

**SUICIDE TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF
PAKISTAN, 2002-2014**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

ANTUSHREE PUNIA



**CENTRE FOR SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067.**

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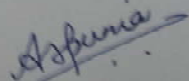
CENTRE FOR SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110 067, INDIA

Tel : 011-26704350
e-mail : batraamita@gmail.com

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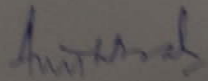
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

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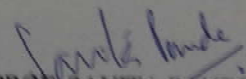
CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.



PROF. AMITA BATRA

(Chairperson, SAS)


संस्थाध्यक्ष/Chairperson
दक्षिण एशियाई अध्ययन केंद्र
Centre for South Asian Studies
अंतरराष्ट्रीय अध्ययन विभाग
School of International Studies
जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
Jawaharlal Nehru University
नई दिल्ली/New Delhi-110067


PROF. SAVITA PANDE

(Supervisor)


संस्थाध्यक्ष/अध्ययन केंद्र
Centre for South Asian Studies
अंतरराष्ट्रीय अध्ययन विभाग
School of International Studies
जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
Jawaharlal Nehru University
नई दिल्ली/New Delhi-110067

**Dedicated to the Memories
Of
My loving Sister**

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Antushree Punia

CSAS, JNU

List of Abbreviations

A.D: Anno Domini

BKI: Barbar Khalsa International

BLA: Baluchistan Liberation Army

CD: Compact Disc

DVD: Digital Versatile Disc

FATA: Federally Administered Tribal Area

FCR: Frontier Crime Regulations

FIG:Figure

HAMAS : Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-Islāmiyyah Islamic Resistance Movement

HDR: Human Development Report

ISI: Inter-Services Intelligence

ISIS: Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant

JeM: Jaish-e-Mohammad

KP: Khyber Pakhtunwa

LeT : Lashkar –e- Taiba

LTTE: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

NGO : Non Government Organisation

NWFP: North West Frontier Province

OPEC: Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries

PIJ: Palestine Islamic Jihad

PKK:Kurdistan Worker’s Party

PLO: Palestine Liberation Organisation

PML: Pakistan Muslim League

SSP: Sipah-e-Sahaba

SSPN: Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party

UK: United Kingdom

ULFA : United Liberation Frontiers Army

UN : United Nations

UNAMA: United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

U.S: United States of America

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialists Republic

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PREFACE

The following research study is an attempt to comprehend the phenomenon of suicide terrorism and its nuances with a Pakistan centric approach. Suicide terrorism can be understood as a subset of the larger phenomenon named terrorism which in common parlance refers to an act wherein the propagator of terror is willing to destroy his or her life simultaneously along with that of the victims. It connotes a violent, politically motivated attack, carried out in a deliberate state of awareness by a person who blows himself or herself up together with a chosen target. The premeditated certain death of the perpetrator is the precondition for the success of the attacks. The factor interesting about contemporary suicide bombers is that they willingly reach the selected targets and the self awareness of death is eminent in them. The idea that interests a lot of scholars across the globe is the study of the underlying forces or circumstances which escalate the human mindset and emotions to such an echelon that life itself becomes infinitesimal instrument, to destroy the existence of others.

The universal nature of suicide attacks is depicted by the UN Security Council which calls it a “phenomenon alien to none” and has marked peaks in past twenty five years. Pakistan has inadvertently become one of the prime victims of suicide terrorism wherein in 2007 it was the country worst affected (in terms of number of attacks) after Iraq and Afghanistan and in just a year it surpassed both. The number of attacks has significantly increased from 1 in 1995 to 86 in 2009 and declining to 41 in 2013.

Definition, Rationale and Scope of Study

Though there are debates on the concept of suicide terrorism and its implications, the present study would like to adopt the definition cited by Falk and Morgenstern (2009) which considers terrorism a politically, religiously, and/or ideologically motivated attack perpetrated by one or more individuals who intentionally cause their own death while harming or attempting to harm civilians and/or civilian targets is defined as Suicide Terrorism (Falk & Morgenstern 2009:30). The above definition is taken into consideration in the course of the study because its presents a lucid and comprehensive analysis of the term in a holistic manner.

The problem of suicide terrorism has intensified greatly in the recent times in several corners of the world. Those in the disturbed category like Palestine or Sri Lanka or Pakistan have come at its centre stage. Pakistan not only houses a large number of terror organizations but

also encompasses a large number of illiterate population which can be easily swayed on the fundamentalist religious lines and could serve as a potential suicide bomber threat to the world especially post 2001.

In the present scenario, with the threat of suicide terrorism looming large, the world over and with increased use of heinous measures for the same, the problem needs a comprehensive understanding at the very outset. There is a call for holistic understanding from political, geographical and sociological aspects.

Though there are studies that focus on the causes leading to suicide terrorism and those dealing with the geographical distribution of the same, this study is an attempt for a comprehensive analysis of both (the causes and regionalization of the phenomenon) especially with respect to Pakistan. Although traditional threats (terrorism) dominate the studies of Pakistan still the concept of micro regional understanding has not gained prominence in the academic circles; at the same time people of Pakistan suffered horrendously by the threat of terrorism, suicide terrorism in particular. Therefore a comprehensive analysis of different debates related to the causes behind suicide terrorism, its consequences and the role of Islam in the same would comprise the scope of this study.

Along with the comprehensive fusion of causes and geographic distribution, this study will be oriented toward the regionalization of Pakistan on the basis of frequency of suicide attacks post 2001 (since 9/11 has increased the frequency) till the year 2014 . It will also make an effort in finding out the reasons behind the regional variations shown and the causes and consequences of the same.

The hypothesis being tested for validation in this study was confined to investigating whether the policy of containment of terrorism of western nations has led to an increment in the incidence of suicide terrorism in Pakistan after 2001 or not. Also, it is the backward regions of Pakistan have shown higher incidence of suicide terrorism than the advanced ones.

Research Methodology

This study will evolve around different streams like anthropology, sociology, polity, geography and international politics. It will be qualitative, quantitative and analytical in nature. The quantitative part will include statistical tools like line graphs, bar graphs etc to show the frequency of attacks at regional level. A qualitative assessment of the causes behind the same will be made with the help of the studies of different scholars.

The primary data will encompass documents and reports published by Pakistan government, South Asian Terrorism Portal, etc. The secondary sources will include available literature such as books and articles, newspaper reports, United Nation reports, reports by different think tanks and NGO's and other web reports.

Therefore this study is largely theoretical or descriptive in nature. It will evolve around a deductive approach wherein the phenomenon of suicide terrorism will be deduced from the studies done on the world level to focus on Pakistan, as it is not the only country facing such problem. The regionalization of suicide attacks is an attempt to clarify as to which provinces are targeted the most, when it comes to suicide attacks and the reasons behind the same have been explored in the study.

This study is sub divided into five chapters, each dealing with aspects relevant to the theme of the research. As per the norm the initial chapter is to serve the purpose of introducing the concept to the readers whereas the final one is the conclusion, testing the validity of the hypothesis and presenting a gist of understanding about all the chapters.

Chapter one is an attempt to understand the phenomenon of terrorism and its subset suicide terrorism from the perspective of different authors in accordance with diverse framework of time. It is a general overview about the history and evolution of the concept of terrorism and its subset suicide terrorism. Not only from the historical perspective but the chapter is an attempt to comprehend these terms in the current scenario as well.

Chapter two covers the rationale behind the concept of suicide terrorism. It is an endeavour to understand and delve into the different causes that have perpetuated suicide terrorism especially in Pakistan post 2001 and the consequences of the same. It has delved into sociological, anthropological and even strategically oriented explanations of the factors driving the phenomenon of suicide bombings.

Chapter three has adopted a women centric approach with respect to suicide terrorism wherein it encompasses an understanding of the causes behind women becoming suicide bombers in different terror groups. It also explores the manner in which the world perceives women bombers vis-a-vis their male counterparts. It focus upon the role that women have started playing in different terror organizations and how has these roles transformed with times.

Chapter four is a spatially oriented approach to understand the phenomenon of suicide terrorism keeping Pakistan at the focus. It presents a spatial and temporal analysis of suicide attacks post 2001 at the global level and more specifically in the case of Pakistan. It also incorporates the probable reasons behind the pattern of attacks depicted in Pakistan over time.

Chapter five discusses the conclusion drawn from the study. The focal points of the study, presented in an analytical framework, are summarized. It examines the hypothesis proposed and also if they stand validated or negated in the course of the study. It is also an attempt to examine whether all the research questions have been answered in the study or not.

CHAPTER ONE: CONCEPT OF SUICIDE TERRORISM

1.1 BACKGROUND

This chapter is an endeavour to comprehend the phenomenon of suicide terrorism in the light of different perspectives held by several scholars. It is also an effort to understand terrorism on the whole, for suicide terrorism is believed to be a subset of the larger concept of terrorism.

It has been prevalent since the time of Jews and French revolution; however it shot to popularity with the changing political order of the mid 20th century. It spread with the influx of globalization of terrorism wherein the national boundaries were risen above, without much hardship and terrorism gained a strong hold in different societies of the world. Suicide terrorism is not a product of the present world scenario. It is neither uncommon to the advanced world nor kept to a solitary region or confidence. It is neither exceptional to the modern world nor confined to a single territory or faith. It has an additional value: that of making yourself the victim of your own act, and thereby putting your tormentors to moral shame. The thought of a suicide bombing, unlike a conventional attack, is, unreasonably, an ethical thought in which the executioners, in showcasing the show of being a definitive casualty, claim for their motives, a high moral ground.(Bloom 2005:77)

The phenomenon of suicide terrorism has gained reputation in the field of research as the fact that the perpetrator knowingly and willingly accepts “Death”, has attracted scholars greatly. The fact that the perpetrator consciously and knowingly faces certain death has attracted attention to the subject by researchers from various disciplines. (Pedahzur 2006:2). Not only is it intriguing to

scholars across the globe but a large portion of media and the society are also curious to know more about suicide terrorism.

It the global attention attached to the phenomenon which has allured several terror groups to adopt ad practice the same for nearly all of them aspire for higher media coverage so as to propagate their ideologies (which they proclaim to be justified) and threat (or terror) to as many populace as possible.

According to Crenshaw (2009)

“The suicide cult has become so accepted that the ordinary fighters of Al Qaeda are now wearing suicide belts as part of their equipment, when they fight conventional battles with the U.S forces” (Crenshaw 2009:360).

This clearly validates the popularity of the phenomenon among the terrorist groups wherein it is treated as one of the essential weapons, a tool to make a larger impact on the world and to terrorise the masses. Since the advent of millennium, suicide assaults have turned into a typical method of operation for some terrorist groups the world over, especially Sunni Salafist¹ jihadi associations linked to worldwide jihad.² For them, suicide assaults are not just a compelling strategy for bringing on death and obliteration and sowing terror; they are additionally a trademark and confirmation of the eagerness of their agents to give up their lives for the purpose of God (Schweitzer, Levin, and Yogev 2015:1)

The increment in the incidence of suicide attacks has been mentioned by several scholars. The frequency of using suicide terrorism has increased manifold in the past three decades. (Pape 2005:52; Pedahzur 2006:25; Tosini 2009:68).

“The rate of suicide attacks increased from the mid-1990s” (Pedahzur & Perliger 2006:25); “Suicide attacks mounted by organizations has increased notably over the last 25 years” (Tosini, 2009:68); “The tremendous increase in suicide

¹ A radical Islamist movement with a global reach that aims at Islamicising the public domain and envision the rule of *Sharia*. They consider jihad central to Islam and are suspicious of the western nations esp. U.S (Lynch 2010: 470)

² A religious connotation misused by the terror groups to incite the Muslim youth to fight for God which in Prophet’s context meant fighting for self defence and the inner sins.

terrorism over the last two decades is primarily due to terrorist groups learning from each other's coercive success" (Pape, 2005:52)

This clearly illustrates the increasing popularity and incidence of suicide attacks and how the technique has been widely gaining momentum. It unfailingly calls upon greater attention of different governments and the security personnel, for, there lies no proof or evidence as the pre condition of an attack to be termed as "suicide attack" is the death of the perpetrator on the spot. Hence dearth of evidences further aggravates the problems at large.

The perspectives of different authors diversify greatly in stating the advantages of suicide bombings. Suicide bombings are beneficial to the sponsoring organisation in two ways: firstly, it compels the adversary (generally the governing bodies) to make desired concessions and secondly, it grants an element of support to the organisation from the general public which provides them with material resources. (Hasan 2009:2)

"Suicide bombings benefit the sponsoring organization in two ways: by coercing an adversary and by giving the sponsoring organization an advantage over its rival in terms of support from sympathetic constituencies." (Hasan 2009:64)

Hence it is not only coercing the governments but also the element of public sympathy that imparts the dual incentive to the terror groups for adhering to the strategy of suicide bombings. The key attributes of suicide bombings, and its immense fascination for the terrorist associations behind it, are all inclusive: Suicide bombings are economical and powerful. They are less muddled and trading off than different sorts of terrorist operations. They promise media scope. Suicide terrorism is a popular methodology amongst different terror groups, for it has two sets of audiences i.e. domestic as well as international because there is an element psychology and humanitarian aspect affiliated to it. (Bloom 2005:77).

Suicide terrorism, being a subset of "Terrorism" cannot be comprehended holistically without understanding the primary set (terrorism) in an intricate manner. The majority of groups that resorted to suicide terrorism in the earlier years were primarily aimed at nationalist causes like liberation of territory etc. However the attacks in the last few years have been a product of the orthodox Islamic groups which are antipodal to their moderate and pro western counterparts (Pape and Feldman 2010:110). The terrorist groups that are actively associated with suicide

bombings includes Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the al-‘Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, Al-Ansar Mujahidin in Chechnya, Hizb’allah in Lebanon, Lashkar-e-taiba in Pakistan and Kashmir, Barbar Khalsa International (BKI) in India, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE or Tamil Tigers) in Sri Lanka, the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in Turkey, and al Qaeda. (Bloom 2005:2)

According to the *Global Terrorism Index Report (2014)*

“Since 2000 there has been over a five-fold increase in the number of deaths from terrorism, rising from 3,361 in 2000 to 17,958 in 2013. Over 80 per cent of the lives lost to terrorist activity in 2013 occurred in only five countries - Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria and Syria.” (Global Terrorism Index Report 2014:2)

This validates that out of top five most terror affected regions, two are South Asian. Suicide terrorism is a threat for almost every country of the South Asian region, be it Sri Lanka (LTTE), Nepal (Maoists), Bhutan (ULFA), Pakistan (Taliban, Al-Qaeda and Lashkar-e-Tayyeba) or Bangladesh (Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen). (Kumar 2012:22). Globally, countries like India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Russia, Colombia, Israel and Palestine have not seen an end to terrorism and are recorded among its most noticeable victims. (Lutz and Lutz 2013:20). Hence the stereotyping of terrorism to the confines of Middle East, in general, is not justified.

South Asia is a diverse region in the world which houses distinct religions of the world. Along with the diversity in the religion, the region also encounters other problems like poverty, unemployment and varied levels of intraregional developments. An amalgamation of all the above factors serves as the underlying force for classifying the terror groups in the region.

“In the context of South Asian region, the terror groups can be placed into three categories: 1) Terrorism arising out of religious fundamentalism; 2) Left – wing extremism; 3) Terrorism resulting from the desire for secessionism.” (Kumar, 2012:24)

It can be asserted that terrorism is not a product of a single problem but an outcome of more than one predicament in a given geo spatial context. It can be in the form of secession movements (the

Pashtuns in the case of Pakistan) or other issues like left wing extremism etc. The cumulative effect of several factors is what shapes terrorism at a given place and time.

1.2 EVOLUTION OF TERRORISM

Terrorism is not new for this millennium and despite the fact that it has been utilized following the ahead of scheduled times of written history, it can be generally difficult to characterize terrorism. The earliest known organisation that displayed facets of an advanced terrorist association was the Zealots of Palestine. They were known as *sicarii*, or dagger men by the Romans, for, they carried an underground battle of death of Roman occupation strengths, and any Jews they felt had worked together with the Romans. The Assassins were the subsequent group to show unmistakable attributes of terrorism. Their strategy of sending a solitary professional killer to effectively murder a key foe pioneer at the certain sacrifice he could call his own life (the executioners held up alongside their casualties to be killed or caught) inspired the dreadful awe in their adversaries. (Laqueur 2002:4-20)

Subsequent to them, it was the French revolution that introduced the modern word *Terrere* means “to make tremble” in Latin. Historians of terrorism may point out that the word ‘terror’ applies to the state of the French Revolution, but they often neglect to add that, to varying degrees, the phenomenon was a constant of earlier eras and has also been prevalent ever since. (Chaliand and Blin 2007:vii). The idea of earlier existence of the phenomenon of terrorism in different societies in diverse forms id brought to light in the work of Mia Bloom. According to Bloom (2005) the early examples of terrorism in their own manner are:

“The Jewish Zealots and Sicarii in the 1st century A.D, during the time of the Second Temple until its destruction in 70 A.D, the Hindu thugs in India from the time of Herodotus until 1836, the Ismaili Assassins of the twelfth century, anti colonial movements in Malabar, and the Japanese kamikaze during the World War two” are all. (Bloom 2005:4)

Though in different forms terrorism did exist from the time of the birth of Christ and has transformed its manifestations with the passage of time. The rise of nationalism of the 20th century and the consequent emergence of differences among the different races and communities provided the impetus and growth to the phenomenon of terrorism. Political extremism is a

precursor to terrorism and rather its foundational stone. In order to understand terrorism it becomes imperative to understand the role played by extremism for it is the primary feature of all terrorist behaviour. In the roots of almost all violence, categorized as terrorism, lies a rigidly ingrained belief system which serves as a motivational factor to act. It becomes significant to understand that though extremism does find a place underneath every terrorist act, the latter is not the sole successor of extremism i.e. extremism has other modes of expression like debates, publications etc. (Martin 2013:31) The attack of 9/11 on the World Trade Centre Towers in New York turned greater attention to terrorism and proved that no nation is immune to it.

As per Lutz (2013)

“The attacks of 9/11 were sophisticated, well planned, and coordinated on symbols of U.S military, economic, and political prominence in the world” (Lutz and Lutz, 2013:3).

Hence, it is post 2001 that the concept of analysing the causes or the real reasons behind terrorism or suicide terrorism per se has gained momentum. According to Laqueur (2002) the tendency to portray their war as a people’s movement, runs amidst almost all terror organisations.

“Terrorists, it is true, have usually claimed to act on behalf of the masses but they also believe that the ‘liberation of the masses’ is the historical mission of a chosen few” (Laqueur 2002:219)

Hence the element of public support holds great significance for the terror groups, as their medium to justify their means, revolve around confronting the regime in power on the behalf of the masses. The factors leading to the formation of terror groups are often similar to the other forms of political violence such as guerrilla warfare or riots or civil wars. Certain traits common to all terrorist organizations is that they recruit relatively young blood, are always opposed to economic deprivations and have an ideological orientation which allows them to induce its members to resort to violence with ease.

Since the end of World War II, terrorism has accelerated its improvement into a noteworthy part of contemporary clash. Principally being used immediately after the war as a subordinate component against provincial insurrections, it extended past that part. In the administration of different philosophies and desires, terrorism at times supplanted different types of contention totally. It likewise turned into an extensive weapon fit for impacts no less worldwide than the

intercontinental bomber or rocket. It has additionally ended up being a noteworthy device of tact and worldwide force for states slanted to utilize it. The connotation associated with the word terrorism has transformed with the passage of time and is primarily a function of the organisation analysing it.

The earlier stated fact is established by Chaliand and Blin (2007) wherein they state that

“Western tradition considers violence legitimate only when it is practiced by the state. Such a limited definition takes no account of the terror practiced by those who have no other means of redressing situation they deem to be oppressive”.

(Chaliand and Blin 2007:7)

In other words the western traditions would justify the present drone attacks in Pakistan carried out by some governments under the garb of being approved by the authority but would delegitimise similar attacks being carried out by any other institutions. It is not only about how a nation or an organisation perceives violence or categorises terrorism, the holistic understanding of evolution of terrorism can never be made unless the factors leading to the existence of them are examined. These factors cannot be generalised and are a function of the diversity of different regions. In the context of South Asia the causes of terrorism vary from place to place. The confusion over definition of the term terrorism is brought to light in the work of Hoffman (2006) when he stated that:

“virtually any especially abhorrent act of violence perceived as directed against society – whether it involves the activities of antigovernment dissidents or governments themselves, organized – crime syndicates, common criminals, rioting mobs, people engaged in militant protest, individual psychotics, or lone extortionists – is often labelled Terrorism”. (Hoffman 2006:2).

It is to say that of Hoffman’s analysis is to be adhered to then there would be no difference in the contemporary ISIS attacks in Syria and the drone attacks by the US forces in Pakistan, as both of them involve the element of violence. The measures adopted by the US to establish democratic

regimes in the Islamic nations of the world, is often perceived as political extremism by the different terror groups. An effort to define the same is made by Martin(2013) , according to whom

“Political extremism refers to taking a political idea to its limits, regardless of unfortunate repercussions, impracticalities, arguments, and feelings to the contrary, and with the intention not only to confront, but to eliminate opposition...intolerance toward all views other than one’s own” (Martin 2013:32).

Extremism adopts intolerance and moral absolutes wherein what they perceive limits the horizon for them and they are not in a position to alter or compromise on such pre determined notions. There does not exist a universal definition of the word ‘Terrorism’, precisely due to its changing usage over times and also due to diversity of its impacts and initiation, the world over. Terrorism as a phenomenon is subjected to incessant revival and the dearth of continuity over the generations have instilled diversity in the populace over the understanding of the matter. (Chaliand and Blin 2007:6). Therefore it can be safely concluded that terrorism as a concept has been under constant evolution and seen in a different parlance with the change of time and space.

An outcome of this diverse conceptualisation of terrorism is cited by Hafez (2006) in his understanding of the phenomenon. According to him the reason for the 9/11 attacks are greatly varied, from being religiously inspired against the materialistic and feminine equity prevalent society to the personal insights of Osama bin Laden. He says that Osama was unable to comprehend the above mentioned transformation that has incurred in understanding terrorism over different places with the passage of time, which is why his ulterior motive behind 9/11 still stand unfulfilled.

“He miscalculated the fact that 9/11 would spur anti Muslim protests in U.S and the consequent hostility of the U.S government would arouse the religious sentiments of the all Muslims in different corners the world over. Hence the concept of global jihad was the underlying factor for of the most violent suicide attack in our times”. (Hafez 2006:22)

The nature of terrorist threat has undergone a transformation wherein the actions directed by one individual like Osama bin laden have been replaced by a network of loosely connected groups in a “global jihad”. It is the presence of these multiple nuclei like dispersed centres of terror groups which surmounts the hardships in dealing with them. For example the methods of Hamas are

different from that of ISIS or Houthis. Hence evolving a uniform mechanism to address them all is near impossible.

The fear that some terrorist groups are in pursuit of weapons of mass destruction seems to loom large on most nations possessing them. The latent fear of radicalization of different groups and their conversion into a terror forum is the main fear of the democratic societies of the present times. There are also special concerns for the different marginalized, minority and refugee communities of the world for they are more vulnerable to be allured by different terror groups. (Lutz and Lutz 2013:1)

1.3 DEFINING TERRORISM

There is an incessant evolving debate about the kind of violence that constitutes an act of terrorism. The different agencies have evolved their own versions when it comes to defining terrorism, be it individuals or academicians or private agencies. All have proposed and analyzed dozens of definitional constructs. This lack of unanimity, which exists throughout the public and private sectors, is an accepted reality in the field of political violence. (Martin 2013:35). The term 'terrorism' has acquired so many different meanings in the contemporary times that referring to an act of political violence alone are an understatement. (Laqueur 2002:20)

Terrorism incorporates the utilization of violence by an association other than a national government to threaten or unnerve an intended target group, with a perspective to pick up supporters and to constrain adversaries (Pape and Feldman 2010:89) The undertone connected with the word terrorism was not generally negative. In contrast at the season of French Revolution, it alluded to "system or *regime de la terreur*" of 1793-94 from which the English word came – was received as means to build up order amid the transient rebel time of turmoil and change that took after the uprisings of 1789, and in reality numerous different upheavals.(Hoffman 2006:3) In the days of French revolution the term was equated solely with state repression whereas in the present times it is equated more with the non state actors, particularly those who target a civilian non combatant populace for political motives. (Laqueur 2002:6)

Due to the recorded custom of connecting the anti governmental to terrorism and its association with the state constraint (French Revolution) it is hard to conceptualize terrorism. The issue has a tendency to be befuddled by ideological interpretations, alongside the allurements particularly from governments, to resort to malicious symbolism at whatever point the term is jogged out. (Chaliand and Blin 2007:2) In other words the norm of blaming any activity confronting the government or the regime in power as terrorism is one of the prime reasons behind not having a universal consensus on the definition of terrorism and the varied versions of the same.

The *regime de la terreur* or Terrorism at the time of French Revolution was divergent from its contemporary reference that it was neither indiscriminate nor random rather was an organized, systematic and deliberate attempt. As propagated in the present times terrorism in those days was also aimed at the creation of a new and a better society in lieu of an essentially corrupt and undemocratic political system. (Hoffman 2006:4) Gradually even during the subsequent years in France itself, the word transformed to have different meanings. It was in the 1930's that the connotation of the word transformed again and began to be referred means of mass repression employed by the totalitarian states and their dictatorial leaders against their own citizens. Therefore from the earlier implication of violence and revolutionary movements directed against the governments, the term transformed itself to depict more of actions of abuse and repression that was state employed and was applied mostly for fascist Italy, nazi Germany, and stalinist Russia. (Hoffman 2006:13-14)

Terrorism according to Crenshaw (2011) is used by many groups dissatisfied with the boundaries of the state, the nature of the government in power, or its policies. Declaring war on the method of violence is not feasible but attacking the users of the techniques is very much practical. (Crenshaw 2008:359). In other words, it is a war, waged by those unsatisfied with the policies and actions of the government or the people in power.

Gradually the state authorised or unequivocally ordered acts of internal political savagery coordinated generally against household populaces – that is, governed by viciousness and intimidation by those as of now in force against their own citizenry – are for the most part termed "terror" to recognize that wonder from "terrorism", which is comprehended to be violence committed by the non state substances. (Hoffman 2006:16).

Terrorism has always been a continuous phenomenon but it is the recent means of mass communications which have increased the awareness about it. (Lutz & Lutz 2013:1-23) Generally

terrorism is resorted to propagate the demands of a certain section of society. It is only on rare occasions like Ireland, Sri Lanka and Palestine where it can also serve as an instrument to advance the cause of statehood.(Bloom 2005:25)

The distinction amongst “Terrorists” and “Freedom fighters” was most appropriately explained by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yasir Arafat, when he addressed the United Nations General Assembly in November 1974. According to Arafat “The difference between the revolutionary and the terrorist, lies in the reason for which each fights. For whoever stands by a just cause and fights for the freedom and liberation of his land from the invaders, the settlers and the colonialists, cannot possibly be called terrorist.³ Sheikh Lutfullah of Lebanon’s Hezbollah (Party of God) echoed similar sentiments after the 1983 bombing on the U.S Marines’ Barracks in Lebanon when he commented: Oppressed people cannot always be expected to behave in a reasonable manner”. (Hoffman 2006:16). Therefore it is easy for one nation to call its rebels as terrorists but their cause might seem rational and justified to another nation.

