. All religious minorities are living peacefully. But the Pakistani establishment is supporting religious extremism in Balochistan.”

Talking about the religious extremism in Balochistan, one of the students shared,

“Baloch are not religious extremists. You will not find religious orthodox in the Baloch community. Overall if we see, I think Baloch is a liberal nation. There are economic, social, cultural, and political factors, but no religious factors exist there. But these days, the establishment is trying to start religious-based violence in Balochistan,

like the target killings of the Hazara Shia community. But I am sure that the Baloch nationalists are not involved in these killings. The state is adopting these strategies to counter Baloch nationalism.”

The land of Baloch people has been home to various religious communities, notably Hindus, Ismaili's, *Hazaras* (Shia), *Zikri* (Shia), Christians, Sikhs, as well as Jews, Ahmadis, and Zoroastrians. Apart from having different religions, most of them are associated with the Baloch ethnic identity. Several religious communities are living together peacefully; it exemplifies the secular character of Baloch society. Because of this feature of Baloch society, Baloch nationalist negates the Pakistani “religious nationalism” under which they have been subsumed into the Pakistani state. One of the Baloch nationalists shared that, *“We were never religiously radical, and respect all religions. And we all join together the armed struggle as well; the religious extremism comes from state-led groups.”*

Over time, the influence of religion is increased in Balochistan. The incidents of Sectarian violence and target killing of religious minorities are growing. The influence of radical Islamist and banned groups like *Lashkar Jangvi*, TTP is increasing in the larger cities of Balochistan like Quetta. The number of Mosques and madrassas is also growing in the rural areas of Balochistan. Furthermore, the division of mosques and madrassas is on a sectarian basis. There are several multifaceted reasons behind the rise in religious intolerance in Balochistan. The Baloch nationalists claim that the Pakistani government and establishment support the religious outfits to promote sectarianism in Balochistan as a proxy to Baloch nationalism. At the same time, the government blames Baloch nationalists claiming they are behind the violence in Balochistan. One of the experts on Balochistan nationalism shared that,

“One thing is obvious that Baloch inhabitants are secular in nature. If we compare Baloch with their neighbor Pashtuns, religion has not influenced the Baloch. After the creation of Pakistan during the Soviet war in Afghanistan, several Afghans migrated to Balochistan. Religion influenced the native people, but the Baloch people never showed their interest in radical Islam and Talibanization. Zia's government tried to promote religious preaching to involve Baloch in the Afghan war but failed. Now again, the government has adopted that outdated policy to

detract from the Baloch nationalism movement. Unfortunately, this policy is affecting the religious minorities and not the Baloch people.”

One of the government officials, a security officer, however, shared that,

“The Baloch nationalists, insurgents, they have a deep relationship with the Afghan Jihadis. They both have an interest-based relationship. The Baloch insurgents have hideouts in Afghanistan, and the Afghan Taliban have theirs in Pakistan. So they support and secure each other. Furthermore, the Baloch insurgents also smuggle weapons, drugs, and vehicles with the help of the Afghans. Here in Balochistan, the Taliban have been involved in targeting the killing of the Shias. The Baloch nationalists use them to blackmail the government. The Pakistani government always discouraged any form of violence.”

Religious-based violence is increasing in the province of Balochistan. However, the Shia Muslims remain the prime target of the terrorists. Most of the target killings and suicide attacks incidents were recorded in the province’s headquarter, Quetta. People argue that there are several security checkpoints in the city, yet a terrorist could execute the attack. On the other hand, the government blames the Baloch insurgents calling them the prime suspect of these attacks.

6.9 Causes of Baloch Nationalism in a Nutshell

It is not possible to document all the Baloch grievances in detail here. Still, it can be said that the history of Pakistani rule over Balochistan is full of domination, discrimination, exploitation, brutality, and injustices. In reaction, Baloch people are also adopting violent strategies to take revenge. Here is the list of some of the causes of the uprising the Baloch quest for self-determination, briefly stated,

1. The forceful annexation (1948) of Balochistan into Pakistan, without Baloch consent
2. The house arrest of Khan of Kalat and KSNP leaders, that insulted the Baloch code of honour
3. The arrest of Prince Karim despite the promise of Safe Passage by the Pakistani military
4. Imposition of One Unit policy to demolish Baloch identity
5. The arrest of Nawab Nuroz khan and the death sentence to his family members despite the peace agreement during 1958

6. Construction of military cantonments all over Balochistan without the consent of Baloch tribesmen
7. The refusal of the Pakistani government to hold a referendum on the issue of Baloch self-determination
8. The dismissal of the NAP government of Pakistan and imprisoning their leaders
9. The plundering of Balochistan's natural resources without equal share to Balochistan
10. The migration of Afghani, Punjabi's, Sindhi's, and Saraiki's changed Balochistan's demography.
11. Balochistan is the least developed province of Pakistan with the lowest life expectancy, lowest literacy, highest infant mortality, poor infrastructure, poor development, and access to pure drinking water
12. Empowerment of Baloch tribal and Sardari system
13. Lowest representation in provincial and national assemblies along with the least representation in civilian and military bureaucracy
14. Imposition of military operations
15. State violence against the Baloch, the issue of kill and dump policy, the issues of the missing person, the issues of target killing and extrajudicial killings
16. The displacement of millions of Baloch because of the violent situation of the province
17. Gas pipelines agreement with Iran, India, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan without the consent of Baloch leadership
18. The development of mega-development projects with the coordination of world powers without involving the Baloch leadership
19. Injustices and inequalities along with anti-Baloch state policies to oppress Baloch.
20. The government support to religious militant groups and imposition of religious extremism
21. Military and security agencies' influence on the political system of Balochistan
22. Disrespect to Baloch culture, language, identity, and history
23. International involvement and interference
24. Poor governance and poor coordination of provincial and federal governments

6.10 Conclusion

Baloch nationalism in Pakistan is a multifaceted issue with different orientations, attributes, and objectives. Over time, the Baloch nationalist movement is becoming the reason for unrest and insurgency in Balochistan. Several cultural, political, economic, and geographical causes behind the evaluation of Baloch grievances further lead them towards Baloch nationalism. The tribal code of conduct and its representation in socio-cultural practices heavily influenced the Baloch people's totality. The political history of Balochistan has witnessed various events and incidents which were interpreted against prominent cultural practices deriving from the tribal code of conduct. For example, the annexation of the Kalat state in Pakistan challenged Baloch's code of honor, and the act was of annexation is being interpreted as oppression against the Baloch nation. In the same context, the political move of Ayub's government and declaration of West Pakistan as one unit: comprising Balochistan, Sindh, KP, and Punjab. This political move was a perceived threat to Baloch identity, language, and culture.

Moreover, the arrest of hundreds of Baloch nationalists and Kalat was against the honor of the Baloch code of life, where Khan was highly respected and followed by fellow tribesmen and chiefs. In the same context, dismissal of NAP's government comprising prominent Baloch's tribe's Sardars was also interpreted as an act of insult by the government of Pakistan. Finally, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti's assassination also catalyst the anger of the Baloch people and strengthened the Baloch nationalist narrative where the state was oppressing the political and tribal elite of Balochistan. All these historical events followed by the various insurgencies like Annexation of Kalat state had seen 1948 insurgency, one-unit political decision had witness 1960s' revolt. Later, elimination of NAP's government resulted in the 1970s nationalist movement. Finally, the assassination of Akbar Khan Bugti's surfaced the fifth wave of nationalism starting from 2006. Significantly all these political events provoked the cultural code of life and distant Baloch people from the national political elite and gave space for the emergence of the nationalist movement and nationalism. However, at the same time, the geographical location of Balochistan and the claim Baloch nationalists made also took the attention of the neighboring countries like Afghanistan and Iran to play their role in the flourishing of nationalism or its counter.

Apart from the political events, as a cause for the emergence of Baloch nationalism, there is a wide range of socio-economic, educational, and health disparities that promote grievances of Baloch people and provide the basis to claim their deprivation. Ultimately, this graveness and deprived ness is interpreted as a systematical and structural mechanism of oppression exercised, implemented, and maintained by Pakistan's political and military elite. All these causes give meaning to Baloch nationalism to fight for the rights of the Baloch people, who are deprived of necessities of life and struggling for their survival; and wanted to ensure the socio-economic, health, and education rights of the people culture under the flag of independent Balochistan.

CHAPTER 7: EFFECTS OF BALOCH NATIONALISM ON THE BALOCH PEOPLE AND SOCIETY

7.1 Introduction

The effects of Baloch nationalism are multifaceted and deeply rooted in Baloch society. It has created negative sentiments among the Baloch people and has become a severe concern to Pakistan. Balochistan has the largest landmass, rich in minerals and resources, has economic and geopolitical potentials with Gwadar deep seaport, neighboring borders with Afghanistan and Iran, however Baloch people continue to live a miserable life below the poverty line. Balochistan's nationalism is not only affecting the Baloch people and society. Balochistan's current scenario changes local people's attitudes and characteristics to create alliances politically and nonpolitically to deal with Balochistan's recent unrest. Balochistan's under-development reveals the alarming situation for Pakistan. Over the years, the Baloch people's deprivation has caused several outbursts against the federal government, which have been met with Pakistan's government's military operations. However, being kept away from mainstream politics has created further resentments in the Baloch people, which; harbor several grievances, developed nationalistic feelings, calls for greater control over its resources, and more geographical autonomy. It has flared the increasing role of stakeholders in mega projects, increasing migration of people from other provinces of Pakistan (Baloch people consider them non-Baloch or settlers). The religious extremism and issue of missing persons are also significant reasons for creating insurgency in Balochistan.

7.2 Cultural effects of Baloch Nationalism

Baloch society has long lived in a traditional and tribal setup. It is divided into different tribes and subtribes that are both nomadic and semi-nomadic, headed by different Sardar or tribal chiefs. Their distinct languages, culture, lifestyles, and ancestry differentiate them from the rest of Pakistan's cultures. For protecting their cultural systems, and their identity, the Baloch people, have responded to state incursions in the form of their nationalist movement. However, the movement and the state's response to that nationalist movement have affected the Baloch family system, values, and life structures. In addition, migration and detribalization have changed the

worldview of the Baloch youth. The adaptation of urban life patterns has also affected the dress, food, and subsistence patterns of Baloch society; the major effects are discussed below.

7.2.1 Effects on Baloch Tribal Family Structure

Family is the fundamental unit of any social organization, playing an essential role in the next generation's socialization and providing economic support and protection. Balochistan inhabitants live in a patriarchal society; usually, the head of household and decision-makers are male, and women are confined to more household chores such as cooking, taking care of children, and grazing animals. Family ties are deep-rooted, and all members of the family show their loyalty to each other. The Baloch tribal society follows the patrilocal marriage patterns, and the male descendants continue to live with their parents even after their marriage. Living in joint and extended families, taking care of one another: the Baloch system considers this additional number of working hands an advantage, where the higher number of male family members is viewed as the strength of the family. One of the respondents shared,

"We live in tribal a system where we have rivalries within our tribe and outside the tribe. So, we need more manpower to deal with our enemies. More male family members also empower the whole family economically because they generate income by working in the fields, taking care of animals, or doing other jobs. Our women also help us in taking care of the animals and contributing to the fields. But male involvement is more significant as compared to women. The extended family system makes us more powerful. We all stay together and face all kinds of circumstances, together with unity."

The Baloch movement of nationalism and insurgency has changed the joint and extended family structure towards the nuclear family system. People are now concerned about their children's lives and future and do not want their children to join the nationalists or insurgents being killed or abducted by the security forces. One of the older Marri men revealed,

"Yes, our family structure is changing because our area is not safe for our children, especially for young children. The war is going on. The forces are conducting their operations regularly. As you know, we, the Baloch people, are oppressed by the government. Inequalities and discrimination have also increased the hate in our young generation. The young generation is disappointed by the government, and they are likely to join militant groups to get their rights. We know that the result of joining militancy will result in death. So, we do not want to see the dead bodies of young children. That's why we would rather send them to big cities for education and jobs, where they are more likely to be safe."

Talking about the effects of nationalism on the Baloch family system, one of the Bugti tribesmen shared his views:

"Because of war and militancy, the young people are threatened. This is because most young people have joined the armed struggle; because their relatives' have been abducted or killed by the forces. So, migration towards big cities and other provinces is becoming essential for our survival. Here, you can see mostly older people are wandering in Bazars and the streets. The old concepts of families living together are changing now. Married couples now think about the safe future of their children and adopting the nuclear family system."

Discussing the effects of nationalism on the Baloch tribal family structure, one of the Mengal tribesmen shared,

"We now do not live in an extended and joint family system because of the insurgency. Living with a young male family member is riskier. The nationalism movement has made our family structures vulnerable. They are more emotional and attached to their Baloch identity, and to avenge their land, more and more young and educated people are moving towards the mountains and joining the armed struggle. The intelligence networks of law enforcement and security agencies are also omnipresent here in Balochistan. The LEAs are also abducting innocent educated boys based on fears of them being part of the

militants. If a family member is found involved in the armed struggle, their whole family targeted by the forces, trying to keep our families safe resulted in nuclear families."

One of my respondents, who is a scholar and writer on Baloch society and culture, shared his views:

"Apart from nationalism and the insurgency, there are many other reasons for the shift towards the nuclear family system. Education, poverty, marriages out of family and tribes, migrations, and changes in the subsistence patterns have also affected the Baloch family system. The educated youth is encouraged out of family and tribe marriages. Similarly, because of poverty and unemployment, people are migrating towards cities for better opportunities. Nomadic societies are moving towards permanent settlements. All these factors, along with the insurgency, are acting in unison."

Overall, unrest in Balochistan has affected the tribal family structure of Balochistan. The ancient tribal people of Balochistan used to live usually in an extended type of family system. In this way, they can cope with tribal rivalries and warfare and have had more earning hands. However, because of contemporary nationalist movements, the whole province of Balochistan is in the satiation of unrest and civil war. To revenge the Baloch grievances, more and more Baloch youth is joining the armed struggle.

On the other hand, to counter the Baloch nationalist and armed movement, Pakistani law enforcement agencies have extended their operations and investigations. Baloch nationalists claim that security forces are killing the Baloch youth frequently. In the name of investigation, they are abducting Baloch youth. In the situation of civil war living in Balochistan seems dangerous. That's why more and more people are migrating towards the other provinces of Pakistan. To save their children's lives, parents are sending them to the other provinces of Pakistan for education and job. So they are not involved in nationalist political activities and may survive.

7.2.2 End of the Tribal Hierarchy System

Baloch youth became actively involved in politics during the last few years of colonial rule. Their struggle became more visible with the creation of KSNP, raising the slogan of an independent Balochistan, the demand for autonomy for the state of Kalat (Breseeg, 2004). The increasing involvement of youth in nationalist politics resulted in a decline of the *Sardari* system. The political youth remained against the *Sardari* system, even after the annexation of Balochistan, and challenged the authority of the pro-government Sardars, which made the Sardars join the forefront of the government's campaign against these nationalists. One of my field respondents belongs to the Marri tribe, and a researcher who is a writer as well opined,

"Then young people have formed strong and deep-rooted affiliations with their language, culture, and people. They also have education and exposure. They compare the situations and conditions of their land and people to other provinces of Pakistan. The Baloch youth also believes that the Sardar's collaboration with the government has also made them responsible for Baluchistan's worsening condition, so they challenge the authority of these Sardars. In return, Sardars victimize the young, outspoken people. Sardars, beings local, can identify the people who speak about Baloch rights and further that information to the LEAs who abduct and kill them. Because of these factors, now the family and tribal bonds are getting weak."

With the rise of Baloch nationalism and the middle class, the role of the heads in the hierarchical Baloch society has been limited, and they have lost domination in their tribes, with people challenging their power and authority, including the leaders of the liberation movement *Nawab* Khair Bakhsh Marri. Baloch nationalism, instead, believes in the equality of every person based on *Balochiat*, as seen now where the middle class is playing just a role in the movement as the *Nawabs* or Sardars, Dr. Alla Nazar Baloch, a middle-class man who is now the head of the Baloch Liberation Front has developed youth interested and inclined them to join the movement

The Sardars, too, have lost their status and no longer have status, luxuries or walk around by bodyguards. The *Mir o Waderas* are now no longer significant. One local quote describes the role of the Mir as "*Harsingachistkan yak Mir aadarkaie*" (There's

a Mir under every stone now), suggesting everyone now labels himself as *Mir* because they have lost their status in the area. While these figureheads have lost their original status, indeed, they are still respected, even though people's perspectives about them have transformed. Discussing the effects of the Baloch nationalist movement on tribal Sardars, Dr. Shah Muhammad Marri, during his interview, revealed that,

"Look, most of the tribal Sardars in Balochistan are the product of British colonialism. British colonialists empowered specific tribal families from each tribe to control the tribesmen. After the creation of Pakistan, instead of discouraging the hierarchical tribal Sardari system, the Pakistani government supported it to oppress the tribesmen. It is a fact that Baloch-educated youth have old rivalries with tribal Sardars. Now, the educated youth have challenged the replace the Sardari system in Balochistan. The Pakistani government remains busy empowering old Sardars and making new Sardars counter the Baloch nationalist. But in reality, the Baloch nationalist movement under the leadership of educated Baloch youth has rejected the Sardari system. Today the Sardars are also becoming nationalist for their survival."

The Baloch nationalist youth have always challenged and discouraged the hierarchal-based Sardari system in Balochistan. The Baloch tribal Sardars are known as the puppets of the Pakistani state. They just prefer their interest and privileges besides the larger interest of the Baloch nation. To free tribesmen from the cruel clutches of Baloch Sardars, the Baloch nationalist have mobilized the Baloch people against the negative aspects of the Sardari system. They realized the Baloch people that how Sardars have betrayed the Baloch nation for their privileges. Today the hierarchical Sardari system is about to end in Balochistan.

7.2.3 Detribalization and Migration

The Baloch nationalist movement in Balochistan is becoming the reason for detribalization and migration in Balochistan. Over time the ideology, geography, and leadership of the nationalist movement have changed. The tribal system in Balochistan is losing its significance. Gradually, the educated middle class has replaced the tribal Sardar's leadership. Baloch tribesmen loyalties have been increased

with the Baloch nation. Preferring Baloch national loyalties over the tribal-based preferences has significance. The detribalization process is one of the significant achievements of the Baloch nationalist movement in Balochistan (Mroczek, 2014). So, with recent changes, the concept of tribalism is being replaced by *Balochism*. The researchers, scholars, writers, and tribal chiefs account this to the nationalism movement. A renowned writer and scholar of the Marri tribe said,

"I believe there are many reasons behind the process of detribalization in Balochistan. Among them, the Baloch nationalism movement is one of the major ones. We must not forget that the Baloch nationalism movement flourished within the tribal structure under tribal Sardars. The Baloch tribesmen remained loyal to the tribal structure for a long time. But over time, the middle-class leadership has replaced the older tribal leadership. The new leadership discouraged the tribal structure and loyalties and have organized the people under the umbrella of Baloch nationalism; Baloch middle class and educated people feel proud to be recognized as a Baloch instead of being identified by their tribal identity."

While discussing the relationship of Baloch nationalism and detribalization in Balochistan, one of the BSO leaders shared,

"We, being Baloch nationalists, do not believe in tribal identity anymore. Baloch identity is more important than tribal identity. Indeed, we cannot deny the existence of tribal structure in Balochistan. For survival as a Baloch nation, it is the need of time to prefer the Baloch identity. British and Pakistani oppressors have always followed the divide and rule policy. They divided us based on tribes. I believe that the real sense of Baloch nationalism discourages tribal divisions. As the Pakistani army and government, tribal Sardars are equally responsible for Balochistan's miserable conditions. The Baloch people have now realized that tribalism is an outdated perspective. That's why, especially the youth of Balochistan, is moving away from tribalism."

Contemporary Baloch nationalism has also passed through evolution, changes in ideology, and contestation over leadership, challenging the long-held traditions. The modern face of Baloch nationalism first appeared a few decades before the formation of Pakistan. The initial phases of the movement saw little involvement from the middle class as the Sardars continued to oppress the Baloch, taking the side of the Pakistani establishment. Over time, middle-class leaders began to mobilize and gained momentum, and the educated youth replaced the Sardars. A competition started between middle-class leaders such as Abdul Aziz Kurd, Yusuf Ali Magsi, and tribal Sardars of Balochistan (Titus & Swindler, 2000). Of this, one of the leaders of BLF revealed,

"What I believe is that without the involvement of the middle class, we cannot achieve our objectives. That's why we mobilized the educated middle class for the Baloch national cause. We explained to them that they were the real workforce and stakeholders of the Baloch land. These are government-supported Baloch Sardars, divided the people of Balochistan for their interest. They never worked for the progress and development of the Baloch land and people. And so, we encouraged the people to unite as Baloch. Sardars and the government have indeed tried to create impediments in the detribalization process. But today, we are united, and we have rejected the tribal bonds to some extent."

A moderate from the nationalists of BNP shared,

"Detribalization is on its way. The tribal structure is in danger. There are certain reasons behind this, and the attitude of Sardars is one of the reasons for detribalization. Sardars gained the benefits, which created the space for the middle-class leadership to attain the support of the oppressed middle-class. Tribal Sardars are trying to retain tribalism, but it's too late now. The new middle-class leadership has made up the minds of the people. Baloch nationalism also rejects the tribal-based nationalism, and originations like BLA, BLF, and BSO have organized themselves beyond tribal lines".

One of the BNP nationalist and political leaders shared,

"Apart from Baloch nationalism, the government's policies have also become the reason for detribalization. During Ayub Khan's military regime, the One-Unit plan's imposition united the Baloch tribes against the government. Similarly, when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto tried to demolish the Sardari system, the tribal Sardars and the tribesmen resisted Balochistan's detribalization. The Baloch nationalist movement's leadership remained under tribal Sardars' control until the insurgency of 1972 during the Bhutto regime. The Bhutto-led PPP government tried to demolish the Marri-led Firairi movement. In the end, the Marri tribe and the leadership left Pakistan and migrated to Afghanistan and Russia. The Baloch middle class filled the leadership gap of the movement and supported detribalization."

Baloch Sardars have supported tribalism to ensure their survival, while the middle class struggled for class unity, rejecting the Baloch and Brahvi division. The shift to middle-class leadership also shifted its geography from Northeastern rural and tribal areas of Marris, Bugti's, and Menglis to the urban centers towards the Southwest like Turbat, Quetta, Khudar, Panjgur, Kharan, and Lasbla (Grare, 2013). Discussing the cause of detribalization in Balochistan, one of the Baloch nationalists shared,

"It is obvious that the tribal system in Balochistan is losing its significance. The reason is the ideology of the modern Baloch nationalism movement. This middle class educated leadership does not believe in caste, creed, and tribal-based division. They are struggling for the self-determination, autonomy, and independence of the oppressed Baloch nation. They always united the people based on Balochism instead of tribalism. They are of the view that tribalism and tribal Sardars are not following the true sense of tribalism left behind by our ancestors."

Talking about detribalization and nationalism, another one of the Marri elders expressed,

"For the young generation, tribalism has become a bad thing; they hold that it's the reason for divisions of tribal rivalries, which benefits the third actor like the government. We can see that the Marri tribe is

divided because of these rivalries, where one of the sub-tribes is closer to the government, while the other one is oppressed. Sardars also support tribalism because their existence and survival are based on tribal status and power. But the educated youth realizes that the survival of the Baloch nation is dependent on detribalization and are united and struggling for the Baloch."

It can be argued that the role of the Pakistani government remains unclear if not opportunistic, at times blaming the Sardari and tribal system for the unrest and other times siding by them to curb the insurgency. The government is supported by the Sardars that oppose the Baloch nationalist movement, and this interaction between them manifests in greater detribalization. Talking about the process of detribalization in Balochistan as a result of nationalism, one of the BSO leaders shared,

"The Sardari and the tribal system is a tool for Baloch oppression. The Sardars, with the help of their masters, [government and the establishment], always kept the Baloch people underprivileged by making fools out of them with the help of tribalism. As a result, Sardars are becoming rich and powerful at the cost of people's underdevelopment. But our educated leadership rejects tribalism. That's why the concept of adding Baloch to one's given name is increasing in Baloch society. We have not forgotten our basic traits like hospitality, bravery, and revenge; we only reject tribalism."

