Terrorism Studies in Pakistan: A Preliminary Scoping Study

By

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ABSTRACT

The 'research on terrorism' often gets condemned for several reasons. Some academic pundits point out the lack of definitional consensus in terrorism's discourse. In contrast, others indicate conceptual and methodological flaws. The critique of terrorism's research is as old as the subject itself. However, all these disapprovals are general observations about overall academic works on terrorism. No study has ever examined the 'region-specific' validity of the criticisms on terrorism's scholarship. This dissertation makes a vital contribution to the literature of terrorism by conducting a pilot study to determine whether the following two widespread criticisms stand worthy in the case of 'research on terrorism' from Pakistan. First, the research on terrorism is 'event-driven.' Second, the author's place of belongingness affects their writings. Two original datasets are constructed to recognize if Pakistan's research on terrorism is 'event-driven' and whether Pakistan's authors' nationality impacts their writings. The results suggest that the research on terrorism follows the same pattern in Pakistan as well. Researchers from Pakistan pay overwhelmingly more attention to religious/sectarian terrorism than ethnic violence. Similarly, a typical narrative of Pakistan's academics, different from that of international description, exists about the 'Baloch insurgency.' Therefore, proving that the authors' nationality influences their academic objectivity.

Keywords: Research on Terrorism, Pakistan, Balochistan, Religious/Sectarian Terrorism, Ethnic Terrorism.

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I dedicate this thesis to Ammi and Baba (my parents).

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INTRODUCTION

Academic research on terrorism gets criticized for multiple reasons. Some scholars have condemned it for failing to reach a definitional consensus,[1] while others believe that the research has methodological and conceptual problems[2]. The series of self-criticism in terrorism studies began since the early development of this discipline in the 1960s and 1970s[3]. It is also argued that the scholarly discourse of terrorism relies too much on secondary sources, engages a lot with literature-review methods, and lacks collaboration of scholars with several one-time contributors[4]. An overreliance on secondary sources gives an impression of a debate only between scholars than a reflection upon the primary data to understand the subject[5]. Similarly, the research on terrorism is also identified as lacking on empirical grounds[6] and a practical academic approach[7]. Lum et al. explored that only 3% of the 6041 articles they reviewed, published during 1971-2003, were based on empirical data[8]. As a result, the findings of terrorism research studies are pointed out to be based on overgeneralizations and simplistic explanations[9].

Over time, the academic field of terrorism is reported to have matured[10]. It seems to have made considerable progress in addressing the issues highlighted earlier[11]. Researchers no longer predominantly rely on using secondary sources[12]. The opportunities for finding and consuming

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[1] Schmid, "The definition of terrorism".
[2] Schuurman and Eijkman, "Moving terrorism research forward".
[3] Horgan, "Issues in terrorism research".
[4] Silke, "Contemporary terrorism studies".
[5] Ranstorp, "Introduction: mapping terrorism research–challenges and priorities"..
[6] Gurr, "Empirical research on political terrorism".
[7] Bell, "Trends on terror".
[8] Lum, Kennedy, and Sherley, "The Effectiveness of Counter-Terrorism Strategies".
[9] Reich, "Understanding terrorist behavior".
[10] Gordon, "Can terrorism become a scientific discipline?".
[11] Crenshaw, "Terrorism research".
[12] Schuurman, "Research on terrorism, 2007–2016".

primary data have increased[13], and there is the more frequent use of quantitative methods in the research of terrorism[14]. These improvements can be the products of increased funding opportunities for the researchers following the 9/11 attacks and global war on terrorism[15]. Nevertheless, what remains persistent is that most publications are still works of one-time contributors[16]. The crisis of definition stands unresolved[17]. Resultantly, Sageman believes that the research on terrorism has achieved a state of stagnation[18]. Moreover, the recently raised questions on scholarly works of terrorism are related to the quality of data in use[19]. These concerns relate to the extensive terrorism databases formed using media-based reports having issues regarding their factual accuracy[20].

Some additional criticism of the academic research on terrorism is that it is too 'event-driven' and 'firmly tied to states' policies to counter-terrorism[21].' Post 9/11, there is a surge of terrorist attacks carried out by religious organizations belonging to radical Islamist factions. Correspondingly, the researchers also focused more on studying terrorism coming out from religious fundamentalism. Schuurman reaffirms the event-driven nature of research in terrorism by conducting a keyword analysis of 3,442 articles published in leading academic journals between 2007-16[22]. Furthermore, contemplating the relationship of terrorism and nationalism, English argues that although these two concepts are not explicitly linked to each other, nationalism acts as a lens that has been used to study various debates on terrorism[23]. He

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[13] Loadenthal, "Introduction: like finding a needle in a pile of needles".
[14] LaFree and Freilich, "Editor's introduction: quantitative approaches to the study of terrorism".
[15] Schmid, "The literature on terrorism".
[16] Gordon, "Transient and continuant authors in a research field".
[17] Sanchez-Cuenca, "Why do we know so little about terrorism?".
[18] Sageman, "The stagnation in terrorism research".
[19] Mahoney, "More Data, New Problems".
[20] Sheehan, "Assessing and comparing data sources for terrorism research".
[21] Jackson, "The study of terrorism 10 years after 9/11".
[22] Schuurman, "Topics in terrorism research".
[23] English, "Nationalism and Terrorism".

implies questioning the scholars' neutrality who writes on terrorism because of their nationalistic leanings. Hence, this marks yet another disapproval of terrorism's research.

The discussion above is primarily an account of how the critical viewpoint perceives the research on terrorism. All these criticisms aptly make sense, but those are general observations about overall academic works on terrorism. In such a situation, it is also important to realize if these condemnations stand valid when dealing with 'region-specific' terrorism's scholarly work. By 'region-specific,' it means that the researchers' belongingness and writings should be in the same region. Consequently, the research problem of this thesis is to recognize if the claim of Schuurman, regarding the event-driven nature of terrorism's research, and that of English's, about the necessity to read local literature as well for a comprehensive understanding of a conflict, are applicable in research on terrorism from Pakistan.

The choice of Pakistan's case is justifiable because terrorism has severely affected the country[24]. As far as the impact of terrorism is concerned, Pakistan ranks fifth according to the 'Global Terrorism Index (GTI)' 2019 Report[25]. Besides, this study would mainly deal with 'religious/sectarian' and 'ethnic' types of terrorism, and Pakistan, being a victim of both forms of violence, reasonably qualifies this project's requirements. Hence, Pakistan is a 'descriptive-typical'[26] case for terrorism's research to represent the central tendency of terrorism around the world. As per the GTI Report, the position of Pakistan is not only close to the mode value, but it can also be placed very near to the median score of the top ten countries on the list. This makes 'Pakistan' an illuminating case for this project.

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[24] Abbasi, "Impact of terrorism on Pakistan".
[25] Global Terrorism Index Report.
[26] Gerring and Cojocaru, "Selecting cases for intensive analysis".

This thesis is going to be addressing the following two research questions:

1. Does the 'event-driven' nature of research on terrorism apply to the case of Pakistan as well?

   (This will be examined through an analysis of 'religious/sectarian' versus 'ethnic' terrorism)

2. Does a typical narrative of the local scholars exist about a conflict zone? How does it converge or differ from the mainstream (western) scholarship?

   (This will be examined through the literature on the case of Balochistan)

The research on terrorism is driven in reaction to different events, and violent incidents are not novel criticism. As stated above, Schuurman's work also endorses this finding. However, it has never been tested for the literature which comes from a specific region/country. Thereby, the first research question is answered through carrying out a pilot study that uses an original dataset of one hundred articles authored by academics from Pakistan. Pakistan is a victim of two types of terrorism: 'religious/sectarian' and 'ethnic.' The articles' main arguments helped identify which of these two types of terrorism had predominantly remained under focus in the literature and why. Provided the works, like that of Schuurman's, have figured out that religious terrorism and Jihadism have attracted the scholars' extensive attention. It can be presumed that the literature from Pakistan would hardly follow any different pattern.

Subsequently, to recognize whether a distinctive narrative, based on the scholars' belongingness, exists for a conflict zone, Balochistan's insurgency is studied. The Baloch uprising has persistently challenged the federation of Pakistan since the country's

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independence in 1947[27]. The level of resentment grew up so much that the Baloch insurgents have repeatedly challenged Pakistan's state. Therefore, it becomes an ideal case to answer the second research question of this thesis. An equal number of academic papers, written by the Western and Pakistani scholars, on the Baloch insurgency were acquired. The articles were collected using identical sources and criteria to ensure compatibility in the findings. Nevertheless, in a country like Pakistan where academic freedom is not revered under military dictatorships[28], it can be suspected that a typical narrative of the local scholars, contrasting the western story, is likely to exist for the Baloch insurgency.

The existing literature generally highlights the criticisms of research on the academic discourse of terrorism. However, this thesis intends to testify if two of the objections to terrorism's research stand valid in Pakistan and Balochistan cases, respectively. This work will undoubtedly be a vital contribution to the literature because no study in the academic discourse of terrorism has ever been written to explore the criticisms' region-specific applicability. Besides, the results are based on original data solely collected for this project. The first chapter of this study discusses whether the 'event-driven' trajectory in terrorism's research is found in Pakistan's literature. The second chapter addresses if the narratives of western scholarship and that of Pakistan's differ from each other. Finally, a segment on 'conclusion and the way forward' would follow.

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[27] Majeed and Hashmi, "Baloch Resistance during Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's Era".
[28] Kraince, "Academic freedom in Muslim societies".

CHAPTER 1 - TERRORISM IN PAKISTAN: AN OVERVIEW OF LOCAL SCHOLARSHIP

1.1. Introduction

This chapter intends to look at the local[29] literature on 'terrorism in Pakistan' by relying on a not very large but a comprehensive dataset exclusively constructed. Strongly inspired by Schuurman's work, this initiative attempts to identify and analyze Pakistani scholars' main themes on the menace of terrorism in their country. The purpose of this chapter is to determine if the common critique on the academic discourse of terrorism that it is 'too event-driven' stands valid when applied to local scholarship on terrorism in Pakistan. This part also explores if the native authors have used any western literature on terrorism studies in their works. More specifically, it resolves to see whether there is any relationship between the local scholarship on terrorism in Pakistan and Crenshaw's 'grievance theory.'[30]

This theory argues that terrorism gets stimulated due to accumulated grievances in any particular group or community. The local literature on terrorism in Pakistan cuts across various fields of study. Therefore, instead of choosing any particular journals, a random approach was adopted towards selecting the articles for the dataset. The dataset comprising of one hundred academic papers written by the Pakistani academics was formulated to work with the arguments mentioned above. A section on 'methodology,' later on, further highlights the details of sampling. Since the dataset is reasonably comprehensive, a brief part of this chapter is dedicated to offering a supplementary explanation. Then a portion about 'coding' follows. After

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[29] For the purpose of this thesis, the word 'local' refers to 'Pakistan'.
[30] Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism".

examining the coding procedure, the next segment presents the results and findings. Furthermore, the following segments are 'analysis' and 'conclusion.'

1.2.   Methodology

The primary sources for getting the relevant articles to be sampled were: CEU Library, JSTOR, Google Scholar, and Web of Science (using 'Social Sciences Citation Index'). These sources were preferred because these offered a variety of articles from various fields of study. Secondly, these sources were accessible. For an initial search, two main phrases, 'Terrorism in Pakistan' and 'Ethnic Terrorism in Pakistan,' were looked for in each of these search engines. With this initial research, it was possible to get papers generally related to local terrorism and if any scholarship had been produced, explicitly focusing on ethnic terrorism. Provided these search results would give overall literature, including contributions of international scholars. This chapter aims to analyze local literature on terrorism in Pakistan, so the next task was to identify local researchers' works.

The recognition of local scholars' contributions happened by going through the authors' names, and as an initial step, the papers, only authored by South Asian scholars, were shortlisted. Having lived in this region for 25 years and being genuinely interested in South Asia's culture and history, it was not a very daunting task to identify if a name was indigenous or not. The names were still challenging to figure out; it followed further research on the authors' background. Likewise, for the course of this assignment, papers written by local researchers only were included in the sample, regardless of their current place of work. After complying with these conditions about the authorship, the following was to analyze each article's

keywords. In every article, two keywords were hunted: 'Pakistan' and 'terrorism.' An initial search gave around 21 articles having 'terrorism' as a keyword while 'Pakistan' was found in 26 papers. In case there were only one of these keywords present, the subsequent strategy was to see whether the alternative one was in discussion throughout the article.

Bart Schuurman initially conducted a similar study using the 'keyword analysis' approach. He identified the nine leading journals of terrorism studies and reviewed 3,442 articles published during 2007-16. With this data, he constructed his dataset and discovered that the field of terrorism had consistently remained 'event-driven,' mostly underemphasizing 'non-jihadist terrorism.' This chapter essentially follows the technique earlier employed by Schuurman to highlight the gaps in terrorism's literature. However, the difference between these two studies only arises when the sample size is taken into consideration. The sample of this dataset is not as large as that of Schuurman's. However, it represents the literature of terrorism from Pakistan since the articles were acquired, keeping their randomness in mind. Besides, what makes this study's dataset is region-specific, unlike that of Schuurman's sample.

The first condition was to ensure that no paper older than the deadly 9/11 incident should count in the sample while collecting the data. The reason for making 2001 as a reference point was that this year proved to be another turning point in terrorism studies' discourse. Resultantly, it brought the entire world together to put an end' terror' everywhere[31]. 9/11 also holds crucial importance in the wake of Pakistan's encounter with terrorism because it was after this event that the country became a strategic ally of the United States (US) to combat 'terror' in South Asia. Similarly, 9/11 as a starting point of this research is also justifiable because Pakistan's strategic partnership with the US made it a more vulnerable target for terrorists to carry out

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[31] Rapoport, "The fourth wave: September 11 in the history of terrorism".

their attacks; data from 2001-02 manifests this claim[32]. Moreover, the incident of 9/11 is a defining moment in the history of Pakistan because it somehow marked the end of the immediate economic crisis yet led to a series of miseries for the people in the upcoming future[33]. Therefore, the dataset consists of the articles which got published after 9/11 until contemporary times.

The data collection process began during the first week of May 2020, and it lasted for around two weeks. This period includes searching the relevant articles, reading them, and recording them in an excel sheet. Initially, the excel sheet comprised only a few columns requiring necessary information about the articles such as title, author name, publisher name, year of publication, methodology, and main argument. Later on, few more columns included were: the field/area of studies of the article, data used, type of terrorism, cases/units of analysis, Western, and findings/conclusion. This additional work took an additional week to complete the dataset. Moreover, this dataset mostly consists of academic papers; however, there is also a minimal number of research reports. These reports would not have keywords typically, so in that situation, the first impression about the article's relevance was gauged through its summary and whether the keywords were repeated very often in the main text.

1.3.   *Explanation of the Dataset*

After discussing the standards and data collection process, it is essential to explain the dataset thoroughly. As discussed previously, the dataset has twelve columns, out of which almost half

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[32] Global Terrorism Database (GTD)
[33] Nizami et al., "Terrorism in Pakistan: a behavioral sciences perspective".

are self-explanatory; nonetheless, this section attempts to elaborate on the rest. The dataset contains a column indicating 'methodology' used in the articles. The methodology recorded is 'empirical' or 'essayistic.' Any paper that argues and concludes based on empirical data is 'empirical' in the methodology section. Simultaneously, in the case of open-ended discussions, an article is counted as 'essayistic.'

An additional column is 'field/discipline,' which refers to the area of studies of sampled articles. The classification of a paper's field/discipline happened according to the author's expertise and the journal's name. Any conflict between the journal's specificity and the author's expertise was spotted; the decision was taken based on personal intuition. Similarly, a column in the dataset talks about the 'data' used in each article. Apart from other entries, two often repeated terms are 'primary data and 'secondary data.' The former means self-collected raw data exclusively conducted for that particular research project. In contrast, the latter term indicates that the author had used multiple sources, mainly academics, to prove the argument and the results. The 'data used' column solely focuses on whether the authors relied on self-collected or readily available data regardless of local or international data.

