Survivors of Terrorism

A Study on How Survivors of the Terrorist Attacks Perceive their Attackers

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Abstract

The growing number of victims as the result of increased terrorism has caused a real concern. Because many of the victims ends into mental disorders, the scholarships in this regard has increased. However, it is rare to find scholarships focusing on the attitudes held by the victims produced in line with the sufferings caused by terrorism. As usually in circumstances such as in post terrorist acts, the survivors produce negative attitudes due to the bad experiences triggered by the event which may thereby begin another cycle of violence directed towards the enemy. Therefore, to understand and to minimize the possible productions of such attitudes by the victims, actually serves the central aim of Peace and Conflict studies, which is to stop violence and promote peace. Thus, considering this issue, this research aims to understand how the survivors of terrorism perceive their attackers. In line with the aim, this study includes an interpretative case study to interview the survivors of terrorism and analyze the possible construction of enemy image in the lenses of theory enemy image. The study concluded that most of the participants consider the outgroups as different from the ingroup, especially based on religion and the outgroups are usually represented as ‘others’, the analyses confirms that participants create an enemy image, because there is not only one enemy in form of ethnic group therefore the construction of enemy image towards one group may vary in relation to the other group.

Key words: Attitude, Enemy Images, Interpretative Case Study, Terrorism, Terrorist Victims, Terrorist Survivors.

Words: 13944
List of Abbreviations

- **ISI**  Inter-Services Intelligence
- **PTSD**  Posttraumatic Stress Disorder
- **TTP**  Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan
- **SSP**  Sipah-e-Sahaba
- **LeJ**  Lashkar-e-Jangi
- **FATA**  Federally Administered Tribal Areas
- **FC**  Frontier Corps (Paramilitary forces)
- **PACS**  Peace and Conflict Studies
- **CIA**  Central Intelligence Agency
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1 Introduction

Generally, it is agreed that the terrorism is a preplanned politically motivated violence against non-combatant targets by subnational groups with intend to sow fear (Freedman & Thussu 2012: 8). Regardless the definition of terrorism, victims are the outcome of all terrorist activities. According to the conventional meaning, a “victim is an individual who suffers injury or death as a result of violence, intended or not” (Vine 1997: 57). Undoubtedly, the terrorist acts against the victims in this study are intended, this intention is validated by the terrorists’ words and actions as found in the background and analysis chapter.

The growing concerns of terrorism in post 9/11 attacks has become a central threat to international peace and security (Roser et al. 2013). In consequences, terrorism has victimized millions of people around the globe (ibid). Apparently, most of the terrorist victims are found with mental disorders, whether it be PTSD or related disorders (Gabriel et al. 2007). Somehow, where the growing number of terrorist activities is a big concern, the escalating number of victims as viewed from psychological and social perspectives are also alarming (see Ch. 3). Thus, to reduce the risk of psychological disorders found in the victims of terrorism and improve their social lives in post terrorist acts, a plenty of research studies are conducted (see Ch. 3). However, the scholarships concerning the attitudes held by the victims of terrorism is a rare focus. As typically in post terrorist acts the survivors produce negative attitudes which may thereby begin another cycle of violence directed towards the enemy. Therefore, to understand and to reduce the subsequent risk of violence, actually serves the central aim of Peace and Conflict studies, that is to stop violence and promote peace. Thus, to fill this gap of knowledge this research paper aims to study the attitudes held by the survivors of terrorist attacks towards their attackers.

1.1 Research Problem
The terrorism in Pakistan has a long and contested history. Since, the birth of Pakistan the country is suffering from the acts of violence characterized as sectarian, which means the exchange of violence between different sects of Islam (Sumbal 2018; Fair 2015: 1139). However, in Pakistan the sectarian violence has its spill-over on the communities which are recognized as minority. This includes Hindu and Christian followers (ibid).

Since 1980s, following the expansion of Al-Qaida and Talibanization in South Asia, the sectarian violence together with terrorism in Pakistan has worsen the country’s situation (Freedman & Thussu 2012: 172). Sectarianism and terrorism have jointly legitimized violence against the minor communities including Shia, a branch of Islam, which is affected at the utmost level. Though, Shia people are targeted throughout Pakistan, a little Shia Hazara community found in the Quetta city have been the serious target. As their linguistic and facial distinction has made their identification easier, they have been a great offer to this violence (HRW 2014; IAGCI 2015: 4 & 7).

Nonetheless, there have been an exchange of violence between Shia and Sunni during 1980s and the beginning of 1990s, after 1995 the violence has been characterized as one-sided perpetrated against Shia population throughout Pakistan with sporadic outbreaks (Fair 2015: 1138). However, in the parts of north Pakistan such as in Kurram Agency, Shia people have been actively resisting the Sunni extremists (Ali 2008). This never-ending exchange of violence indicates protracted conflicts. Though for the time being, there is no great measure of violence used against Sunni extremists by Shia, the exercise of anti-Shia violence may outbreak a cycle of unbreakable violence throughout Pakistan.

Azar termed the protracted conflict as identity-related conflicts, whether it be religious, ethnic or cultural (Azar 1990: 2). When the identity of a group is threatened the conflict is practically unavoidable (Fisher 2001: 307). In Pakistan the influence and possible expansion of Shia population was considered as a threat by Sunni extremists, the threat boosted in line with the Iranian Revolution. Therefore, Sunni extremists tried every possible way to exclude Shia from the pillar of Islam (see Ch. 2). Protracted social conflict lies deep-seated within the religious, ethnic, communal or cultural hatred, persisting over long-period of time with sporadic outbreaks (ibid: 308), characterized by growing hostility between
the Shia-Sunni in Pakistan. Therefore, hindering the cycle of violence before any possible outbreak is urgent.

1.2 Aim and Research Questions

Bearing the concerns as discussed in the research problem, the aim of this study is to get a deeper understanding of the attitudes held by the Shia Hazara victims of terrorism towards their attackers in current Pakistan. By focusing on such attitudes of the victims, this study becomes important in sense that most of the previous studies conducted on the victims of terrorism are concentrated on the victims’ mental health issues. Apart from one study in US, where the victims of 9/11 and their families helped to draft the counterterrorist policies. To reach the aim of this thesis, the following five operational questions are formulated:

- How the Shia Hazara define their attackers and themselves based on the characters ‘us’ and ‘them’?
- What kind of attitudes are held by the survivors?
- Do the survivors construct enemy image?
- What kind of threats do the survivors perceive?
- What kind of solutions they suggest?

1.3 Relevance to Peace and Conflict Studies

This study explores how the survivors of terrorist attacks ‘the target of organized violence’ perceive their enemy. The study of organized violence is central to Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS). Further this thesis explores whether the survivors construct an enemy image, which is also a part of the course in PACS. Other than the construction of enemy image by the survivors the relevant concept such as enemy, prejudice and war propaganda is also incorporated in this study. Research on the victims of terrorism from this perspective is very scarce. Further, the contribution of this research is also beneficial in studying the protracted
conflicts. Because the prolonging conflicts may push the survivors to react or adopt an adversary position towards the attackers, which thereby would start another cycle of violence. Therefore, this study is useful in PACS, as the main aim of PACS is to hinder conflicts and establish peace. According to UNESCO’s constitution “Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed” (UNESCO). By reading and understanding the perception of the survivors of terrorism, PACS researchers can find better solutions to hinder the possible outbreak of violence as motivated by hostility held by the survivors or victims towards their enemy.

1.4 De/limitations of the Study

The delimitation of this study is based on the given time, resources and space. The time and space provided by this study allows me to interview merely certain numbers of victims limited in a time-frame within a particular geographic area. The survivors participated in this study are from the events taken place between 2004 to 2019. Which means, with more time and resources I could have conducted more interviews, as well as with the victims from different backgrounds, for instance people from a different religion or sect of Islam. However, based on the given time and resources I have chosen seven direct victims of the terrorist attacks based on different age, gender, qualification and degree of their experiences to assist better sampling. The victims in this study are from the same place and belong to a single ethno-religious (Shia) group, therefore the outcome of this study can only be interpreted as the views held by the entire Shia Hazara community in Quetta, further generalization over the larger population is not possible, this can be considered as the limitation of this study.

1.5 Thesis Disposition

This thesis is organized in seven chapters. The first chapter offers an introduction in the issue and presents the research questions which is addressed in following
chapters. The second chapter attempts to provide a comprehensive picture of terrorism in Pakistan and its intangible complexities. Following this, the third chapter gives an insight in the studies conducted related to the victims of terrorism. Fourth, this chapter discusses the research design, the data collection method and ethical issues. After this, the chapter of theoretical framework is presented. The sixth chapter based on theoretical framework and research design offers analyses. Finally, the last chapter discusses the findings and presents reflections on further research.
2 Background

This chapter is designed to familiarize the readers with the geopolitical issues which leveled the grounds for terrorism in the region and in Pakistan, in particular. Further, it discusses how the foreign policies and political positions conducted by the Pakistani governments has worsened the domestic violence in the country. The last heading in this chapter shed light on the victims of terrorism.