Baloch nationalism has also spurred migration³⁰, both internal and external. The influx of migrants from Afghanistan in the 1970s' Soviet War transformed the Baloch dominant Southern Balochistan demographic features, leading to an identity crisis of the once-dominant group, resulting in ethnic conflicts between the Pashtuns and the Baloch (Bansal, 2008b). Moreover, during Musharraf's regime, migrants from all over Pakistan moved to Balochistan when the region was opened up to development projects, especially in the Makran Coast and Gwadar (Bansal, 2005), creating fears of ethnic marginalization. The Baloch also began to blame Punjabi dominance (Punjab being the most densely populated province of Pakistan) for the migrations that might

³⁰ Here the focus is on the internal and external migrations of Baloch people because of insurgency and the nationalism movement.

turn them into a minority in their region(Rafique & Khan, 2017). During Musharraf's regime, massive migrations have affected the economic resources available to Baloch, adding to their anger (Laif & Hamza, 2000). Discussing migration in Balochistan, a very famous Baloch writer expressed his views as,

"What I believe is that the migrations of outsiders started into Baloch land started after the 1970s. The Pakistani government intentionally placed the Afghan migrants in Balochistan, specifically in the Baloch areas, to create an imbalance in the demography of Baloch ethnicity. Obviously, for the Baloch people, it was unacceptable. Furthermore, inter-provincial migrations from Punjab, Sindh, and KPK to Balochistan increased the fears of Baloch becoming a minority. As a result, Baloch nationalists have been resisting migration inwards, increasing target killings of outsiders in Balochistan to keep the migrants away from Baloch land."

Migrations out of Balochistan have various reasons, including searching for education, livelihoods, and health facilities. Of course, the civil war, unrest, and insurgency play a major role in this, causing migrations to other cities, provinces, and even cities. Balochistan also has the highest migration ratio from rural to urban areas, and the urban population was increased from 19% in 2001 to 27% in 2015 (Shafqat & Shahid, 2017). Explaining the changing trends of migrations in Balochistan, one of the political leaders of BNP expressed,

"It is true that people migrate toward big cities to avail better jobs, education, and health opportunities. But the insurgency is the biggest reason behind the migrations. The war between the state and Baloch freedom fighters is also affecting the local population in various ways. People do not feel safe in rural areas because of it. The Pakistani LEAs conduct search operations and humiliate people in different ways. Heavy firing and bombardment affect the local populations during military operations, and people migrate towards cities to stay safe and alive."

Since Balochistan's merger with Pakistan, there has been a series of noticeable migrations from Balochistan to Afghanistan, Russian, Europe, and Pakistan's other

provinces. The first migration occurred when Abdul Karim, with 700 tribesmen and followers, migrated to Afghanistan in 1948 after Balochistan's forceful annexation. The second migration can be traced to the third wave of Balochistan's insurgency in 1975; most of the Marri tribe migrated towards Afghanistan because of Bhutto's government-led military operation (Harrison, 1981). Speaking on the relation between the Baloch national movement and migration, one of the experts on migration in Balochistan from Quaid I Azam University shared,

"The migration in Balochistan is visible because of the unrest in the province. There are multifaceted factors behind these migrations. But I think the migration rate of the young generation is higher. They are migrating for the sake of education and jobs. The safety factor is also essential as Balochistan's young generation is more vulnerable to the insurgency. The young Baloch are also migrating for the sake of activism in other cities. Then a considerable population migrated to European countries and have self-exiled. Parents send their young children to bigger cities because they believe their children are not safe because of the ongoing insurgency."

The migration trends are also gaining popularity in Baloch women, who are now following their male partners and family members towards the cities to avail themselves of the same facilities. The increasing involvement of Baloch women in the Baloch society also encouraged migration. Now Baloch women are migrating for education and protesting for missing persons (Mroczek, 2014). Baloch women are now becoming social activists and leading protests and joining student politics in the big cities of Pakistan's educational institutions. On women's migration and its relationship with nationalism, a female member of the BSO expressed,

"Women migration towards cities is now a reality in Balochistan. The major cause of this migration is the Baloch nationalism movement and also education. Baloch women are becoming political activists and social mobilizers. They are like the ambassadors of the Baloch nation. They organize protests, conferences, seminars and mobilize other Baloch women to stand for their rights. More and more girls and women are coming to big cities to get an education, participate in the

protests, and highlight missing persons. Every family has been affected by the insurgency. The women are at the forefront of the nationalism movement in Pakistan."

Migration, and detribalization, have affected Baloch food, dressing, and subsistence patterns. While Baloch nationalists struggle for the preservation of Baloch identity and culture, they have also rejected tribalism. This, coupled with the migration patterns, has resulted in a generation adopting the modern dress, language, food, and subsistence patterns to cope with the contemporary world. Of this, a Baloch student leader studying in Islamabad shared,

"Baloch youth who are not a part of the armed struggle is migrating towards big cities like Karachi, Quetta, and Islamabad. Here, we are adopting modern ways of life. It is changing our food and dress patterns. Because of migration, the subsistence patterns of Balochistan are also changing. The majority of the youth studying and residing in big cities can speak but cannot read and write the Balochi and Brahui languages. But we have started some initiatives of organizing study circles, where we focus on these issues. We also organize cultural days, and we can wear our traditional dresses and set up cultural food stalls."

The trend of detribalization and migration is significantly increasing within the Baloch tribal system because of the nationalist movement in Balochistan. The Baloch tribesmen are showing more association with the Baloch nationalist identity. The Baloch middle class is accepting the responsibilities of leading armed around Balochistan. Increasing conflicts between Pakistan and Baloch nationalists have been marking steps towards the detribalization in Balochistan. The tribal roots of the Bloch society are becoming weaker (Grare, 2013). The Baloch rebellious middle class has challenged the power-hungry tribal Sardars and united the Baloch people equally (Ahmed, 2010). In the current phase of the Baloch nationalist movement, the middle class is getting support across Balochistan. With the factors of detribalization, rural-urban migration is also significant in Balochistan. Baloch people are migrating towards the cities because of numerous issues. The major constituents of the

migration are unrest and insurgency and, secondly, education and economic activities.

7.2.4 Effects on language and culture

Baloch claimed that they have a distinguished history, territory, ancestry, culture, and language, differentiating them from the other ethnic groups residing in Pakistani. But this entire heritage is affected by the nationalist movement and insurgency. A positive effect has realized the importance of this identity, history, culture, etc. However, the government has been trying to divide the Baloch based on the Balochi and Baruhi languages, disrespecting the language and culture (Braithwaite & Costa, 2018). The federal government controls most of the provincial government departments in Balochistan, including the education department and the curriculum in which the Balochi language is rigorously eliminated (Alamgir, 2012). Consequently, Baloch nationalists also demand the promotion and preservation of the Balochi language and culture. Talking about the effects of the nationalist movement on Balochi language and culture, a famous Marri writer and scholar said,

"With the merger of Balochistan to Pakistan, our language and culture became more vulnerable. The Pakistani government first imposed Urdu as the national language, which affected and marginalized the Balochi language. Secondly, outsiders' migrations also threatened the Baloch culture. As a result, the Baloch people learned the Urdu language and adopted other ethnic groups' cultures to survive. Baloch nationalists consider it as a part of Baloch nationalism against outsiders' language and culture. Baloch nationalists stressed the importance of the preservation of the Balochi language and culture. They also demanded curriculum based in Balochi language."

The Baloch nationalists claim that during the last few decades of the colonial period, the British government and officers did pay attention to preserving the Balochi language and culture, coordinating with young, educated Baloch nationalists, poets, and writers. Several write-ups of Balochi poetry, folktales, stories, and dictionaries of the Balochi language were shaped during the nineteenth and twentieth century. All this work was a considerable contribution to the preservation of the Balochi language. The British officials were also learning the Balochi language, and education and

exams were conducted in the local Balochi language³¹ (Bruce, 1900). Baloch nationalists argued that the Pakistani state began the systematic and structural discrimination against Baloch culture and language to keep the Baloch people underdeveloped and deprived. Baloch nationalists started to mobilize the Baloch people socially and politically to counter this structural discrimination to raise awareness and a sense of Baloch identity (Mroczek, 2014). Discussing the effects on Balochi language and culture, one of BSO's female political leaders said,

"Pakistani state' policies remain far negative towards the Balochi language and culture compared to the colonial government. Whenever the Baloch nationalists have tried to strengthen the local culture and language, the government labeled it anti-state. The state considered these activities as a threat to the national identity. As a result, today, there are limited platforms that promote the Balochi language and culture. However, the Baloch youth is now focusing on the preservation of the Balochi language and culture."

After the third wave of the Baloch nationalism movement and insurgency, Afghanistan became the hub of Baloch nationalists, flourishing under Baloch intellectuals' leadership, who raised the slogan of the Baloch language and cultural preservation (Bödeker, 2019). They began to sensitize people about Baloch language and culture as an essential element of identity. They took practical steps for its preservation, spreading awareness to the native, educated tribal people to encourage the documentation of the Balochi language and cultural traits. Since the mid-1950s, numerous books and periodicals have been published in Baloch and Brahui languages, and work on this has continued to date. When speaking on the work being done for the preservation of Balochi language and culture, a famous Baloch writer shared,

"It is true that now the Baloch are conscious of the preservation of their language and culture. Several publishers in Balochistan and especially in Quetta are publishing work in the Balochi language. But, unfortunately, they are also facing problems. The scope and readership of their published work are limited. To cope with this issue, the publishers are publishing their work online. Then there are also

³¹Bruce, Richard. (1900). The Forward Policy (London etc., Longmans, Green, and Co.)

certain financial issues in publishing the metrical. Apart from that, the Baloch students in different universities worldwide are also arranging study circles to discuss Balochi literature."

Despite demands, Balochi language curricula in Balochistan, English, and Urdu have remained the official languages. One of the Baloch nationalists compared this situation to other provinces like Sindh, where Sindhi remained the official language, and questioned why the same could not be offered in Balochistan. In 1961, a Balochi academy was founded in Quetta, and the Balochi language department was inaugurated at the University of Balochistan. With the support of the academy and University department, Pakistan Television (PTV) and Radio Pakistan started broadcasting in the Balochi language. On this, a Balochi writer and researcher added,

"The government has tried to introduce Balochi language in Balochistan's primary education system during the 1990s, but the trial was unsuccessful. The barrier to this was the lack of qualified teachers and syllabus developers. Due to variation in Balochi dialects, there was disagreement on orthographic issues. At the same time, English retained its importance in education here as well. Over time, with nationalistic work, Baloch people have agreed to start basic education in the Balochi language."

The Baloch nationalist movement has affected the Baloch language and culture. The Baloch nationalists have rejected the language-based division of the Baloch nation and united the Baloch people on the platform of Baloch nationalism. Baloch nationalists fear that the Baloch language and culture are in danger because of the outsider's migrations into Balochistan. Over time Baloch nationalists have motivated the Baloch scholars to preserve the Baloch language and culture. The government is also planning to execute the Balochi language in schools and colleges as a compulsory subject because of nationalist pressure.

7.3 Challenges to Human rights and Security

Human rights and security are some of the key concerns of Baloch people, having dealt with unrest and insecurity since the country's inception (Khetran, 2011). The government and LEA continue to adopt violent and repressive tactics to subjugate the people (Grare, 2013). Reacting to this, Baloch armed groups retaliate and attack

government and military installations, escalating the situation and the state of human rights violations, recorded by various international organizations and media groups (Rafique & Khan, 2017). Adding to this, an expert on the matter explains,

"There are serious human rights violations in Balochistan. In reality, Balochistan is in a state of civil war. We cannot say that only Pakistani LEAs are violating human rights. The Baloch freedom fighters are also following the Pakistani forces in terms of violence. But we can say that Pakistani LEAs are more powerful, so their violence intensity is higher. There are certain independent organizations like the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch (HRW) that are working and recording these incidents of violation regularly."

The current upsurge of militancy, violence, killing and dumping, kidnapping, extrajudicial killings, and enforced disappearances could be said to have begun in Balochistan after the assassination of Sardar Akbar Khan Bugti during General Musharraf's military regime on the 26th of August 2006. Pakistani LEAs started to execute the harsh policy of zero tolerance in Balochistan. During the Musharraf military regime, the kill and dump policy became a popular concept (Noraiee, 2020). The idea of missing persons³², enforced disappearances by the LEAs is becoming widespread in Pakistan, specifically in Balochistan. Any attempts by Pakistan's judiciary or the democratic government into these killings and kidnappings have proved unsuccessful, owing to the lack of laws related to enforced disappearances. (Shafiq, 2013). On this issue, a Baloch human rights activist shared,

"Not only the Baloch but all of the other ethnic groups in Pakistan face the issue of enforced disappearances. There are many Baloch, Sindhi, Pashtuns, Saraiki, and Mohajirs on the missing person list. Of course, it is against both Pakistani and international laws. Pakistan's army and LEAs are powerful in Pakistan. All the agencies are involved in this crime, like the Military intelligence (MI), Inter-Service Intelligence

³²The concept or strategy in which LEAs abduct any alleged person and keep him in their custody without producing him in any court. The LEAs officials decided the fate of kidnaped person themselves. Popularly the abducted person is killed and dumped. All such kind of abducted people are known as missing persons.

(ISI), and Frontier Corps (FC) Pakistan, and are led by the Pakistani military. There are a few human rights platforms that are raising their voices against this crime. Pakistan's elected governments have always tried to end it, but they cannot practically make it possible."

The issue of enforced disappearances, missing persons, and extrajudicial killings creates challenges for the Baloch people and Pakistan's elected government. There is a massive contradiction about the exact number of Baloch missing persons, claiming that some thousands of Baloch males, females, and children have been abducted by the Pakistani LEAs. On the other side, the Pakistani LEAs and Government claim that only a few hundred people are missing. The LEAs officials argue that the missing people have been killed in the war on terror. Due to official data unavailability, it remains difficult to calculate the exact number of missing persons (Amnesty international, 2008). The issue of the missing person is widespread regardless. Most of the missing persons are between the ages of 21 and 40. Pakistani LEAs have targeted the Baloch people involved in the nationalist movement (Human Rights Watch, 2011). The Baloch nationalist and political leaders claim that the Pakistani LEAs are responsible for crimes such as enforced abductions, killings, and dumping of Baloch people (HRCP, 2019). Discussing the security situation and missing persons, a Baloch nationalist and freedom fighter held,

"Pakistani LEAs are regularly involved in the enforced disappearances of innocent Baloch people. They are abducting and killing mostly the educated middle-class, college, and university students. Thousands of Baloch people have been killed and dumped by the forces. Most people do not report the case because of fear. They are killing us just because we demand our equal rights. There are several cases in which the officials have an abducted person and demanded money. They have abducted students from universities and medical colleges. Baloch mothers and daughters organize protests and hunger strikes to demand the missing persons be brought to them. But no one is ready to listen. Everyone is spineless in front of the army."

Another BSO female political activist shared,

"The security forces are abducting, killing, and dumping our people. Here in Balochistan, they are conducting genocide and slaughtering our people, and the reason is that we are Baloch. In Balochistan, every family has lost its son, father, brother, sister, or mother. Here in our society, being Baloch women, our happiness remains connected to our family members. Our family members are missing, and our lives have become hell. No one is ready to take responsibility for this issue. People are being killed and thrown like tissue papers. Mass graves have also been found here in many places. It is excruciating."

This is pushing more of the younger people towards the armed struggle (Mroczek, 2014). The targeted killing of both Baloch nationalists and migrants is increasing; migrants are also evacuating from Balochistan. Pakistani LEAs maintain death squads in Balochistan to target Baloch activists and nationalists. In return, the Baloch armed groups kill Punjabis³³ (Akbar, 2011, 33). Baloch armed groups avoid confrontation with the military's troops and prefer to attack the Punjabi-speaking community. Baloch armed groups target ordinary Punjabi migrants like workers, barbers, teachers, and people in the business, increasing ethnic-based targeted killings in the region (Siddiqi, 2012b). On this, one of the nationalist leaders held,

"The armed forces are powerful and influential here in Balochistan. They have ties with many Sardars and the native tribes. They use these ties to kill the Baloch people and, in return, pay their co-conspirators. The increasing number of Baloch armed groups depicts that the situation of violence is also increasing. Baloch armed groups target non-Baloch actors, army workers, spies, and sympathizers to avenge their Baloch brothers. Killing innocent people is a terrible thing, but everything the Baloch militants are doing is a reaction to the LEAs and government's actions."

Talking about the security issues in Balochistan, a Baloch student, and activist residing in Islamabad shared,

³³ Akbar, M. S. (2011). *The Redefined Dimensions of Baloch Nationalist Movement*. Xlibris Corporation.

"Look, we have a fragile population here in Balochistan. The presence of a huge number of Pakistani LEAs is merely to oppress the Baloch nation. Law and order situation is worsening, especially in the Baloch regions. Security forces are committing violations of basic human rights. When we try to raise these issues, the federal government and LEAs make us out as traitors. Baloch people are humiliated in the name of national security. We have to show our identity cards at every security checkpoint in our homeland. All these things are the causes of unrest and frustration within the Baloch people."

The law-and-order situation in Balochistan has wilted, with violations on both sides at their peak and every member of the society being affected. People are being pushed away regardless, either way from the province or into militancy. The increasing violence in Balochistan is becoming the reason for migration. Baloch and non-Baloch inhabitants of Balochistan are migrating towards cities.

7.4 Destruction of Life, Property, and Settlements

As of now, it is difficult to estimate the total value or figures of the loss of life, property, and settlements. Households, market structures, places of worship, and government establishments (schools, hospitals, council secretariat) were almost completely burnt down. In addition, estimates put the number killed at some 15,000 people, although it could be much higher than this. This is encapsulated in the words of an old Marri political influential,

"The Pakistani military is habitual of destroying the houses of Baloch and capturing their flock. During the 1970s, they destroyed the houses and agricultural fields of the Marri tribe. They attack the Baloch population without differentiating between the peaceful and the armed groups. This has destroyed our properties and houses. The Baloch armed groups also attack the military bases in return, but the poorer Baloch people do not have resources to reconstruct houses and remain stuck in the conflict."

One of the BSO political activists explained the destruction of properties shared that,

"Pakistani army attack the Baloch populated villages on the name of search operations. The officials do not pay respect and dignity to our family members. Suppose you visit the villages in the districts of Trubhat, Awaran, Noskhi, Makran, and many more. You will get a clear picture. You will find burned and empty houses along with burned trees and flocks. In reaction, the Baloch nationalists attack military posts and non-Baloch people. Attacking non-Baloch people is not good. But the Baloch nationalist attack as the government feels their pain."

Balochistan's insurgency has become a cause of great economic, political, and cultural loss. All institutions, i.e., family, religion, economy, education, and politics, are threatened. The law enshrined to govern and protect individuals has become the force that is destroying the Baloch land.

7.5 Political Effects

While Baloch resistance against colonial repression dates back to much earlier than the century of decolonization, the lack of a unified approach stood in the way of a unified movement at the time (Breseeg, 2004:166). The Sardars of the original Baloch political system tended to side with the British (Titus & Swindler, 2000). During the 1920s, with the creation of the "Young Baloch" movement, Balochistan's political atmosphere began to change. The movement remained secretive until the 1930s because of British Rule and Baloch *Sardar's* contravention (Baloch, 1987). With the formation of *Anjuman-e-Ithade-Balochistan* (Organization for the unity of Balochistan) during the 1930s, the educated youth began to challenge the British Rule, Sardars, and Nawabs openly and blamed them for Balochistan's misery. On this, Dr. Shah Muhammad Marri shares,

"The tribal-based political structure remained dependent on Sardars and Nawab because of many factors. First, Sardars enjoyed the powers because of the support and loyalties of tribesmen based on tribal affiliations. Second, the Sardars became more influential with the political and economic support of the British Raj. Third, most Sardars discouraged the educated middle class because this class challenged the Sardar's autonomy. After the creation of Pakistan and

Balochistan's merger, the Pakistani government also won over the Sardars' loyalties, and most of the Sardars are still working for Pakistani governments."

During the 20th century, however, the political climate began to change, and the middle class began to strive to unite the people (Khan & Muhammad, 2018). Powerful Sardars were now opposed by oppressed social classes (Noraiee, 2015). Over time the Baloch middle class became the popular political force in the political structure of Balochistan. One of the political Anthropologists and experts on Balochistan held,

"Sardars and Nawabs remained unchallengeable in the political sphere of Balochistan. But as the Middle class organized the platform, including the young Baloch and later Injumen –e- itehade-Balochistan, they became a challenge for both the political elites of Balochistan and for the British Raj. Both forces tried their best to oppress the Baloch youth but failed to do so. On the other side, the Baloch youth formed the Kalat State National Party (KSNP). All these things became game-changers in the political atmosphere of Balochistan."

The merger with Pakistan and the arrest of the Khan of Kalat only escalated things, and the first insurgency under Prince Karim had people divided between those who favored a political solution and those that wanted an armed struggle (Harrison, 1981); either way, both groups wanted an independent Balochistan. The middle class's struggle for self-determination fuels today's Baloch movement (Ahmed, 2019). The 1960s and '70s saw the rise in Baloch youth politically and ideologically, rejecting the tribal system and demanding autonomy, often through Parari or guerilla war, made popular also by the involvement of some Punjabi intellectuals known as the 'London Group.' This, along with the formation of BSO, attracted more young people to the movement (Harrison, 1981). Talking about the effects of the Baloch nationalism movement on the political culture of Balochistan, one of the famous political leaders, Dr. Abdul Hayi Baloch, said,

"Baloch nationalism not only attracted the Baloch youth but also unified them. The role of BSO in this is significant. BSO trained the Baloch youth politically and ideologically. As a result, the Baloch

youth were made aware of their rights and the importance Balochistan held economically and strategically. BSO's trained youth is struggling for the Baloch cause nationally and internationally. Today, the Baloch people are aware of their rights as citizens of Pakistan. They are struggling for the autonomy and identity of the Baloch nation."

The nationalist movements have led to the political maturation of people in Balochistan, forming several nationalist parties, all ideologically left-wing, operating in most districts across Balochistan, where the student wings of the BSO work in colleges and universities. Many young people have also picked up arms in their struggle, dreaming of an independent Balochistan (Mroczek, 2014). Under the middle-class leadership, political parties significantly participated in the 1988 and 1997 elections and formed³⁴ the provincial government (International Crisis Group, 2006). Baloch nationalists claimed that Musharraf's military regime rigged the 2002 elections and supported the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) to maintain their influence and power in the province. Most of the Baloch nationalist parties rejected this election and also asked people not to cast votes. Discussing the Baloch nationalism movement's effect on the political atmosphere of Balochistan, one of the political leaders of NP Balochistan from Kohlu shared,

"The BSO and Baloch educated middle-class' struggle are important. The youth spread political awareness across Balochistan. They are struggling in both ways, through arms and education. They are highlighting the Balochistan issue all over Pakistan. They are organizing seminars and study circles in the big cities of Pakistan. Now people from all the provinces are familiar with the issue of Balochistan. Most of the students are becoming radical and are not ready to trust Pakistan's federal government. Most of the nationalist armed groups are demanding for Balochistan's independence, which does not seem possible."

Baloch nationalists are making and remaking political alliances within and outside of Pakistan to attain their goals. However, the government of Pakistan claims that

³⁴ International Crisis Group, Pakistan: The Worsening Conflict in Balochistan, Asia Report no. 119, September 2006, 6.

Baloch nationalists have ties with the enemies of Pakistan like India, a claim rejected by Baloch nationalists, and argue that they are treated like traitors in their country, including high-ranking officials.

A significant impact of the movement has been on Baloch women, who have shed their historical roles in the patriarchal Baloch society and are becoming part of mainstream politics (Mroczek, 2014). A World Bank study states that because of war and insurgency, male members of society are affected at the first stage, and then the women get involved, taking up jobs and politics to fill the gap of the men³⁵. Explaining the effects of the nationalism movement on the politics of Balochistan, one of the political leaders of MMA shared that,

"Baloch nationalism has changed everything here in Balochistan. The regional political parties' political leaders also try to practice nationalist politics to survive in Balochistan. Because of the influence of armed groups, nationalism is increasing in Balochistan. The Baloch youth is not ready to trust any political party based on their past experiences. Most of the middle class believe that armed struggle is the final solution to the Balochistan issue. The government and establishment are busy making and remaking political alliances and establishing new political parties to counter Baloch nationalism. The increasing influence of Baloch women on Balochistan's political sphere is also a result of the nationalism movement."