The dataset also mentions about the types of terrorism each paper discusses. Terrorism can be of numerous types, but the local literature only indulges in three forms: religious, sectarian, and ethnic. According to Murphy[34], terrorism, which comes from society's religious elements, is denoted as 'religious terrorism.' In Pakistan's case, organizations like Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan and Al-Qaeda are examples of religious terrorism. A slightly different type is 'sectarian terrorism'; even though this type of terrorism is religious extremism, this occurs

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[34] Murphy and Malik, "Pakistan Jihad: The making of religious terrorism".

within the same religion between different sects. In the Pakistani context, 'Sunni-Shia,' 'Deobandi-Barelvi' clashes are the perfect examples of sectarian terrorism[35].

Finally, ethnic terrorism is defined as the execution of violence by subnational ethnic groups to advance their cause. Ethnic terrorists either demand separate states or equal status in comparison to the dominant group. This type of terrorism already has a built-in audience among their collaborative group[36]. Ethnic terrorism in Pakistan originates from radical groups of Baloch, Sindhi, Muhajir, and Pashtoon nationalists. Thereby, the column 'type of terrorism' in the dataset is filled, keeping in mind the explanations above. Besides, few papers in the dataset discuss terrorism without indicating any of its types. For such cases, the type of terrorism registered is 'general.' Moreover, the dataset also contains a 'cases/units of analysis' column, which indicates the specific area discussed in the article. Finally, an additional column also signifies if the local authors used any 'western literature' in their papers.

1.4. Coding

The criteria to count the 'western literature' column as 'yes' is that the author must have cited at least three western sources to prove his point. In other cases, the paper is counted as not having used any non-native scholarship. The dataset is also used to determine if the local scholars have referred to the 'grievance theory' of terrorism. The usage of grievance theory is denoted in three categorical answers: 'yes,' 'implicit,' and 'no.' A direct citation of Crenshaw's 'grievance theory' is coded as "yes." On the other hand, when a scholar argues that terrorism in Pakistan happens

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[35] Noor, "Transformation of Sectarian Terrorism in Pakistan".
[36] Byman, "The logic of ethnic terrorism".

because of various grievances, but does not refer mainly to grievance theory, it is recorded as "implicit." Crenshaw's theory is not explicitly stated in such cases, but the arguments are similar, so it is, nonetheless, subtle use of her work. The final category is "no" use of grievance when there is neither a direct citation nor an indirect reference.

Besides Western scholarship, a bit deeper analysis of the local literature highlights five significant themes repeatedly used by local scholars while discussing terrorism in Pakistan. The themes are religious/sectarian terrorism, war on terror (WoT), causes of terrorism in Pakistan, counter-terrorism, and ethnic terrorism. The central arguments of the papers were the basis for identifying these themes. The strategy to code an article under a particular theme was to gauge through reading the main text and if the main argument and findings were related accordingly. For example, only if an article's main arguments about ethnic terrorism will be recorded under that theme. When an article discussed more than one theme, it was coded under more than one topic. Furthermore, the dataset also includes several papers that do not precisely discuss any one type of terrorism. So those have been recorded under the 'general' category. The reason to go strict upon this activity was to recognize Pakistani authors' favorite themes and those they have overlooked.

An explanation earlier indicates that the literature treats religious and sectarian terrorism as two different types of violence. However, to analyze the articles' belongingness in the dataset, a single category called 'religious/sectarian terrorism' was formed. The rationale behind this is that religious and sectarian terrorism eventually emerges from religious extremism, so in a study that does not explicitly revolve around religious fundamentalism, treating them as one made analysis simpler. Also, since this endeavor's focus is 'ethnic terrorism,' counting these two types as one theme in no way affected the findings. Another popular theme in the dataset

is 'WoT.' WoT is an overarching concept hereunder, which comprises different types of terrorism. Nevertheless, it is considered a different theme because many local scholars have used WoT very frequently as a unit of analysis to prove their arguments. An important thing to retain here is that for coding purposes, articles have been counted in more than one theme, provided the discussion about those subjects was evident.

Local literature on terrorism deals a lot with the question 'why terrorism occurs in Pakistan?'. Therefore, 'causes of terrorism' is also classified as a particular theme for this project, comprising articles that attempt to find reasons/causes of violence in Pakistan. The dataset also includes some articles that might not discuss the causes of terrorism as their central argument. However, those would explain the causes in a distinct section to better explain their point. Thereby, adopting a more flexible approach in this scenario, any article is also counted under this theme if a separate section explaining the reasons was present. Lastly, the theme, counter-terrorism/anti-terrorism', is also quite popular with local scholars. Likewise, a similar strategy was adopted to record articles on this theme. Apart from papers that specifically talked about counter-terrorism measures, if some had a separate section reflecting upon anti-terrorism tactics, were also entered under this theme.
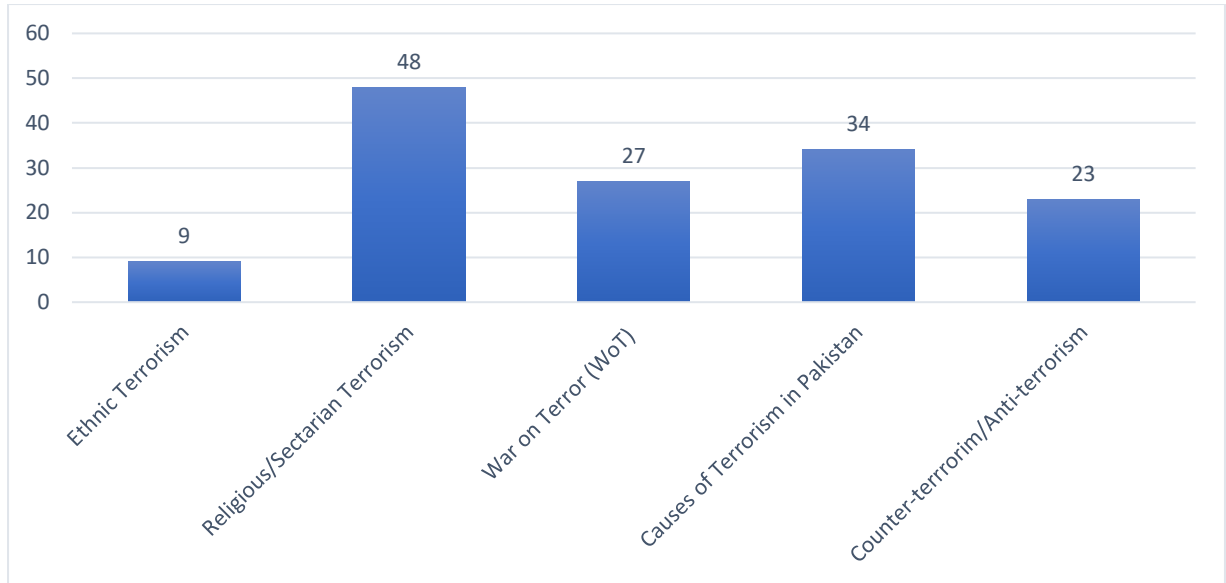
1.5. *Results*

Figure 1. Distribution of articles in the dataset according to their themes.

This graph illustrates the thematic distribution of articles in the dataset. Figure 1 shows that almost half of the dataset articles were related to religious/sectarian terrorism. Furthermore, a comparative analysis of both themes reveals that the ratio of religious/sectarian to ethnic terrorism is 48:9. These numbers mean that Pakistan's academic circle tends to discuss religious/sectarian terrorism at least five times more than it sheds light on ethnic terrorism. These figures expose the 'one-dimensional' approach of local academics toward terrorism in Pakistan.

Meanwhile, the literature also dramatically focuses on the 'causes of terrorism in Pakistan.' From the dataset of one hundred articles, 34 have discussed the reasons for terrorism in Pakistan. Considering the total number of papers in the dataset, 34 is a significant number. Additionally, 'counter-terrorism' gets contemplated for 23 times in the sampled articles. Nevertheless, this pattern suggests that local scholars' focus has prominently been finding the causes of terrorism in Pakistan and proposing solutions. Thus, conforming to another of Schuurman's findings, the research on terrorism is 'policy-driven.' Furthermore, figure 1 shows

that WoT as a theme is also quite popular with local scholars. It is interesting to see that of all the themes,' ethnic terrorism' receives the least of scholarly attention. Nonetheless, the reasons for it are highlighted in the next section of this chapter.
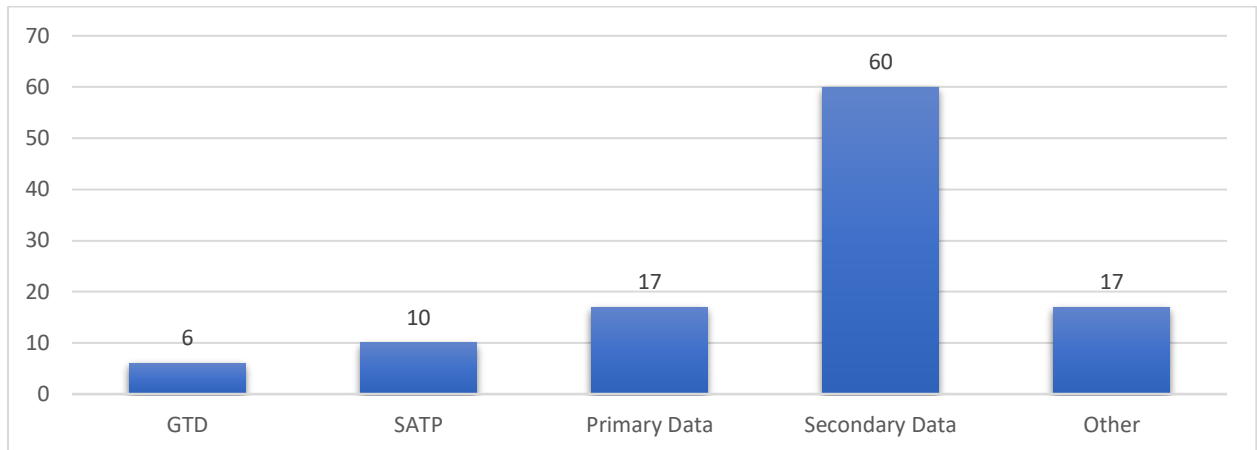

Figure 2. Distribution of data used by articles in the dataset

Figure 2 shows that 60% of the local academic works have relied on secondary data to support their arguments. This finding does not sync with Schuurman's recent discovery, which suggests that researchers no longer mostly rely on 'secondary data.' Perhaps the researchers on terrorism from Pakistan yet have to improve on these grounds. Merely, 17 out of 100 articles used primary data, either in surveys or interviews, and the respondents were direct victims and experts of terrorism in Pakistan. The same number also reports having used 'other sources' as indicated in figure 2. These 'other sources' include data from Pakistan Institute of Parliamentary Services, National Crisis Management Cell, Anti-Terrorism Act (1997), Home Ministry of Balochistan, Interior Ministry of Pakistan, Federal Bureau of Statistics, Finance Division of Pakistan, State Bank of Pakistan, Transparency International, National Counter-Terrorism Act (NACTA) and Economic Survey of Pakistan.

Resultantly, it helps to infer that local scholars' reliance is way more on indigenous sources than international ones'. This inference gets reaffirmed by looking at the remaining two data sources in figure 2, which uncovers that only six articles used the Global Terrorism Dataset (GTD), a western data source. At the same time, 10 out of 28 empirical studies (represented in figure 3a) used the South Asian Terrorism Portal (SATP). The use of SATP over GTD is reasonable because, unlike GTD, it is a comprehensive source that not only provides exact information about the conflict zones in each South Asian country but also gives a detailed account of each terrorist group. Contrarily, if evaluated the overall picture rather than empirical works only, figure 3b indicates that 73% of the papers written by local scholars have cited the western literature on terrorism in Pakistan. So this leads us to conclude that Pakistani scholars have more confidence in native data sources only while dealing with empirical works. In other cases, western literature is also widely acknowledged and used.
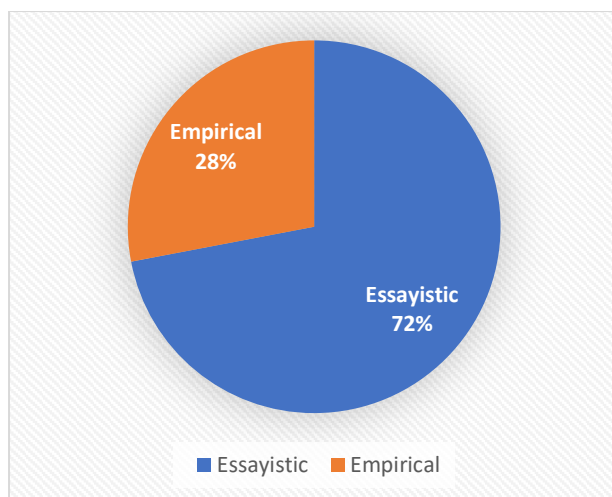

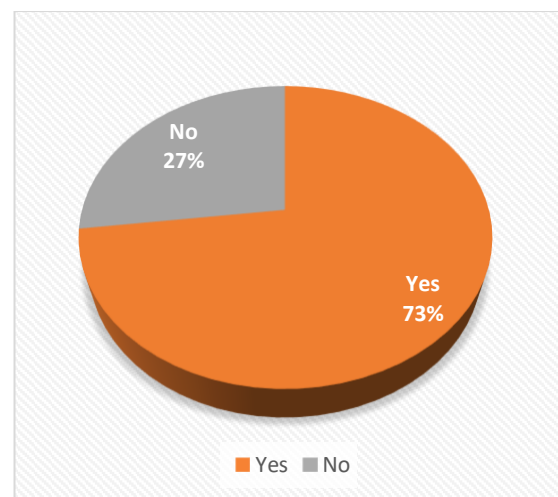Figure 3a. The methodology of articles in the dataset.