2.1 Geo-Political Issues and Its Spillover

It is reasonable to say that Pakistan’s engagement in different geo-political issues in past has resulted into instability in the Pakistani territory. By its birth in 1947, marking the end of the British colonial rule, Pakistan fell into the crises of Kashmir. The Jammu and Kashmir, a princely state which according to the Two-Nation theory based on its Muslim most population should have joined Pakistan fell into hands of India. For Pakistan, the matter of Kashmir’s integration into Pakistan was related to the demography and religion of Kashmir. On the other hand, India to demonstrate its power insisted that a territory with majority Muslim population could exist in secular India (Ganguly et al 2018: 3).

However, according to some researchers the core of Kashmir conflict is situated in the British policies (Hingorani 2016: 3-4). As by British withdrawal the princely states remained the matter of choice of their monarchs to accede to either Pakistan or India. Yet apparently, the accession of Kashmir to India caused the real problem (Ganguly et al 2018: 3).

Since 1947, Pakistan has fought three major and one limited war with India, in 1948, 1965, 1971 and 1999 (Freedman & Thussu 2012: 171). The post-war conditions laid grounds for the origins of different insurgent groups such as Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), Hezbel Mujahedin, Harkat Ul Mujahideen, Jaish E Mohammed and Lashkar e Taiba. Harkat Ul Mujahideen,
established in 1980s, was firstly based in Pakistan and then in Afghanistan (Afridi 2009). Where all the aforementioned militant groups contributed to sustenance and complexity of Kashmir conflict while resisting Indian control, these groups produced intangible security issues within the Pakistani territory, as said if you play with fire, you get burned.

During the same era, in 1979, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan provided the grounds of the birth of Afghan Mujahidin or so-called Taliban ‘literally students. USA made Taliban to resist the enemy “Soviet Union”, it was financially supported by Saudi Arabia and trained by Pakistani military in the northern region of Pakistan. Majority of Taliban fighters were Afghan refugees who had fled the atrocities of war in Afghanistan during 1980s (Freedman & Thussu 2012: 172).

The Pakistani military’s participation in Afghan war could be defined as ‘playing with fire’. Although, the clear aim of Taliban was to push back the USSR. However, the Pakistani military instead of disbanding the group chose to support and sustain Taliban even after the Soviet occupation ended. This continued support of Pakistan laid the grounds for TTP (Taliban movement Pakistan). The Pakistani military and its intelligence branch ‘ISI’ utilized these mujahidin as a resource in Kashmir against India. Pakistan’s close military relationship with Islamist groups were described as ‘mosque-military alliance’ by Haqqani (Freedman & Thussu 2012: 173).

When the war in Afghanistan started, the enduring conflict in Kashmir became a violence playground for external terrorist groups such as Al-Qaida. This war attracted the foreign backed terrorists to test their skills of violence, further, deteriorating the conflict of Kashmir and establishing a link between militancy and terrorism. Thus, inviting the Kashmiri militants to be trained in the Madaras as same as Taliban and Al-Qaida fighters got trained (Afridi 2009; Freedman & Thussu 2012: 171).

A while after, the terrorism from Afghanistan and Kashmir spilled-over in Pakistan, aggravating the number of terrorist activities in the region. The trainings of the fighters flourished when Jaish e Mohammed a controversial terrorist group founded by a Pakistani cleric was held responsible for both the attacks on Indian Parliament in 2001 and the assassination attempts on ex-president of Pakistan, Pervez Musharaf. In addition, India alleged that Lashkar-e-Taiba was accountable
for coordinating the Mumbai terrorist attacks in 2008 (Afridi 2009; Freedman & Thussu 2012: 171).

Thus, the continuation of Kashmir conflict together with the war in Afghanistan have greatly affected the region and Pakistan the most, externally. However, another reason to the escalated terrorism in Pakistan was the consequences US policies designed in post 9/11. After the 9/11 terrorist acts, the US administration declared a ‘war on terror’ with aim to punish the perpetrators of 9/11 (Freedman & Thussu 2012: 2).

The ‘war on terror’ escalated the number of airstrikes and drones in the FATA region of Pakistan. As the strikes were operated by CIA from the US bases in Afghanistan, it threatened the sovereignty of Pakistan (Freedman & Thussu 2012: 174-175). However, after the most wanted terrorist Osama Bin Laden the head of Al-Qaeda was assassinated in the US-led operation in northern Pakistan, the degree of insecurity in FATA region of Pakistan intensified because the world specifically US had found the epicenter of ‘war on terror’ in South Asian region (ibid: 168).

2.2 Terrorism in Pakistan

Out of 95 percent of Pakistan’s Muslim population, Shia makes 20 percent. Though Shia people are spread throughout Pakistan, a small Shia Hazara community is concentrated in the capital city of Baluchistan called Quetta, where they have an estimated population of 500 000 (HRW 2014: 9).

Terrorism in Pakistan has a complex and contested history, as it is attributed by twisted sectarian violence and Talibanization, where the former has its origin in the context of Indian subcontinent between the years of 1940-1947 (Sumbal 2018: 132) the latter was the result of wrong political orientation as described earlier. Sectarian violence is defined as the violence between the different sects of Islam (Fair 2015: 1139). However, the prominent degree of violence is exercised against minor sects of Islam such as Ahmedis, Barelvis, Shia (a branch of Islam) and other communities, Christian and Hindu (ibid).
The development of sectarianism on the socio-political sphere of Pakistan can be put in the context of ‘reaction’ by Deobandi, an extreme sect in Sunni. After the independence of Pakistan, Shia people demanded the constitutional rights granting them freedom for azaadari and other rituals associated specifically to Shia Muslim, simultaneously the expansion of Shia in particular parts of India became worrisome for Deobandi (Sumbal 2018: 132). However, the main figures associated to Deobandi sect, inter alia, Maulana Allahyar Chakralwi’ during 1950-1960 formed a strong opposition against Shia campaigning to exclude them from Islam (ibid).

When the development and the politics of religious exclusion reached its peak, in 1974, ‘Ahmediya’ a sect within Sunni Muslim became stripped off their constitutional rights designated as non-Muslim. This success movement against Ahmediya leveled the grounds of campaigns against Shia (Sumbal 2018: 131). Since then radical Sunni have made several struggles to exclude Shia (ibid), however these efforts came unfruitful.

During 1980s, the ‘Islamization of Pakistan’ introduced by the dictator General Zia-ul-Haq, the proliferation of Deobani and the Islamic Revolution of Iran became automatically the contributing factors in increasing the sectarian violence in Pakistan (Freedman & Thussu 2012: 173, Sumbal 2018: 131). In the aftermath of the aforementioned reformations ‘Islamization’, Sipah-e-Sahaba ‘SSP’ an extreme Deobandi based militant group was found in order to prevent the increasing influence of Iranian Revolution in Pakistan supported by Tehrik-i-Islami Pakistan under a prominent Shia leader Alama Sajid Naqvi (Refworld 2005). However, to prevent the ‘Islamization of Pakistan’ which Shia Muslim viewed as a struggle to make Pakistan a Sunni state, the Shia community established a militant wing Sipah-e-Muhammed with the clear objectives of defending (HRW 2014).

Although, between 1980 to 1990 both Shia and Sunni involved in militant groups, after the mid 1990 militancy was exclusively attributed in terms of anti-Shia. Later, the SSP and its associated militant group Lashkar-e-Jangvi (LeJ.) came to be known as Ahl-e-Sunnat Wal Jammat (ASWJ) (Fair 2015: 1138). Other sources have also revealed LeJ’s close ties with Jaish e Mohammad (refworld 2005), see earlier chapter for Jaish e Mohammad. While these militias are charged
with the killings of Shia and other minor communities, controversially they were also been representatives in the parliament of Pakistan (ibid; ibid).

The frequency of threat against Shia Muslim varied in different regions of Pakistan. Bearing the fact, Shia do not constitute majority in any city of Pakistan. However, the major Shia population resides respectively in the north and the south of Pakistan. In the northern areas such as Gilgit-Baltistan and parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, while in the south the ethnic Hazaras representing large number of Shia Muslim reside in Quetta city, these areas are the most affected from the scars of terrorism (IAGCI 2015: 4 & 7.).

Further, except the atrocities Taliban committed in attempt to rule over Afghanistan, it produced a narrow and extreme interpretation of Islamic laws (Freedman & Thussu 2012: 2-3), which together with the ongoing sectarian violence escalated the number of terrorist activities in Pakistan. Additionally, the fall of Taliban in 2001 in Afghanistan, forced many terrorists to take shelter in the northern and southern regions of Pakistan (ibid: 168). In 2009, with 84 suicide bombings Pakistan was recorded as the second top country after Afghanistan. The country is also reported for the huge number of terrorist-related violence(ibid).

2.3 Terrorist Acts’ Victims

Undoubtedly, all Pakistanis have been the victims of terrorism, neither a single sect or religion nor a single community or institution are safe from the scars of terrorism. However, generally the Shia people around the all corners of Pakistan have been mostly and specifically targeted by the terrorists. While in Baluchistan, Hazara Shia people are the focal target of terrorism (HRW 2014: 1-5), as Hazaras are prominently Shia ethnic community. Also, due to Hazaras linguistic and distinctive differences from other Shia population in Pakistan (IAGCI 2015: 7 & 8), as they are easily identifiable and therefore have become an easy target for the terrorists.