The word terrorism in today’s time has a negative connotation wherein it incorporates evil, indiscriminate violence and brutality. Their attacks are frequently directed against innocent civilians or unarmed members designed to cause indiscriminate casualties among them. The new parlance of the word refers primarily to an act of violence having a large collateral damage largely among the innocents. By the time of 1960’s and 1970’s, the term Terrorism was expanded to inculcate separatist groups as well which came out of the purview of colonial and neo colonial framework as well as radical and motivated organizations. Hence the definition of the word terrorism has witnessed a constant evolution since long to come up to its present connotation.

In the words of Mia Bloom (2005) terrorism is defined as “ both an act based event (targeting of civilians) as well as an actor based phenomenon in which non state actors engage in political violence in order to affect desired political outcomes” (Bloom 2005:3) .No definition of terrorism can cover the meanings of the term terrorism that have showed up all through history: peasant wars and labour question and brigandage have been joined by precise dread, and the same is valid with respect to general wars, common wars, progressive wars, wars of national freedom and resistance movements against' outside occupiers. In the vast majority of these cases, then again, terrorism was close to one of a few methodologies, and normally a subordinate one. The central

³ In the disturbed regions mentioned above, ‘terrorism has become the last resort wherein, the tyranny of those in power cannot be confronted with the use of any mode of democracy. Like Bhagat Singh’s famous phrase “it needs an explosion to make the deaf hear”. Hence all this validates the difficulty that arises when one is to reach a universal definition of the term.

problem reflected among different definitions of terrorism is that “they fail to provide the ground to distinguish between terrorism and other forms of violent conflict, such as guerilla or even conventional war.” (Chaliand & Blin 2007:15).

It is not valid to state that the governments the world over have always been against terrorists groups instead in certain instances they have ‘created the conditions for terrorists to prosper’. Thus what governments do- and do not do- can be very important for the success or failure of terrorist movements. (Lutz & Lutz 2013:6-9) Therefore it would be safe to conclude that there is no one reason to justify the existence of terrorism rather it is a highly diversified and variable phenomenon .

The one thing common in most of the cases is the perception of unfairness and the unmet demands. If the demands are not satisfied it is then, that a group might resort to violence. The extreme form of violence is commonly termed as terrorism by many. For the most part truly terrorist groups are the ones that constitute genuine threat to the general public. They cannot be traced in places bereft of any protest or protester gatherings. (Martin 2013:58).The commonly held perception about terrorism is that they generally attack governments that are legitimate and accepted by the people they govern. They seek to undermine and destroy a political system and even a way of life that is good or desirable. The difficulty in this approach is of defining terrorism lies in the dilemma as to who decides which government is good to be targeted by terrorists and which is bad? Violence is often fuelled by lack of lack of opportunity for political participation in a society.

One of the reasons cited for increased frustration among a section is economic inequalities wherein the globalization has been blamed for stressing and phasing out local economies and hence increasing the inequalities. The existence of economic inequities’ has paved way for societal stress and hence the marginalized resorting to violence. According to Lutz & Lutz (2013)

“Societies dealing with changes are inherently vulnerable to the displacement of groups and popular dissatisfaction. Modernization will leave people isolated and marginalized and radical groups in many countries will be able to attract recruits as a consequence”. (Lutz and Lutz 2013:19)

Hence it is a socialist version of looking at the problem of terrorism wherein economic inequality is cited as the basis of all dissatisfactions and hence terrorism . This is one aspect of lending a left orientation to the terrorist activities that occur at a certain place. According to Laqueur (1987)

terrorism is an illegitimate means to accomplish political motives.(Laqueur 1987:87). This definition is as per Lutz (2013) suffers from the essential problem of distinguishing between the legitimate and the illegitimate use of force. According to Chaliand and Blin (2007)

“three common elements among various definition of terrorism are: 1) the use of violence; 2) political objectives; and 3) the intention of sowing fear in a target population.(Chaliand and Blin 2007:14)

The United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/RES/49/60 dated 9 December 1994 defines terrorism as “Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them”.

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1566 (adopted in 2004) condemning terrorism defines the same as:

“Criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror, or compel a government or international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act which contravened terrorism-related conventions and protocols, were not justifiable for any reason -- whether of a political, philosophical ideological, racial, ethnic or religious nature.”

The European Union defines terrorism for legal/official purposes in Art.1 of the Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism (2002). This provides that terrorist offences are certain criminal offences set out in a list comprised largely of serious offences against persons and property which: given their nature or context, may seriously damage a country or an international organization where committed with the aim of: seriously intimidating a population; or unduly compelling a Government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act; or seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization.

The discrete characterization of terrorism can be portrayed in the definitions given by assorted associations. The British characterize terrorism as the utilization or risk, with the end goal of

propelling a political, religious or ideological reason, of activity which includes genuine savagery against any individual or property. In Germany, they characterize terrorism as an incessant battle for political objectives, which are proposed to be accomplished by method for attacks on the life and property of different persons, particularly by method for serious crime. The European Interior minister notes that terrorism is the utilization, or the debilitated utilization, by a binding gathering of persons of savagery (shy of fighting) to impact political points. In the American context there does not exist a single definition, instead it relies on the ones given by different agencies time and again. The U.S Department of Defence defines terrorism as “the unlawful use of, or threatened use, of force or violence against individuals or property to coerce and intimidate governments or societies, often to achieve political, religious, or ideological objectives”.(Lutz and Lutz 2013:8).

As per Falk & Morgenstern (2009:5)

“The definition by Department of Defence is seen by many as subjective and therefore ineffective in obtaining a wide enough range of international consensus to lead to broad acceptance” (Falk and Morgenstern 2009:5)

Despite numerous differences among the definitions of terrorism there are certain factors common to all for each definition has given an ambivalent scope of the term “non combatant”. Moreover almost all the definitions are seen to be excluding the concept of ‘state sponsored’ or ‘state’ terrorism in their purview. (Falk & Morgenstern 2009:3) The US State Department has characterized terrorism as *“planned, politically propelled viciousness executed against non soldier focuses by sub national gatherings or covert specialists, normally proposed to impact a group of people” (Martin 2013:38).*

The universal definition of terrorism is hard to reach and there are elements of similarity and divergence in each of its versions. After an inspection of different definitions of terrorism it was found that the most commonly included elements in all comprise of “Violence and / or force (appeared in 83.5% definitions); political motivation (65%);fear and /or an emphasis on terror (51%);use of threats(47%);psychological effects and anticipated reactions (41.5%);discrepancy between targets and victim (37.5%);intentional, planned, systematic, and /or organized action (32%); and methods of combat, strategy, and /or tactics (30.5%)” (Falk & Morgenstern 2009:6)

The definitions provided by governments are often termed as “self serving” and “biased” for they have a tendency of naming those in opposition as ‘terrorists’. At the international level therefore due to political reasons there exists a wide discrepancy in the lists prepared by each nation and

hence it becomes close to impossible to find a common universal definition and listing of terror groups. The above mentioned bewilderment further substantiates the saying “One person’s terrorist is another person’s freedom fighter For example U.S in its list of countries supporting terror groups has inculcated Cuba, long after the latter stopped doing the same while the names of allies like South Africa and Pakistan was never in the roll. (Lutz & Lutz 2013)

It is likewise genuine that from an early stage terrorism was seen as an extremely complex wonder, shifting from nation to nation as the after effect of social conventions, social structures, political connections and numerous different components which made speculation extremely troublesome undoubtedly. One of only a handful few endeavours to give a definition and clarification was Hardman's entrance in the Reference book of the Sociologies, distributed in the 1930s. The creator characterized terrorism as the strategy (or the hypothesis behind the strategy) whereby a sorted out gathering or gathering looked to accomplish its affirmed points mainly through the efficient utilization of violence. Subsequently terrorism was distinctive in substance not just from administrative dread additionally from crowd brutality and mass revolt. (Laqueur 2002:135)

Lutz (2013) has reached a definition which he claims is after the fusion of that provided by Crenshaw (1983), Hoffman (2006) and Claridge (1996)⁴ and it has 6 major components:

“Terrorism involves political aims and motives. It is violent or threatens violence. It is designed to generate fear in a target audience that extends beyond the immediate victims of the violence. The violence is conducted by an identifiable organization. The violence involves a non state actor or actors as the perpetrator, the victim of violence, or both. Finally, the acts of violence are designed to create power in situations in which power previously had been lacking (i.e., the violence attempts to enhance the power base of the organization undertaking the actions.)”
(Lutz and Lutz 2013:8-9)

Therefore it is evident that there exists wide differentiation in the manner of defining terrorism. Yet , the analysis made by Falk & Morgenstern (2009) is the most appropriate for this study wherein it has encompasses all the factors integral in defining terrorism and has assigns weightage to the same in accordance with their frequencies and nature of occurrence. The element of violence is most significant for the purpose of this study because suicide terrorism is an

⁴ Though it is a recapitulation of the elements specified by several other authors.

extreme form of violence being propagated not only against external audience but also on oneself.
(suicide bomber)

1.4 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SUICIDE TERRORISM

The phenomenon of suicide killings dates back to the 11th and 12th centuries wherein the Assassins or the disciples of Persian master Alamut carried out suicide attacks on enemy leaders in fortresses of Iran. (Dzikansky, Kleiman, and Slater 2012:25). Suicide attacks did exist at the outset of 1980's but it is only in the recent times that they have been recognized as the least expensive and the most effective means being used by the terror groups and guerrilla groups. (Pedahzur 2006:24) The best known earlier suicide operations were the two militant Jewish groups, the Zealots and the Sicarii. (Pape 2005:26). They were suicidal in the manner that the perpetrator was aware of the fact that he will be immediately captured and crucified after killing the supporters of Romans.

The lesser known examples of the early suicide bombers were found in the 18th and 19th centuries when it was used specifically by the Muslims residing in Malabar, Philippines etc. in opposition to the foreign rule. (Bloom 2005:4). "Between 1945 and 1980, suicide attacks temporarily disappeared from the world scene. Although there were numerous acts of suicide by individuals in the service of political causes, there is not a single recorded instance of a suicide terrorist killing others while killing himself" (Pape 2005:13)

Apart from them "the Ismaili Assassins, a Shiite Muslim sect based in north-western Iran in the 11th and 12th centuries, created an effective organization for the planned, systematic, and long term use of political murder that relied on suicide mission for success." (Pape 2005:11) Suicide terror is not a product of yesteryears. It was witnessed even before the times of car blasts in Lebanon. "It is neither unique to the modern period nor confined to any single region or religion" (Bloom 2005:4)

The pioneer record of suicide attack was that of Samson in the records of the Bible who deliberately took his own life so as to kill scores of Philistine inquisitors. The first suicide attack

in modern times was recorded in Lebanon in 1983 on the U.S embassy in Beirut in which an explosive laden truck was made to collide with the embassy building as mark of protest against the Lebanon war/ U.S Peace mission in Lebanon in 1983. The success and popularity of these attacks brought the conducting organization Hezbollah (Shiite group funded by Iran) to the world platform. (Falk and Morgenstern 2009:8).

Notwithstanding the stewing brutality amid the cold war times there were no reported occurrences of suicide bombings after the Second World War until the 1980s. Indeed, even in clashes between insurgent groups confronting bigger and better equipped adversary (Afghanistan, Vietnam, Angola, Northern Ireland, and Nicaragua) militant groups did not fall back on this strategy. Partly this may have been because of the generally simple access to conventional weapons as the two super powers were upbeat to supply assets to those battling in their intermediary wars. It might likewise be because of the absence of a fruitful point of reference to motivate copycat assaults. After the Second World War the US and UK energized and fortified radical Islamic developments in the Center East to so as to contain the spread of the Soviet Union and keep the ascent of patriot developments unfriendly toward the West. It was likewise amid the 1970s that the Saudi Arabian government started to burn through billions of dollars to advance Wahhabism, a ultra traditionalist perusing of Islam, around the globe. With a couple of exemptions, clashes between these gatherings and the mainstream state have given the primary connection to suicide bombings. (Dodd, Henry 2013)

One of the earlier references to suicide bombing battle after the Second World War is found in the 1980s amid the Israeli control of Lebanon. Another reference of suicide attacks comes from the records of the Second World War when the Japanese Kamikaze pilots were seen to be crashing their bombers into the naval bases of the U.S. (Falk & Morgenstern 2009:8)⁵ The forms of suicide terror attacks that we know of today, like exploding at market place or uninhabited places were not known before the 1980's. Amongst the diverse types of terrorism Pape (2005) are "demonstrative", "destructive" and "suicide terrorism".

Demonstrative terrorism is essentially chosen for picking up reputation for any or the majority of the three reasons: to select more activists; to pick up attention regarding grievances from delicate liners on the other side; and to pick up consideration from the outsiders who may coerce the other side. Destructive terrorism is a more inhospitable type of terrorism which stakes losing sympathy

⁵ The Kamikaze cannot be considered as terrorists for their targets were sailors and soldiers not civilians and hence their mission as organized and planned instead of being sporadic. (Pape, 2005)

of the victim group to displaying hostility. Suicide bombers, it is frequently said, are “brilliant bombs”, maybe the most intelligent ever designed. They can choose the time and spot of their explosion keeping in mind the end goal to cause the best harm in the foe camp. (Pape 2005:10). Human bombs can roll out last moment changes to guarantee the success of their operation (Hafez 2006:56). Certainly, all terror is unnerving, random and deadly – and can happen at anyplace. The fact that culprit is ready to lay down his/her life, makes suicide bombing to be considerably all the more threatening. (Dzikansky, Kleiman, and Slater 2012:1) In principle, suicide terrorism could be used for demonstrative purposes or could be limited to targeted assassinations. In practice, however, recent suicide terrorists often seek simply to kill as many people as they can. (Pape, 2005:11)

The Beirut attacks were successful in serving as a catalyst for the withdrawal of American, British, French, and Italian peacekeepers from Lebanon. They set a precedent for future attacks, both in Lebanon and throughout the world. They were also the first replanted suicide attacks carried out in modern times by a non - state (terrorist) organization. With the assassination of expert Israeli Lebanese President Bashir Gemayel in September 1982, suicide bombarding turned into a key political weapon. Under the professional Iranian Lebanese party of God (Hezbollah), this system soon accomplished geopolitical impact with the October 1983 truck-bomb slaughtering of about 300 American and French servicemen. American and France relinquished the multinational power policing Lebanon" (Atran 2003:1534) .Hence the success in places like Lebanon, has provided magnetic force to the terror groups in different regions of the world be it Palestine or Sri Lanka or Chechnya. Amongst the oldest propagators of suicide bombers, the most prominent were the Japanese Kamikaze. As per Bloom (2005)

“The Japanese Kamikaze who flew their bombers into the American fleets demonstrated a similar blind devotion to their leadership and the nationalist cause. Although not strictly accurate, the term Kamikaze has come to refer to all premeditated suicide missions conducted by the Japanese military during this period (and not just the ‘Divine wind’ attack corps).” (Bloom 2005:13).

These attacks as per Pape did not confront U.S greatly but the loss was certainly more than expected. The fact that they crashed their bombers in to the military bases of the powerful enemy, intentionally, knowing that they will lose the battle, is the reason for equating them to suicide bombers.

Suicide Terrorism is the most aggressive form of terrorism, pursuing coercion at the expense of agitating not only the target community, but neutral audiences as well. In essence suicide terrorists kill others at the same time that they kill themselves. Certain section of scholars' suicide terrorism is the last resort of the weaker strata of a community i.e. it is a weapon used in the extreme end, when other means defy.

Mia Bloom (2005) defines suicide bombing as:

“A violent, politically motivated attack, carried out in a deliberate state of awareness by a person who blows himself or herself up together with a chosen target. The premeditated certain death of the perpetrator is the precondition for the success of the attack.” (Bloom, 2005:12)

She doesn't consider it to be a phenomenon that has the same hues at all places but is actually a subset of the larger one i.e. 'terrorism'. The commitment of the martyr's was reflected in the very fact that they divorced their wives, dressed them in white before leaving for their mission. Bloom theorized that suicide terrorism is the medium for the weak and the less powerful which is aborted once the tables are turned.

In the 20th century the tactic of suicide terrorism is widely used primarily by LTTE against the Sri Lankan government and the Palestinian fighters' against the Israeli forces. Hence a major aim of the suicide terror in the above stated phenomenon is confronting foreign occupation on the domestic land. (Pape 2005:19) Hence foreign occupation is the dominant cause for Pape while it is the last resort of the weaker strata as per Bloom supported by others like Falk and Morgenstern. The signing of Oslo Accords in 1993 that depicted the consent of Israel and Palestine Liberation Organization to form a Palestinian Authority led to resentment among several Palestinian groups, the outcome of which was suicide attacks by terror groups like Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Fatah. (Falk & Morgenstern 2009:10)

Suicide besieging is the mark strategy of the fourth or “religious wave” of current terrorism, a wave that started with the Iranian Transformation in 1979. The traces of suicide attacks were found at the time of Vietnam War as well but it is only with the arrival of Hezbollah, “the party of God” that suicide terrorism comes to the fore. Subsequently the success of the phenomenon could

be witnessed at the times of Lebanon war in 1983 which forced the US to retreat. (Moghadm, 2006:13-24)

The self immolation of a freedom fighter in India or a monk in Vietnam cannot be termed as suicide terror; rather the initiation of modern day suicide terrorism can be attributed to the Lebanon war in 1980's wherein the suicide car bombing by Hezbollah of the U.S Marine barracks is the earliest recorded example dated 23 October, 1983. (Pape 2005:15) The probable reason for excluding the above two instances from the category of suicide terrorism lies in the definition of the term which implicitly depicts the laying down one's own life in the process of killing others (the targets decided by the propagating terror group)

Chaliand and Blin (2007) elaborates about the two types of martyrdom witnessed in the Shariati. The first was of that of Hamza, uncle of Prophet who dies in battling the war of Uhud whose wish was not to die but rather overcome the foe. In the mythology of Muslims he is termed as "Prince of Martyr's" (sayyed al – shahida). The second class of martyrdom was the one sought by Imam Hussein, the child of Ali who in the wake of having lost the fight at Karbala declines to return home and bear the disgrace of war, rather wants to pass on in the combat zone. This demonstration was religiously more significant in the perspectives of Shariat for there was no plausibility of triumph and he embraced death voluntarily. He verbalized that the reasoning of the mujahid – he who completes jihad⁶ – is not the same as that of the martyr. Martyrdom is a precept that comes after jihad, and the martyr assumes control when Mujahid has failed. (Chaliand and Blin 2007:281).

In all, suicide terrorism could be utilized for demonstrative purposes or could be limited to be focused on the targeted assassination particles. In practice, however, present suicide terrorists frequently look for basically to kill as numerous individuals as they can. Although however this expands the coercive influence that can be picked up from terrorism, it does so at heavier cost than other frames of terrorism. Hence the sole aim that seems to rule the roost is causing as much causality as possible for this would create greater pressure on the governing authorities both at the domestic as well as the international platform.

1.5 COMPREHENDING SUICIDE TERRORISM

⁶ A religious connotation, misused by terror groups to incite the Muslim youth to fight for God which in Prophet's word meant fighting for self defense and the inner sins.

As per Falk and Morgenstern (2009) suicide terrorism is defined as:

“A politically, religiously, and/or ideologically motivated attack perpetrated by one or more individuals who intentionally cause their own death while harming or attempting to harm civilians and / or civilian targets.”(Falk and Morgenstern 2009:30).

This definition by Crenshaw (2009) stands in contrast to the image commonly projected; of suicide bombers being fanatic or barmy. He states that

“Suicide terrorism is an outcome of irrational religious fanaticisms; suicide bombing attacks are absolutely a politically motivated phenomenon”. (Crenshaw 2009:360).

The Institute of Counter Terrorism defines suicide bombings as an operational method in which the very act of the attack is dependent upon the death of the perpetrator aimed at striking a blow to public morale. (Hoffman 2006:191).

As per Bakken (2007)

“A suicide attack is defined as an operational method in which the very act of the attack is dependent upon the death of the perpetrator. It is a violent, politically motivated attack, which is carried out in deliberate state of awareness by a person who blows himself up along with the chosen target.” (Bakken 2007:2).

Though the martyrdom pattern associated with this phenomenon is unique and its form is majorly affiliated with the Islamic traditions but in actual it finds its roots in a lot of terror attacks post the beginning of modern terrorism in 1879 in the rebels of Europe and America in the nineteenth century. (Moghadm 2006:xvi). A widespread misconception about suicide terrorism is that it is a domain of radical and militant form of Islam wherein a majority of the suicide attackers have to be Muslims only. Although it is agreed upon that a large number of suicide attacks have been performed by those identifying themselves as Muslims. Nonetheless, it is a prime tool used by the non Muslims as well. The attacks in Sri Lanka are the most evident example to support the same. (Falk & Morgenstern 2009:31-68)

In the words of Ami Pedahzur (2006), a suicide attack is defined as

“a politically motivated violent attack perpetrated by a self-aware individual (or individuals) who actively and purposely causes his own death through blowing himself up along with his chosen target. The perpetrator’s ensured death is a precondition for the success of his mission.” (Pedahzur 2006:18).

The theory of suicide terrorists being irrational lunatics is challenged in the definition of Bloom (2006), wherein, according to her terrorists are not psychotically challenged; rather they are rationally motivated individuals who use violence to reach the decided goals. They are part of organizations which have a carefully calculated plan, generally aimed at diminishing the foreign occupation on their soils or increasing the esteem of their group or strengthening its regional autonomy. The prime aim of suicide terrorism holds is similar to terrorism in the context of gaining media coverage and promoting the religious and political designs of the organization concerned. The fact unique among suicide terror is that if the perpetrator does not get oneself killed, the attack is considered incomplete unlike other forms of terrorism. (Bakken 2007; Hafez 2006; Bloom 2006:76-100)

Pedahzur (2006) defines the phenomenon of suicide terrorism in unambiguous terms: comprising of a combination of two factors i.e. the willingness to kill and willingness to die. If either of the two doesn't take place then it would not be termed as a suicide attack. (Pedahzur 2006:16) There has to be a gamut of killing and dying together to be termed as “suicide terrorism”. Suicide bombing is a violent assault intended to deliver mass casualties against unarmed people in which the assailant knows ahead of time that he will die as a feature of the activity. There is a vital qualification between suicide bombing as a key weapon and as a terror strategy. The strategic aim is when a majority of populace is targeted for creating a feeling of apprehension among the overall population to guarantee a change of government or an end to a military occupation. (Dzikansky, Kleiman, and Slater 2012:10) Hence the elements common to almost all authors about defining suicide bombing is the component of violence and the death of the perpetrator. Suicide Terrorism is an effective form of propagating violence also because the bomber can directly attack their desired targets in a convenient manner and the fear of being caught by the authorities doesn't exist. (Moghadm 2006:61).

There exist different terminologies to connote the meanings associated with the suicide attacks like “suicide operation”, “suicide mission” or “suicide attack” instead of “suicide terrorism”. The

label 'suicide attack' (as well as the terms 'suicide operation' and 'suicide mission') is also preferable to the widely used term 'suicide bombing' because the former encompasses the widest array of possible ways in which this type of attack may be perpetrated. All suicide bombings are suicide attacks, but not all suicide attacks are suicide bombings. Strictly speaking, the 9/11 attacks were not suicide bombings, since no conventional explosive device was used in the killing of nearly 3,000 people (Pedahzur 2006:13-28)

A trait common to all scores of suicide terror groups is that they are all weaker to their opponents and hence are strengthened by distant national communities. They receive sustenance and assistance from their distant supporter, be it a foreign government or an alien militant group. The modern suicide attacks because of this foreign funding become more lethal for the sole aim of the perpetrator is not only to die but to cause as much casualties a possible and hence attract attention. (Pape 2005:71)

The technology employed by the suicide bombers is an issue of debate among scholars wherein a certain strata advocates the use of sophisticated techniques while the rest of simpler ones. Sophisticated technology is believed to be a conventional misconception by some scholars wherein the belief that suicide terrorists are in incessant search of sophisticated tools and technology including weapons of mass destruction is stated a myth but the reality is that they always prefer simple, cheap and easily accessible weapons, for suicide bomber is also a form of weapon for them. (Moghadm 2006:46).

In contrast to the stated perspective of Moghadm, the scenario becomes ruthless when one witnesses the use of potentially deadly new technology designed to inflict mass casualties. The suicide attacks by fanatical pilots in a hijacked bomber, the attacks with nerve gas in a subway of Tokyo, the use of anthrax letters mailed in the US are some examples to illustrate the same. (Lutz and Lutz,2013:25-32)

Hence the views of both sides are antipodal and substantiated by different practical instances making it difficult to conclude whether there lays a demand for sophisticated or cheap technology among the different terrorist groups so as to carry out suicide bombings.

Suicide terror is of less significance in the cases of ideological wars when the conflict is party centric or based on the ideologies rather it is a form of atrocity targeting civilians. It should not be looked upon as a method of seeking revenge by a group of individuals rather the attacks are well planned and exhibited by educated individuals in a pre determined manner. (Bakken 2007:2) The

majority of Jihadists have resided in Europe and detest the western societies and cultures for their materialistic pursuits and are repelled of democracies which hinder the implication of the Islamic laws. (Perry and Negrin 2008:13)

A different version of the phenomenon can be deciphered from the definition of Falk and Morgenstern (2009) wherein they state that

“Suicide terrorism is a complex individual, organizational, and psychosocial phenomenon that has attracted a gamut of scholars the world over. The reason for the predilection of this phenomenon among the terror groups is because of the primary fact that it works. It is one of the most effectual techniques to make the demands heard. Suicide to Durkheim was a product of positive or negative acts of the victim himself.” (Falk and Morgenstern 2009:35)

Hence the psychotic value attached a suicide bomber is what differentiates this form of attack to the other means of violence. To commit suicide, an individual needs to have some thought of what they are doing. The more prominent the certainty that death will take place after an occasion or activity, the more probable that it will be a suicide. Therefore, if a man places himself in a purposely hazardous circumstance where demise is likely or unavoidable, it is considered suicide. (Bakken 2007:3)

Suicide terrorism as per Bloom (2005) are often used as a last resort when there exists a power imbalance .i.e. when there lies a wide gap in the power structure, the less powerful or the weaker counterpart often resorts to tactics like suicide terrorism for it is an easier and more effective means to get attention. (Bloom 2005:17). These self destructive means are not only magnetic to the world but also incorporate an element of sympathy and publicity together hence often draw different terrorist organizations towards them

The factor that makes suicide mission more influential in the psychological fear among the general public for the same and the feeling that it was used as a last resort by the group bearing the state's fear and hopelessness. This psychology is even more intensified when the attack is furnished by a women member of the group as the element of sympathy increases manifold. (Bakken 2007:2).