Figure 3b. Western literature used

Figure 3c. Reveals the relationship between the local scholarship on terrorism in Pakistan and Martha Crenshaw's grievance theory. Since the idea behind this theory that grievances cause

terrorism can relate to Pakistan's case, figure 3c illustrates how widespread the argument of grievance is with Pakistan's academics. Surprisingly, the results show that an overwhelming majority of the local scholars do not refer to Crenshaw's theory to support their arguments. Merely 10% of articles from the sample dataset have cited the grievance argument. At the same time, around one-fifth of those have made an implicit denotation of the Crenshaw's assertion. Nonetheless, this suggests that if the authors are not directly referring to the grievance theory, there is an understanding of resentment acting as an instigator for terrorism.
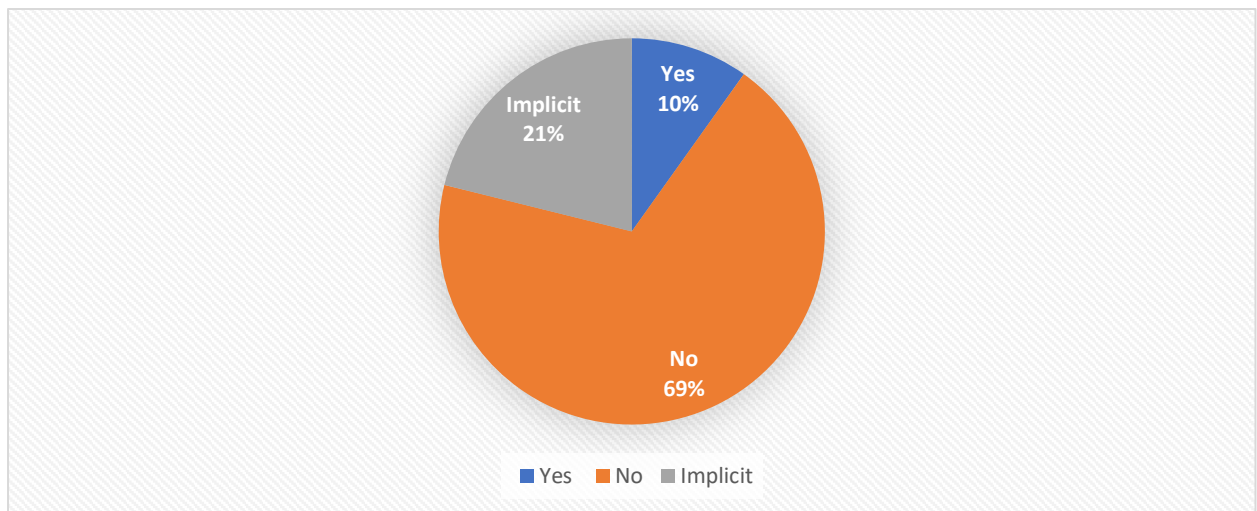
Figure 3c. The relationship between local scholarship and Grievance Theory

Figure 4 shows the 'areas/fields of study' of the papers included in the dataset. According to the graph, a quarter of articles in the dataset got published in journals belonging to terrorism studies. It is a positive sign because these studies directly enrich the literature of 'terrorism' as a discipline. Simultaneously, almost the same number of articles also successfully made their space in political science journals. It helps to gauge that still, to a more considerable extent, the discourse of 'terrorism' is looked at from the lens of political science. Moreover, many articles have also been published in International Relations journals, which is justifiable because terrorism is a global issue that can affect states' relations. Terrorism has severely affected

Pakistan's economy, and it is also evident from the fact that 14 out of 100 articles published by local scholars reflect upon the economic effects of this menace.
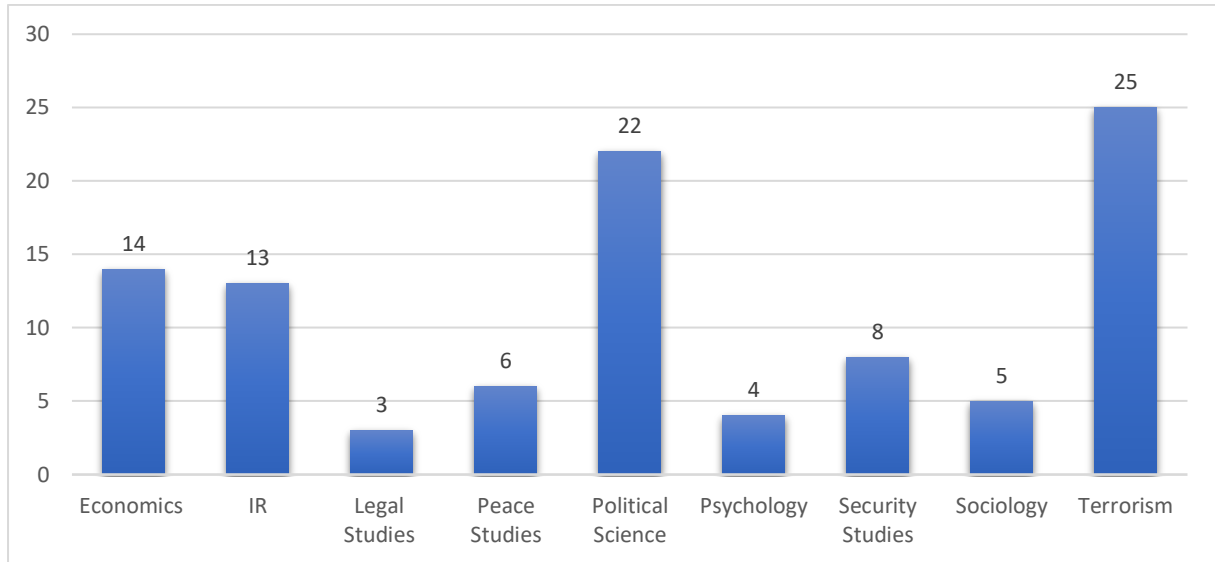
Figure 4. Area/field of studies articles in the dataset are published

Figure 4 also shows that terrorism has been reviewed by local scholars from the perspective of 'security studies' as well. Pakistan being a country in which its security forces enjoy much of an influence[37], it becomes plausible to understand that the native scholars are studying terrorism from a security's viewpoint. Moreover, the scholars of sociology have also attempted to comprehend terrorism. Though, what is particularly interesting is that even scholarly works of psychology and peace studies have covered terrorism in Pakistan. The discussion of terrorism under such diverse fields of studies is an indication that it gets understood from various angles. Such an approach would help to apprehend the motivations of terrorism in Pakistan comprehensively and provide a substantive counter-terrorism narrative. Finally, it is surprising to observe that despite terrorism being the worst problem of Pakistan, it is not quite popular with legal studies researchers. It might reflect the general tendency of legal studies'

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[37] Rizvi, " Civil-military relations in contemporary Pakistan".

students in Pakistan to practice law rather than pursue a career in the academic world. Thus, learning terrorism more through the legal approach would aid in lawmaking and substantiating the literature.
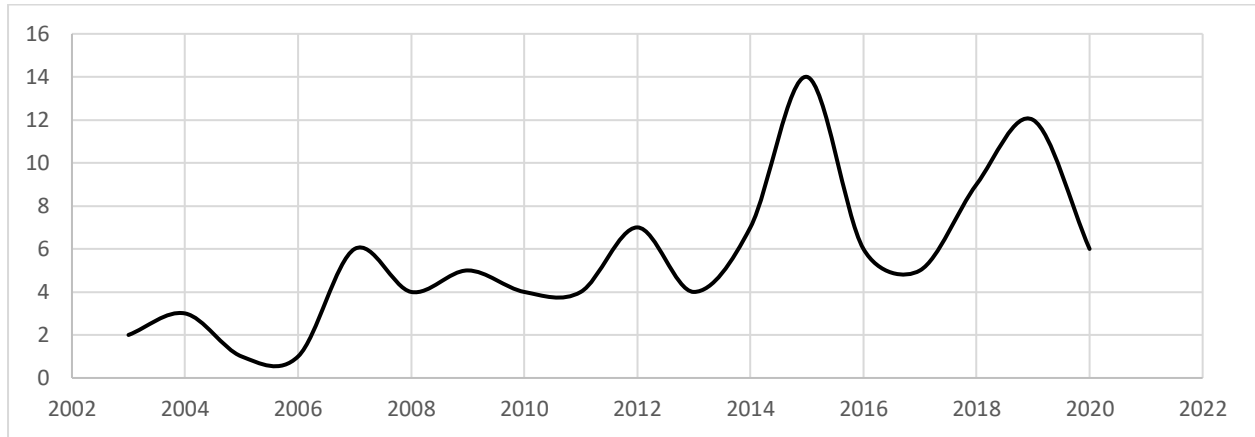
Figure 5. Year-wise publication of articles in the dataset

The graph in figure 5 generally shows an uneven picture as long as the number of publications is concerned year wise. It illustrates that the highest number of articles got published in 2015, and even that was slightly more than one article per month. The second-highest number of articles published was in 2019, with 12 academic papers in total. Having looked at these figures, it becomes thought-provoking to know what took Pakistani scholars to delay working on 'terrorism' for so long. According to GTD, there has been a steep rise in the trend of terrorist attacks in Pakistan since the last decade i-e 2001-10[38]. Contrastingly, a similar pattern is absent in figure 5 till 2013. In that case, this figure's results show a direct relationship between increasing or decreasing the number of terrorist incidents and local scholars' researched works in Pakistan. Hence, it classifies that as long as the number of articles is concerned, the local scholars have taken a bit longer to start researching the series of acts of violence. With an

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[38] Global Terrorism Database (GTD)

unstable graph, it becomes difficult to say if the academic development of 'terrorism in Pakistan' by the local scholars is smoothly taking place. Nonetheless, the scholars' thematic preference for 'religious/sectarian terrorism' remains stable throughout.

1.6. *Empirical Data for Terrorism in Pakistan*

The discussion above suggests that the local scholarship's focus is considerably more concentrated on religious/sectarian terrorism. As a result, any other kind of terrorism, in our case, 'ethnic terrorism' instead goes relatively ignored in the local literature of terrorism in Pakistan. Such an inference validates Schuurman's claim, also in Pakistan's case, that the research in the academic discourse of terrorism is too event-driven and that the researchers are ignoring non-jihadist terrorism. This one-dimensional approach is not only leaving a blind spot in the scholarship of terrorism studies, but it is also creating a wrong perception that terrorism emerges from one particular community only. Amid these consequences, scholars of terrorism studies must alter their direction and work on violent activities that materialize due to, for example, ethnic grievances. In the meanwhile, it is imperative to explore what the data on terrorism in Pakistan discloses.

For the next two graphs, the data was acquired from GTD from 2002 to 2018. In the following graphs, the trend for 'religious/sectarian' terrorism represents the number of violent attacks carried out by religious or sectarian groups in Pakistan. At the same time, the other one shows only the attacks executed by Baloch insurgent factions. The final trend is the summation of the first two results.
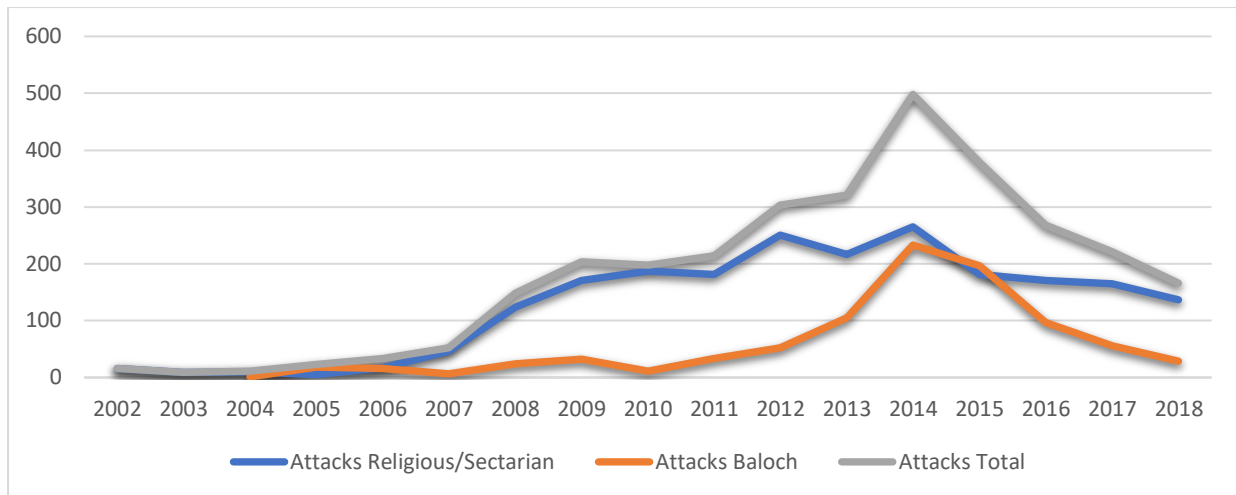
Figure 6. The trends of terrorist attacks in Pakistan (Source: GTD)

The figure above represents that overall there is a considerable gap between the trends showing terrorist attacks by religious/sectarian groups and Baloch insurgents. Although as time passes, the difference narrows down, and, in 2014-15, the number of Baloch terrorist attacks equals, if not surpasses, religious/sectarian attacks. Eventually, the gap remains persistent by the end. Likewise, figure 6 shows almost a similar pattern for both the trends, yet religiously driven terrorism seems more frequent than ethnic (Baloch) violence. There is also figure 7, which reflects upon the intensity of the attacks by both groups. Unlike in figure 6, the shapes of both trends are visibly different. The intensity of attacks carried out by Baloch nationalists is nowhere reaching closer to that of 'religious/sectarian' groups. While there are sudden increasing and decreasing shifts in the fatalities caused by religious/sectarian groups, the trend displaying the number of fatalities by Baloch terrorists is almost stagnant. Even during 2013-16, when Baloch insurgents' number of attacks is higher, it can be perceived that the number of fatalities does not increase noticeably.
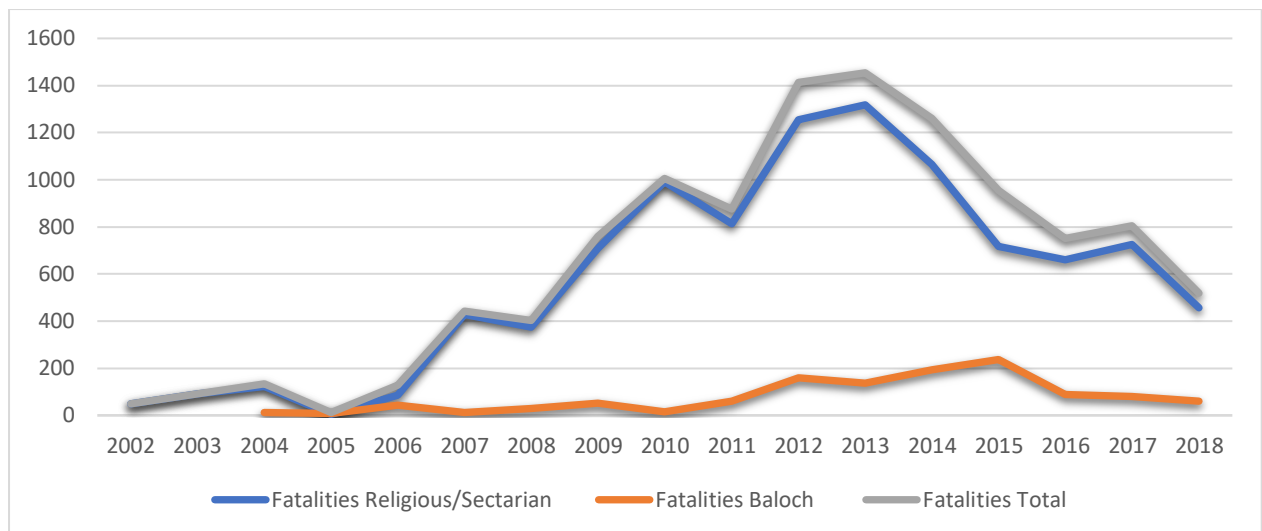
Figure 7. The trends of fatalities caused by religious/sectarian terrorist groups and Baloch insurgents in Pakistan.

Therefore, it signifies that not only in terms of frequency but also as long as the intensity of the terrorist attacks is concerned, religious/sectarian groups' violent acts are worse than those caused by Baloch nationalists. Moreover, the local authors' inclination towards writing further about religious/sectarian terrorism is also because of the reason suggested above. Thereby, the critique of terrorism studies, being too event-driven, gets confirmed in Pakistan's case. However, it is essential to remember that the category of 'religious/sectarian' includes terrorism performed by any religious or sectarian group, be it national or international, throughout the country. On the other hand, the data above only counts terrorist incidents plotted and executed by the Baloch nationalists, let alone violence created by other ethnic movements of Pakistan, e.g., Sindhi, Pashtun, and Muhajir. Thus, it can be deduced that the Baloch groups' violence is probably the maximum but only one portion of what contributes to overall ethnic terrorism in Pakistan. Perhaps, a complete picture can only be available if the violence perpetrated by all ethnic groups in Pakistan is accumulated and then compared to religious/sectarian violence. However, considering the level of difference in results above and that the Baloch insurgency is the most violent ethnic movement of Pakistan, it can be anticipated that even terrorism of

all ethnic groups combined would be nowhere close to that carried out by religious/sectarian groups.

