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**Humiliation and Retaliation: Exploring Humiliation as One of the Main Causes of Global Terrorism in Pakistan**

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**Abstract:**

Humiliation features in many forms in Pakistan's fight against global terrorism, the Pakistani police use tools and methods that undermine the human dignity of their own citizens. The level of humiliation of people detained under Pakistan's anti-terror laws has reached an unbearable limit, causing them to retaliate. Two factors shape the retaliation against anti-terror policing in Pakistan; one is the Pashtuns' strict adherence to their culture, while the other is the lack of police professionalism. The only shift in policing has been a negative one, consisting in increased violence and disrespect for human dignity.

**Key Words:** Humiliation; | Human Rights; Policing; Global Terrorism; Pashtunwali,

**Humiliation and retaliation:** exploring humiliation as one of the main causes of global terrorism in Pakistan.

The Watson Institute for International Studies (2013) ranks terrorism as the second biggest threat, after warfare, to human security, state survival and global peace. Whether it is "9/11", "7/7", the Madrid bombings of 2004 or any suicide attacks in the remote areas of Israel, India, Afghanistan, Iraq or Pakistan, the truth of the matter is that all such attacks are of global concern. (LaFree and Ackerman, 2009: 348 —49; see also Lindner, 2006:88).

Soon after the attacks on the twin towers in the United States on September 11, 2001, Pakistan became a frontline ally in the fight against global terrorism (Hameed, 2012:50). Since then, the country has suffered from internal systematic attacks in which myriad civilians and security personnel have died (Fasihuddin, 2012:55). According to the latest information, the total death toll from 2003 to July 14, 2013, is 48,722 (South Asia Terrorism Portal, 2013). Elsewhere, the tide of terrorism may have subsided; however, for Pakistan, it is an on-going issue and the biggest threat to its human and national security (Fasihuddin, 2011: I ~ iv). This is why Baxi (2005:28) describes the war against terror as 'un- winnable' and thus unending.

Why isn't global terrorism in Pakistan coming to an end? There are a number of perspectives on this. For instance, it is continuing because there are militants, inside the country, belonging to terrorist groups, Le. al Qaeda and its allies; their aim is to overthrow the democratic government by force and subsequently impose Islamic Sharia law in Pakistan (Basravi, 2009). Secondly, there is a foreign hand behind the attacks calculated to destabilize the country (Zeenews, 2012). Thirdly, it is the ethnic and religious violence in the country that largely contributes to the spread and prolongation of global

terrorism (Hussain, 2012). Many other ontological perspectives can be added to the list, such as separatist movements active in one of its provinces - Baluchistan (Bansal, 2008) and so on. However, the author believes that humiliation is one of the main causes of the prolongation and sustenance of global terrorism in Pakistan.

The overall aim of this article is to contribute to the understanding of the root causes of global terrorism in Pakistan. This article will therefore strive to answer three questions. First, what tools and methods does the police force in Pakistan utilize to counter global terrorism? This question can be answered by studying anti-terror policing in the country. Since anti-terrorism is purely a police responsibility (Abbas, 2011: 3), the focus will mainly be on the different tools and methods utilized by the police. To further refine the focus of the research, only investigative and preventive policies dealing with human beings will be taken into consideration. This will enable us to judge whether or not the police have exceeded the powers granted to them by law in their investigation and/or prevention of terrorism. This question will be further narrowed down to retain the focus on the tools and methods used by the police working in the four provinces, thus excluding federally-operated law enforcement agencies.

The second research question is, how does humiliation feature in global “terror “in Pakistan? This will be answered by identifying and exploring humiliation as one of the main causes of global terrorism. First, reference will be made to the dignity of the person in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 (hereinafter UDHR) and other socio-legal literature in order to frame an objective conception of humiliation. In the context of the war against global terrorism, the author will then identify how feelings of humiliation are developed in the country through the usage of different tools and methods by the Pakistani police. Apart from features of humiliation; its perpetrators and victims will also be identified.