National integration is key to the nation's unity. Baloch nationalism has played a significant role in bringing together the Baloch nation, where they now pride themselves in being called Baloch. Even those Balochs living in the Makran belt, Jhalawan, and Sarwan, have set aside their respective tribes and caste and call themselves only Baloch. The tribal conflicts that have prevailed in the past within the Baloch are now non-existent. They realize that they all are equal and one rather than enemies of each other.

³⁵Buvinic, M., Gupta, M. D., Casabonne, U., & Verwimp, P. (2013). *Violent conflict and gender inequality: An overview*. The World Bank.

7.6 Effects on the Economy

Economic grievances had a significant role in the Balochistan crisis. Pakistani federal governments have adopted the strategies of expropriation, marginalization, and dispossession to oppress the Baloch nation (Grare, 2006). Despite being resource-rich, 58% of the population lives below the poverty line, with the lowest literacy of all provinces (PIPS, 2012). Balochistan fulfills nearly 40% of Pakistan's energy resources, but these energy resources are rare for the people of Balochistan themselves. Furthermore, the megaprojects have little benefits to the Baloch but cause inflation regardless, with large military cantonments' construction and expansions within Baloch areas (Grare, 2006). On the economic issues, one of the experts on the Balochistan issue Dr. Saadat Hassan Bilal, said,

"Economic concerns are serious in Balochistan. They have resources, but they do not have economic opportunities. The people are facing poverty. They do not have access to health and education. There are serious issues related to clean drinking water. The involvement of outsiders in the development of mega projects is making the situation worst. The youth is becoming radical just to get their rights. The central government of Pakistan is responsible for these poor policies. We can even say that Balochistan is in a state of civil war."

War and insurgency have also affected Pakistan's economy, where huge and expensive military operations are carried out in the province, causing economic issues to Pakistan (Mirza, Jaspal, & Malik, 2015). On the other hand, writers have documented that the Pakistani military has a vast Milbus (military capital). The Pakistani military runs massive commercial empires and controls Pakistan's politics (Siddiqi, 2007). The civil war and Balochistan's nationalism movement have also affected the Baloch people's economic conditions in numerous ways. It has become the reason for economic opportunities and also a financial crisis. Talking about the effects of Baloch nationalism on the economy of Baloch people, an expert on Balochistan in his interview expressed,

"The nationalism movement and insurgency have affected the Baloch people economically. It has limited the economic opportunities within Balochistan and became the reason for poverty and produced a

scarcity of jobs in the province. Moreover, most Punjabi migrants and businessmen have also migrated back to their native provinces because of the fear of insurgency. This migration created a vacuum for the Baloch people. So we can say that the nationalism movement affected the economy in both positive and negative ways in the case of Baloch people."

The Baloch nationalist movement has affected the economic conditions of people both in positive and negative ways. The unrest and insurgency in the province decreased the economic investments and affected the businesses. Most of the investors closed their businesses in Balochistan and moved to other provinces of Pakistan. Non-Baloch migration created space and opportunities for the Baloch people to establish their businesses. Because of nationalists' pressure, the government of Pakistan also created economic opportunism for the Baloch people. Economic initiatives and threats have been discussed below in detail.

7.6.1 Economic Opportunities

Despite the breakdown of economic activity because of the insurgency, some economic opportunities have presented themselves. With the migration out of Balochistan of other ethnic groups like Pashtuns, the economic roles they played have been taken up by the Baloch people, providing some boost to the economy. Now the Baloch are in their hairdressing shops, tire shops, and even on the *Tandoors*. The Baloch nationalists, however, continue to raise their voices against the economic disparities and grievances and demand an equal economic share for Balochistan (Siddiqi, 2012), as one of the BSO leaders shared,

"With the construction of megaprojects, the Baloch were happy that they would get jobs and enjoy economic opportunities. The federal governments also promised that the local people would be employed. But the federal government remains unfaithful in keeping these promises. Rather than giving jobs to Baloch people, they imported outsiders who nabbed at our rights and changed the demography of Baloch areas. In reaction, Baloch nationalists have attacked and killed the non-Baloch migrants. Over time, most migrants, especially

Punjabis, have moved back to their native provinces, and Baloch natives were faced with opportunities for labor jobs and business."

Talking about the economic opportunities in Balochistan, one of the BNP (M) political leaders shared,

"The federal government has tried to compensate the people of Balochistan via the national finance commission award (NFC), 18th amendment in the constitution, and with the execution of Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan. These steps provided opportunities to the people of Balochistan for education, health, and job creation. But it is not easy to end 70 years old, deep-rooted grievances. It will take time. The government of Pakistan executed these new awards and politics because the Baloch nationalism movement pressured them. But, unfortunately, the Baloch nationalists are still not ready to trust the government because they believe that the Pakistani military establishment is responsible for Baluchistan's condition."

After General Musharraf's Military regime, different mainstream political parties and elected governments tried to resolve the Balochistan issue via political and democratic resolutions. In 2004, Pakistan Muslims League (Q) government established a parliamentary committee to look into the demands and grievances of the Baloch nationalists. The parliamentary committee was further subdivided into two committees. One of the parliamentary subcommittees, headed by Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed, visited Balochistan to attain more details. The committee presented a detailed report on the grievances of the Baloch people. The recommendations focused on solving gas royalties' issues, Baloch representation in federal jobs, construction of roads, schools, technical, medical colleges and universities, and equalities funds distribution. However, the government failed to address this, and then came the Musharraf-led military operations in Balochistan (Siddiqi, 2012a). The military regime of General Musharraf ended in late 2008, but the situation of Balochistan remained tense. The president of the newly elected government from the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) apologized to the Baloch nation and emphasized the policy of reconciliation. In 2009 the elected Government of PPP initiated Aghaz-e-Hooq-e-

Balochistan³⁶ (AHB) package to address the Baloch people's miseries and grievances. The Balochistan package (AHB) became the first serious step initiated by PPP to address Baloch grievances (Akhtar, 2011).

The AHB package was divided into five major parts with several constitutional, administrative, and political reforms (Malik, 2013). Unfortunately, the PPP government failed to bring peace to the province because of ongoing military oppression, and so the Baloch freedom fighters rejected the package (Muhammad, 2014). The NFC award was another essential package for the people of Balochistan initiated by PPP in 2009. In the 7th NFC³⁷ award, the PPP government revised the financial distribution formula to address the issues raised by the Baloch nationalists. As per the revised formula, Balochistan benefited more than the other provinces (Siddiqi, 2012b).

Furthermore, the credit of introducing the 18th amendment to Pakistan's constitution to empower the federating units of Pakistan also goes to PPP. The 18th Amendment Act keeps 102 amendments in the 1973 constitution. All the political parties accepted these amendments. The 18th amendment has empowered the provincial assemblies in making their health, education, and development policies (Mujahid, 2012). Dr. Awan, in his interview, shares about the movement's impact on economic opportunities,

"During General Musharraf's era, the military regime tried to focus on Balochistan's development and changed the military officer's selection criteria for the people of Balochistan. The PPP government also announced the 7th NFC award, initiated the Aghaz-e-Haqooq-Balochistan package, and drafted the 18th amendment in the constitution because of pressures from the nationalism movement. As a result, several Baloch students have won scholarships and are studying in national and international institutions based on these packages. Similarly, the PPP government also increased the number of Baloch officers in federal and provincial bureaucracy, and the Baloch youth availed more opportunities regarding education and jobs at the time."

³⁶Noor-ul-Haq (ed.), *Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan*, Islamabad Policy Research Institute Fact File, XII, no. 1, (2010): 56–64.

³⁷Fasihuddin, "Seventh NFC Award: Implications for Balochistan" in *Balochistan: Rationalisation of Centre-Province Relations*, 114.

The Baloch nationalists also argue that because of Balochistan's nationalist movement and the insurgency, non-Baloch people are reluctant to take government and private jobs in Baloch areas, leaving job opportunities for the native people. As a result, the Baloch-educated youth have been posted on numerous vacant posts, leading to somewhat of an economic uplifting.

7.6.2 Economic Crisis

While Balochistan has contributed to Pakistan's economy significantly, the province's unrest acts as a deterrent for investment, making it a seemingly backward region. Poor economy, weak state institutions, and weakened law and order situation are all responsible for Balochistan's poor living standards. Public and private investments are scarce; lack of innovation and remoteness makes it a region lagging economically. The World Bank's economic report on Balochistan indicates that the poverty rate rose over Balochistan's rural areas (World Bank, 2008). Talking about the economic crisis in Balochistan, one of the renowned economists from the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) explained,

"Balochistan has played an important role in the Pakistani economy. I want to say that we may blame Balochistan's economy on its geography, but several other factors come into play. First, no one is ready to invest in Balochistan because of the poor law and order situation. Then there is a lack of coordination among the federal and provincial governments regarding the development of Balochistan. Further, the province's connectivity with other provinces and economic hubs is limited, which is also affecting Balochistan's economy."

Because of the nationalism movement, Balochistan's law and order situation has changed, and a worsening condition has been noticed so far, paving the way for strikes and a halt in business activities. The markets could even remain closed for weeks at times due to strikes. The businessmen have shifted their businesses to Sindh, Punjab, and even the Pashtun areas of Balochistan. Discussing the effects of the nationalism movement on economic opportunities, one of the Baloch political leaders from BNP shared,

"Yes, the nationalism movement has affected the economy in both positive and negative ways. In Balochistan, rural people are still dependent on the barter trade system. Law and order situation has restricted their movements to the urban areas. Regular strikes in the province, especially in the urban centers, almost completely ruined the business activities. People in business are shifting their businesses towards Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad, and many other big cities of Pakistan. The security persons and Baloch armed groups' demands for share from the poor tribesmen flock only worsen. The economic situation is becoming pathetic in the Baloch areas."

7.7 Effects on Education

The Baloch nationalism movement has affected the Balochi education system and trends, just as much as it has affected the culture, language, politics, and economy. Apart from the poor literacy rate, Balochistan's score is also the lowest against the key indicators for development, including health, education, water, sanitation, etc. (Aslam, 2011). In addition to the law and order situation, the unavailability of qualified teachers, ghost schools, and poor infrastructure also affects Balochistan's education system. Both stakeholders, the government of Pakistan and Baloch Nationalists, blame one another for Balochistan's crumbling educational situation. The Baloch nationalism movement affected the education system of Balochistan significantly, in both positive and negative ways. Talking about the nationalism movement's effects on the education system in Balochistan, one of the education experts in Balochistan said,

"The condition of the education system is very poor in Balochistan. Baloch nationalism, insurgency, and the ongoing civil war have affected Balochistan's education system. Most of the schools in rural areas remain closed because the Pakistani army and FC control the schools. Similarly, a few school buildings are under the Baloch armed group's control, keeping the teachers and students away from schools. Because of the insurgency, migrations have increased towards urban areas, and rural schools remain empty. There are certain conflicts related to syllabus and modes of education as well."

Unrest, insurgency, and nationalist movement in Balochistan have affected the education system positively and negatively. Talking about the positive effects, Baloch nationalists have mobilized the Baloch people to focus on education. While, because of unrest situation schools in rural areas have affected. The details of the nationalist movement's effect on education are discussed below.

7.7.1 Focus on Education

Baloch Nationalism has focused on the education of the masses. The Baloch youth have come out of Balochistan and studied in different educational institutes of Pakistan and the rest of the world. These students are a source of inspiration for others. The Nationalist Movement has also placed stress on education. The words of Allah Nazar, widely quoted, "*If I have to choose between a pen and a gun, I will go for the pen because it is the pen which guides my gun.*" The Baloch now study different kinds of literature about different societies, and the educated Baloch youth is ready to serve their nation. The Baloch themselves are now filling the positions which were vacated by the settlers in the education system. A female activist BSO who is studying in Islamabad shared,

"The leadership has always guided us to get an education. You can observe that the ratio of male and female students from Balochistan has increased in Pakistan's universities and colleges. Here we can share our grievances with other students. Historically Baloch people have remained uneducated because of the unavailability of resources. Yes, now we are getting scholarships from the government, and that is our right. They have been looting and earning from our resources for 70 years. We are only now exploring the world and becoming aware of our rights."

The ongoing wave of Baloch nationalism has remained fruitful for Baloch students all around the world. In past decades, there was the issue of local domicile. With government officials' help, people from the other provinces used to attain Balochistan districts' local domicile to avail Balochistan's quota of seats in jobs and educational institutions. The Baloch nationalists discouraged this unfair scheme and discouraged the people who were involved in it. The government of Balochistan has canceled several domiciles because of pressure from Baloch nationalists. The nationalism

movement has united Balochis, which has further uplifted the Baloch people's educational status. The students have been inspired by this movement and have set up their organizations in Pakistan's major institutions. The organization helps the students in their studies, informs willing students of the admission process, provides them with a place to live, and guides them about everything. The example of Baloch students studying in Quaid –i – Azam University (QAU) and Punjab University (PU) strengthens the above-mentioned statement, and the number of Baloch students has only increased so far if we compare the years before 2008 with present times. Talking about the positive effects of Baloch nationalism on the education of Baloch people, one of the students of the Baloch student council shares,

"We have organized a council system in most of Pakistan's public and private universities to accommodate the new Baloch students and preserve and share our culture. Now we are availing the seats of Baloch quota in most of the public and private universities of Pakistan. Our people are also identifying the people serving in government based on Balochistan's local domicile. For example, in Islamabad, we have identified several students and government servants who have Balochistan's domicile. So today, we have both male and female Baloch students in our council."

The Baloch nationalist movement has mobilized the people of Balochistan to focus on education. Today the Baloch students are studying around the world to make Balochistan prosperous. However, there are certain native effects of the nationalist movement on Balochistan education.

7.7.2 Education Crisis

The nationalism movement has negative effects on the state of education in Balochistan. For example, non-Baloch school teachers are evacuated from Balochistan due to threats and insurgency; some have killed targeted killers, and the rest has left the system in shambles. Furthermore, the Baloch armed groups have warned teachers not to follow Pakistani standard school practices in many places. Similarly, BLF and BLA took the responsibility of the assentation of many non-Baloch teachers and professors in Balochistan (PIPS, 2012). Talking about the threats

by Baloch armed groups, one of the primary school teachers from district *Dera Ghazi Khan* (Punjab) who was serving in Kohlu shared,

"It is true that they [Baloch armed groups] visit and sometimes stay overnight in the school where I was posted. It is away from the district headquarters. They asked me not to hoist the Pakistani national flag in school and not to sing the Pakistani national anthem. Apart from that, they never threaten me. But it is true that many teachers resigned or transferred because of their fear. Some of the schools were also received t letters with the same instructions; however, I can say that it is not safe to work in some of the districts of Balochistan."

Both the students and teachers have trouble attaining education, being the primary targets on the missing person's lists, so students often drop out. Furthermore, the security agencies have set up their check posts inside the educational institutions, instilling fear in the students and driving them away. For instance, there are FC check posts at the entrance of Degree College Quetta and the University of Balochistan. The FC even checks the hostel cards of the students of the Balochistan University Hostel with their guns protruding.

7.8 Social and Psychological Disorders

While strengthening the focus on a Baloch identity and cause, the movement has also caused psychological distress. However, some people do hold that this is only preparing society for further challenges; despite this, an environment of fear remains. The strong social bonds are now weakening only to secure one and the other. The psychological distress is largely caused by people being afraid of simply leaving their homes, not talking openly, fear of security agencies, and even of extrajudicial killings and kidnappings. One of the BSO female students explained,

"We have been facing the war for decades. The military oppression, killings, abductions, tortures have affected our minds and souls. Our near and dear ones are missing. Every day we find their dead bodies and graves. It is not easy and simple to deal with such violence and war. It affects our nerves badly. Many people cannot sleep because of the fear of death. The number of psychopathic patients is increasing."

To deal with this distress, the use of drugs is also increasing in the youth, in a society where drugs are accessible at low prices. For example, in Punjgoor and Turbot districts, if there is no alcohol in a marriage ceremony, people do not appreciate that marriage, even if thousands have been spent on other arrangements of the marriage ceremony. The Nationalism Movement has significantly countered this growing trend. The freedom fighters warned the people to leave behind the drugs' business as it destroyed the youth. Later on, these forces banned the drug supply in their respective areas. They have also targeted the drug supplying shops in their areas and killed a few big drug suppliers. Society has also appreciated this step taken by the freedom fighters, which attracted more people to their cause and decreased the drug problem significantly.

7.9 Conclusion

The emergence of Baloch nationalism as a nationalist movement and conflict with state forces significantly affected the socio-economic, political, psychological, and tribal life of the Baloch people. The incidents of violence have been increased significantly in Balochistan. It has challenged the situation of security and stability in the province.

The most important effect appears in the shape of family structure and migration. The situation of insecurity, uncertainty, and probable engagement of youth in the insurgency activities push a significant segment of the population to ensure their children's migration towards urban areas: for the sake of education, economic activities, countering the psychological effect such as fear, depression, and stress, and for ensuring youth's safety.

Detribalization is another effect caused by the Baloch nationalism and nationalist movement. Apart from the historical account, where tribal identity and tribal leadership had played a significant role in the Baloch nationalism and Baloch movement, at the movement, nationalists propagate Baloch identity that prominently signifies a person as compared to their tribal identity. Moreover, the pattern of migration and education also causes this shift. Since youth is getting the education and leaving their native areas, they develop a more common sense of belonging with a Baloch nation rather than confine themselves in a narrow tribal identity. Thus, this

identity shift and politics also serve the objectives of Baloch nationalist and Baloch nationalism in a more meaningful and effective way.

The economic prospect, as an effect of Baloch nationalism and nationalist movement, are multifaceted manifestations. Ideally, violent activities and insurgencies somehow destroyed the economic activities in Balochistan and restricted the scope of foreign investment. In the same context, it pushed the settler to abandon their business and get back to their areas, those who were coming from other provinces. However, the same situation of unrest brought the Federal government's development package with the name of "Aghaz-i-Haqooq-i- Balochistan." Similarly, all those businesses abandoned by the settler created space for the economic activities of the Baloch people. This is what nationalists have desired so far. To gain economic prosperity for the Baloch people without letting others gain any financial advantage or invest in Balochistan (referring to CPEC).

CHAPTER:8 GEOGRAPHICAL AND LEADERSHIP SHIFT IN THE BALOCH NATIONALISM MOVEMENT

8.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part of the chapter deals with the geographical shift in the Baloch nationalist movement. The second part of the chapter has documented the constituents that have changed the leadership of the Baloch nationalist movement. The first part of the chapter tries to respond to several questions like how organized Baloch nationalism movements were born in the Sulamanian Mountains of Balochistan. How did the movement mature and flourish under the leadership of the Marri of Kohlu? How did this movement spread all over Balochistan, particularly in Makran and the province's Eastern areas? Finally, this chapter sheds light on the dynamics of leadership and its possible transformation.

The Baloch youth has been challenging the traditional tribal leadership. The Baloch nationalism movement in Pakistan was started with the annexation of Balochistan in 1948, which resulted in nationalist sentiments among the educated Baloch people. The Baloch, under the leadership of Prince Abdul Karim, started an armed struggle for the independence of Balochistan. This less organized armed-based struggle survived for a few months because the nationalist leadership remained unsuccessful in getting international support from Afghanistan and USSR and nationally from the powerful tribal Sardars. Baloch arose and started an armed base struggle during 1958 against President Ayyub Khan's One Unit Plan. Again, the Baloch nationalist failed to achieve their political objectives due to the regional, national, and international support unavailability. Further, the third and fourth phases of much organized nationalist movement have been associated with the Marri tribe territory and Leadership. At the end of the fourth wave of the tribal-oriented Baloch nationalist movement, the geography of nationalists shifted from Marri's territory (Sulamanian Mountains and rural areas) towards the cities and across Balochistan. The change in the geography of Baloch nationalism also changed the nationalist movement leaders. In the case of the Baloch nationalist movement, geography and leadership moved parallel. The chapter will try to document and explain how and why the movement's geography and leadership shifted from *Kohe Sulaiman* to Makran and why the Baloch middle class replaced the Baloch Sardar's leadership.

8.2 Balochistan's Geography

Before going into the details of shifts in Baloch nationalism's geographic focus and leadership, it is essential to understand the international and local geography of Balochistan. The largest province of Pakistan is situated in the southwest of Pakistan sharing long international borders with Iran and Afghanistan. Its border with Iran is 900 kilometers, and it shares a 1,002-kilometer-long border with Afghanistan (Sial and Basit, 2010:5). Historically, Balochistan was a gateway into South Asia for Greek, Persian, Arab, Mughal, Ghaznavids, and Ghauri invaders, traders, conquerors, and looters from the Middle East. This important geographical position was realized during the British colonial period (Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, p. 274). Moreover, its long coastal belt makes it ideal for projects like the Gawadar Port. In addition, it can connect Pakistan to Central Asia, East Africa, the Persian Gulf, and Northwest India through the Arabian Sea. It connects the Iranian Plateau with Southeast Asia and the Central Asian States. Its long coastal line on the Arabian Sea increases its international geopolitical significance, making it the access point that connects the Middle East, Central and South Asia, and the Indian Ocean.

However, sharing borders with Iran and Afghanistan also makes it sensitive to politico-military instabilities or insurgencies (Khan, 1997, p. 2). Furthermore, the warm water belt had long been a bone of contention between superpowers like America, Russia, and China, contesting influence over trade and military routes (Ismail, 2014, p. 184). Balochistan is also rich in minerals and natural gas, among other resources, adding its significance. Pakistan has launched several development projects in the region in collaboration with various countries. Often, the interests of world powers have also instigated violence and insurgency in the region (Ahmad, 1992, p. 148)³⁸.

8.3 National Borders and their Importance

Balochistan almost covers 44 percent of the landmass of Pakistan and is divided into three major parts, namely Northern, Western and Eastern Balochistan (Javaid and Jahangir, 2015). According to the 1998 Census of Pakistan, the total population of Balochistan is about 6,565,885. Balochistan geographically is bounded by 60 52' east

³⁸ Ahmad, Lt. Col. Syed Iqbal. (1992). *Balochistan: Its Strategic Importance*, Karachi: Royal Book Company

longitudes to 24 54' north latitude and 70 17' east longitudes, to 32 6' North latitude (Census Report Balochistan, 2001, p. 58).

Balochistan shares borders with all the other three provinces in Pakistan. In the North, it is connected with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) through the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA), Punjab's border is to its extreme Northeast, and Sindh shares its border with it in the East. Balochistan is divided into six divisions and 32 districts. Balochistan is a mountainous and arid area, with snow-roofed mountains, dry highlands, small sandy plains, and a long barren coastline. Based on geographical features, Balochistan is divided into four parts,

a. Upper highland

b. Lower highland

c. The plains

d. The deserts

Upper highland covers the central and northeastern part of Balochistan, surrounded by the Sulaimanian Range (on the East), Taba Kakar in the North, and Chagi Hill in the West, where valleys are nestled between high mountains. These high mountains are generally 5000 feet above sea level. The lower highland is formed by the slope of the Sulaimanian Range on the East and Central Brahui Range and the Kirthar Range further in the South, running in a North-south direction (Ahmad, 1992, p. 3). The lowland Kachi plain is a flat alluvial plain with extreme temperature variations. Lasbela and certain other inlets on the Makran Coast are also important plain areas. There are two plateaus in Balochistan, one in Quetta valley and the other in Kalat. Kharan is an intense desert in the Northwest of Balochistan. Kaisar-Garh (11,300ft) is the highest peak in the Sulaimanian range. Balochistan's entire plateau is bound from all sides by mountain ranges presenting a bold and rugged outline.

Balochistan has a dry and severe climate with extremes of hot and cold. Sibi and Dadar are considered the hottest places, while Quetta and Ziarat are the coldest. In the absence of adequate rainfall, flood or perennial water is a significant source of cultivation in some specific areas. Balochistan is larger than the United Kingdom in landmass, but its population is only that of Liverpool. Belgium is only about one-

twelfth the size of Balochistan but has a population nearly nine times as large (Baloch, 1975, pp.32-33.). The barrenness of Balochistan can be observed in the physical and mental make-up of the Baloch people. Nomadism is a key feature of Baloch society, and it provides strength to the tribal structure of the society. The chieftain's role is very important in managing tribal life. Intra-tribal warfare gives birth to many different problems in the tribal society of Balochistan. Political parties of Balochistan largely operate on specific ethnic lines, and ethnic divisions are responsible for a multi-party system. It is difficult to imagine a leader that leads all; a Baloch charismatic leader may not be acceptable to the Pashtuns and vice versa (Kundi, 1993, p. 21).