1.7. Analysis

The GTD data above clearly shows that in terms of 'intensity' and 'frequency,' religious/sectarian terrorism has proven to be more detrimental than ethnic terrorism. Perhaps, the significant difference in the results, as displayed in figure 6 and 7, explains the uneven inclination of scholarly attention to religious/sectarian terrorism. Hence, the critique that terrorism research is event-driven, reaffirmed by Schuurman, follows Pakistan's case. Having discussed the reasons for the disproportionate academic concentration between religious/sectarian and ethnic terrorism, this section of the chapter reflects how the local researchers perceive terrorism in Pakistan. The text underneath explains Pakistan's academics' general understanding of the themes identified in figure 1. Additionally, it also debates some other aspects of terrorism in Pakistan, i-e 'dominant role of the military establishment,' 'characteristics of terrorists,' and 'involvement of global players.' Although these subjects are not acknowledged as separate themes above, their discussion is crucial to understanding terrorism in Pakistan.

For terrorism has gravely affected Pakistan, the research suggests that even local academics have resolved a lot to determine the causes of terrorism. Haider et al.[39] and Rauf[40] argue that terrorism in Pakistan is a product of lack of law enforcement, poverty, unemployment, foreign

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[39] Haider et al., "Identifying Causes of Terrorism in Pakistan".
[40] Rauf, "Understanding the Causes of Terrorism in Pakistan".

involvement, and Pakistan's participation in WoT. Despite identifying several causes, they fail to empirically prove if any particular factor has a unilateral connection with terrorism in Pakistan. On the other hand, Shahbaz et al[41]. and Shabbir et al.[42] have come up with a more precise claim that terrorism is promoted by income inequality, which emanates from lopsided economic growth and unequal access to education. Although both the studies are worthy, their findings can be inconsistent with other data sources. Ismail and Amjad, using data from South Asian Terrorism Portal (SATP), empirically advance that unemployment, inequality, and lack of education have an insignificant impact on terrorism in the short run[43]. Nonetheless, consistency can only be observed among empirical studies when local scholars, like Irshad[44] and Iraqi and Akhter[45], make broader claims of improving the economy to get rid of terrorism. So it can be said that studies coming from the perspective of economics offer a comprehensive understanding of the causes of terrorism. For better policy implications, much narrowed down findings can be more helpful.

In addition to highlighting economic causes of terrorism, a group of scholars believes that Pakistan's military's dominant role in governance is also responsible for rising terrorism. Farooq suggests that the military's extraordinary involvement in government affairs has weakened Pakistan's internal security by being always in a warlike situation with India and has created an institutional imbalance that creates a gap for terrorist elements to succeed[46]. Such a claim is replicated in Shuja's article as well. However, he further says that the military's decisive role is also a hindrance toward achieving a decentralized political framework that can

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[41] Shahbaz et al., "The income inequality and domestic terrorism nexus".
[42] Shabbir and Shahbaz, "Is hike in inflation responsible for rise in terrorism in Pakistan?"
[43] Ismail and Amjad, "Determinants of terrorism in Pakistan"..
[44] Irshad, "Terrorism in Pakistan: Causes & Remedies".
[45] Iraqi and Akhter, "Terrorism in Pakistan: Genesis, Damages and Way Forward".
[46] Farooq, "Pakistan's internal security dynamics and the role of military regimes".

mitigate internal grievances[47]. Resultantly, these cleavages are exhausted by religious forces which have had considerable backing from the Pakistan military[48]. So the national security policy should consider relegating the military's security approach[49], which will be more effective if extensive military aid from the US gets constrained[50]. In response, the military quote the country's critical geopolitical location[51], corrupt political leadership, and weak judicial system[52] as reasons for their significant governmentConversely, even this does not justify the military establishment's unchallenged ruling nature in Pakistan.

The local literature also sheds light on the characteristics of terrorists in Pakistan. Some empirical works also prove that terrorists are relatively more literate than the local population[53] and are efficient communications technology users[54]. They possess criminal nature and firmly adhere to collective identity[55] and get motivated by misrepresenting religion[56]. More specifically, their motivations come from promises like 'suicide bombers will get 72 virgin girls in the hereafter'[57]. Adding on, terrorists also tend to hit soft targets like children[58]. In another way, they easily brainwash children and recruited them from areas struck with social injustice[59] and political and economic instability[60]. Moreover, Rehman, using the GTD data, has also argued that terrorists continuously remain in a state of displacement, raising public cost on neighborhoods[61] , leading to physical aggression and hostility in society[62]. Thereby, any

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[47] Shuja, "Pakistan: Islam, radicalism and the army".
[48] Khan and Javaid, "Extremism in Contemporary Pakistan".
[49] Mukhtar et al., "National Security Paradigm of Pakistan-Retrospective Analysis".
[50] Syed et al., "Causes and incentives for terrorism in Pakistan".
[51] Saeed and Syed, "Historical Analysis of Terrorism in Pakistan".
[52] Malik et al., "Identification of risk factors generating terrorism in Pakistan".
[53] Saeed and Syed, "Insights into selected features of Pakistan's most wanted terrorists".
[54] Mahmood and Jetter, "Communications technology and terrorism".
[55] Feyyaz, "Conceptualising Terrorism Trend Patterns in Pakistan-an Empirical Perspective".
[56] Urooj and Tariq, "Causes of Suicide Terrorism in Pakistan as Perceived by Media Personnel".
[57] Iqbal, "Drivers of suicide terrorism in Pakistan".
[58] Zahid and Biberman, "Why terrorists target children".
[59] Ahmed et al., "Socio-economic and political determinants of terrorism in Pakistan".
[60] Daraz et al., "Sociological analysis of terrorism in Pakistan", 203.
[61] Rehman, "The spatial analysis of terrorism in Pakistan".
[62] Hussain et al., "Exposure to violence and its association with symptoms of aggression".

counter-terrorism operation must comply with human rights protocols to stop spreading more chaos within a community[63].

The most discussed theme in the literature is 'religious/sectarian terrorism.' Pakistani scholars trace back the root cause of religious/sectarian extremism to skewed foreign policy in the 1980s[64]. Ahmar argues that General Zia's martial law regime gave impetus to religious extremist groups under which the practice of preaching a particular version of Shariah prevailed[65]. Ahmed believes that it significantly increased extremism before and after the Afghan war and segregating society along sectarian lines[66]. Noor extends this debate by proclaiming that sectarian conflict in Pakistan goes beyond the Suni-Shia divide and instead involves groups like 'Wahabis' and 'Barelvis.' Behind the spread of this dogmatism, the institution of 'Madrasah (religious seminaries)' has played a vital role. The local academics even sometimes refer to Madrassahs as 'terrorist factories.' Hanif et al. empirically prove this claim by conducting a comparative study. Students from both schools and Madrassahs had to go through a questionnaire to understand which group was more extreme in religious beliefs[67]. The results reflected that Madrassah students were way more religious hence sympathizers of the Taliban. Shaukat also carried out a similar study and concluded that Madrassah's men have a less positive attitude towards peace and female emancipation[68]. Although both studies were meticulous in their conduct, their sample size remained less than a thousand participants. Similarly, Lahore's students only formed the samples, so it would be unwise to generalize the entire country's findings.

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[63] Jawad, "Terrorism and Human Rights".
[64] Hussain et al., "Theoretical Analysis of Socio-Economic and Political Causes of Terrorism in Pakistan", 53.
[65] Ahmar, "Enlightenment and the Challenge of Extremism in Pakistan".
[66] Ahmed, "Sectarian violence in Pakistan".
[67] Hanif et al., "Religious Extremism, Religiosity and Sympathy toward the Taliban".
[68] Shukat et al., "Students' Concerns about Terrorism in Pakistan".

Through their sociological lens, Kazmi and Pervez contend that global players have transformed Madrassah's role into a hub of terrorism and militancy[69]. They were perhaps referring to the early 1980s when the Soviet Union had invaded Afghanistan, and the US-funded Pakistani military was to train Afghan Mujahideen. However, eventually, Soviet forces had to withdraw, and with that US's support, the question arises of how come Madrassahs sustained their militant posture after that. Nadim argues that Pakistani military officers feared their country to become a scapegoat of Afghanistan's US failure. Thereby they supported some terrorist groups to maintain strategic importance in the region[70]. Not only this, but the militant outfits also get financed through tribal connections, ethnic (Pushtun) affiliations, criminal activities in the region, and help from foreign militant organizations[71]. Hussain implies that Pakistan has to stop the unauthorized flow of finances to weaken these terrorist groups and get away from the Financial Action Task Force's (FATF) grey list[72].

The local literature also discusses 'war on terror (WoT')' very regularly. There is a group of scholars who believes that Pakistan's involvement in WoT was viable. Pakistan got rid of international isolation after the Kargil war with India in 1999 and became a forefront ally of the US[73]. Initially, Pakistani scholars were eying this partnership as a diplomatic arsenal to defuse India's tensions[74]. Zeb analyzed this alliance from a different perspective and attempted to make Afghanistan realize that they should not blame Pakistan for terrorism in their country; instead, Pakistan is fighting their war[75]. He also implied that Afghanistan, being a landlocked country, depends a lot on Pakistani ports. Therefore, Kabul should realize certain limitations

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[69] Kazmi and Pervez, "Socio-economic and cultural perspectives of terrorism in Pakistan and the Madrassa (Mosque) Students".
[70] Nadim, "Neither friend nor foe: Pakistan, the United States and the war in Afghanistan".
[71] Acharya et al., "Making money in the Mayhem".
[72] Hussain, "Pakistan on FATF's Grey List".
[73] Rahman, "Pakistan and the War on Terrorism".
[74] Khan, "Pakistan and the War Against Terrorism in Afghanistan".
[75] Zeb, "Cross Border Terrorism Issues Plaguing Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations".

before taking a hardline towards Islamabad. The main thing to apprehend here that this kind of narrative for involvement in WoT is only traceable from the early years of the war till the end of the decade. A slightly differing view is that Pakistan's participation in WoT might lead to a rise in religious extremism[76] . A third party (US) involvement in the local conflict might complicate the situation[77]. The literature then also talks about war crimes to be prevented for locals' grievances shall not exacerbate[78].

Moreover, Javaid reflected on Pakistan's involvement in WoT and concluded that there is no clear evidence of the country's losses of lives and property; thus, Pakistan's decision of indulging in WoT was justifiable[79]. Nonetheless, it was almost after a decade of WoT that Pakistani scholars finally started to recognize that Pakistan is paying a very high cost of participation in the war in terms of aggravated militancy and economic losses[80]. According to Ali's empirical work, using data from the SATP and Finance Division of Pakistan, the costs of terrorism in Pakistan include loss of livelihood, destruction of infrastructure, capital flight, declining of growth rates, low revenues, and ultimately the deterioration of the overall economy[81]. In another numerical article, Hyder et al. has utilized the data from GTD and established that terrorism, which the country has imported by participating in WoT, is the biggest impediment to its economic progress[82]. As a result of Pakistan's involvement in WoT, suicide bombing culture, external intervention, and internal displacement increased substantially. Consequently, the local scholarship has also analyzed the psychological impact of terrorism and concluded that, resultantly, Pakistan's soft image has tarnished, severely

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[76] Hussain, "US-Pakistan engagement".
[77] Aslam, "Rethinking Wana".
[78] Shah, "War Crimes in the Armed Conflict in Pakistan".
[79] Javaid, "Partnership in War on Terror and Mounting Militant Extremism in Pakistan".
[80] Rabbi, "War against Terrorism and its Repercussions for Pakistan".
[81] Ali, "Economic cost of terrorism".
[82] Hyder et al., "Impact of terrorism on economic development in Pakistan".

hurting its tourism industry[83]. To sum up, the local scholarship eventually curses sharing shared borders, history, and culture with Afghanistan, affecting very severely in the WoT[84].

'Counter-terrorism' is also very prominently found in the literature. The dataset reflects that the first study regarding counter-terrorism did come out in 2007 and briefly touched upon the theme. Jaspal argued from a legal perspective and stated that improving the rule of law and operational capacity of the high and lower judiciary is essential to curb terrorism in Pakistan; since only a sound judicial system is a sine qua non countering terrorism in Pakistan[85]. Later on, he asserts that Pakistan alone would not be able to deal with Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) terrorism. Thereby, he suggested that Islamabad work with Kabul to prevent any WMD material movement along their border carefully[86]. Around the same time, Fayyaz pointed out that that counter-terrorism largely depends on political will complemented by public support[87]. He perhaps talked about the military dictatorship of General Musharaf while referring to 'political will.' Subsequently, in this way, Fayyaz implies that Pakistan's military leadership is responsible for terrorism in the country.

Even after seven years of Fayyaz's work, the literature highlights that Pakistan did not have a proper counter-terrorism narrative[88]. Throughout this time, civilian leadership was in government. Facing such a dilemma, Parvez and Rani demonstrated a concern that ineffective policies towards tackling terrorism might shift public confidence in the military instead of civilian leadership[89]. The shift in public opinion is also possible because the military is

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[83] Rahman, "Pakistan's soft power".
[84] Karim, "World Powers Rivalry in Afghanistan and Its Effects on Pakistan".
[85] Jaspal, "Pakistan's Judicial System".
[86] Jaspal, "WMD terrorism and Pakistan".
[87] Fayyaz, "Responding to terrorism".
[88] Feyyaz, "Why Pakistan does not have a counterterrorism narrative".
[89] Parvez and Rani, "An Appraisal of Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Act".

perceived as more organized and strategic power stakeholders while making foreign policy and security decisions[90]. Afridi believes that deradicalization is attainable after the military's successful kinetic operation, the civilian institutions' improved focus on legal aspects, better governance, and economic development[91]. This argument was further substantiated in Saleem's empirical work, carried out with the help of primary data from Karachi, which argues that public expenditure does play a role in reducing terrorism[92]. Perhaps, Pakistani authority's primary focus today on successfully building the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is also a crucial policy step from a security perspective to curtail terrorism[93].

The literature advocates that Pakistan's response to terrorism has been reactive rather than proactive and futuristic[94]. Ahmed has analyzed the counter-terrorism strategies under three regimes (Musharaf, Zardari, and Nawaz). He has concluded that none of these governments in Pakistan has paid adequate attention to post-war production, recovery, limit building, and strengthening of affected clans[95]. Majeed further has stressed on Pakistan's counter violent extremism (CVE) approach and has asserted that Pakistan falls short in following the Western CVE approach, which emphasizes a great deal on alleviating poverty, illiteracy, and rigid ideology[96]. As identified before that Madrassahs are a very influential source of spreading extremist narrative; the government of Pakistan must get them registered under Higher Education Commission and influence them to give up the discourse of religious hatred[97]. Such an effort would also formalize their financial channels and keep a strict eye on their academic discourse. Finally, Zahid unleashes a nexus between street criminals and terrorists in Pakistan;

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[90] Nawaz, "Countering Militancy and Terrorism in Pakistan".
[91] Afridi, "Pakistan's Counterinsurgency".
[92] Saleem et al., "Identifying causes of terrorism in Karachi, Pakistan".
[93] Ibrar et al., "The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor".
[94] Ghani, "Pakistan's Response to Extremism and Terrorism".
[95] Ahmed, "The Role of Pakistan Against Counter Terrorism".
[96] Khan, "Countering Violent Extremism in Pakistan".
[97] Butt et al., "Pakistan Initiatives and Endeavors To counter Money Laundering", 151.

therefore, he suggests that Pakistani policymakers should broaden the tax base to root out the parallel black economy and take intense action against terrorism financing networks[98].

The discussion above implies that the literature on terrorism in Pakistan is quite comprehensive. However, a particular type of violence' ethnic terrorism' has been overlooked. Pakistan is a multi-ethnic country, and one ethnic group's hegemonic attitude over others is a likely reason for the rest to get aggrieved. Consequently, certain ethnic groups in Pakistan have resolved to violence. Haleem argues that Pakistan's divided society, with its subsequent ethnic violence and fluid alliance, has contributed to its propensity toward praetorianism[99]. According to Khan, ethnic violence, especially in Balochistan, is a product of the central government's inability to resolve the province's demand for autonomy and equitable distribution of national resources[100]. The level of resentment has gone so high that non-Baloch people are targeted and killed in Balochistan[101]. Majeed suggests that national integration only occurs when ethnic identities get adequate representation as per Pakistan's constitution[102].