What factors shape the forms of retaliation and responses to anti-terror policing in Pakistan? This third research question will identify and explore the factors motivating a desire for retaliation among certain people against the police and people of Pakistan. Here, police professionalism will be scrutinized, Reference will also be made to Pakistani culture, as Lafree and Ackerman (2009) are of the opinion that, in those cultures where a high value is placed on dignity, global terrorism will increase in response to an increase in humiliation. Thus, the growth of global terrorism is interpreted through the lens of Pakistani culture rather than religion.

Terrorism has many forms and manifestations (Hussain, 2012), but this research project will explore the notion of humiliation in the United States-led “war on terror “against al Qaeda and its allied organizations, especially Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (hereinafter TTP or the Taliban). All other forms, i.e. political, ethnic and separatist violence and terrorism, are excluded. Therefore, the term ‘global terrorism ‘will refer to the war on terror in the research setting of Pakistan.

This article argues that the current policing system of Pakistan has undergone no major changes since its creation by the British colonizers in 1861. The only shift in the system has been an increase in the level of violence used by the police to curb global terrorism. The British colonizers formed the police in British India to control its people, collect land revenue and curb any threat to the British Raj (Alavi, 1989). It is further argued that policing in Pakistan does nothing different now from what it did during the British Raj, and that the colonial and feudal mindsets have always prevented the Pakistan police from becoming more human-centric and service-oriented. Finally, it is argued that violence and unnecessary use of force by Pakistan’s police violate inherent human dignity, thus generating feelings of humiliation and retaliation that sustain and prolong global terrorism in the country.

This article is purely theoretical and, thus, library-based. Qualitative research methodology is used to obtain answers to the research questions through discourse analysis, using thematic analysis techniques and methods to select, collect, examine and analyze the data.

The study is structured into six chapters. The literature review, mainly focusing on the notion of humiliation and its relationship with global terrorism, and on human dignity and its cultural importance, will appear in the following chapter, while a full account of the research setting and

methodology will form part of the third chapter. The research findings and critical analysis of the same will be presented in chapters four and five respectively. The notion of humiliation is at the core of this research article. This chapter therefore presents a review of various books, scholarly articles and research studies in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the notion of ‘humiliation’. It also examines ‘equal dignity for all’, a concept entrenched in the UDHR, including other international legal instruments protecting human rights. To understand the regional perspective on human dignity and humiliation, Pakistani society, especially Pashtun (also known as Pakhtun or Pathan) culture, will also be examined. This study will also help to understand the relationship between humiliation and global terrorism.

### **What Is Humiliation?**

The term ‘humiliation’ is derived from the Latin word’s humus, humilis and humiliare, meaning ‘Earth’, ‘low’ and ‘to make low’ respectively. These Latin words reflect the difference in the vertical worthiness of human rankings. Inferiors are perceived to be below while superiors are perceived to be above. Earth is the lowest while sky is the highest rank of human dignity (Lindner, 2006: xiv).

Very few scholars have studied the notion of humiliation. Klein, D. (1923-2007) is one of them. He is considered the father of community psychology (Lindner, 2009: 47-48), and he has written on humiliation in some detail. His most famous work is summarized in the Journal of Primary Prevention in a piece entitled “The Humiliation Dynamic: An Overview”, in which humiliation is portrayed as ubiquitous or omnipresent. He defines it as, “the experience of some form of ridicule, scorn, contempt, or other degrading treatment at the hands of others” (Klein, 1991:94).

Coleman, P. and Goldman, J. brought the study and research of humiliation to the social sciences laboratory for the first (Lindner, 2009: 46). They studied humiliation in the context of intractable conflicts. Their main argument is that intractable conflicts do not end when there is on-going humiliation. They define humiliation as “an emotion, triggered by public events, which evokes a sense of inferiority resulting from the realization that one is being, or has been, treated in a way that departs from the normal expectations for fair and equal human treatment” (Coleman and Goldman, 2005: 10).

Hartling and Luchetta were the first to research humiliation using quantitative methods. They used numerous variables from the victim’s point of view, concluding that humiliation has a cumulative effect that eventually leads to depression, isolation and violence (Lindner, 2009:48). They define humiliation as follows: “The internal experience of humiliation is the deep dysphoric feeling associated with being, or perceiving oneself as being, unjustly degraded, ridiculed, or put down—in particular, one’s identity has been demeaned or devalued” (Hartling and Luchetta, 1999:264).