8.4 Geography and Leadership of Baloch Nationalism

Movement

Leadership and geography, as discussed above briefly, play an integral role in nationalist movements. Leadership defines the ideology and geography or battleground for the movement, designing strategies for its survival, maintaining the movement's pace, and training its followers ideologically. Nationalism movements often challenge the autonomy of a powerful state and so need a safe locality where the members of movements are safe and supported by the local community. The leadership and geography of Baloch nationalism remain in the hands of Baloch natives, their native land.

Tracking its history once again, the first insurgency of 1948 was not organized strictly based on ideology: Karim Khan, with his companions, fought the Pakistan army and surrendered after a few months. Again, the second insurgency was against the One-Unit Plan of President Ayub Khan, where Nawab Noroz Khan, along with his family and tribe, resisted the state's policies. This time again, it was not a properly organized movement and went along without a guiding ideology. The more organized Baloch nationalism movement could have begun after the dismissal of the NAP government during Bhutto's regime. The geography, leadership, and ideology of nationalism movements all have a deep relationship, each playing a key role in the determination of the others. During the colonial rule, Sardars loyal to the British were paid off to maintain the structural stability of the region, and loyalties belonged to the leaders of the tribes and not ideologies. Any wars fought were fought for the interests of the

Sardars. In the 19th century, towards the tail-end of the colonial period, with the emergence of the modern nation-state, also emerged an educated middle-class that challenged conventional, elite leadership and began their struggle for nationhood and against tribalism. Young, educated people like Abdul Aziz Kurd, Mir Yosif Magsi began their political struggle against the Pakistani federal government.

Over time, Baloch nationalism became a vital force to (re)structure Baloch society. The movement was centered around some main tribes; the Marris stood out most prominent, also waging a guerilla war against the state. A political leader shared his account in the following words,

"If we look into the history of Balochistan, the Marri Baloch are believed to be the most dangerous warriors. This is because of the harsh topography and climate of our area. Our forefathers struggled against the British, and we are struggling against a Punjabi government. The other factors that unite also include our leadership, Sardar Khair Bux marri, our ideological leader, and Shairo Marri, our battleground leader. These two charismatic leaders became the source of attraction for the movement, and Kohlu remained the hub of the Baloch nationalism movement."

8.5 Baloch Nationalist Movement in the Upper Highlands

The Baloch tribes, the Marris, Bugti's, and Mengal remained visible in the movements, mainly because of the geography, manpower, and leadership capabilities. The first elected government under the NAP depicted the unity of the three prominent Sardars, Khair Bux Marri, Atta Ullah Mengal, and Ghous Bux Bajingo. However, after the dismissal of the NAP government by Bhutto, all three leaders' ideologies changed. Khair Mux Marri supported the radical nationalism movement and endorsed the slogan of an independent Balochistan. In contrast, the other two Sardars supported the ideology of the federation, and even today, their followers have remained true to the leaders' ideologies.

The tribal component is still an essential part of Baloch nationalism, but the influence of the Sardari system is not as visible in the Makran belt anymore. Nowadays, the movement is being dominated by Kech, Pungjur, and Gawader under the leadership of

middle-class, educated young people. Karachi usually influences people living in the mentioned districts and the Gulf states and has become the driving force behind the movement (Grare, 2013). The upper highlands of Balochistan cover the central and northeastern parts of Balochistan, surrounded by the Sulaimanian Range (on the East), Taba Kakar in the North, and Chagi Hill in the West. The prominent inhabitants of this area are the Marri, Bugti, Buzdar, Qaisrani, Khetran, and Mengal tribes, and the geography has had a significant impact on their physical and mental strength. Some researchers and writers place the roots of Baloch nationalism about two thousand years ago, with the Baloch tribes defending their lands from invaders for centuries. A few writers also credit the movements beginning to the arrival of British colonialists and their interest in the land due to their geopolitical rivalry with the Russian empire at the time (Breseeg, 2004).

According to modern writers and researchers on Baloch nationalism, the movement emerged in its real sense when Pakistan was about to emerge on the face of South Asia. The Soviet revolution in Russia also inspired Baloch leaders. The Khan of Kalat, along with the educated youth, struggled for an independent Balochistan when the British were deciding the future of the subcontinent, announcing the independence of Kalat on August 15, 1947, which was short-lived as the Pakistani state soon annexed the region (Harrison, 1981). Historians are divided over the legitimacy of this annexation, some claiming it was forceful, while others hold otherwise. Regardless, this annexation preceded a series of clashes between the Pakistani State and the Baloch in 1948, 1958, 1962, and 1972 and the last one is still going on. The first three battles occurred within a specific locality led by particular tribes. The fourth upsurge during the 1970s remains a game-changer in the history of the Baloch nationalism movement.

The Baloch nationalist movement is different from all the other ongoing nationalist movements³⁹ in Pakistan because of its entirely different features and history, where specific tribes and Sardars dominated the movement for a few decades during its initial phases. Due to the dominance of Marri Sardars and tribes, the movement remained dominated by the upper highland of Balochistan, of which the Marri tribe

³⁹ In Pakistan following nationalism movements are prominent, Sindhi nationalism movements, Pushtoon nationalism movements, Saraiki Nationalism movements, and Punjabi and Mohajar nationalism movements.

was native. However, the movement's geography shifted concurrently following its leadership. As power shifted away from the Sardars, new concepts of leaders began to emerge in the Baloch movement. Today, a leader is not considered an independent entity. Instead, they are regarded as the product of social influences (Press, 2019).

As the geography of the movement shifted towards the Makran division, where tribal system and structure were least prominent, the leadership also began to emerge from the districts of Kech, Panjgur, and Gwadar. Now the participation of people is also increasing in these districts, making the Makran division the hotspot of the Baloch nationalism movement and militancy (Ahmad, 2012). As tribalism was challenged, the young educated middle class replaced the parochial and tribal-centric interest of Baloch Sardars with the demands of the Baloch nation (Ahmad, 2012).⁴⁰

Following the series of insurgencies in 1948 and 1958, the third phase of Baloch nationalism and the armed struggle started in 1963. This time the movement was led by Shair Muhammad Marri with the Marri Sardar, Khair Buksh Marri. In the previous waves of insurgencies, there were several deficiencies. There was a lack of potential leadership, planning, and strategizing, lacking both coordination and effective communication. But the third wave of the movement was more mature, and the leadership had evolved to be charismatic, with political wisdom. The tribal Sardar of the Marri tribe himself led the movement, where the followers were ideologically trained.

After the first two waves of the movement, the government of Pakistan began to establish new military cantonments in the 'problematic' areas of Balochistan to counter future issues of anarchical uprisings. The establishment of new military bases was a clear threat to the already angry Baloch tribesmen. On the other side, Shair Muhammad Marri, under the supervision of the Marri Sardar and with the support of Marri tribesmen, was also establishing *Pirari* camps to counter the Pakistani military. The Baloch guerrilla fighter spread their camps over 72,000 km in the upper highlands, demanding Baloch *Qoumi* rights. The Marri leadership was confident; they fought within their native lands under their own Sardar and tribes. This phase of the movement and armed struggle was longer and remained brutal. The nationalists targeted government installations like railway tracks and military convoys. The armed

⁴⁰ Mahvish Ahmad, "Balochistan: Middle-Class Rebellion," Dawn, June 5, 2012.

struggle was only brought to a pause in the 1970s with the end of the “One Unit Plan,” but continuing the political struggle. They maintained the activities of the militant camps and increased the number of followers within the upper highlands.

The following fourth wave of insurgency began after the dismissal of the first elected government of NAP by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1973, which was seen as a clear insult by the Baloch people. Under the leadership of Sardar Khair Bux Marr, Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal, and Ghous Bux Bazinjo o, the nationalists had an intense reaction, having spent ample time preparing and organizing their militant campaign and increasing its followers. As guerrilla warfare against the state began, the movement's name changed from Pirai to Balochistan People's Liberation Front (BPLF). This armed struggle ended in 1977 with heavy losses to both the Pakistani army and the BPLF.

8.5.1 Marri Tribes as Inhabitant of Upper Highlands

Balochistan and especially the upper highlands areas remained a turbulent zone both before and after the inception of Pakistan. From the numerous inhabitants of the upper highlands, the Marri tribe has remained significant throughout history. Inter and intra tribal warfare remained the culture, as the Baloch tribes were sensitive about the territorial boundaries that acted as the barrier between them and invaders. Another noticeable feature of the upper highlands' native tribes is that they did not migrate outside of their tribal boundaries, spending time with their livestock within their tribal territory.

The Baloch nationalist movement had been slowly evolving since the suppression of the Baloch by the Pahlavi dynasty in 1928 and by the Muslim League regime of 1947 (Harrison, 1981). It was Shair Muhammad Marri who provoked a sense of nationalism among the Marris of Kohlu. He organized study circles and educated the poor tribesmen on their rights, eventually kindling at political consciousness in the people who overcame their most vigorous roots (Harrison, 1981). Shair Muhammad Marri was the pioneer of the adequately organized guerrilla movement in the 1960s. Initially, only a few Marri tribesmen organized training camps and recruited people for this guerilla or *Parari* movement. Shair Muhammad Marri shared that he collected and organized people against the Pakistani government and the cruel and pathetic Sardari system in his interviews. One of the respondents of the research stated,

"Those days, people were being suppressed by the Sardars and the government officials. Sardars were influential as the Pakistani government supported them, and so they were using the tribesmen to suit their interests. Nobody was here to listen to the voices of the tribesmen. General Shario was the person who organized the Marris to fight for their rights."

Balochistan is still the most deprived province of Pakistan; however, the 1960s and 1970s were worse. Pakistani Government followed the British policies and empowered Sardar, who did nothing to try and improve the law-and-order situation, only making things worse. Important government jobs were given to the Sardars' families, and leadership was also in the Sardars' hands. One of the Marri Baloch respondents, who were very close to Shairo Marri, said,

"At the time, I was studying at Balochistan University. Those days, the boys of rich and Sardar families were studying there. The Baloch nationalists were active, especially in Marri areas. The Sardars and the government oppressed people. Even though I was from a well-off family, my tribesmen, the Marris, were suffering. So, I decided to leave my education and joined the Farari movement. Many other students also joined the movement. We aimed to educate the guerrilla fighters about nationalistic ideologies".

The camps of these *Parari*⁴¹ freedom fighters had been established in the mountain range of Kohe Sulaiman, that ran from district Barkhan to district Kohlu and in the surroundings of Dera Bugti. In the early days, a majority of the fighters were from the *Marri* tribe. One of the respondents interviewed within this context shared:

"The camps of Fararis were established in the Sulaimanian range, especially in Kohlu, due to certain reasons. First, most of the Fararis were from the Marri tribe, and they were familiar with the geography of Kohe Sulaiman. Second, the other major factor was leadership. Their leaders were from the areas of Kohe Sulaiman, so the camps were established there".

⁴¹ The Farrai were the Baloch guerrilla warriors or can be called the fighter wing of movement

Shair Muhammad started the guerrilla war from Kohlu, as he was born and brought up in the area. He and his forefathers fought against the British Government in the same region. There was a series of incidents that provoked Shair Muhammad Marri to start this war. One of the respondents was of the view that *"He [Shair Muhammad Marri] was familiar with the capabilities of the Marri tribesmen, as fighters the Marri were known as wolves because they preferred to fight at night. As Shair Muhammad was from the Bijrani sub-tribes of Marri, one with more manpower, he started the struggle from his land, but over the time, more people joined the movement"*. In the same context, another respondent added:

"The Marri tribe started the movement from the Marri area. They were powerful in their area. Marri tribesmen or Pararis supported the movement to protect their rights and land. Since most of the leadership and the followers were Marri, trust was important. Being members of the same tribe, they were able to trust each other. In the native area, with his own tribesmen, the leadership felt safe".

Shair Muhammad Marri, also called General Shirov, selected the upper highlands to organize his people for several reasons. First, because he was the native of the land, he was thoroughly familiar with its geography. Secondly, he was from an influential family of the Marri tribes and so had local tribal and family support, or at least that the people who were not with him were also not against him. Finally, he was also able to provide food and all other *necessities* to the *Pararis* [Freedom fighters]. In the same context, one of the respondents shared in the interview:

"This planned movement started in the upper highlands because of many reasons. First, this land is still known as Marri country. Second, the leadership and their followers were fully familiar with the battleground landscape as it was their native land. Third, they were able to get support from the local tribesmen, and the Marri tribesmen always defended their lands from invaders. Fourth, for them, the Pakistani military was the invader at the time. Finally, the affiliation with their land unified them, making them near-undefeatable".

Marri tribe, as a most influential and powerful tribe of upper highland, remains dominant over the other native tribes of upper highland. However, the Marri tribe

started a more organized guerrilla movement in the upper high land of Balochistan on the following basis.

8.5.2 Suitable Geography

The Marri tribesmen knew what they were doing when choosing to focus their movement in their lands, having lived there for hundreds of years and defending it for all those years. The data gathered from the field reveals certain purposes behind starting the movement from their native area. Most of the time, these purposes illustrated geographical terrain and the possible support that leaders could have from their tribesmen and inhabitants of the area. As it was revealed by one of the respondents, *“Shairo [leader of the guerrilla war] started the movement from his area, with the trust of the tribesmen. All of the people involved were familiar with the landscape of the upper highland, and they were fighting a guerrilla war, so it was impossible to control them in their native area.”*

Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, the Marri tribe is a warrior tribe with a long history of wars in those specific areas. Hence, they were well aware of the landscape with all the possible benefits and disadvantages. In this context, it appears that keeping struggle and executing guerrilla war in their native areas was a conscious decision with all the possible benefits. As a respondent mentioned it, *“they [Marries] knew how to fight in this landscape, where and when to fight. And they [Marries] knew the safe places, in case of any danger. Therefore, they always remained dominant over their enemies in this area.”*

What made them be a deadly warrior and guerrilla fighters was their nomadic and semi-nomadic way of life. They used to have seasonal migration, and most of the time, these migrations were towards the highlands. Such practices have already made them well aware of the areas. One of the respondents shared that *“Marri nomadic tribes always kept their settlements within the upper highlands. Their seasonal migrations remained within a specific territory, which was the Marri area. Therefore, they were familiar with even the smallest, most of the area, which they knew would give them an edge.”*

Hence, it is imperative to state that the people of the Marri tribe have a long history of warfare which gave them the advantage to use their experience in the guerrilla war

initiated in Baloch Nationalism. In addition to this, nomadic and semi-nomadic way of life has given them the chance to understand the possible utility of the area for the war. Finally, their concentration in the area was another possible reason which compelled them to be concentrated within their native area and execute war for the rights of the Baloch people.

8.5.3 Followers and Tribesmen

Movements also need the coordination and support of a team. When against a government or state, the leaders of movements depend on the trustworthiness of their teams or companions. Shair Marri, in his initial movement, was supported by his tribesmen, who were his followers and soldiers. Most of the Pararis or fighters were from his own family and tribe and supported him simply by virtue of being Marri, regardless of what they held ideologically. As a respondent mentioned it, *"People supported him because he was a Marri, and it is in our nature that against outsiders, we support our tribesmen"*. The movement demanded the participation of people, and this was the tribal association and affiliation which Shair Muhammad Marri received from his tribesmen, who later were his followers. This feature of followership and standing beside their leader is an in-built feature of the tribal code of life of the area, and the history is the witness of the same. As mentioned by a respondent, *"without the support of tribesmen, it would have been impossible to start a war against the government."* The same respondent further added, *"Therefore, he [Shair Marri] started his struggle from his own area home, with the help of native tribesmen."*

In addition to this, it is also important to note that the unity of the tribesmen also revolve around the concept where an enemy of a tribe's person would be perceived as a common enemy of all the tribe people. In this context, whoever was an enemy for Shair Muhammad Marri was a common enemy of the whole tribe. This tribal code and social phenomenon also gave a chance to receive a higher amount of followership from the Marri tribe. As mentioned by a respondent,

"It was the moral duty of the Marri tribesmen to support Shair Muhammad Marri. Firstly, because he was from their tribe, he was going to wage war against a powerful state for the rights of tribesmen. Secondly, he had also waged war against the tribal Sardari system,

and so the Marri tribesmen realized that he was fighting for them and so supported him."

Marri tribe selected the upper highlands to organize the guerrilla movement with the support of their Marri tribe's men. Tribal affiliations and loyalties remain a significant notion within the Baloch society. Therefore, most tribesmen supported the guerrilla movement to prove their loyalties with the Marri tribe and Marri leadership.

8.5.4 Native Leadership

Shair Muhammad Marri, the pioneer leader of Baloch nationalism, was a man of many qualities and filled the role of a charismatic leader for the movement. He was from an educated and influential family of the Marri *Bijrani* tribe. He was a learned man and had a strong grip on several International, national and local languages (Urdu, English, Persian, Russian, Balochi, and Brahvi, and others). He proved himself to be the voice of the poor and the deprived tribesmen of the Marri Baloch tribe. One of the respondents shared,

"In those days, the laws were too strict. The government and the tribal system were both suppressing the tribesmen. Nobody dared to speak against the government or the Sardars. It was he, Shair Muhammad Marri, who talked about the grievances of the people and that's why the tribesmen trusted him and followed him on his path."

Shair Muhammad Marri's actions determined his social position and transformed him into a leader. The social persona of Shair Muhammad Marri was attributed with bravery, courage, consciousness, and fight against the structure of the society where the poor were deprived and oppressed by the actions of the state and the Sardari system. When asked about the Shair Muhammad Marri social persona among the Baloch people, one of the research respondents revealed that *"he [Shair Muhammad Marri] was a brave man. He spoke out publically against the government's policies and the Sardars and called them the government's puppets. All these factors attracted the tribesmen towards him and his ideology."*

People began to join Shair Marri from all of the other sub-tribes of the Marri tribe, i. e. the *Ghazaini* and *Loharani*, making him more popular among the people. At the

time, the chief Sardar of the Marri tribe realized the need for time and announced his support to Shairo Marri. Chief Sardar, Khair Bux Marri himself, was a famous personality within Balochistan. He was one of the Sardar who was speaking out about the independence of Balochistan. Historically he had also been a part of the provincial assembly of Balochistan, but after the military operation against the Marris during the Bhutto regime, he became Pakistan's worst enemy. One of the respondents speaking on this shared,

"In the beginning, Sardar Khair Bux Marri, the chief of the Marris, did not support Shairo Marri because of inter-tribal conflicts. But over time, Shairo Marri's followership increased, and Sardar Khair Bux Marri realized that the support of Shair is important. Otherwise, he would end up losing his powers and tribal dignity. So, he too announced the end of the Sardari system in the Marri tribe started supporting the movement making the movement stronger."

Hence, it can be stated that the social standing of the Shair Muhammad Marri made him popular not only among his tribesmen but also people from the other tribes who started to follow him. This social standing and popularity at a certain point challenged the power structure of the Marri tribe. Resultantly, the formal chief of the Marri tribe renounced his position of chieftdom.

8.5.5 Ideology

While leadership is essential in guiding a movement, the guiding ideology makes it last, as evident from the Baloch movement. The tribes had fought many wars before, amongst each other and against external aggressors. However, never had they been united by a common ideology. During the 1960s, Shair Muhammad Marri was the prime mover of organizing the Baloch people based on ideology. The ideology was rights-based and struggled for the right to self-determination. Shair Muhammad Marri, in his 1978 interview, said,

"We were struggling to save the Baloch nation, which the Pakistani government was crushing with the help of a few Baloch Sardars. We wanted to introduce scientific methods of guerrilla warfare. We wanted to give the nation an ideology to this struggle, so the Baloch may unite

and fight for the Baloch cause, not for any tribal cause. The government and Sardars are challenging and insulting Baloch dignity and honor, and so we want to organize this movement to survive in the long run."

Shair Muhammad also had links to the Soviet Union and was a follower of the Marxist-Leninist ideology; and was also known by the name of General Shrove, more a Russian-influenced nickname. During the initial years of the Parari movement, Shair Muhammad Marri, along with his twenty ideological followers, focused on establishing networks of camps to increase their manpower. In addition, Shair Muhammad Marri and his followers looked into the guerrilla movements of China, Cuba, and Vietnam to formulate the model of Baloch nationalism and guerrilla movements (Harrison, 1981).

Talking about the ideology of Baloch nationalism movements, one of the active political workers shared, *"people supported Shair Marri due to his ideology. His ideology was a pro-poor ideology"*. When further inquired about the ideology of Shair Muhammad Marri, the researcher asked the respondent, "what it means to be pro-poor"? The respondent contextualized the ideology of Shair Muhammad Marri in relation to the oppression which common people of Balochistan were facing from the state and tribal actors. It appeared that the movement started by Shair Marri was against the power structure, and his liberation from this oppression was the essence of the movement. The common people were getting inspiration from such an ideological basis of Shair Muhammad Marri. He talked about the common people and was ready to face all the possible threats and challenges against his own life. In this regard, one of the respondents added, *"He publically criticized the government, as well as the powerful Sardars, knowing that it might even result in his death, inspiring the poor tribesmen."*

8.5.6 Defense of Marri Tribal Territory

Within the tribal structure, the defense of the tribe is believed to be the responsibility of every tribesman, and the Baloch tribes have had to defend their territories against incursions from the Middle East, Central Asia, and Europe and invaders from the west looking for a way into South Asia. Post partition, the Baloch people were then concerned about incursions from the Pakistani state on their sovereignty, afraid of their impact on their society and culture. They so began political awareness

campaigns to protect the upper highlands, aiming to defend their territories. After the 1948 and 1958 insurgencies, the government of Pakistan began its military foray into the region. These areas connect Balochistan to Punjab, KPK, and Sindh and hold immense importance, and the inhabitant tribes of these areas are considered the most radical and rebellious. However, the government began to develop infrastructure, road links, military bases, and cantonments without including the locals of the land. This became a sort of threat to the Sardars of the region, and one of the Bijrani Sardar and political leaders shared,

“The government began road construction in the Sulaimanian area. It was a threat to the Sardari tribal system. The roads provided easy access to the army towards our areas. Then along with the army, there came other facilities like education and health because of the connection to big cities. The Sardars were of the view that people would get an education and challenge their Sardari. So they began to spread the misconception that the Pakistani army would occupy our lands, thus given the Baloch traditions, the people began to gather to defend their lands and began the insurgency.”

The natives of the upper highlands have different⁴² opinions about the Marri struggle and participation in the Baloch nationalism movement. One strongly held opinion is that the Marri tribesmen’s affiliations to their territorial boundaries are more deep-rooted, fighting many wars against other tribes and the British. At this point, data reveal interesting division behind the guerrilla movement, and somehow, it blurs the lines to identify clear factors which pushed them into the fight. On the one side, the interpretation of data shows that Shair Muhammad Marri liked to the sub-Marri tribe i.e., Bijrani and most of his followers were coming from the same branch. So, partially, they followed the tribe's line rather than following the ideological basis of nationalism (as discussed in previous pages). While on the other hand, there are also voices that see the involvement of the Marri tribe in the guerilla war as a result of their Sardar’s order. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored that Sardar may be felt

⁴² People are still afraid of talking about nationalism or insurgency. There are different secret security agencies of both government and nationalists are working in all over the Balochistan. Sardari system still exists there so middle class tribesmen usually avoided such topics. They have respect for both government and Baloch nationalist but they are against war. They want a peaceful solution.

insecure by the infrastructural expansion carried out by the state departments. One of the respondents, an old age nationalist, shared,

“Marri tribesmen were fighting because their Sardar ordered it. On the other side, the Bijrani tribe was fighting to support Shairo Marri. It is also true that the Marris were concerned about their freedom. They believed that with the arrival of the Pakistan army in their area, their freedom would be nabbed. So, they united and waged war in the 1960s and 1970s. During these insurgencies, they suffered a lot; their villages were destroyed, and their men, women, and children were killed. Finally, they migrated to Afghanistan and the other provinces of Pakistan.”

The inhabitants of the Makran and Suleimania region also have different views about the Baloch nationalism movement led by Sardar Khair Bux Marri and Shairo Marri. People from Makran believe that Khair Bux Marri was a true leader and the pathfinder for the Baloch people. However, a few people also believed that the Marri tribe was used for his interests and benefits. One of the respondents from Makran, and an active member of the student political party BSO, shared,

“The Baloch nation cannot forget the sacrifices of the Marri tribe and Marri Sardar. He sacrificed his son for the Baloch nation. He ended the Sardari system and spent an ordinary life himself. During the initial 1960s and 1970s insurgencies, the Marris were influential in the movement’s matters, but they welcomed Baloch people from all over Balochistan. Their dominance was logical, as they were the natives of the battlefield and were familiar with the political atmosphere of the area. An outsider leadership in that area was useless. The Marris struggled for the people, culture, society, language, and freedom of the Baloch and Balochistan.”