1.8.   Conclusion

A prominent critique of terrorism studies' research is that it is 'too event-driven,' therefore lacks covering all aspects of terrorism. This chapter mainly attempts to test if this criticism stands valid when dealing with Pakistan's literature on terrorism. An original dataset of one hundred articles by the authors of Pakistan helped identify which form of terrorism is more under

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[98] Zahid, "Crime-Terror Nexus in Pakistan".
[99] Haleem, "Ethnic and sectarian violence and the propensity towards praetorianism in Pakistan".
[100] Khan, "Pakistan in 2006".
[101] Siddiqi, "Security Dynamics in Pakistani Balochistan".
[102] Majeed, "Ethnicity and ethnic conflict in Pakistan", 51.

consideration. The findings reveal that Pakistani academics' focus remained significantly more on 'religious/sectarian' terrorism than ethnically motivated terrorism. Eventually, the data from GTD also proves that the violence executed by religious/sectarian groups is more frequent and denser than the ethnic terrorism in Pakistan. Perhaps this gives the local scholars enough reason to divert their attention more to religious/sectarian terrorism than ethnically based violence.

Besides, the dataset also facilitated in discovering that the local scholarship is overwhelmingly essayistic. Thus, the objection that research on terrorism does not engage with empirical methods frequently stands worthy of Pakistan's scholarship. Likewise, the dataset also reflects a significant lack of primary data in Pakistan's literature on terrorism in other outcomes; it is evident that Pakistan's academics rely on citing western scholars in their works. However, with a particular reference to the 'grievance theory' of terrorism, the scholars are not aware of it. Conceivably, a better understanding of mainstream (western) literature on terrorism would instead substantiate their writings.

Furthermore, with the help of the dataset, it was possible to determine that majority of the studies in the literature of terrorism are viewed from the perspectives of economics, political science, and international relations. While referring back to Schuurman's affirmation regarding the 'event-driven' nature of research on terrorism, the case of Pakistan a perfect manifestation of it. A notable disproportion between the number of studies on 'religious/sectarian' and ethnic terrorism limits the scope of academic discourse of terrorism and paints only one side of the picture in a way that terrorism only emanates from religious extremists. Henceforth, for a complete understanding of terrorism, it is critical not to overlook the other aspects of terrorism, i-e 'ethnically motivated radicalism' for the course of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2 - THE CASE OF BALOCHISTAN: AN INTERNATIONAL AND LOCAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1. Introduction

The previous chapter entails that local scholarship has focused considerably on religious/sectarian violence than ethnic terrorism in Pakistan. It goes in sync with Schuurman's argument that the research on 'terrorism' has been event-driven and concentrates upon 'Jihadist terrorism.' Thus, overlooking all other kinds of violence. Pakistan is a multi-ethnic society, and its national integrity has stayed contested at the hands of multiple ethnic groups. After the partition of Bangladesh in 1971, Balochistan emerged as yet another province that remained disgruntled with Pakistan's federation[103]. As a result, the Baloch nationalist movement had also resolved to violent means, and currently, the province is a hotbed of terrorist attacks[104]. Provided Pakistan's state has never recognized, let alone respected, ethnic differences[105], it is crucial to see whether the country's intellectual circle understands the Baloch insurgency objectively.

Richard English asserts that local nationalism affects and partially determines the ways the scholarship on terrorism is performed[106]. For him, 'nationalism' acts as a pair of a lens through which various debates on terrorism can be understood and read. Precisely, he tries to imply that an author belonging to Country X, while writing about terrorist activities in their country, would have some bias against that violent movement. So, according to him, the particularities

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[103] Fair and Hamza, "Rethinking Baloch Secularism".
[104] Feyyaz, "Constructing Baloch Militancy in Pakistan".
[105] Ahmed, "Pakistan: ethnic fragmentation or national integration?".
[106] English, "Nationalism and Terrorism".

of time and place of the authors will affect them. In such a situation, it would be naïve to assume a neutral scholarly terrain. Subsequently, he highlights the importance of reading both native and international literature about a conflict to understand it comprehensively.

This chapter aims to observe the impartiality in the narrative of the local scholarship on the Balochistan insurgency. Therefore, it is also essential to consider some foreign literature before drawing any conclusion. This part will mainly present a comparative viewpoint of the articles, by Pakistani and international authors, about ethnic violence in Balochistan. Considering a dwindling state of freedom of expression in Pakistan despite constitutional provision[107], the local scholars' neutral take on the Baloch insurgency is hard to expect. In such a case, it is highly probable that the local scholarship might paint a different story of a conflict in Balochistan than international literature. Henceforth, this section of the thesis explores if Richard English's claim is applicable as far as the literature on Pakistan's province, Balochistan, is concerned.

In light of these concerns, the central argument is that both the scholarships have focused on similar themes while discussing ethnic terrorism in Balochistan. Nevertheless, the narratives of local and international authors do not converge rather significantly diverge from each other. Thereby, it proves the worthiness of English's claim that it is essential to go through the local literature because that might paint a different picture of violent conflict than mainstream description. The remaining part of this chapter further elaborates on this argument. The upcoming section talks about the methodology of the dataset exclusively formed for this chapter. In the next subdivision, there is a discussion on how both scholarships reflect upon ethnic terrorism in Balochistan, specifically. After debating the alternative academic

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[107] Siraj, "Critical analysis of press freedom in Pakistan".

perspectives, the following part presents a visual representation to indicate the thematic focus of international and native scholarship on the Baloch insurgency. A segment of comparative analysis of the two academic outlooks follows next. Finally, with the help of this evaluation, a conclusion has been reached.

2.2. Methodology

Another original dataset comprising academic articles by local and international scholars was created to answer the second research question. For each type of scholarship, native and foreign, twenty-one articles were selected with the following sources: CEU Library, Google Scholar, Jstor, and Web of Science (using social sciences citation index). Each data source was looked for the phrases "terrorism in Balochistan" and "insurgency in Balochistan." The next step was to see if the keywords resemble "terrorism," "insurgency," and "Balochistan." It was learned through some detailed observation that around 30% of articles only had either of these keywords, while none had all three.

Ultimately, an article's relevance was decided by reading its abstract and the main text. Hence, the papers' primary selection criterion for inclusion in the dataset was their central argument, which focused on Balochistan's insurgency. It was ensured that the articles were only published from 2005 until contemporary times. The year 2005 was made the reference point here, keeping in mind the beginning of Balochistan's recent insurgent movement[108]. Moreover, the papers were selected using the random sampling approach. All of these steps were repeated for each

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[108] Khan, "Renewed ethnonationalist insurgency in Balochistan, Pakistan".

type of scholarship separately. The motivation behind using the same methodology was to avoid any discrepancies in the findings, eventually.

2.3. *An International and Local Viewpoint of the Baloch Insurgency*

This section discusses how the Baloch insurgent movement is perceived by scholars in either camp of the literature, foreign and indigenous. Since the central arguments of the dataset articles are debated here, this part would help identify both types of scholars' thematic focus. Furthermore, this section would also help recognize whether a typical narrative about the Balochistan crisis exists and how it converges or diverges from the mainstream (western) narrative.

2.3.1. International Perspective

In terms of mineral reserves, the Balochistan province's resourcefulness is somewhat popular with the non-native researchers. Bansal argues that the prominent reason for insurgency in Balochistan is the Pakistani government's repressive policies and historical grievances that have led the people toward a sense of alienation[109]. He believes that instead of alleviating the intensity of resentment among Baloch people, the Pakistani establishment has tried to project the current insurgency as tribal mischief perpetrated by a handful of feudal lords[110]. Nevertheless, widespread support of insurgents while they target government institutions in

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[109] Bansal, "Balochistan: Continuing violence and its implications".
[110] Bansal, "Factors leading to insurgency in Balochistan".

Balochistan and across the country indicates that grievances are well-rooted and a primary reason for the insurgency[111].

According to a different perspective, Balochistan's current violence resulted from the centralized Islamist policies of General Zia-ul-Haq in the 1980s[112]. The demographic and socio-economic pressures on Balochistan having collateral effects from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the Afghan civil strife, and recent American led military operations in Afghanistan are equally responsible for unrest in the province[113]. Meanwhile, this argument is quite substantive as far as religious/sectarian violence in Balochistan is concerned. However, the fact also remains accurate that the radical Baloch nationalism has embraced more aggression, exclusionary and puritan approach, and an indiscriminate terrorist nature[114].

In 2005, Pakistan's president Gen. Pervez Musharaf threatened Baloch insurgents by stating, "You will not even know what hit you." Reflecting upon Balochistan's repression, Grare asserts that the Baloch will never forget the way Pakistan's government treated them[115]. Their leaders got killed, resources exploited, and even natives discriminated against employment opportunities in their province[116]. The federal policies have marginalized educated Balochi youth and have radicalized them, which further destroys their fundamental human potential vital for Baloch society's development[117]. As per Singh, an additional form of suppression was not allowing the nationalist leaders from Balochistan to participate in mainstream politics[118].

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[111] Bansal, "The revival of insurgency in Balochistan".
[112] Dedalus, "The Bitter Harvest Sectarianism in Balochistan".
[113] Ibid
[114] Noraiee, "The Baloch nationalism in Pakistan".
[115] Grare, "Pakistan: the resurgence of Baluch nationalism".
[116] Ibid
[117] Mroczek, "A New Society in Pakistani Balochistan".
[118] Singh, "Developing Dimensions of Pakistani Baloch Nationalism".

Furthermore, the intensity of violence also gets escalated because of the civil-military tussle for control of power in Pakistan[119]. Similarly, the struggle for power even between the nationalist groups leads to more violence; Gassebner et al. proves this claim empirically using GTD data[120]. The literature suggests that the Pakistani military's involvement in Balochistan is a significant impediment toward achieving peace in the region[121]. On the other hand, Pakistan's military establishment justifies their overarching involvement in Balochistan because Indian security agencies support Baloch insurgents to create unrest in Pakistan[122]. Indian academics often have denied their country's involvement in Balochistan, citing that no Indian spy or agent ever got arrested in the province[123]. However, this claim's validity is undoubtedly under question after 'Kulbhusan Jadav,' an Indian spy, got arrested in Balochistan's Mashkel area on March 3, 2016[124].

Also, considering the human rights abuse, secular character of the insurgency[125] , which contrasts with the Islamist ideology of Pakistan and greater peace of the region, Kumar contends that the Indian government must have a clear policy and gross strategic assets inside Balochistan to intervene in favor of the Baloch people[126]. The Baloch insurgency has attained international character because Balochistan spreads between three countries: Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan[127]. Recently, the Baloch movement has also started posing a challenge to the Iranian government[128]. Hence, contemplating upon under development and exploitation of

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[119] Brown et al., "Balochistan Case Study".
[120] Gassebner et al., "Armed Groups in Conflict".
[121] Grare, "Balochistan The State Versus the Nation".
[122] Bhattacharjee, "Pakistan's India Fixation on the Issue of Balochistan".
[123] Ibid
[124] Malik, "Regional Security Threats to Pakistan", 166.
[125] Kumar, "Is There Light at the End of the Baloch Tunnel? Part Two: The View from India".
[126] Kumar, "Is There Light at the End of the Baloch Tunnel? Part One: Balochistan and Pakistan".
[127] Ignatiev and Sakharenko, "Big Game in Balochistan".
[128] Spooner, "The Baloch in Islamic Civilization, Western Ethnography, and World History".

Balochistan's resources and their fight for self-determination, Marzen urges the US to engage in the peacebuilding process for the sake of Baloch people[129].

Balochistan is now more critical for Pakistan than ever. Besides, the province's mineral resources, the 'Gawadar Port' is crucial for Pakistan's economic uplift and strategic relationship with China[130]. With the help of Pakistan's government, China intends to connect its western part, mainly the Xinjiang region, to Gawadar port for trade purposes. This project is called the 'China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC),' a subsidiary venture under the massive 'Belt and Road Initiative' (BRI).' Since most Chinese investments have taken place in Balochistan, Pakistan needs to ensure security and stability[131]. Thereby, providing a safe passage to China's investments would be an extremely challenging task for Pakistan's government if Baloch insurgents continue posing resistance through violent means. Wirsing recommends that Pakistan give up the military mindset instead of focusing on political solutions, including socio-economic development, to end Balochistan's crisis[132].

2.3.2. Local Perspective

An overview of Balochistan's international scholarship reveals that the major themes under discussion were: 'causes of the insurgency,' 'repression on the Baloch people,' 'exploitation of the resources,' 'alienation from mainstream politics,' and 'international involvement.' The viewpoint of the scholars from Pakistan on the Baloch crisis is as follows:

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[129] Marzen, "Balochistan, Self-Determination, and US Foreign Policy".
[130] Wilkans, "The Crowded-out Conflict".
[131] Akins, "China in Balochistan".
[132] Wirsing, "Baloch Nationalism and the Geopolitics of Energy Resources".

Mirza argues that Balochistan, having geostrategic importance, unlimited natural resources, and a coastal line, are desirable factors for Pakistan[133]. Nevertheless, the province has been plagued with unrest and disturbance[134]. Khan claims that in retaliation to the state's coercive power, the insurgents substantially damaged other state-owned properties like railway lines, bridges, and electricity transmissions[135]. In 2005, Ali identified the nature of the Baloch nation's discontent and anger against Pakistan's federation[136]. According to him, Baloch insurgents had carried out nearly 500 attacks on Sui gas pipelines and its other installations – a federal government's project of extracting gas from Balochistan[137]. The whole country had uninterrupted access to Balochistan's natural gas except for the province itself[138]. Similarly, a study conducted by Aman et al. to gauge the perceptions of university students from Balochistan disclosed that the majority of respondents believed economic deprivation, the dominant attitude of the federal government, over-influential security forces, and the unwillingness of the local politicians as significant reasons form crisis in Balochistan[139].

Contrarily, Karamat et al. state that instead of a lack of political will, the problem gets aggravated when famous Baloch leaders are being abducted and killed by Pakistan's security forces[140]. Samad has reaffirmed this argument by saying that the death of Akbar Bugti, a leading political figure and head of the Bugti tribe, in a military-led operation resulted in a new cycle of bombings by the insurgents[141]. On these grounds, there is also a small faction in local scholarship which recognizes the Balochistan crisis as 'guerilla warfare' than an 'insurgency or

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[133]Mirza, "Balochistan-Past, present and future".
[134] Ibid
[135] Khan et al., "The Reasons of Violence in Balochistan".
[136] Ali, "The Balochistan Problem", 42.
[137] Ibid
[138] Khan, "Baloch Ethnic Nationalism in Pakistan".
[139] Aman et al., "Socio-Political Unrest in Pakistan".
[140] Karamat et al., "Political Participation in Pakistan".
[141] Samad, "Understanding the insurgency in Balochistan".

rebellion.' Moreover, another study conducted using Quetta's[142] citizens' perceptions denoted that cross-border activities and religious extremism cause terrorism in Balochistan[143]. It refers to religiously instigated violence, which gets imported from bordering areas with Afghanistan.

Nevertheless, Akhtar et al. assert that it is ultimately a blend of grievances and greed, stimulating insurgents for indiscriminate violence[144]. Although several factors are at play while discussing terrorism in Balochistan, Javaid emphasizes that the worsening situation might lead Pakistan to relive the 1971 episode in which Bangladesh separated.[145] Thereby, the Balochistan issue must be addressed by Pakistan's government on a priority basis. The local literature has also viewed the Balochistan insurgency from the perspective of 'human needs theory (HNT),' ad concluded that this conflict could be mitigated by respecting the natives' natural needs rather than labeling them as enemies[146].