Nonetheless, after the fall of Taliban in Afghanistan the terroristic and sectarian escalation of violence against Shia in general and Hazara Shia in specific came to rise (HRW 2014: 12), see earlier chapter for the details. The brutality perpetrated by these terrorists and militants included target killings and suicide
bombings and fitted bombs (HRW 2014). In 2003, the first main attack against Shia Hazara recorded by 53 casualties and 57 wounded people (ibid: 16). This major start of terrorism against Shia Hazara and Shia people in Quetta perceived inevitable as the following year came with a greater shock when a religious procession attributed to Shia Muslim called Ashura attacked in 2004 (ibid: 17). Though, LeJ claimed the responsibility, no actions took place against them as they were close allies to Pakistan army. One retired intelligence officer put their relationship in a following way:

Until this attack, we saw the LeJ guys as allies, if not friends. Their activities were manageable. But these attacks on the Hazara did change the perception and then many of us stopped thinking of them as allies. But, importantly, many of us did not (HRW 2014: 17).

The never-ending brutality against Shia and Shia Hazara went on sporadically. In 2013, the killings of 450 Shia Muslim recorded as bloodiest year by Human Rights Watch (HRW 2014: 38). The wildness bombings in January and February 2013 which killed 180 Shia Hazara in Quetta resulted in the highest death tolls of such attack in the history of Pakistan (ibid). The following years were neither a surprise, in 2014 around 400 Shia people were killed (HRW 2014: 1 & 2). The Human Rights Watch has recorded all the target killings of Shia in Baluchistan happening between the years 2008-2012 (HRW 2014: 54).

The events of vicious attacks on the Shia Hazara in Quetta had a deep effect on the social, cultural and economic lives of these people. The circumstances produced in the aftermath of these inhumane events limited the Shia ethnic community into two neighborhoods of Alamdar Road Mariabad and Hazara Town where they are kept isolated from all other communities living in Quetta city (Notezai 2019).
3 Previous Research

This chapter is devoted to familiarize the readers with the scholarship previously conducted on the victims of terrorist acts.

No doubt, all terrorist acts are committed with the purpose to sow fear in audience or specifically the target group. Therefore, large amount of the previous studies conducted on the victims of the terrorist acts deal with the mental health issues of the victims. Most of the studies discussed in this chapter assessed posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and other mental disorders in the victims. Other mental disorders include major depression, panic disorder, social phobia, anxiety disorder and agoraphobia (Gabriel et al. 2007: 341).

Gabriel et al. revealed that victims of the terrorist attacks suffer from several mental disorders and those who have directly affected by the event have higher rate of post-event psychiatric disorders (Gabriel et al. 2007). In fact, victims suffer from different psychiatric disorders where PTSD is the most usual disorder caused by intentional violence, according to Neria et al. (Neria et.al 2011). PTSD is a psychiatric disorder which can develop in the aftermath of traumatic incidents. One of the common PTSD symptoms is anhedonia. According to American Psychiatric Association, anhedonia is the lack of interest in positive and pleasurable activities, this inability to experience positive emotions may result in deteriorating health condition (Diaz et al. 2017: 664).

Although, PTSD is very common in the victims following the aftermath of terrorist attacks, conducting research on the behavioral consequences of terrorism DiMaggio & Galea estimated that 60% to 80% of the victims will not develop PTSD (DiMaggio & Galea 2006). However, another research conducted on the adult victims have found that a major number of the adult victims develop psychological disorders, therefore the study suggests a psychological monitoring and care in the short and long-term (Garcia-Vera et al. 2016).
Other studies have also discovered that traumas caused by terrorist attacks affect the victims differently than natural disasters (Santiago et al. 2013), because the effects of terrorist attacks are long-lasting and severe in its nature. Henceforth, many studies on trauma produced by violence have concentrated on the presence/absence of PTSD (e.g. Galea et al. 2003).

Apart from the studies concerned with the nature of trauma, Diaz et al. focuses on influence trauma has on victims’ well-being and quality of life. They found that absence of PTSD could not be interpreted as well-being, therefore, it is significant to keep working on the victim’s positive health despite absence of PTSD, argues Diaz et al. (Diaz et al., 2017). To study the well-being of the 69 direct victims of the 11-M terrorist attacks, Diaz et al. implemented the complete state model of health (CSMH) as developed by Keynes (2005). The CSMH include interpersonal, intergroup and social relationships as the factors of health (ibid).

In line with Diaz et al., another study found that well-being is a protective factor for victims who were directly exposed to trauma. The same study also proposed that increasing the levels of populations well-being is effective to prevent development of PTSD in victims and an excellent recovery strategy (Bajo et al. 2018).

Though the aforementioned studies have merely focused on the mental health issues of the victims of the terrorist acts, there is a literature with focus on the victims’ role in US policy making (Hoffman 2007: 4-6). Since 9/11, the victims’ families have raised their voices to draft US counterterrorist policy and legislation. For instance, these people were successful in getting the 9/11 commission established (ibid).

Although the literatures I searched were mostly related to the psychological aspects of the victims. Apart from one study which focused on the role of 9/11 victims on policy making. Contrast to the previous research, this thesis will focus on how the victims of the terrorist attacks perceive their attackers.
4 Methodology

As the aim of this study concerns attitudes held by the victims of terrorism towards their attackers. This aim influences the research design, data collection and ethical considerations presented in this chapter.

4.1 Research Design

This study is based on interpretative case study, which involves one individual case within bounded system selected for analysis. As defined, a case study is appropriate when the researcher has a clear case with determined boundaries and try to offer in-depth understanding of the particular case (Creswell 2007: 75). Though, in case studies the data collection is extensive, including documents, archival records, interviews and observations (ibid). However, in this selected method, the interviews are the primary source of data, because based on this method the researcher can best access the interpretations the participants hold about different events via interviews. Further, this research design give space to participants’ thoughts, opinions and aspirations (Walsham 1995: 78).

This study is well suited for the case I am interested in. As in difference, this study does not aim to establish a theory. Though, studies such as interpretative case study is not possible without empirical theory. Therefore, this study makes a clear use of theoretical offers as an instrument to interpret the case (Lijphart 1971: 692).

The use of theory in the interpretative case studies can have various functions such as using theory as an initial guide to design and data collection, as a part of iterative process of data collection and analysis, and as a final product of the research (Walsham 1995: 76). In this study, the theory intends to function as a part of iterative process of data collection and analysis. The pre-set interview questions asked to each participant functions as iterative process in this paper. The
reason not to use the two other functions of the theory in this study could be described on the basis that the use of theory as an initial guide, narrows down productivity of case, in a sense that researcher sees the case only through the lenses provided by the theory and thus using theory in a rigid way limits new issues and opportunities of explorations. Secondly, the use of theory in this study as a final product of the research is controversial to both interpretative case study and this study. As this study does not aim to establish a theory or concepts.

Therefore, it is desirable in interpretative case studies to offer a considerable degree of openness to the data (Walsham 1995: 76). Which is thereby supported by semi-structured interview questions.

4.2 Data Collection

4.2.1 Material and Method

The data collected for this study is based on interviews, conducted with seven survivors of terrorism in the Quetta city of Pakistan. All interviews are conducted in ‘Hazaragi’ a dialect of Dari language.

As the part of interpretative case study, it is essential to capture participants thoughts and opinions in an effective way (Walsham 1995: 78). Therefore, the semi-structured interview questions are formulated with purpose to steer the interview questions, so that neither the richness of data is lost nor the participants’ space to express their views are controlled too closely (ibid). With semi-structured interview questions, I mean some of the questions are pre-set and rest of the questions are left to ask depending on the circumstances developed during interview.

Though, most of the questions are answered, I found that only a few participants avoided to answer some questions based on sensitivity of the information and taboo. For instance, the women I interviewed did not say her name and age, while at the end she disclosed her approximate age. All of the interviews conducted with participants are telephonic, via camera. There is
potential advantage conducting interviews on telephone (Irvine et. al 2012: 88), for instance, I spared much of my time and money which would otherwise be wasted to conduct face to face interviews.

However, there are a number of unavoidable disadvantages with telephonic interviews. As I discovered, sometimes I was asked to repeat the questions, sometimes the participants appealed for clarifications and above all we missed the space for interaction offered by the face to face interviews. Describing my situation, Gillham claims that interpersonal chemistry is important for generating motivation and interest (Irvine et. al 2012: 90).

The lack of face to face interview also affected the duration of interviews (Irvine et al. 2012: 92), as it was very difficult to carry on the interviews once you found that the participants are not really answering precisely and you still need to ask your questions to obtain the required data. The interviews turned shorter than I have calculated. The length of each interview is between 25 to 45 minutes.

Albeit, as my first telephonic experience I found it very interesting to interview people via telephone. Basically, you are confident at your place and the same with participants. Though, I was recording the interviews I found it very useful to take notes during the conversation. Taking notes helped me ask more relevant questions which I missed during the first two interviews.

All of the interviewees are recorded and transcribed. The pre-set interview questions are attached in (Appendix I).

4.2.2 Selection of Participants and Generalizability

All of the participants belong to the same ethnic group, from Quetta city. The reason behind selecting participants only from this group is due to the large-scale sufferings caused by terrorism to this group in particular, during the past two decades. Most of the participants were approached through Al-Qaim Welfare Trust. This trust is financially helping the victims of terrorism and is easily reached via social media. I contacted the chairman of Al-Qaim Trust who thereby helped me to find my interviewees. Three of the participants were approached by contacting my family and friends. Somehow these people became the
‘gatekeepers’ (Creswell 2007: 125). I concluded with seven interview participants whose selection was based on variety.