Another female student and political leader shared,

“For us, Sardar Marri is like our father, and we call him the father of Balochistan’s nationalism. He was a Chief Sardar of the most powerful tribes of Balochistan, but he rejected Sardari for the Baloch people.”

Today, the ideology of BSO is the lesson taught by our teacher Sardar Marri. He always preferred Baloch identity over tribal identity. He taught his followers the lesson of Baloch rights, not tribal rights. Today, the Baloch nationalism is surviving because of Sardar Marri's teachings."

One of the Marri political leaders from the Bijrai sub-tribe said,

"The Marris were fighting because there was no other choice. Pakistani forces attacked the entire Marri area, and so Marri, being Baloch, preferred to fight. In reality, it was a Sardar-oriented movement because his government was dismissed. He provoked the Marris and realized that the dismissal was an insult to the entire Baloch nation. He kept the poor tribesmen busy in war while sending his children to foreign countries for education, which is hypocritical. Even today, his son is a member of the provincial assembly. So, things are complicated here. But everyone is looking for their interests."

The dynamics of the Baloch nationalist movement in Upper Highland revealed its multiple manifestations and were interpreted by the different groups of people differently. On the one side, it could be territorial safeguarding of the Marri tribal areas against military expansion. While on the other hand, the movement was against the operation executed by the power holders like the state and Sardars. The leading leader of that time, Shair Muhammad Marri, stood against the Sardari system. Khair Bux Marri renounced his chieftdom; this act of Khair Bux Marri placed him at the highest level of followership and distinguished social standing among all other tribal leaders. This was all against the oppression and for the sake of Baloch unity. At this point, it appears that both of the prominent leaders, i.e., Shair Muhammad Marri and Khair Bux Marri, were fighting for the rights and identity of the Baloch people.

8.6 Geographical Transformation of the Movement: From the Upper highlands to the plains

Over time Baloch nationalism movement traveled from the upper highlands to the plain areas and cities of Balochistan. It took decades to spread the movement's ideology to the inhabitants of Balochistan. The Baloch nationalist leadership

mobilized the Baloch people regarding their right to self-determination. Awareness and confidence among the Baloch people are the results of mobilization (Mroczek, 2014). The organized Baloch nationalism movement, with charismatic leadership, articulated ideology, and safe geography, was started in the upper highlands of Balochistan. The leadership and followership were largely from the Marri tribe; however, the ideology and leadership attracted people from all over Balochistan with time. One of the political leaders from the Marri tribe shared,

“The organized Baloch movement began here in the mountains of Kohlu, but with the change of leadership and ideology now it has spread all over Balochistan. Today, every Baloch is, directly and indirectly, involved in it, more active now in the cities of Balochistan because of the involvement of the educated youth.”

As mentioned previously, the movement was started in the upper highland areas due to favorable circumstances – higher number of followership and geographical advantages – in the areas. However, the government’s operation also began to target those areas. Consequently, a geographical shift has also been observed in the movement to avoid possible losses. The movement began to move to the plains and the cities, and leadership also moved to the new areas and hotspots. In this way, the movement spread all over the areas. Nevertheless, the geographical transformation of the movement had certain strategic advantages as well. One of the important aspects of this geographical shift is to move towards urban and dense population areas. It was claimed that such areas could have more safety for the activist and more suitable hideouts than barren areas.

Similarly, another element was the possible “support.” Support of the activist and educated youth who have been sensitized and were participating in the struggle movement. They were located in urban areas. In the same context, data reveals that the activist and fighters who have engaged in the movement give due importance to the media as well. They could use media as a tool to propagate and actively run the movement and present the prevailing situation not only to the fellow Baloch people but also to the rest of the country's people and people across the globe. In this context, the geographical shift of the movement and leadership was the functional need of the

movement to counter the emerging challenges and keep it alive with all the means and ways. In this regard, one of the respondents added,

“The Baloch nationalist leadership intentionally changed the geography of the movement. The Makran belt and the city areas with higher population density were, in fact, safer than mountains and villages. The support of the educated class was also available in the cities. However, the most important thing was the availability of and access to media, especially social media. If anything, bad happened in the upper highland, it did not get media coverage, but even the smallest incident in the cities got way more attention and coverage. So this change of geography was a positive step.”

Hence, it can be stated that the movement evolved not only along the natural course of nationalist movements but also changed and evolved as it learned from its experiences and mistakes. The history of the military attacking the *Pirari* movement by the Bhutto government in the 1970s ended up the entire movement all around the upper highlands. The realization dawned on the Marri nationalists that in being concentrated in one place, they were more likely to be crushed. This spread also resulted in the other Baloch groups joining the struggle. There were, however, several other factors that added to this, discussed in this chapter.

8.6.1 Survival Strategy

The military operation in the Marri areas and subsequent events give a vast space to ask multiple questions about the movement. However, here the matter is concerned about “Survival.” Data reveal that apart from all the advantages of the start of the movement in the Marri area, there were certain limitations. The most important limitation appeared that it was easy for the state to crush movement in one area. There were no other means except to survive and escape from the area. Here, it is also important to note that there is clear visibility of the regional politics where Iran extended her support to the government of Pakistan against the movement. While on the other hand, Afghanistan and Russia welcomed the separatist. Each of the countries may have its strategic advantages from the prevailing situation of that time. However, for activists/separatists and nationalists, it was a matter of survival, and leaving the

area was the only way to survive and sustain. As it was mentioned by one of the respondents of this research in the following words,

“The decision to migrate was wise and became a lifesaver. Bhutto’s government and the military establishment, with the help of Iran, brutally attacked the Marri areas to eradicate the Baloch nationalists. They were killing everyone. The government was not ready for any negotiations. So the Baloch leadership decided to migrate to Afghanistan, as they hoped for some help and support from the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, and the government of Afghanistan did provide food, shelter, and money to the Baloch migrants.”

Talking about the strategy of survival, another respondent was of the view,

"There are several factors behind the geographical shift in Baloch nationalism. During the Bhutto regime, a brutal military operation was conducted in the upper highlands of Balochistan against the Marri Piraris. At the time, the Piraris adopted the strategy of survival and scattered themselves around Balochistan. Another main factor is that during the 1970s, the number of young, educated students also joined the Pirari movement and also advised the Piraris to move to the other areas of Balochistan."

Another political leader shared,

"During the Bhutto regime’s military oppression, there was no other choice except migration. So, to save their lives, the Marri tribe and the Pararis migrated to Russia, Afghanistan, and towards the other districts of Balochistan, especially towards the lower lands and Makran, where Baloch people welcomed them and provided them safe residence and food. This strategy not only saved their lives but also saved the ideology of the movement."

Iran also supported the Pakistani government’s attacks on Baloch nationalists because of their fears that the nationalistic spirit would spread to the Baloch in Iran or that

those claiming an independent Balochistan would also claim parts of Iran as their territory (Harrison, 1981). On the other hand, Afghanistan welcomed the Baloch migrants and provided them with all the basic facilities of life. Baloch nationalists were also expecting support from the Soviet Union as USSR's socialism ideology inspired them and expected that Afghanistan would fall under USSR's influence eventually. One of the respondents shared,

“Baloch nationalists indeed depended on USSR, but eventually, the result of the Soviet war was not as per their expectations. The Pakistani government also began to influence the Afghan government and requested that they stop supporting Baloch migrants. Things got worse. All the way until General Zia suspended the Bhutto regime and allowed the Baloch nationalist to come back.”

8.6.2 Leadership Gap

Despite being nearly eradicated by attempts from the previous government, after General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq's military coup, the Pakistani government began negotiating with the Baloch nationalists. General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq ordered the withdrawal of military troops and liberated the Baloch leadership (Ahmad, 1999). While this was happening, leadership was also shifting from the Marris to the educated college and university students, who joined Baloch nationalism, and in many ways, rejected the leadership of the movement being centered around the Marris. The rest of the Baloch tribes felt so too, and eventually, the educated youth took over the leadership, emerging from the plains and the cities. Talking about the reasons for the geographical shift, one of the law students shared,

“Marris dominated it for a long time. But now young people are the leaders and the decision-makers. They deal with the issues democratically and do not impose their decisions. So I think the change of geography is also their decision for the betterment of the movement. The main problem started in the 1970s with the dismissal of the NAP government. The young generation responded radically and was engaged in guerilla warfare. During this insurgency phase, the old Marri leadership was changed, and the newly educated people became leaders.”

As previously said, the young, educated youth were instrumental for the change in the leadership. However, in this leadership transformation, the Balochistan Student Organization (BSO) role could not be ignored. The BSO played an important role in the nursery to provide human resources to the movement and intellectual contribution. This role of the BSO had challenged the traditional way of leading the movement and brought a visible shift into the leadership structure. In this regard, one of the executive body members of BSO shared,

"It is quite visible that the Baloch nationalism movement's hub has been shifted from the Sulaimanian region to the Makran region. What I believe is that BSO is the leading factor behind that change. During the 1960s and 1970s, the young, educated Baloch members of BSO started joining the Pirari camps. As a result, the BSO-trained, educated youth joined the nationalism movement and challenged the old leadership and the movement's strategies and ideology. Now, the frontline leadership of the movement is from Makran."

Indeed, as it has already been mentioned in the previous pages, the start of the movement was for the oppressed Baloch people. Shair Muhammad Marri fought against the powerful for the rights of powerless people. However, the situation appeared differently when the Marri tribe came back from the self-exile. The internal tribal clash within the Marri also played an important role in losing the prominent leadership position of the movement. Again, here it comes to the division discussed earlier – Shair Muhammad Marri from Bijarani branch of Marrie and Khair Bux Marri (chief) from Ghazani branch of Marri – of the Marri tribesmen. In this regard, one of the responds narrated,

"On their return from Afghanistan, after an exile during the General Zia era, the Marris were divided into the Bajrani and Ghazani, almost like a political party. This division was a surprise for the ideological companions of the Marris. The educated youth noticed that the tribal divisions continued to control the movement's leadership. The government also saw this as a chance to divide them further and

supported the Bijrani clan of the Marri tribe and won over their loyalty. Ghazani Sardar Khair Bux supported the Baloch nationalism movement, and because of the change in the leadership, the geography of the movement shifted."

Nawab Khair Bux Marri remained active to develop the intellectual capacity of the young Baloch people. He had organized study circles and kept them enlightened their thoughts for the rights of the Baloch people. The participants of the study circles were coming from different parts of Balochistan and were playing their role to educate other fellows. Consciousness and activism have begun in different parts of Balochistan, and fresh people have started to be a part of the movement. This is one of the important reasons behind the geographical shift of the movement and its possible relationship with leadership shift as well. In this regard, one of the respondents shared,

"Nawab Marri began his study circles young people began to join it. Young boys from Kalat, Awaran, Noshki, Pangur, began to join. Because of this, they began the movement in their areas, and the movement's power moved there too. It does not mean that the Marris are not fighting. In all groups of the movement, the Marris are still present."

In the last, it is imperative to indicate. However, the binding between leadership and Marri tribesmen was based on tribal association and affiliation. They were following tribal code of life and conduct. They have boycotted all the public facilities on the demand of their leaders. The schools started to close, and even Marri followers were not using infrastructural facilities like roads for transportation. They contextualized and interpreted in a case of refusing the leader would be an act of betrayal with their leadership if they may not follow their orders. However, awareness, education, and consciousness somehow influenced their tribal code of conduct as well. The gathered data reveals that now they are loyal to the new leadership, and somehow it has already shaken the traditional way of followership. In this context, one of the Marri leaders said,

“The Marri tribesmen were too loyal to their leadership. Most of them were uneducated. They were fighting for their leaders. The Marri leadership ordered the tribesmen to boycott the government-provided facilities. To show their loyalty, schools were closed, people even stopped using government-constructed roads. They believed that if they were to use the roads, they would be considered traitors of the Baloch nation. But over time, with the shift in the leadership, loyalties changed.”

The military operation against the Marri *pararis* during the Bhutto regime of the 1970s produced a political gap within the Baloch nationalist movement. Almost all Marri leadership and tribesmen migrated to Afghanistan and Russia to survive at the end of the military operation. In the absence of active leadership, Baloch's educated middle class took the lead. Most of the new leadership was from the Makran belt of Balochistan. So the new geography of the nationalist movement traveled with the new leadership towards their native areas.

8.6.3 Accessibility to Media

The younger Baloch leaders realized that the older leadership had failed to use media to effectively fight for freedom. So, for the most part, the world outside their region remained unaware of their movement. When the leadership moved to the urban centers, the world only then found out about the struggle. One of the representatives of the Baloch nationalism movement shared,

“With the geographical and leadership shift, it is now quite visible that the movement has been able to gain the world’s attention. During the 1960s and 70s, Baloch leadership was unaware of the uses of media and social media, as they resided in the mountainous areas of upper highlands where media access was impossible. In those days, the concept of social media had not even been conceived. Now, the young leader has adopted the strategy of using social media. They are sharing their thoughts and the objectives of the movement, increasing the support of the outer world to our movement.”

One of the young, educated respondents shared,

"If they fight in even for next 40 years in upper highlands, they will not get the attention they need, not without access to media. So, the basic agenda behind this was to bring it up in the media and to catch the attention of the international media and human rights commissions. So, they shifted the war's center, and also decentralized it."

The movement's shift was impacted by geography and leadership. The leadership gap created by the Marri leadership being forced to move away was filled by the educated youth, and the movement was now no longer bound by tribal lines. As a result, the number of followers increased, and so did the attention the movement had been getting, evolving into a truly ideological nationalist movement. The contemporary Baloch nationalist movement is not the issue of Marri, Bugti, Mengal, or another specific tribe. Now, it is working all over Balochistan and Pakistan as well. We can say that the whole of Balochistan has fallen to the fire of nationalism. The direction of the wind decides the direction of the fire; here, in the case of the modern Baloch nationalist movement, the democratically elected leadership decides the direction of the movement. This is no longer a one-man show; followers even reject the leadership's decision democratically. Now they have divided the struggle in different directions. They are involved in an armed struggle, fighting a media war, and trying to get the international community's attention.

8.7 SECTION 2: TRANSFORMATION OF BALOCH NATIONALIST LEADERSHIP

8.7.1 Introduction

Leadership shapes the ideology for the success of any nationalist movement. The success of any movement remains dependent on leadership. If the leadership is charismatic and competent, then success remains certain. On the other hand, incompetent leadership can destroy the future of the movement and its followers. There were three active groups or political players in Balochistan during the late colonial and early post-colonial era. The first group was Khan of Kalat; the second was Baloch Sardars, and the third was Baloch youth nationalists of left-wing political ideologies. Among the third group of young nationalists, there were the boys from Sardars families. Most of the followers of left-wing ideologies were against the Sardars, and they were in the view that Sardars are oppressors and are working on the British *raj* agenda (Titus & Swindler, 2000). The tussle among the tribal Sardars and Baloch young educated middle class continued even after Pakistan's creation. The young, educated youth challenged the Leadership of tribal Sardars because of their wrong and anti-Baloch policies. Baloch Sardars worked for the British *Raj* before the creation of Pakistan. After the creation of Pakistan, they attached their loyalties to the central Pakistani government. In any case, the Sardars remain focused on their autonomy and power.

Over time, the leadership of the Baloch nationalist movement visibly changed. Tribal Sardar's leadership was challenged and replaced with the educated middle-class youth. There are several factors and opinions behind the leadership shift. One school of thought argues that the leadership changed due to the change in the movements' battleground. On the other hand, people believe that geography shifted towards the Makran division due to the change in leadership. But one point is obvious: in the Baloch nationalism movement, geography and leadership remain interconnected and have deep-rooted relations. The battleground of the Baloch nationalism movement remains active and dominant in the leadership native areas.

Now coming towards the factors behind the leadership shift, different multifaceted and interesting arguments and factors were shared by the respondents. The Baloch-educated middle class challenged the tribal system and challenged the Leadership of tribal Sardars. The educated middle class pointed out the wrong and anti-Baloch policies and sentiments of tribal Sardars. They not only spoke against those policies but also introduced new Baloch nationalism movement policies. They ideologically groomed Baloch tribesmen and realized the negative aspects of tribalism. They endorsed to continue both armed and political struggle. They demanded equal rights for every citizen of Balochistan. For the survival of Baloch and Balochistan, they stressed the policies of detribalization in Balochistan. The middle-class struggle gets the support of Baloch laymen. The Baloch nationalism movement's followers rejected the Sardars and accepted the leadership of the educated middle class. The new leadership changes the policies and strategies of the Baloch nationalism movement democratically. They raised the slogan of the Baloch nation and rejected the tribal-centric slogans.

8.7.2 Tribalism based Sardar centric policies

Tribalism-based, Sardar-oriented, and Sardar-centric policies played an important role in the Leadership shift. All the initial phases of the Baloch nationalism movement remain under the control of tribal Sardars. Due to loyalties with Sardars and deep-rooted tribal affiliations, the innocent and uneducated tribesmen always fought the Sardar-oriented wars. Most of the Baloch Sardars used their tribesmen for their interest to maintain their autonomy. The Baloch Sardars enjoyed a luxurious lifestyle and kept the tribesmen oppressed. The Government of Pakistan also followed the British style and empowered the Sardars and used them as per time. Over time the Baloch middle class realizes that fact. Several young middle-class Baloch nationalists, progressive revolutionists supported the slogans of anti-Sardar and anti-tribal. Due to the self and tribal-centric policies and activities of Nawabs and Sardar Baloch, nationalist writers and poets used to call them "bloodsucker," "puppet (*Dalal*)," "scavenger," "oppressor," "exploiter," etc. (Naseer, 2011). So over time, Baloch's educated middle class challenged tribalism and challenged the nationalism movement leadership and policies. One of the respondents talking about the tribalism centric approaches explained that,

"When we talk about feudal or Sardari system, it means we are talking about an undemocratic system where a single person or his family influential decides everything. We may call it dictatorship in the case of the Baloch tribal system. The Baloch tribal system changed during the British colonial time. The British empowered certain specific families to achieve their objectives. After its creation Pakistani government walked on the British tracks and kept the Sardari system empowered, that system only works for Sardars perks and privileges. So over the time Baloch educated youth challenged it and tried to replace it."

Talking about the poor policies of Sardars, one of the respondents shared that

"Most of Sardars are supported and empowered by the Pakistani government. Sardars policies are not for the Baloch nation. To keep their Masters {Government} happy, Sardars use the innocent tribesmen to get their objectives. In respect of tribal norms and values, tribesmen remain always obeyed their Sardars. Sardars wants to keep the nationalism movement in its control to enjoy power and privileges. But middle class educated people rejected their leadership and policies. People used to say that if Sardars are the well-wisher of the Baloch nation, why not reject the support of the Pakistani government. Sardars can only benefit their own families. They do not feel the pain of a Baloch nation. That's why now they are out of the game."

Historically, the British gradually controlled the Baloch people by introducing the modern form of the feudal system and Balochistan structure. To maintain the Baloch people at the political and organizational level, the British introduced modern, multilayer, and highly complex governance systems to counter Baloch nationalism (Noraiee, 2020). The British colonial empowered tribal Sardars and local elite politically and financially by following the Sandeman's⁴³ "forward policy" to maintain law and order in their tribal areas(Noraiee, 2015). One of the respondents share that,

⁴³ Sandeman's "forward policy" was a softer policy designed to take more responsibility to facilitate more peaceful penetration in Baluchistan. As the Russians were approaching closer to the Indian border, the British needed to see the other side of the "hills" where the enemies could use the passes "we must be able to see the other side of the hill". "Forward policy" was an attempt to extend the British influence over, and establish law and order along the border, where anarchy, murder, and

"Most of the Baloch Sardars are the product of the British colonial powers. The four fathers of these Sardars were loyal to the British. The English people used them for their interests and provided them with money. Those Baloch Sardars put their respect and dignity in the pockets of the British people. They even sold their land and people loyalties to the British. The Baloch nation will never forgive them."

The Baloch Sardars, in return for the British economic and political privileges, remain loyal and obedient to the British colonials. With the British's political and financial support, the Baloch Sardars became more powerful and influential in Balochistan. This power craze changed their attitude toward their tribes. The Baloch Sardars sold their tribal sovereignty to the British. Baloch Sardars had to normalize the tribal practices in their constituencies to fulfill the desires of colonial power. Which was impossible without the support of transmen? All that damaged and demolished the authority and role of Sardar. After Pakistan's creation, the brawl started between the powerful Sardars and the educated middle-class Baloch nationalists, like Sardar Khan Gishkauri, Abdul Aziz Kurd, and Yousaf Magsi. Middle-class youth struggled for a varied Baloch nationalism movement not led by the elite class (Kurd, 2018). One of the respondents explained that,

"This is historically proven that most of the Baloch Sardars were working for the British people. They executed the British-led policies in Balochistan. The British were not interested in the Baloch land, but the Baloch land was their need. The British colonial protected the British Indian borders with the help of Baloch tribes by rival powers. Even that time, educated youth discouraged the poor policies of Sardars."

One of the Baloch nationalist writers shared that,

"Baloch Sardars are so smart; they remain opportunistic and made and remade their policies and alliances as per the need of time. They

robbery had reigned. He believed that the policy of noninterference with the tribes, as far as they did not make trouble, was wise forty year earlier, although it was selfish, and not worthy of a great "civilising power". But lately, this policy had become most unwise and imprudent (Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India (III), 1910).

always played for the powerful. After the creation of Pakistan, they worked for the Pakistani government. Even today, they are enjoying power and privileges from the government being a part of paramilitary politics. Same time they also show their affiliations with the Baloch nationalism to save their Baloch identity."

After the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the young, educated youth kept struggling and challenging the interests and policies of Baloch Sardars. On the other hand, the Pakistani government supported the Baloch tribal system and empowered the Sardars to get their interests. The scholars and writers believe that the Balochistan annexation was impossible without the support of Baloch Sardars. The Baloch Sardars remain focused on maintaining their tribal autonomy. They resisted and reacted against each actor who tried to challenge their sovereignty. Sardars of Balochistan strongly rebelled against British colonials, against Ayub khans one unit policy, against Bhutto's plan of abolishing the Sardari system, and finally against the Baloch middle class who supported the concept of destabilization. One of the nationalist researchers and scholars explained that,

"Not all, but most of the Baloch Sardars are hungry for power and money. When white people tried to invade their territory by paying them money, they resisted. Similarly, they resisted the Bhutto government because Bhutto was trying to abolish the tribal system in Balochistan. Similarly, now Baloch Sardars do not like the educated middle class as they challenged and exposed their destructive intentions. The Baloch Sardars think about the benefits of their kith and kin."

Another respondent explained that,

"Sardars are concerned with their power and prestige. So they always used the men's power of their tribal people to blackmail the authorities. They did the same with the British as they are doing with Pakistan. In Balochistan, whoever tried to challenge the Sardar's legitimacy and autonomy Sardars resisted. But the British and Pakistani governments purchased the loyalties of Sardars. Indeed, the Sardari system is near to end, but Sardars are still in power as the political powers are in their hand. Whenever any Sardar tried to ditch the Pakistani government, the government replaced them with a new face."

After the creation of Pakistan, Baloch Sardars resisted the Pakistani government in 1948, 1958, the 1960s, and 1970s because the Pakistan government challenged their tribal autonomy. Keeping in mind the history of Baloch Sardars, the Pakistani federal government redefined its relationships with the Baloch Sardars to maintain the government writ in Balochistan (Noraiee, 2015). Many writers explained relations between the Pakistani government and the Baloch Sardars and named it "encapsulation" of tribes. In this process, Sardars work as a middleman between the Pakistani central government and tribesmen. In return for services, the government provides political and economic resources to maintain their so-called autonomy (Swindler, 1979). One of the political Leaders was in the view that,

"Most of the Baloch Sardars are exposed by middle-class leadership. Their loyalties are with the government, not with the Baloch nation. They are on the payroll of the government. Their tribesmen have rejected them. They are almost out of Balochistan. They are just enjoying their political and economic privileges. In return, they are running death squads to kill middle-class nationalists and politicians. What I think I am sorry, but they are no more than pimps."

