The Shi'as of Hazara, Quetta- The challenges to security and formation of their integrated models of Community Driven Development

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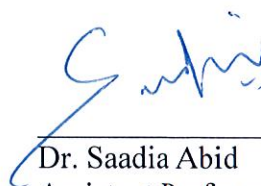
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled: *"The Shi'as of Hazara, Quetta- The challenges to Security and Formation of their Integrated Models of Community Driven Development"* submitted by Mahum Tanveer is accepted in its present form by the Department of Development Studies, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), Islamabad as satisfying the requirements for partial fulfillment of the degree in Master of Philosophy in Development Studies.

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Abstract

Various communities in Pakistan have been subject of sectarian violence for a long time. Hazara Shia Community has not only been target for their beliefs but also for ethnicity. The Shi'a Hazara Community in Pakistan facing a great threat; the community seems to be adopting a different lifestyle where they are closing down themselves and are aiming to live in integrated societies comprising people of their own sect. The settlements that belong to people from similar descendants are unique because of strong relationships they share amongst themselves for building their community's infrastructure and their social bonding. Aim of this research remains to understand the threat to security of Shi'a Hazara Community of Quetta that has affected their everyday lifestyles. This research work also aims to draw connections between insecurity and tendency of communities to draw themselves away from the conventional way of living and sketch themselves as individual communities entirely being self-reliant and self-sustaining by forming Community based Development Models. The insecurity is compelling the communities particularly residing in Hazara Town to formulate their exclusionary community driven development models. The models will help to understand not only the benefits such systems are providing them but also quarry the shortcomings of such a model and lifestyle. The work aims to outline a model for the community to effectively practice participatory development involving governments and criterions of accountability.

Acknowledgment

I am thankful to Allah for giving me the strength and chance to complete this task.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Mina Zulfikar whose constant support and belief in me led me to complete this work. I will always remain indebted to her for having confidence in in me and giving me the chance to complete this daunting work.

I am especially thankful to all my respondents who took out time from their routines and gave their valuable feedback. I would like to take this opportunity to thank a my key respondents and military personnel who not only helped me in accessing the communities but also involved their families to help me gather the required information.

I am extremely thankful to my parents, especially my mother who has stood by me always and taken care of my responsibilities while I completed my dissertation. I am blessed to have a supportive husband who has always facilitated and provided his wise input in my work and has never barred me from chasing my dreams.

Dedication

I dedicate my work to the Hazara community that has suffered over the past years and continue to do so. I hope the work can help policy makers bring change for this community and end their plight. This work is dedicated to my son Muhammad Ibrahim, my mother Nudrat Mumtaz and my husband Major Imran Khan.

Glossary of terms:

Ahle Sunnat Wal Jamat: Operating in Pakistan and Somalia, *Ahlu Sunna Wal Jamat* (ASWJ) is a Sunni paramilitary group created in 1991 to protect Sufis Muslims in Somalia. Pakistan In Pakistan *ASWJ* advocates for Shi'ites to be legally declared non-Muslim and has a violent offshoot that targets Shi'ite mosques.[1]

Brailvi Sunnis: It is a term used for the movement following the *Sunni Hanafi* school of jurisprudence, originating in Bareilly with over 200 million followers in South Asia[2].

Deobandi: It is a revivalist movement within *Sunni* (primarily *Hanafi*) Islam. It is centered in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. The name derives from *Deoband*, India, where the school *Darul Uloom Deoband* is situated. The movement was inspired by scholar *Shah Waliullah Dehlawi (*1703–1762) and was founded in 1867 in the wake of the failed Sepoy Rebellion a decade earlier[3].

Exclusion: Social exclusion is the process whereby individuals, or groups, within societies or cultures, are denied access to some of the benefits of that society or culture, brought about by the breakdown or failure of the systems by which that society or culture operate.[4]

Imam Bargah: The word Imam Bargah in Arabic they would be translated as places of mourning (or remembrance) of the Imam (as).

Jandullah: Pakistan's alliance with ISIS places it under the jurisdiction of *Wilayat Khurasan.Groups*/Individuals Falling Under *Wilayat Khurasan:Jundullah* Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) */ Idolat Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ)* – suspected In 2014, 3 splinter groups

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[1] https://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/ahle-sunnat-wal-jamaat-aswj: TRAC

[2] Urban Terrorism: Myths and Realities, N.C Asthana, Anjali Nirmal, P-67.
https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=8EqWnqdsgZMC&pg=PA66&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false

[3] Urban Terrorism: Myths and Realities, N.C Asthana, Anjali Nirmal, P-66.
https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=8EqWnqdsgZMC&pg=PA66&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false

[4] GCSE on Social Exclusion:

http://www.markedbyteachers.com/gcse/sociology/social-exclusion.html

including emerged as a cause of friction with the leadership ; *Ahrar-ul-Hind, Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan* Mehsud Group and *Jamaat -ul-Ahrar In* October 2014, Shahidullah Shahid, former TTP spokesperson and five TTP commanders pledged to ISIS over doubts on Mullah Omar's leadership of the Taliban. [5]

Lashkr-e-Jhangvi: *Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ)* is a prominent militant group in Pakistan that is most known for its anti-Shiite attacks and is responsible for much of the sectarian violence in the region since its founding. It was founded in 1996 by Riaz Basra, Malik Isaq, and Akram Lahori, former members of the Sunni group *Sipah-e-Sahaba (SiS).*[6]

Marginalization: Marginalization is the process of pushing a particular group or groups of people to the edge of society by not allowing them an active voice, identity, or place in it. Through both direct and indirect processes, marginalized groups may be relegated to a secondary position or made to feel as if they are less important than those who hold more power or privilege in society.[7]

Salafism: An ultra-conservative reform branch or movement within Sunni Islam that developed in Arabia in the first half of the 18th century, against a background of European colonialism. It advocated a return to the traditions of the "devout ancestors" (*the salaf*)[8].

Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan: *Sipah-e-Sahaba* Pakistan (SSP) is a Sunni supremacist, anti-Shiite group in Pakistan. Its stated goal is to deter major Shite influence in Pakistan in the wake of the Iranian Revolution. The organization was banned by in 2002 as a terrorist organization.[9]

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[5]https://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/jundullah-pakistan: TRAC

[6]http://web.stanford.edu/grsoup/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/215; mapping Militant organizations- standford University.

[7] Syracuse University: What is Marginalization:

http://counselingcenter.syr.edu/social-justice/impact-of-marginalization.html

[8] The Rise of Islamism, Boundless World History, The Middle East and North Africa in 21st Century. https://www.boundless.com/world-history/textbooks/boundless-world-history-textbook/the-21st-century-1601/the-middle-east-and-north-africa-in-the-21st-century-1603/the-rise-of-islamism-1615-18313/

[9]https://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/sipah-e-sahaba-pakistan-ssp Terrorism research and analysis consortium.

Sipah-e-Muhammad Pakistan: *Sipah-e-Mohammed* Pakistan (SMP) literally meaning 'Army of Muhammad' refers to a Shia group which is involved in sectarian terrorist activity primarily in Pakistani Punjab.[10]

Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan*: Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP),* famously known as Pakistani Taliban, is the deadliest among all indigenous militant outfits. The inceptions leading to the formation of TTP went back to the days of NATO operations in Afghanistan after 9/11.[11]

Tehreek-e-Jafria: *Tehreek-e-Jaferia Pakistan (TJP)* meaning 'movement of the followers of *Fiqah-e-Jaferia'*, the dominant Shia outfit in Pakistan was formed in 1992. The origin of TJP can be traced to the *Tehreek Nifaz Fiqah-e-Jafria (TNFJ*) meaning 'movement for the implementation of *Fiqah-e-Jafreia'* (a school of Islamic jurisprudence which is traced back to its founder Imam Jafar Sadiq) which was formed in 1979 to protect the interests of the Shiite minority and to spread the ideas of Ayatollah Khomeini, the Iranian leader who led the successful Islamic Revolution that overthrew the Shah of Iran in 1979. [12]

Usher: As per Islamic teachings, its 10 percent for irrigated lands or 20 percent for non-irrigated lands levy on agriculture produce. Caliph Umar expanded the scope of usher to include border trade tax[13].

Vulnerability: Vulnerability in this context can be defined as the diminished capacity of an individual or group to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact of a natural or man-made hazard. The concept is relative and dynamic. Vulnerability is most often associated with poverty, but it can also arise when people are isolated, insecure and defenceless in the face of risk, shock or stress.[14]

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[10]http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/terroristoutfits/SMP.htm: Available at Satp

[11]http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/terroristoutfits/ttp.htm: Satp

[12]http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/terroristoutfits/TJP.htm: Satp

[13] Islamic Leviathan: Islam and Making of State Power; Syed Wali Reza Nasr; P-144

[14] IFRC: What is vulnerability:

http://www.ifrc.org/en/what-we-do/disaster-management/about-disasters/what-is-a-disaster/what-is-vulnerability/

Wahabis: a follower of ʿAbd al-Wahhab (1703–1792), who stringently opposed all practices not sanctioned by the Koran. The Wahhabis, founded in the 18th century, are the most conservative Muslim group and are today found mainly in Saudi Arabia[15].