Lindner, E. has written quite a lot on the notion of humiliation. She has practiced medicine and psychology in various parts of the world. She teaches psychology at the Universities of Columbia and Oslo and is the founder of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies at Columbia University in the United States. Her research confirms her hypothesis that humiliation has played and is playing a role in all the world’s conflicts (Lindner, 2009: 52-55, 158). She concisely defines humiliation as, “enforced lowering of a person or group, a process of subjugation that damages or strips away their pride, honor or dignity. To be humiliated is to be placed, against your will and often in a deeply hurtful way, in a situation that is greatly inferior to what you feel you should expect. Humiliation entails demeaning treatment that transgresses established expectations. The victim is forced into passivity, acted upon and made helpless. (Lindner, 2009, 2008 and 2006:55, 6 and 172 respectively)

### **Theory of Humiliation:**

This theory is presented by Lindner (2006:171). It is valid to investigate and later test this theory in detail as it is directly related to my main research question, i.e. exploring humiliation as a cause of global terrorism in Pakistan. The above definitions given by prominent scholars provide useful information for understanding Lindner’s theory of humiliation.

Humiliation is an act:

All the above definitions suggest that humiliation is an overt act on the part of the perpetrator. The

word ‘treatment ‘in all the definitions (except Hartling’s) refers to the manifest act. In the definition given by Hartling and Luchetta, the words ‘degraded, ridiculed, demeaned and devalued ‘plainly designate an act. This act is called the ‘act of humiliation’ (Lindner, 2008:1).

The triangle of humiliation shows how many parties can be involved in the act of humiliation. The person or group who perpetrates humiliation is called the ‘humiliator’. The person or group who experiences humiliation is called the ‘victim ‘or ‘target of humiliation’. The person in whose presence humiliation occurs is called a ‘witness’. A witness to humiliation is a witness only if he/she agrees that disparagement has occurred (Klein, 1991:101). A witness who does not protest is merely a ‘bystander’ (Lindner, 2006:152).

The act of humiliation does a specific job —the lowering or total removal of the ‘pride, honor or dignity ‘of a person or group of persons in a society. These values are inherent in human beings, and they have been upheld in all societies, from the simple hunter-gatherers (defenders of pride) to the complex agriculturalists (defenders of honor), finally arriving at the current knowledge society (Lindner, 2006: 26-27). The knowledge society is, in fact, the dignity society, as it believes in the equal dignity of all human beings. Therefore, disparaging someone as an underling, a sub-human or a lesser human will constitute an act of humiliation.

### **Acts of humiliation create feelings of humiliation:**

The aforementioned definitions, using the words, ‘experience of, sense of or feel ‘refer to the act of humiliation that creates feelings of humiliation, many scholars, including Lindner’s work on global terrorism.

Kruglanski et al. (2009:343-348) have provided accounts from interviews with the parents of suicide bombers in Palestine. The writers convincingly establish that the terrorists are struggling to regain their pride, honor and dignity. The writers have termed this a “significance quest “and “significance restoration”. The writers ultimately link this to Abraham Maslow’s hierarchy of needs theory, and the terrorists are thus regarded as “heroes “after regaining their honor in the eyes of their community. Stern, J. (2003) interviewed people from all over the world practicing various religions and found that humiliation and alienation are the two root causes of global terrorism. Here my point of view on the act of humiliation and retaliation gains more support. The author mentions people’s alienation from modern institutions as a cause of global terrorism, why would someone alienate him/herself from society? As discussed before, and deviating from Lindner’s theory of humiliation to a degree, if a person takes humiliation inwardly, this does not mean that the person will not retaliate. There will always be an outward reaction. This alienation is in fact revenge. Retaliation does not always have to be violent. It is sufficient for a humiliated person to refuse to cooperate with the state or society, this particular stance is supported by Stern’s finding on the alienation of the public at large from the state or social institutions.