Like the other forms of terrorism, suicide terrorism too aims to cause as much causality as possible. However its ultimate targets are to seek greater media attention at both domestic and

international levels, cause fear and terror in the psyche of the victims and to coerce the organizations to heed to their demands. (Poland 2003:101; Hafez 2006:54-81)

The terrorists' longing for attention, the indoctrination of youthful youngsters, the focusing of foreign occupiers and assaults against collaborators are all shockingly like the strategies witnessed in the Middle East, Sri Lanka, and Chechnya. (Bloom 2005:17). The misconception that suicide bombers are illiterate and uninformed individuals often misguided by religious fanatics might not be true in a holistic manner. The potential suicide assailant is exceptionally convinced according to his or her rationale intent. In fact, potency of immense commitment is a catalyst for additional attacks, and it has helped make suicide terrorism one of the most widely used terrorist tools. (Falk & Morgenstern 2009:32).

Sociologists have since a long time contended that depression is at the heart of all suicide practices. It is stated that depressed Kamikaze pilots believed that everlasting joy would come to them after the suicide assaults on U.S military strengths; subsequently there was nothing to trepidation. (Poland 2003:102). Hence to take out the element of fear and wrong doing is the foremost task of the different terror groups along with the manipulation of religion and convince individuals for 'jihad' and consequentially of the heaven that awaits after that.

Whether sub national (e.g., Russian agitators) or state-bolstered (e.g., Japanese kamikaze), suicide assault as a weapon of terror is normally picked by weaker groups against substantially more grounded enemies when battling routines for lesser expense appear to be unrealistic to succeed. Decision is frequently voluntary, yet ordinarily under parties of influence and magnetic authorities. In this way, the kamikaze ("divine wind") initially utilized as a part of the war of the Philippines (November 1944) were youthful, genuinely accomplished pilots who comprehended that seeking after routine fighting would likely end in annihilation." (Atran 2003:1536). Therefore it is the factor of sensing of inequality or being inferior that compels the different terror groups to resort to effective, cheap and more attention seeking phenomenon like suicide terrorism.

The strategy utilized by any group according to Bloom (2005), to a great extent is a component of the financing necessities. If the need is to bring in funds from abroad, then the insurgent groups will turn to strategies that yield extreme reputation, for, the issue is to pick up as much consideration as conceivable at the world stage. Militant Groups are more inclined to embrace suicide bombing as a method, and the strategy is more inclined to resound emphatically with the populace, after different methodologies have been attempted and fizzled. (Bloom 2005:78)

The price that a community or a family pays by providing a suicide bomber is compensated by the perpetrating organization in the form of hefty sum of money and the respect, in the form of belonging to a martyr's family. The pride in being a martyr's mother and professing the same can be clearly deciphered from the attitudes of such women whose sons have resorted to suicide terrorism. (Tosini 2009:78).

The respect that the society yields to a "martyr" in the disturbed parts of the world can be well gauged from the fact that the "martyr's" names were recited in a celebrated manner in the mosque and the wall of the Hamas run kindergarten in Palestine read:

"The children of the kindergarten are the shahids of tomorrow." Not only this, the signs of Al Najah University in the West Bank and at Gaza's Islamic University read "Israel has nuclear bombs. We have human bombs." (Charny 2009:154)

Suicide terrorists are frequently alluded to as "fanatics" who are "radicalized" by some scattered worldwide systems. These references do fit with the reality that suicide terrorists are frequently shadowy, elusive assailants whose presence is seldom known until they strike. They likewise reflect the fact that numerous suicide terrorists are individuals, with little association with terrorism, until only a couple of months or even a couple of weeks preceding their assault and would generally seem, even to the individuals who know them decently well, as genuinely common individuals. (Pape and Feldman 2010: 44).

The different terror groups evade from using the term suicide bomber and would rather resort to "martyr" for the later symbolises a sacrifice that one makes for the countrymen or for one's own religion. Hence the element of personal gain that engulfs the word "suicide" is cordoned off. It is further validated by the use of terms like "living martyr" etc. in which a recording of their reason for suicide is made, which is another method to finalise the socialisation and integration process. (Bakken 2007:8)

Certain customs connected with the martyr are likewise gone for raising his status in the general public. Case in point, the dead body of a martyr is not washed like that of the others for it is accepted that the injuries of the martyr will be available on his body till the Day of Resurrection and that will help God in giving him paradise. (Chaliand & Blin 2007)

The death of a martyr is thought to be an end to affliction and constraint, and a chance for a fresh start. As recruiting instrument martyrdom is two-fold, people are selected to slaughter themselves for the sake of God however to satisfy the objectives and thought processes of the supporting terrorist association. The deaths of suicide bombers are celebrated and glorified, while they are anticipated as legends of the reason. The family is complimented upon the demise of their boy or girl, while their chivalrous and sacrificial act is the point of exchange in sermons and exchanges. (Bakken 2007:7)

In the context of Islam, “martyrdom” has been a much respected term wherein the Arabic word *shahid* connotes someone who bears witness or testimony to the truth.

“The standard Quranic verses describing the martyr are 3:169-170: And do not think of those who have been killed in the way of Allah as dead; they are rather living with their lord, well provided for. Rejoicing in what their Lord has given them as of His bounty, and they rejoice for those who stayed behind and did not join them; knowing that they have nothing to fear and that they shall not grieve.”
(Cook & Allison 2007:9)

It can be therefore concluded that the Jihadists have the initiative and radical belief system fundamental for suicide bombing however are just weakly associated with their communities, restricting their political effect. Jihadi over utilization of suicide bombarding has subsequently turned into an inadequate type of assault, more like successive mass suicide than the utilization of self sacrifice for an achievable political objective.

This complex phenomenon is unrealistic to vanish at any point in the near future. Groups, for example, Palestinian Islamists or Hezbollah positively are equipped for continuing utilization of suicide attacks if conditions ought to lead their groups to support such assaults. Worldwide jihadis will keep on utilizing suicide bombings for its strategic advantages paying little respect to regardless of whether it helps them politically. In any event, by comprehension it as an organizational phenomenon in which the human affinity for self sacrifice has been diminished from a respectable character to an apparatus, the secret that still appears to make suicide bombings mystifying and scaring, and start fixing the mental harm of the 9/11 assaults.

Hence the concept of suicide terrorism as understood from the pre stated content will hence forth guide the study in comprehending suicide terrorism in Pakistan. The relevance of understanding it from multiple authors is that it becomes easy to relate and understand the term when it is stated

with respect to Pakistan. For instance the intricate analysis made about the terrorists and the way they are defined brings home the fact that a certain strata may even the separatist ,movements like Pakhtuns in the tribal parts of Pakistan as terrorist which may not be completely justified due to the transformation in the understanding of the term with time. Hence it can be clearly understood that not every form of violence can be branded as terrorism. It brings to light the debate that if the separatist movements or any kind of violence is terrorism then in which category would the drone attacks by the US be placed which inculcates civilian injury as well. Therefore the term “terrorism” cannot be defined in water tight compartments and evolves with the passage of time.

CHAPTER TWO: RATIONALE BEHIND SUICIDE ATTACKS

2.1 BACKGROUND

This chapter is an attempt to understand the underlying factors and causes behind the phenomenon of suicide terrorism. It is pertinent to study the underlying causes behind the phenomenon of suicide terrorism for any precautionary measure would be futile until the instigating factors are well known. The phenomenon of suicide terrorism is hardly ever conducted by isolated attackers. It mandates the presence of terrorist organization or any institution which perpetuates the same in a well planned manner. Suicide attacks are an outcome of such well devised plans of different terrorist organisations.(Tosini 2009:71). The study of causes behind suicide terrorism deserve attention also because of the element of horror and feeling of vulnerability involved in it when several unarmed innocent lives are subjected to death or life long disabilities in a fraction of a second. (Dzikansky, Kleiman, & Slater 2012:39-52)

The existing precondition for the suicide attack is that there should be certain amount of violence in the territory and the general public should hold the view that other strategies of peace have failed and such extreme steps have become the last resort. It is also argued that engaging in suicidal activities like those discussed above are a powerful symbolism for the individuals whose lives are not significant in their opinion and sacrificing them for the sake of martyrdom becomes a lucrative offer. It is an escape route from the boredoms of their lives, state of penury, or despair and simultaneously an opportunity to be a “martyr” in the lives of many and hence attain the importance strived for in the life time. (Bloom 2005:88)

The various terror groups carrying out such attacks as studied by different scholars are generally the same. The prime ones are Hezbollah in Lebanon against the American, French and Israeli

occupation in the 1980's, LTTE for Tamil independence in Sri Lanka since 1987, the Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan's fight for independence in Kurdistan, the secession demands of the Chechens in the parts of Russia and the groups like Lashkar- e- Toiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Muhammad in parts of India, Al Qaeda and its affiliates and Taliban in parts of Afghanistan. (Tosini 2009:71)

Since suicide terror attacks hold special significance for the terrorist groups hence their recruitment per se is done with utter care and precaution. They should generally be deeply religious, ideologically synchronized with the organization, be of low profile to move around without attracting attention, should not have any prior criminal records etc. (Bakken 2007:6)

The mere understanding of individual's motives behind suicide attack will not grant a comprehensive insight into the matter. It is imperative to grasp the motives of the terrorist organisation perpetuating it. Suicide bombings have high typical quality on the grounds that the readiness of the culprits to die symbolises high resolve and commitment to their reason. They serve as symbols of a defensible battle, excite prominent backing, create budgetary support for the association and turn into a inspiration of newcomers for future suicide recruits. (Hasan 2009:2).

By and large, suicide terrorists exhibit no socially useless characteristics (fatherless, lonely, or jobless) or self-destructive indications. They don't vent apprehension of foes or express "misery" or a feeling of 'nothing to lose' for absence of life choices that would be predictable with financial objectivity. (Atran 2003:536)

The suicide bombers are minor in number despite the fact that the foreign occupation or any other instigating factor affects a vast region. The reason behind the same are the multiple risk factors involved in the issue and those who transcend the risks are the ones who in their limited resources, would seek for vast amount of 'personal importance' for their last resort. (Victoroff 2009:398) The complexity and hierarchy coupled with the zeal of an individual to die for the cause makes it complicated for the authorities and governing bodies to control such attacks and hence provides insurance and incentives the terror groups to propagate suicidal mission.

2.2 STRATEGIC REASONS

The authenticity accorded to a suicide attack is also a function of the political milieu of the country being targeted. If the residents are of the opinion that martyrdom is a proper response to the plight they are subjected to then they will support the incidences of suicide attacks while in the other case they be antagonistic to the same and will reject it. On the other hand, if the domestic environment is greatly cordial to violence, suicide terror may be championed on the grounds that the contempt for the other side is high. (Bloom 2005:82)

The factor responsible for suicide terrorism as cited by a majority of Sunni extremists is the feeling of nationalism coupled with the radical motives of overthrowing the ruling regimes and often it is also the sectarian hatred against another community especially the Shias. However, for some Sunni radicals, patriot inspirations are regularly entwined both with the progressive target of changing existing regimes and with partisan battles against the Shiites. The topple of infidel governments in the Muslim world (the purported 'close adversary') has been a central point in a few jihadist campaigns which have kept up some linkage with the transnational system of Al-Qaeda (Tosini 2009:71)

There lie multiple reasons that instigate an individual to resort to suicide terrorism. The above mentioned views are replicated by (Hafez, 2006) when he states that “Individuals often express motivations rooted in religious identities, nationalist appeals, group commitments, vengeance, or emotive factors associated with personal suffering and empowerment in the context of generalized helplessness.” (Hafez 2006) For the individual, partaking in a suicide mission it is not about dying and killing alone but rather has a more extensive importance for accomplishing various purposes – from individual to communal.

These incorporate picking up group approbation and political achievement; freeing the country; accomplishing individual reclamation or honour; utilizing suffering to impact the survival of the group; declining to acknowledge enslavement; looking for reprisal for individual and aggregate mortification; passing on religious or nationalistic feelings; communicating blame, disgrace, material and religious prizes; getting away from terrible ordinary corruptions of life under occupation, fatigue, tension and insubordination. The design of these reasons differs and is a result of particular circumstances of the political clash behind the ascent of suicide assaults as a strategy and a weapon (Hasan 2009:2)

A different approach to the causal effects of suicide terrorism is the existence of large number of competitive terror groups in minority and the mutual rivalry among them to seek the dominant

position .This quest for a superior stage to that of rivals seems to be guiding force to resort to attention seeking measures like suicide terrorism for terror groups in minority in a particular region. (Bloom 2005:78)

A run of the mill investigation of a suicide terrorist's inspiration more often than not happens in media stages where columnists approach relatives and family companions keeping in mind the end goal to find the life occasion that prompted the nonsensical activity of the culprit and ascribe it to enthusiastic, mental reasons. Unexpectedly, researchers have displayed a few unique motivations to legitimize the intentions of the terrorist. A few comments around the issue imply unwillingness for the benefit of the person to complete his suicide mission along these lines, proposing genuine intimidation or risk from the association as saw in a few instances of the PKK. In any case, most reports recommend that in the greater part of suicide terrorist assaults there is clear proof of intentional enrolment, or possibly critical eagerness to complete the mission if drew nearer by a group. (Illiou, 2013)

Although still in its evolutionary phase the knowledge behind suicide terrorism and its causes and consequences is studied widely in the world post 2001 attacks (Pape and Feldman 2010:112).The technical reasons behind the phenomenon of suicide terrorism are the feasibility of sneaking in easily in disguise and being able to reach the desired target in an easy manner, the freedom or scope to modify the direction of attack, the difficulty of obtaining the information from the attacker, the minimal training costs involved and the advantage of destroying a large number of victims at one time. (Tosini 2009:77)

The recruits of suicide attacks were found belonging to a specific locality in their country and were not randomly distributed across the society which validates the fact that discrimination is the foundation in building suicide terrorists. They are made to sign a contract in advance, at the time of recruitment that they are willingly seeking martyrdom and cannot serve a normal combatants in the organisation. The normal combatants too would not be ready to switch roles. (Crenshaw 2009:362) The denial of suicide operations by the normal combatants is further validated by (Lankford 2011:70-81) wherein on interviewing the terrorists, eleven out of twelve denied performing suicide operations. Similarly nine out of fourteen organizers denied doing the same. Hence it takes something different to be suicide bomber in practical terms.

The conventional wisdom that suicide bombers are insane or have psychological errors in their minds or a personality disorder does not hold true. (Hasan 2009:1-5;Bloom 2005:35). The fact of

the matter is they are highly motivated, well qualified and often socially well integrated 'normal' individuals who due to external circumstances resort to such measures. The reason can vary from personal, to communal or humiliation to revenge to altruism. (Hasan 2009:54) The research post 9/11 concentrates on the fact that suicide terrorists are neither mentally ill nor insane but deeply religious individuals who belong to the communities resisting foreign military occupation on their lands. (Pape and Feldman 2010:49) The occupational logic of Pape is to justify the causes of suicide terrorism stands questioned in the case of countries like Bangladesh, Indonesia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, U.S ,UK and Yemen etc .where there doesn't exist any foreign occupation

The factors like Islam, poverty, mental illness and social discrimination seem a poor explanation to justify the occurrence of suicide terrorism. It is the 'foreign occupation' that elicits suicide attackers. Occupation implies the effort of political control over domain by an outside group. The discriminating necessity is that the involving power's political control must rely on upon utilizing coercive resources whether troops, police, or other security drives that are controlled from outside the possessed domain, an issue frequently striking when remote military powers cause blow-back to local people however are not considered responsible in local courts for their activities (Pape and Feldman 2010:21) . The fear that foreign element will deprive the residents of their freedom in political, economic and cultural spheres derives resentment and anger which in extreme cases shaped up as a suicide attack.

The comprehension of foreign occupation excessively appears to be broadly separated wherein Pape (2005) advocates the control of local government by a foreign occupation termed in words like "boots on ground" yet, for Al Qaeda, it is the historical injustice that their territory has been subjected to from the season of crusades and so on. (Pape 2005:81) The new training and guideline system of the Al Qaeda and the fund raising pledges done through drug trafficking by the Al Qaeda and Taliban have assumed a vital part in complementing suicide assaults for they can pay strong remunerations in the poor Af-Pak locale.

It is noticed that a factory style conveyor-line framework has developed to enrol teens in Pakistan, cover them in safe houses, train them, and transport them over the fringe. Different groups select focuses in Afghanistan. Separate parts of the suicide belts are made in local families - it has turned into a cottage industry- and paid for by the Taliban. (Crenshaw 2009:363).⁷

⁷ It is hard to name the organisations associated with suicide attacks in Palestine for they are a number of them carrying suicide attacks against Israel. Some of the renowned ones are HAMAS, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Al -Aqsa Martyr Brigade, Palestinian Islamic Jihad. (Pape, 2005)

The principal reason behind a majority of suicide attacks especially in the Muslim nations is the use of military power to bring in democratisation at a wide pace. Basically, military occupation represents almost all suicide terrorism around the globe since 1980. (Pape & Feldman 2010: 21)

Subsequently an inclination of patriotism that emerges with the foreign occupation on one's region, society and culture is the vital driving force for the suicide attacks. This causal rationale is essential since the staggering number of suicide aggressors do live in the occupied nation or in promptly neighbouring outskirts districts that are likewise under overflow risk from the occupation.

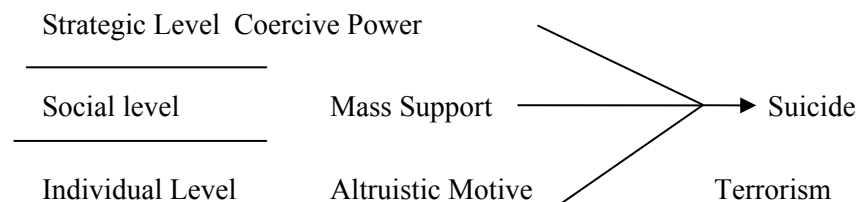
The hypothesis that Pape projects of democratic governments being the objective of a greater part of suicide assaults because of their assistance of general feeling is repudiated by a few researchers including Pedahzur (2006) wherein she negates the same with the assistance of information and states that more than 33% of suicide assaults are coordinated against regimes which are not under any condition democratic obligation, and greater than one fifth were completed against regimes with weak infrastructure base (Pedahzur 2006:6)

The reasons put forth by a number of scholars to explain the causes of suicide are variable depending on their place and time frame of observation. The theory of power imbalance is projected as one of the reasons behind suicide terrorism by Bloom (2005) wherein she verbalises that it is the disparity in the power regime that compels the weaker to resort to something like suicide terrorism so as to seek attention to the problem and also settle scores with the dominant authority in terms of exercising influence. The example cited for supporting the idea is the case of Israel and Palestine wherein the later being less influential resorts to tactics like suicide terrorism to mark a point and simultaneously attract the international attention towards the issue.(Bloom 2005:75)

A distinct explanation for the reasons behind suicide terrorism comes up in the work of Pape (2005) wherein suicide terrorism is also used as a tool in the case of presence of large number of competing terror groups in the country. In such cases the weapon of suicide terrorism is made use of so as to gain public sympathy as well as to stand distinct amongst the competing groups. Suicide terrorism depends on a concoction of three factors for its existence i.e. strategic, social and individual. As stated already the strategic part correlates with political coercion in terms of public opinion or pressure; the social and individual parts dwindle between setting oneself a

superior identity of doing something to the extent of sacrificing one's life for the sake of a society, a community.

The graphical representation of the same is done by Robert Pape (2005) as under:



Source: Robert Pape *Dying To Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (2005:18)

A similar conclusion is deciphered by Chaliand and Blin (2007) when they state the significance of suicide terrorism:

“On the strategic level, it at least partially redresses imbalances in capacities. On the logistical level, it is useful, effective, inexpensive, easily renewable weapon ..And on the tactical level, it is effective because it relies on human intelligence”.
(Chaliand and Blin 2007:76)

Therefore the tactic of suicide terrorism is not resorted for a single reason but for an amalgamation of multi faceted advantages which is why the terror groups pay hefty sums to the volunteers' suicide bombers. Since suicide terrorism is often assured of a media coverage and hence more popularity it is therefore an irresistible convergence of 'savagery and bloodshed' and also an influential psychological weapon. (Hoffman, 2006:132).

The element of public support becomes imperative for the suicide bombers for it is the same public that serves their needs of food, finance, shelter, recruits and above all political power and a sort of legitimacy in the eyes of media, be it national or international. (Hafez 2006:54-81) The pressure of gaining international attention surmounts in the cases when the financiers are a foreign patron. Hence the incentives to resort to such acts are diverse and are function of the source of

finance as well to a certain extent. In the event that suicide bombing does not reverberate among the bigger populace the strategy will fizzle. In the event that it is praised, it will thrive. (Bloom, 2005:78). Public support is therefore a prime driving factor of a lot of suicide attacks. In order to attain public support what is expected of the terror groups is that they do not target the members of the community they want to seek support from. Hence the theory projected forth by some scholars is that the religion and ethnicity of the suicide attackers and the victims are different but his stands falsified when one is to observe the attacks carried on the Islamic regions of Pakistan by organisations like Al Qaeda etc.

In the recent past there has been an increase in the attacks targeting the pro western Islamic groups by the extremist Islamic factions so as to restrain the growth of the western supporters among the Muslims. The attacks targeted against the Saudi government (it provided its territory to the western allies in the Iraq war) in the recent times validates the above said phenomenon. (Pedahzur 2006:41)

The neo imperialist policies of North America post the Cold war period and the intrusion by a selected few in the name of globalisation has played a part in increasing terrorism in different nations. The anger, disappointment and hatred experienced by broad sectors of the Arab Muslim social orders have risen above their individual national outskirts and made the worldwide group itself the scene of ghastliness. Pretty much as Kropotkin⁸ showed in his time, terrorism keeps on being used as the weapon of the powerless. (Romero 2007:457)

2.3 RELIGIOUS REASONS

The solely nationalist explanation of suicide attacks propagated by Robert Pape (2005) is contradicted by Domenico Tosini (2009) wherein he cites the example of Pakistan in which the reasons behind the attacks were found to be religion and political conflicts related. (Tosini 2009:69) Hence the theory projected forth by some scholars is that the religion and ethnicity of the suicide attackers and the victims are different but his stands falsified when one is to observe the attacks carried on the Islamic regions of Pakistan by organizations like Al Qaeda etc.

⁸ Kropotkin was a Russian geographer and revolutionary who developed a theory of anarchist communism.

The internal rivalry between the two factions Shia and Sunni seems to be the driving force of the different suicide attacks and no element of nationality or an external enemy targeting the sovereignty is to be seen in the case of Pakistan. However treating suicide terrorism and religion as two exclusive categories is highly embryonic when one can clearly see how the interpretations of Islamic theology done in the 20th century by theorists like Banna and Qutb are propagated till the present date. (Bukay 2006:6)

A different reason for the causal factors of suicide terrorism is cited by Dzikansky, Kleiman, & Slater 2012) wherein they state that since most of the suicide bombers are young in age therefore the theory of “meeting 72 virgins in heaven” is also used by their organisers to motivate them to perform the attack. It is not to deny the existence of other causes like vengeance, poverty, frustration and the hero like persona of the past suicide bombers to allure the future recruits as the existence of other reasons along with the above stated one. by (Dzikansky, Kleiman, & Slater 2012:42)

The imperial hues to the concept of jihad were granted with the concept of Islamic state wherein the rule as per Islam was envisaged in the entire world. This ideology was the founding stone of dividing the world into two mutually hostile camps i.e. those in favour of abode of Islam i.e. dar al Islam and those to be subservient to it in the eyes of the former and against whom they have to wage a war i.e. dar al harb. This ideology was further fuelled by the Umayyad armies which traversed the line of jihad being a religious war to a political one. The Umayyad used jihad as a tool to establish the hegemony of their dynasty not of Islam and hence used it as a political war in the garb of religious lines.(Heck, 2004:108)

Apart from the ideology of jihad the extremists also resort to *tawhid* political implications to justify their violent actions.

“They assert that tawhid means God alone has sovereignty and His laws alone—as laid out in the Qur’an and hadith and by certain traditional jurists—are normative. Thus the only acceptable society for the jihadis is a government that applies the tenets of Islamic law in a way that they believe is correct.” (Habeck 2008:66)

The association of Islam alone with suicide terrorism stands questioned when an analysis of suicide attacks between 1980 and 2003 is made. This is because at that time the world’s leading suicide bombing organisation was a Hindu anti religious organization (LTTE) despite the

presence of Hamas and Hezbollah. Therefore the association of Islam with suicide terrorism is one of the most prevalent misconceptions wherein one forgets to correlate that the presence of foreign occupations on the territories rich in resources too are Muslims and they being religiously sensitive, switch to such conventional strategies as their last resort. From Lebanon to Israel to Sri Lanka to Chechnya, each suicide terrorist battle has been pursued as a major aspect of a national freedom system against a majority rule government with military strengths positioned on domain the terrorists' quality .The above mentioned fact is further substantiated by near absence of suicide attacks in Lebanon post the withdrawal of Israeli forces (despite the perpetuating group Hezbollah being a fundamentalist Islamic group) and the non existence of suicide attacks in Afghanistan before 2001 (despite the region being the home to Osama bin Laden) (Pape and Feldman 2010:22)

The fundamentalism was enhanced by the Saudi money that flooded in the countries like Pakistan in the name of supporting the cause of jihad which came to be known by the term of “financial jihad.” (Chaliand & Blin 2007:282) The outset of Islamic charities was with the accumulation of large amount of wealth by the OPEC countries. With the span of time they began to satiate their zakat obligations and simultaneously perform their religious devoutness through donations to Islamic charities as sadaqa and waqf. (Burr & Collins 2006:28-38)

The main reason cited for the increment in the suicide mission's world over is the confluence of two interrelated phenomenon i.e. Al Qaeda's transformation and outspread at the global level and the growth of *salafi* jihad⁹. This globalisation of Al Qaeda is a cause of three major developments at the world level which are as under:

- 1) The core ideology of the group i.e. it was found as a precursor to an Islamic army which would be trained to rescue the Muslims in any part of the world when ever needed.
- 2) The spreading out of Afghan Arabs who were left purposeless post Soviet's withdrawal from Afghanistan to other parts of the world where they radicalised Muslims of different nations.
- 3) The transformation in the ideology of Al Qaeda during 1995 to 1996 to target far enemy i.e. the western infidels especially the U.S instead of the local Arab regimes it considered apostate. (Moghadam 2008/09:53)

⁹ It is the most violent form of jihad.

One of the major reasons behind a large number of suicide attacks is the manipulation of religion especially Islam wherein under the garb of different terminologies like “martyrdom seeking operation”, “mission for heaven” the term is often rephrased. This is done primarily because of the awareness about the fact that suicide is forbidden in Islam. (Tosini 2009:26-67; Hafez 2006).

“Islamic fanatics, depict the demonstration of suicide bombing as an ishtahad,¹⁰ signifying an affliction operation, which is not a transgression at all and the suicide bomber is commended as shahid, importance actually a "witness" or 'saint'. From the viewpoint of the individual assailant, the demonstration of affliction in the quest for honor may offer a chance to awe a more extensive crowd and be recalled” (Bloom 2005:81).