Zakat: a tax, comprising percentages of personal income of every kind, levied as almsgiving for the relief of the poor: the third of the Pillars of Islam.[16]

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[15]http://www.dictionary.com/browse/wahhabi

[16]http://www.dictionary.com/browse/zakat: The meaning of Zakat at Dictionary.com

Acronyms:

CBOs: community based organizations.

CDD: Community driven development

FCND: Food Consumption and Nutrition Division

ISIS: Islamic State

IEDs : Improvised Explosive Devices

LeJ: Leshkr-e-Jhangvi

ME : Middle East

SMP: Sipa-e-Muhammad Pakistan

SSP: Sipah e Sahaba Pakistan

TTP: Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan

TJP: Tehreek e Jafria Pakistan

1.1 Overview

The global wave of sectarian violence in shape of Shia – Sunni rift has seen an increase in recent years. Shia-Sunni cleavage in its true definition is applicable to *Salafism*. Saudi Arabia and Iran traditionally nurture these feelings through proxies. These two main actors are not confronting each other militarily; rather their contest for influence plays out in the domestic political systems of the region's weak states. Anti-shia movements have also been seen in Egypt, Nigeria, and Indonesia and to some extent in Pakistan; which are Sunni majorities itself.(F. Gregory Gause, 2014)

In Sectarian landscape of Pakistan, Shias are 15 – 20 % (2nd largest Shia population after Iran). *Brailvi Sunnis* are 50 % and *Deobandi Sunnis* are 20 % (Yousaf, 2012). Enigma of sectarian violence in Pakistan was brought by introduction of *Zakat and Usher Ordinance* in 1980 by Gen Zia. Because of this ordinance, Shia sect went on protest. Approximately 100,000 Shia's marched to Islamabad. In order to counter these protest, *Sipha e Sahaba* Pakistan emerged in 1980s with strict anti-Shia agenda. The country saw worst sectarianism from 1985 – 2000. This spate of sectarianism was relatively controlled by banning of sectarian outfits by Gen Musharraf. However there was a resurgence of sectarian violence since 2007 with the emergence of *Tehrik e Taliban Pakistan(TTP)* that occupied large chunk of territory of South Waziristan, North Waziristan and Kurram Agencies. There are many organizations associated with sectarian outlook at present. These are *Lashkar e Jhangvi (LeJ), Lashkar e Jhangvi Al Almi (LeJA), Ahle Sunnat Wal Jamat (ASWJ), Siph e Muhammad Pakistan (SMP), Tahreek e Jafria Pakistan (TJP) and Jandullah* etc. (Ministry of Interior, 2016)

The occurrences of sectarian violence are being reported every day in a nation with considerable ethnic and sectarian diversity. This increase in hostility and growing extremism is a poignant scenario. Besides human cost of sectarian violence coupled with war off/on terror, there is a social and economic cost also. Country has suffered approximately 80,000 lives and 118 Billion dollars in economy (Minsitry of Finance , 2015-16).

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Though there have been incident of sectarian killings of both the sects i.e Shia and Sunni however, majority of those killed are from Shia Sect (Human Rights Watch, 2012). Peshawar, Karachi and Quetta have been cities primarily being targeted under these attacks. The same years also reported unprecedented wave of attacks and killings against the very peaceful Shi'a Hazara Community of Quetta (PIPS, 2013). The Hazara community has been residing in the *Chiltan* town of Quetta since 1880s. Due to their prominent facial features, Hazaras are easy to identify which is the main reason for their easy target killing. Their daily activities including attending schools / colleges, visiting hospitals or bazaars and pilgrimage to religious sites as a community has become a challenge due to various threats. This existential threat has forced Hazaras to restrict themselves to non-Hazaras and formulate their own community based development models.

1.2 Key concepts used in the research:

•**Sectarianism**: Sectarian, as a noun, is a member of a group with a particular set of interests. If you're a religious sectarian, you are loyal to a particular religious sect or group[17]

- **Sect:** a group adhering to a distinctive doctrine or to a leader.

•**Terrorism:** The unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political / religious / social aims[18].

•**Community Driven Development:** A development initiative that provides control of the development process, resources and decision making authority directly to groups in the community[19].

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[17]https://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/sectarian

[18] English Oxfort Living Dictionaries Definition. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/terrorism

[19] Community Driven Development Decision Tools for Rural Development Programmes, A report by IFAD. https://www.ifad.org/documents/10180/311a528e-3561-461f-8fb9-987e02c4f0fc

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•**Shia's:** Shia's adhere to the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the religious guidance of his family (who are referred to as the Ahl al-Bayt) or his descendants known as Shia Imams[20].

•**Sunnis:** Sunni Islam is the largest denomination of Islam. Its name comes from the word Sunnah, referring to the exemplary behavior of the Islamic prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Followers of Sunni Islam are referred to as 'Sunnis'[21].

•**Alawites**: The Alawites, are part of a branch of Islam, Alawi Islam, centered in Syria, who follow the Twelver school of Shia Islam but with syncretistic elements; agenda of Al-Qaida and Islamic State (ISIS)[22].

1.3 Conceptual framework:

Community Driven Development is defined as an approach to local development in which control of decision-making and resources for local infrastructure and service delivery is wholly or partly transferred to community groups (Diachok, 2015). Jacomina et al demonstrate in one of their case studies how the CDD models are diversely used as service delivery systems for creating interconnectedness with in the communities and improve their life systems specifically post conflict. (Jacomina de Regt, 2013). The critical advantage of CDD lies in its flexibility to respond to the scale and nature of community needs in diverse local conditions The sectarian insecurity or threat to beliefs of a group of communities leaves such groups and its systems the most unreliable. The failed state taxonomy explains that states which are no longer able to keep its citizens safe and cannot stop the external perpetuation of factors are failed states. When communities seize to believe in the systems of the governments and their ability to provide justice they within themselves try to formulate systems that can help them lead safer lives more efficiently giving rise to self-reliant systems that of community driven development, which excludes the state. All these factors furthermore force communities to close down and act in solitude from rest of the population. The community driven development models have been

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[20] An Introduction to Shi'i Islam, MoojanMomen P-7.

[21] Oxford Islamic Studies Online Definition, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2280

[22]" Who are Syria's Alawaites", HaythamMouzahem, published in ' Alomonitor on May 12, 2016. http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/en/originals/2016/05/alawite-sect-muslim-misconceptions.html

widely applied for food security and poverty reduction by World Bank and other organizations. The essence of CDD lies in the diverse approach to development that makes the communities less vulnerable and the governments and service providers more accountable. CDD has been empirically reported to improve the lives of vulnerable groups in the community and build social capital norms that can help generate collective action (Community and social development project , 2016). The CDD development models help communities devise strategies which include local governments and Community based organizations (CBOs).
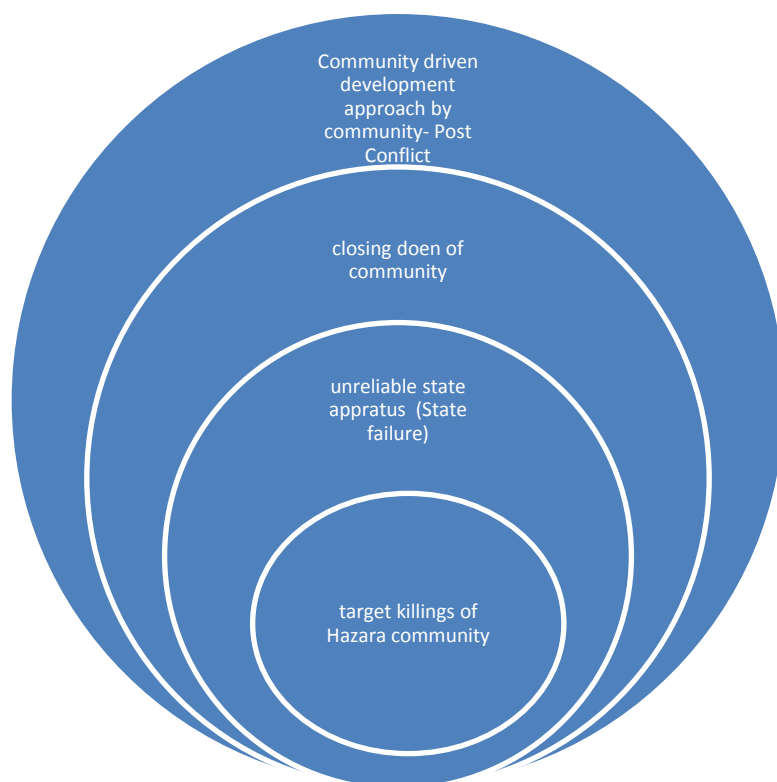
Figure 1: A Model of Community driven development