The purpose of generalizability in this study is to enlighten us about persons (rest of population of the Hazara community) who are not directly studied in this case (Chambliss & Schutt 2006: 13), *is further elaborated in coming lines*. From the two types of generalizability namely sample and cross-population or external validity or transferability (ibid), the sample generalizability suits here because the selected sample for this study do not fulfill the criteria of cross-population generalizability. It is to be noticed that adopting sample generalizability in this study has two purposes, first to generalize the findings of sample (the selected survivors), *in this case the survivors attitudes towards their attackers*, to the all victims of terrorism found in Shia Hazara community and secondly to generalize the interpretations of the survivors to whole Shia Hazara community. Thus, there are two levels of generalizations studied in this research.

For aforementioned purposes, the parts of cluster sampling are incorporated in this study. “Cluster sampling is useful when a sampling frame – a definite list – of elements is not available” (Chambliss & Schutt 2006: 95). In this case, the list of all survivors of terrorism in Hazara Shia was difficult to attain, therefore seven survivors are selected randomly as they represent different events. The different events here represent different clusters to which the survivors belong to. The cluster in this study can also represent different gender, different age and different degree of vulnerability of different survivors. The purpose of sampling strategy adopted in this study is to acquire maximum interpretations of the survivors and whole picture of the issue.

4.2.3 Presentation of Participants

All of the seven participants injured during various terrorist attacks taken place in Quetta city. Due to sensitivity of the information released by the participants it is necessary to keep them unidentified, for this reason they are given aliases (Creswell 2007: 141). A.H. was the first survivor I interviewed. He is studying Media Production on a bachelor level living outside of Quetta city. The interview with him lasted for 28 minutes. A.H. was badly injured in the bomb blast terrorist
attack back in 2010. When he together with his father, brother and other relatives was attending a religious procession, a terrorist entered their procession and exploded himself. His father and cousin died, his other relatives became injured, and he was seriously wounded with broken feet and arms. Though, I expected detailed answers from him, he at the end of interview after I turned off the recording told me that there is reason why I do not specify the name and role of intelligence agency ‘ISI’ in my interview and you have to understand it.

The second person I interviewed was a young girl called A.G., she is a secondary school student living together with her family in Quetta. The interview with her was smooth-going and well-developed, however the problem was that she was too young to understand and resonate all the political games happening in the city. She was seriously injured in a target killing attack in 2016, when they were traveling back to home in a bus. The terrorists entered in the bus identified them as their target and tried to pull them out from the bus to separate them from the passengers who were not Shia Hazara. However, the dispute escalated, and her elder sister was shot dead with several bullets. The terrorists fired at her and she became wounded in her shoulder. The conversation with her ended in 32 minutes.

The third person I called for interview was M.H. A vegetable seller who became paralyzed below his midriff in the recent suicide attack on 12 April 2019. As he was recently injured, he was still in a state of shock. Therefore, the interview with him was slow and struggling. The interview lasted for 26 minutes.

This fourth interview conducted with S.A. He was extremely wounded in the suicide terrorist attack taken place on 21 January in 2014. The terrorists attacked on the two buses of pilgrims that returned home from a holy journey, causing 29 casualties and 32 wounded. S.A. was paralyzed beneath his mid and got shards on his chest. Though he is struggling with his physical health his mental state has damaged. During the interview, he used to repeat the same things many times and had difficulty to stay on the topic. Regardless those obstacles, his interview was rich in data. His interview ended in 27 minutes.

Interview with N.S. lasted for 26 minutes. This participant became wounded in the terrorist attacks same as S.A. She lost her young daughter in the attack and got injury in her one foot. By occupation she is a house wife, her husband has passed away and she lives alone at home. The interview with her provided a good amount of data.
The sixth interview conducted with H.D. He became paralyzed in incident on 3 March 2004, when the terrorists attacked on the religious procession of Shia people claiming 45 lives and leaving 165 injured. Before he became paralyzed, he together with his father and brothers were having leather business. By occupation he was a businessman allowing him to have wide-scale contacts with people from other communities, thus increasing his knowledge and experience regarding the target killings and terrorist attacks. Because his interpretation of terrorism included his customers’ experiences who belonged to Pashtun and Baloch communities. This interview was rich in data and insight which lasted for 45 minutes.

The last interview conducted with T.A, who was injured in twin bomb blasts which took more than 100 lives in Quetta. This terrorist attack was recorded as the deadliest attack of its kind in Pakistan’s history, see Ch. 2. The suicide bombers targeted the snooker club located in the area dominated by Shia Hazara. T.A. is working as operator for TV company to provide cable connections. The interview with him ended in 31 minutes.

4.3 Ethical Considerations

All of the participants in this study belong to a minority and most vulnerable group from Quetta city of Pakistan. As this study has focus on the victims’ attitudes towards the terrorists, thus their identification means an existential threat for the participants. Therefore, based on this concern the name and identity of the participants are not disclosed in this study, rather they are mentioned by aliases. It is primary duty of the researcher to conduct a sound research and to protect the participants of the study, (Benard 2006: 26) from any possible risk. Based on this duty, being a researcher, I also realize sensitivity of the information released by some of the participants. Therefore, considering all aspects of the research I formulated a consent letter. The participants were given information about their role in this research and their rights’ regarding it. The participants were aware of the possible risks and therefore, some of them avoided to give further information classified as sensitive. The consent letter includes that the participants are not
forced for this research, they are able to withdraw totally or from parts of the research, they are aware of the possible risks while participating in this study, they are aware that the researcher represents a composite picture rather than an individual picture (Appendix II).

4.4 The Role of the Researcher

Based on selection of the research design it is sensible to say that I have an interpretative role in this study. There are two types of roles a researcher can have while doing a case study, outside observer and involved researcher, the latter is usually termed as participant observer (Walsham 1995: 77).

Since, I was living in the field for several years I have gained some insight about the field. Further, I have also visited the field four times during the past five years, these visits have added up to my experience about the field. Because I am not conducting a field work and therefore, I cannot enroll myself to the role of outside observer. However, I still have field-based knowledge and my data gathering was performed as an outsider (data gathered from Sweden).

Thus, it is important for the readers to realize my role in this research work. As considerably my role affects both data collection and the results. Additionally, readers are aware that I am Hazara Shia and this study is about the victims of Hazara Shia, that means the researcher and the participants share same ethno-religious identity. Which thereby has some advantages and disadvantages in data collection process and approaching the survivors. For instance: it was much easier for me to approach the survivors from this community due to my identity, it could be seen as advantage. However, a both advantage and disadvantage could be that the participants would probably answer the interview questions differently if asked by a researcher with different identical background.
5 Theoretical Framework

In line with the aim and operational questions, this chapter addresses the theory and related concepts to the theory. The presented theory is used as an instrument to analyze the existing questions in Chapter 1.

5.1 Enemy Image and Related Concepts

There is very little information about the origin and developmental of enemy images. However, war between nations and conflicts between people have existed and persisted throughout history. During the Cold War, the major players United States and Soviet Union characterized each other as enemy. Though, the era of Gorbachev deprived the US of its ‘image of the enemy’. While in Moscow a conference sponsored by the government called “The Image of the Enemy” and a film version of “Faces of the Enemy” was shown nationwide (Keen 1991: 6). This portraying of enemy by the major powers during Cold War, indicates somehow the beginning of the enemy images and its use as a part of War propaganda.

To understand the creation of enemy images the following closely related concepts serve as facilitators.

5.1.1 Enemy

Prior to creating the enemy images, it is necessary to understand and realize the term enemy. Because an enemy is important for armed conflict, genocide and to minor extent discrimination and racism (Oppenheimer 2006: 269). The enemy could be described as other, outsider, nonhuman and evil (Keen 1991: 16).

The enemy emerges when if ‘we’ and ‘they’ are understood fundamentally different, once the distinction is to define the good and evil. Where the good is
attributed to ‘us’ and the bad is associated with ‘them’. The enemy always implies disorder, as its presence is wrong and represents injustice. While ‘we’ always represents justice, right, law and morality. The enemy is considered the waste of the society categorized as dirt, filth, causing injustice and wrong, belonging to the lower parts of society (Harle 2000: 12 & 13), thus, it should be excluded to maintain the moral and social order. In the linguistic expressions, the enemy denotes words such as darkness, evil, occident and devil (Harle 2000: 13).

According to Keen, in all propaganda the face of the enemy is made to reflect our hatred (Keen 1991: 16). He argues, the enemies are created to reinforce the social solidarity within the nation. Therefore, identity of most of the people depends on the creation of antagonistic division such as ‘us’ vs ‘them’ (ibid: 17).

5.1.2 Attitude and Prejudice

Attitude is about how an individual categorize or orient himself towards identifiable referents, let these be persons, institutions, groups or values. It could be defined as “a learned, global evaluation of an object (person, place or issue) that influences thought and action” (Perloff 2003: 39). People are not inborn with attitudes, rather it is acquired through course of socialization in childhood and adolescence (ibid). Freud donated attitudes with vitality, identifying them with longing, hatred and love, with passion and prejudice (ibid: 38). Once formed the attitudes are more or less enduring. It founds the basis of your actions.