Therefore the element of eternal happiness and valour associated with the phenomenon of suicide bombing is a popular tool resorted to, by the suicide groups so as to allure large number of volunteer suicide bombers. These are martyrdom seeking operations, sanctioned by all the authorities of the Islamic country, who consider them to be the highest strata of martyrdom. It is a type of resistance, and resistance against the occupation is real. (Tosini 2009: 10). One of the causes cited is that a suicide bomber performs the attack so as to seek financial help for his family members in times of tribulations in a disturbed or under developed region. It is expressed by Hafez in terms of monetary gains. “He is making the ultimate sacrifice in order for his family to enjoy financial rewards after his martyrdom” (Hafez 2006:60)

The product of the teachings of these extremist leaders is the present day Islamic organisation Muslim Brothers which is the pioneer of converting the society and hence the state into an Islamic world following a bottom up approach. However it cannot be denied that they serve as intellectual fuel to the different jihadist groups. (Romero, 2007:456). Hence it wouldn't be wrong to conclude that the reasons behind suicide attacks cannot be viewed in one light and the factors instigating the same are a variant of time, place and the nature of the society along with its polity.

¹⁰“ independent reasoning” or “the utmost effort an individual can put forth in an activity”.

Associating suicide with religion has truly been a bid for suicide bombers, including the Palestinian ones. They don't know all that much about legislative issues, nor do they think about it. Be that as it may, they can be tempted into committing suicide by the allure of religious martyrdom, "a blissful life" in paradise, those 72 virgins, and the favours' that gather from doing god's will. They trust it is nobler to die for an arrangement of religious standards than for minimal comprehended or profoundly questionable and entangled political goals. This is definitely the motivation behind why mosques have been rearing reason for suicide bombing initiatives. (Dzikansky, Kleiman, and Slater, 2012: 42)¹¹

Religion is often blamed for suicide attacks but it is not so in all cases. It can be used as a tool to recruit and motivate the potential bombers but the actual factors are different apart from religion and as already stated above are an amalgamation of other forces too (be it revenging the army of Israeli forces or the Russian forces or any other motivation for revenge). The other side of the coin is illustrated when in the words of Hassan Salame, the most notorious suicide bomb commander in the Palestinian – Israeli conflict – A martyrdom operation bombing is the most elevated form of jihad, and highlights the profundity of our confidence. The bombers are sacred warriors who complete one of the more essential articles of confidence. As per another suicide bomb leader, It is martyrdom assaults which win the most regard and hoist the bombers to the most noteworthy conceivable level of suffering (Post 2009:233)

2.4 SOCIO ECONOMIC REASONS

The emotional reasons cited behind suicide attacks are generally affiliated to the experiences of humiliation and assassination of inmates as well people of one's own community or religion or ethnicity. The individual's behaviour in case of suicide terrorism is "effectually determined" laden with feeling of rage or revenge or other emotional outburst like in the case of Chechen women attackers called Black widows. They resorted to such activity for their husbands had been killed by the Russian military forces. (Tosini 2009:83;Hafez 2006:54-81).

Such attacks are the outcome of excessive regulations and restrictions being levied on young, unemployed, unmarried and religious males. This contradicts the notion of well educated and

¹¹ On the contrary the concept of 70 Houris found no mention in the text of Quran rather it is a popularly manipulated concept used by the fanatics to attract the young people to become a suicide bomber. (Engineer 2012:85-87)

socially integrated individuals as suicide bombers. The contours are well demarcated in the cases of LTTE and Hamas wherein illiteracy and backwardness served the foundation stones to opt for suicide terrorism. (Bakken, 2007:4)

The United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan report (2007:68) noted that most of the suicide attackers operating in the region were not local but from the refugee regions of Pakistan. The report declares a majority operating in the region to be poor, illiterate, reclusive and deeply influenced by the recruiters. Unlike in the other parts with strong nationalistic causes involved and the element of pride of being belonging to the martyrs' family, the families in Pakistan and Afghanistan mostly come to know of it when the "martyrdom payment" reaches them. Some families also report being coerced by the Taliban. The scenario of contradictions in the background of suicide bombers is put forth by when they bring home the fact that the bombers in Israel belong to the lower strata of society (i.e. Palestinians of a poor socio economic background) while a large number of Al Qaeda recruits hail from the higher echelons and the middle class strata of society.

The biological explanations presented by (Victoroff, 2009) are:

"The feelings of being socially engaged, willingness to sacrifice for one's family and group, and the pleasurable feeling of being on track in the direction of life success are all rewarding". (Victoroff, 2009:399).

These feelings contribute to the subjective well being of the individual and *"at the level of the individual neurobiology of motivation, undertaking such an aggressive and very dangerous behaviour must plausibly be rewarding."* (Victoroff, 2009:399). Hence the understanding of the causes in the form of 'subjective well being driven', is a satisfactory explanation for it is something that almost every individual strives for in his or her life time in reality.

The types of suicides (Altruistic and Fatalistic) committed by an individual when analysed in the Durkheim perspective brings out the cause behind suicide terrorism as well. According to Durkheim the altruistic form of suicide takes place in the conditions when an individual recognises his identity solely in terms of the society he or she lives in. at this stage one completely discards the feelings of individuality and the idea of servitude reigns supreme. This stage of insufficient individualism can prove a stepping stone for the suicide bomber to prove his or her worthiness to the society. (Bakken 2007:3-7) The altruistic suicide of Durkheim also springs from the anticipation of a beautiful life after death and the dream of heaven. The other

category of suicide i.e. fatalistic as per Durkheim is a product of incessant political and economic turmoil wherein one loses hope of a better future and in way embrace the death already in fate at one's own desire. "Fatalistic suicides involve an escape from a normative situation from which there is no appeal" (Bakken 2007:4)

The temporary resort to violence in the cases like suicide terrorism is highlighted by Sprinzak wherein he argues that state or public embraces this phenomenon on a temporary and conditional basis; and

"Leaders who opt for this type of terrorism are usually moved by an intense sense of crisis, a conviction in the effectiveness of this new tactic, endorsement by the religious or ideological establishment, and the enthusiastic support of their community." (Bloom, 2005:90).

The analysis of several scholars brings home the fact that suicide terrorism is not a cause of an individual factor but an amalgamation of a variety of factors in unison.

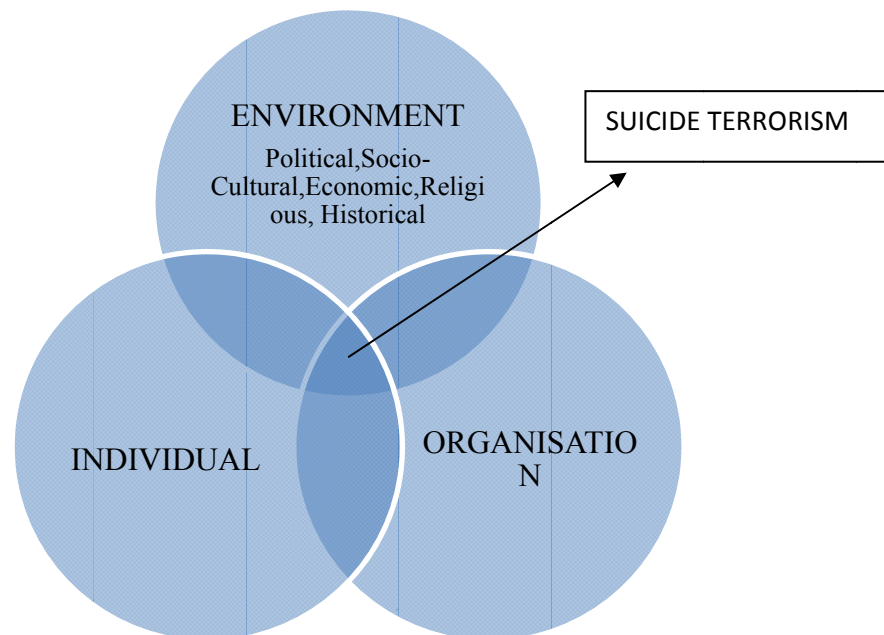


Fig 2.2 : A pictorial representation of factors leading to suicide terrorism, derived from (Moghadm 2006:84)

Hence, it can be stated that suicide terrorism may be an after effect of forced initiation, mentally determined driving forces, or as a rule an altruistically voluntary activity. The division between

the culprit and the terrorist bunch as an aggregate uncovers that despite the fact that the individual can be persuaded into turning into a suicide terrorist by religious convention that guarantees eternity rewards, or the social acknowledgment and appreciation of the group and individuals from the gathering that regularly takes after the demonstration of suffering, his intentions are multiplied from the time of the enrolment into a terror group and as a consequence of being compared with the aggregate objectives of the organisation. The altruistic way of his main goal emerges just when a combination of individualistic and aggregate objectives has been accomplished. Also, the objectives of the organisation are predominantly credited to nationalistic belief systems; however the demonstration of suicide from an individualistic point of view may likewise have religious thought processes.

Accordingly, moving back to the prior comments of Pape, Asad and Hoffman on the devices that constitute suicide terrorism there is by all accounts an amalgamation of religious and common convictions that associate agreeably for the advantage of the terrorist association, eventually supporting Hoffman's hypothesis. On the other hand, there is still noteworthy absence of real proof and clinical investigations that ought to keep us from venturing into surged conclusions in regards to conceivable intentions that may prompt such assaults.

2.5 REASONS BEHIND SUICIDE ATTACKS IN PAKISTAN

The state of Pakistan stands no exception when the reasons behind suicide terrorism are to be analysed. As stated above, even in the case of Pakistan, it is an amalgamation of individual, organisational and environmental factors that paves way for escalation and evolution of suicide attacks. The individual factors primarily refer to the problems like poverty, unemployment or the revenge of the loved ones from the military etc. The organisational factors are the terror groups present in the region that carries on suicide bombing as a strategy like Taliban and the Al Qaeda. While as the environmental factors are the policies of the government like the anti Taliban military campaign which spurred suicide attacks in 2011 in Bajaur of FATA region (Crilly 2010) or the feeling of revenge of loss of loved ones that guides the Pakhtun tribes (Gunaratna & Iqbal 2011:235)

A subset of the organisational element of the causes of suicide attacks in Pakistan is the drone attacks carried on by the US. The conflict between the terror groups and the Government forces in Pakistan has been wrought to its present form to a certain extent by the U.S Drone attacks. The escalation in frequency of suicide attacks and the drone attacks by the U.S bear a stark positive correlation. The impact of such attacks is to be witnessed both by the civilians as well as the military in double fashion wherein both the drone and the resulting suicide bombings lead to massive loss of life and property. According to Puri (2012)

“Pakistanis both civilian and military, were forced to endure a rapidly escalating suicide bombing campaign targeted against them, as payback by the armed groups for suffering more and more drone strikes.” (Puri 2012:78)

It is a well established fact that though targeted at terrorists the drone attacks take a huge toll on the civilians too. Another dimension of cause of suicide attacks in Pakistanis a combined effect of the above mentioned individual and organisation causes for the concept of religion delves into both. The misinterpretation of religion so as to suit the designs of different terror groups is a well established fact not only in Pakistan but also in other regions of the world. With more than 140 suicide assaults and 1700 casualties somewhere around 2002 to 2008, the utilization of the strategy of suicide terrorism is obviously on the ascent. Pakistan has now surpassed both Iraq and Afghanistan in this aggravating positioning. Additionally, with the LTTE being pushed to the sidelines in Sri Lanka, it appears the various jihadist associations that lie inside of Pakistan's outskirts now have the world's consideration, with one suicide assault taking place in each 5 or 6 days since the July 2007 attack of Lal Masjid in Islamabad. The event is especially significant to the diverse activities of jihadis in Pakistan, for all have considered the strike made by the armed force as the yellow-line the state should have never crossed. (Lanche 2009:2)

The doctrine of jihad is one of the most exploited religious conceptions in the world that is misused by the terror groups to justify their violence and mass killings. This tradition finds strong prominence in the areas of Pakistan that border Afghanistan like FATA, KP or Baluchistan. The tradition of waging religious war in defence of Islam is not alien to the tribal parts of Pakistan bordering Afghanistan. The fierce resistance to non Muslim rule be it Sikhs or the British was a day to day affair in the 19th century in this region. According to Murphy (2013)

“Pashtun tribesmen, led by charismatic religious leaders and their followers – the mujahedeen (holy warriors) waged jihad against the infidel invaders, whose very presence on Muslim soil was considered blasphemous.” (Murphy 2013:26)

Therefore the element of waging war in the name of religion is not new to this tribal belt of Pakistan. It is just the mode of operation and the target enemy have changed with the course of time.

Apart from the direct causes the indirect ones that escalate the incidences of suicide terrorism are more domestically driven like poor levels of development, illiteracy, unemployment etc. Hence they are a factor of the environment element of the above mentioned reasons. The scenario of Pakistan is no different from other parts of the world when it comes to stating reasons behind suicide terrorism. The presence of the foreign forces in the neighbouring Afghanistan and the consequent drone attacks on the domestic territory is cited as one of the prime instigator of suicide attacks in case of Pakistan.

The reasons behind suicide terrorism in Pakistan are an amalgamation of that seen at the global platform varying from presence of foreign forces in the closely integrated Afghanistan to the presence of sectarian strife in the tribal belts to the resentment against the policies of the domestic governments which are seen pro west by nearly all the terrorist organisations. The higher incidence of such attacks in the backward parts of the country is a blot on the developmental policies of the government which have failed to bring the marginalised into the mainstream and hence subjecting them to exploitation by the fundamentalist forces.

CHAPTER THREE: SUICIDE TERRORISM AND PAKISTAN

3.1 BACKGROUND

In the present scenario, South Asia by and large brings out the picture of a locale that is tormented by vicious religious fanaticism where groups like the Taliban, Al-Qaeda and Lashkar-e-Tayyeba (LeT) are dynamic. This is likewise known not a locale where Maoists bunches are creating havoc in extensive part of its region. Groups like the LTTE who sought after their separatist plan could just be wiped out with incredible exertion. South Asia has hoarded the spotlight in light of their exercises.

The phenomenon of terrorism has eclipsed the way that various South Asian economies are developing at a quick pace and can possibly develop considerably fast if not hampered by successive demonstrations of fear. However the debates centred on the meanings of the word terrorism, its causes and categories, the difference between terror activities and freedom movements and suicide terrorism have gained momentum in the post 9/11 world and the interpretations cited by the different scholars are diverse. This diversity is often subjected to analysis and it becomes impossible to derive a single conclusion or a universally applicable definition to categorise the convictions and notions held by one set of academicians from that of the other.

The incidents of 9/11 have had a cascading impact on the utilization and comprehension of the idea of terrorism which exudes from each demonstration of political savagery. In this regard, the utilization of the ideas and terms like “rebellion”, “intermediary wars”, “asymmetrical and unequal clashes” have been subsumed by single word, “terrorism”. Now and again every and any

demonstration of open revolt that includes violence is dealt with as a demonstration of terrorism, aside from the savage and unpredictable violence unleashed by the security mechanical assembly of a state on honest and unarmed individuals. (Muni 2012:20)

The conflict between the terror groups and the Government forces in Pakistan has been wrought to its present form to a certain extent by the U.S Drone attacks. The escalation in frequency of suicide attacks and the drone attacks by the U.S bear a stark positive correlation. "Pakistanis both civilian and military, were forced to endure a rapidly escalating suicide bombing campaign targeted against them, as payback by the armed groups for suffering more and more drone strikes." (Puri 2012:78) It is a well established fact that though targeted at terrorists the drone attacks take a huge toll on the civilians too in terms of life and property.

The indiscriminate use of drones on areas of Pakistan poses a severe threat for times to follow. It indirectly escalates resentment in the minds of populace and hence increases their vulnerability of being manoeuvred by the terror groups. Robert Grenier the head of CIA from 2004 to 2006 expresses a similar fear as cited by Paul Harris in *the Guardian* dated June 5, 2012

"That brings you to a place where young men, who are typically armed, are in the same area and may hold these militants in a certain form of high regard. If you strike them indiscriminately you are running the risk of creating a terrific amount of popular anger. They have tribes and clans and large families. Now all of a sudden you have a big problem."

The initiation of suicide attacks in Pakistan can be traced to Afghan Jihad. The Arabs were the authors of the deadly assaults. The initial suicide attack happened in Bajaur Organization of Governmentally Authoritative Tribal Territories (FATA) in 1987, when an Afghan jihad pioneer, Sheik Jameelur Rehman was killed in his camp in Chamarkand by a Middle Easterner Mujahid.. (Rana 2007:2) Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM) was the second group that took this activity in 2000. JeM had additionally confronted the feedback by Deobandi religious researchers particularly from Banori Madrissa, Karachi however the association did without giving careful consideration on the announcements against suicide assaults. (Rana 2007:3)

The "death squads" of different inter connected terrorist outfits pushed Pakistan towards anarchy. Suicide bombers unpredictably aimed on the security strengths, political leadership and activists and regular citizens. In the year 2007, Pakistan was depicted as the world's third most

exceedingly bad hit nation by suicide assaults after Iraq and Afghanistan. Notwithstanding ambushes, roadside bomb impacts and target killings of political pioneers, almost 60 suicide assaults were accounted for amid the year 2007, which slaughtered no less than 770 individuals and harmed another 1,574. This was a sharp ascent from six suicide bombings recorded in Pakistan in 2006. Out of the 60 suicide assaults in 2007, 37 particularly focused on security establishments and work force. In the first quarter of 2008, Pakistan even surpassed war-torn Iraq and insurrection hit Afghanistan as far as suicide bombings. The number has been on the ascent since. No less than 18 suicide assaults shook the nation between January 1,2008 to March 1,2008. The greater part of the suicide assaults happened in Pakistan's volatile Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the then North Western Frontier Province (NWFP) now Khyber Pakhtunwa. (Gunaratna & Iqbal 2011:229)

With more than 140 suicide assaults and 1700 casualties somewhere around 2002 to 2008, the utilization of the strategy of suicide terrorism is obviously on the ascent. Pakistan has now surpassed both Iraq and Afghanistan in this aggravating positioning. Additionally, with the LTTE being pushed to the sidelines in Sri Lanka, it appears the various jihadist associations that lie inside of Pakistan's outskirts now have the world's consideration, with one suicide assault taking place in each 5 or 6 days since the July 2007 attack of Lal Masjid in Islamabad.¹² The event is especially significant to the diverse activities of jihadis in Pakistan, for all have considered the strike made by the armed force as the yellow-line the state should have never crossed. (Lanche 2009:2)

At the world forum Pakistan is blatantly blamed as a nation that supports terrorism and is rarely spotted as the victim of the same which aggravates the plight of the people residing in this country, a large number of whom are the poor and refugees. According to Gunaratna & Iqbal (2011)

“While Pakistan is often blamed for supporting militancy, the nation itself is more a victim than a villain. Most Pakistani’s feel betrayed by the US because, having assisted the west to defeat the Soviets in Afghanistan, Pakistan did not receive support to rehabilitate and reintegrate the mujahideen they had mobilised against the Soviets.” (Gunaratna & Iqbal 2011:9)

¹² The Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) Operation was carried out by Pakistani armed forces against clerics and students of Lal Masjid, Islamabad, Pakistan in July of 2007. The operation divided opinions among Pakistanis at home and abroad. It was hard handed approach of the government to curb the excess influence of the clerics of the LalMasjid which is seen anti religiou by a certain section of population.

So relentless would the suicide bombing become that the armed groups sought to punish the Pakistani state for operating against them at US behest. And so frequent would the drone strikes that, even if decapitation of the armed groups through the elimination of leadership figures of the Taliban and Al Qaeda were their principal aim, the coercive pressure exerted on limiting armed group freedom of action – and on cajoling the Pakistani state into action –was also noteworthy outcomes and as the armed groups retaliated against the US drone attacks by deploying suicide bombings against Pakistani targets, it was the Pakistani state and the Pakistani people who were caught in the middle of the vice. (Puri 2012:78)

The concept of religion becomes subservient in the context of Pashtun society where the ties of culture rule the roost. In the words of Gunaratna & Iqbal (2011)

“The Pashtun Code of Honour, otherwise known as Pashtunwali, requires the family members to seek revenge for relatives that are killed. The concept of badal (revenge) means that every Pashtun who has lost a family member is on the warpath, led by revenge. Pashtuns believe that revenge takes time: as one Pashtun proverb describes, ‘badal badal we,ko agha saal kal pas humvi’(I took my revenge after hundred years, and I only regret that I acted in haste.)” (Gunaratna & Iqbal 2011:235) ¹³

Therefore the standard practice of blaming all on religion or the poor levels of development doesn't hold true in the case of the Pakhtun suicide attacks wherein the affiliations of culture rule the roost.

The US and Pakistan are confronting perpetual successful and endeavored terrorist assaults. In any case, suicide terrorism is daunting task for Pakistan on account of three variables: To begin with, the nation has been the prime focus of suicide terrorism on the world lately. In 2009, 3,021 Pakistanis were killed in terrorist assaults, a large portion of them suicide assaults. The figure was 33 percent higher than 2008. From 2002 to July 1, 2010, 3,719 individuals had been executed in 257 suicide assaults in Pakistan, while another 9,464 had been harmed. Second, Pakistan has a dominatingly Muslim populace and religious stories are overwhelmingly utilized as a part of regular life. Take off from the religious stories is difficult for any government in Pakistan. Third, the state has been instrumental in misusing the religious story for national security standards

¹³ The Pakhtuns consider their familial ties and culture supreme to any other affiliation and for them avenging the death of the loved one is a matter of honor and a question of prestige which has to be fulfilled in which ever possible manner and this is to be done in a steady manner over a spread of time to make the enemy repent even more.

previously, fundamentally amid the Soviet-Afghan war. Every one of the three components are firmly connected. It is critical to break down suicide assaults in Pakistan, not just in light of the fact that the nation has been a casualty of suicide assaults, additionally on the grounds that a considerable lot of the fizzled terrorist endeavours in the US and somewhere else in the West have been connected to Pakistan in one way or another. (Khan 2010:2)

3.2 REASONS BEHIND PAKISTAN BEING PLACE OF OPERATION

During the time of US drone strike strategy, was gathering force the quantity of suicide bombings in Pakistan additionally extraordinarily raised. Suicide bombing has not been a component of the jihad pursued against the Soviets in Afghanistan by the Pakistan upheld Mujahideen. First experience with the wars in Afghanistan and Pakistan in the twenty first century had been inferable from Al Qaeda's business as usual forcing itself on these contentions. Suicide bombarding set up new parameters for the revenge that the Islamist equipped groups could bring against the Pakistani state and the individuals based upon takfir dispute in which Muslims esteemed apostates were adequate focuses in jihad. (Puri 2012:83)

Religion acts as a catalyst to many other factors including frustration, helplessness or personal grievances (such as loss of a close relative or friend) as a result of state policy. Interviews with failed suicide attackers reveal that some of them were highly educated in religious teaching and others were barely aware of the message of Islam and of the logic of and essentials for jihad. (Khan 2010:3)

It is worthwhile recalling that sectarian violence remains the primary source of terrorism in the country, and the continued attacks on religious and sectarian minorities not just in the old hotspots of Karachi and southern Punjab, but also in large parts of KP, FATA and Balochistan's provincial capital, Quetta, demonstrate that the pattern hasn't changed so much as assumed far greater proportions. (Fazli 2012:110)

Globally US is wanting that Pakistan accomplish all the more in war against terrorism and her Drone assaults are very unpopular locally For Taliban activists Pakistan's part in US war against terrorism is like helping crusading armed forces against individual Muslims. Individuals of Pakistan by and large don't consider War on Terrorism as their war and this is substantiated by

surveys. In request to present authenticity on their demonstrations, aggressors, terrorists and radicals are distinctive names made by the epistemic administration of government for those challenging power of state. (Mohammad 2012:82).

Militants have successfully tapped into anti-US sentiments in Pakistan and their propaganda machine through CDs and DVDs successfully propagates their views. These audiovisual materials are openly available. Deaths of children and women in Drone attacks are used for both recruiting as well as justifying suicide attacks. (Mohammad 2012:88)

Two inclinations show suicide terror has gone wild in Pakistan. In the first place, suicide attacks are spreading topographically to the whole nation, because of both, the porosity of outskirts and the absence of powerful police control inside of the distinctive territories. (Lanche 2009:5)

In September 2007, a report by the United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan (UNAMA) confirmed that the impression of control of Afghanistan by foreign powers is an essential rousing element behind suicide assaults. The report noticed that suicide aggressors in Afghanistan and their supporters appeared to be mobilized by a scope of grievances. These incorporate a feeling of occupation, resentment regarding regular citizen setbacks in military operations against the Taliban, and saw insults to their national, family, and individual feeling of honor and nobility emerging from the behaviour of counterinsurgency operations by associated forces. These inspirations are all connected to the presence of alien powers. (Iqbal 2010:3). But suicide bombings have shot up in Pakistan even though the country is not under foreign occupation.

According to Fazli (2012)

“The army operations against militant networks in Khyber Pakhtunkwa’s (KP’s) Malakand region, and in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) bordering Afghanistan, have provoked mass displacement, civilian casualties, destruction to infrastructure and shattered local economies, while counter-insurgency successes have been at best limited.” (Fazli 2012:108)

Despite the acknowledgement of the problem that it is the occupation of army in the region which is a trigger factor for the suicide bombers to enact, there seems a dearth of the remedial measures. Another aspect to the growth of terrorism that is attributed to the Shia-Sunni sectarian divide traces its route to the divide and rule policy of General Zia’s government wherein the regime is

blamed for pitying one group against another so as to evade the attention of the general public towards the duties of regime like providing basic amenities to the population etc.

The actions of the Zia government to increase the drift between the Shia and Sunni sects is criticised by Singh & Peiro (2004) as under:

“This Islamisation had many elements of Sunni dominance over Shias’s interests. Unfortunately, the process he set in motion became a compulsion for the subsequent governments too, due to their electoral considerations.” (Singh & Peiro 2004:132)

Hence the discriminatory policies of the party in power, as a political instinct, proved detrimental to the peace of Pakistan and the repercussion of which instinct are witnessed by the local populace even in the present times. Apart from the sectarian strife’s the other factor that ranks foremost in the reasons behind the suicide attacks in Pakistan is the resentment that runs in the minds of people from the US invasion of Afghanistan. According to Puri (2012)

“The root grievance of militants fighting the Pakistani state was the US invasion of Afghanistan and Pakistani support for the invasion and that of the US was of the presence of Bin Laden on the Pakistani soil. With a drawdown of the US forces in Afghanistan by the middle of decade beckoning under Obama’s strategy review, the history of what the killing of Bin Laden on Pakistani soil will mean for conflict in the region is yet to be written.” (Puri 2012:118)

Hence this validates the fact that the porous borders of Afghanistan and Pakistan are to be taken care of when framing the policies by the governments and the generally prevalent anti west sentiments propagated by the terror groups to fulfil their designs demand specific and targeted approach to be washed off the minds of the populace

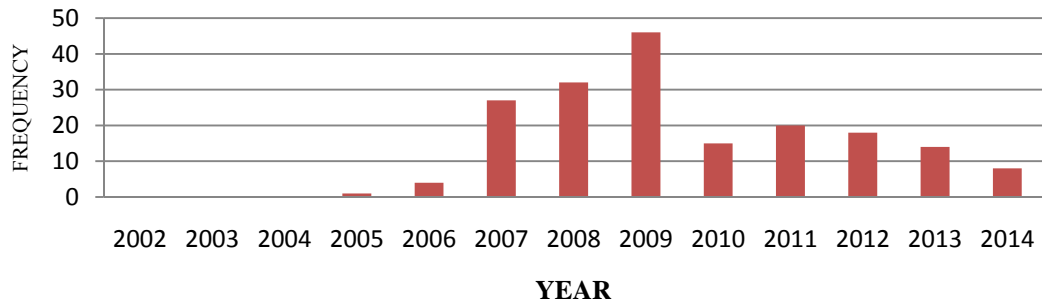
3.3 REGIONALISATION OF SUICIDE TERRORISM

In order to understand the pattern and distribution of suicide attacks in Pakistan, a regional perspective becomes imperative so as to comprehend the underlying factors in a holistic manner. The database for the same is the South Asia Terrorism Portal which is an open source website. The data of suicide terrorism for the state of Pakistan has been analysed from the year 2002 to 2014 into three sub categories i.e. frequency, casualty and the populace targeted.