The concept of participation in development has been highly synthesized in a past few years and it has found a place in experimental and pilot designs of development practices today. The participatory form of development has been considered potentially a strong agent of change for nations and communities (Norad, 2013). Pretty's typology of participation is a framework that showcases different kinds of participatory actions in development and how the society is impacted through them. The 'self-mobilization' strategy that has been explained in the typology discusses the individual initiatives that people take to change institutions or the

systems.(Cornwall, 2008) . The Hazara community had strong participatory development techniques that community was using; self-mobilization was also evident in the practices of the community. The framework which is depicted in the figure 1.1 is an understanding of community derived from the Gillipse's model of Community driven development model. The theoretical framework of CDD is derived from the literature and is being used for the specific research topic in my work[23]. The model has been replicated in the context of the Hazara community in the situation of extreme violence where they develop internal systems of necessary survival. The figure showcases the lack of trust that communities develop post-conflict (extremism in case of Hazara community) and their ability to close down itself from rest of the people in order to safeguard itself from the violence against them, the idea has is derived from community driven development models (CDD); (Gillispie, 2004). The CDD model post conflict helps to improve physical, social and governance outcomes for the community. The technique helps the commnities to regain sense of reintegeration and inreturn helps them gain economic and social control of resources and circumstances(World Bank, 2006). The figure 1 is a depcition of natural ways in which the Hazara community has seemed to integrate themselves and approached their lives with a renewed concept of unity within the community to imporve social and economic lives. At the bottom lies the sectarian voilence towards the community- killings of the members of the Hazara descent. The killings are a failure and ineffecient working of state appratus and signifies an unaccountable government. The communities eventually close down and start living in seclusion, like the Hazara community has begun to live in isolation. This isolated approach to life inturn forces the communties to follow a community centric approach towards their life and development practices-which is highly participatory.

1.4 Problem Statement:

Various communities in Pakistan have been subject of sectarian violence for a long time. There are several reasons attributed to the mass sectarian killings ranging from long led Saudi-Iran Cold war to extremist Wahabi movements in the country (Siddiqa, 2013). Hazara Shia

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[23] This specific model (conceptual framework) refer to figure 1.1 is a derivation from the theoretical framework. The researcher begins with understanding various models of community development and then chooses a model that is most suitable for deprived or oppressed communities. The model is a derivation after understanding the practices of Hazara community and their development structure. This model takes derivation from various CDD models but is conceptualized in the context of Hazara community and is a visual of community centric approach to development of this community.

Community has not only been target for their beliefs but also for ethnicity. The Shi'a Hazara Community in Pakistan pertaining to the large threat they face seem to be adopting a new lifestyle where they are closing down themselves to the rest of the people and are aiming to live in integrated societies comprising people of their own sect. The settlements that belong to people from similar descendants are unique because of strong relationships they share amongst themselves for building their communities in infrastructure and their social bonding.

Formulation of integrated community based development by Hazara community reflects the characteristics of closing down themselves while they self-subsist for all life sustaining activities. There has been considerable research on why such sectarian violence exists but what are the implications of these incidents remains to be queried.

'This research is a study of the threats to security of Shi'a Hazara Community of Quetta that has altered theirway of life and on the parallel draws connections of insecurity with tendency of communities to isolate themselves and hence practice their segregated models of community driven development'

1.5 Research Objectives

1) To explore linkages between global sectarianism and sectarianism in Pakistan.
   Sectarianism in Pakistan has been on rise in Pakistan. The objective of this research will be to understand the connections of these sectarian activities with global trends.

2) To analyze economic and development cost of sectarian strife in Pakistan.
   The research work is a close analysis of the community and its development structure and functions. The researcher undertook the research to understand how the insecurity and targeting of the community has affected the Hazaras and what is the economic and developmental strain the community has to bear as a result of this,

3) To explore causes of existential threat to Hazara Shia Community of Quetta and how this has affected their lifestyle.
   The objective of this work was to triangulate causes of this targeting of community. The research explores the reasons that this specific group has been targeted; reconnoitering if the causes were highly ethnic or were solely sectarian.

4) To study formulation of integrated Community Driven Development models by Hazara Community due to insecurity.

Research where tries to understand the model of development that Hazaras follow, it also aims to recommend a model for the society that could render better results of participation in the community.

1.6 Research Questions

- What are causes of Sectarianism in Muslim World in general and understanding its entrenchment in Pakistan in particular?
- What were the underlying reasons of violence against Shi'a community in Pakistan?
- What are effects of sectarianism on economic and development activities?
- What efforts have been made by successive governments to tackle sectarianism violence in Pakistan and its implication on the present scenario?
- What are the reasons of mass killings of Hazara Shia Community of Quetta? Is it associated with sectarian killings?
- How an endangered / insecure community responds to existential threats? What are various models available globally and locally in this regard?
- Is Formulation of integrated Community based Development Models by Hazara Community is helpful in ensuring provision of essential community services to a threatened and insecure community?

1.7 Significance of the study

The work dispensed around studying the Shi'a community of the country and their constant targeting based on their sectarian or ethnic orientation; the focus of my work was to primarily study the lifestyle changes that such insecurity has forced this group to adopt. The study of Hazara Community, Quetta aided in forming a foundational study of a model for targeted groups. The work has revealed how this community had excluded themselves socially from the national systems and how the insecurity is compelling the communities particularly residing in Hazara Town to formulate their exclusionary community driven development models. The models

further helped to understand not only the benefits such systems are providing but also quarried the shortcomings of such a system.

1.8 Locale:

The research was centered on Hazara community that are residents of 'Hazara town' located in the city of Quetta, Baluchistan; Pakistan. Hazaras are *Dari* (Persian) speaking people and associated with Turk-Mongol hereditarily. They are predominantly Shias and Ismailis.

According to various studies, Hazaras in Pakistan hail from Afghanistan where they have been living for more than 2000 years. During era of King Amir Abdul Rehman Khan in 19th Century, persecution of Hazars began in Afghanistan after their subjugation and forceful incorporation of their *Hazarjat* (land). Many Hazaras were killed or forced to flee towards Baluchistan (Pakistan) and Iran.

British in Indo-Pak Subcontinent welcomed Hazars. They were enlisted in army and exclusive Hazara regiments were raised. General Musa Khan, a prominent military figure and hero of 1965 Indo-Pak War belonged to Hazara tribe. He was recruited in Indian Defense services during World War-II in 1939.

Out of total 0.9 million Hazaras living in Pakistan, 0.6 million live in Quetta, Baluchistan and the rest 0.3 million are scattered throughout the country. According to a report published in 2015 approximately 700,000 Hazaras live in Balochistan, mostly in and around Quetta. Since the late 1990s, the Hazaras have been subjected to an increasing number of attacks from religious armed groups in Pakistan, primarily the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi(Siddiqui, 2015). In 2013 alone, nearly half of the Shi'a killed in Pakistan were Hazaras. Killings of Hazara community in Pakistan began with assassination of Gen Musa Khan's Son Hassan Musa in Karachi in 1998. From 2003 onwards, there have been intensive killings of Hazaras in Baluchistan in target killings, bombs / IEDs attacks and suicide bombings. Banned *Lashar e Jhangvi* has claimed responsibility for most of the attacks on Hazaras of Baluchistan followed by *Tahrik e Taliban Pakistan*. [24]

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[24] The information is based on the field survey and data collected by respondents, particularly by the local leaders of the community. The collected data is supported by the literature reviewed at various instances for the particular research. (Gier, 2014)(Siddiqa, 2013)

Due to mass killings of Hazaras, there have been large migrations of the community to Europe, Australia and South East Asia. Those who are left in the Chilton Town of Hazara are closing themselves down due to fear of target killings. Due to their prominent facial features, Hazaras are easy to identify and thus easy target of murderers. Many Hazara students have quit universities outside the town. They are forming their own education and community services institutions to help themselves.