During the British era and after Pakistan's creation, the Baloch Sardars remain incompetent and unsuccessful in keeping their Bosses {The British and Pakistani

establishment} happy. Somehow, they sold the Baloch nation's sovereignty, but Baloch middle-class youth challenged and replaced them as leaders. The Baloch Sardars have remained self-centered throughout history. They never trusted anyone else besides their tribal men and relatives. During the 1970s nationalism wave, the Marris repeated this mistake and provided ground to the middle-class nationalists to challenge the Sardars Leadership. One of the old age x-guerrilla from the Marri tribe shared that,

"We were fighting for Baloch nation's rights, but it is true that movement of totally under the control of the Marri tribe. All the important commanders were from the Marri tribe. There were educated young people from other Balochistan areas, but the leadership was not ready to trust them. So this discrimination impacted negatively on young educated Baloch youth. They were capable, but as they were not Marri, they were out of responsibilities. So the educated middle class started complaining against these policies."

Talking about the poor policies of Sardars, another respondent explained that

"Baloch Sardars throughout history remain loyal to their own families. Their policies remain self-centric. During the 1960s and 1970, the discriminatory policies of Marri Leadership somehow provoked the educated youth against the movement leadership. The educated youth was quite competent and could work better than Marris, but leadership ignored them. So this fire the sense of tribalism and youth challenged and replaced ideology and the tribalism structure. The people from all over Balochistan appreciated and supported the young leadership."

Marri leadership, Sher Muhammad Marri, and Nawab Kahir Bux Marri were charismatic leaders. The modern leadership follows their ideology and appreciates their contribution to the Baloch nation. Both of these two leaders also somehow supported Marris. There are logical justifications behind their policy of Marri Support. The majority of the revolutionary companionship was from the Marri tribe. So that time, Marri leaders were not ready to disappoint the Marri followership. So to

keep the Marris united, leadership ignored the educated youth of Balochistan and trusted Marris. One of the nationalists shared that,

"Shero Marri was dependent on the Marri fighters. So to make them happy, commands were granted to them. But, in reality, the decision-making was Nawab Marri in consultation with Shero Marri. This factor triggered feelings of inferiority within the educated middle-class followers. They were in the view that if they are not capable, then why are they fighting for. Further, these things became the reasons for Leadership shift in Baloch nationalism movement."

One of the respondents shared that

"What I believe, today the whole Baloch nation is involved in nationalism. The Shift in movement leadership started during the 1970s when Marris did not trust others and dominated the movement. Even the London group Parari members rejected this ideology of Marri dominance. After the Marris migration towards Afghanistan created space for the middle-class, educated people, people accepted their leadership. Till today, different middle class remains in the front line leadership of the movement."

One of the political leaders of the mainstream political party shared that

"I do agree that leadership is no more under the Sardar's control. Now even Sardars try to show their affiliations with the Baloch Nationalism movements just for their survival. Sardars' ideology was for their family's benefits, while the ideology of modern middle-class leadership is the Baloch nation. It took a long to change the leadership because the roots of Sardars were too deep. Tribesmen were not able to speak against the Sardars. But, over time, educated youth gave them confidence, and they went against the Sardars. Today our leadership is in safe hands. Today doctors, engineers, lawyers, and students of the middle class are our leaders. They are the son of soils, and they will never deceive the Baloch nation. They are even sacrificing their lives and facing hardships for the independence of the Baloch nation."

8.8 Wrong Government Policies

After the creation of Pakistan, the Pakistani government followed in the footsteps of their British masters. Besides empowering the already angry and oppressed Baloch middle class and layman, the Pakistani government empowered the Baloch Sardars. The Government of Pakistan distributed powers and privileges among Baloch tribal Sardars and their families. Which makes the Baloch middle class more annoyed? That hate became the source of middle-class unification. They challenged the government-supported Sardar more aggressively. One of the nationalist leaders shared that,

"Pakistani government supported the Baloch Sardars intentionally to control the Baloch tribesmen. After the 1970s warfare in Balochistan, it was not easy for the government to negotiate with the Baloch middle class. The main effect of Balochistan is the middle class, and the government is dealing with the Sardars. It seems foolish. On the other hand, Sardars also played a double game. From every Sardar family, few members became loyal of government while few remain connected with the tribal system and ongoing nationalism movement."

Talking about the wrong and poor policies of the Pakistani government, a political leader of the Balochistan National party shared that,

"The people sitting in Islamabad are not familiar with the factual realities of Balochistan. Besides focusing on the development of Balochistan directly, they are trusting the politicians {Sardars and nawabs} of Balochistan. These politicians are not representatives of the Baloch people. Within the Bhutto regime, the Baloch middle class realized that tribal Sardars were government puppets. They are not the well-wishers of the Baloch nation. I think the government should empower the middle-class youth being peace in Balochistan."

After the emergence of Pakistan in 1947, a series of events destroyed the Baloch middle-class trust in Baloch Sardars and the Pakistani Government. Pakistani politicians and establishment never tried to format a modern "nation-State." They followed the colonial legacy in almost all affairs of the State. Particularly in Balochistan, the Pakistani government tried to maintain the British patterned indirect

rule by empowering the tribalism and Baloch Sardari Leadership (Noraiee, 2015). It is also true that the Pakistani government was uncertain about the character of Baloch Sardar. But during the initial days of Pakistan, there was no other choice instead of using Sardars as a middle man. The involvement of Sardar in the Government made the political structure of Balochistan more violent as well as weaker (Swindler, 1979). As the Baloch Sardar focused on corruption and nepotism and ignored the middle-class nationalist. This entire created vacuum for the middle class, and people accepted the leadership of these young, energetic people. One of the Scholar and writers on Baloch nationalism shared that,

"Government and Sardars both are equally responsible for the contemporary situations of Balochistan. The Baloch middle class is against the Sardars and their policies as the government empowered Sardars, making the situation more problematic. Now the middle-class leadership has the loyalties of the Baloch people. Middle-class leadership is not ready to trust Sardar and Government. They are greeting more popularity in Balochistan. Hate is increasing amongst the Baloch people over time."

Talking about the policies of the government, one of the students shared that,

"Baloch people are already in a situation of war. Besides adopting the soft policies, the government has adopted the policies of extrajudicial killings and abduction with the help of Sardars. Besides establishing hospitals, schools, and infrastructure, the government focuses on establishing military cantonments. The government is not providing jobs to the Baloch-educated young generation. All these policies are oppressing the Baloch people. That's why today most of the Baloch people are in the mountains with guns."

Instead of developing trust within the tribal population of Balochistan, the government-supported and empowered the Baloch Sardars. Especially after Sardar Akbar Bugti's assassination in 2006, there started a series of brutal violence all over Balochistan. Pakistani security forces had adopted the strategy of kill and dump. Further, extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, abduction, target killings, and

military operations are the routines in Balochistan. One of the female Baloch nationalist students shared that,

"Do you think that killing is the solution to the problem? No, the Baloch will take revenge as it is in his blood. Today in Balochistan, every family is affected. Security forces in the name of law and order are geocoding Baloch. We are also a citizen of Pakistan. Suppose we are citizen of Pakistan, then why we do not have equal rights. Here the demanding rights are considered a sin. The government should change its policies. They {establishment} empowered Sardars, but we, the middle class, challenged them. Our youth-led the movement for the betterment of Balochistan. Unfortunately, the Pakistani army does not want that."

One of the Marri Baloch nationalists explained that,

"Today, the Baloch youth is involved in arms struggle because of the government's poor policies. The political parties promise to solve Baluchistan's problem before the election, but after winning, they forget Balochistan. In reality, Balochistan is directly or indirectly controlled by the Pakistani military. The military establishment does not want peace due to their interest. So our youth is sacrificing for the Baloch rights. One day things will be better."

Overall, the poor government policies in Balochistan forced the Baloch-educated youth to challenge the tribal-based Sardars Leadership. Right now, doctors, engineers, and university graduates are involved in the Baloch nationalism movement. As a result, the people of Balochistan rejected and replaced the autonomy of State-oriented Sardars.

8.9 Educated middle-class Struggle

The educated middle class became the substitute of Sardars in the Baloch nationalism movement. There remains a tussle between middle-class, educated youth and tribal Sardars in Balochistan. After the creation of Pakistan, educated youth was not in favor of joining Pakistan. At the same time, keeping in mind their futuristic interest, most of the Sardars showed their interest in joining Pakistan. Today's Baloch nationalism is

the product of the long struggle of Baloch middle-class, educated Baloch youth. During the 1960s, *Farari* movement educated youth also joined the movement, where they learned the guerrilla war tactics from the Ferrari leaders and, in return, they trained them ideologically. So, middle-class nationalism emerged and got maturity parallel to the nationalism of Balochi tribes (Grare, 2006). One of the *Farari* shared that,

"During the Shairo time, we supported him due to many reasons. He was indeed from a rich Marri Family, but he was talking about the tribesmen's rights. He was an educated person. Marri and other people supported him as he was against the Saradi system. Young educated middle class from BSO also joined him because of his ideology. But spending time with Pararis educated youth realized the influence of the tribal-based Sardari system on the movement. So they rejected that Sardari influence and left the Pirarai movement."

Another BSO leader explained that,

"BSO ideology always rejected the tribalism and Sardari system. So the BSO young people couldn't work under tribal Sardars. As per their ideology, young people challenged Sardars leadership. They also rejected the tribal-centric policies of Sardars. Middle-class Marri tribesmen also supported them. That's why today, middle-class, educated leadership is dominant."

Due to detribalization and urbanization, the Baloch geography of the resistance has changed. It shifted from the northwest Sulamanian areas to southwest Makranian areas and moved from rural to urban areas. There are specific reasons for these changes. The most prominent is a change of leadership, destruction of the tribal structure, and the involvement of the educated middle class from the Makran division (Ahmad, 2012). One of the Baloch nationalists shared that,

"The old age Sardars were following the outdated policies. They were supporting their tribal people. But new and educated leadership has adopted modern strategies. They are fighting everywhere for the Baloch rights. They are fighting media war, political war, and arms"

struggle at the same time. They have even tried getting the attention of the international community and the United Nations".

Today there is a situation of anarchy all over Balochistan. Baloch nationalist leadership has support and sympathies from all over Balochistan. Now the Baloch nationalism movement is not under the control of any Sardar. Nowadays, military operations are going on all over Balochistan, but more concentration is on the Makran division and all other urban areas of Balochistan. The military is focusing on the Makran middle class. The military targets the middle class because they are commanding the nationalism movements (Leghari, 2012). One of the Government officials working in security forces shared that,

"We can negotiate with the tribal Sardars because their interests are associated with the State. But negotiations with the young middle-class, educated leadership is very difficult. They are too radical, and they even do not want to talk. That's why now security agencies are focusing on the middle class headed areas like Makran. Sardars are powerless because their tribesmen are not following their orders."

The grievances of the Baloch people are deep-rooted as well as historical. The key factors behind the Baloch grievances are brutal repression, extrajudicial killing, enforced disappearances, and harassment. Due to the unavailability of education, health, infrastructure, and all other basic needs, Baloch people feel deprivation, exploitation, powerlessness, and marginalization. One of the student political activists shared that,

"If we are the part and citizen of Pakistan, then as per the constitution of Pakistan, all the citizens have equal rights. Here in Balochistan, all the rights are for the Sardar and their families or the people who are the puppet of the Government and security agencies. On the other side, they are killing and abducting the middle class. Then obviously, the middle class is striking back".

The Baloch Sardar's controlled the tribes and nationalism movement during the initial phases of the nationalist movement for their benefit. The government was also dealing with the Sardars. Sardars were not considering the interests of laymen or tribesmen.

Sardars were enjoying the benefits from the government as well as from the tribal side. While during the warfare, laymen were fighting on the ground. The educated middle class realizes the hypocritical policy of Sardars. SO the middle class decided to go against the Sardari system. Sardar, without the support of tribesmen, is useless in Balochistan. So the eldership shifted towards the educated middle class. Another political activist talking about the Shift in nationalism movement leadership explained that,

"The tribalism in Balochistan is dying. BSO is working on the ideology of Balochism besides tribalism. Old Sardars are no more representative of the Baloch nation. Educated Baloch youth is leading the Baloch nation. A few decades back, tribalism influenced the Baloch nationalism movement. Today I am sure that thing is out of Sardars control. Sardars always betrayed the people of Balochistan. They misused and deceived their tribesmen. They sent their generation for education and indulged the tribesmen in warfare. The elite class is not familiar with the problems and grievances of Baloch folks. I think after the Nawab Khair Bux Marri, no Sardar is even capable of Baloch representation. So the Middle class filled the gap of leadership and represented the Baloch nation around the globe."

One of the respondents from the Marri tribe doing a Ph.D. in France shared that,

"History of Balochistan is full of Marri warfare, what I think during the 1970s military oppression, Marri tribe realized their defeat and left the country. On their return, most of the Marris avoided participating in the movements. They decided to educate their coming generations. That's why there came to change and Shift in the Balochistan movement leadership. It does not mean that Marri does not support the movement. Look, our Sardars are migrating towards the big cities of Pakistan and Islamabad or abroad. Their families and children are studying in Europe and America. They are not interested in Balochistan anymore. To fill the Leadership gap, the middle calls educated generation is coming forwards and leading the movements."

But this is very true that these modern leaders follow Nawab Marri's ideology (payghmer Ajo) known as the prophet of Liberty in Balochistan."

Baloch Sardars ruled over the Baloch people with the help of British and Pakistani governments. Most of the Sardars oppressed the Baloch people to get their benefits. The Baloch-educated youth realized the Sardars oppressive role and exposed it gradually within the tribal structure of Balochistan. After the 1970s, the Baloch youth significantly replaced the Sardars and took the nationalist movement. They discouraged the tribal divisions among the Baloch nation and unified the Baloch people to defend the case of the Baloch nation.

8.10 Detribalization

The Baloch nationalism movement under the educated young Baloch middle-class intelligentsia has changed entirely (Laif & Hamza, 2000). The educated middle class learned modern ideas and strategies of nationalism and practically endorsed those strategies after having the lead. Initially, the middle class faced difficulties in attaining the movement leadership. Because the government supported tribal Sardars were not ready to leave their power and privileges. The unified and progressive educated middle class gradually took command over the Baloch nationalist movement in its 'detribalization' (Mroczek, 2014). One of the famous leaders of the movement, Dr. Allah Nazar Baloch, says: "I agree that tribal system has lost its significance in today's world. The current tribal system is not the one our ancestors practiced."⁴⁴

Over time young, educated middle has become modern, tribal-free, and younger: the majority is probably less than 30 years. These young people are mostly from the urban areas of Balochistan. Because of this, the security agencies of Pakistan are targeting the Baloch middle class and the youth. Through extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, kill and dump policies, the security agencies are destroying the human potential of Balochistan, which is vital for the development of Balochistan and Pakistan. Due to the current security situations in Balochistan, young, educated people are the most marginalized. These brutal policies of government radicalized the Baloch youth. Detribalization is another contributing feature and important

⁴⁴ 8 baluchsarmachar.wordpress.com/2013/09/our-struggle-is-for-national-independenceand-its-not-class-based-dr-allah-nazar/, 12.09.2013

component. It played an important role in the leadership shift of the Baloch nationalism movement. The educated middle class challenged and rejected the tribal system of Balochistan. Baloch tribal Sardar always oppressed the Baloch tribesmen by using the norms and values of the Baloch tribal system. An upper highland of Balochistan remains the center of influenced and powerful tribal structure. But over time, middle-class, educated youth realized that the tribal system is the main hindrance to Baloch progress and freedom. One of the nationalists shared that,

"This current tribal system of Balochistan is outdated. Now the Baloch Sardars seem the representatives of State rather than their people. Sardars are the members of parliament and have powers, but the development level in their constituencies is zero. Health, education, road infrastructure is miserable. Further, with the arrival of educated leadership tribesmen realized the problems associated with tribalism. So most of the tribesmen supported the detribalization and accepted the new educated Leadership."

Another student leader shared that,

"Baloch tribal society is an example of slavery. The Sardars are the salves of government, and the army and tribesmen are the salves of Sardars. But now we (BSO) have broken the chains of Slavery. Now at least Baloch is free from the cruel clutches of Sardars. Now Baloch can think and decide independently. Now powers are in the hands of Baloch people, and they will decide the future of the Baloch nation."

Discussing detribalization, one of the respondents shared that,

"Baloch nationalism movement is a very complicated issue. If we look into the ideology of the Baloch nationalism movement, most of the people are on the same page and struggling for the Baloch cause. But still, few groups are influenced by the Tribal Sardars. In the past, the arm groups like FIRRARI or BLA were influenced by the Marri Saradr, but today it is led by a middle-class BSO trained leader. Similarly, BRA and BUA are still led by tribal Sardars Bugties and Marris. On the other Side, BLF, considered the most prominent in arms struggle,

is led by the middle-class MBBS doctor Dr.Allah Nazar. But most of the things are under the control of educated middle-class youth."

There are both positive and negative aspects of destabilization in Balochistan. In the Baloch tribal social structure, tribesmen remain dependent on Sardars and tribal chief in all situations. Sardars take care of all internal and external affairs of tribal social, political and economic affairs. But on the other side, it controls even the daily life of tribesmen. Tribesmen cannot decide anything without permission or against the Sardar's wish. With the process of detribalization tribe's men is free from the cruel clutches of Sardar. They are now educating their children's as deciding everything as per their own wish. One of the nationalists explained that,

"Detribalization is in process. Still, there is the influence of tribalism here in Baloch society. But things are quite better in comparison with the past. Now because of education and awareness, people are supporting the process of detribalization. Further, with the support and leadership of educated young youth, transmen are challenging the tribal system norms and values. They are educating their children's especially daughters. Thus, we can say that the tribalism is taking its last breaths."

Talking about the change in leadership due to detribalization, one of the BSO memes shared that,

"There is indeed a change in the leadership, and it shifted towards the educated middle class. But this took decades. Sardars were enjoying powers and were blackmailing both tribesmen, and the government was not ready to quit powers. It changed because people stood against outdated tribal systems and Sardars. Baloch people rejected the Sardars leadership and willingly accepted the leadership of educated middle class like Dr. Allah Nazar."

One of the respondents from the Marri tribe shared that,

"In the past, due to the lack of education and awareness, people were dependent on Sardars in all aspects of life. Now due to education and awareness, people can choose between right and wrong. Now people

realized that they wasted their time under the Sardars. They believed that Sardars spoiled the future of the Baloch nation, so people changed their directions. They elected the middle class educated leadership those feels the pain of the Baloch nation."

Another Marri tribesman shared that,

"Besides Sardar Kahir Bux Marri, every Sardar worked for the government. Sardar Khair Bux Marri's son, Balach Marri, also sacrificed for the nation. Sardar Marri himself was against the Sardari system. He never acted and behaved like a tribal Sardar. The newly educated middle-class leadership follows the ideology of Nawab Marri. That ideology revolves around the Baloch nation's respect, rights, and identity."

Baloch tribesmen believe that today's tribalism is outdated as it does not follow Baloch tribalism's actual norms and values. Baloch Sardars are just enjoying the privileges. After the creation of Pakistan, insurgencies were initially led by specific tribal Sardars. Those tribal Sardars were not interested in the progress of Baloch tribal society. They indulged tribesmen in different battles just for their interests. But over time, the people and tribesmen of Balochistan realized the interest of Baloch Sardars. After the 1970s insurgency, the middle class started involving the movement and gradually challenged the Sardar's leadership. Today most of the nationalist leaders in Balochistan are young, educated youth mostly under the age of 30. The Baloch people from all the Balochistan have trust and loyalties with their leadership. Over time, Baloch nationalism became more articulated and mature. The educated middle-class Baloch youth rejected the tribal-based Sardars led movement. They exposed the anti-Baloch policies of government supported Sardars. Baloch youth also criticized the poor policies of the Government in Balochistan. Baloch youth replaced the nationalism movement Leadership and became the hope of the prosperous future of Balochistan.

8.11 Conclusion

Baloch nationalist movement leadership and geography have changed over time. The Baloch nationalist movement was born and groomed under the KSNP nationalist

Baloch youth in Kalat. After the annexation of Balochistan, nationalists started a short-termed insurgency but failed to get their primary objective of independence. The second time Baloch merged under the Noruz Kahn leadership in Jhalwan to counter the One-Unit policy that would demolish the Baloch ethnic identity. This insurgency phase failed, and Pakistan's government arrested and sentenced most of the leaders and involved tribesmen. In both waves of insurgencies -1948 and 1956 – the battlefield for the Baloch nationalist and emergence of the Baloch nationalism narrative along with leadership was situated in Kalat and Jhalwan geographical region. In this way, it appears that geography and the presence of leadership in that specific area played an important role in the insurgency and development ideology.

The third and fourth waves were initiated in the geographical area of the Upper Highlands. This geographical shift is also directly proportional to the existence of tribal leadership in that area and their involvement in Baloch nationalism and politics. This insurgency and the emergence of a new wave of nationalism resulted from the dismissal of the political government of NAB. The prominent Baloch leaders– Sardar Khair Bux Marri, Sardar Atta Ullah Mangal, and Sardar Ghous Bux Bazenjo – belong to these geographical areas. However, the followers of Sardar Marri initiated the agitation against the federal state and army establishment. Marrie's took all the advantage of their native areas. They led the movement and dominated it by all means. The battlefield of Koh-e-Suleiman, where the Marri tribe were in higher number and well aware of the geographical terrain, gave them an advantage in the war; while on the other side, it helped the military establishment to crush the movement in that specific area. Apart from this, the Marri tribe's dominance in the hierarchy of nationalist movement and control over the leadership invoked concerns against the tribalism and way of leading the movement. The Marri tribe's exile due to military operation created space for transforming the nationalist movement's leadership and its geography. Hence, the movement shifted to the region of Makran with new middle-class, educated leadership.

The new leadership has been getting more support, primarily from educated people. Besides the Baloch nation's unification, they have also established new political alliances with the local and international nationalist organizations worldwide. Within Balochistan, they have extended the Baloch nationalist movement's political boundaries with the help of detribalization. At the movement, the Baloch people are

joining the movement setting aside their tribal identities. Similarly, Baloch nationalists have extended the political alliances with interprovincial nationalist movements, especially with the Sindhi and Pashtuns ethnic groups. Further, through social media, Baloch nationalists have extended the boundaries of their movement across the globe to get more audience. Today world is familiar with the issue and grievances of the people of Balochistan. On the other side, Baloch within Balochistan nationalist leadership has refined their boundaries by adopting contraction strategy as per the multilevel process theory. They have attacked the non-Baloch people (Punjabi ethnic group) and pushed them out of Balochistan to terrify the state. Overall, the current nationalist leadership expanded the boudoirs of the Baloch nationalist movement and established new political, nationalistic alliances to achieve their objectives.

CHAPTER:9 WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN THE BALOCH NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

9.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the details of Baloch women's involvement and participation in the Baloch nationalist movement. The fifth and ongoing wave of insurgency and nationalist movements in Balochistan is entirely different from the earlier ones, experiencing a more organized form of retaliation and witnessing major shifts in the ideology, objectives, geography, and leadership. Tribal loyalties have been shifted from tribal Sardars, and ideological support went to the educated middle-class, which brought with it the participation and leadership of Baloch women. This chapter discusses the point of arrival for the nationalist movement. Now, women have become an essential part of the struggle against oppressive policies, often at the forefront of the movement's demands and action. In turn, this also allows the exploration of further changes that the nationalist movement instilled in Baloch society, where women have become essential to the movement once subjugated by patriarchal norms. Baloch society has a tradition of respecting women. Baloch women, as family pride, focus on looking after family affairs in routine life. Historically, women had a minimal role in public and political life. As shared in the previous chapters, over time, things have been changing in the political landscape of Balochistan. Significantly, more and more women are not only becoming active but also taking leading roles. Prominent Baloch women on the political and Baloch nationalist landscape are Zreena Baloch, Karima Baloch, Banuk Haroon Baloch, Nimra Baloch, Mahrang Baloch, Naela Qadri Baloch, Banari Mengal, Farzana Baloch, Sami Baloch, and many more. It is observed that Baloch women are playing an instrumental role in the solidification of Baloch nationalist women. The attitudes and perceptions of the Baloch patriarchal society towards women have also been changed. Besides accepting their participation in the political landscape, their participation is appreciated by society. The women's involvement in the nationalist struggle significantly started and increased during the Pervez Musharraf military regime in Pakistan, and it is continued. During the Musharraf regime, law enforcement agencies have adopted the zero-tolerance strategy to deal with the Baloch nationalist movement. This strategy increases violence and the issues of target killing and enforced disappearances in

Balochistan. As a result, Baloch women have crossed the social and cultural barriers of Baloch society and get involved in the nationalist movement to spread political awareness among the women and demand justice for the killed and missed people.