The indicator “casualty” incorporates both the number of people killed and injured in the suicide attacks that took place. In order to depict the nature of population targeted in each suicide attack a cumulative of three sub categories has been drawn i.e. civilian (only the civil population), military (incorporated the attacks targeting police personnel, military camps, funerals of police and army men, rescue officials etc.) and Governmental (inclusive of all govt. offices and officials being targeted, schools, colleges, embassies, university campuses, airports foreign diplomats etc.). By the use of a simple statistical tool like a bar graph a cross regional analysis of the different indicators has been made so as to understand the phenomenon in a holistic manner.

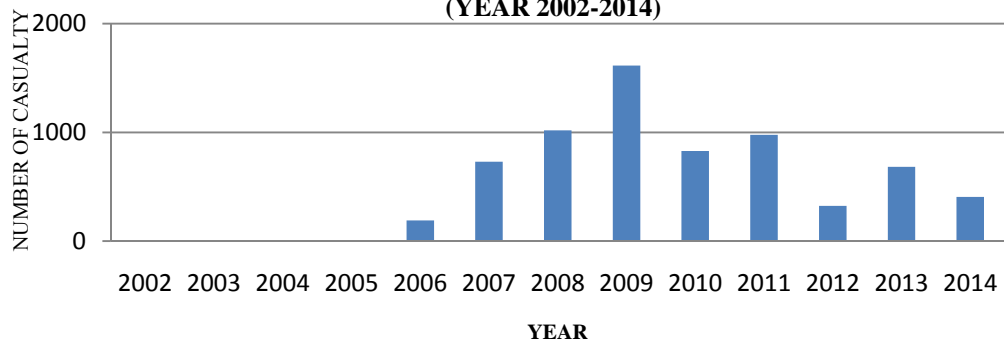
The frequency of suicide attacks in various regions of Pakistan depicts zones of concentration over the years in a certain period of time i.e. 2007 onwards for Khyber Pakhtunwa; since 2007 till the recent years for FATA, 2011 till the present times in the case of Sindh and beyond 2010 onwards for the province of Baluchistan. This clearly depicts the fact that suicide groups probably are reciprocators to the government policies and carry out region focussed attacks. This trend may be attributed to inert group rivalries or a change in Government policies that trigger such sharp reactions.

Fig 3.1 PAKISTAN: SUICIDE ATTACKS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNWA REGION (YEAR 2002-2014)



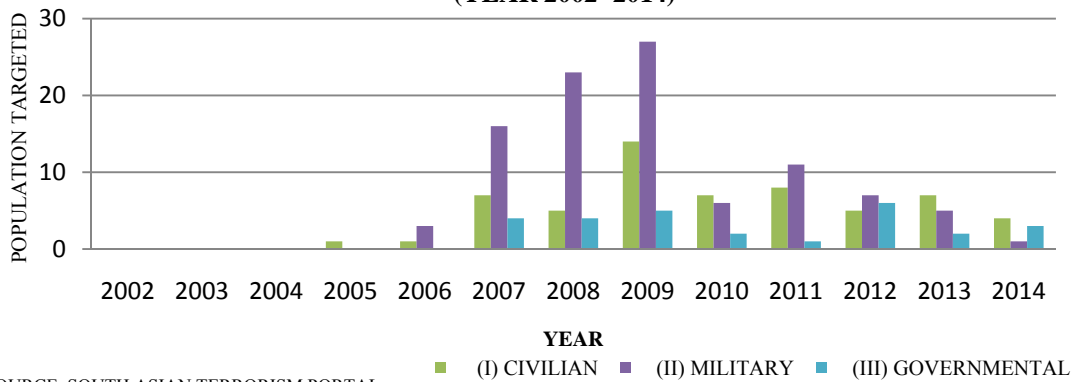
SOURCE: SOUTH ASIAN TERRORISM PORTAL

Fig 3.2 PAKISTAN: SUICIDE ATTACKS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNWA REGION (YEAR 2002-2014)



SOURCE: SOUTH ASIA TERRORISM PORTAL

Fig 3.3 PAKISTAN: TARGETTED POPULATION BY SUICIDE ATTACKERS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNWA REGION (YEAR 2002- 2014)



SOURCE: SOUTH ASIAN TERRORISM PORTAL

3.3.1 Khyber Pakhtunwa

A situation similar to the FATA can be attributed to the suicide attacks in the Khyber Pakhtunwa which is also a part of the tribal belt of the region and is torn between the Shia -Sunni strife. The nature of attacks in KP (targeting the military personnel) traces their similarity to that of the neighbouring FATA zone. KP's suicide attacks to the Pakistani government policies are what glaciers are to the phenomenon of climate change. They began right with increased dominance of US in the neighbouring Afghanistan and the extension of domestic government's support to the same and escalated hence forth. Hence it can be safely stated that the attacks carried out in KP were more intense and frequent to that in the FATA region. The nature of population targeted in the two broadly depicts similar pattern with a slight variation in the number. In response to the resentment from the pro west inclination of the domestic government, the targets of such attacks are also primarily public institutors.

“Al Qaeda has specifically targeted the army, paramilitary forces and police personnel and occasionally, politicians. Since it has been able to find sanctuaries and vital training facilities in FATA, Al Qaeda is likely to remain a key driver behind suicide terrorism in Pakistan in the near future”. (Iqbal 2010:5).

Consequently after 2007 the region has witnessed steep increment in both the number of suicide attacks and those targeted at the government bodies.

The region depicts one of the highest casualties in the suicide attacks as it has some of the most populated regions of the country like Peshawar and Malkhand which in a way validates the “media attention seeking” theory of scholars. Targeting a region inhabited by large population on its own help the terror groups gain attention both at the national as well as international forum. Amid 2011 KPK territory stayed most influenced part of the nation as to suicide assaults. Pashtun belt of KPK territory and FATA were specifically influenced by US drove war against Al-Qaeda and Taliban as the individuals in this belt have memorable relations with Pashtun populace over the fringe. This belt was a base camp for Jihad against Russia. After US intrusion of Afghanistan individuals from this Pashtun belt began to go over the outskirt to assault on Coalition troops. Pakistan conveyed more than 80000 troops to stop cross outskirt development of activists as being accomplice of this war on dread. The activists turned their weapons towards Pakistan and began assaulting its troops. KPK and FATA got to be fight grounds. (Khan A. 2011:7). The

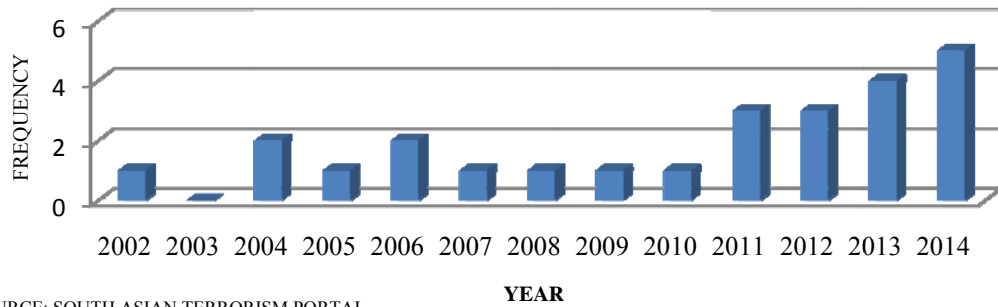
present domestic and global concentrate on fanatic gatherings in the FATA, while understandable, has come about in inadequate endeavours being made against, radical Sunni gatherings situated in the Pakistani heartland, who are indeed essentially a bigger number of hazardous than their FATA-based counterparts. Taking stringent activity against them ought to be a top domestic and global requirement. (Fazli 2012:107)

Pakistan's strategic approach to managing disorder in its Pashtun areas- the epicentre of Pakistan's post 9/11 crises was in part an inheritance from the British era. The administration norms and the security practices have been persisted in the manner initiated by the British and the Pakistani government has chosen to continue with the same despite the frontier challenges of the 21st century. (Puri 2012:21). The Pakistan Penal Code loses its validity when it comes to the tribal parts of the country for these regions are beyond the jurisdiction of the High Court and the Supreme Court. The Frontier Crime Regulations (FCR) drafted by the British in the 1870's persist to be followed in the FATA areas though Khyber Pakhtunwa and Baluchistan have got rid of it. (Gunaratna & Iqbal 2011:24-25)

Police and security agencies are targeted for their role in war against terrorism as well as their brutal interrogation methods. Security agencies for their actions are dehumanized in the sense that humans cannot engage in such cruel methods. It is a well-known fact that the accused often gets killed while in an agency's custody. Supreme Court of Pakistan is playing active role in recovering the missing persons presumably taken into custody by security agencies. Sometimes, it is alleged that the security agencies in extra judicial killing beat their victims so barbarically that one cannot even recognize their faces (Mohammad 2012:88)

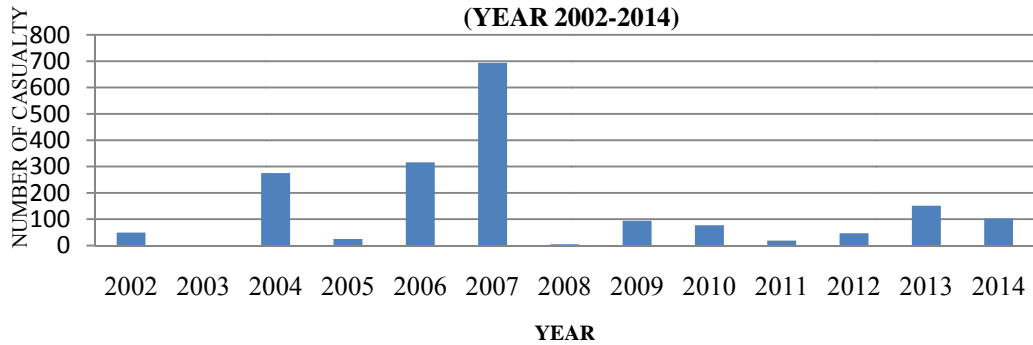
The attacks in the region are well dispersed in pattern. The holistic rearward of the region in terms of levels of education or efficacy and stability of the governments or the distraction brought about by the militants can also be a contributing factor to the level of casualty and the frequency of suicide attacks. Hence the socio religious and economic stress coupled with the unstable regimes plays a pivotal role in the anguish of the populace that gets exaggerated when exploited by the fundamentalist and the radical forces. The high frequency of suicide attacks in the KP also coincides with the Swat crisis of 2009 wherein the confrontation between the Pakistani army and Taliban group can also attribute to the high incidence of military targeted suicide attacks.

**Fig 3.4 PAKISTAN: SUICIDE ATTACKS IN SINDH REGION
(YEAR 2002-2014)**



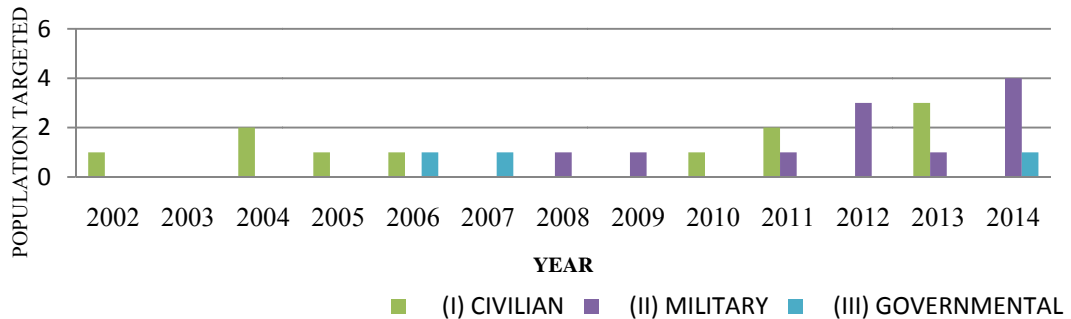
SOURCE: SOUTH ASIAN TERRORISM PORTAL

**Fig 3.5 PAKISTAN: CASUALTY IN SUICIDE ATTACKS IN
SINDH REGION
(YEAR 2002-2014)**



SOURCE: SOUTH ASIAN TERRORISM PORTAL

**Fig 3.6 PAKISTAN: TARGETED POPULATION BY SUICIDE
ATTACKERS IN SINDH REGION
(YEAR 2002-2014)**

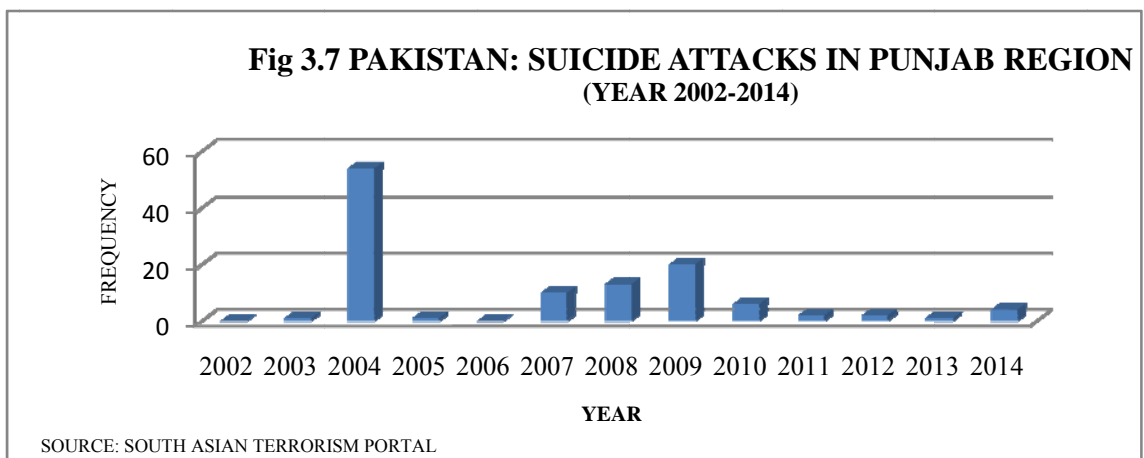


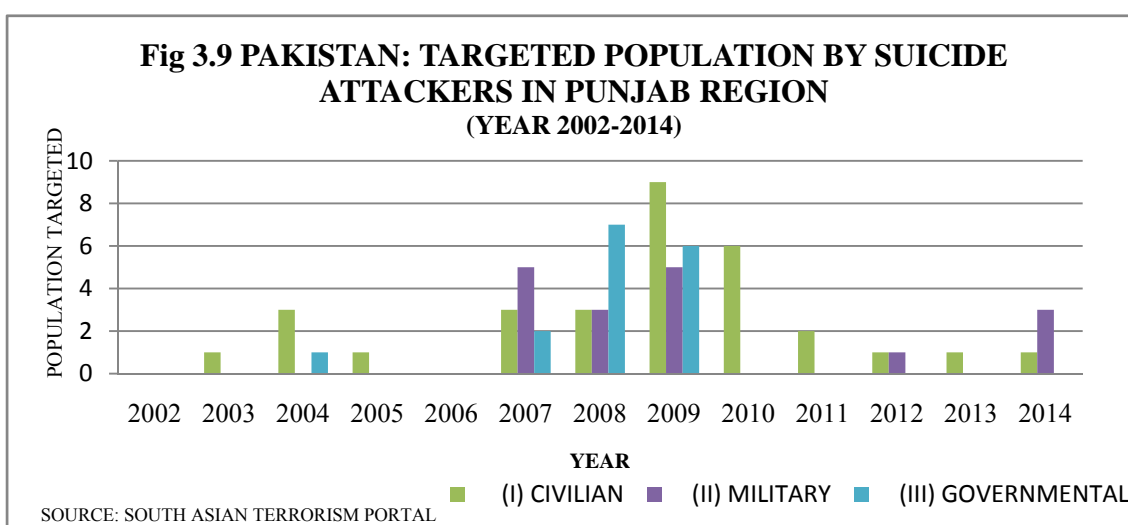
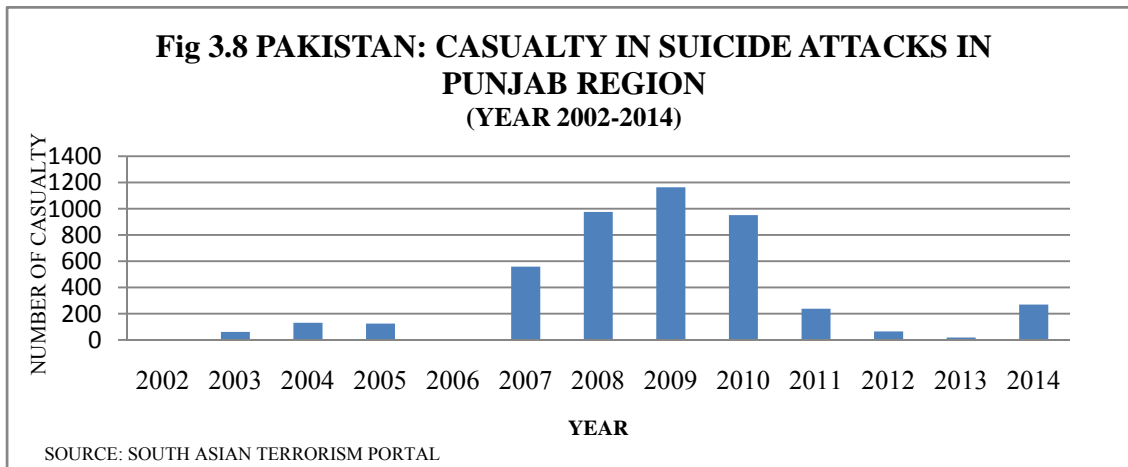
SOURCE: SOUTH ASIAN TERRORISM PORTAL

3.3.2 Sindh

The Sindh province like all the other regions is also a victim of the sectarian and the Shia Sunni conflict. The region has witnessed high inter militant turfs in the period around 2011 which explains the higher incidence of attacks post 2011. The greater incidence around 2006 could be a probable outcome of the retaliation against the Drone strikes; against the Governmental authorities for having cooperated with the same. Apart from the anti governmental targets the inter group rivalry contributes to the lawlessness in the region of financial capital of the country (Karachi). The presence of Karachi is also a factor, for higher incidence of terror strikes in the region as it attracts the greater media coverage and hence the sought after world attention. The large size in terms of the area and higher population adds to the theatrical value of the place and makes it a hot spot of suicide terror attacks carried out both by the Pasthuns and Baluchis. There also exists politics of ethnic conflict between the Muhajirs, Punjabis and the Pathans. Hence the consistency in the attacks of suicide attacks in the Sindh is an accumulation of all the above factors. (Gunaratna & Iqbal 2011)

The religious nature of the society should also be utilised by the governmental bodies in bringing to light the selfish designs of different terror organisations for Quran and Hadith are the most widely misused texts that are cited by different anti social elements to justify their means and actions. Hence a counter interpretation of the same must be widely publicised through the help of the spiritual and religious leaders in defence of the state course.



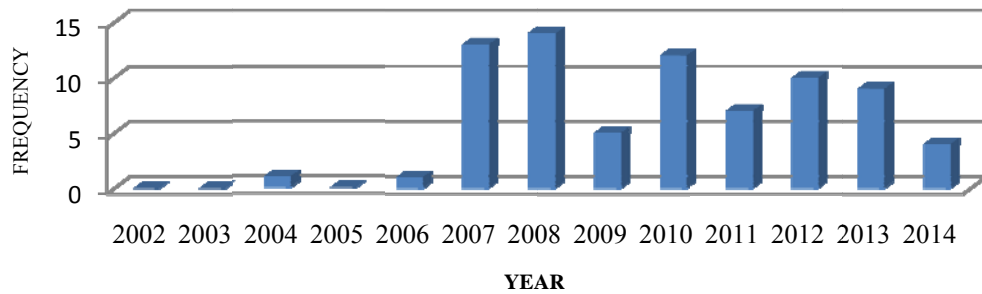


3.3.3 Punjab

The Punjab province of Pakistan depicts a dispersed pattern of suicide attacks wherein except the year 2004 there is a well distributed pattern of suicide attack which have shown a decelerating trend since 2009. One reason for the deceleration are the policies of the Punjab government (The Pakistan Muslim League) which have followed a policy against War on terror and stress upon engaging with them through a dialogue channel so as to solve the menace of terror. The measures taken up under the anti terror strategy varying from rehabilitation programmes to dialogues to negotiations could be the guiding force for the deceleration of the suicide attacks. The high incidence of civilian targeted attacks in the region can be attributed to the existence of the Shia Sunni divide which runs deep in the society since the times of partition. The districts like Jhind,

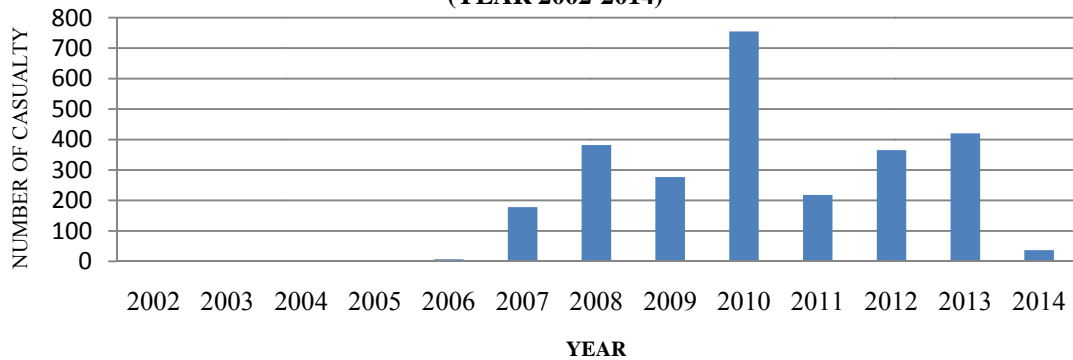
Faisalabad, Multan and Bahawalpur are prominent names when it comes to sectarian strife torn districts of the region. Hence, the higher incidences of suicide attacks in the area which are primarily targeting the civilian population, a large portion of them are the Shias.

Fig 3.10 PAKISTAN: SUICIDE ATTACKS IN FEDERALLY ADMINISTERED TRIBAL AREAS (YEARS 2002-2014)

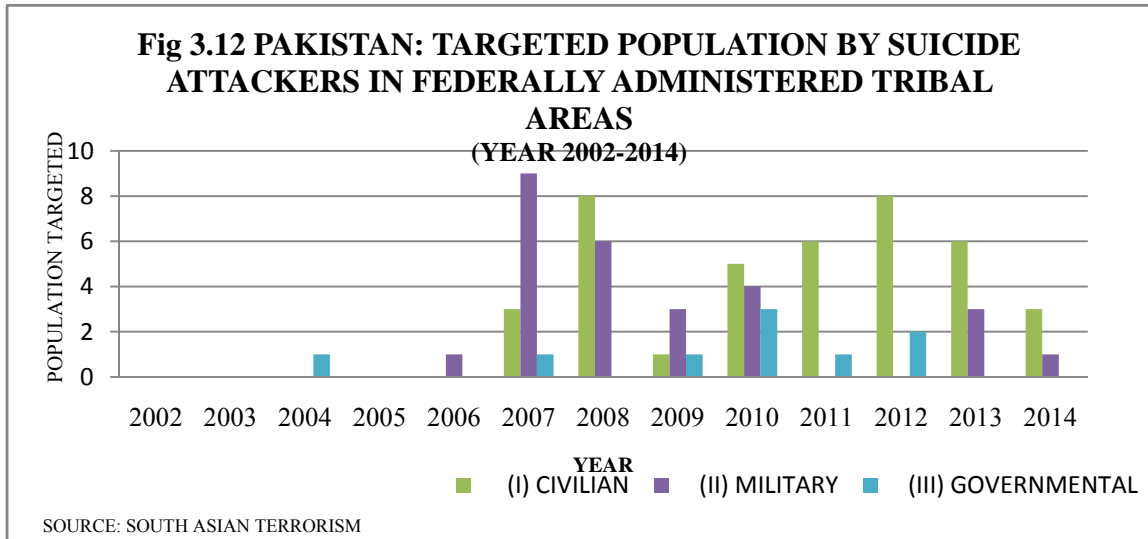


SOURCE: SOUTH ASIAN TERRORISM PORTAL

Fig 3.11 PAKISTAN: CASUALTY IN SUICIDE ATTACKS IN FEDERALLY ADMINISTERED TRIBAL AREAS (YEAR 2002-2014)



SOURCE: SOUTH ASIAN TERRORISM PORTAL



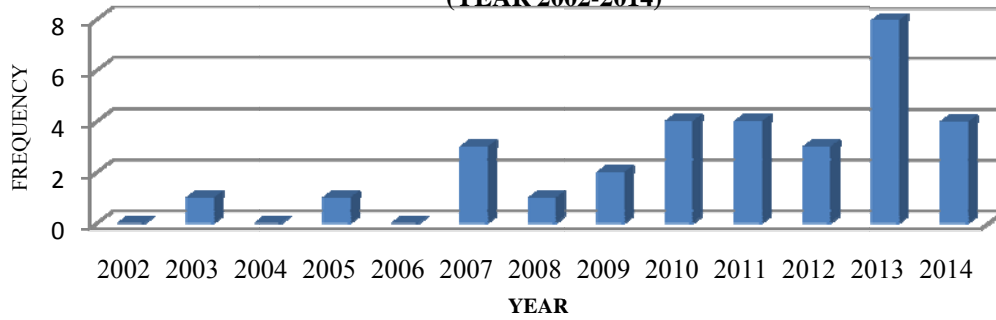
3.3.4 Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)

As per the *United Nations Report on Afghanistan* (2007:30) the presence of foreign troops on the national soil to be the main driving force for the suicide attacks in this tribal region of Pakistan. The sense of domestic territory being subsumed or being dominated by a foreign regime seems to be the most probable region. The increment in the number of suicide attacks in FATA region is correlates with the presence of western forces on the soils of the neighbouring Afghanistan. The geographical proximity of the region to the neighbouring Afghan region seems to bear a direct impact on the increased frequency of suicide attacks which escalated in a steep manner from 2007 onwards. The attacks in 2007 have mainly targeted the armed and police personnel which depicts the resentment in the region with respect to the institutional establishments and governmental bodies. The other probable causes for the escalation of suicide attacks post 2007 can be the related to Pakistan army's military operations in Swat valley and the Southern Waziristan area of the region wherein the latter is also often engulfed in Sectarian conflicts.

A typical clarification for the spread of brutality in Pakistan is that militancy in FATA has turn out to be rampant to the point that it has overflowed into different parts of the nation, including Punjab. Yet, on the off chance that it implies the manifestly obvious issue of terrorism in Pakistan's most crowded territory, the term likewise recommends that this issue remains essentially a Pashtun one, which starts in the tribal belt and, as a result of its tremendous development, is spilling south.. (Fazli 2012:109) Hence more than religious reasons it is the cultural ones that trigger suicide attacks in the Pakhtun belt.