The Hazara Town- An overview:

The city of Quetta has a quiet of its own-in the middle of the disheveled traffic, busy market places and roads under construction signifying the upcoming economic activity in the region-there is an unexplained stillness in the city. The Hazara community resides in two main settlements and one of them lies in one end of the city adjacent to military residential area. Beyond the picturesque muddy mountains that glow in the sunlight there is surviving the community who are fighting their own battle of existence, the valley that Hazaras reside in is not like any regular Pakistani settlement you come across. The mountain stands tall and under it lie the slanting architecture of houses that is unique and signify the Hazaras unique lifestyle. The Hazara town is clean and green; the community puts considerable effort into maintaining their place of residence and is unlike the rest of the Quetta where there is significant pollution and scattered solid waste that remains unmanaged by the authorities. The houses are constructed of bricks and cement; and then there other laden mud houses, representing multiplicity and economics of the society. It is hard to ascertain what goes behind the walls and inside the minds of these people who are leading an extraordinary way of life in an ordinary existence. The community does not indicate a parallel economic background of each family either, there are richer and the poorest in the community and their homes are a symbol of their wealth. The kind of houses this population is residing in might be a barometer for their status of wealth but there is one thing that unites them as a community and that is their threatened survival in the society and their challenged everyday routines.

The ethnographic study that was undertaken as part of my research work was a challenge within itself. The community that already feels on the target of the 'outsiders', it is hard to build the

relationship of trust and empathy with them. As a researcher I found myself constantly struggling to prove that my loyalties are with the community and with myself I carry no hidden agenda and I come in not to harm but to bring out their standpoints to the outside world, the world they feel to susceptible of. The community leaders and some of my personal contacts where helped me to get acquainted from the community, However it became quite evident that it would take years of my constant linkages to my community to prove that my motive is not to harm, neither to infiltrate but to bring to light their opinions and sufferings.

QUETTA CITY MAP
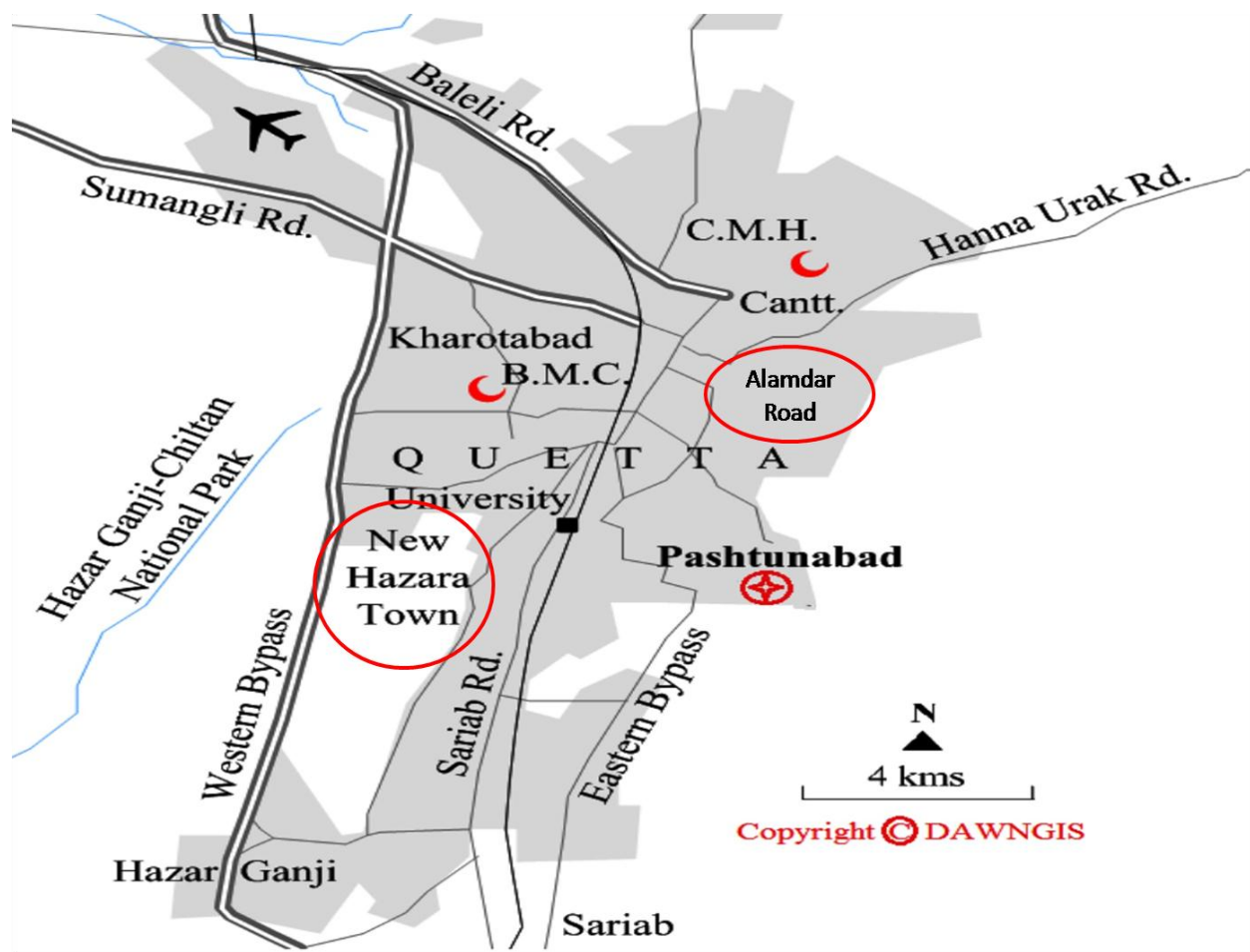
Figure 2: Map Outlining Major Concentration of Hazara community in Quetta[25]

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[25] The map has been designed using a software Dawngis, whereas the outlines have been done by the researcher by the aid of military representatives in the area.

1.9 Historical Background of Hazaras

Hazaras mostly hail from Hazarjat in Afghanistan. With estimated population of approximately over 6.8 million, in ethnicity profile of Afghanistan, Hazaras constitute 3rd largest ethnic group (Book, 2009). Iran has second largest Hazara population after Afghanistan. Mostly Hazara practice Shi'a version of Islam. Since Afghanistan is Sunni majority state, Hazaras are marginalized due to their beliefs. Hazaras also differ from other Afghanis based on their distinct Mongolian features (broad cheekbones, narrow eyes and flat noses). Due to these prominent facial features, Hazaras are easy to identify and easy to single out / target. Hazaras have been subject to violence by successive Afghan rulers / regimes. Their lands had been confiscated and they have been denied access to education and ultimately jobs in government institutions. Hazaras are reported to have changed their ethnicity to Tajiks in order to improve their chances / possibilities for better life. Most of the Hazars have also migrated to Pakistan, Iran and other places within Afghanistan due to insecurity to their life and property (Biseth, 2011).

1.10 The Hazaras of Pakistan

Majority of Hazara Community lives in Quetta – provincial capital of Balochistan. The Hazara community of Quetta numbers well over 600,000 in Quetta. Historically, Hazara migrated to Pakistan from Hazarajat (central Afghanistan). Hazaras living in Quetta, migrated in an array of timelines, based on political, social and economic survival. Some Hazara families' origins in Quetta can be traced back to the late 19th century during the era of Amir Abdur Rehman (1884-1905). Majority of the community immigrated in two waves – the first during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan from 1979 onwards, and the second in 1996, when the Taliban regime in Afghanistan began to target the Hazara (Yusuf I. , 2011). Some Hazara families also migrated after US invasion of Afghanistan. Unlike Pashtun refugees, Most of the Hazaras migrating from Afghanistan did not go to refugee camps. Existing local networks enabled the Afghan Hazaras to avoid staying in refugee camps and to integrate into Hazara Community. Hazaras are living in two enclaves in Quetta i.e Alamdar Road or called Mariabad and Barori Road called Hazara Town. Politically two main parties; Hazara Democratic Party (HDP) and Majlis Wahdat-e-

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Muslimeen (MWM) which is representative of Shia across Pakistan represent Hazara community of Quetta. Head of Hazara tribe is Sardar Saadat Hussain Hazara. The community speaks Hazavi language. Hazarvi is a combination of Darri, Farsi, Pashto and English[26].

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[26] The information has been extracted from filed interviews.

1.12 Research Methodology:

The research was designed around studying a community through an ethnographer's perspective. The research was Qualitative largely and aimed to take an anthropological stance in studying the communities where primary aspiration was going to not only infer information from field observations but to draw rich analysis from open ended interviews in the field.

A field study and getting involved with people in this close proximity helped in knowledge production that was more affluent towards to the problems and perspectives of the community. The community was already constantly subject to violence; an anthropological rhetoric to study helped to generate a social bond that further helped me to generate more logical and coherent information.

1.12.1 Primary data:

In primary data collection, the data is collected using methods such as interviews and questionnaires (Creswell, 2009). The research undertaken for the purpose of this community study was an anthropological research. The researcher actively observed the community giving her an insight into the lives of this group of people.