Prejudice, usually termed as negative attitude, could be defined as antipathy based on false and obstinate generalization. Like other attitudes, it has “a cognitive component (e.g. beliefs about a target group), an affective component (e.g. dislikes) and a conative component (e.g. a behavioral predisposition to behave negatively towards the target group)” (Hewstone et. al 2010: 5). These components are either felt or expressed and directed towards an entire group or a member of that group. Whereas prejudice evokes hostility towards ‘other’, it also serves psychological purposes “such as enhancing self-esteem and providing material advantages” (Hewstone et. al 2010: 6).

5.2 Ideal Typical Enemy Image
According to Steiner:

An enemy image is a construction of an ‘other’ as an imminent, real and serious (but not invincible) threat to our most vital interests, with the purpose to mobilize and to legitimate organized violence against an outgroup” (Steiner 2016: s. 2)

Basically, the ‘other’ is fundamentally different from us (Harle 2000: 10). The ‘other’ has a significant function in our social order, it is required for self-identity just as the large does not give any sense without the small, therefore ‘other’ is used to represent the linguistic and cultural differences between the groups, it constitutes the basis of ‘us’. The ‘other’ could be either positively or negatively attributed, the positive ‘other’ is accepted among us while the negative is excluded from us, perceived as less human or evil (ibid: 11 & 12).

Where ‘other’ is essential for ‘our’ identity building, the enemy is to blame for the bad things, this defines scapegoating (Petersson 2009: 461). Derived from definition of the ‘other’ it could be understood that the enemy is the special case of ‘other. The enemy is always ‘other, but certainly not all ‘other’ are defined as enemy (Harle 2000: 12). Therefore, to illustrate how the enemy looks like, the enemy images are generated. An enemy image demonstrates what our opponent, adversary or “military enemy looks like in subject’s perception or war propaganda” (ibid: 13).

Precisely as ‘other’, a stereotype image of the outgroup is necessary to attribute that group with specific traits. Generally, stereotypes do not need to be negative. However, stereotypes attributed as enemy images are totally negative. According to Petersson there is a difference between stereotype and enemy images in degree, but not in kind (Petersson 2009: 461). Thus, othering, scapegoating and stereotyping play a crucial role in creating enemy image.

Enemy images have a significant function in war propaganda. Stressing on its importance Clausewitz states: “War is inconceivable without a clearly defined image of the enemy” Carl Von Clausewitz (cited in Eicher et al. 2013: 127).

As for war propaganda, the enemy image is also instrumental for the campaign started for elimination of the enemy. In order to legitimize war or violence against the enemy you need to mobilize public or gain supporters to conduct war and for that purpose war propaganda is a useful instrument. Function
of enemy images in war propaganda is to create a hostile image of the ‘other’ (Lynch & McGoldrick 2005: 196-197). Usually in the media, war propaganda is used as a tool by political elites to generate an enemy image with purpose to legitimize war, although other forms of violence (ibid). Production of enemy images plays a significant role in feeding and fortification of hostility and antagonism between the categories of population, on domestic level and between the nations on the higher level (Oppenheimer 2006: 270). Therefore, identity of the enemy produced with intensity of emotions in audience as stimulated by that image is not necessarily based on rational bases (ibid).

The enemy images are generated to win a support at home, from ingroup and legitimize violence against the outgroup. Usually, both engaging parties of the war create images of each other. As some practical examples of the enemy images are found between US and Russia, Israel and Palestine (Eicher et al. 2013:129). In these mentioned cases, the enemy images characterized as diabolic, aggressive and cruel, while in contrast the self-images produced as courageous, peaceful and defending ‘our’ people (ibid: 127), or ‘our’ values.

As discussed earlier, the enemy image is useful for construction of ‘other’ as a real and urgent threat to our most vital values and assets (Steiner 2016: s.2). Our’ faith, ‘our’ race, ‘our’ culture and ‘our’ way of life etc. (Steiner 2016: s.5), are the examples of the values which could mean a lot for ‘us’ and we may wage a war if the referent object is threatened, so to protect these values. These values and assets may change from time to time.

A central component in enemy images is the characterizing of ‘our’ and ‘their’ essence. Though, the characters are not always explicit per se, to read what characterizes ‘us’ and ‘them’, one need to go beyond the defined context (Steiner 2016: s.11). It is to understand how the ‘ingroup’ describes that on which bases are they different or superior in relation to the outgroup.

In the discourse of enemy images where the distinction between ‘we’ and ‘them’ defines emergence of hostility, it also characterizes ‘we’ as superior and ‘them’ as inferior. ‘we’ is attributed as peaceful, democratic, tolerant and believing in true God, while ‘they’ are perceived as violent, intolerant and infidels (Steiner 2016: s.17). Though superior, ‘we’ are perceived as fragile and
vulnerable, the enemy is perceived as low in status, though strong enough to affect the ingroup (Eicher et al. 2013: 128-129).

Further, the distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ as described earlier is urgent. The ‘us’ and ‘them’ in this discourse can have different meanings and can serve different contexts. For instance, ‘us’ can be a person, a or multiple group of people or multiple nations depending on the context, the same way ‘them’ functions to describe multiple parties or groups. Supporting and explaining distinction of ‘us’ and ‘them’, the image theory developed major images (Eicher et al. 2013: 128).

According to image theory, the images are “cognitive, affective and evaluative structure of the behavior unit” (Eicher et al. 2013: 129). It means the images are produced with purposes to design thoughts and mental conditions thus these images are effective and may contribute to shape human behavior. In the case of enemy images, the images are produced to explain the perception held by people about outgroup. For example, if the outgroup is perceived to be threatening then it is demonized, represented as evil, aggressive and cruel, which thereby justifies the violence against ‘them’ (ibid: 128). Further, the images are also created to censor information and interpret the actions of outgroup (ibid).

In this context, the relevant images are ally, the enemy and the barbarian. The ally is deemed as equal in status and capability. Therefore, the ally is considered as one’s own group (Eicher et al. 2013: 128), constituting ‘us. For instance, as EU and US share same values and religion it may constitute ‘us’, depending on the context. Though according to the image theory, the enemy is also perceived to be in equal status and capability as ‘us. However, the enemy is considered as a threat and therefore the enemy image is linked with cruelty and wickedness to legitimize violence against it (ibid: 129). Similarly, the barbarian image is also linked with the perception of threat, conversely in this case the enemy is outgroup who is deemed as low in status and possessing greater power (ibid).

When the enemy is considered to pose an existential threat towards a referent object (which is observed to be threatened), then action is urgent, the process is called securitization. This threat should be accepted by the relevant audience, thereby providing the space for the use of emergency measures to deal with the perceived security threat (McDonald 2013: 73). However, this articulation of
threat comes in forms of speech acts, where the issue or actor is constructed as making an existential threat to a particular group (McDonald 2013: 73).

5.3 Malign vs Benign Enemy Image

In the malign enemy image, the delimitation between ‘us’ and ‘them’ is very clear. It means, that ‘we’ and ‘them’ are fundamentally different. ‘Them’ represents a clear evil/enemy posing a real threat against ‘our’ most vital values. Though, ‘we’ are perceived as superior in status but weak in strength. The enemy is considered inferior, somehow extremely strong and dangerous in sense lacking human features. In such circumstances, the peace is in jeopardy and the reform is useless. Though ambiguous, measures such as actions against the enemy seems reasonable and possible (Steiner 2016: s. 44-45).

In contrast to aforementioned, in the benign enemy image the distinction between ‘we’ and ‘them’ is vague, here ‘we’ constitutes multiple identities and the threat against ‘we’ is not very serious, as in this case the threat does not beg for urgent actions. Similarly, there might be multiple ‘they’ and their features are not obviously defined as diabolic. ‘They’ are considered human, possessing human attributes. The circumstances are such that at least peace is not totally broken, therefore reform and reconciliation seem possible. However, the division between hostile regime and population is clear (Steiner 2016: s. 44-45).

Based on the earlier concepts it is derived that, to a minor extent, ‘you’ create enemy images to express your dislike or hatred. For instance, to evoke discrimination the enemy images are produced in line with the negative stereotypes. The enemy images also serve scapegoating, when the target group is considered as impure to evoke actions against ‘them’ given in the context of racism. However, the utmost use of the enemy images serves war propaganda, when the threat is serious, and action considered against ‘them’ is urgent.
6 Interpretative Analysis

This chapter in light of the aforementioned theory analysis the how the attackers are perceived by the survivors. Accumulated from the theory, the difference between ingroup and outgroup in this chapter is often illustrated as ‘us’ and ‘them’. For the construction and constitution of ‘us’ and ‘them’, see the earlier chapter.

6.1 How do Survivors define Ingroup and Outgroups?

The survivors of the terrorist attacks participated in this study have very different views about their attackers, especially when defining the attackers in terms of ‘them’. It is important to notice that ‘they’ in this study does not constitute a single ethnic group as it includes Baloch, Pashtun, Punjabi and Uzbuk among ethnicities, India, Afghanistan and Saudi Arabia among the states and SSP, LeJ. and Taliban among terrorist organizations. However, in terms of religion all of the mentioned ethnicities belong to Sunni Muslim. Here ‘us’ represents Shia Hazara community for the most and to some degree it represents Shia people as a whole.