Fig 3.13 PAKISTAN: SUICIDE ATTACKS IN BALOCHISTAN REGION

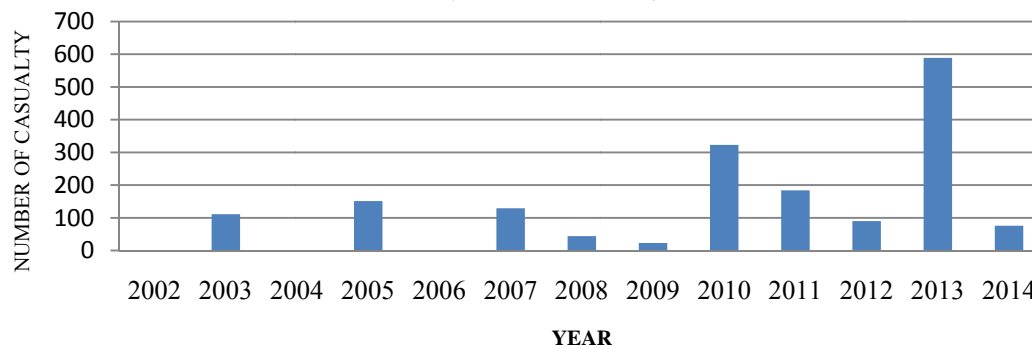
(YEAR 2002-2014)



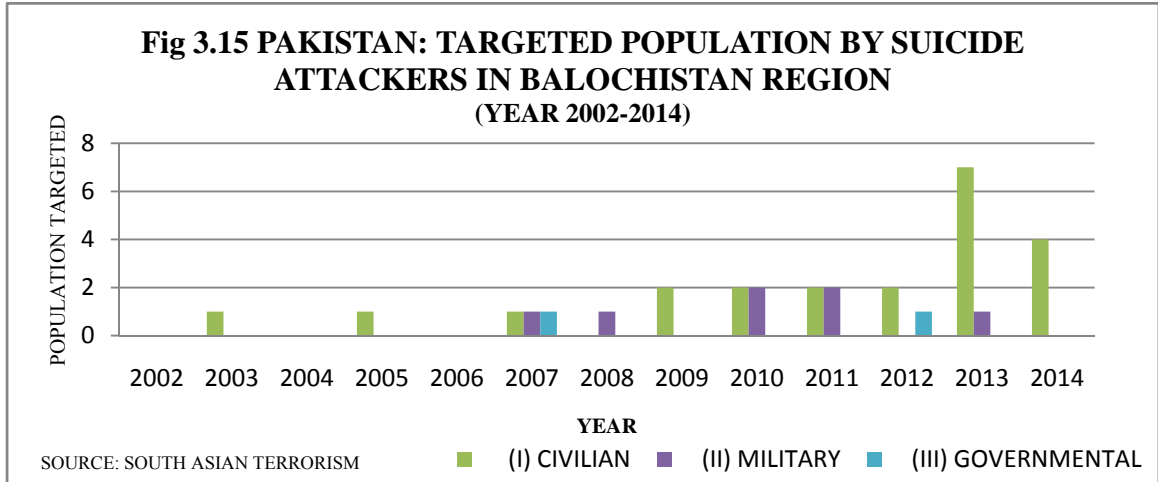
SOURCE: SOUTH ASIAN TERRORISM PORTAL

Fig 3.14 PAKISTAN: CASUALTY IN SUICIDE ATTACKS IN BALOCHISTAN REGION

(YEAR 2002-2014)



SOURCE: SOUTH ASIAN TERRORISM



3.3.5 Baluchistan

This province much like the neighbouring Punjab Pakistan is a victim of the Shia Sunni strife that takes a major toll on civilian population in the region. The region is also engulfed amongst the anti state nationalist insurgency since times of creation of the nation. These separatists' tendencies too play a role in the instances of suicide attacks wherein the factor of getting media attention both at the domestic as well as the international platform is high on the agenda of the groups. The Hazara community of the region is one of the prime target of the attacks in the region. The presence of the separatist Baluchistan Liberation Army in the army is the reason sufficient to justify the attacks on the military and the police personnel that takes place from time to time for their aim is to break the institutional hegemony that exists in the region. The geostrategic location of the region, closer to Iran and Afghanistan also supports the influx of the foreign disorder of these areas into the Baluch province which is why the western borders are more disturbed to their eastern counterparts.(Khan 2011)

3.4 The Debate of Jihad and Suicide Terrorism

The term jihad has assumed tremendous significance in the past few years or post 2001 wherein it is being widely debated, defined, redefined and analysed meticulously from different perspectives. The debates that came out post 9/11 depict the confusion that irks both the Muslims

and non Muslims alike about the concept of jihad. (Heck, 2004; Rehman, 2005). Post 2001 in the minds of non Muslims and some Muslims, jihad is now closely associated with terrorism and the role of western media in propagating the same is enormous. According to Perry & Negrin (2008)

“Jihadists regard terrorist attacks, which kill, destroy, and create an aura of fear in their wake, as legitimate means of fulfilling their sacred mission: regaining dignity for Muslims, carriers of Allah’s message, by ending the humiliation and oppression imposed on them by Western infidels; overturning existing corrupt and “apostate” Muslim governments and replacing them with regimes committed to Islamic teachings; restoring the caliphate and Muslim religious and political hegemony over all lands where Islam once prevailed and ultimately over the entire planet; and imposing, by force if necessary, a stringent interpretation of Islamic law throughout the Muslim world” (Perry & Negrin, 2008:1)

Hence the element of violence is aptly justified in the view points of the terror groups and they leave no stone unturned in ingraining this embittered feeling into the minds of the people. The understanding of jihad assumes significance for it is the prime reason cited behind the actions of terror groups be it suicide terrorism or any other form of violence wherein the element of public sympathy is brought in with the use of this ideology. The use of terms like ‘*shahdat*’ or ‘martyrdom’ derive their justification from the verses of Quran which is one of the most diversely interpreted text in this world. It becomes imperative to understand this phenomenon also because it involves the holy Quran and consequently uses a religious manuscript to justify its means of propagating violence and killing innocent lives. “All four schools of Sunni Islam as well as the mainstream Shi’ism consider idolatry (*shirk*), apostasy (*irtidad*) and hypocrisy (*nifiq, munafaqah, or riyah*) to be capital offences. In each case, jihad is a means to counter such threats and assert the predominance of Islam.” (Bukay, 2006)

Heck (2004) has tried to establish the fact that Quran is often misinterpreted in order to justify the means of violence. “The Qur'an, in its call for struggle in the path of God apart from tribal goals, established the grounds for a conception of jihad as struggle for a godly order apart from communal concerns, even if the motivation was grounded in Islamic revelation. What is clear is that the qur'anic declaration of jihad cannot be reduced to armed struggle. Virtually all instances of the root j-h-d speak primarily to the question of true intention and devotion (including, incidentally, those forms referring to oath-taking, for example, Q5:53, jahda

aymdnihim)” (Heck, 2004:97) It can be lucidly deciphered that not only Quran but any religious text could be easily moulded to suit the designs of the terror groups.

The real meaning of jihad cannot be understood without comprehending the events at Karbala. Allah defined jihad in the context of Khwaja Moiuddin Chisti in Karbala also known as *Imam Hussain*. He stated that actual jihad is speaking truth in the presence of a tyrant ruler. Hussain had no selfish motives neither craving to be the next ruler of Muslims nor any other power obligation. Attached with it is the fact that power should not be the end but the means and physical victory should be of lesser importance to the spiritual one. (Engineer 2012:49-51)

The tendency of associating terrorism to religion is widely witnessed especially in the context of Islam. “Global terrorism is definitely an innovation in Islamic terrorism in which the most crucial role is played by organisations like Al Qaeda whose ardent aspiration is to unify the entire community of umma or the believers and re establish the rule of Caliphate i.e. one political authority everywhere which rules as per the laws of Islam”. (Romero 2007) The radicals in the Islamic world do not prefer to be addressed by the terms like fundamentalists or extremists or terrorists etc. They advocate themselves “to be attempting to re-establishing the original Islam to the time of Prophet Mohammad, to create a unified Muslim state, and to revive the rule of Sharia “the Divine Law of Islam” (Cook & Allison, 2007).

Fundamentalism in Pakistan was the brain child of General Zia-ul-Haq’s regime which came to power in 1977. One of his pioneer measures in this direction was making the banking system responsible for the collection of *Zakat* or the religious tax. This created a rift in the Shiite and Sunni ideology for the former believed in giving alms to the mullahs who were an institution nonexistent for the Sunnis. (Chaliand & Blin, 2007) The onset of suicide attacks in Pakistan was made by Al Qaeda which has now transformed to sectarian hues from martyrdom operations at present. “Because of Pakistan’s history, geography, and sectarian divisions, the tactic of suicide terror has taken roots more in this land than in any other country that is not in an obvious state of civil war.” (Cook & Allison, 2007)

The tradition of waging religious war in defence of Islam is not alien to the tribal parts of Pakistan bordering Afghanistan. The fierce resistance to non Muslim rule be it Sikhs or the British was a day to day affair in the 19th century in this region. “Pashtun tribesmen, led by charismatic religious leaders and their followers – the mujahedeen (holy warriors) waged jihad

against the infidel invaders, whose very presence on Muslim soil was considered blasphemous.” (Murphy 2013:26)

In late 1980's with the withdrawal of USSR from Afghanistan, Pakistan began supporting the separatist movements in Kashmir. These incidents provided an escape to the regime in power from catering to the social needs of the poor country and hence the press began to drum up support for the issue of Kashmiri Muslims. This further gave birth to the movements like Harakat al-Mujahidin, Jayash-i-Muhammad, Lashkar-i-Tayba and Hizb-al-Mujahidin, associated with the more mainstream Jamat-i-Islami. (Cook & Allison 2007:28) .

The withdrawal of Soviet from Afghanistan was an exceedingly elating factor for the U.S, Saudis and Pakistan so much so that none catered to the violation of human rights or establishment of a legitimate regime in the war torn Afghanistan. The region soon became a magnet for the foreign jihadists who from all over the world found it as their favourable resort. Another short coming of this Afghan jihad was the increment of opium trade in this region as opium and heroin were the principal means of funding jihad and the intake of large number of refugees in the country. This not only increased the supply of drugs to the west but drug consumption in parts of Pakistan witnessed a step increase. (Murphy 2013:102-116)

According to Chaliand & Blin (2007)

“Islamic terrorism did pick up momentum post Soviet's withdrawal and in way filled the vacuum that has been created in the region after the clash of the two power blocs when they left the underdeveloped region to its fate. Some believe that today's Islamic terrorism is simply a new form of anti imperialism and that can be classified as revolutionary terrorism.” (Chaliand & Blin, 2007).

Hence the above statement depict the zest of a strata to camouflage terrorism in a fashion similar to the anti market revolution or against the capitalist forces of the world or an event targeted with a left orientation which is nothing more than manipulating the truth to justify the heidous designs of the terror groups. In fact the roots of modern terrorism or jihad are deeply entrenched in the incursion done by western powers on the territories of Muslim world like Palestine or Afghanistan or Lebanon. (Saeed, 2002)

The presence of large number of *fidayin* in the Pakistan supported militant groups like Lashkar-i-Tayba which sends recruits in small groups targeting the Indian Army is a common phenomenon

post Soviet withdrawal. These groups strictly speaking are not suicide attackers; even though they do die, they are not the agents of their own deaths, and their deaths are not inevitable for the operation's success. (Cook & Allison, 2007)

After the withdrawal of the Soviet from Afghanistan, the American and Saudi support melted away and the Arab Mujahidin in the region were left at the mercy of the Pakistani government's efforts to exercise greater control upon them. These Arab volunteers at that time were left with three alternatives namely: either returning to their respective homelands, continue preparing secret jihad against the governments they considered infidels or leave to their traditionally preferred lands like Europe or to continue propagating international jihad. This third stream of volunteers' materialised support to the mujahidin fighters not only on the Af-Pak borders but also in others parts of the world. (Chaliand & Blin, 2007) It is this third stream that has tormented a large section of the world with its outgrowth of terror be it suicide terrorism or any other version of the same.

One might compare the contemporary suicide bombers with the follower of Hassan-i-Sabbah or the assassins because of their martyrdom instincts but an important difference that subsists between the two is while the former's martyrdom was based on the sectarian form of Islam, the latter performs suicide bombing with the sole motive of avenging the impious world and their aspiration of the joy of paradise. (Chaliand & Blin, 2007)

The concept of paradise is so deeply ingrained that it is believed that only those Muslims who practice their lives in exact replication like that of Prophet will be awarded the benefits of direct paradise the rest will have cross through hell so as to make it to paradise. The only exception to this direct route to paradise is the life of a martyr after death wherein it is believed that a martyr will head straight to paradise without serving any time in hell. (Khan 2009)

There are certain recurrent myths that one comes across when analysing the inspiration for the suicide bombers which are "supernatural aid for the mujahid in battle, the miraculous purification of the body of a fallen warrior, and sudden visions of paradise, characterise these tale. (Cook 2008)

Often projected as an exporter of terrorism Pakistan is rarely seen as the worst sufferer of the same. Post 9/11 the Musharraf government's support to U.S to counter terror activities proved detrimental for the serenity of Pakistan for it now became the target of terror attacks. Musharraf and his government were now perceived as traitors and betrayers of Islam because of the forced

alliance with the U.S and its allies. This resentment was showered on the Pakistani military in equal proportion to that on the civilians and foreigners in the form of suicide attacks and other terror strikes despite the fact that military was always accused of favouring the Sunni terrorist groups. (Murphy 2013:137-159)

The concept of global jihad continues to thrive with a greater vigour post the launching of war on terrorism by the U.S. The launching of war on terrorism, the efforts to find bin laden, the attempt to destroy Al Qaeda, the destruction of Taliban regime in Afghanistan, and the recent invasion of Iraq may increase the chances of retaliatory attacks, including suicide bombings. (Lutz & Lutz, 2013:102) .

The government of Zia ul Haq in Pakistan that came to power in 1977 played a pivotal role in the Islamization of Pakistan wherein he declared Pakistan to be an Islamic state to be ruled under the Sunni tradition of Sharia. In this wave of Islamization along with law, society even education witnessed a drastic transformation. The rapid growth of *madrassas* during this period is also a distinguished feature of this wave. Zia preferred te Deobandi *madrassa* by granting special concession to them time and again. These *madrassas* were further radicalised at the time of war against the Soviet when along with the traditional religious education they began to inculcate into the students the call for undertaking jihad against the Soviet's. This chain of *madrassa* was heavily supported by the Saudi charities in the form of *zakat*. The area of concentration of such *madrassas* was the region of Pakistan bordering Afghanistan: the North West Frontier Province, the FATA and Baluchistan. (Murphy, 2013; Stern, 2000)

Without state supervening, these madrassa are free to preach a narrow and violent version of Islam. In the most extreme cases they equate jihad interpreted by many as striving for justice with guerilla warfare. (Stern, 2000:119)

The divide and rule policy of the Zia regime that accentuated the Shia Sunni strife in the state of Pakistan and its repercussions are summed up by Murphy (2013) as follows:

“One of the major unintended consequences of Zia’s state sponsored Islamisation was the intensification of sectarian divisions between the Sunni majority and the Shias which was almost negligible till the 1980’s. However the Islamisation under Zia, with its emphasis on a narrow Deobandi- Sunni tradition as the only legitimate source of authority was to sharpen the difference between the majority Sunnis and the Shias.”
(Murphy, 2013:94)

These differences were accentuated by the interference of the international regimes like the Shai dominated Iran under Ayatollah Khomeini and the Wahhabi fundamentalist monarchy of Saudi Arabia. (Murphy, 2013:94) The involvement of Pakistan in the Afghan war was seen by the Zia regime as a tool to strengthen ties with the U.S which not only supported his dictatorial regime but also sanctioned the nuclear desires of the nation. It also catered to the dread of Pakistan which made it envisage a pro Soviet Afghanistan that would support the Pashtun and Baluch demands for nationalism. The conviction of a pro Soviet Afghanistan supporting the separatist movements in Pakistan was so much entrenched in Zia's mentality that he even allowed the training of mujahidin's exclusively by the ISI officers in the camps set up along Pak-Af border. Another instance of ISI's prestige is evident from the fact that it compelled all the Afghan refugees to join one of the seven mujahidin parties created by the Pak government called Peshawar seven. (Murphy 2013:137-159)

In the words of Stern (2000) "Jihad is a mindset. It developed over many years during the Afghan war. You can't change a mindset in 24 hours." (Stern, 2000:36). Hence the policies and precautions should be aimed at curbing the menace in the long run. The Afghan jihad was also vehemently supported by the Saudi for they loathed the Soviet's and their allies in Afghanistan as atheists and hence anti Islamic. An element of geo strategy was also imbibed in this form of 'financial jihad' for they feared that the Soviet's posed a potential threat to the Persian gulf and consequently to the vast oil reserves of Saudi Arabia. According to Murphy (2013) "In the Afghan jihad, Saudi policy makers saw the opportunity, in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, to create regimes that favoured Saudi Arabia's narrow legalistic Wahhabi Islam". (Murphy 2013;110) Hence the impeccable task that remains unachieved throughout the history of human kind is to separate religion from politics and this seems to be the prime factor that terror groups are aware of and which they exploit.

The unrestrained domination of the madrasahs in Pakistan can be gauged from the fact that plan proposed by the Interior Minister of Pakistan Haider Yaqub called by the name of Haider plan aimed at controlling the expansion, curricular and the financial resources of the madrasahs has long been sidelined with the majority of the madrasahs disagreeing to abide by it. The madrasahs located in the poor part of southern Punjab are funded by the Sunni Sectarian political party Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) whose second head in command Mujibur Rehman Inqalabi, considers the Haider plan anti Islamic and denied the authenticity of state control over the madrassas. They advocate that the element of state control ruins the spirit of jihad, like has been

done in the case of Egypt and Jordan wherein the state governments monitors the madrassas. (Stern, 2000:120)

Hence the reluctance and resistance to bring the madrassas under the control of Pakistani government is also a prime reason for the widespread misuse of the concept of jihad in the country. The ignorance that prevails about the religion is the prime driving factor for it to be misused by the terror groups in the world. It is the misinterpreting and manoeuvring that goes into the making of a suicide bomber who feels his acts to be validated by Allah. According to Qadri (2010)

“The damage to Islam and the Muslim world is that Muslim youth, not completely and comprehensively aware of Islamic teachings and under the influence of the media, regard terrorism and extremism as emanating from religious teachings and attitudes of religious teachings and attitudes of religious people. This misplaced thinking is alienated them from religion, leading them to atheism, and posing a serious danger to the Muslim Umma in future.” (Qadri 2010:27)

Religion therefore is a mere tool of manoeuvring circumstances to suit the hidden designs of the terror groups. They are capable of justifying their course and even denying something using the same text and by appealing to the religion sentiments of the irrational minds especially the illiterates and the unemployed youth.

CHAPTER FOUR: WOMEN SUICIDE BOMBERS

4.1 BACKGROUND

The anticipation in the academic circles about the women suicide bombers can be well deciphered from the fact that even in the developed and westernised societies the conventional image of a woman deters her from being accepted as a terror agent or “perpetrator of death.” Throughout the history of mankind a woman has always been accepted in the role of a mother, a wife or a sister or somebody who has been victimised by her powerful counterpart. The image of a woman as a

destroyer of lives wherein she uses her body and her feminine prowess in doing the same is perplexing.

Women have a tendency to talk in social terms from their own particular position in the present and to address themselves to another subject. At the end of the day, women constantly guide their talk to somebody other than themselves. Interestingly, as opposed to tending to themselves to another, men take themselves as the talking subject and relate themselves to questions or dynamic thoughts generally connected with manliness. Dialect, for women, is subsequently continually connecting to an audience, while for men it is expressing something about their place on the bombert. (Sage 2013:68)

Women's ability to partake in terrorist exercises is utilized both on an interior and an outside level. On an interior level, the pioneers and/or the men of the terrorist gatherings utilize the women avidness to murder others and themselves. On an outer level, women get to be abused by the world on the loose. The media excessively turns into a player, depicting women kamikazes (Japanese suicide bombers at the time of World War II) as the epitomes of the utter despair on the "freedom fighters", as opposed to insignificant heartless homicide of regular citizens. On the other hand, highlighting women' abuse does not undermine the interest that they depict in such activities. (Beyler 2003)

In each case, women bombers have possessed the capacity to get to their expected target in spite of numerous layers of security. In a culture that precludes male policemen or checkpoint monitors from searching women — yet likewise glares on women joining the security strengths — numerous have simple entry to high-esteem focuses like police headquarters and markets. They can go unchecked where no man would long for pass.(Ghosh 2008)

The woman suicide attack in Pakistan reported by *The Christian Today* dated December 5, 2007 validates the fact that breaching the security is a much easier task for the woman suicide bombers as compared to their male counterparts in conservative societies like Pakistan. The involved bomber was able to conceal the suicide belt beneath her *burka* (a long gown worn by Muslim women). She was planned to blow the military check point following Pakistani military's recent stringent actions against the Taliban militants.

There doesn't seem much difference about the manner of perceiving women as the weaker sex, be it developed west or the developing east. Which is why, the image of a women suicide bomber is likely to create much uproar in both the societies.

“The concept of terrorism, particularly against a soft target, is shocking enough to most liberal Western audiences; however, the use of women attackers exacerbates the already potent psychological effect of suicide terrorism.” (Knop 2007:398)

Over time women had transformed their roles from the backstage supporters to the main perpetrators of crime wherein from logisticians or intelligence gatherers or arms smugglers they have resumed the roles of operation leaders and suicide bombers in various terror groups. A large number of terror groups have resorted to suicide terrorism for if done by a girl or a women it attracts the maximum possible media attention. The inability of people to see women in a role antipodal to the victims of war contributes to the exaggerated media attention. Women terrorism is on the ascent and is expected to increment later on. In the span of 1985 and 2006, 225 women suicide bombers following up for the benefit of a wide range of sorts of terrorist associations have been observed and many women have been captured whose suicide missions fizzled. (Knop 2007:398)

The disparity that women have encountered since ages as compared to their male counterparts has been the prime target of the women’s movement in the 1970’s in the first world nations. However for the underdeveloped and the developing parts this still remains a far-fetched goal wherein the various UNDP reports reiterate the inequality that women face in these societies of the world especially Afghanistan and the Middle East. In such regions the sole area in which women have been acting at parity with the men is suicide terrorism.

The above stated thought becomes lucid in the following lines of Mia Bloom (2005)

“There is a difference between men and women suicide attackers: women consider combat as a way to escape the predestined life that is expected of them. When women become human bombs, their intent is to make statement not only in the name of a country, a religion, a leader, but also in the name of their gender” (Bloom 2005:142).

The antagonism behind the outlook for women suicide bombers is also highlighted in the work of Berko (2012) wherein she states that the strain between profound respect for a lady who foregoes her life and the suspicion that her sacrifice included some type of sexual blame or it was an

escape route from the mundane lives that women in conservative societies are subjected to. In different cases, women detainees deliberately search out prison as a place of refuge to escape constrained relational unions, allegations of inappropriate conduct, or abusive behavior at home. To achieve prison, they wound officers, wave cuts noticeable all around, or toss corrosive toward an Israeli soldiers etc.

Hence it's clearly validated by a set of scholars that suicide terrorism is one of the means for the women of the under developed societies to vent out their subjugated emotions and to prove themselves at equity to their male counterparts. The prominence of women suicide attacks in the patriarchal societies is well supportive of the above stated fact that men dominance urges these women to level the equation with their counterparts. Therefore such incidents are strong among the marginalized section of this society wherein the notions of Gender parity defy the social orders.

Patriarchy has anticipated women as inclined to peace and hostile to vicious. This is in confirmation with the nineteenth century history specialist Johann Jacob Bachofen's projection of the 'feminine standards', which focused on the fact that women were altruistic and nurturing in the present day society and that they really started civilisation. By displaying inordinate standards of brutality women bombers challenge straightforwardly fundamental patriarchal belief systems that connects exclusively manliness to exorbitant types of violence. Right at the time they implode themselves, they show a fierce organization that is inordinate to that endorsed for women, and, for sure, is practically identical to that authorized for men. As a consequence, women bombers surface in western societies as savage, enormous, and frantic.(Rajan 2011:57)

A patriarchal structure rules every corner of the social orders of the diverse nations where these terrorist associations are found. On the other hand, inside of this patriarchal social edge, women have been permitted to be included, and their investment has been arranged. Women are actually and allegorically biting the dust to be more included in outfitted clash, in any case, it doesn't keep them from being abused. At the point when men lead the suicide missions, they are persuaded by religious or patriot enthusiasm, an attribute that is shared by women. Yet, there is discrimination between men and women suicide aggressors: women consider battle as an approach to get away from the fated life that is anticipated from them. At the point when women get to be human bombs, their expectation is to create an impression not just for the sake of a nation, a religion, a pioneer, additionally for the sake of their sexual orientation.(Beyler 2003)

It is acknowledged that a particular arrangement of circumstances and strains will lead a man to convey his agency roughly and that this activity is intelligent and intentionally embraced. Yet when women decide to do likewise under the same conjunction of spurring components, her engagement is seen as both outstanding and degenerate: for a women to shun the regular resilience and latency of gentility, something strange more likely than not transpired by and by. This general rendering of the women shows itself in the particular route in which social specificity is overwritten when talking about women's inspirations. Notwithstanding the way that women are constantly situated inside of their residential surroundings, these environment turn out to be right around a-social in connection to women' brutality. Along these lines, women are once in a while social specialists, situated in particular socio-social settings; however are rather agents of patriarchal thoughts of an all inclusive feminine. (Sage 2013:76)

The benefit of using women suicide bombers for the terrorist groups is well summed up by Zedalis (2004) in his work wherein he states lists the advantages of using women recruits as weapons in the following manner:

“1) Tactical advantage: stealthier attack, element of surprise, hesitancy to search women, women stereotype (e.g., non-violent). 2) Increased number of combatants.3) Increased publicity (greater publicity equals larger number of recruits).4) Psychological effect.”(Zedalis 2004:9)

Hence it can be validated that the inhibitions ingrained about women in the male dominated societies are exploited to their fullest by the suicide bombers. Not only the inhibitions but the psychological shock too that comes to a patriarchal mind on witnessing a woman in bomber costumes is also highly utilised by these terror groups.

The existence of women suicide bombers is not something unheard of or a recent origin. The pioneer Chechen suicide bombers were woman and the Black widows are as well quite famous for their suicide attacks. The first successful women suicide bomber was Sana Mahaydali, a Lebanese girl aged 17, known as The Bride of the South. The phenomenon of using women suicide bombers spread from Lebanon to the LTTE to the Kurdish PKK. (Pape & Feldman 2010:279).