1.12.2 Ethnographic research:

Ethnography is an inquiry in which a researcher studies an intact cultural group in a natural setting for a prolonged period, collecting data primarily through observations and interviews (LeCompte, 1999)

An ethnographic approach for a holistic cultural study was undertaken for the purpose of my research. The ethnographic study is a fieldwork tradition that picks up contextual and symbolic meanings from the researched field and the individuals being studied along with conducting interviews. The selection ethnographic research in this specific context helped not only in studying the population in detail but also allowed derivation of rich observational analysis. Primary data in this research is:

   a) **Observations**: spending time on field and taking notes from the field

b) **Field Experiences**: Comprehending them and understanding them in terms of interpretations.

c) **Interviews:** Primary data in this research work also involves extensive interviews. These interviews helped generate specific data on specific questions and a few open ended questions further generated discussion on the viable topic of interest for the researcher. The interviews conducted for the research were semi-structured interviews. The respondents were asked to communicate with the researcher in the field and were encouraged to give in-depth answers to the interview questions.

Following people were interviewed for my research:

1. *The residents of the hazara community.*
2. *Some of the influential people of the community who are closely involved in the community building.*
3. *Shi'a Ulema*
4. *Sunni Ulema*[27]
5. *Military personals*
6. *Political Leadership*

1.13 Sampling technique for the interviews: Snowball Sampling:

Snowball sampling is a recruitment technique in which research participants are asked to assist researchers in identifying other potential subjects; the use of currently enrolled research participants to recruit additional research participants (Creswell, 2009). A snowball sampling technique was applied for selecting respondents for conducting an interview. The snowball sampling helped to recognize next respondents for the researcher by a participant interviewee who was interviewed already. This technique helped identify similar respondents with similar experiences for more specific information to be drawn on the topic.

Snowball sampling was recruited owing to the field situation. The Hazara Community is a closed cultural group and interactions to this community remain restricted owing to this barrier. As far

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[27] It is important to gauge the ideas and understand the perspective of the opposite sect for better triangulation of the conflict, the community and their ideals.

as my research is concerned, the snowball sampling technique helped identify the respondents who were willing to be a part of the research and could give relevant information to the researcher.

1.14 Secondary data:

Secondary data collection largely aimed for collecting and building on the research work on the topic by other researchers. The topic has not been explicitly researched before but there is ample data available on the history of sectarianism and descent of Hazaras. The written research papers and articles are descended from various journals and online sources. There have been blogs written by youth of Hazara Community about the issues they face and these could help establish strong connections to primary data and help reiterate the problem statement.

a) **Written documents:**

This refers to the existing document on the subject. The literature reviewed is the written documents that have been used for this study and then further were incorporated in to the research. These include scholarly articles, books, newspapers, blogs, memos, transcripts of conversations.

b) **Published Blogs**:

There have been blogs written by youth of Hazara Community raising the voice about their condition and status of security. This data helped build the case of the community's position and condition.

1.15 Units of data collection:

The units of data collection for the research remained individual respondents that were contributing into the research in form of interviewees, participants of focus group discussions and special case studies undertaken to understand the community, the phenomenon under study and their reaction to the occurrences.

The research helped to study each respondent in detail; his or her particular life happenings and how it had affected their lifestyles in the long term of events; these individual responses than

helped to ascertain the collective phenomenon under study. Following were the main units of data collection in the study.

- **Individual respondents**: The respondents were interviewed in the field on a semi-structured interview guide that is attached in annexure B.

-Focus Group discussion respondents: There were three focus discussions undertaken that were made to respond in a group and these were also a major unit of data collection.

-special case studies: There were a few special case studies that had to be used in the work to acquire in-depth life experiences and information and formulated an integral unit of data collection. The case studies are attached in annexure E.

1.16Research Design*:*

1.16.1 Exploratory Research:

The research work that was undertaken was an exploratory type research. It studied in detail the community and the characteristics of the community in terms of the phenomenon being studied(Creswell, 2009). In case of this particular study, my aim was to explore sectarianism and community's response to the oppression they faced as a specific group in the society.

The rhetoric of undertaking an exploratory method of research remained to study this community that has not been studied in detail before and help me devise best research options to get answers to my research questions and largely studying the concepts from respondent's point of view. The research aimed at selecting subjects that were contributing on exploration on the community and the relating phenomenon. Most of the research undertaken on Hazaras was mainly concentrated on their descent, status in Pakistan and their killings. The research I undertook was to exclusively study the community's killings that led them to formulate exclusionary models of existing and their self-marginalization from the rest of the state apparatus. This kind of study primarily focused of CDD is unique in itself and this kind of detailed study from respondent's perspective has not been undertaken before, hence is an exploration of the phenomenon and is called exploratory research design.

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1.17Research Methods:

1.17.1 Sequential Mixed Method approach:

It is a research procedure in which the researcher seeks to elaborate or expands on one method with another. The researcher begins with qualitative interviews for exploratory purposes and follows up with quantitative analysis, so the results can be generalized to the statement (Bernard, 2006). Since the research employed a sequential mixed approach, it included the use of both primary and secondary data and hence employed an analysis that is quantitative and representative in numeric forms.

The basic tools of collection for primary data, for the qualitative part of the research were the ethnographic fieldwork and semi-structured interviews with residents of Hazara community. These interviews helped identify how communities under stress are behaving and helped extend the researchers understanding of the internal networking systems that they establish as tools of their survival. It further implemented the analysis procedure that presented data in the form of quantitative analysis.

1.18 Qualitative Data Collection techniques:

When applying qualitative research methods, the emphasis is put on the natural setting and the points of views of the research participants. The data is available in forms of observations, interview responses and secondary form of qualitative data that can has to be collected and then analyzed. For the purpose of this specific study the researcher was using following tools of data collection.

1.18.1 Rapport-establishment:

Rapport establishment is the most pivotal aspect of the research at the time when the researcher enters the locale with an aim to study them. Rapport building helps to collect data from the field after primary engagement in the field to familiarize the researcher with the respondents and the environment. Rapport building is a way in which the researcher gets himself acquainted to the

community so that all observations made in the research can be collected without any reservations from the community.

In case of my research, I established rapport to my community under study by the close friends I had in Quetta who belonged to the Hazara town. I was living an entire year in Quetta Cantonment and developed closed ties with them through frequent visits and personal connections to few influential people in Chilton Town[28]

1.18.2 Use of key informants:

The use of key informants has had a prime part to play in my research. As I was undertaking snowball sampling for my research I had to select a few people who I drew close connections to, who were not only responsible for familiarizing me with community but helped identify interviewees whose view held crucial prominence in questions I needed to ask.

The cultural context was another aspect that had to be kept in my mind while researching in this part of Baluchistan and especially this community that was already threatened. These key informants were responsible for helping me grasp these contexts and triangulate my research in a better way.

The primary key informant was a military personal who was also a Hazara by descent and resided in Chiltan town with his family. A local school owner at the community was my second key informant who helped gather community leaders and collect information. The third vital key informant is a youth leader at the community and a student by profession,[29]

1.18.3 Focus group discussions:

Focus group discussions are widely used to collect data where a researcher needs simultaneous responses and to collect information from varying sources but in the same period. The respondents in the group mix will always influence the data, according to things such as the mix of ages, sexes and social professional statuses of the participants (Stewart D W, 1990).

The focus group discussions helped understand people and the problems relating to my study in a close proximity around the familiar circle and helped understand the community understanding

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[28] Refer to the pilot study on page no: 21

[29] The names of all key informants have not been disclosed on their request pertaining to the threat to their security. The situation of Hazara's is highly volatile in Quetta and is targeted regularly, their safety has been my primary motive throughout my research work.

of the problem under study. It also helped to bring people from variety of socio-economic backgrounds under one roof to establish how the thoughts and experiences differed in this context.

I undertook four focus group discussions.

- First focus group comprised of women only and was centered on their perspectives of the research objectives.

- There were two focus groups conducted with the stakeholders and influential members of the community. This focus group helped to generate discussion on broad based economic and social perspectives of the research.

- The last focus group had variety of age groups including children to get responses that were set to generate dialogue between the elderly and youth. It aided in understanding how their notions of the researched subject vary.

1.18.4 Use of case studies

Case study is a strategy through which a researcher explores in-depth a program, an event, activity, process or one or more individuals (Bernard, 2006).Case studies in my research were the use of particular individuals and their detail accounts of life experiences. Case studies helped to enrich the research and produce quality data in first person enhancing the readers understanding. There were two case studies which were used in the research attached in Annexure B to apprehend in detail the lives of the community.

Two case studies were selected for my research and are quoted throughout my work to support the analyzed documentation. Experiences differ at individual levels and explaining them in research helps to develop a well-rounded approach towards the problem under study. In context of my research the individual case study helped to enrich the data and gather information on the particular topic which is rather sensitive.