Changezi and Tareen have reflected upon the status of civil society in Balochistan, which, according to them, can be very instrumental in achieving peace for the province[147]. However, they believe that even Balochistan's civil society is widely fragmented, with no leadership and scarce resources to help achieve peace in the province[148]. An alternate viewpoint stands that Balochistan's problems would remain unresolved until the interests of all the stakeholders, the people, politicians, military establishment, civil bureaucracy, and judiciary, do not converge[149]. The case of Balochistan is not only complicated because of indigenous actors, but even foreign players have a role to play in a worsening situation for Baloch people[150]. As per Khetran, the

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[142] Provincial Capital of Balochistan.
[143] Zaman et al., "The nature, sources and the socio-economic effects of terrorism in Balochistan".
[144] Akhtar et al., "Intra-Movement Dynamics of Ethnic Militancy in Balochistan".
[145] Javaid, "Concerns of Balochistan".
[146] Hussain et al., "Resolving Balochistan Conflict".
[147] Changezi and Tareen, "State of Civil Society Organisations in Balochistan (2016-17)".
[148] Ibid
[149] Hussain and Khan, "Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan".
[150] Akhtar, "Balochistan Conflict: Internal and International Dynamics".

Indian spying network is a critical factor that fosters terrorism in Balochistan, eventually aiming to disturb Pakistan's national security and economic progress[151].

The involvement of foreign stakeholders in Balochistan is limited to India, but China and America are very interested in the province[152]. According to Mazhar et al., Balochistan is vital to America because it shares a long border with Afghanistan, which provides a safe escape to terrorists fighting the NATO forces[153]. Whereas China's interest majorly revolves around economic opportunities, the province has to offer in the shape of Gawadar Port[154]. Thereby, the plan is to make Balochistan the central point of economic activities in the region[155]. Saleem suggests that Balochistan's Chinese investments would help address historical neglect the Balochistan people face in terms of lack of communication infrastructure, unemployment, and hardly any socio-economic development[156]. Finally, considering Balochistan's current situation, which barely reflects any difference in the government's status quo policies, Virk contends that the future of CPEC is highly dependent on stability in Balochistan[157]. Henceforth, the Pakistani government must address the relevant grievances which drive the Baloch insurgency[158].

2.4. Coding

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[151] Khetran, "Indian Interference in Balochistan".
[152] Jabeen et al., "Challenges to International Economic Development of China and Balochistan".
[153] Mazhar et al., "Balochistan (From Strategic Significance to US Involvement)".
[154] Jabeen, "China and economic development in South Asia".
[155] Khetran and Saeed, "The CPEC and China-Pakistan relations".
[156] Saleem, "CPEC and Balochistan".
[157] Virk, "CPEC: A Discourse on Space, Security and Development in Balochistan".
[158] Tariq, "Conflict in Balochistan".

The discussion of both local and international scholarships on Balochistan reveals that the themes which majorly remained under consideration were: causes of the insurgency, the resourcefulness of Balochistan, political alienation, and foreign involvement. An additional subject focused on international literature was 'repression.' Instead of reflecting on the Baloch people's oppression, the local scholars have debated on miscellaneous subjects discussed later on in this chapter. All of these themes were recognized based on the main argument of every article. There were also some papers which focused on more than one themes identified above. In that case, the same paper was coded under two subjects as well. If an article mainly argued about the 'causes' of terrorism in Balochistan, it also extends along the lines of 'foreign involvement' in Balochistan with considerable detail. In such a situation, the paper is counted under both the themes, 'causes,' and 'foreign involvement.'

2.5. Results

From the discussion above, it is clear that even though the sample included the same number of articles and the criteria for selecting those from particular sources were similar, there are differences in international and local scholars' narratives for insurgency in Balochistan. The major themes identified from international literature are 'causes, repression, political alienation, exploitation of resources, and foreign involvement.' Whereas the local researchers' interest lies in working on subjects like 'causes, economic opportunities, political alienation, and foreign involvement.' Although on the face of it, the identified themes show some resemblances that can lead towards assuming an overlap in the narratives of both scholarships (national and international), the reality is a bit different.
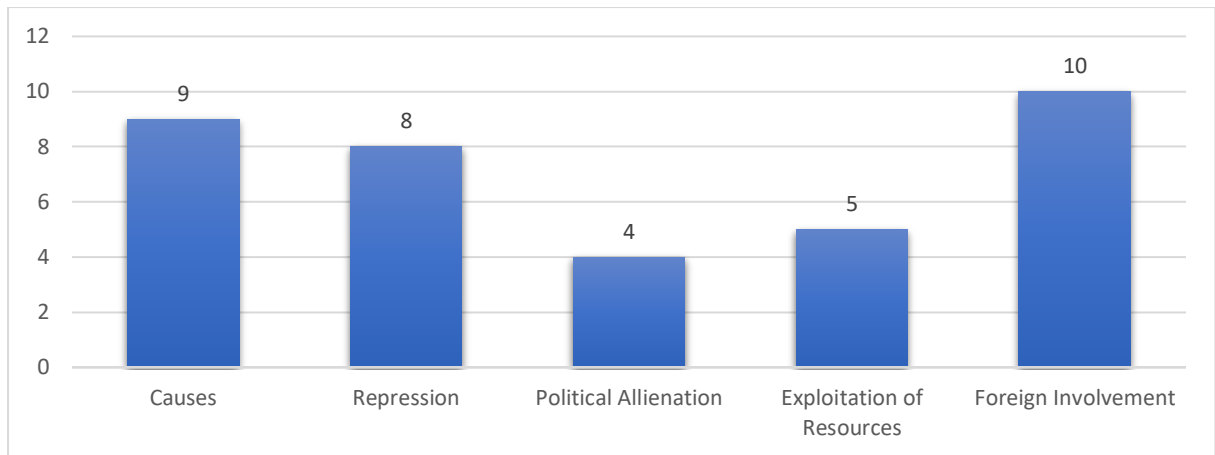
Figure 2.1. Themes focused on international literature about Balochistan

A thematic analysis of international literature reflects that out of 21 articles, the focus of nearly half of them was 'foreign involvement' in Balochistan. It is crucial to realize that 'foreign involvement' here means how the international actors, mainly the US, India, and China, influence Balochistan's insurgency. Similarly, another popular subject with international researchers was the 'causes' of crisis in Balochistan. Figure 2.1 shows that 9 out of 21 papers of the sample discussed the causes of insurgency. Moreover, there was a considerable discussion of 'repression' on the Baloch people by Pakistan's military establishment; nearly 1/3 of the sampled articles have sufficiently talked about this aspect. Also, for non-native researchers, 'political alienation' of Baloch leaders and 'exploitation of resources' of the province remained considerably favorite topics. As per figure 2.1, both the themes grabbed international scholars' attention for an almost equal number of times.
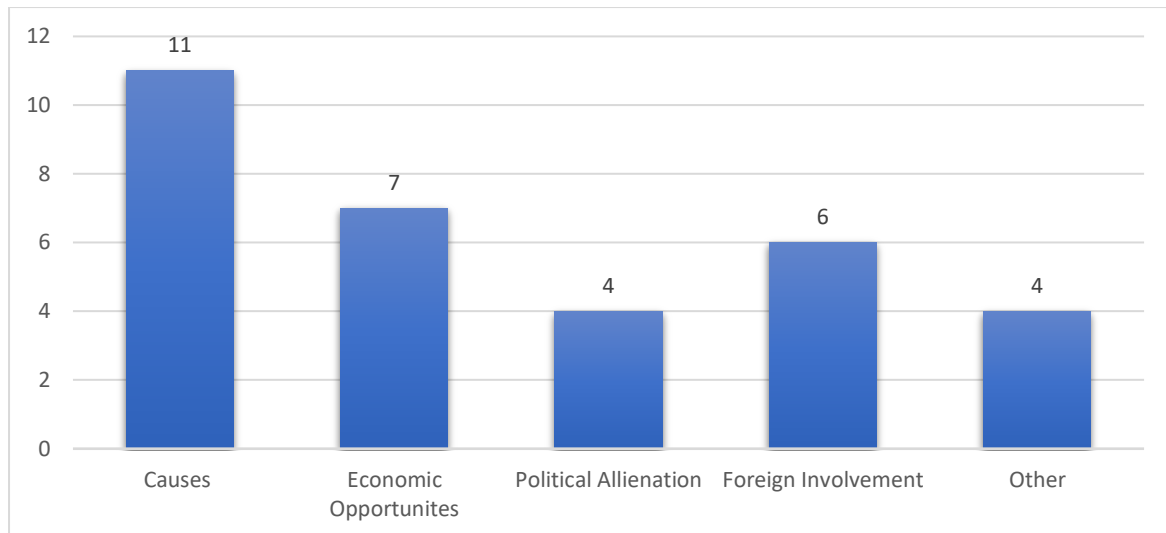
Figure 2.2. Themes focused on local literature about Balochistan

On the other hand, figure 2.2 shows the topics covered by local scholars while working on Balochistan. Although three topics, causes, political alienation, and foreign involvement, are shared between international and local scholarship, those are dealt with distinctive descriptions, discussed further in the next section. Likewise, international scholars, the local researchers have also attempted to understand the crisis of Balochistan comprehensively. Therefore their focus predominantly relied on 'causes' of the conflict. The second most frequently discussed theme in local literature was the potential of 'economic opportunities' arising from Balochistan. Besides, the national scholarship also covers a theme called "other," representing the articles based upon subjects not very frequently addressed in the research but were part of the sample. Articles counted in the 'other' category were related to civil society in Balochistan, the application of Human Needs Theory (HNT), intra-movement dynamics of Baloch militant groups, and students' perceptions about socio-political unrest in the province.

2.6. Analysis

A quick comparison of two graphs gives the impression that local scholars' research on Balochistan is more diverse, encompassing various themes than international researchers. Notably, the category named "other" broadly covers articles on unusual aspects of Balochistan's academic works. Local scholars have covered various aspects of Balochistan in their works. Nevertheless, this could have been possible because of the ease of accessibility to data and other sources that local scholars have, which might not be available to foreign researchers. Similarly, out of the three common themes in figure 2.1 and figure 2.2, it is interesting to see that the almost equal number of articles were about 'causes' and 'political alienation.' However, international scholars' interest in 'foreign involvement' in Balochistan is more than Pakistani researchers. The non-native academics have also focused on 'repression' and 'exploitation of resources' of Balochistan. In comparison, local scholars' works are more concentrated on 'economic opportunities' appearing from Balochistan, hardly mentioning people's oppression by the security apparatus of Pakistan.

It is essential to recognize that there are three common themes between both scholarly discourses. Nonetheless, the narratives of local and international scholarships are quite different from each other. The section on international literature, contemplating the Baloch insurgency causes, highlights that the Pakistani government's perspective to resolve the Balochistan crisis through 'military means' has been more detrimental than anything else. Around 5 out of 9 papers argue that the overarching influence of military establishment, which uses 'repression' as a tool to hold back Balochistan, is responsible for further intensifying the Balochistan crisis. They claim that 'self-determination' and 'ideological clash (Baloch being secular while Pakistan a predominantly Islamic state)' are crucial reasons for the conflict.

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On the other hand, local scholarship believes that lack of 'socio-economic' opportunities is the most decisive cause of conflict, in addition to 'tribal mischief,' and 'foreign interference.' More than one-quarter of the articles in this category concluded that tribal chiefs instigate the conflict for personal power desires. Contrarily, there is no explicit mention of the military mindset to be the significant reason for the Baloch insurgency. The local literature never points out any ideological clash between Pakistan's mainstream Islamic ideology and secular Balochistan. Thus, a sharp contrast in both the narratives quite evident in the case mentioned above. Still, such a difference in descriptions can either be the local academics' 'scholarly oversight,' or a manifestation of limited freedom of expression in a country like Pakistan.

'Foreign involvement' is also one of the shared themes by international and local scholarships. Both scholarships have considerably paid attention to this aspect of the Balochistan crisis. Nevertheless, there is a visible difference in how each type of literature has addressed this phenomenon. International scholars assert that if any foreign intrusion causes unrest in Balochistan, it comes from Afghanistan and China. Nearly 60% of the scholars argue that Balochistan is facing the disastrous effects of the war on Afghanistan's terror since the province proves to be a sanctuary for the religiously driven militants. They also believe that China's involvement, supported by the Pakistani government, to capitalize on Balochistan's economic opportunities, does not let the peace prevail. As per the foreign authors, India and the US must rescue the right to 'self-determination' of the Baloch people.

Contrastingly, half of the Pakistani scholars contend that Indian involvement in the province stimulates violence. For them, Chinese interference in Balochistan would improve the socio-economic condition of the people. The indigenous academics argue that with the help of China's enormous investments in infrastructure development in Balochistan, the conflict

would eventually end due to economic uplift. Alternatively, the local scholarship seems skeptical about the interests of the US and Pakistan converging in Balochistan. Once again, it can be noticed here that although the same theme is covered in both the scholarships, there are two completely different takes on 'foreign involvement' in Balochistan. The worldwide scholars claim that Afghanistan and China cause distress in Balochistan, for Pakistani authors, India's association with Baloch nationalist leaders hampers the peace process in the region. Additionally, China holds a messianic character to end Baloch grievances, while non-local scholars firmly challenge this assertion repeatedly debated in Pakistani literature.

The difference in international and native scholarship is also evident while discussing the 'availability of natural resources in Balochistan.' Apparently, 'exploitation of resources' in international literature and 'economic opportunities' in local scholarship are the same themes referring to Balochistan's resourcefulness. Still, those have been named differently according to the perspectives adopted by the respective camps of the scholars. Nearly all the local researchers claim that CPEC is not only a game-changing economic project for Pakistan but more so for Balochistan. They believe that Chinese investments would bring in developing infrastructure and employment opportunities.

Referring back to figure 2.2, since the local scholars also understand Balochistan's crisis primarily due to socio-economic backwardness, so through CPEC, they eventually envisage a solution to the Baloch insurgency. On the other hand, international scholars believe that the government of Pakistan, along with China, is exploiting and looting Balochistan's natural resources for their economic benefits. The international literature suggests that opening up the region to outside investment would encourage settlement of non-Baloch people in the

province[159]. It would not only bring additional interference in the affairs of Balochistan but would also, eventually, change the region's demography. Meanwhile, the diversion of both scholarly narratives is yet again prominent while referring to the same theme.

An additional distinction in both the narratives is that unlike local scholarship, there is a significant discussion of 'physical repression' on the people of Balochistan and their political leadership in international literature. The non-indigenous researchers assert that the Baloch nationalists' abductions, killings, and tortures by the military establishment and Pakistan's investigative agencies make the Baloch insurgent movement further exclusionary and indiscriminate. However, it is also evident that Pakistani scholars have shied away from shedding light on Baloch insurgents' repressive practices at security agencies' hands. Perhaps, this is a demonstration of limited freedom in Pakistan, even in the academic world.

It is important to realize here that, on the one hand, the local scholarship presents different insights on a conflict that is not covered in the mainstream (western) literature. This realization reconfirms to English's argument regarding the importance of native scholarship to understand an insurgency unmistakably. However, on another side, in a country like Pakistan, where the security forces are overarchingly influential, the local scholarship is at a disadvantage because academic freedom gets constrained. An unnoticeable mention of repressive policies, executed by Pakistan's security establishment, on the Baloch people is a perfect manifestation of regulated academic freedom and how regime type impacts the local scholarship. Contrarily, international scholars, who carry out their research from safer western universities, enjoy more academic liberty, making their works more objective. Thus, it is essential to comprehend that

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[159] Akins, "China in Balochistan".

the reading of both local and international literature is equally imperative for a clearer picture of the conflict.

The only theme where both the narratives have an overlapping approach is 'political alienation.' Both international and local scholarships have talked about this theme for an equal number of times. Their discourse converges when, considering the intensity of the crisis in Balochistan, both suggest that the solution lies in getting Baloch leadership into mainstream politics. According to them, Bringing the tribal Baloch leaders into the conventional politics of Pakistan by giving them a fair chance to contest general elections would undoubtedly alleviate Balochistan's warlike situation. Nonetheless, apart from agreement about this theme, there is hardly any similarity between the local and international scholarships on ethnic terrorism in Balochistan.