Further I consider, that this variety of views held by the survivors is based on their qualification, knowledge, experiences, gender and age etc. For instance, A.H. describes the outgroup as following:

They are different, their culture is different, they belong to Sunnis, it is impossible to have relationship with them.... Especially when it comes to marriage, in the society we are living, our parents will not allow to marry anyone unless they are Shia. (A.H.)

It is to be noted that by relationship A.H. does not mean friendship or in similar. For him, they are allowed to have friends and other types of similar relationships with the outgroup. However, when it comes to serious and long-term relationship
such as marriage then the outgroup is seen fundamentally different, emphasizing the role of ‘othering’. In reference to ‘othering’ he builds on the context to define the ingroup as innocent, persecuted by the outgroup:

In their belief we are infidels, they consider it legitimate to kill Shia people. However, our religion does not allow this, we are taught to be peaceful, equal and human. (A.H.)

Another participant defining their relationship with outgroup states: “The only difference between ‘us’ is that they are killing us in name of Shia and Hazara” (S.A.). Here, the ‘us’ mentioned in S.A.’s statement includes both ingroup and outgroup.

Among the participants it is easily seen that much of weight is placed based on the religious difference. This difference of views based on religion is serving as the cause of conflict, the thought shared by many of the participants. The participants do not really define the outgroup in very detail to make the outgroup very distinct and understandable. Suppose for N.S. “Our culture and Pashtun’s culture are almost similar; the only difference is based on religious views”. (N.S.)

Regardless, how the participants have interpreted the difference between the ingroup and outgroup. I belief, that the difference is much more than just sectarian, let these differences be ethical, linguistic and traditional. For example: the Hazara community look different and that’s what make it easier for the terrorist to target them, see background chapter. Developing on this view, one of the participants describes:

Once on the way to Hanna (a picnic point), they killed two Uzbuk and later they found that these people were not Hazara, they went to their homes to apologize (S.A.)

It means these two men from Uzbuk community, because the look similar to Hazara community in facial features were target mistakenly. The main reason that the terrorists are not defined well in terms of outgroup is because there is not only one ethnicity involved in these killings, as discussed above. A.G. a young girl become seriously injured in the target killing. She is the only participant who met the terrorist face to face. She describes the perplex situation as:
I do not know who they are, he was speaking Urdu (referring to the terrorist), I could not identify him because his face was masked, his big eyes could only tell me that he was not Hazara, while all other Punjabi, Baloch, Pashtun look the same (A.G.).

Urdu is an official language in Pakistan. Therefore, the terrorists choose to communicate with their target in Urdu as they acknowledge that most of the Hazara cannot speak their local languages. For A.G. it was difficult to identify the terrorist’s ethnic belonging. I consider, her age and gender make it vulnerable for her to identify the differences found between the ethnicities. As for her age most of the girls from Hazara community have no links with other communities, except when they go for a higher education in colleges and universities with multi-ethnic students. Also, gender-wise there is no close integration between Hazara females and females from other ethnicities.

Although, it is evident based on A.G.’s claim that the attackers are not from Hazara community. The identity of the attackers is a question which is found confusing among many participants. A.H. continues:

I do not know who is killing us, but after each incident the newspaper state ‘unidentified killers’, however some of the attacks are claimed by LeJ. For example, in the bomb blast where I got injured and several other bomb blasts which took place in Quetta was claimed by LeJ, yet the target killings are not claimed by anyone. I consider that LeJ which is an extremist party have problem with ‘us’ Shia Hazara because of ‘our’ belief as they belong to different sect of Islam. (A.H.)

The reason that the attackers are usually stated unidentified is because that the state is openly involved in target killing, therefore there is no organization or a terrorist group to claim the responsibility. This issue is further discussed in the coming chapters. However, it is identified that the attackers belong to LeJ. Which people constitute LeJ is confirmed by N.S:

I think they are mainly Baloch but also Pashtuns, because both of them hate us……The leader of LeJ. Ramzan Mengal give statements on daily basis that Shia are infidels and until I have not eliminated this people, I will not breathe a sigh of relief. (N.S.)

As so far it is understood that LeJ. is mainly responsible for the terrorist attacks except the target killings. And remaining the question of identity, Ramzan Mengal
the chief of LeJ. belongs to Baloch ethnicity (H.D.). Because Mengal is a tribe in Baloch people and his surname clarifies his belonging.

6.2 The Kind of Attitude Held by the Survivors

The type of attitude held by the survivors in this study is based on how they are/were treated by the outgroup or attackers during different occasions and how the different scenarios following the terroristic events shape their thoughts. It is very clear that these terrorist acts and propaganda against Shia have sown so much hate between Shia and Sunni people that they cannot live together. Therefore, the attitude found among the participants are usually negative attitude termed as prejudice. This negative attitude is double-sided found both in ingroup and demonstrated by outgroup. A.H. maintains:

They do not want us in Quetta city. They openly challenge us. They deliver hostile speeches to create discord among the residents of Quetta city ...... in Quetta the hostility between Hazara and Pashtun have grown so much that we do not like each other. (A.H.)

The hostility between the populations is largely caused by the propaganda the terrorists deliver via their speeches in processions and on social media. This false propaganda has produced a huge misunderstanding and disinformation among general public. N.S. validates this propaganda when she met a Baloch taxi driver.

They include both good and bad. Once when we were travelling back to Quetta our driver was a Baloch man. He asked me: do you people pray? I replied: we recite the same Kalima (declaration of faith) as you do. He wondered then why all people call you infidels? I replied: you people have made us infidels, we as Muslim have respect for Hindus, Jews and Infidels as all are created by God. (N.S.)

The propaganda against Shia Hazara has not only infiltrated people’s belief, it has further legitimized the peoples’ attitudes. For instance: on how to behave these infidels, referring to Shia. For A.G. this was shocking:
After my sister was shot, we were in a very vulnerable situation nobody was really helping us. I was running back and forth to ask people for a mobile phone to call my mother, however, all of them would look at me and laugh, all of the Pashtuns were acting the same way. (A.G.)

Where the A.G.’s story confirms the enemy’s hostile attitude, it also illustrates how the prejudice has formed itself among the people, particularly in Pashtun people here. Seeing her in such vulnerable condition and still not responding to her plea is something undefinable. Another example of prejudice could be studied in N.S.’s answer. When she was asked where this incident took place? She replied: “In Mastung, Daringar. Exactly in the same place where they (Baloch) attacked by the terrorists this year” (N.S.).

The way I perceived her tone while she was replying, it illustrated that she was actually relieved by acknowledging the attack on Baloch people. As for her, Baloch are hugely involved in the terrorist attacks perpetrated against Hazara Shia. The antagonism between Shia and Sunni categories of population has developed so much that they feel uneasy to see each other. An instance of hostility and stereotyping could be perceived by following lines:

Once I was shopping in the market, I don’t remember what I said, the woman beside me told the shopkeeper that I am first in a queue, I told the shopkeeper no I came before her. Then, this Pashtun woman beside me complained, very good I appreciate that the terrorists kill you people. They hate us on this degree, we cannot live in Quetta, just because we are Shia. (N.S.)

Based on the prejudice of one Pashtun woman N.S stereotyped the whole group as by claiming that ‘they’ hate us. Though, it is logical to understand N.S.’s emotions based on how she was treated in public place. However, the root of hostility in Quetta city is like a rabbit hole. Apart from the clashes between ethnicities based on religion, the state also participates and reinforce this hostility. H.D. who became paralyzed in 2004 terrorist attack defines:

In one incident which took place in Mastung, our youth successfully escaped the terrorists. For rescue they called FC and asked them for a help, instead for rescuing FC gunned down them. In this terrorism FC is also involved. In another case, our youth were killed by people who thereby escaped in a police vehicle. (H.D.)
All of the narrations by H.D. make the state’s participation in provoking the situation very evident. When the law enforcement agencies such as FC and police who is primarily responsible for safeguarding the citizens are found to be involved in such cases it makes no other point then to confirm the state’s involvement in terrorism against Shia and Shia Hazara in particular, see background for further details.

In situation regarding Quetta, the state has double moral. The state is killing both Shia and Sunni. For instance, when there is any attack on Shia Hazara then law enforcement agencies start operation against Baloch people to tell world that we are fighting against terrorism. As H.D. was a businessman he still has contacts with people from other communities. He states: “once when the Shia people were attacked in Mastung, then the Baloch people were blamed for the attacks and FC started operation against them” (H.D.)

According to H.D. we used to have a good life and there was harmony between Shia and Sunni population in Quetta city. Since, the FC has installed their check posts we are isolated and separated. He continues, I belief that this check posts have caused disintegration among ‘us’, referring to different ethnicities of Quetta. As Tahir Khan (referring to a Hazara political leader) says, our cheap blood (lives) have become an instrument for the state and the terrorist organizations to achieve their political goals (H.D.).