1.18.5 Semi-structured interviews:

Semi-structured interviews consist of several key questions that help to define the areas to be explored, but also allows the interviewer or interviewee to diverge in order to pursue an idea or response in more detail (Britten, 1999). The interviews are an important tool for collection of

data when the information is required in specific subject. The study aimed to specifically study a dimension of the community, a semi-structured interview was used for the respondents which than helped to gather specific information and generate in-depth knowledge on other questions; such an interview helped generate data that was specific and precise to research questions and detailed in the required perceptions.

1.19 Techniques of qualitative data Analysis:

The data collected in a primarily qualitative research is very important. This kind of techniques help to infer the phenomenon, understand it in the context of the society, and unravel broader meanings that subject might be attaching to. Content analysis is the technique used in this locus.

1.19.1 Content analysis:

Content analysis is usually used in qualitative research data collected in this specific research as a procedure for the categorization of verbal or behavioral data, for purposes of classification, summarization and tabulation. The content in the context of this specific research was coded at a basic manifest level based on what respondents said the number of occurrences of the words and underlying meanings that might be attached. It helped highlight important meanings to the cultural contexts, featuring important messages and findings. The manifest and Latent analysis techniques were used to infer and contextualize responses in the field. The speech and body language signals helped decontextualize and in return compare with original responses to understand meanings (Bengtsson, 2016).

1.20 Pilot study:

The pilot study was done in the field in the November of 2016 for the Hazara Community in Chilton Town, Quetta.

Chilton Town is located a few kilometers away from the Quetta Cantonment where I was situated. In the time; which I was running this study as pilot I was closely interacting with a few people, my key informants[30] who were helping me identify the community, its culture and the issues of security they have. During this time period where I was able to tie some social bonds

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[30] Mr Raza Khan, Principle of a Hazara Community School, MrSher Ali Changazi, a Police Officer from Hazara Community and Mrs Ali Asghar.

with the community I was also getting a chance to understand the barriers that I will be facing at the time I will be formally entering the community as a researcher. The exercise was helping me build the primary knowledge through the literature that I was screening. The historical data gave me a broader understanding of the community's descent and the cultural, social background they carry. These experiences also helped me identify some of the individual case studies that I am going to expand on in the research work of mine.

The pilot study was an elaborate experience of field and helped me shape up my research objectives and questions. The pilot study also helped identify well in advance the barriers that I would face in the field and gave me time to strategize to counter them.

1.21 Limitations of the research:

Hazara community is an isolated group of individuals that have become very secluded from rest of the Quetta city because of threats to their security. The research undertaken had direct involvement with the community members. It was very important to build social ties with the community before entering their residential areas. The key informants where helped me to witness the community and their life, it was still hard to communicate and get the in-depth responses and the questions were relating to their security and the community members were doubting the intentions of this study.

The community speaks Hazarvi and occasionally when the interviews were to be conducted with elderly and less literate members of the society, it was hard to translate and a translator had to always accompany. The translated responses I believe have lost the essence and might contain translator's bias.

The sectarian aspect of the study was not very well received by the community and some of the respondents entirely declined to answer these questions.

The political representation of the community did not show keen interest towards research work and hence I was not able to acquire their detail perspectives.

There have been no pictures of the community members recorded because of the security reasons and all the names had to be changed because the community members were not ready own their statements under their original names.

Chapter II: Literature Review

2.1 Sectarianism; A historical analysis:

In early days of Islam, Muslims had difference of opinion about interpretations of various Commandments of Allah and the Messenger (Peace Be upon Him) due to varied comprehension of the followers, change of circumstances, wisdom and aptitude. Over the period of time, these differences turned into intolerance and factionalism mainly due to human limitations. Most of Muslim sects in the early days of Islam primarily emerged as political schools of thought. Later on, in course of their endeavor to find out scriptural and theological bases of their respective political opinions they gradually converted into theological sects *Hazelton* in her Book, maintains that the first major disagreement in the Islam broke out on the death of Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) as prophet did not nominate his predecessor in clear terms. (Hazelton, 2014).

In his research Muhammad Nadeem Shah (2014) maintains that the first serious political disagreement that broke out in the *ummah*was about the office of the caliph but after the Battles of *Jamal* and *Safeen*the political differences turned into religious disputes. Many sects appeared on the scene. *Kharijites* are considered as the first sect in Muslim history. Up to the battle of *Safeen*they were the supporter of Hazrat Ali (R.A) but they seceded from the *alids* on the plea that "no one has the right to become arbitrator or decision maker in the matters of *din.* When *Kharijites*started killing the innocent people in the name of religion, Hazrat Ali (R.A) crushed their power by defeating them at the battle of *Nahrwan*. Another important sect was the Shias. 'The people who supported Hazrat Ali (R.A) throughout his life and after his martyrdom remained loyal to his descendants were given the name *Shian-e-Ali* or *Shia*' (Encyclopedia of Islam, 1975: 297). However after the martyrdom of *Hazrat Imam Hussain* (R.A) in Karbala the Muslim community bifurcated permanently into Shias and Sunnis and the gulf could not be bridged since then.(Shah, Evolution of Sectarianism in Pakistan: A Threat to the State and, 2014)

2.2 Sectarianism in the Muslim World- Inquiry of the global scenario:

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Sect has been used in Muslim world for various political and personal gains. In his research *Re-Conceptualizing Sectarianism in ME and Asia*, Ibrahim Marashi (2014) suggests that sect was used in Iraq and Syria to ensure regime survival. Sadam Hussain patronaged Arab Sunnis who were mostly from *Tikrit* (Iraq) and did so by accommodating them in inner circles of government, security apparatus and top bureaucracy to ensure survival of his regime. Recent sectarian violence in Iraq also started in 2004 after *Nauri Al Malaki* Government came into power and patronage shifted to Shia's. In Syria, Hafiz Al Asad patronaged *Alawites* who hailed from *Qardaha-* home city of Assad family. Now Bashar al Assad is using *Alawites* (Shia Minority) to suppress uprising against him.

Another view presented by Marashi (2014) states that there have been incidents where sub state actors mobilized *Sunni* sect to defend their identity and not specifically anti-Shiaism. In recent clashes in Syria and Iraq, there seems a clear divide between sectarianism and anti-Shiaism. Like *Arab Sunni Awakening* in Iraq is not anti-Shia movement but it is to counter ISIS. This movement cooperates with Shia Militias for their own cause. *Jabah al Nusra* − an *Al-Qaida* affiliate fighting with ISIS and Free Syrian Army and Assad regime is another example of the complexity of the situation. There are some Sunni groups, which support the Assad Regime. (Marashi, 2014).

A varying reason exists in literature for Shia-Sunni cleavage is Saudi-Iran rivalry for influence of Middle East. Both countries are trying to dominate ME through cold war and use of proxies. Clashes in Syria, Iraq, Yemen are somewhat result of / attributed to this cold war. Both countries support various Sunni and Shia organizations in Pakistan also for their stake. These religious / sectarian organizations have been allegedly responsible for sectarian violence in Pakistan. (Yusuf, 2011)

While tracing roots of various sects in Indian Sub Continent, Shah (2014) sustains that various rulers used religion as an instrument of power for their vested interests. Various sects existed

during muslims reign of Indian Sub Continent and the rulers exploited various religious sectrain difference for their worldly advantages. Sultanate of Dehli parcticed Hanfi school of thought durig their rule of India form 1206 to 1526. Most of the Mughals practiced Sunni ideology except Humayun who was influced by Shia ideology. During Humayun era, Shiaism flourished in the Sub-Continent specially in southern India. However, British Raj ignited these sectarian difference to maximum under their policy of *'divide and rule'*. Many new sects appeared in the sub continent during British rule to include *Wahabi Movement, Ahle-e-Hadith, Barailvis, Deobandis etc* (Shah, Evolution of Sectarianism in Pakistan: A Threat to the State and, 2014).

2.3 Understanding the Shi'a Killings and conflict in Pakistan:

Pakistan is a home to diverse cultures, traditions and a variety of people from varying beliefs living together. The population studies by Government of Pakistan reveals that there are various religious minorities and Muslim sects in Pakistan co-existing. Along with other minority groups there is quite a significant population of Shi'a Muslims in Pakistan accounting to around 10-15% [31] of the entire population (Census,1998). However, there are studies which also indicate that this number could be an under representation of the actual number of populace and there are around 18% of Shi'a Muslims living in Pakistan including Hazaras and *Ismailis* (Oly, Population of Different sects of Islam in Pakistan., 2014).