2.7.   Conclusion

The discussion above implies that local and international scholars have written about the same region, and they have concentrated around the similar themes of the Balochistan conflict. However, there are significant differences in the narratives that have been adopted by both the camps of researchers. For non-native scholars, the fundamental causes of conflict are military mindset, self-determination, and ideological contrast. The local scholars believe that socio-economic backwardness, tribal mischief, and foreign interference are the instigating factors for unrest in Balochistan. Interestingly, the findings reveal that the mention of 'military might' and 'the use of repressive tactics against the Baloch people' is minimal in the local literature. Fair

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claims that the military either directly or indirectly governs Pakistan[160]. Hence, the native scholars not highlighting much upon Pakistan's authorities' oppressive attitude can demonstrate freedom of expression.

Similarly, both local and international scholars have covered the aspect of 'foreign involvement' in Balochistan. Hitherto, researchers from Pakistani origin accuse Indian security agencies of interfering in Balochistan. In comparison, the international scholars notice that terrorism in Balochistan also gets promoted for the province shares a long border with Afghanistan. International literature reflects on the continuing war on terror and asserts that Balochistan's violence also gets triggered for proximity with Afghanistan. Another divergence in the narrative is evident when the native scholarship perceives Balochistan's resourcefulness as a window of opportunity for Pakistan. Eventually, the people of Balochistan will also thrive economically. The native scholars believe that if these economic opportunities are utilized, it will be easier to end the Balochistan crisis with the help of China.

Contrastingly, for international academics, Balochistan's resources get exploited by the Pakistan government, and that China's involvement in the region is adding up to the resentment of Baloch people. What is 'economic opportunity' for the local scholars is 'resource exploitation' for international academics. Thus, another variance in the narratives of both scholarship. Nonetheless, convergence in the narratives only exists when both local and international authors point out that Balochistan's 'political alienation.' They agree and emphasize that bringing local Baloch leaders into Pakistan's mainstream political system would appease the grievances. Other than this, there is hardly any theme where both the scholarships adopt a parallel narrative. Hence, it is imperative to say that although the focus of local and

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[160] Fair, "Why the army is here to stay".

international scholars have remained on very similar themes, there is a well-defined distinction in the narratives they have adopted.

Conclusively, the disparity in narratives signifies that the researchers' belongingness certainly plays a role in the academic world. A typical national narrative on Balochistan's conflict exists, which differs from that of mainstream non-Pakistani description. It reminds of Richard English's argument in which he claims that it is important to hear voices and understand the situation of conflict, comprehensively. Therefore, 'who' is read on any ethnic conflict matters considerably because it can have a different story to offer. In the case of ethnic violence in Balochistan, English's opinion stands uncontestable and worthy. This chapter visibly presents two different stories, by local and international scholars, on the Baloch insurgency in Pakistan. Consequently, the lack of similarity in both the narratives can be explained because academics, in a semi-authoritarian country like Pakistan, cannot openly discuss the causes of terrorism linked to the regime decisions.

CONCLUSION

The research on terrorism is subject to numerous criticisms. In addition to the definitional crisis, the academic discourse of terrorism also gets condemned for methodological and conceptional flaws. Conversely, these condemnations are general, and their 'region-specific' validity has never been testified. This thesis makes an exclusive contribution to terrorism studies' literature by conducting a pilot study to figure out if the following two widely acknowledged criticisms stand worthy in research on terrorism from Pakistan. First, the research on terrorism is event-driven; thus, religious terrorism receives more scholarly attention than other types of violence. Second, the authors' nationality affects their works; hence, their academic articles' impartiality comes under question. In the existing literature, these criticisms are highlighted by Schuurman and English, respectively.

An original dataset of one hundred articles was constructed to answer the first research question: i-e does the event-driven nature of research on terrorism apply to Pakistan's case. The findings revealed that primarily the literature focused on five main themes while discussing terrorism. These themes are 'religious/sectarian terrorism,' 'ethnic terrorism', 'war on terror', 'terrorism causes in Pakistan', and 'counter-terrorism/anti-terrorism'. Out of these themes, it has been noticed that the scholars from Pakistan have overwhelmingly written more about 'religious/sectarian' terrorism. As a result, all other types of terrorism, i-e' ethnic terrorism', relevant for this study, remains essentially overlooked. Such a one-dimensional approach not only leaves significant gaps in the literature of terrorism but also becomes a reason for misrepresentation that violence emanates from only one particular group of people.

The data from GTD also helped to recognize that in terms of 'frequency' and 'severity,' terrorism executed by 'religious/sectarian' groups is considerably more than that of ethnic factions. Hence, this finding appropriately explains why the researchers have paid more attention to deal with 'religious/sectarian' terrorism than any other type of violence. Besides, the reliance of terrorism scholars on secondary data and largely adherence to essayistic methodology have remained persistent even in the literature on terrorism from Pakistan. As long as the western literature's use in the local scholarship is concerned, the data shows that many scholars from Pakistan cite western academic works in their articles. However, most scholars from Pakistan are unaware of mainstream (western) literature on terrorism, for example, 'the grievance theory.'

Moreover, the second research question regarding the existence of a typical narrative, influenced by the scholars' nationality, is addressed using the 'Balochistan insurgency' in Pakistan. An equal number of academic articles by scholars from Pakistan and the rest of the world got chosen through the same selection channels and criteria. The main arguments of those articles assisted in highlighting the distinction in both the narratives. The results proved that although both the scholarly camps, local and international, focused on similar themes, their descriptions to reflect upon those themes differed eminently. The common themes discussed in local and international scholarship are: 'causes of the Baloch insurgency,' 'foreign involvement,' 'economic opportunities/exploitation of resources,' and 'political alienation.'

The narratives' variation emerges when international scholars believe that the Balochistan crisis's causes are 'military mindset,' 'self-determination,' and 'ideological contrast.' On the other hand, local scholars understand the Baloch rebellion's reasons as 'socio-economic backwardness,' 'tribal mischief,' and 'foreign interference.' Similarly, for native academics,

'foreign interference' is the involvement of Indian security agencies in Balochistan, whereas international scholars assert that Afghanistan instead intervenes in Balochistan. Moreover, the scholars from Pakistan see Balochistan as a land of economic opportunities that can be capitalized with China's help. Alternatively, non-native researchers emphasize that Pakistan's government and China exploit the Baloch people's resources. Nevertheless, the only convergence in the narratives occurs while both scholars argue that the Baloch people's political alienation must be addressed to mitigate the crisis.

Another necessary diversion in the narratives is evident when the international literature significantly discusses repression on the Baloch people, while local scholars seem reluctant to mention it. Pakistan is a semi-authoritarian country with an overpowering military establishment. Thereby, the diversion in both narratives is a demonstration of limited academic freedom in Pakistan. Whereas on the other hand, western researchers get more academic liberty. This discrepancy in the narratives of scholars from Pakistan and the rest of the world entails that researchers' nationality impacts their opinion.

The likelihood of developing a typical narrative, different from the mainstream (western) one, gets increased. In the case mentioned above, a noticeable diversion in both descriptions is reasonably evident. Balochistan insurgency's case study reemphasizes the importance of reading the local literature, as suggested by English. Therefore, to understand a conflict comprehensively, it is crucial to go through the indigenous scholarship since that can offer a diverse story. Reading the local literature on the Baloch crisis would broaden the knowledge base of international scholars and give them an idea of what perspectives are covered by the native scholars and what is ignored.

Furthermore, a discovery in the first chapter indicates that the scholars from Pakistan were hardly aware of the conventional literature of terrorism studies. For example, Crenshaw's 'grievance theory' did not get referred to by most scholars from Pakistan. Hence, with this project's help, it has been feasible to figure out that the alternative literature's lack of knowledge persists in both the scholarly camps. Thus, it is not only international authors who need to learn from local scholarship, but also the indigenous researchers must look for the western literature. Merely, if the theories of the terrorism studies are incorporated in Pakistan's researchers' articles, their works' quality and credibility would indeed get substantiated. Especially when dealing with theoretical frameworks like 'grievance theory,' which impressively captures terrorism in Pakistan.

This study helps to draw two conclusions. First, the event-driven tendency of research in terrorism can also be observed in the literature from Pakistan. Second, a typical narrative of the local scholars from Pakistan does exist about the Baloch insurgency, and it significantly diverges from that of the western perspective. Nonetheless, this study has limitations. The articles' sample size in both chapters comprised a limited number of publications on terrorism in Pakistan from 2002-2020. The data was only acquired from four sources, as stated above. Had more publications from some other sources been referred to, the pool of articles for analysis could have further expanded. Consequently, it could add more credibility to the findings of this study. The prospective researchers can further contribute to this topic by exploring if the same two criticisms, discussed throughout this thesis, apply to their interest regions.

Finally, an important message to be carried forward from this study is that both local and international scholars need to have an explicit link with each other's literature. It can be

observed from the discussion in both the chapters that numerous native researchers have argued that terrorism in Pakistan gets exacerbated as a result of various grievances. However, they have not explicitly cited Crenshaw's 'grievance theory' in their articles. The local scholars' such disconnect with the mainstream literature of terrorism leads to the unrecognition of their works. They present the case of Pakistan as a part of the 'grievance' argument. Also, they fail to make an international contribution to the literature of terrorism.

Henceforth, local scholars should explicitly embed their findings with international literature theories to significantly impact. Contrarily, the discussion in chapter 2 upholds that even when local and international researchers work on the same topic, i-e, the Baloch insurgency, and focus on similar themes. Still, there are essential differences in their narratives. So it is also crucial for international scholars to pay more attention to the local literature since that might give entirely novel insights to understand conflict better.

APPENDIX 1

The following list comprises details about articles from the dataset used to answer the first research question[161].

No.	Title	Author	Publisher	Year
1	Ethnic and Sectarian Violence and The Propensity Towards Praetorianism In Pakistan	Irm Haleem	Third World Quarterly	2003
2	Pakistan and The War On Terrorism	Fazal-ur-Rahman	Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad	2003
3	Post-9/11 Pakistan-India Relations	Nabiha Gul	Pakistan Institute of International Affairs	2004
4	Micro Target, Macro Impact: The Resolution of The Kashmir Conflict As A Key To Shrinking Al-Qaeda's International Terrorist Network	Irm Haleem	Terrorism and Political Violence	2004
5	Pakistan and the War Against Terrorism in Afghanistan: Choices, Pragmatism, and the Decision	Ijaz Khan	Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations	2004
6	U.S.-Pakistan Engagement The War on Terrorism and Beyond	Touqir Hussain	US Institute of Peace	2005
7	Cross Border Terrorism Issues Plaguing Pakistan–Afghanistan Relations	Rizwan Zeb	China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly	2006
8	Pakistan and the War against Terrorism	Syed Muhammad Ali Shah	Pakistan Institute of International Affairs	2007
9	Pakistan-India Relations and Terrorism	Sanam Noor	Pakistan Institute of International Affairs	2007
10	Pakistan's Judicial System: Curbing the Menace of Terrorism	Zafar Nawaz Jaspal	Pakistan Institute of International Affairs	2007
11	Pakistan: Islam, Radicalism and The Army	Sharif Shuja	International Journal on World Peace	2007
12	Pakistan in 2006: Safe Center, Dangerous Peripheries	Adeel Khan	University of California Press	2007
13	Reforming Militant Madaris in Pakistan	Moniza Khokhar	Studies in Conflict & Terrorism	2007

[161] Complete information about the articles is recorded in an excel sheet which can be availed by requesting the author.

14	Rethinking "Wana": A Game-Theoretic Analysis of the Conflict in the Tribal Region of Pakistan	Rabia Aslam	Studies in Conflict & Terrorism	2008
15	Drivers of Suicide Terrorism in Pakistan	Khuram Iqbal	S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies	2008
16	WMD Terrorism and Pakistan: Counterterrorism	Zafar Nawaz Jaspal	Defense Against Terrorism Review	2008
17	Responding to Terrorism: Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Laws	Shabana Fayyaz	Perspectives on Terrorism	2008
18	Terrorism, Religious Radicalism and Violence Perspectives from Pakistan	Arshi Saleem Hashmi	Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies	2009
19	Pushtun Ethnonationalism and the Taliban Insurgency in NWFP of Pakistan	Nasreen Ghufran	University of California Press	2009
20	Deeply Implicated in Pakistan	Aasim Sajjad Akhtar	Economic and Political Weekly	2009
21	Making Money in the Mayhem: Funding Taliban Insurrection in the Tribal Areas of Pakistan	Arabinda Acharya, Syed Adnan Ali Shah Bukhari, and Sadia Sulaiman	Studies in Conflict & Terrorism	2009
22	Pakistan Jihad: The Making of Religious Terrorism	Dr. Eamon Murphy and Dr. Ahmad Rashid Malik	Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) Journal	2009
23	Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict in Pakistan	Gulshan Majeed	Journal of Political Studies	2010
24	Economic Cost of Terrorism	Arshad Ali	Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad	2010
25	War Crimes in the Armed Conflict in Pakistan	Niaz A. Shah	Studies in Conflict & Terrorism	2010
26	Narco-Terrorism in Pakistan: An Organized Crime-Linkage and Counter-Strategies	Nabi Bakhsh Narejo	Pakistan Journal of Criminology	2010
27	Terrorism in Pakistan: Causes & Remedies	Muhammad Irshad	The Dialogue	2011
28	Partnership in War on Terror and Mounting Militant Extremism in Pakistan	Umbreen Javaid	South Asian Studies	2011
29	Is hike in inflation responsible for rise in terrorism in Pakistan?	Muhammad Shahbaz and Muhammad Shahbaz Shabbir	Munich Personal RePEc Archive	2011
30	Socio-Economic and Cultural Perspectives of Terrorism in Pakistan and the Madrassa (Mosque) Students	Syeda Farhana Kazmi and Tahir Pervez	International Journal of Academic Research	2011

31	Transformation of Sectarian Terrorism in Pakistan	Saba Noor	International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research	2012
32	War against Terrorism and its Repercussions for Pakistan	Fazal Rabi	Pakistan Journal of History and Culture	2012
33	Challenges to the Evolution of a National Counter-Terrorism Policy in Pakistan	Abdul Basit	International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research	2012
34	Security Dynamics in Pakistani Balochistan: Religious Activism and Ethnic Conflict in the War on Terror	Farhan Hanif Siddiqi	Asian Affairs: An American Review	2012
35	Pakistan's Internal Security Dynamics And The Role of Military Regimes	Sadaf Farooq	International Journal on World Peace	2012
36	Impact of Terrorism on Financial Markets of Pakistan (2006-2008)	Tayyeba Gul, Anwar Hussain, Shafiqullah Bangash, and Sanam Waghma Khattak	Munich Personal RePEc Archive	2012
37	Sociological Analysis of Terrorism In Pakistan	Umar Daraz, Dr. Arab Naz, Waseem Khan, Qaiser Khan, and Tariq Khan	Academic Research International	2012
38	Impact of Terrorism on Pakistan	Nadia Mushtaq Abbasi	Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad	2013
39	Conceptualising Terrorism Trend Patterns in Pakistan - an Empirical Perspective	Muhammad Feyyaz	Terrorism Research Initiative	2013
40	Sectarian Violence in Pakistan	Khaled Ahmed	Economic and Political Weekly	2013
41	Determinants of Terrorism In Pakistan: An Empirical Investigation	Aisha Ismail and Shehla Amjad	Economic Modelling, Elsevier	2013
42	Pakistan's Soft Power: Prospects And Limitations	Hadia Rahman	Journal of South Asian Studies	2014
43	Historical Patterns of Terrorism in Pakistan	Luqman Saeed, Shabib Haider Syed, and Roger P. Martin	Defense & Security Analysis	2014
44	Terrorism in Pakistan: A Behavioral Sciences Perspective	Asad Tamizuddin Nizamani, Mowadat Hussain Rana, Tariq Mahmood Hassan, and Fareed Aslam Minhas	Wiley Online Libraray	2014