Besides, women suicide terrorists have been utilized as a part of social orders where wearing free, full-body clothes is regular among women, boosting their potential for conveying explosives appended to their bodies. As per a British report, a lady in conventional dress could cover more

than twelve pounds of explosives on her body. What's more, women suicide terrorists as often as possible mask themselves as pregnant keeping in mind the end goal to sneak a bigger explosive gadget. There are a few reported cases (counting Chechen, Palestinian, Kurdish, and Tamil assailants) of women bombers pretending pregnancy. At long last, the social orders in which FST attacks happen have a tendency to respect obtrusive physical inquiries as debilitating a lady's honour, making women less inclined to be altogether looked than men. (O'Rourke 2009:690)

The norms of the society have never favoured the non-conventional role for its women and this becomes evident in the following lines of Lucy Frazier cited by Bloom in her work "Society, through its body of rules and its numerous institutions, has conventionally dictated [women's] roles within the boundaries of militancy. Assisting in subordinate roles is welcomed and encouraged. Fighting in the war is not. Yet women have demanded to be integrated in all aspects of war including frontline fighting" (Bloom 2005:142).

4.2 MOTIVES BEHIND WOMEN SUICIDE BOMBERS

The comparison of male and women suicide bombers by the scholars bring home the fact that the motivations that drive them both are different and the issue of collective identity is more appealing to the males as compared to their women counterparts and serves as prime reason instigating them to join terror activities. At the point when men conduct suicide missions, they are inspired by religious or patriot obsession, though women seem all the more frequently roused by extremely individual reasons. The driving force for a majority of the majority is exploitation and inducement done by fellow beings. In places of extreme social restrictions, volunteering to be a suicide bomber is seen as a preferred refuge and a matter of honour for the marginalised women folks for example in Afghanistan. (Wilkens 2011:71)

As investigated patriarchy depoliticises women's activities, so that when women confer suicide bombings they are not seen as reacting to or taking part in fighting, however essentially as carrying on of the freak condition basic to all women. However such ideas are adulterated when the researchers like Lindsey O'Rourke takes note of that a majority of women suicide assaults happened inside of the connection of a military battle against outside possessing strengths, recommending that at a large scale level, the fundamental vital rationale is to make or keep up regional power for the ethnic gathering. This stands in stark disagreement to the Israeli media's

projection of the women suicide bombers as psychologically abnormal beings. (O'Rourke 2009: 681-718)

A different set of argument behind the formation of suicide bombers is put forth in this context highlights the fact that what is staggeringly convincing about diving into how and why women get to be suicide bombers is that so a large portion of these women have been assaulted or sexually manhandled in the previous conflict either by the delegates of the state or by the agitators themselves. There exist difference of opinion about the causes leading to the formation of a suicide bomber but statements made by Sergei Yastrzhembsly (former Russian PM Putin's senior advisor) present an entirely diverse picture. In order to justify the Russian hold over Chechnya they construct that the Chechen men rape their own women and since a raped woman being unsuitable for the normal life resorts to serve as their suicide bomb. Such hues are clearly designed to suit the political lines of a particular regime and hence mislead the world are in abundance and ignore the statistics that reveal the degree to which these women are victimised by the foreign forces on their soil. (Rajan 2011:163)

The part of rape in the Chechen clash is more questionable. In spite of the fact that numerous instances of Russian fighters assaulting Chechen women have been documented and Russian media regularly state that Chechen womens are constrained through assault into submitting their assaults, there is no immediate confirmation of any aggressor having encountered assault in any of these circumstances. Based upon these opposing records, it is difficult to recognize what part assault plays as an inspiration on account of Chechen women aggressors. The same can be said in regards to the PKK. Turkish strengths are accounted for as having assaulted noteworthy quantities of Kurdish women in the connection of the ethnic clash of the 1980's and 1990's, either amid battle operations or while in care of the Turkish police. (O'Rourke 2009:713)

The exploitation of women in the disturbed regions is often cited as an instigating factor for them to join as a suicide bomber. According to Pedahzur (2006)

“The surviving family members of people tortured by the security apparatuses have filled the ranks of suicide bomber volunteers, and human rights abuses by the state only serve to shore up the justifications for violence made by the most extreme organizations. There have been allegations that Tamil women raped by the

Sinhalese security services and Sinhalese military at check points join the LTTE as the "Birds of Paradise" unit of women suicide bombers" (Pedahzur 2006:37).

Hence it is the physical and social ordeal that a woman is subjected to, which accentuates the incidences of becoming a suicide bomber into them for the social acceptance post rape and other such instances is very rare in the conservative parts of the world. The genuine reasons that spur women, instead of the same that makes male suicide bombers, are unobtrusive and characteristic of the worthless status of women in that a piece of the world. Terrorist assaults happen in people in general domain from which women are generally barred. Women terrorists are in this manner ready to seek after circumstances other than the constrained ones accessible in customary social orders (Knop 2007:400). The notions of femininity and motherhood are further complicated when the explosive devices are made use of to transform the revolutionary womb to an exploding one by concealing such explosives under the garb of being pregnant (Bloom 2005:121-142).

Women's entrance to the most amazing type of cooperation in terrorism happens for different reasons, with particular contrasts starting with one gathering then onto the next. In Turkey or Sri Lanka, this activism has its own particular history, where women were permitted to completely take an interest even in the early phases of these associations. On the other hand, Palestinian women suicide bombers or the disconnected terrorist in Chechnya have risen all the more as of late, and they showed up against all desires. (Beyler 2003)

The thought of women going about as operators of brutality runs totally counter to desires of feminine figures of men; pictures of women terrorists in this way pull in across the board exposure, and scatter the association's message to a more extensive gathering of people. The agony of losing the loved ones in front of one's own eyes is also a prime driving force for a woman to become a suicide bomber especially in the disturbed parts of the world like Palestine. (Pedahzur 2006:73)

The Palestinian terror organisations are among the leading ones to make use of women suicide bombers for it is easy for them to pass the Israeli checkpoints unobstructed as they can disguise more easily to men. Another pretext cited by the western scholars primarily to substantiate the cause of women suicide bombing is the poverty and illiteracy prevalent on the third world countries. Though an element of exaggeration does exist in the work of these western sovereign

scholars nonetheless the fact that cannot be despised is that the poor women are more vulnerable to such allures in a patriarchy. (Rajan 2011:183)

The specific causes that instigate a women to become a suicide bomber are clubbed by Barbara Friedman (2008), in the order of their frequency as follows:

- (1) Strategic desirability
- (2) the influence of men,
- (3) revenge,
- (4) desperation, and
- (5) liberation.

Explaining the reasons behind the inability of the society and media to understand the motives of women suicide bombers she adds that conventional views of gender that place women in subordinate roles despite lethal evidence to the contrary do little to advance that task. Such a practice does not help audiences understand why some women might be motivated to fight, but merely reinforces the notion that women are not, by nature, fighters. Further, such time-worn views on the part of journalists do not reassure a nervous public that news organizations are capable of explaining complicated events or issues. The presence of women suicide bombers among a cadre of men has the potential to alter the vocabulary of feminine dependence in wartime. But even this extreme example has thus far proven ineffective against discursive strategies that exclude women from the center of the war circle.(Friedman 2008:853) She furthers states the fact that the presence of women suicide bombers along with their male counterparts has the potential to alter the equations that imply the women dependency on men at the times of war

A majority of western media and the sovereign states focuses on the physical attributes of the suicide bombers, their sexualities and the various ways in which these women have been marginalised and harassed by their backward countries. While the rebel groups that these women belong to focus on their motives of attaining freedom and project them as their mythical heroes. (Rajan 2011:2)

At the point when one takes a gander at the militant jihadists who have gone from Arab and European nations to be prepared or go about as bomber somewhere else (United Kingdom,

Uzbekistan, Spain, Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan) the quantities of men included has far surpassed the numbers of women. This is maybe in light of the fact that conservative Muslim women are far less inclined to be permitted to set out openly or to live and prepare far from home. The Chechen case, in any case, refutes this. Chechen women voyaged long separations, albeit dependably with chaperones—to confer their demonstrations of suicide terrorism and Palestinian women bombers went as far as Israel. A conceivable clarification beside the opportunities Muslim men frequently appreciate in examination to women is that young fellows of each society might significantly more frequently than youthful women feel a need to have an experience or journey to accomplish a feeling of masculinity and perspective participating in fighting, even of the terrorist sort, as a soul changing experience into masculinity. (Speckhard 2008:1006)

Therefore the prime highlight in media about the women suicide bombers is not their motive or their designs but the fact that they are women and what follows are the circumstances which compelled her to pick up arms. Hence the media coverage is drastically different in the case of a male and women suicide bomber.

At the outset there was a strong belief that women who opted for suicide terrorism had some or the other resentment for doing the same. It may be a failed marriage or the inability to bear children or a divorce etc. Gradually there seems to be a consensus on the fact that the motivations of both the male and the women suicide bomber are mostly of the same nature. (Dzikansky, Kleiman, & Slater 2012:55-67)

Titled as "Black widows" on the grounds that numerous lost their spouses, children, or siblings to the war, the inspiration of Chechen women activists has to a great extent been portrayed in wording of their anguish and requital, instead of their political office. In truth, on the other hand, there is a deficiency of data about these women and about the bigger strategic contemplations that educate their roughness. In spite of the fact that they were first to put a semi-religious face on women suicide besieging in any sorted out style, it is not in any manner clear how religion elements into their activities or how it came to do as such. Truly all that is thought about these women is that they have turn into an exceptionally viable "forefront" in the Chechen battle, have completed the larger part of Chechen suicide assaults in the course of the most recent 18 months, what's more, had a noteworthy vicinity in the Moscow theatre and Beslan school assaults that came about in several losses. (Ness 2006:360)

4.3 WOMEN BOMBERS AND JIHAD

The concept of women Jihad is not new to the Muslim world except the fact that its form has transformed over the years. It finds mention from the times of Battle of Uhud. In the words of Knop (2007)

“For centuries, Muslim women in different struggles and communities have joined men on the front lines of war, and have died alongside them. The most prominent example of an early Muslim in Jihad in Nusaybabint K’ab, who fought in the Battle of Uhud with her husband and two sons and during the Caliphate of Abu Bakr. She joined the Muslim troops, suffered eleven wounds, and lost one arm. The Prophet’s own women relatives took part in Jihad. His wife Ayesha led the Battle of the Camel, and his granddaughter Zaynab bint Al fought in the Battle of Karbala”
(Knop, 2007:407)

Hence there exists historical evidence to depict that women did participate in war even in the ancient ages. The discrepancy in the interpretation of the Quran comes to the fore in the work of David Cook (2008) wherein he states that in the usual interpretation the women are not allowed to fight in jihad and are convinced that their jihad is the pilgrimage to Mecca and to do their duties in a righteous manner. The feminists on the contrary support the fact that there are evidences of women fighting in the battles at the time of Prophet Mohammad. However their roles if analysed were more of a supportive nature and quite a few went out on the battlefield. Jihad for women would largely be interpreted as obeying their husbands and confining to the house. This stands valid for both the Shias and the Sunnis. Traditionally as per the structure of society the roles of both men and women have been decided in laying jihad which is stated by Cook (2008) in the following words:

“Then tenth century jurist Ibn Babawayhi reports that both men and women have ajihad, but that the man’s jihad is to sacrifice his wealth and his blood until he is killed in the path of Allah, but the jihad of the woman is to endure suffering at the hands of her husband and his jealousy [of her].” (Cook 2008:377)

The changing stance towards women have been analysed in the terror groups too (in synchronization with the normal society) wherein when one of the most conservative group Hamas (which did not allow women to carry any operation alone without being accompanied by

their male fellow terrorists) advocated the use of women suicide bombers. The male religious leaders in the past have often advocated the non-participation of women in the religious battles for they believed that the purity of women remains intact as long as she averts contact with any outsiders male which is impossible in a battle field. The phenomenon of suicide terrorism has changed the scenario wherein the advantage of being women made it easy to carry on the attacks. The setback suffered by the Israelis at the hands of the Palestinian women suicide bombers made Yasser Arafat to invoke the Palestinian women to participate in their fight against Israeli occupation. (Dzikansky, Kleiman, & Slater 2012:56).

However it cannot be neglected that the two most prominent locations of women suicide terrorism on a large scale i.e. Chechnya and Palestine are two of the more secularised and well educated areas as compared to the rest of the Muslim world. Hence a liberal Islamic interpretation also seems to be propping up from the need for the same. (Cook 2008:383)

Every women suicide bomber incident could be accomplished simply because these women were at that point a part of the terrorist group to which they had a place. A few groups, for example, the LTTE or the PKK have permitted women to take an interest on every level of the group's exercises – both the physical and mental preparing. Suicide bombings turned into the following consistent step. Terror groups, for example, the Chechen rebels or the Al Aqsa Saints Unit don't authorize "sex equity": women don't take an interest in their terrorist exercises, yet they were acknowledged as would be martyrs to complete suicide bombings in the names of these organisations.(Beyler 2003)

The changes in the stance of induction of women as bombers among the terror groups is brought forth in the work of Bloom (2005) as follows:

“The Hamas leader, Sheikh Hassan Yussef, concurred: We do not act according to the opinion of the street or of society. We are men of principle. . . .A Muslim woman is permitted to wage Jihad and struggle against the occupation. The Prophet [Muhammad] would draw lots among the women who wanted to go out to wage Jihad with him. The Prophet always emphasized the woman’s right to wage Jihad.” (Bloom, 2005:151)

This interpretation has two sides by those opposing the entry of women in the terror groups it can be termed as an opportunist stand while as the others strata may camouflage it as imparting equality to women in the jihad.Egyptian researcher Yusuf al-Qaradawi, one of Sunni Islam's

important clerics, has legitimized the utilization of women suicide terrorism against evident "occupying" forces, for example, Israel. He issued a fatwa (religious declaration) that states that conferred Muslim women in Palestine have the privilege to take part and have their own part in jihad and to achieve martyrdom. He likewise said that women can set out for a martyrdom operation without a mahram (male guardian, a spouse or male relative they can't marry). Al-Qaradawi's fatwa makes it reasonable for women to battle close by men when jihad gets to be fard `ayn—an individual obligation amid times of war that obliges all men and women to take an interest—and they can do as such without the authorization or backup of a male guardian. (Ahmed 2010:14-17)

The self seeking behavior of the terrorist groups is exposed when they use innocent children and young women to propagate their designs. The attack by Taliban in the Char Chino district (southern Afghan province of Uruzgan) wherein they loathed an eight year old girl with explosives to target the police post, killing only the girl. is the most heinous act. (Roggio,2011) Such events are a clear indicative of the fact that terrorists are solely self seeking individuals who prefer using life as a weapon so as to achieve their hideous designs.

In the exact words of Jamila Shanti, head of the Women's Activities Division of the Palestine Islamic Movement as cited by Bloom (2005:151)

“The issue of martyrdom [operations] has gained much popularity in Palestinian society. There is no difference between the martyrdom of sisters and the martyrdom of brothers, because the enemy [Israel] does not differentiate between firing on men and firing on women. . . .Islam does not prohibit a woman from sacrificing herself to defend her land and her honour. . . . Jihad is a personal imperative for her and no one can prevent her from waging it, provided . . . she avoids fitna [in this case: inappropriate behaviour]—Perhaps these activities require the woman to wear a particular garment in order to mislead the enemy, and therefore she may have to relinquish part of her veil when she goes to martyrdom.” (Bloom 2005 :151)

This clearly depicts the different versions a religion is subjected to in order to meet the needs of the times and to suit the demands of a certain section of society. Likewise Saudi Arabia initially declined to legitimize women suicide bombings as suffering; on the other hand, in August 2001, the High Islamic Council in Saudi Arabia issued a fatwa urging Palestinian women to end up suicide bombers. A Lebanese Muslim pastor, Sheik Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah, said, "beyond any doubt Islam hasnot requested that women do jihad (blessed war) yet it allows them to participate if the necessities dictate that women ought to complete general military operations or suicide operations. (Zedalis 2004:14)

The relevance of Jihad into the lives of Muslim women can be inferred from the following lines of Knop (2007)

“A Muslim woman is a women Jihad warrior always and everywhere. She is a women Jihad warrior who wages Jihad by means of funding Jihad. She wages Jihad by means of waiting for her Jihad warrior husband, and when she educates her children to that which Allah loves. She wages jihad when she supports Jihad when she calls for jihad in word, deed, belief, and prayer.—Umm Badr, “Obstacles in the Path of the Jihad Warrior Woman,” al-Khansaa (Knop 2007:397)

A women's entitlement to join men on the war zone (or different areas in which jihad is pursued), to battle utilizing their strategies, in sharp contradistinction to the established sources, can just be seen as a radical change in Islam and as being what is indicated has been treated with suspicion by Muslim moderates. Notwithstanding, it is additionally clear that the radicals have been able to build up a genuinely solid scholarly and religious case for women battling. (Cook 2008:383)

The western world has affiliated the phenomenon of suicide terrorism closely with Islam. This is because the historical conflicts between Christianity and Islam have played pivotal role in fear of the west against Islam. The perceptions ingrained at the time of Crusades can be reflected in the present times when one witnesses the fear of Islam in the present societies. Western worries about Islam validate basic Western fears about suicide bombings. This is confirm in the extent to which Western media and society have slipped the marvel of suicide bombings with Islam all in all, and moreover, have anticipated suicide assaults as a typical and essential piece of the Islamic confidence (Rajan 2011:44)

These assumptions lose ground with the fact that till 2003 the black tigers were the leading users of suicide bombings and they are not an Islamic group. Yet the picture of the Islamic suicide

bomber that has been created, flowed through and devoured by the western geologies, and in addition by countries occupied with wars with suicide bombers, proceeds with consequently to slip suicide assaults together with Islam.

4.4 GEOSTRATEGY OF WOMEN BOMBERS

The immense popularity of women suicide attacks can well be assumed from the fact that The Council on Foreign Relations U.S. has reported that one third of suicide mission from 1983 to 2009 in LTTE and two third of those in the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) between 1996 to 1999 are attributed to women bombers. (Knop 2007:397-400). Approximately 17 groups have begun utilizing the strategic advancement of suicide bombarding; women have been agents in more than a half portion of them in the Middle East, in Sri Lanka, in Turkey, in Chechnya, and in Colombia (Bloom 2005:143). At the local level more than one third of the Chechen attacks nearly 43% were carried out by the women suicide bombers popularly known as the Black widows. (Falk & Morgenstern 2009:278)

In case of Pakistan, it is primarily the tribal belt in the North West and FATA that has witnessed severe suicide terror attacks by women. The reason cited behind the same is the army operations carried out against the Taliban and the Al Qaeda fighters. The attack reported by Bob Crilly for the *Telegraph* dated December 25, 2010 depicts women suicide bombing of similar nature. The geo strategy of the place has a prominent role to play in such attacks. The town of Bajaur was the target of this suicide bombing following the claim of the Pakistani military of having cleared this town off the presence of Al Qaeda and Taliban.

“Pakistan's military launched operations in Bajaur in August 2008 and have repeatedly claimed to have eliminated the Islamist militant threat” (Crilly,2010).

It can therefore be safely concluded that the element of geo strategy plays a pivotal role behind the incidences of suicide attacks in a particular region (FATA in this attack). In the case cited the presence of large number of people (for distribution of UN aid was going on) coupled with the claim of the Pakistani military, of having eliminated terror groups from that region, played a

pivotal role in imparting higher strategic significance to the place in the designs of suicide bombers.

The subsequent suicide attack at Bajaur (FATA) reported in Dawn dated April 20,2013 was also of a similar nature wherein a women in *burka* targeted the security personnel in a hospital. The report further depicts the significance of geo strategy in the following lines

“Bajaur is one of seven districts in Pakistan’s semi-autonomous tribal belt, where Taliban militants are said to have carved out strongholds” (Sherazi 2013)

Hence the element of geo strategy stands completely validated in the context of Pakistan like other regions of the world. Left oriented organisations may be more inclined to at first enlist or pull in women because their objectives have a tendency to adjust all the more effectively to general procedures of social change in society. In any case, security, operational, and exposure appraisals instigating mainstream associations to enrol and operationalize women in diverse roles, including as suicide bomber, may spread to rightist associations including Islamist gatherings and conservative associations. (Cunningham 2010:171-195)

During the 1980’s, various Lebanese groups, including Hezbollah (Islamic Party of God and the SSNP/PPS (the Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party) deployed women bombers in the war against Israel. Since the 1980’s, Sri Lankan Tamil women have imploded themselves for the LTTE to establish a separate ethnically Tamil homeland in Sri Lanka. It has a separate unit named Black Tigresses dedicated to women bombers. Throughout the 1990’s women imploded themselves for the Kurdish PKK (*Partiya Karkeran Kurdiatan/ Kurdistan worker’s Party*) in its attempts to secure a homeland for the Kurds in Turkey. (Rajan 2011:169-172)

The leading non-Islamic groups that made use of the strategy of women suicide terrorism was LTTE wherein in contrast to the other conservative groups like the Palestinian one, their women are not stigmatized rather are trained at par with their male combatants. The group claims that it has been deploying women for suicide attacks for they are more sacrificing and easily avert detection. However some claim that it is the submissive nature of women that makes them better recruits for the LTTE. (Hulan 2011:24)

Nonetheless because the Tamil society too like the Chechens or the Palestinians is conservative, suicide terrorism is seen a medium that equates the women with their male counterparts. The last resort to the raped woman in such conservative societies is to become a suicide bomber for she is

considered unfit to get married or have children. The long haul survival of a terrorist group is regularly reliant on women investment in their capacity to conduct direct assaults, for example, suicide missions or in their capacity to the fill positions as warriors themselves. Not just are women regarded important for the survival of a terrorist association, utilizing women gives aggressor associations with a bigger pool of agents from which they can enrol terrorists. On account of the LTTE, women have been effectively included following 1986. On the other hand, in June 1990, the LTTE endured noteworthy misfortunes in the fight at Elephant Pass and thus; women were called to activity to supplant misfortunes. The proceeded with survival of the LTTE and their capacity to lead fruitful operations show that their survival may have been ascribed to the enrolment and business of women suicide bombers. (Hulan 2011:24)

Previously, only mainstream groups which were relatively secular in nature like the LTTE, Al-Aqsa Martyr's Brigades, or the PKK allowed women to be suicide planes. Islamic religious associations, as Hamas, at first declined to allow women to end up suicide bombers and turned no less than one lady away (Darine Abu Aisha, who joined one of the mainstream gathers and conferred the follow up for their sake). In spite of the fact that a patriarchal structure commands every one of these social orders, the extent to which women partake effectively or in bolster parts fluctuates from spot to place and has all the earmarks of being developing. (Bloom 2005:147)

This quite un-Islamic presentation of women suicide bomber is barely astonishing in these terrorist groups, for them essentially re-interpret and control religious regulation to legitimize acts that are deliberately and militarily utilitarian. Women suicide bombers are only a stage in the advancement of terrorist strategies, much as were hijackings in the 1970's and discotheque bombings in the 1980s. The utilization of women suicide planes is an apparatus to pick up media consideration and underline the underdog nature of terrorist gatherings in what we now call "asymmetrical warfare." Likewise according to Perez (2011)

"In any case, it is not Islam. The women suicide planes of ostensibly Muslim groups like Hamas, the PIJ, and Al Qaeda are not any more Islamic than the Hindu Tamil women bombers of Sri Lanka or the socialist women suicide planes of the Kurdish Laborers' groups in Turkey. They are not Islamic saints nor some other appearance of standard religious confidence." (Perez 2011:62)

Social orders are sorted out around the dichotomy that man is the beneficial warrior and lady the reproductive womb. However a few associations, for example, the LTTE or the PKK, have welcomed women ' inclusion into the male dominated open circle of the terrorist bunch. Different associations, similar to the Chechen agitators or Palestinian terrorist organisations, are more hesitant to give women full enrolment status - as characterized as satisfactory preparing, regardless of the fact that the male ruled administration permits them to go on martyrdom missions. The instances of women suicide bombers in Chechnya and Israel are especially fascinating in as much as being what is indicated events came as an astonishment to the casualties, as well as to the individuals from the terrorist groups themselves.(Beyler 2003)

The affiliation of belt bombs with a women suicide bomber is a product of the strategic advantage offered by the body of a women suicide bomber. The physical ability of a woman to conceal a suicide belt as a pregnancy disguise provides an added advantage to a women suicide bomber as compared to her male counterparts. (Pape & Feldman 2010:276)

Women are more averse to be security searched. In the case of being searched, women would win wide backing from companions and relatives who might be furious at the adversary for examining women so deliberately. It was likewise less demanding to enlist a lady for suicide besieging than a man, in the event that she discovered that the adversary had executed a nearby relative or boyfriend. (Dzikansky, Kleiman, & Slater 2012:57).

It is widely held belief that women are better negotiator and amicable dispute settler than men. They dwell on the inherent peaceful nature of women and their abilities to reach compromises and negotiation easily as compared to their counterparts suggest them to be better leaders. With such inherent assumptions coupled with the fact that women have always remained the prime victims of any conflict, the image of a women suicide bomber is hard to absorb.

Notwithstanding womens' individual intentions, terrorist associations are reasonable and ascertaining performers. The utilization of terrorist viciousness is a piece of a political technique and speaks to a determined decision made by an association for political and key reasons (Knop 2007:400). The extent of motive fulfilment is so ingrained into these organisations that the terrorist organisations in some regions like Afghanistan have started to recruit young people with drug addiction or mental disorders. Notwithstanding belief system, religion, dialect, or reason, activist gatherings worldwide will keep on gaining from one another and receive new strategies as they look to accomplish the high ground. While suicide shelling may be a decades - old sensation,

the resourcefulness connected by terrorist gatherings has all that much added new life to the strategy. (Falk & Morgenstern 2009:290)

The use of women suicide bombers is also a strategy to disgrace the army wherein the slogans of the Chechens read "Women's courage is a disgrace to that of modern men". It is also deployed as a strategy to the inactive Arab armies and to embarrass them on the part of their negligence. (Bloom 2005:145). Acknowledgment of women by their male comrades amid the Tamil clashes prompted different advancements of fighting strategies. Case in point, the LTTE added to the first suicide belt, outlining it for women to make them show up pregnant and has kept on being utilized by other terrorist associations, for example, the PKK, the Chechen "Dark Dowagers," and the Palestinian al-Aqsa Saints Detachment. (Hulan 2011:42)

The double benefit of women recruits is that they not only attract greater media coverage but also inspire the males to join terror groups for they are shamed into joining terror groups due to the extreme performances by the weaker sex.