The Shi'a Muslims in Pakistan although being a minority group have excelled at all levels in Pakistan. The representation of this group in the social and economic system has although been very strong but over the years the incidence of targeted violence against this sect of Muslim Population has been on a rise (Milhar, 2014). Milhar, further suggests that owing to the beliefs of this sect they are subjected to violence by individuals and groups with radical Islamist ideals.((Waseem, 2010) in his study of Sectarian violence also indicates the expansion of hostility against the Shi'a sect in Pakistan. According to his work which studies the timelines and their connections to the rise of sectarianism he argues that the period following 1990s could be indicated as the initiation point of these incidents which targeted specific groups. The strategic

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[31] The quoted figures of population percentages are from Census of 1998, which is an older reference as compared to the latest figures quoted in most recent literature referenced on page number 3 under the header of introduction.

engagement of Pakistan in Afghanistan and General Zia UlHaq's Islamist laws and morals are usually considered to be the root of spreading *'Sunnification'* which led changes in all stratus of society and long term implications for minority sects like Shi'a Muslims in Pakistan. The extremist social and political *Wahabism* has been a result of the Zia's principles that led to exploitation of one group. It created the enmity that led to structural changes in the system of the nation where in past all mutually accepted the differences and peace and stability prevailed. Enigma of sectarian violence in Pakistan was brought by by General Zia introduction of Zakat and Usher Ordinance in 1980 by General Zia. Tahrik-e-Nifaz-e-Figh-Jafria (TNFJ) was already formed in 1979 by Mufti Jafar Hussain to resisit anti Shia laws and policies of General Zia. Because of this ordinance, TNFJ mobilized Shia sect. Approximately 100,000 Shia's marched to Islamabad due to which amendments were made in the Zakat ordinance exempting Shia's from deducting of Zakat. Seeing the rising influence of Shia community, Sipha e Sahaba Pakistan emerged in 1985 with strict anti-Shia agenda.

In his research Nadeem Shah further suggests that the sectarian situation worsened when *Haq Nawaz Jhangvi* created *Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan*(SSP) in 1985 and demanded to pronounce Shias as non-Muslims and Pakistan as a Sunni State. Haqnawaz Jhangvi belonged to district Jhang. He before creation of Sipha e Sahaba Pakistan HaqnawazJhangvi took part in Tehrik-e-Khatme-Nabuwwat against Ahmadis. Haqnawaz Jhangvi gained popularity amongst sunni followers when he took strict anti Shia stance after Iranian Revolution in 1979 and started criticizing Khomeini – Iranian Supreme Leader. He also targeted Shah Jewna family of Jhang for his political ambitions which made him more popular amongst common poor people of socially backward area of Jhang. He parted ways from Jamiat-e-Ulema Pakistan and formed Sipha-e-Sahaba. (Shah, Evolution of Sectarianism in Pakistan: A Threat to the State and, 2014).

He took part in politics and later on was murdered by his opponents. But his followers alleged that the Shia community was responsible for his assassination. Later on *Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ)* came on the scene with Riaz Basra as its chief, and exterminated many Shias including intellectuals, scholars and worshipers. 'To respond such killing Shias from *Thokar Niaz Beg*, Lahore made *Sipah-e-Muhammad Pakistan* (SMP) and embattled *Deobandis*. Although both the organizations are banned in Pakistan since many years but bloodshed and target killing of people of either sect are persist without any restraint.

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The targeted killing of one group of Muslims as indicated by most of the literature can be broadly categorized to have gained its momentum in the decade following the 1990s and ever since the violence reported, has been inclining. According to Huma Yousaf (2012), the current resurgence of sectarian violence can be traced to the rise of the Pakistani Taliban in the mid-2000s and this organization is growing ties with militant sectarian organizations such as LeJ. Sectarian violence is arguably the most dangerous fallout for Pakistan of the US led war against terrorism in neighboring Afghanistan. Sectarian violence has spread across the country and is increasingly directed at disenfranchised targets such as Baluchistan's Hazaras and worshippers at Sufi shrines. The government's continuing failure to dismantle militant groups, enforce ban on hate speech and sectarian propaganda, improve criminal justice system and *madrassa* reforms has allowed sectarianism to thrive. In the absence of a comprehensive state crackdown, sectarian violence threatens to worsen Pakistan's fragile security situation (Yusuf H. , 2012).

A new phenomenon in the global milieu is *Jihadism* is ISIS. This organization rose to power in 2004 by occupying large tracts of Northern Iraq. In his article Ali Saif suggests that ISIS was successful in attracting fighters from jihadi outfits under the scam of Al-Qaeda. Friction between ISIS and Al-Qaeda militant groups has heightened tensions between Al-Qaeda and Pakistani militant groups as well. It has also increased the potential of militants with sectarian ideologies in Pakistan to side with ISIS(Saif, 2014).

The valley of Quetta and the popular group of Hazara Shia's residing in the city are no exception to target killing due to their sectarian orientation.(Dedaulus, 2004) In his work on the study of Hazara Community has revealed that Hazara Shi'a killing have been highest between the years of 1998-2003 where Hazara Community individuals were targeted and ruthlessly murdered solely on the account of their beliefs. The inability of officials to curtail the incidents have somehow robbed Hazara's of their right and hope to justice altogether.

2.4 Hazaras in Literature- descent and history:

Milhar in her work, studies the origin of Hazaras. According to her, Hazaras are mostly residing in the province of Baluchistan and settled on the city Quetta have a Turk- Mongolian origin and speak Persian (Milhar, 2014). Most of the Hazara's are Shia and have Afghan roots and can be recognized by their distinct facial features. Quetta is a host to around 500,000 people from this community. On the contrary (Yusuf, 2011) argues that there are varying beliefs about the origins of this group but the universally accepted fact remains that they happen to be a mixed race, whose dilemma is that they are at a constant threat of being targeted.

There is no authentic source available that can help quantify the actual number of deaths of the Hazaras in the name of religion. An article published in a reputed Pakistani Newspaper (DAWN, 2013) arranges the target killings against Hazara Community in Quetta from 2001 to 2013. The most ruthless of which documented have been attack on a mosque in 2003 and various incidents of Shia pilgrim killings returning on busses. The rising uncertainty and inability of the government to overcome the situation has led this community to have rising concerns about their security and their existence in the country. The situation has had number of studies condemning the incidents, even have had researchers generating the recommendations for improving the circumstances but no research moves beyond the physical pain to study the organizational changes that have permanently become embedded in the structure of the Hazara community.

Hazaracommunity has a strong civic sense and has an introverted way of thinking practicing brotherhood and closing down themselves to the outer communities. Canfield (2004), revises a similar kind trend in Hazaras of Afghanistan, the years following the 1980s the popular discomfort amongst the Hazaras themselves was seen to have vanished away and was replaced by a strong sense of commitment to each other and a renewed sense of society. The bonding found in this community and their reclusive societal structure signals synonymous trends with those of Hazara community in Quetta. Conversely, the link between the insecurity and their repulsion to the outer world in form of their own community driven development is still to be established.

2.5 Understanding community driven development models for Hazara community:

The models of community driven development are the modern ways of excelling and developing. A Food Consumption and Nutrition Division (International Food Policy Research Institute) (FCND) discussion paper analyses the community driven development model to be ways of empowering and democratization of resources and powers. The Community Driven Development (CDD) models can help communities to formulate a motivation and incentive for development at all levels (Gillispe, 2004). The question at hand remains if the model of CDD followed by the Hazara community is a source of empowerment for them or happens to exclude them from larger context of nationalism and sense of residency in Pakistan.

The Hazaras are socially excluded from the national systems. Individuals and groups can be marginalized on the basis of multiple aspects of their identity, including but not limited to: race, gender or gender identity, ability, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, sexuality, age, and/or religion. Some individuals identify with multiple marginalized groups, and may experience further marginalization as a result of their intersecting identities. The freedom of thought conscience and religion is being sabotaged of this community in Pakistan. The instances of 200 Shi'a Hazara deaths alone in the year of 2013 is an example of marginalization and vulnerability of this group. (Human Rights Comission of Pakistan, 2013). (Barreto, 2014)

Many such communities exist in the world that pertaining to their beliefs decided to close down them and lived in complete solitude. Amish Community of USA is an example of such a closed structure of societal living. The Amish Community is a group of people who follow the teachings of Jacob Ammann - a 17th-century citizen of Switzerland. The community has closed down themselves to modern ways of living and do not educate their children in colleges or high schools, neither participate in any activities of a regular citizen of United States of America (BBC, 2006). (O.Pratt, 2004) in her book on this community has studied Shipshewana Settlement in Indian Amish Community in three distinct eras. First era is from 1840 – 1917 in which internal issues of the Amish were main troubles being faced by the community mostly churchy issues. From 1917 – 1945 is the era in which Amish Community of Shipshewana faced the crises which were brought to them by external forces.