Coleman and Goldman (2005:26) wrote, “When individuals perceive social norms to privilege aggression given a\_ humiliating experience, they ruminate about the humiliating experience because doing so provides them with constant motivation to retaliate, which can be pleasurable and feel morally justified”.

Therefore, such individuals are looking for an opportunity; they feel morally entitled to take revenge. Lafree and Ackerman (2009:350), investigating the causes of global terrorism on both individual and collective levels, cite the argument of Akhtar, S. (1999) that the majority of terrorists have been exposed to some kind of abuse or humiliation. They, in return, seek vengeance or retaliation. The nexus between humiliation and global terrorism is further confirmed by Varvin, S. (2005:48): “Humiliation is a central concept in understanding the development of terrorism - and in combating it”.

The above discussion confirms that humiliation does play a vital role in the spread and sustenance of global terrorism. Lafree and Ackerman (2009:358) also mention the importance of cultural studies in providing a further understanding of the relationship between humiliation and global terrorism. Cultures that place a high value on honor and dignity take humiliation very seriously, and there is

greater support in the community for terrorism to grow. They state, “This effect might be even more acute in societies that place great value on honor and dignity”. Lindner (2009:82) conducted research in Somalia; she writes that the Somali people are ‘proud nobility’. She further writes about the feelings of the Somali people: “Humiliation is worse than killing; in times of war, words of humiliation hurt more than bullets”. The prolongation and sustenance of global terrorism on Pakistani soil emphasize the importance of examining the culture of its people. This will provide a better focus on the cultural interpretation of the fight against global terror in the country.

### **Cultural value of human dignity:**

Many societies around the world place great emphasis on honor and dignity, and Pakistani society is one of them (Lindner, 2006:32). The notion of humiliation is central to this research article, and it is studied in the context of global terrorism in the research setting of Pakistan. Therefore, it is valid to determine whether particular cultural or linguistic groups are more active than others in global terror in Pakistan. The Pashtuns are always associated with terror attacks in Pakistan. They have collectively formed an organization called Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (hereinafter TTP or Taliban). “TTP is a franchise of al Qaeda with similar structures...TTP does not have a central command and is comprised of (sic) Pashtun Pakistani militants” (Siddiq, 2011:153). TTP is seen by some as an Islamic movement due to its relations with al Qaeda, and is seen by others as a Pashtun resistance movement

(Mamdani, 2002: 772). Pashtuns are resisting the efforts of the Pakistani government in its fight against global terrorism because the former believe that the latter is representing the US agenda. Pashtuns, therefore, do not consider the war on terror to have any legitimacy. They believe that the anti-terror operations in Pakistan are a serious threat to their tribal authority and their cultural and religious values (Ahmad, 2010:106-107). The author’s focus here is more on the cultural than the religious nature of the Taliban. This will help us better understand the notion of humiliation in Pashtun culture.

Pashtuns are governed by their cultural code called ‘Pashtunwali or Pakhtunwali’, This is further divided into sub-codes, the most important and relevant of which are ‘Nang’, meaning honor, ‘Badal’, meaning revenge, and ‘melmastia’, meaning hospitality (Case II, 2010: 13-15) etc. Pashtuns are egalitarians and are “warlike and predatory” (Titus, 2009:663-664). The honor codes suggest that Pashtuns lay greater emphasis on their honor and dignity. If this honor is taken away or diminished, the code of ‘Badal’, or revenge, plays its role in regaining the lost dignity.

The right of revenge or retaliation (Badal) among Pashtuns is so entrenched that it passes from one generation to another (Easwaran, 1999: 40 - 41). Easwaran cites a famous English writer and physician named T.L. Pennell: “revenge is a word sweet to the Pathan {Pashtun} ear”. Pashtuns ‘strict adherence to the exercise of their right to retaliation was recognized by their famous leader and social reformer Badshah Khan as a potential cause of all their social, economic and political problems during British rule in India. Mr. Khan, therefore, tried to tame his own people and commit them to the observance of non- violence. He created an organization called ‘Khudai Khidmatgars’, meaning ‘Servants of God’, the membership of which was bound to fully commit to the observance of non-violence and thus to give up the right to retaliation, Mr. Khan used to take an oath from his own people when they joined this organization, using these words: “! am a Khudai Khidmatgar; and as God needs no service, but servicing his creation is serving him, I promise to serve humanity in the name of God, I promise to refrain from violence and from taking revenge.”(Ibid: 111)

Mr. Khan was certain that the right to retaliation is entrenched in Pashtun culture; he therefore tried to ban it through the taking of the oath: “If a {Pashtun} could not avenge an enemy's insult with his blood, what kind of a man was he? How could he face his clan or wife? To die seeking revenge was more honorable” (Ibid: 41).