45	Impact of terrorism on FDI flows to Pakistan	Murtaza Haider, Amar Anwar	Munich Personal RePEc Archive	2014
46	Terrorism and its Impact on Economic Growth: Evidence from Pakistan and India	Maryam Fatima, madiha Latif, Samia Farooq Chagtai, Nazik Hussain, and Sumaira Aslam	Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research	2014
47	The Income Inequality and Domestic Terrorism Nexus: Fresh Evidence from Pakistan	Muhammad Shahbaz, Faridul Islam, and Muhammad Sabihuddin Butt	Sukkur IBA Journal of Management and Business	2014
48	Theoretical Analysis of Socio-Economic and Political Causes of Terrorism in Pakistan	Sajjad Hussain, Dr. Basharat Hussain, Dr. Amir Zada Asad, and Waseem Khan	Pakistan Journal of Criminology	2014
49	Pakistan	Sara Mahmood	Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses	2015
50	An Appraisal of Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Act	Tariq Parvez and Mehwish Rani	US Institute of Peace	2015
51	Causes and Incentives for Terrorism in Pakistan	Shabib Haider Syed, Luqman Saeed and Roger P. Martin	Journal of Applied Security Research	2015
52	Role of Media, Authorities and Islamic Teachings Against Terrorism in Pakistan	Tariq Mahmood, Dr. Abdul Quddus Suhaib and Dr. Abdul Razzaq	Scholedge International Journal Of Multidisciplinary & Allied Studies	2015
53	Countering Violent Extremism in Pakistan: An Appraisal of Pakistan's CVE Initiatives	Dr Minhas Majeed Khan	Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad	2015
54	Identifying Causes of Terrorism in Pakistan	Sajid Haider, Carmen de Pablos Heredero, Munir Ahmed, and Sumaira Dustgeer	The Dialogue	2015
55	Impact of Terrorism on Economic Development in Pakistan	Shabir Hyder, Naeem Akram and Ihtsham Ul Haq Padda	Pakistan Business Review	2015
56	Education and Attitudes in Pakistan Understanding Perceptions of Terrorism	Madiha Afzal	US Institute of Peace	2015
57	Malik Ishaq's Legacy of Sectarian Violence in Pakistan	Sara Mahmood	International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research	2015
58	Why Pakistan Does Not Have a Counterterrorism Narrative	Muhammad Feyyaz	University of South Florida Board of Trustees	2015

59	Causes of Suicide Terrorism in Pakistan as Perceived by Media Personnel	Anum Urooj and Sadaf Tariq	Journal of Behavioural Sciences	2015
60	Identification of Risk Factors Generating Terrorism in Pakistan	Muhammad Sohail Anwar Malik, Michael Sandholzer, M. Zubair Khan and Sajjad Akbar	Terrorism and Political Violence	2015
61	Terrorism and Human Rights	Saqib Jawad	Sociology and Anthropology	2015
62	The Spatial Analysis of Terrorism in Pakistan	Faiz Ur Rehman	Asian Journal of Law and Economics	2015
63	Extremism in Contemporary Pakistan: Threats, Causes and Future Policy	Saqib Khan and Umbreen Javaid	South Asian Studies	2016
64	Countering Militancy and Terrorism in Pakistan The Civil-Military Nexus	Shuja Nawaz	US Institute of Peace	2016
65	Nuclear Powers and Terrorism	Tahir Mahmood Azad	Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad	2016
66	Pakistan's Counterinsurgency	Shahid Ahmad Afridi	Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad	2016
67	Students' Concerns about Terrorism in Pakistan: Views from Madrassahs, Private and Public Schools	Sadia Shaukat	Journal of Research and Reflections in Education	2016
68	The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Security Challenges	Muhammad Ibrar, Jianing Mi, Muhammad Rafiq, and Arodh Lal Karn	DEStech Transactions on Economics, Business and Management	2016
69	Pakistan's Genocide in Bengal and Limited War in Balochistan, 1971–1977	Ahsan I. Butt	Cornell University Press	2017
70	Neither friend nor foe: Pakistan, the United States and the war in Afghanistan	Hussain Nadim	Lowy Institute for International Policy	2017
71	Counter Terrorism Police in Pakistan and Role of Police: A Way Forward	Iram Khalid	Journal of South Asian Studies	2017
72	Cyber Technology, Radicalization and Terrorism in Pakistan	Saqib Khan and Khalid Manzoor Butt	Journal of Indian Studies	2017
73	World Powers Rivalry in Afghanistan and Its Effects on Pakistan	Muhammad Karim	The Dialogue	2017
74	Crime-Terror Nexus in Pakistan	Farhan Zahid	International Centre for Political Violence and	2018

			Terrorism Research	
75	Historical Analysis of Terrorism in Pakistan	Luqman Saeed and Shabib Haider Syed	Defense and Security Analysis	2018
76	From Terrorism to Dispossession: Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Act as a means of eviction	Mubbashir Rizvi	Anthropology Today	2018
77	Insights into Selected Features of Pakistan's Most Wanted Terrorists	Luqman Saeed and Shabib Haider Syed	Terrorism and Political Violence	2018
78	Women and Support for Terrorism in Pakistan	C. Christine Fair and Ali Hamza	Terrorism and Political Violence	2018
79	Enlightenment and the Challenge of Extremism in Pakistan	Moonis Ahmar	Journal of Political Studies	2018
80	Pakistan Counter-terrorism (CT) - Afghan Refugee Question	Shabana Fayyaz	South Asian Studies	2018
81	Socio-economic and Political Determinants of Terrorism in Pakistan: University Students' Perceptions	Zahid Shahab Ahmed, Farooq Yousaf, and Khan Zeb	International Studies	2018
82	Terrorism in Pakistan: The Psychosocial Context and Why It Matters	Asad Tamizuddin Nizami, Tariq Mahmood Hassan, Sadia Yasir, Mowadat Hussain Rana, and Fareed Aslam Minhas	BJPSYCH International	2018
83	Identifying Causes of Terrorism in Karachi, Pakistan	Mehwish Saleem, Aziz Ur Rahman, and Shuja Ur Rehman	The Dialogue Volume XIV Number 01	2019
84	Countering Measures of Terrorism in Pakistan	Naila Rafique & Abdul Manan	Pakistan Journal of Humanities & Social Sciences Research	2019
85	Exposure to Violence and Voting in Karachi, Pakistan	Mashail Malik and Niloufer Siddiqui	US Institute of Peace	2019
86	Pakistan's Response to Extremism and Terrorism	Ihsan Ghani	Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA) Papers by NDU	2019
87	Students' Perception of Terrorism and Liberal Narrative in Pakistan	Ruqia Rehman, Ghulam Murtaza, Fida Muhammad	Pakistan Vision	2019
88	Religious Extremism, Religiosity, and Sympathy toward the Taliban among Students across Madrassas and Worldly Education Schools in Pakistan	Saba Hanif, Majid Hassan Ali, and Faiza Shaheen	Terrorism and Political Violence	2019
89	Why Terrorists Target Children: Outbidding, Desperation, and	Yelena Biberman and Farhan Zahid	Terrorism and Political Violence	2019

	Extremism an the Peshawar and Beslan School Massacres			
90	Exposure to Violence and its Association With Symptoms of Aggression: A Cross-Sectional Study Among Medical Students of Karachi, Pakistan	Mustafa Mushtaq Hussain, Sadiq Naveed, Ahmed Waqas, Rehan Shamim, and Faheem Ali	Journal of the Pakistan Medical Association	2019
91	National Security Paradigm of Pakistan - Retrospective Analysis	Dr. Mudassir Mukhtar, Dr. Waseem Ishaque, and Dr. Muhammad Shoaib Malik	National Defence University (NDU) Journal	2019
92	Pakistan on FATF's Grey List: Terrorist Financing Perspective	Abid Hussain	Global Regional Review (GRR)	2019
93	Terrorism in Pakistan: Genesis, Damages and Way Forward	Khalid Mehmood Iraqi	Journal of Management Sciences	2019
94	Understanding the Causes of Terrorism in Pakistan	Dr. Sarwat Rauf	Stratagem	2019
95	The Role of Pakistan Against Counter-Terrorism	Soomro Shabbir Ahmed	American Scientific Research Journal for Engineering, Technology, and Sciences (ASRJETS)	2020
96	Social Costs of War Against Terrorism in Pakistan (2002–2012)	Ishrat Afshan Abbasi, Mukesh Kumar Khatwani, and Farida Yasmin Panhwar	Indian Journal of Science and Technology	2020
97	Pakistan Initiatives & Endeavours To counter Money Laundering & Terrorist Financing Within FATF Perspective	Ibtisam Butt, Azhar Rashid, and Salman Khan	Pakistan Vision	2020
98	Whose Interest? Whose Peace? An Evaluation of Pakistan's Peace Agreements with the Taliban in the Tribal Areas (2004–2015)	Wali Aslam	Studies in Conflict & Terrorism	2020
99	Communication (Un)Savviness and The Failure Of Terrorism: A Case of Pakistani Terrorist Organizations	Muhammad Feyyaz	Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict	2020
100	Communications Technology and Terrorism	Rafat Mahmood and Micheal Jetter	Journal of Conflict Resolution	2020

APPENDIX 2

The following two lists comprise details about articles from the dataset used to answer the second research question[162].

2.1. International Literature on the Baloch Insurgency

No.	Title	Author	Publisher	Year
1	Balochistan: Continuing Violence and Its Implications	Alok Bansal	Strategic Analysis	2005
2	The Revival of Insurgency in Balochistan	Alok Bansal	Strategic Analysis	2005
3	Pakistan: The Resurgence of Baluch Nationalism	Federic Grare	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	2006
4	The Forgotten Refugees of Balochistan	Stephen Dedalus	Middle East Research and Information Project, Inc. (MERIP)	2007
5	Baloch Nationalism and The Geopolitics of Energy Resources: The Changing Context of Separatism in Pakistan	Robert G. Wirsing	Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College	2008
6	Factors Leading to Insurgency in Balochistan	Alok Bansal	Small Wars & Insurgencies	2008
7	The Bitter Harvest Sectarianism in Balochistan	Stephen Dedalus	Middle East Research and Information Project, Inc. (MERIP)	2009
8	Balochistan Case Study	Michael Brown, Mohammad Dawod, Arash Irantalab, and Mahmud Naqi	CIFP Conflict Report.	2012
9	Balochistan: The State Verus the Nation	Federic Grare	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.	2013
10	The Baloch in Islamic Civilization, Western Ethnography, and World History	Brian Spooner	Journal of the Middle East and Africa	2013

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[162] Complete information about the articles is recorded in an excel sheet which can be availed by requesting the author.

11	A New Society in Pakistani Balochistan	Zofia Mroczek	Italian Institute for International Political Studies	2014
12	Pakistan's India Fixation on the Issue of Balochistan	Dhrubajyoti Bhattacharjee	Indian Council of World Affairs	2015
13	The Crowded-Out Conflict: Pakistan's Balochistan in its fifth round of insurgency	Ann Wilkens	Afghanistan Analysts Network.	2015
14	Big Game In Balochistan	Pavlo M. Ignatiev and Oleksandr V. Sakharenko	Actual problems of international relations	2016
15	Developing Dimensions of Pakistani Baloch Nationalism	Rajkumar Singh	Canadian Social Science	2016
16	China in Balochistan: CPEC and the Shifting Security Landscape of Pakistan	Harrison Akins	Howard H. Baker Jr. Center for Public Policy	2017
17	Is There Light at the End of the Baloch Tunnel? Part Two: The View from India	Vikas Kumar	Future Directions International	2017
18	Is There Light at the End of the Baloch Tunnel? Part One: Balochistan and Pakistan	Vikas Kumar	Future Directions International	2017
19	Armed Groups in Conflict: Competition and Political violence in Pakistan	Martin Gassebner, Paul Schaudt, and Melvin H. L. Wong	Munich Society for the Promotion of Economic Research	2020
20	Balochistan, Self-Determination, and U.S. Foreign Policy	Chad G. Marzen	North Carolina Journal of International Law	2020
21	The Baloch nationalism in Pakistan: Articulation of the ethnic separatism after the end of the Cold War	Hoshang Noraiee	Journal of Eurasian Studies	2020

2.2. Local Literature on the Baloch Insurgency

No.	Title	Author	Publisher	Year
1	The Balochistan Problem	Imtiaz Ali	Pakistan Institute of International Affairs	2005
2	China and Economic Development in South Asia: A Case Study of Balochistan	Musarrat Jabeen	South Asian Studies	2008
3	Concerns of Balochistan: Effects and Implications on Federation of Pakistan	Umbreen Javaid	Journal of Political Studies	2010
4	Balochistan (From Strategic Significance to U.S. Involvement)	Muhammad Saleem Mazhar, Umbreen Javaid, and Naheed S. Goraya	Journal of Political Studies	2012
5	Challenges to International Economic Development of China And Balochistan	Musarrat Jabeen, Rubeena Batool, and Adnan Ahmad Dogar	OIDA International Journal of Sustainable Development	2012
6	The Nature, Sources, and The Socio-Economic Effects of Terrorism in Balochistan	Nadeem Uz Zaman, Gul Ghutai, and Kaneez Raza Khan	Munich Personal RePEc Archive	2012
7	Balochistan – Past, Present, and Future	Zahid Latif Mirza	NDU Journal	2013
8	Conflict in Balochistan: Natural Resources and The Way Forward	Maliha Tariq	Strategic Studies	2013
9	Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan- The Case of Balochistan	Ejaz Hussain and Ahmed Khan	Journal of Asian Studies: Jahangirnagar University Journal of Government and Politics	2014
10	Political Participation in Pakistan: A Case Study of Balochistan	Sidra Karamat, Raheela Asfa, and Fehmida Memon	The Government-Annual Research Journal of Political Science	2014
11	Understanding the Insurgency in Balochistan	Yunas Samad	Commonwealth & Comparative Politics	2014
12	Resolving Balochistan Conflict: A Human Needs Approach	Syed Shahid Hussain Bukhari, Yasmin Roofi, Syed Adnan Bukhari	Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS)	2015
13	Balochistan Conflict: Internal and International Dynamics	Nasreen Akhtar	Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS)	2017
14	CPEC and Balochistan: Prospects of Socio-political Stability	Ali Haider Saleem	Strategic Studies	2017
15	Indian Interference in Balochistan: Analysing the	Mir Sherbaz Khetran	Strategic Studies	2017

	Evidence and Implications for Pakistan			
16	State of Civil Society Organisations in Balochistan (2016-17)	Abdul Rahim Changezi, Muhammad Alam Tareen	Pakistan Perspectives	2017
17	The CPEC and China-Pakistan Relations	Mir Sherbaz Khetran, Muhammad Anjum Saeed	China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies	2017
18	Intra-Movement Dynamics Of Ethnic Militancy In Balochistan: A Policy Perspective	Aqeel Akhtar, Ghulam Qumber, and Arshi Saleem Hashmi	ISSRA Papers	2018
19	The Reasons of Violence in Balochistan: An Analytical Study of Various Uprisings	Abdul Basit Khan, Muhammad Azhar, Ayaz Muhammad	Dialogue (Pakistan)	2018
20	Socio-Political Unrest in Pakistan: A Perception of University Students in The Province of Balochistan, Pakistan	Junaid Aman, Muhammad Babar Akram, Muhammad Saud	Matra Pembaruan: Jurnal Inovasi Kebijakan	2018
21	CPEC: A Discourse on Space, Security, and Development in Balochistan	Hassan F. Virk	Journal of Global Peace and Security Studies	2020

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