Women suicide attacks are a recent phenomenon in case of Pakistan and Afghanistan while in the other parts of the world their share amount to 15 to 30 percent of the suicide attacks taken place. (Wilkens 2011:19) The pioneer Palestinian woman, to commit an act of suicide terrorism were Wafa Idris after whom Osama Bin Laden named his daughter. She was a part of a secular group. Her death was apparently accidental when the bomb that she was to deliver to someone exploded on the way. Nonetheless she became a celebrity after that and the military wing of Fatah claimed responsibility for that attack and urged other women to replicate her deeds and fight for the liberation of their nation. The intensity of the repercussions can be well analysed from the words of Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades (Fatah's military brigade) editorial write up after the Idris incident. (Bloom 2005:121-141; Falk & Morgenstern 2009:31-68)

The above statement clearly highlights the desperation that the disturbed societies have and the way it is easily moulded to suit the designs of the selected few. This sense of achievement and enhanced media attention that Fatah was able to exploit compelled its rival who was ardent oppose of women jihad to support women suicide terrorism too. The Hamas has used women as conduits of money or suicide bombers but has restrained from granting them the front line roles. They always advocated the women terrorists to carry out actions in the company of their male members until 2004 when the surging popularity of women suicide bombers made them to launch their first women bomber i.e. Reem Riashi, who was followed by a whole line of Hamas's suicide

bombers in the time that followed. The changed stance of the group can well be understood in the words of the spiritual leader of the HAMAS Sheikh Ahmed Yassin as “significant evolution in our fight. The male fighters face many obstacles and, therefore, women can more easily reach the targets. He concluded his statement by noting that “Women are like the reserve army when there is a necessity, we use them” (Zedalis 2004:8)

The Chechen rebels too like Hamas limited women’s role at the outset to medical aid and providing other needed supplies to their male fighters which was quite close to their traditional role of rearing their children to be *mujahids* someday. However the scenario changed due to incessant military losses and the pouring in of Islamic volunteers from abroad especially the west.(Bloom 2005)

Tender, easygoing and peaceful are modifiers that are regularly used to allude to women conduct, or its glorification. This basic generalization is misused by the terrorists with a specific end goal to amplify their reason. From one perspective, regardless of the partialities portraying women as great wives and moms, they are still equipped for homicide by conferring a suicide shelling. Then again, notwithstanding when their conduct swings to this great type of brutality, society translates it as the after effect of an unfair and frantic situation. The media legitimizes and regularly legitimizes these criminal demonstrations that negate our sayings and suppositions about the "weaker" sex. (Beyler 2003)

The leading non-Islamic groups that made use of the strategy of women suicide terrorism was LTTE wherein in contrast to the other conservative groups like the Palestinian one their women are not stigmatized rather are trained at par with their male combatants. The group claims that it has been deploying women for suicide attacks for they are more sacrificing and easily avert detection. However some claim that it is the submissive nature of women that makes them better recruits for the LTTE. Nonetheless because the Tamil society too like the Chechens or the Palestinians is conservative, suicide terrorism is seen a medium that equates the women with their male counterparts. The last resort to the raped woman in such conservative societies is to become a suicide bomber for she is considered unfit to get married or have children.

The tendency of the western media to portray the suicide bombers of the disturbed regions as pawns of the patriarchal societies of these countries is a well manifested notion that seeks to legitimise their hegemony on these societies be it politically or economically. The images of Muslim women as violent and armed are difficult to absorb by the west because of their incessant

depiction of Third world women as oppressed and victims of cultures. They portray them as being swayed by the male led rebel movements and as passive, non-violent and victimized.(Rajan 2011:157)

Therefore when dealing with women suicide bombings, specifying the terrorist organization and background society becomes important. The reasons for women's participation in deadly attacks vary greatly from one country to another, according to the factor of the background societies. It is hard to generalize among all cases, for this phenomenon is too recent and the attacks too few. Either not enough research has been conducted yet on the phenomenon or the sample size is too small to make effective generalizations.

However, some similarities exist between country specific cases. In Sri Lanka or in Turkey, suicide bombing was commonly imposed upon the women members of the terrorist organizations. Both the Tamils and the Kurds share common features such as very traditional societies where women's roles are determined and static. The LTTE and the PKK offered women the opportunity that no other structure could ever offer them, with a background of feminism supporting their participation. The two groups were commanded by charismatic, unchallenged, and non-challengeable leaders, which trained women, just like men, to kill and die for the cause. Women were also eager to prove their devotion to the group, or were dictated to do so, as has been pointed out earlier concerning Sri Lanka.

Women Suicide bombers oppose the sexual orientation generalization of women as peaceful, non-undermining and the suppliers of life instead of the takers of life. These generalizations and the socially built parts of women are significantly more noticeable in traditionalist social orders where women are supported to customary consideration giving, youngster raising and house-keeping obligations. Compatible with traditionalist social orders, women are regularly seen as "lower" than men as far as economic wellbeing. Consequently, when a women from a patriarchal society steps past the limits her assigned part and decides to turn into a suicide bomb; the impacts of her exploding herself are exacerbated significantly more on the grounds that her demonstration has totally risen above the ordinary limits of her acknowledged part in the public arena. Society does not anticipate that her will expect the role of suicide aircraft in backing of a political reason, however when she does, she additionally accomplishes a more prominent level of amazement than that of a man.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS

In order to understand a phenomenon, the initial step is defining it or confining it into a set of words for a naive person to comprehend it. Suicide terrorism is too complex to be defined in exact. There does not exist a single, universally prevalent definition of suicide terrorism but there lies some basic elements common to all. Almost all of them encompass the basic idea that it is phenomenon that involves the element of violence targeted at different section of population (can be civilian or military or governmental establishments etc.) in which the perpetrator of violence destroys his or her own life in the execution of the same.

This phenomenon, like its greater set terrorism, in the times of French revolution did not necessarily involve a negative connotation. With the passage of time as the definition of the larger set (terrorism) transformed, the understanding about suicide terrorism too changed to describe an action aimed at creating terror in the minds of the populace and the governance by a minority of population named terrorists. Yet, even in the present scenario it is hard to conceptualise this phenomenon in a holistic manner encompassing all the nuances and connotations, in a single frame of words. The phenomenon of carrying out suicide attacks does find mention in the centuries gone by. The renowned preliminary suicide operations were conducted by the two militant Jewish groups, the Zealots and the Sicarii. They were suicidal in the manner that the perpetrator was aware of the fact that he will be immediately captured and crucified after killing the supporters of Romans. Hence though in a different fashion, the world did witness such events.

There has to be a gamut of killing and dying together to be termed as “suicide terrorism”. Suicide bombing is a violent assault intended to deliver mass casualties against unarmed people in which the assailant knows ahead of time that he will die as a feature of the activity. There is a vital qualification between suicide bombing as a key weapon and as a terror strategy. The strategic aim is to target a majority of populace so as to create a feeling of apprehension among the public which compels the governments to change their policies or at least divert them under public pressure.

The technology employed by the suicide bombers is an issue of debate among scholars wherein a certain strata advocates the use of sophisticated techniques while the rest of simpler ones. Sophisticated technology is believed to be a conventional misconception by some scholars wherein the belief that suicide terrorists are in incessant search of sophisticated tools and

technology including weapons of mass destruction is stated a myth but the reality is that they always prefer simple, cheap and easily accessible weapons, for suicide bomber is also a form of weapon for them.

The phenomenon of suicide terrorism in the Asian context is relatively of recent origin (around the 18th century) but it has reached its crescent at a greater pace. It is observed that it has attained its peaks in time of war and crisis be it Lebanon war or the Iraq war or the US presence in Afghanistan. The escalation in the times of disturbance or crisis is indicative of the fact that suicide terrorism has been used as a strategy or a tactic by the different terror groups with a specific purpose in mind. The purpose varies and dwindle around getting greater media coverage or international attention or targeting a greater set of population so as to influence and confront the policies of the domestic government by generating a public opinion. A different approach to the causal effects of suicide terrorism is the existence of large number of competitive terror groups in minority and the mutual rivalry among them to seek the dominant position. This quest for a superior stage to that of rivals seems to be guiding force to resort to attention seeking measures like suicide terrorism for terror groups in minority in a particular region.

The key attributes of suicide bombings, and its immense fascination for the terrorist associations behind it, are all inclusive: suicide bombings are economical and powerful. They are less muddled and trading off than different sorts of terrorist operations. They promise media scope. Suicide terrorism is a popular technique amongst different terror groups, for it has two sets of audiences i.e. domestic as well as international because there is an element psychology appeasement and humanitarian aspect affiliated to it.

A trait common to all scores of suicide terror groups is that they are all weaker to their opponents (which they believe are the domestic governments) and hence are strengthened by distant national communities. They receive sustenance and assistance from their distant supporter, be it a foreign government or an alien militant group. The modern suicide attacks because of this foreign funding become more lethal for the sole aim of the perpetrator is not only to die but to cause as much casualties a possible and hence attract attention.

There lies a great deal of apprehension about the normal mental stature of suicide bombers with a vast majority of scholars propagating them to be psychologically challenged individuals or victims of troubled circumstances for destroying other's life at the stake of one's own needs an exceptional amount of courage. However this stands contradicted by certain strata of scholars who project suicide bombers as highly motivated, well qualified and often socially well integrated

'normal' individuals, who due to external circumstances, resort to such measures. The reason can vary from personal, to communal or humiliation to revenge to altruism. The research post 9/11 concentrates on the fact that suicide terrorists are neither mentally ill nor insane but deeply religious individuals who belong to the communities resisting foreign military occupation on their lands. Therefore, the factors like Islamic origin, poverty, mental illness and social discrimination seem poor explanations to justify the occurrence of suicide terrorism.

The hypothesis that suicide attacks are used as a strategy in the countries with democratic regimes so as to aggravate the public resentment and compel the governments, both domestically as well as externally has gained momentum. Though there are contradictions of the same but underlying factors behind such targeted attacks is the presence of foreign troops or interference on the homeland of these terror groups. Hence the terror groups under the garb of "patriotism" and "anti west sentiments" camouflage their ulterior motives so as to gather public support.

The contribution of funds floating in from the oil rich OPEC countries especially Saudi Arabia have been used to finance jihad (a religious connotation to justify suicide and other forms of terrorism by the militant groups) contributes significantly to financial support for such terror groups along with the other means of support (drug trafficking etc.) Hence it could be safely concluded that suicide terrorism has been associated more with political reasons than the religious ones. Religion is merely a tool for the terror groups to validate what they propagate.

The other aspect of the topic researched is the debates that delve around the validation of suicide attacks in the holy Quran and whether jihad stands justified in the sacred text. The roots of the idea of laying down one's life for the religion dates back to the battles fought by Prophet Mohammad but their interpretations have become greatly distorted over the years. The reason as to why only Islam out of all other religions stand misinterpreted can be attributed to the fact that the regions inhabited by the Muslim population have been under a constant situation of distress and disturbance. Another cause cited for the growth of Islamic fundamentalism is the incessant abuse, disregard and excesses that the Muslim world has been subjected to in the phases ranging from colonialism to neo-colonialism to neo imperialism. These forced transitions have hampered swift and integral development of these societies at their natural pace and hence ruled out their chances of transforming to a democracy.

Though widely contested, but the verses of Quran have often been used in an inappropriate manner. Citing a line instead of stating the entire context and then instigating the immature minds (young suicide recruits) to wage a war in the name of Allah is what is highly contested. The

analysis of some of the verses brings home the fact that fighting for self defence is what is mostly. Often only a part of such instigating verses (those asking to wage holy war) is cited without stating the complete context. This is done to validate that Quran talks of violence and justifies the act of killing people for the sake of jihad (which is committed in the name of Allah.), which is a stark manoeuvring.

Through the verses that appeal the Muslims to wage war or perform jihad, Quran did not compel them to fight from the outset but was aimed at reviving the emotional, material and psychological reliance on the existing order that was not up to scratch. It was simply a medium provided to people to redirect their energies in the form of a new way of life, a new religion. The fighting clause of jihad associated with Quran was thus a “time and need specific concept” that was projected to preserve the physical integrity of the community. Hence the purpose of jihad was to grant security to the Muslims under threat, a concept that would be difficult to be believed in today’s times which is why, stands highly manipulated.

If teachings of certain set of scholars’ are to be believed they advocate jihad to be an internal process wherein the battle with individual self is waged to get rid of the sins and bad thoughts while as the explanation given by the different terrorist affiliations describe it as a holy war to be waged for god so as to establish the hegemony of Islam and consequently the rule of Allah. In context of all verses of Quran it finds relevance with respect to the battles that Prophet had to wage in Mecca in his own defence. The excerpts of the battles when quoted in isolation can be easily used to depict what the fundamentalists’ desire to project To any rational mind the hidden designs of terror groups behind such propagations are easy to decipher but it becomes impossible for the younger immature minds or even the well read ones to convince them about something they believe so intensely in i.e. the justification of violence under jihad

The latent fear of radicalisation of diverse groups and their transformation into a terror forum is the primary apprehension of the law based social orders of the present times. There are additionally uncommon considerations towards the diverse marginalised, minority and displaced person groups of the world for they are more helpless against be appealed by distinctive terror groups. They are also at lower levels of development in terms of literacy and financial well being hence, are ideal locations to harbour suicide bombers. The presence of a large proportion of child population is also one of the factors as to why a large number of suicide recruits are young in age.

Not only children but women are also used as a strategic tool in suicide attacks by different terror groups. The irony behind such deployment is that even the most radical ones of the different

terror groups which are believed to be staunch propagators of patriarchal values (eg Hamas) have resorted to this form of creating terror and advocates that the justification of the same lies in the holy Quran. This is clear indicative of how a sacred religious text gets moulded and manipulated to suit the designs of these radical groups. Over time women had transformed their roles from the backstage supporters to the main perpetrators of crime wherein from logisticians or intelligence gatherers or arms smugglers, they have resumed the roles of operation leaders and suicide bombers in various terror groups. A large number of terror groups have resorted to suicide terrorism for if done by a girl or a women it attracts the maximum possible media attention. Not only greater media attention but women suicide bombers receive far greater empathy from the public as compared to their male counterparts.

The participation of the weaker sex in such heinous activities which partakes one's own life along with that of a large section of population is still perplexing for a large number of scholars. They resort to connecting the causes behind the same to neurological disorders or exceptionally exploitative circumstances like tribulations of widowhood or a rape etc. A major section also blames the patriarchal structure to be the instigating force for the same. It is acknowledged that a particular arrangement of circumstances and strains can lead a male to propagate violence and that this activity is intelligent and intentionally embraced. Yet when women decide to do likewise under the same conjunction of spurring components, her engagement is seen as both outstanding and degenerate: for a woman to shun the regular resilience and latency of gentility, something strange more likely than not transpired by and by. This distinction brings to light the discrimination that persists between the two sexes in different parts of the world wherein the rage of one is justified while of the other is empathized upon and seen as a product of disturbed circumstances. This general rendering of the women shows itself in the particular route in which social specificity is overwritten when talking about women's inspirations.

The exploitation of women in the disturbed regions is often cited as an instigating factor for them to join as a suicide bomber. This is because it is still hard for the world today to break free of the conventional image of a woman. The notions of femininity and motherhood are further complicated when the explosive devices are made use of to transform the revolutionary womb to an exploding one by concealing such explosives under the garb of being pregnant. The thought of women going about as operators of brutality runs totally counter to desires of feminine figures of men; pictures of women terrorists in this way pull in across the board exposure, and scatter the association's message to a more extensive gathering of people. The agony of losing the loved ones in front of one's own eyes is also a prime driving force for a woman to become a suicide bomber especially

in the disturbed parts of the world like Palestine. The Palestinian terror organisations are among the leading ones to make use of women suicide bombers for it is easy for them to pass the Israeli checkpoints unobstructed as they can disguise more easily to men. Another pretext cited by the western scholars primarily to substantiate the cause of women suicide bombing is the poverty and illiteracy prevalent on the third world countries. Though an element of exaggeration does exist in the work of the western sovereign scholars nonetheless the fact that cannot be despised is that the poor women are more vulnerable to such allures in a patriarchal set up.

Therefore the prime highlight in media about the women suicide bombers is not their motive or their designs but the fact that they are women and what follows are the circumstances which compelled her to pick up arms. Hence the media coverage is drastically different in the case of a male and women suicide bomber. The affiliation of belt bombs with a women suicide bomber is a product of the strategic advantage offered by the body of a women suicide bomber. The physical ability of a woman to conceal a suicide belt as a pregnancy disguise provides an added advantage to a women suicide bomber as compared to her male counterparts. Women are more averse to be security searched.

At the outset there was a strong belief that women who opted for suicide terrorism had some or the other resentment for doing the same. It may be a failed marriage or the inability to bear children or a divorce etc. Gradually there seems to be a consensus on the fact that the motivations of both the male and the women suicide bomber are mostly of the same nature. Hence it is evident that the causes and explanation behind any event is a cumulative outcome of the person deciphering them and their social stature.

Though studies specific to Pakistan are a few in number, despite that, all of them indicate the fact that the presence of groups like Al Qaeda and Pakistani Taliban in the disturbed regions (helped them gather the support of the local separatists and militant groups like Pakhtuns) accentuated the disorder. The initiation of suicide attacks in Pakistan is largely an outcome of Afghan jihad for the two regions house porous borders. The external international influence on Pakistan soars high, so much so that in 2007 it was the third most affected region by suicide attacks after Iraq and Afghanistan despite not being in any war at the domestic front. It becomes tough for the governing institutions to manage the chaos in situations like these wherein even the targets cannot be predicted in advance. There has been an increment in the number of suicide attacks on the Pakistani soil post US's war on terrorism in Afghanistan, owing to the porous borders of the two nations and the strong religious affinity. However one cannot validate the hypothesis that religion

is the sole guiding force behind such attacks and that the terror groups target people of the opposite religion, so as to establish a universal religious order.

Though for some groups like the ISIS, of recent, it may hold relevance but when the attacks by Pakistani terror groups on the people of the same faith are observed, the theory of “anti religion attacks” stands negated. Also blaming a specific religion (Islam in this case) is not justified, for, even Islamic countries are a victim of the same and witness loss of life and property, much like the others. Apart from the above mentioned causes it can also be said that the internal rivalry that exists between the two factions, Shia and Sunni is the driving force for suicide attacks. The high incidence of such attacks in the tribal parts of the country may be due to the fact that tribal societies are highly diversified, consequently, manipulating the differences becomes easy. Also religion is subservient to the tribal affinities (in the case of Pakhtuns) and it is the ardent principle of revenge (of loss of loved ones) that guides the motives behind suicide attacks. Hence sectarian rivalries too are a prime cause of suicide attacks in the case of Pakistan.

The scenario of Pakistan is no different from other parts of the world when it comes to stating reasons behind suicide terrorism. The presence of the foreign forces in the neighbouring Afghanistan and the consequent drone attacks on the domestic territory is cited as one of the prime instigator of suicide attacks in case of Pakistan. The reasons behind suicide terrorism in Pakistan are an amalgamation of that seen at the global platform varying from presence of foreign forces in the closely integrated Afghanistan to the presence of sectarian strife in the tribal belts to the resentment against the policies of the domestic governments which are seen pro west by nearly all the terrorist organisations. The higher incidence of such attacks in the backward parts of the country is a blot on the developmental policies of the government which have failed to bring the marginalised into the mainstream and hence subjecting them to exploitation by the fundamentalist forces.

The escalation of suicide attacks since the 2007 Lal Masjid incidence in Islamabad is the probable reason for imparting greater religious hues to the problem. Almost every part Pakistan has witnessed an increment in suicide attacks post 2007 be it KP or FATA or the Punjab province. The escalation of drone attacks has further accentuated the problem. It represents a benchmark of intruding the line of religious sentiments of the populace, the outcomes of which are still visible. The ingrained feeling of betrayal by the western forces in the Pakistani minds runs deep. After having assisted the US in its Afghan mission, Pakistan did not receive much support for the rehabilitation and reintegration of the Mujahidins into the mainstream and hence was left bereft of

assistance to deal with the consequences. It is also to be noted that sectarian violence remains the primary source of terrorism in the country, and the continued attacks on religious and sectarian minorities, not just in the old hotspots of Karachi and southern Punjab, but also in large parts of KP, FATA and Balochistan's provincial capital, Quetta, demonstrate that the regions afflicted by suicide bombings have broadly remained the same over the passage of time. The greater incidence of suicide attacks in FATA and KP validate the fact that the tribal regions have to bear a brunt of their ignorance since times known.

The spurring retaliation of the drone attacks and the incessant increment in suicide attacks post 2007 not only in regions bordering Afghanistan (FATA and KP) but also in other parts is indicative of the fact that the foreign policy of the government of Pakistan bears significant impact at the domestic level and the militant groups direct their attacks under such "anti west" motivations. Apart from the external involvements, the domestic policies also significantly impact the state peace. The Swat valley operation, the Lal Masjid incidence are the events that are exploited by the terror groups per their whims and fancies even till date.

Apart from the direct causes the indirect ones that escalate the incidences of suicide terrorism are more domestically driven like poor levels of development, illiteracy, unemployment etc. To conclude, suicide terrorism is not a phenomenon alien to any nation hence Pakistan stands no exception. In order to combat these attacks the government has to counter and mitigate both as a hard as well as a soft power. Though a daunting task, but the separation of religion from politics and terrorism is the ardent need of the time for Pakistan. It has involve the elements of civil society to a greater level for public sympathy is also one of the target as well as a source of material and financial aid for different militant groups operating in the parts of Pakistan. . There needs to be incessant sessions of dialogues and discourses which debate about not only the religious but rational elements behind the suicide attackers and their guiding factors. The government also has the option of availing the services of the swiftly growing media and TV channels so as generate a public opinion and raise the levels of awareness of a large set of illiterate masses which get swayed by a selected set of individuals. Hence appealing to their rationality and their individual opinion is imperative in the present times.

A strong collaboration, both at the regional as well as international level, is imperative to combat the menace of suicide terrorism for almost all nations the world over.

The two hypotheses proposed in the study i.e. the policy of containment of terrorism of western nations has led to an increment in the incidence of suicide terrorism in Pakistan post 2001 and the backward regions of Pakistan have shown higher incidence of suicide terrorism to the advanced ones have been analysed intricately in the course of research.

The first hypothesis that the policy of containment of terrorism of the western nations has led to an increment in the incidence of suicide attacks is found to be true in the case of Pakistan wherein we see a direct link between US's activities in Afghanistan and Pakistan and its repercussions on the state of Pakistan. The increase in suicide attacks post 2001 and the steep increment in the year 2007 in all the regions indicates the association of such attacks with the domestic policies synchronised under external pressures. The support of the local government in "US's war on terror" invited wrath of the different terror groups which considered it a pro west stand of the government and hence resorted to extreme forms of violence in the form of suicide attacks. Although it cannot be stated that this is the sole reason for the spurt in the suicide attacks post 2001 because the other reasons like sectarian strife, Shia-Sunni conflict, underdevelopment, military excesses are all domestically driven. Yet, it cannot be denied that the policy of containment of terrorism and the consequent attempts to establish democratic regimes by the west is one of the prime contributing factors in the increment in suicide bombings in Pakistan.

The second hypothesis examined during the course of study i.e. the backward regions of Pakistan have shown higher incidence of suicide terrorism to the advanced ones also stands validated for it is clearly seen that the regions of KP, FATA and Baluchistan which rank low in terms of human development (as per the HDR of UNDP) are also the ones witnessing higher frequencies and greater casualties of suicide attacks in the time period observed. The probable reasons for the same can be coupled with their geographical existence closer to the disturbed Afghanistan or the sectarian issues they are gripped with. Nonetheless, it cannot be negated that their poor levels of development in terms of income, infrastructure or literacy are a contributing factor in presence of the menace of suicide bombings in these regions. To add to it these regions provide the largest recruits as suicide bombers which is primarily a direct function of lower development levels. It is their large section of illiterate, unemployed and poor population that serves as an easy victim for the terror groups seeking suicide recruits. Hence both the hypothesis projected stand validated in the course of study.

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APPENDIX 1

	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002
KHYBER PAKHTUNWA													
FREQUENCY	8	14	18	20	15	46	32	27	4	1	0	0	0
CASUALTY	406	683	324	977	829	1614	1019	730	190	2	0	0	0
POPULATION TARGETED													
(I) CIVILIAN	4	7	5	8	7	14	5	7	1	1	0	0	0
(II) MILITARY	1	5	7	11	6	27	23	16	3	0	0	0	0
(III) GOVERNMENTAL	3	2	6	1	2	5	4	4	0	0	0	0	0
SINDH													
FREQUENCY	5	4	3	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	0	1
CASUALTY	102	151	47	19	77	94	5	694	316	25	275	0	49
POPULATION TARGETED													
(I) CIVILIAN	0	3	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	1
(II) MILITARY	4	1	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
(III) GOVERNMENTAL	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
PUNJAB													
FREQUENCY	4	1	2	2	6	20	13	10	0	1	54	1	0
CASUALTY	269	18	65	238	951	1163	976	558	0	125	131	61	0
POPULATION TARGETED													
(I) CIVILIAN	1	1	1	2	6	9	3	3	0	1	3	1	0
(II) MILITARY	3	0	1	0	0	5	3	5	0	0	0	0	0
(III) GOVERNMENTAL	0	0	0	0	0	6	7	2	0	0	1	0	0
FATA													
FREQUENCY	4	9	10	7	12	5	14	13	1	0	1	0	0
CASUALTY	37	420	365	218	755	277	382	178	7	0	4	0	0
POPULATION TARGETED													
(I) CIVILIAN	3	6	8	6	5	1	8	3	0	0	0	0	0
(II) MILITARY	1	3	0	0	4	3	6	9	1	0	0	0	0
(III) GOVERNMENTAL	0	0	2	1	3	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
BALUCHISTAN													
FREQUENCY	4	8	3	4	4	2	1	3	0	1	0	1	0
CASUALTY	76	589	90	184	323	23	44	129	0	151	0	111	0
POPULATION TARGETED													
(I) CIVILIAN	4	7	2	2	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
(II) MILITARY	0	1	0	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0

(III) GOVERNMENTAL

0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0

**SUICIDE TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF
PAKISTAN, 2002-2014**

ABSTRACT

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
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**CENTRE FOR SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067.
INDIA**

ABSTRACT

The following research study is an attempt to comprehend the phenomenon of suicide terrorism and its nuances with a Pakistan centric approach. It presents a holistic understanding of the phenomenon and has traced the pattern of suicide attacks in the regions of Pakistan from 2002 to 2014 and made endeavours to predict the reasons behind the same.

Suicide terrorism can be understood as a subset of the larger phenomenon named terrorism which in common parlance refers to an act wherein the propagator of terror is willing to destroy his or her life simultaneously along with that of the victims. It connotes a violent, politically motivated attack, carried out in a deliberate state of awareness by a person who blows himself or herself up together with a chosen target. The premeditated certain death of the perpetrator is the precondition for the success of the attacks. The factor interesting about contemporary suicide bombers is that they willingly reach the selected targets and the self awareness of death is eminent in them. The idea that interests a lot of scholars across the globe is the study of the underlying forces or circumstances which escalate the human mindset and emotions to such an echelon that life itself becomes infinitesimal instrument, to destroy the existence of others.

Though there are studies that focus on the causes leading to suicide terrorism and those dealing with the geographical distribution of the same, this study are an attempt for a comprehensive analysis of both (the causes and regionalization of the phenomenon) especially with respect to Pakistan. Although traditional threats (terrorism) dominate the studies of Pakistan still the concept of micro regional understanding has not gained prominence in the academic circles; at the same time people of Pakistan suffered horrendously by the threat of terrorism, suicide terrorism in particular. Therefore a comprehensive analysis of different debates related to the causes behind suicide terrorism, its consequences and the role of Islam in the same would comprise the scope of this study.

The hypothesis being tested for validation in this study was confined to investigating whether the policy of containment of terrorism of western nations has led to an increment in the incidence of suicide terrorism in Pakistan after 2001 or not. Also, it is the backward regions of Pakistan have shown higher incidence of suicide terrorism than the advanced ones.

This study will evolve around different streams like anthropology, sociology, polity, geography and international politics. It will be qualitative, quantitative and analytical in nature. The

quantitative part will include statistical tools like line graphs, bar graphs etc to show the frequency of attacks at regional level. A qualitative assessment of the causes behind the same will be made with the help of the studies of different scholars.