The kind of attitude held by the survivors towards the enemy is varied based on their personal experiences. For instance, in terrorist activities for H.D. the Pashtun people are involved much more than the Baloch people. Because the Hazara people were very influential in the business of Quetta city, this influence was not liked by the Pashtun people who by now dominate the business of Quetta city. Many of our top businessmen were abducted for ransom, some were released while others were killed (H.D.). This claim of H.D. is confirmed by another participant as following:

Years ago, when I was collecting charity for our Mosque, Hazara people had circa 18000 shops which is now declined to total 9 shops in bazaar. Pashtun people are rich they knew that Hazara’s life are under threat they bought the shops on low prices. Our people sold their shops in bazaar now we are jailed in Alamdar Road and Hazara Town (Hazara dominated areas) by the FC check posts. (S.A.)
Another reason that Pashtun people are involved in these terrorist acts is based on their affiliation with Taliban. Taliban is ‘our’ enemy both in Afghanistan and Pakistan. After the fall of Taliban government in Afghanistan they found their heavens in Pakistan which escalated the violence against Shia people, see Ch. 2 for details. Taliban comprises mostly Pashtun people, it includes such people who cannot even read their Kalma (declaration of faith) (S.A.).

However, for a female participant, compared to Pashtun the Baloch people are more involved in the terrorism against Shia Hazara. She describes her views:

Long ago they were living here together with Hazara people, those who are not hostile are still living here. But Baloch people immediately sold their houses and escaped from our area blaming ‘us’ that ‘we’ will kill them. Hazara people have never killed anyone. Yes! we have raised our voices (protested) but never our weapons. (N.S.)

‘They’ in her statement constitute only Pashtun and Baloch. As they were living together with Hazar people in the Hazara dominated areas, while after the terrorist attacks most of them have abandoned the area.

6.3 The Construction of Enemy Image by Survivors

The images of other created by the participants of this study is somehow floating between ‘other’ and enemy image, for difference (see Ch. 5). Though, the participants have clear views that ‘they’ are different from ‘us’ based on religion and culture. Derived from the theory enemy image, the self-image developed by the participants is definitely constructed as frail, peaceful and human. However, the enemy is represented as low in status and backward. No diabolic images are created by the participants, and there is not found any intention among the participants to take actions against the enemy on its own except in one survivor. Because the government is considered responsible for the escalated violence and therefore, the participants believe that it is state’s duty to give protection to its citizens. To some extent, the Pakistani state is also considered as enemy after finding that the state is helping the terrorists on different basis. One of the participants describe the enemy as following:
I consider that Pashtuns living in Quetta are illiterate, backward and hostile, therefore they don’t like us. Despite ‘their’ struggle of infiltrating antagonism by spreading hatred, ‘we’ should not give up ‘our’ humanity, morality and fight for peace. (A.H.)

As founded in A.H. statement, it is understandable that the attackers are not perceived as evils or nonhuman, however they are judged as low in status by characterizing ‘them’ with illiteracy, backwardness and hostility and characterizing ‘us’ with humanity, morality and peacefulness. In my views, A.H.’s approach towards the enemy is strategical and the words are wisely picked. For the first, he is not living in Quetta city and therefore he does not experience those hostilities on daily bases which would otherwise force him to pick harsh words. Secondly, at the end of interview after I turned off the tape-recording, he also disclosed his concerns about the fear from intelligence agency as recently many Shia youth in Karachi has disappeared. I calculate that these reasons made him choose how he should define the enemy.

I also believe that the participants who are seriously injured and somehow still suffering from scars caused by the terrorists have harsh views against the enemy. To see the development of enemy image in the study, when another participant was asked that who is responsible for these attacks? He carried on like this:

SSP and LeJ denotes themselves wherever they see Hazara or Shia, ‘they’ are ‘our’ enemy, although it is not identified who is supporting them whether Saudi Arabia or Afghanistan, ‘they’ motherfucker are Shias’ enemy, did not you see how they killed Hazaras recently, referring to a recent terrorist attack, they are ‘our’ enemy, Shia’s enemy. (S.A.)

S.A. became paralyzed below his midriff in a suicide terrorist attack. He was under treatment for more than 1 year in Agha Khan hospital. He still takes medicine which works as both pain killer and sleeping pill for him. His harsh opinions can be understood in the context of his pain caused by the terrorists.

Another reason why S.A. is so hostile against ‘them’ is based on his bad experiences. After the second big bomb blast on Shia procession in Quetta, most of the Baloch and Pashtun people moved from the areas such as “Mariabad” dominated by Hazara people. While some of them who were still living in
Mariabad were forced to leave by the property dealers. Among these deserters a man called Dr. Baloch also left the area and shifted to the Baloch dominated area. S.A. describes his relationship with Dr. Baloch:

I grew up in the company of Dr. Baloch, his clinic was blazed up by the people, so he was forced to move to a Baloch dominated area, where his children have turned into our enemy. (S.A.)

In line with S.A.’s opinions Hazara people have also to some extent contributed to the increased hostility between the Shia and Sunni, referring to the property dealers who had forced the Baloch people to leave the Hazara dominated area and the transgressors who burned Dr. Baloch’s clinic.

However, from another perspective ‘they’ were not forced to leave Hazara dominated areas. Rather ‘they’ were brainwashed against Shia Hazara that resulted to see the Hazara Shia people as infidels, thus living with infidels is considered nasty according to their interpretations of Islam.

While they were living with us, they were not hostile, perhaps because they were not brainwashed…currently majority of them call us Kafir (infidels)….as they mostly go to Madrasas as compare to school, I believe they are brainwashed by their Mulla (religious scholar). However, God and the religion has not granted us the right to hate even Hindu people…they force us to leave Pakistan. (N.S.)

For N.S., the major reason why ‘they’ have become hostile is due to the factor that ‘they’ often go to Madrasas, going only or mostly to Madrasas is considered to becoming narrow minded in a sense that the Madrasa students are kept away from logical reasoning which therefore causes to became extremists. Though the construction of enemy image is not very explicit in her statement. By making such claim N.S. attempts to lower ‘their’ status, because for her ‘our’ children go to school not to Madrasas therefore ‘we’ are literate and high in status (N.S.). According to enemy image, the enemy is somehow denounced and observed as lower in status compared to ‘us’, see Ch. 5.

6.4 The Type of Threat Perceived by the Survivors
Though all of the survivors are, to some extent, in state of insecurity following the incidents, it is found that few of them perceive existential threat. The degree to which they perceive threat is more or less based on how they are affected by the terrorist attacks. It is also found that the age and scale of injury is determinant about how the participants perceive the threat.

The kind of threat perceived by a young participant is very serious. She describes her feelings:

There is not 1, 2 or 3 enemy, actually we are surrounded by enemies...I cannot sleep at night as my whole attention is towards the gate that they’ll come at any moment. After that day (referring to the target killing where her sister was killed, and she got injured) I am really scared! (A.G.)

The severity of threat perceived by A.G. can be defined by two factors. Firstly, she was only fifteen by the time the event took place and secondly, at this age confronting the terrorists in person is very traumatic. Because her sister was shot right in front of her in a very malicious way. A.G. describe the killing event as:

When he shot me in my shoulder, I was feeling dizzy and the women on bus were crying loud. My sister run into him to snatch his gun, though she failed she was struggling with him. During this fight, he shot five bullets in her chest. Then he pointed down his gun and fired a bullet which crossed my sister’s chin and blew her head on the backside. (A.G.)

The tragedy she was a part of is really determining the level of threat felt by her. While she was telling her story, I could hear for a while that her voice sank, and the tears flew on her chick. Though, this level of threat accompanied with heart touching emotions was not found in any other participant. For another participant the threat seems to be real in a way that it could happen any time. S.A. illustrates the threat perceived by him as:

What if Taliban wearing FC’s uniform enters into my house? I am a paralyzed man they can kill me and throw me in well, nobody will know it. People are scared why do not you understand! (S.A.)
With his wordings S.A tries to create a picture of serious threat. This threat among participants is not just observed on personal level, some of the participants see this threat on a collective level. According to N.S. ‘they’ are continuously threatening to cleanse Shia Hazara from Quetta city (N.S).

Currently the critical situations created by the enemy has limited the movements of Hazara community, they are encapsulated in two ghettos controlled by FC check posts namely Hazara town and Mariabad or Alamadar Road. The threat perceived by Shia Hazara people have become so serious that their buses and wagons moving outside the mentioned ghettos are escorted by FC mobiles (S.A.). Though a very small number of government servants and merchants travel beyond these FC check posts on daily bases, most of the businesses run by Shia Hazara people are concentrated in their ghettos (ibid). As mostly the FC personnel are from other ethnic groups, Shia Hazara observe discrimination by these personnel on daily basis which adds up to the threat perceived by them and produce a sense of insecurity felt by these people (H.D. & T.A.).

6.5 The Solutions Suggested by the Survivors

On the part of the suggested solutions, approximately all of the survivors are in close agreement with each other. They all claim that this problem is not going to end as the government is not taking responsibility. This oppression is now getting two decades old, we have sacrificed more than 2500 people but there is still no justice, nothing serious is happening on the behalf of the state and government of Pakistan (A.H. & S.A.). It seems like it has never ending (S.A.).

The enemy is openly challenging ‘us’, they are threatening to kill us all (A.H.). He continues:

There are evidences and videos about that on social media, unfortunately the state is not taking any actions against them, except to arrest their’ leader ‘Ramzan Mengal’ keep him in custody for a while and release him back. Why the state has such attitude towards them is something undefinable. (A.H.)
Ramzan Mengal is the head of Lej. he has claimed responsibility for killing Shia Hazara people. Though, he has confessed the charges he was arrested for, he was on multiple cases arrested by the police and released back (A.H.). There is a clear sign that the state is supporting these terrorists. This question usually booms in my mind that Pakistan is a big state how the government could be unsuccessful in eliminating these groups? (A.H.)