Ghani (2010:102) writes that ‘Nang ‘and ‘Badal ‘are two important and interrelated cultural codes in Pashtun society. If dignity is violated, Pashtuns deem it culturally legitimate and obligatory to resort to retaliation. This corroborates Kruglanski et al.’s (2009) “significance quest “and “significance

restoration “mentioned earlier, it also proves that Pashtuns are very sensitive to humiliation and that, should their honor be taken away, they will always retaliate violently to regain or restore the lost dignity. This supports the author’s departure from Lindner’s idea of inward humiliation discussed earlier. It strongly proves the sustenance of global terrorism in Pashtun culture and further reinforces it through their strict adherence to cultural codes, particularly the codes of ‘Nang’, or dignity, and ‘Badal’, or retaliation. It also confirms Lafree and Ackerman’s assumption that, in societies that lay greater emphasis on honor and dignity, the situation of terror is quite acute,

The predominant perception of terrorists is that they are “mad monsters “and “THE ENEMY” (Lindner, 2008:2). Therefore, it is justifiable to humiliate them —the concept of ‘justified humiliation’ (Ibid, 2006: 109- 111). The United States excluded them from all laws on earth by designating them “Unlawful Combatants” (Sassoli, 2004: 100-102).

Pakistan is an important ally in the fight against global terror and follows the United States ‘approach to quelling terrorism through brutal force. “We need to break their pride. I fear that humane treatment and fairness in court would add glamour to their situation. Fairness is likely to lead to failure of cases in the court as terrorists are terrorists not bound by any ethics” (Hussain, 2010: 42 —43).

The above words were spoken by the deputy inspector general of the Pakistan police. This clearly proves that terrorists are regarded and treated in the same way that the US think of them, i.e. the ‘mad monster ‘conception of terrorists. Therefore, it is legitimate to torture, degrade and contemptuously treat or humiliate them.

Research has found that policing is the best tool with which to respond effectively to terrorism (Abbas, 2011: 3). If terrorists are regarded as mad monsters, thus posing a threat to national security, then very strict policing systems are in place to tackle the problem. This kind of policing model is called the ‘military model’. Policing is regarded as force rather than service. All might be used to quell threats. The staff are trained and equipped with weapons to carry out the capture-and-kill policy. No compunction whatsoever is shown in regard to the violation of human rights during or after operations (Parvez, 2012: 63-64).

The human rights approach to the conception of terrorists is quite the opposite of the ‘mad monsters ‘approach. The human rights approach, also known as ‘The Child Paradigm’, conceives of terrorists as “misguided children who could be lifted up to our level of integrity” (Lindner, 2006: 97). The law enforcement agencies have no license to humiliate them.

The advocates of the child paradigm of terrorists have implemented a more human-centric, service-oriented policing. Such approaches or models are called ‘Community-Oriented Policing ‘or ‘Intelligence-led Policing’. In this model, police are specially trained to respect human rights and to remain professional within the bounds of the law they enforce. Here, the community is in partnership with the police (Ras, 2010: 110). Terrorists, like criminals, are entitled to humane and fair treatment. Therefore, their inherent human dignity granted by the UDHR remains intact under the child paradigm, and it is enforced through the model of community-oriented or intelligence-led policing.