9.2 Perception of Women in Balochistan

In the traditional patriarchal Baloch society, the social roles assigned to women, based on their gender, are very restricted and limited in the cultural, political, economic, or social aspects of life. Baloch women face institutionalized discrimination, even when trying to access the necessities of life. Health facilities in Balochistan are lacking, which affects women significantly, with the mortality rate much higher than that of the rest of the country. Other socioeconomic and demographic indicators, including female illiteracy⁴⁵, unemployment, and other variables of gender disparities, indicate a challenging situation for women in Balochistan, particularly in the rural areas, confined mostly to household chores with restricted mobility. In Balochistan, patriarchy remains a hindrance in women's empowerment and progress (Majeed, 2010). This social hierarchy is derived from the typical socio-cultural aspect of tribal life, which distinguishes them from the other non-tribal societies. The living and settlement patterns of Baloch society is divided into three major categories:

- 1) Nomads
- 2) Semi-nomads
- 3) Permanent settlers.

The nature of a nomadic lifestyle is such that it demands a very different contribution from women than those in permanent settlements or cities, allowing women in nomadic tribes to participate equally in the daily life activities, from taking care of the household chores to contributing to the economic support of their families. They take care of livestock and help their male partners in the feeding and cleaning of their herds. They remain engaged in milking the animals, bringing water in buckets from distant places, and generally looking after poultry. One of the Marri tribesmen respondents shared talking about nomadic Baloch women shared that; *"A nomadic Baloch woman works like a man. Apart from performing the duties and*

⁴⁵ Take female literacy, a shocking 2 percent in rural Balochistan, compared to 26 percent for the province as a whole.

responsibilities of a housewife, she also works outside the home. In the absence of the male partner, she deals with people like a man."

While women are restricted in their social roles elsewhere, when it comes to hospitality, in the absence of the male members of the family or tribe, they are required to take their place to welcome the guests and take care of them, indicating how important guests are to the Baloch tribes. Another one of the respondents shared, *"In the absence of men, the Baloch nomadic women not only provide the guests with food but try to support in whatever manner required."*

Bravery and courage are also considered one of the prominent features of Baloch society, irrespective of gender. Baloch women are also considered to be as brave as their male family members. The concept of bravery is not subject to masculinity. As a matter of fact, the nomadic lifestyle and assigned roles make women work harder than men, making them tougher and resilient to the unforeseen. The Baloch women have also been part of the wars between the tribes, alongside the men playing an active role in the battlefields while also helping the wounded men. There is a very famous example of the sister of Mir Chakar, Bibi Banari, who led the Baloch army and fought against the Mughal emperor during the 15th century.

Similarly, the Khan of Kalat, Mir Ahmad Khan's sister, led and fought against the Baruzai of Sibi and was martyred during this battle (Naseer, 2010). Concerning the role of women in warfare, one of the respondents added, *"During tribal warfare, they protect their children. They also take care of the wounded family members"*. Apart from their typical household roles, Baloch women have also adopted the roles that have been predominately assigned to men and symbolize masculinity. In this regard, another respondent shared, *"Baloch nomadic women perform the duties of both men and women. They spend nights in the barren mountains and travel far distances to bring the water away from their settlements. While in warfare, they partake in the fighting, take care of their children, and treat wounded men."*

Baloch nomadic women participate equally in their lifestyles while also performing the roles of a brave daughter, a loyal wife, and a responsible mother. Usually, a Baloch man marries one woman and spends his entire life with her. Loyalty from both sides matters a lot. If someone kills a Baloch woman's husband, she raises her

children to avenge him (Shah, 2008). In addition, she is responsible for cooking, protecting the household's dignity and respect, and contributing economically (Shafiq, 2008).

While earlier, women's roles in permanent settlements and cities were limited, those women are expanding their roles and getting education and jobs in modern times. At this point, a clear division can be made between women who were in the nomadic way of life and those who lived in urban areas. Baloch women in the cities faced more restrictions and could not have any interaction with the outside world. They wore veils, and the concept of "*chadar and char dewari- staying with in house boundary*" was more strictly implemented in Balochistan cities. With the passage of time, nomadism, which was considered one of the essential attributes of Baloch socio-economic organization, is losing its imminence. Old tribal structures, norms, and values are losing their importance. Now the majority of the Baloch population is living in small villages and towns. Due to the advent of modern agriculture, Baloch people are now more interested in taking up agriculture, changing the nomadic and political landscape of the region (Dashti, 2008).

Modernization and education have had both positive and negative impacts on Baloch society, impacting the centuries-old cultural norms and values of Baloch society by transforming social-cultural practices. Notably, Baloch women are now acquiring education, getting jobs in the formal economy, and participating in political activities that transform the socio-culturally determined role and status of Baloch women. Historically, Baloch women's political empowerment started during the Z.A Bhutto era of the 1970s. During this era, the Baloch women demanded Baloch women's mainstreaming in the political sphere of Balochistan. Somehow Z.A Bhutto's regime tried to support Baloch women and their political demands. As a result, over time, the Baloch women have made their space in the political landscape of Balochistan.

9.2.1 Women's as Family Honor in Baloch Society

Respect and honor in Baloch societies are often correlated directly to women; this articulation of honor's symbolic meaning with women is reflected in all the roles women play as mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives. Within Baloch cultural values, protecting and defending women, honors are significant (Fabiatti, 1992). Baloch tribal

rivalries reveal that tribal Baloch people do not compromise on protecting one's women *izzat* (honor). The famous battle between the Rind tribe and the Lashar tribe in Baloch history was fought because of women protection issues (Nazeer, 2003). Dishonor by any means or act can have severe consequences; as one of the respondents shared, "*The respect of a family or tribe always remains in the hands of a woman, if she does wrong, has relationships with other men or elopes, it is considered a sin in our society, and the punishment for it is death.*"

This dichotomy of honor and dishonor is strongly associated with what women do, while they continue to suffer at the hands of the patriarchal norms and expectations, where they have both immense pressure but also respect and status. In this regard, a respondent brought another example, "*If a woman comes forward for brokering peace, then it is considered a value to accept that peace, we put a chader on her head and go for the peace settlement.*" The quote shows that if the tribe's women come forth and offer a resolution in the event of wars or disagreement, peace is a given. This kind of role associated with women has multiple interpretations and serves various functions. A powerful tribe might even consider the other tribe weaker for sending forth their women for peace; they have become so helpless, so associating the meaning of respect with women has multifaceted manifestations. Women are the means and source of much respect, such that they can end lengthy disputes and tribal wars. Similarly, older women have special status and powers in the Baloch family. They are cared for specifically, remaining involved in the family's decisions, and each in the society is respected within her role.⁴⁶

9.3 Modern-day Baloch Women and Baloch Nationalism

Baloch women have only recently begun to be more visible in politics. With the move from the nomadic lifestyle to more permanent settlements, education and employment opportunities for women also increased, increasing their role in the nationalist movement. Therefore, an interesting question arises concerning women's role in Baloch society and specifically in the nationalist movement; what were the determining factors and the context in which Baloch women began to participate in the Baloch nationalist movement in the once patriarchal society?

⁴⁶ Baloch, P., & Qaisarani, M. A. Category Archives: Baloch Culture.

Nawab Akhbar Khan Bugti's martyrdom revitalized the nationalist movement and highlighted the visibility of women participating alongside their male counterparts. Since then, the Baloch women can be seen on the streets protesting for their people's rights, active in Pakistan's mainstream politics and student politics. Women and young girls organize peace walks; they demand the recovery of missing persons, organize hunger strikes, arranging study circles and political awareness sessions. Even the present BSO president was a woman. Modern-day Baloch women participate in and lead the mainstream Baloch nationalist movement and perform in education, medicine, engineering, sciences, and the arts. Baloch women can be seen today as teachers and researchers in universities and the business sector. The conditions that allowed this to happen are discussed further in the chapter.

9.3.1 The Need for Survival

The acquired data indicates that women's participation in the Baloch nationalist movement was more of a need of the time and an essential one at that, necessary for the survival of the Baloch nation. Generally, both male and female respondents believed that women everywhere had been leaving behind their traditional confines and outperforming every other role. So Baloch women too could rise to the occasion. Baloch women also wanted to compete like other women, so they performed in the movement and led it. The women were also of the view that the involvement of women in mainstream politics is necessary for the survival of Baloch women and Baloch society as a whole as Baloch women have been trained historically for such activities and so that they can even perform better. Baloch women's participation in mainstream politics and the nationalist movement is not sudden; a series of events provoked and motivated Baloch women to come out of their houses, standing shoulder to shoulder with their men. A very famous Baloch writer and scholar, Dr. Shah Muhammad Marri, shares,

"Coming out on the roads is not a new or a big thing. During the old days, Baloch women would help their men in daily chores, take care of the animals, fetch water from distances away from home, and take care of wounded men during tribal warfare. It is the need of time. That's why they are here on out on the roads."

One of the female respondents (a university student and a politically active one) shared,

"It is true that in our culture, women are not allowed to go on the roads for protests and in events of political agitation, but right now, we do not have any other choice. Our men are punished if they partake in such activism, but we remain relatively safe from similar aggressions as women. If we look at cases worldwide, women are active, women are joining armies, and Kurdish women are even part of the armed struggle for their survival. All these women are an inspiration for us. That's why setting behind cultural bonds; we became activists."

Another one of the respondents was of the following view,

"We do not have any other choice; our men are either killed, abducted by the state, or remain hidden in the mountains. We, women and our children are here to speak for our rights. Our families do not know whether our abducted male family members are alive or not. We are peacefully demanding the production of family members who are forcefully abducted. The state has abducted thousands of males and females. Our only sin is that we are Baloch, and we are demanding our rights."

Around the modern world, women contribute to every aspect of life. Besides dealing with the domestic spheres, childbearing, socialization of children, and care of family members, she contributes to the world's political and economic landscape. Women are also participating in the nationalist and guerrilla movements around the globe. Due to the world's changing political patterns, women seem active in the nationalism and guerrilla movements(Lobao, 1990). Following the world, patterns Baloch women are also becoming involved in the political and nationalist landscape of Balochistan. Baloch Women are contributing more and more to the survival of the Baloch ethnicity. They are birthing and raising their children to be sacrificed for the Baloch cause. They are contributing to politics, economics, and all other fields for the Baloch nation's progress. A female political activist during the interview shared,

"After the creation of Pakistan, Baloch women had been sacrificing everything for the survival of the Baloch nation; their sons are being

killed and dispersed and abducted. Many married women don't even know whether their sons and husbands are alive, but they are waiting for them. Similarly, the mothers are waiting for their sons, and sisters are waiting for their brothers. Unfortunately, no one is ready to listen to our voices."

In the past, women were not active in nationalist politics, but they realized that their participation could empower the movement over time. Several Baloch women took part in the nationalist politics of Balochistan because of different reasons. For example, Zarina Baloch, One of his family members, was abducted and killed after two years. After that incident, she became active in the nationalist politics of Balochistan. She says,

"I was in Karachi when I heard the news that the mutilated body has been found in Turbet⁴⁷. I do not have words. What can I do? I heard that there was a protest of BHRO (Baloch Human Rights Organization) the next day. So I had to join that protest, and I joined. I even spoke to many news channels and told them that my brother had been killed."⁴⁸

Similarly, every woman in Balochistan has a story. They have inspirations for joining nationalist politics. The Baloch nationalists claim that security forces are also abducting Baloch females and children besides Baloch males. Few of the nationalists argue that there is the possibility that Baloch women have been involved in armed struggle. Baloch nationalism's expansion indicates that women are becoming active contributors to the movement. Rehman puts it; they are skilled in taking the floor and zealous in articulating independent ideas (Rehman, 2009).

9.4 Education, Media, and Baloch women involvement in the nationalism movement

Baloch Women's access to education and media has played a vital role in pushing their participation and involvement in the Baloch Nationalism movement. The proliferation of media can help explain why women are prominent in the movement

⁴⁷ Name of the city in Balochistan

⁴⁸ <https://www.pri.org/stories/2013-07-17/baloch-women-taking-more-prominent-role-fight-independence-pakistan>

now as opposed to the earlier movements. Furthermore, data on education, urbanization, lifestyle, and migration account for the relatively improved literacy rate. The evolvement of nomadic life to permanent settlements made available the modern-day opportunities to Baloch women, changing and constructing their worldview. Women's globally shifting status and the redefining of gender roles have become an inspiration and way forward for Baloch women. They see it as their moral responsibility to join the struggle for identity and belonging. One of the BSO male students from Quetta university was in the view that,

I think it's happening globally, worldwide; yes, if we look at human history, women anywhere were not actively involved in political movements; they were not part of the political process. It happened 50 or 60 years earlier in developed countries, while here it is happening now. Baloch women are learning modern-life skills and following modern women living in Europe and America."

The acquired data also indicates that respondents perceived education as a consciousness source: consciousness about their rights and struggle. Earlier, Baloch women were draped in honor and emotions but lacked education opportunities, which blurred the direction. However, since education has been improving for Baloch women, they are much clearer about their thoughts and the way forward, particularly women from the Makran region. They are much more active as compared to the rest of Balochistan's women. In this regard, one of the respondents, a Marri tribe's political leader, added,

"I believe the girls are active in politics and nationalist movements because of "shoor" (consciousness). If we observe, Baloch women from the Makran region are more active in politics and nationalism than the other areas of Balochistan. The primary reason behind this is education. Earlier, the poor Baloch women were interested in participation, but they were hurdled by honor and emotions, now education has given them direction."

Interestingly, the trend of education among women has been spreading horizontally, and women from all strata of society are striving to get their education. It is also important to mention that educational opportunities were restricted to women

belonging to the higher socio-economic class in the early days. The increase in education for all women affected their economic and political activity participation for women from all social classes and groups, being empowered worldwide, as one of the respondents mentioned, *"Educated women are supporting their families economically and the Baloch nation politically. Now every political party in Balochistan has a female quote for representation. The current BSO chairman, Karima Baloch, is also a woman."*

The rise of education is restricted to the Baloch women and women from the Pashtun ethnicity in Balochistan, demonstrating increasingly for education and progressing professionally in all fields, private and public. Even the most traditional tribes of Balochistan, like the Marri tribe, have also been opening up to the vital role of women, and the women from such tribes are now also demonstrating, marking their visibility in various spheres of life and demanding education. One of the old tribesmen from the Marri tribe was in the view that,

"The Baloch and Pashtun have now accepted female education. People are now sending their daughters to schools, colleges, and universities. As a result, Baloch and Pashtun women are working everywhere in every field of life in a better way. They are also working in NGOs. Even the Marri tribe's women are working with NGOs. Due to education, our women have exposure, and they can decide what they want to do."

Regarding women's political participation, it is imperative to state that women's political representation is found in all areas, such as at the union council-level politics to the provincial and national levels. In addition to this, the so-called remote districts of Balochistan like Kohlu and Dera Bugti have women's political representation. Their visibility is highlighted for the cause of Baloch Nationalism, where now all members have been united against the common threats to their identity and existence. Talking about female participation, a political leader and former BSO chairman shared,

"I think, here in Balochistan's politics, the women's role is significant. And I am not just talking about nationalist politics. I am talking about

mainstream politics, where we cannot ignore the representation of 50% or even 60 % of the population [referring to the female population]. If they are coming and joining us, the fundamental reason behind that is education. People are educating their daughters. That's why now women are performing with strength on both sides, in the pro-Pakistan and anti-Pakistan parties. Even in the national party, there are a large number of women. If we look into its structure, from the tehsil, district, province, and at the federal level, women have fixed seats."

Discussing female education and their participation in nationalist politics, one of the female political leaders from district Kohlu said that,

"Educated girls are mobilizing the rural and uneducated Baloch tribal women politically. They {tribal, rural women} support educated women by joining their political agitations. Educated girls are now spreading the message of Baloch rights everywhere. They also now speak up against the outdated tribal and cultural system. They speak against the Baloch feudal system. So we can say that they too want a new and prosperous Balochistan where everyone has equal rights and freedom."

Because of political mobilization, education, and awareness, now the Baloch rural and tribal women across Balochistan are becoming active in the nationalist political sphere of Balochistan. As discussed in Baloch tribal society, patriarchy and the family system create impediments for women and their involvement in the nationalist's politics. Talking about the women involved in the Baloch nationalist politics, one of the NP political leaders further added,

"Even now, women from the backward districts like Kohlu and Dera Bugti - are coming forward to join politics. Yes, this is a good thing that females are coming towards politics. Women in political parties can symbolize the death of tribalism. Because the tribal system and religious people hold that women should not come forward and should not be empowered."

Baloch female students also demonstrate their presence in one of the best national universities, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad. Here, female Baloch students are not too visible by means of number, but they can be seen on the front rows of the fight for the Baloch's right. They organize study circles, engage in political discussions, expand their political and intellectual activities by engaging with scholars from other parts of the country, and many other activities. A female Baloch student studying at Quaid –I- Azam University, Islamabad, shared,

"In the past, women from Balochistan were not seen as coming to study in Islamabad or Lahore's universities. The reason was a lack of exposure and resources. But now, I am happy to see that Baloch female students are coming here to study with the male students. When I came here, I joined the study circles organized by the Baloch students. These study circles helped make my ideology clearer, and I studied books related to Baloch nationalism. Thus, putting behind the cultural barriers, I can stand and speak for our rights anywhere and at any place."

What we have experienced and what we have learned should be shown to others. The expansion of and access to media has given a platform where not only charged Baloch youth learn about their rights but at the same time are also given the space to express other forms of oppression they have been facing, their anger/aggression towards the state. All those elements considered responsible for their miseries can be talked about openly, allowing them to take control of their narrative, particularly social media. Since Pakistan's national media faces certain limitations that restrict the news scope, the Baloch nationalists have been using social media effectively and efficiently to boost their struggle for rights. In this regard, one of the Baloch activists said,

"Social media is a blessing for us. Pakistan's national media does not give any coverage to our protests and strikes. That's why we use social media. We put our protests live on social media and easily get the state and the people's attention. It is also a platform and source of learning. We remain connected with the world and also learn from their experiences."

A female respondent, further adding on the multifold role women are playing in the modern world, rising out of necessity, said,

Because of education, we are familiar with our rights. I want to share the example of when the NAB government was brought to an end during the 1970s; the NAP government was dissolved in the era of ZAB after a mere nine months. Nawab Akbar Bugti had become the governor, and in that protest, Bugti's wife and the wife of Attaullah Mengal, and that of Nawab Bazenjo and the wives of many other Baloch leaders were a part of. Back then, they joined the protests because it was the need of the time, and the same is happening today. Another reason, of course, is that now women's political participation is a global phenomenon, and I think that was also the strategy of Baloch nationalists. Women everywhere contribute to the world economy and politics; Baloch women are not so different either.”

Economics could also be an essential part of it; as more women become part of the economic world, it is inevitable that they also are interested in politics. Gender roles in traditional nomadic Baloch society seemed to be more pragmatic than dogmatic. In the absence of men, it only made sense that women take up responsibilities like serving guests, even protecting their house against enemies.

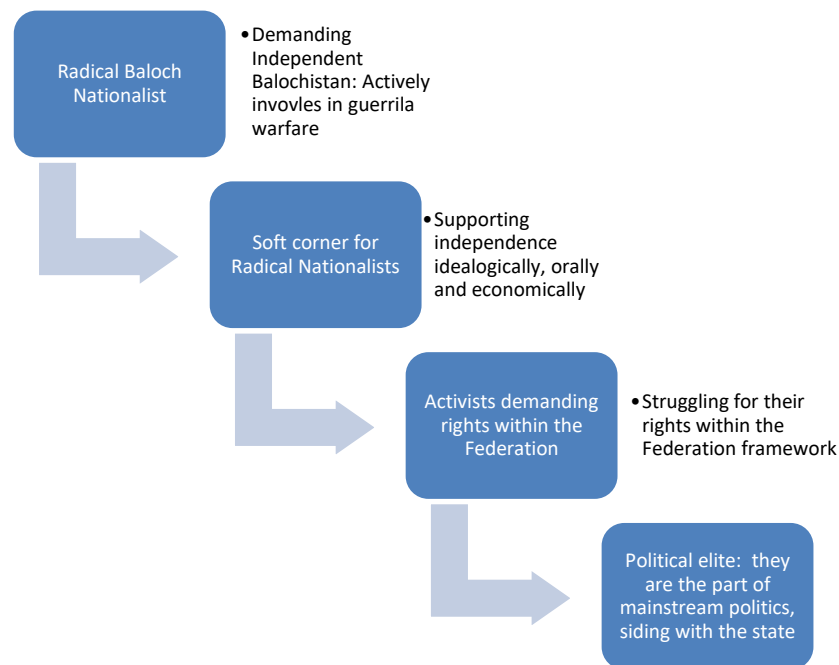
9.5 Baloch Nationalist/Freedom Fighters' Counter Strategy

Baloch women's involvement in the frontline is also believed to be a strategy by the Baloch nationalists. To strengthen the argument, it is important to highlight the following major types of nationalists and then link the emerging role of women to it,

1. Radical Baloch Nationalists: Those involved in the insurgency and guerrilla warfare. They are seeking independence for Balochistan.
2. The second type includes the people that are not physically involved in the insurgency but have a soft spot for the freedom fighters. They support the freedom fighters economically or morally. As well as support them by arranging protests in their support and propagating their efforts on social media.

3. The third type of Baloch nationalists speaks up about the rights of the Baloch nation within the federation of Pakistan.
4. The fourth type is mostly the powerful tribal Sardars and feudal lords, those who are getting the privileges from the government of Pakistan, being members of provincial assemblies and national assemblies, and only demanding Baloch rights as per the needs of their interests.

Figure 12: Types of Baloch Nationalists



Source: Developed by Researcher

Baloch women have also been seen at the frontline of the Baloch struggle because the state-driven media has increasingly pushed the narrative that Baloch freedom fighters and their organizations are terrorist organizations. As a result, they are hidden in the mountains of Balochistan, and so the women are now leading the political wings of these movements and organizations.⁴⁹

The rise of insurgent activity also resulted in the rise of state activity against it. Pakistani security agencies regularly kill, abduct, and torture Baloch freedom fighters (Sarmachars, *Piraris*), political activists, and students. Dead bodies of the missing

⁴⁹ Pakistani state has banned all the Baloch nationalism movements and included the name of all Baloch liberation organization in terrorists list.

persons⁵⁰ are thrown anywhere. To enhance Pakistani nationalism, security agencies are also blamed for carving "Long Live Pakistan" on the Baloch nationalists' dead bodies. They are trying to teach a lesson to the insurgents through such inhuman acts. Due to the state's "kill and dump" policy, Baloch men avoid direct encounters with the state's security agencies. And whenever they do protest, the mainstream leaders are arrested, abducted, or killed by the state. The younger Baloch men are either in jails or torture cells of the security agencies, while the others are in the mountains, part of the insurgency, and the remaining, fearful of both, try to keep away from both. A female respondent and political activist shared,

"Our male Baloch political activists are frequently under threat, from being arrested, abducted or killed, the political space has been left behind for women to take up in the movement and the due role has been given to them for leadership and active participation in the movement. However, we do not have another option; they are killing our male segments of society. All of that has also created a gender gap and imbalance in our society. That's why now, we girls are doing this job along with our children."

Female participation in the movement has also motivated and encouraged other people who were afraid of joining the movement. In a way, women have taken up some of the roles that belonged to the males. Some women also linked their social activism for the rights and Baloch nationalism to the context of traditional practices, where women would join men in warfare and tend to the wounded, as mentioned by one of the female respondents of this research shared that,

"Look, this is part of our training; we deal with matters in the absence of male family members. The same is the case with our involvement in nationalism politics. At least when we protest, they (the state) do not kill us. So this is a plus point. I think this is a part of our political training during our studies. We are equal to the men here, so our

⁵⁰ During the dictator Pervaiz Musharraf's era, security forces started abduction of Baloch nationalist activists. Those people were kept in their torture cells which was outside of Pakistan's constitution and law. Those killed are known as Baloch Missing persons. Further the security agencies kill and throw their bodies or dump them in mass graves.

responsibilities are the same as men. Now that it's not as safe for men to be at the forefront, women are taking their place. Women worldwide are involved in politics, so there is nothing special or strange about Baloch women."