In a similar direction, S.A. claims that there is no solution for this, it will never end until the Imam Mehdi returns back (referring to a Messiah Shia people believes in). He becomes frustrated and persists:

Look at the situations created in Karachi (referring to the abductions of Shia youth by the intelligence agency), they are arresting our young people. Imran Khan (the Prime Minister of Pakistan) went to Saudi Arabia to show off his ass, he collected some money and came back to continue this oppression against us. (S.A.).

For S.A. the war against their people is a part of proxy war which Saudi Arabia is funding and fighting in Pakistan against Shia people (S.A.). Therefore, the government and law enforcement agencies are intentionally giving the terrorist groups a free hand. Sharing same views as of S.A., H.D. claims the intelligence agency is guarding them otherwise no single sect is able to carry such cruelty so openly (H.D.). The state is exploiting these terrorist organizations for their political purposes when these purposes are served, they will eliminate the terrorists (Ibid). It is a bit unclear to ensure what political purposes H.D. is referring to. However, in line with S.A.’s claim about proxy war these purposes can be understood.

Most of the participants have similar views that there is no solution until the state acts fairly. Apart from one participant who shares a distinct view:

There is a solution, and the solution is to cut the hands of the state working in our people. When the state is weak in our people, then we can strongly act against these terrorists. (T.A.)

As claimed by many participants that the intelligence agency is helping the terrorists to perpetrate their crimes, thus there are many people in Shia Hazara
community working for this intelligence agency who are serving as a barrier to any revolt towards state or actions towards the terrorists (T.A.).
7 Conclusion

The analysis illustrates how the attackers are perceived by the survivors. In accordance with the theory enemy image, most of the participants created a malign enemy image. It means the enemy is not really portrayed as nonhuman or diabolic. Though, the participants have clear views that ‘they’ (outgroup) are enemy, ‘they’ are considered as low in status by attributing them with illiteracy, backwardness and ignorance. On the other hand, the self-identity is represented as human, educated and peaceful.

There is found to be a clear distinction made between ‘us’ and ‘them’ in line with the theory. The central difference found between ingroup and outgroup is based on the religion. Though both of the groups adhere to Islam, they belong to different branches of Islam. As the victims belong to Shia branch of Islam that comprise one fifth of the total population in Pakistan and they are not in majority in any city, these factors add up to their vulnerability. As since birth of Pakistan there has been struggles to eliminate the Shia from the branch of Islam and stamp them Kafir ‘infidels. This struggle together with the waves of terrorism has multiplied vulnerability of the Shia population in Pakistan.

The propaganda in terms of Islamization started against Shia during the reign of Zia Ul Haq deteriorated the relations of Shia and Sunni people. Thus, this Islamization allowed more Sunni people to see Shia as their enemy (Ch. 2). The enmity towards Shia had considerable effects as the Sunni are in majority and supported by the state in Pakistan.

However, the participants of this study do not consider the entire Sunni population as their enemy, therefore they are significantly seen as ‘others. Because for some participants it is a proxy war run by the state. Mostly the terrorist organizations in particular and the state in general, is blamed for the growing antagonism or sectarianism. Therefore, the state is also seen as enemy.

The enemy does not comprise one specific ethnic group, therefore the degree to which the Shia Hazara define the enemy based on different ethnicities are very varied. Nonetheless, the Baloch and Pashtun people are deemed more as enemy rather than other ethnicities such as Punjabi and Uzbuk. It is confirmed that the Shia Hazara people are generating enemy image. However, they still seem
to be having a soft corner for the outgroup because the Pashtun and Baloch people are also targeted by the terrorists.

It is also found that due to security reasons, some of the participants avoided to address the issues openly, which thereby could have hindered the generation of enemy image or attitudes. The kind of attitude found among the victims are mostly based on the way they have been suffering from terrorism. The negative attitude termed as prejudice is commonly found among the participants.

As discovered the participants are most vulnerable to the level of threats perceived by them. Most of the participants perceive existential threat, in terms that will be killed. This perception of threat has vigorously limited their movement and bounded them in two ghettos, where they are disintegrated from other communities. This disintegration or isolation has immensely affected their social and economic life.

No remarkable solution is proposed by the participants, as most of them agreed that it is state’s responsibility to ensure protection. Though, they also condemned the state’s involvement in the terrorist activities. Apart from one participant who suggested to minimize the role of state in Shia Hazara community and thereby act against terrorism on their own.

How I arrived at this conclusion is remarkably based on the research question, the research methodology, theory and participants of this study. As all of the components together has affected the final production. The theory where it guided the questions raised to participants, it also restricted the widen production of data. This could be seen as both pro and con of the selected theory and methodology.

This study becomes distinctive in a sense that most of the previous studies conducted on the victims of terrorism were concentrated on the mental health issues of the victims. However, this study offers an insight about their perception and attitudes towards the terrorists. Though, the aim of this study was not to generalize somehow based on the ‘sample generalizability’ as addressed in the chapter methodology, the way the enemy is perceived by the Shia Hazara participants in this study probably hold true for most of the victims in particular and for Shia Hazara population in general.
7.1 Further Research

The findings of this research illustrate that the construction of enemy image is taking place among the participants of this study, though only one participant suggest reaction against terrorism as a part of solution. To not ignore, though this proportion is very minimal as compared to the other participants’ views given on solutions, however there is a possible risk for eruption of violence which probably starts a new cycle of violence going far beyond the resolution. Therefore, it is necessary to do further researches in this field and study possible motivations among the victims towards violence.

In further research, I would like to widen my data and study the different layers of interpretations found among the participants.
8 References


8.1 APPENDIX I. Structured Interview Questions

- Please introduce yourself.
- How/Why you became wounded?
- What are the reasons behind the attack?
- Who are the attackers?
- How you define the attackers?
- What you know about the attackers?
- What group the attackers belong to?
- How’s your relationship with that group?
- Why you have such relationship?
- How was your relationship before?
- Is there any possibility to re-establish a good relationship? Why/how?
- What is the difference between you and them?
- Why there are such differences?
- What do you have in common with them?
- What they want from you?
- How and why these attacks started?
- Who is responsible for these attacks?
- Who are most affected by these attacks?
- What are your experiences regarding these activities/attacks?
- What is the solution?
- Do you see any ending for these attacks?
- Is the government doing enough to stop these attacks? Why/why not?
- Rest of the questions were asked based on the developing situations

8.2 APPENDIX II. List of Interviewed Victims
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of the Incident</th>
<th>Victims/Survivors</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Alleged Act</th>
<th>Status of Investigation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>03-09-2010</td>
<td>A.H.</td>
<td>Quetta</td>
<td>Suicide Attack and Firing</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-01-2014</td>
<td>S.A.</td>
<td>Mastung</td>
<td>Suicide Attack</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03-03-2004</td>
<td>H.D.</td>
<td>Quetta</td>
<td>Firing and Suicide Attack</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04-10-2016</td>
<td>A.G.</td>
<td>Quetta</td>
<td>Target killing</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-01-2014</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
<td>Mastung</td>
<td>Suicide Attack</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-01-2013</td>
<td>T.A.</td>
<td>Quetta</td>
<td>Twin Suicide Blasts</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-04-2019</td>
<td>M.H.</td>
<td>Quetta</td>
<td>Suicide Attack</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**8.3 APPENDIX III. Consent Form**

- I................... voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.
- I am aware based on the ethical rights to withdraw from this study at a part or entirely at any time.
- I am explained the purpose and nature of the study. Further I am able to ask questions for clarification.
• I understand that participation involves an interview which will serve as data in a Bachelor thesis for the program Peace and Conflict Studies at Malmö University in Sweden.

• I understand that there are no direct benefits by participating in this study.

• I agree to my interview being audio-recorded.

• I understand that all information I provide for this study will be treated confidentially.

• I understand that in any report on the results of this research my identity will remain anonymous. This will be done by changing my name and disguising any details of my interview which may reveal my identity or the identity of people I speak about.

• I understand that disguised extracts from my interview may be quoted in this thesis.

• I understand that if I inform the researcher that myself or someone else is at risk of harm, they may have to report this to the relevant authorities – to take further actions accordingly.

• I understand that signed consent forms and original audio recordings will be retained in the researcher’s personal, secured hard disk in Sweden, and that only the researcher himself will have direct access to the data collected at interviews.

• I understand that a transcript of my interview in which all identifying information has been removed will be retained by the researcher.

• I understand that under freedom of information legalization I am entitled to access the information I have provided at any time.

• I understand that I am free to contact any of the people involved in the research to seek further clarification and information.

Researcher: Abbas Ali Hossaini, a Bachelor Student at Malmo University in Sweden. Email: Strike_slowly@hotmail.com, Tel. 0046709421605.

Supervisor: Professor Kristian Steiner
Adminstrator and Professor in Peace and Conflict Studies, Department of Global Political Studies Malmö University / E-mail: Kristian.steiner@mau.se

Signature of research participant
-----------------------------------------
Date _________________________

Signature of researcher
I believe the participant is giving informed consent to participate in this study ------

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Date _________________________