### **Human Rights, Equal Dignity and Global**

**TERRORISM** The very first line of the UDHR recognizes human dignity as ‘inherent’. Article 1 entrenches ‘equal dignity for all’. Articles 5 and 7 forbid torture and reaffirm equality before the law respectively. Similarly, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 (hereinafter ICCPR), in its preamble, recognizes that all civil and political rights are derived “from the inherent dignity of the human person”. Article 7 of ICCPR forbids torture, as does the UDHR. Article 10 of ICCPR says, “All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person”. Likewise, the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment 1984 (hereinafter CAT) recognizes equal dignity for all and forbids torture and all forms of inhumane treatment. The ‘equal dignity for all ‘concept is recognized in all three important

human rights instruments, and measures have been taken universally for its protection. Therefore, it would be fair to say that the dignity of the person is the fountain of all civil and political rights. This

also means that no one on earth is beyond the purview of human rights law protection. In other words, no one is a lesser human, a sub-human, an underling, a slave, an unlawful combatant or a mad monster. Were this principle to be observed in practice, no one's pride, honor or dignity would be diminished or stripped away. Therefore, there would be no acts of humiliation and, hence, no retaliation to breed and sustain global terror. In short, human rights dignify 'all humans' and thus delegitimize humiliation; they are therefore one of the best approaches to counter-terrorism.

Dignity of the person is an inherent right, which is why it was recognized in the very first article of the UDHR and then endorsed by other important international human rights instruments. However, the study of human dignity becomes more important in contexts where great emphasis is placed on it or where it is highly valued throughout different cultures, histories, religions, geographies etc. Since a Pashtun culturally values 'Nang', or dignity of the person, more than his life (Ghani, 2010:102), the study of human dignity and its relationships with global terrorism and policing in this context becomes more important.

The notion of humiliation has been explored by various writers in different research settings. For instance, Lindner (2006) has carried out research on the topic in settings such as Rwanda, Somalia and Nazi Germany. Coleman and Goldman studied humiliation in various conflict zones of the world, excluding Pakistan. Case II and Pawlak (2010), US Intelligence officers, have carried out a study pertaining to the 'Pashtunwali' relationship with human dignity and global terrorism in the context of Afghanistan. Fasih Uddin (2012) carried out empirical research in Pakistan on global terrorism but, as a police officer, he was mainly interested in tactics. Hussain, S. (2012) argues that religious and ethnic violence are the main causes of global terrorism in Pakistan. Hussain's focus is more on the religious and sectarian aspects of terrorism rather than the cultural interpretation of global terrorism. Lindner, Coleman and Goldman, and Case II and Pawlak focused on humiliation in the context of global terrorism but they carried out their research in settings other than Pakistan. Those scholars, such as Fasih Uddin and Hussain, carried out research on global terrorism in the setting of Pakistan but they did not touch on humiliation as a major cause of global terrorism in the country. A clear gap in the knowledge on this subject is revealed by the initial review of the literature; therefore, the topic is worth exploring.

### **Conclusion:**

The overall discussion confirms that humiliation is one of the potential causes of global terrorism. The discussion and definitions of humiliation are helpful in understanding the basic features of the 'notion of humiliation'. The analysis of Lindner's theory of humiliation enhances our focus on the notion of humiliation and its relationship with retaliation. Lindner's notion of inward humiliation, however, complicates the author's understanding of the nexus between humiliation and retaliation. This complication is removed by deviating from the theory and providing a valid justification. Inward humiliation will be present in societies that are non-violent or less violent. However, when humiliation is studied in the context of Pakistan, especially in Pashtun culture, a predominantly violent people with a warlike nature who practice revenge and retaliation as a cultural norm, there will always be outward humiliation.

An examination of the Pashtuns 'cultural code confirms that they have greater reverence for honor and dignity and thus take humiliation very seriously. The discussion on the nexus between humiliation and global terrorism further confirms that enforced acts of humiliation lead to terrorism. The examination of international human rights legal instruments also verifies the importance of equal dignity for all. The discussion on approaches to the conception of terrorists and the devising of different policing models gives us two extreme boundaries within which a particular policing model best suited to the needs of Pakistan can be recommended through another research project. It is therefore justifiable to extend and test Lindner's theory of humiliation in the context of Pakistan's fight against global terrorism in order to explore the methods used by the Pakistani police to counter terrorism. How does humiliation feature in global 'terror' in Pakistan? And what factors shape the forms of retaliation and responses to anti-terror policing in Pakistan?

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