This is what one of the respondents of the research mentioned regarding the different kinds of nationalists,

"BSO members studying in universities and the freedom fighters are the same. The difference is only between the armed struggle and that of peaceful protests for the cause of self-determination. For the cause of Baloch identity and rights. Most Baloch women have been involved in nationalist politics because the state has abducted and killed their family members."

In the same context, another respondent from the Farmhouse Political Party said, *"They [fighters and social activists] are all the same; their ideology is the same. They involve their women in mainstream Baloch nationalism movements just to get more attention. As women and children attract the media's attention."* In the validation of research data and findings, the same questions were asked from the female respondents, who were the social activists and actively participated in the demonstrations and protests organized for the rights of the Baloch people. One of the female activists from Quetta shared that,

"If they think this is a strategy for getting attention, then okay, it's a strategy. We are in a state of war, and we will use every means to get our rights. We will support our society by every means. We, too, face many problems; sitting on the roads for Baloch women is not an easy thing, but what else can we do?"

Some of the respondents also gave due emphasis to the concept of "gaining attention." They have been struggling to get the attention of the people inside and outside of the country. They have been using all those means that were at their disposal, which can be useful for their visibility and struggle for their rights, for example, when that means women's visibility in the movement, in the leadership, in the protests, and in the demonstrations that are gaining the attention of those not only inside the country

but also on the global platforms. They have also been efficiently and effectively promoting their cause and highlighting their struggle on global platforms. When it comes down to the issues raised and demonstrations led by women in developing countries and particularly a country like Pakistan, it has greater chances of being noticed. In this regard, one of the respondents said,

"Baloch nationalists are adopting new strategies of war. They are using social media extensively to get the world's attention. They have involved Baloch women as the people worldwide give special attention when women protest or speak for their rights. Baloch society is considered a patriarchal society, and when women of this society come out on the roads and protest, they get special attention. Both national, regional, and international media have tried to cover them. International media highlights it, and because of that, we can pressure mounting on the Pakistani government. I appreciate it."

During insurgencies and war-like situations, nationalists develop both long and short-term policies to cope with the situation. The same is the case of the Baloch nationalism movement. They have their written constitution, along with verbal commitments. The main task is to achieve a set of objectives by using all the means available. In this context, women's participation is a part of the Baloch movement strategy for their rights. In this regard, one of the respondents said,

"Baloch nationalist have developed their strategy with a futuristic approach. Women's involvement is a part of that futuristic strategy. They were aware of the fact that one day the men would not be able to lead movements, so they trained and involved their women. To achieve their objectives, they handed over the student wing leadership to the women and empowered them. Now the president of BSO Azad, the most powerful student party in Balochistan, is a female. The ratio of male members of BSO is more than female, but the leader is still a woman. She is dealing with everyone, and she has the sincerest support from the people. If we look nowadays in the rallies and protests, the number of women participants is way more than men."

It summarizes the various reasons behind the increase in women's involvement and participation in the nationalist movement, where education remained the most important factor. Besides that, they are involved in the nationalist movement to compete with the modern world and support their male members of Baloch society.

9.6 Revenge

In the previous chapters, revenge, a very dominant feature of Baloch society, has already been brushed over briefly. In the Baloch tribal society, the tribesmen that cannot avenge their loss are considered "*NaMard*" {referring to someone less masculine/a coward}. Baloch people believe that revenge is the way to restore their challenged dignity, honor, and respect in society. The literature has already documented that the blood-revenge of a relative or tribesmen is a fundamental aspect of the Baloch code of life (Dashti, 2012). In Baloch society, there are specific, fixed codes and values for being a good Baloch; these are socially prescribed standards that one should perform and can be conceptualized as Baloch society's values. These values are called *Balochiat* or Baloch *riwayat*, *Balochi* ways, or *Balochmayar*. One of the essential elements of *Balochmayar* is revenge. Baloch people seek vengeance even if several years have gone by since an incident, and they never forget. Feuds and enmities are passed from one generation to the next, where others might raise their children to avenge someone's blood. The concept of revenge is perpetuated in Baloch's code of life, which possibly crosses the sharp gender differences that mainly revolve around otherwise gender-specific roles. In the case of revenge, men and women are equally responsible for restoring the family's honor or the tribe.

However, more often, it is the men who are responsible for taking revenge. With the rise in the insurgency, Baloch tribes and families have fewer men left behind. Most of them have either been killed, abducted, or in a self-exile to save their life. The responsibility of avenging them also explains the rise of women in Baloch nationalist politics. One of the respondents from the Marri tribe shared,

"Taking revenge is in our instinct. The state is killing our fathers, brothers, and sons, so we have to take revenge. We take revenge by exposing the state, protest, and agitation, while our men, those who have survived, fight with arms. No one can stop the Baloch from their vengeance. If you have killed someone's son, he will, for sure, take

revenge. Women are on the roads and demanding their rights. They are here for revenge for their sons, brothers, fathers, all killed by the state."

Revenge is strongly associated with Baloch culture; another respondent, an expert on Baloch nationalism, added, "*Baloch tribal people can forget everything but cannot forget to get their revenge. The Baloch rewaj and customs also allow for that. There are stories where a newborn is trained to take revenge for his dead father, and he does that when he gets older*". The concept of revenge has been fueling this movement, stronger than perhaps before. Another one of the respondents said regarding this,

"If we look at history, during the previous wars, the state's policy was different. The state's security agencies were not killing innocent people. They were not abducting and following the kill and dump policy. All that started during General Musharraf's era⁵¹. Now I am sure that almost all of the Baloch families are affected. Now, the people involved in the movements are here to take revenge on their dear ones. Either they go to the mountains to join the freedom fighters or go to arrange protests."

Another male political activist of BSO shared along similar lines,

"Yes, it's true that both men and women are getting involved in the Baloch nationalism movement because the state is not listening to us. Over time, women's involvement is increased. The state deals with us like one would with slaves. Baloch genocide is going on right now; we are facing discrimination everywhere. All these things are making us rebellions, and we are going towards the revolution and our revenge."

The concept can also be applied to how the Baloch women who share the same identity feel responsible and see it in their role to take political revenge for their family members or tribes and their nation. This research reveals that Baloch people consider themselves dangerous when they have been losing their lives, dignity, honor,

⁵¹ General Pervaiz Musharraf (1999 – 2008) was a Pakistan military Chief of Army Staff, who took the elected government of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz in 1999 and imposed dictatorship in the country. Then he became the 10th president of Pakistan via referendum.

land, and rights. Hence revenge is now not just about honor and dignity; it has become about survival, more precisely, one can say about Baloch society of Balochistan. Expressing her feelings, one of the Baloch female students and political activists during her interview shared that,

"We are joining politics and spending nights in the open air, under the sky, during protests just because of the pain. The pain of our nation. The pain of our missing and killed. The pain of our destroyed families and homes. Here, our attachments are stronger. When any of our family members are hurt, then every member of that family, whether male, female, or child, makes an effort to fight off that problem. It's our moral duty to help the natives of our land. Our entire nation is in pain; everyone is fighting against injustices to the best of their capacity."

Discussing the Baloch women involvement in nationalist politics, one of the active student political leaders of BSO expressed that,

"In Palestine, Leila Khaled is struggling for freedom. Kurdish women are also fighting for their survival. There are several movements all around the globe headed by women. The same is the story of Baloch women. Here, if the father and brother of the Baloch women have been killed, then she does not have anything else to do except seek vengeance. She has nothing to lose so that she can stake anything for her revenge. Like all the famous ladies of Baloch movements, they have the loss of their fathers, brothers, and sons in them, so now they are doing this to exact their revenge."

Another BSO female added that,

"Now, every member of the Baloch society calls it the war of survival, and previously it was only the war of prestige, but now it's the war of survival. Everyone is fighting, whether it be male, female, or even children. The Baloch, as a nation, are feeling each other's pain. A mother can feel the pain of a dead son. The pain of the whole Baloch nation is collective. If the people living in a room saw that the roof was coming down, they all would stop the roof even with internal conflicts."

Otherwise, they all will die, the same is with Balochistan, and everyone is suffering, so they are coming together."

The movement goes a step beyond the national or collective ideology and makes it the effort of collective vengeance, a blend of ideology and revenge. One of the female student activists shared regarding this,

"Due to the state's brutality now, it has become a war of revenge more than a war of ideology. The girls are the participants of long marches, hunger strikes, protests, and rallies. Do you know who they are? They are almost all from the affected families. One is looking for her missing father, and the other is looking for her son or husband. They are on the roads as they do not have their men left in their families. The mothers and sisters do not let their sons and brothers protest as they fear their death. This revenge is almost a defensive strategy."

An expert on Baloch nationalism explains,

"The situation is very different now. It is the first time in the history of Balochistan that women have performed all the rituals of the dead Sardar Khair Bux Marri. The women who gave shoulder to Nawab Khair Bux Marri's dead body were not from his tribe or family. They were the daughters of Balochistan. They did this to show their solidarity with the Baloch nationless leaders. It was a gesture to show the state that the Baloch women could do anything, just like their men. They performed rituals because Sardar Khair Bux was believed to be the ideological teacher of Baloch nationalists. He was against the brutal policies of the state."

The Baloch women's presence at the agitations, long marches, and strikes is a significant change in the nationalist political sphere of Balochistan. Their male has been abducted and killed by the security forces. They are protesting for those who are still missing. Many Baloch wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters have waited years for their brothers, sons, and husbands. Unrest in Balochistan has changed the patriarchal social codes of Baloch society (Mroczek, 2014). Currently, most Baloch women are mourning and protesting for their missing ones on Balochistan roads. In

most of the cases, their's all-male family members have been killed or being abducted. Therefore, women carry the reportability of their family affairs. It has already been shown by the World Bank (2013) report that: "Conflict create households headed by widows who can be especially vulnerable to in-generational poverty, second round impact can provide opportunities for women in work and politics triggered by the absence of men" (Buvinic et al., 2013).

9.7 Shielding Male Baloch Nationalists

Most of the Baloch liberation movements, i.e., BLA, BLF, BRA, LB, and many more, belong to those who were once members of student political wings. Meaning, most of the freedom fighters were members of the student political and nationalist organization. They then joined Balochistan's liberation organizations that are now looking for the independence of Balochistan. Women from all over Balochistan join the nationalism movement and student nationalist political wings to save and secure their home, male family members, and Baloch society. One of the female respondents explained,

"We, the daughters, mothers, and sisters of Balochistan, are trying to protect our brothers and sons. The security and law and order situation is horrible here. Security agencies can abduct and kill anyone. Earlier, the Baloch men were leading the nationalist's politics and targeted by the security agencies. So we joined and led the movement. We will not get justice easily, but in this way, we will be able to work as a shield of protection for the men of our nation."

As discussed in the features of Baloch tribes, they will unite against a common enemy that threatens them, someone the Baloch women are doing now. One of the Baloch women shared,

"Resistance is in our blood. We always protect our family and houses in the absence of males. Our family members protect us from everything. If there is a bad time for our males, why can't we protect them? After Baloch women's involvement, the ratio of brutality with men by the state, is decreasing. We are also receiving threats, but

there are no other options. So, we have to stay at the frontline to protect everything that belongs to the Baloch people."

With the rise in the insurgency, the retaliation from the security forces is also rising and getting more violent. Many women are not even certain if their family members are dead or alive. One of the female political activists shared,

"When they arrest our people, they do not tell us about their crime. They do not register any FIR and do not bring them to court. They keep them in their cells, use different brutal techniques of torture. It's up to the security agencies whether they keep them alive and, after killing, throw them away. All these things have created a very fearful atmosphere all over Balochistan. Now people are sending their children out of Balochistan in other provinces to keep them alive."

The females of missing persons, along with the help of women from all over Balochistan, are protesting everywhere. They just want to know whether their family members are dead or alive, and meanwhile also trying to save their men from extrajudicial killings, abduction, and enforced disappearances.

9.8 Demand for Basic Needs

The people of Balochistan are demanding their equal rights as a citizen of Pakistan. The feelings and emotions of hate and grievances are increasing among the Baloch people because of the state's discrimination. At its heart, the insurgency has continued because the Baloch people have continuously been denied their fundamental rights. With the inability to meet their basic needs, the Baloch people strongly feel a sense of inequality shunned by the state. One of the student political activists shared,

"The people of Balochistan want a peaceful and prosperous life. But unequal state treatment is forcing us towards this struggle. If they provide us with education, health, infrastructure, universities, and medical colleges, then why will we speak against the state? We have rich mineral resources. We have gas, but we don't have access to it. We have coal, gold, copper, and oil. But we are living a miserable life. Then the violent policies that instigate the genocide of the Baloch

people are making us even more vulnerable. As a citizen of Pakistan, we have equal rights too."

The state, as shared, perpetuates these inequalities. A female student activist shared,

"In our childhood, our teachers used to tell us that the state works as a mother. But here, the story is different. The Pakistani state is like a stepmother for the Baloch people. I can say that worse than a stepmother. Here we are not safe; our men, women, children, animals, and homes are unsafe. They come and burn our villages, destroy our homes, and kill our sons and brothers in front of our eyes. Then why do they expect loyalty from our side? It's reciprocal. Now we will fight and will get our identity and rights."

The fights against the state and its oppression have continued for several decades. Initially, the Sardars would use this fight for their interests, siding with the government but restricting opportunities for the Baloch while sending them off into battle. At the same time, their children went off to world-renowned institutions. I interviewed an 80 year's old Marri guerrilla warrior who was still in the mountains during fieldwork. When he was asked about the cause of war, he replied, *"I am fighting against the Pakistan army because my Sardar told me that they are our enemy. They are exploiting our land and people. I do not know the name of the commander, and I have never seen him. I am just doing this on the orders of my Sardar."* On the other hand, a young Baloch freedom fighter shared,

"Now, we are not fighting for any Sardar or Mir; we are fighting for the Baloch cause. We are fighting for the rights and independence of the Baloch nation. Our war is against the outdated Sardari system, which remains a curse on our people. So now, we follow an ideology instead of any Sardar."

A young educated female activist shared further,

"I think the feudal system is outdated now. Sardars used us to attain their benefits. Here the children of the poor are dying. If we compare the Sardari system with the state, the Sardari system is more dangerous for our society. Sardars act like puppets of the state. Our

war is against both the state and the feudal system. And yes, we have succeeded now. There are no more Sardars in control. Everything is in the control of the educated middle class."

The brave Baloch women who were believed to be the most deprived creatures of society are now leading the Baloch nationalism movements' political wings. The educated middle-class women are struggling for the rights of the Baloch nation. They are fighting against the state's policies, against the enforced disappearances of Baloch men, against the enforced abduction, and against the 'kill and dump' policies. They are fighting the case of missing persons. They are going on hunger strikes for the rights of the Baloch nation. They are struggling against the state-supported Sardars and political leaders. At the same time, they are also tackling the outdated tribal system. The Baloch women's struggle shielded the Baloch men and received the attention of world powers.

9.9 Conclusion

Historically, Baloch women remain deprived in the political sphere of patriarchal Baloch tribal society. Over time, Baloch women have created space in the nationalistic political landscape of Balochistan. In the contemporary Baloch nationalist movement, the Baloch women are politically active and lead the nationalist movement from the front. Baloch women have adopted modern communication and media strategies to get the world's attention towards the Balochistan issue. Due to increasing male Baloch political activists target killings, enforced disappearances (missing person issues), and abductions have forced Baloch women to participate in nationalist politics to shield and safeguard male nationalist activists. In contemporary nationalistic politics, the women's wings arrange protests, hunger strikes, and peace walks to avenge the Baloch grievances.

Women's involvement and the struggle for Baloch's equal rights are becoming sources of inspiration for the Baloch society. Baloch nationalists have adopted different strategies of making and refining the political boundaries of the Baloch nationalist movement. The involvement of women in the Baloch nationalism movement as a strategy of expansion has been playing important role in achieving the nationalist objectives. Further, women's political activities have used social media to expand the nationalist movement boundaries across the globe. As a result, the Baloch women are

currently safeguarding their male political activists and getting the world's attention towards the Baloch nation's grievances.

CHAPTER: 10 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 Conclusion

The research study is an attempted qualitative investigation of the causes and effects of Baloch Nationalism with the following objectives:

- To explore the causes of the nationalist movement in Balochistan and its evolution over time.
- To document the construction and the definitions of Baloch nationalism given by locals.
- To assess the effects of Baloch movement on the overall landscape of the area
- To explore the drivers behind the increased participation of Baloch women in the movement

The research locale of the study was the Kohlu district of Balochistan province. However, the interviews were conducted in other cities, including Quetta, Karachi, and Islamabad, to collect the required data from the experts and Baloch activists. To achieve the study's objectives, the researcher employed different qualitative research techniques, including Expert Interviews, In-depth interviews, Focus group discussions, and observation. The study based on thematic analysis of data was guided by an extensive literature review and theoretical foundations of multiprocessor theory by Andreass Wimmer (1999). In addition, the research explored how locals define Baloch nationalism and their perceived causes of the Baloch movement and its transition to the insurgency. Another aspect was identifying the drivers behind the unprecedented increased involvement of women in the Baloch nationalist movement.

Based on the findings and comprehensive analysis based on the existing literature, it can be claimed that locals construct Baloch Nationalism on the sentiments of affiliation, association, geography, and loyalty with soil and the protection of the homeland. The concept of Baloch nationalism evolved and remained in the process of defining, re-defining, and negotiating. The Baloch nationalism surpasses the ethnic boundaries and appears more inclusive to gather people of different tribes under the broader umbrella of Baloch Identity. In this sense, Baloch nationalism can be

contextualized with Wimmer Multilevel process theory, where nationalism remains in expansion by shifting the boundaries (Wimmer, 2007). These expansions or shifts in the boundaries can be geographical, ideological, and political. Baloch nationalism has shown a prominent shift and expansion of geographical boundaries. The emergence history of the Baloch nationalism seen in Kalat and Jhalwan's geographical boundaries was followed by ranges of Koh-e-Suleiman and Makran region. At the time of the first revolt, the ideological basis to fight against the state was Kalat's annexation's political move, which later transformed into the demand of a separate province and its autonomy. However, the continuation of the deprived ness of the Baloch people, resulted in an ideological shift among nationalists to demand a sovereign state. It has been learned that historically the political association and affiliation were tribal-centric. However, Baloch nationalism has blurred tribal-based political association and expanded the broader political landscape to fight for the Baloch people's rights.

The expansion of nationalism boundaries remains under the influence of internal and external factors. Wimmer (2013) mentioned that these factors are political alliances or political networking, distribution of power, and the environment of political institutions (Wimmer, 2013). This research has shared that for the sake of Baloch nationalism, the nationalist remained in the process of developing political alliances or political networks. During the first wave of the nationalist movement, the nationalist leadership tried to develop their political alliance and its expansion with the political leadership of Afghanistan and Baloch tribal Sardars. It is observed that Pakistan's internal political instability created space for the Baloch nationalist to accelerate their political alliance building. In this context, during the 1960s and 1970s, the Baloch nationalist expanded their political networks with Russia and Afghanistan to achieve their political objectives.

Nevertheless, the contemporary educated middle-class leadership has followed the same principle of expanding political alliances internally and externally. The distribution of political power within Balochistan directed and defined the types and locations of political boundaries of Baloch nationalism. Until the 1980s, the Baloch nationalism was confined in the geographical areas of the Upper highlands and directed by the Marri Sardars. The nationalist movement of that time heavily

influenced and reflected tribal hierarchical leadership and restricted the geographical boundaries of the Marri tribe. The political decision-making remained in the hands of the political elite of Marri tribes. The geographical shift of the Baloch nationalist movement from Koh-i-Suleman to the Makran region also transformed political leadership. This time the political power structure came into the hands of educated youth with less tribal orientation. Resultant the movement expanded more rapidly by adopting the strategy of inclusion the Baloch youth from all strata of life and tribes under a common Baloch identity.

The inclusion of women in the Baloch nationalist movement has expanded the political, ideological, and geographical boundaries of Baloch nationalism. They have filled the space of political leadership and have shown their visibility in the demonstration, rallies, hunger strikes, and protest for the cause. Their political activism and visibility of women for the Baloch people's rights have taken due attention at local, national, and global levels. In this way, they have been playing a vital role in the geographical expansion of Baloch nationalism. Nevertheless, the involvement of women activists in Baloch nationalism has challenged the tribal patriarchal system and became a source of inspiration for the other women and girls in Balochistan.

The causes of the Baloch nationalist movement cannot be understood without creating its link with the tribal code of conduct, particularly in relation to the concept of *rewaj* (Custom) and revenge. The political history of Balochistan has witnessed various events and incidents which were interpreted against prominent cultural practices deriving from the tribal code of conduct. The annexation of the Kalat state and arrest of Khan of Kalat challenged Baloch's code of honor, and these acts were interpreted as oppression against the Baloch. In the same context, the political move of Ayub's government and declaration of West Pakistan as one unit was a perceived threat to Baloch identity, language, and culture. The dismissal of the first elected provincial government of Balochistan, which comprised prominent Baloch's tribal Sardars, was also interpreted as an insult to the Baloch code of honor. Finally, the assassination of Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti and Balach Marri augmented the Baloch nationalist narrative that the state was oppressing the Baloch nation.

In addition, the existing disparities in the access and availability of basic necessities of life, including education, health, income generation/ employment opportunities, infrastructure development, and distribution of resources, created the distrust of a number of common people on the system. Further to this, the prevailing situation of violence, insecurity, abduction, enforced disappearances has created an environment for struggle in the form of political movements and insurgencies where many outside actors also get involved. The notion of revenge based on the traditional Baloch code of conduct has accelerated the nationalist and state actors' conflicting situations. In this way, the Baloch nationalist movement is perceived as revenge for the graveness and oppression of the Baloch nation.

The study also concludes that the very visible effects of the movement of Baloch nationalists and the whole scenario are pretty disturbing. The violence has increased a lot, resulting in a continued sense of fear among families. A long history of fights, killings, migration, and disappearances is causing the reshaping of family structure and roles where women are replacing men in different roles. The significant reduction of income generation opportunities and the uncertainty related to safety and security has pushed a large number of families to migrate to settle the urban areas in other parts of the country. The continued state of fear and lack of education and health activities is putting the future at risk for generations living in the areas with no other choice.

This study demonstrates that nationalism has its multifaceted manifestation that cannot be understood without creating its link with culture, history, and current practices. So, the findings conclude that no solution to the situation can be successful and lasting without understanding and considering the whole background and respect to the local culture.

10.2 Recommendations

Based on the whole experience, the research brings forth a few recommendations to better understand and deal with the issue of the Baloch nationalist movement resulting in the improvement of the lives of the people living in the area.

1. The Baloch nationalism movement and insurgency are mainly considered an issue of security by the different stakeholders, including the State. Instead, the issue needs to be regarded as a human problem that needs more people to

people contact for resolution. For this, all the stakeholders first need to respect the local culture and needs of the local people. We as a society need to learn respect for diversity. For this, an extensive campaign needs to be carried out nationwide by including showing the beauty of different identities living together in the country.

2. Due to violent insurgency, attacks on security forces, the forced disappearances, and killings of Baloch youth in military operations, a deep mistrust has evolved. Both the parties need to deescalate, for which the government may initiate first, followed by the provision of services, economic opportunities, and dialogue between concerned stakeholders. This is also in line with the recommendations put forth by the parliamentary committee for Balochistan headed by Mushahid Hussain. The Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan package must be fully implemented.
3. More people to people contact may be encouraged by supporting cultural events and sports with people from all the areas of the country.
4. Foreign interference should be countered more strategically to ensure high costs to the perpetrators
5. Instead of more involvement of the Army, the local police may be capacitated by more and more local hiring, training, and provision of the latest equipment.
6. The locals' grievances need to be addressed and removed through negotiations rather than the use of force.
7. Resolution of the issue of missing persons is of prime importance, given that 'this issue has remained at the heart of the Balochistan conflict. Therefore, all the facts should be disclosed, and persons may be charged as per law.
8. The underdevelopment and discontent in Balochistan are no doubt a result of negligence and exploitation by various governments over the years. The government should make an effort to complete the mega projects of road connectivity in the province. Opening up of new areas is likely to open up the blocked minds and hearts, as has been promised time and again in Balochistan,

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