Most the conflicts were brought two world wars, Attacks by Ku Klux Klan, troubles with the Government over Compulsory Schools Attendance and changes brought by the Great Depression the other factors that made them more hardliner towards their beliefs and closed them down in their settlements further. Amish people speak Pennsylvanian Dutch – a German dialect. They practice Christianity and strictly follow bible. In 1919 Amish leader decided not to use power lines on the plea that it connected to the outside world and still they don't have electricity in their communities. They don't use modern electronic gadgets nor they are affected by modern crisis of power shortages, strikes etc. Amish woman still use mid-wives while giving birth so they need fewer hospitals The Amish educate their kids until the 8th grade in privately Amish owned school with focus on English and Arithmetic. The Amish as suggested by Kraybil et al. (2013) in the book 'The Amish' are not am entirely desegregated community, they have businesses successfully running throughout South America and are regular tax payers. The community just tends to refrain from engagement in activities and technological advancement that might threaten their existence (Kraybil, Johnson-Weiner, & Nolt, 2013)

The Amish community might have entirely different cultural context and historical background but there are close connections that can be drawn of this community with the Hazaras.. The Hazaras.are similar to Amish as they seem to be closing down and permanently setting themselves away from regular life of citizens it is however important to understand how their particular arrangement works and the future implications of such an arrangement for Pakistan, its effects on the country.

Chapter III: DATA PRESENTATION

3.1 Outline:

The research undertaken on the Hazara community had an objective of understanding the Sectarian violence from community's viewpoint and further investigating the impact this violence has created on the community. The research was an ethnographic research and required the researcher to go into the field and collect primary data through interviews and focus group discussions. The primary data collection was done through responses generated by the community members. The chapter is dedicated at presenting this data, which has been derived from metadata to understand what the community's point of view was, later analyse, and interpret it to connect meanings to this primary data.

The primary data was collected through semi-structured interviews conducted with eighteen respondents and three focus group discussions and data collected in these exercises has been presented as under.

3.2 Data Presentation for In-depth interviews with the respondents from the field:

The Hazara community is a closed community with limited access to people and information. The research undertook a detailed semi-structured interview guide[32] to inquire upon various aspects of the lives of the community and to understand the issue of security and development from the respondent's point of view. The demographics of the interviewed population is represented in illustrations below.

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[32] Attached in the annexure C.

3.2.1 Demographics of the interviewed population:
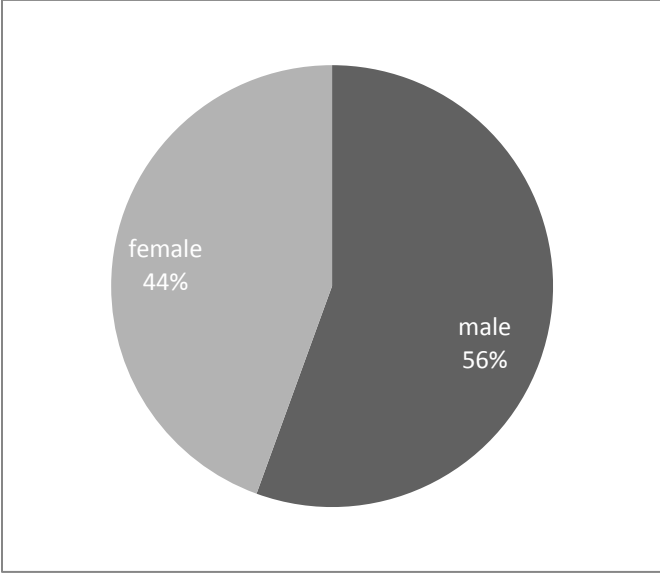
Figure 3: GENDER BASED ANALYSIS OF THE POPULATION

The interviews were conducted with 18 respondents from the community out of which 56% were male and 44% of the population was female. The male respondents were slightly higher than female respondents because of the fact that topic of the research was highly sensitive and required the respondent to be proficient and informed in the issues relating to global political scenario, sectarian conflicts, societal aspects of development in community and knowledge of community progress along with understanding of security situation in the region. Although men and women have an impressive literacy rate in the community, men seem conversant about the research topic.
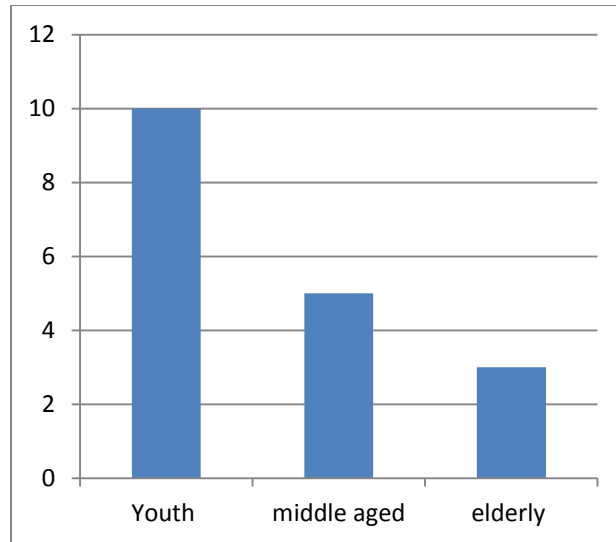
Figure 4: Age wise respondent population analysis

The above figure is a representation of age distribution of the interviewed population. Ten respondents were in their youth (18-35 years of age). Around five respondents were middle aged (30-56 years of age) and three of the total interviewed population were elderly (56 and above years of age). The respondents had a large number of youth population pertaining to the fact that were easily accessible and had a lesser language barrier during the in-depth interviews. The middle-aged population had stronger views and their point of views was based on their life experiences, they were well versed in historical opinions. The elderly populations were mostly community leaders and their responses during the interviews led into relatively more holistic view of the research questions.
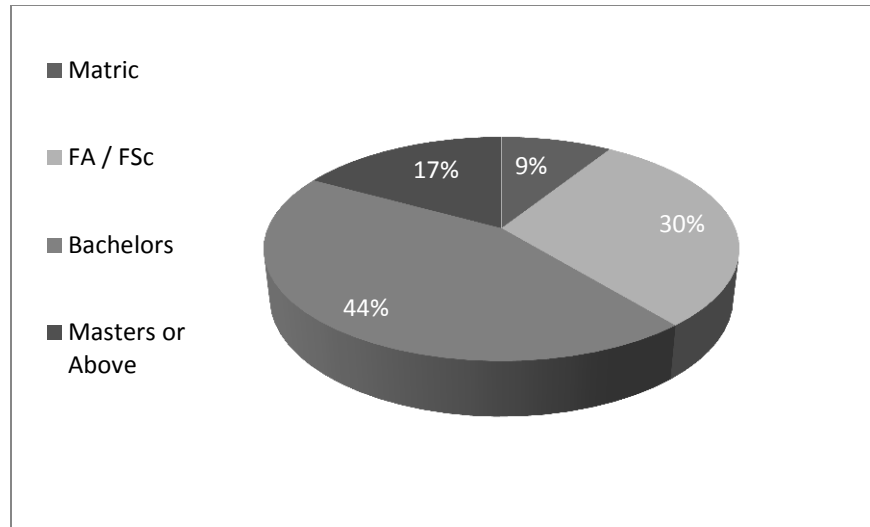
Figure 5: Literacy rate amongst the respondents

Most of the respondents of this research were literate. Majority of them was either bachelors or above. 44% of the total interviewed population held a Bachelor's degree and around 17% of them were Masters. 30 % of the population had acquired 12 years of knowledge and just a few respondents i.e 9% were higher secondary school certificate holders. The population of the community in general has a primary focus on education and many of the respondents that were interviewed for the research were excelling professionals in their respective fields.

3.3 Demonstrating responses from interview participants:

A semi-structured interview guide was used for the respondents to collect their point of views on various aspects of research. In-depth responses were collected on the sectarian/ethnic aspects of the violence, lifestyle that has been adopted by this community post conflict and a detailed feedback on development practices in community were collected from residents of this communal[33]. The response of the respondents that were collected from the community were than

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[33] The interview guide that was used during this research is attached in the Annexure C of this document.

coded at basic manifest level and qualitative presentation of these responses has been presented in the table below.

Primary Research Questions	Agree	Disagree	Did Not Comment
Are there any linkages between global sectarianism and sectarianism in Pakistan?	80 %	20 %	-
Did Zia's Islamization gave rise to Sectarianism?	90 %	5%	5 %
What are the reasons of mass killings of Hazara Shia Community of Quetta? Sectarianism or Ethnic?	Sectarianism–40 % Ethnic – 30 % Both- 30 %	-	-
Are there existential threats to Hazaras in Quetta?	20 %	70 %	10 %
Are you satisfied with the Governments efforts for Development in the Hazara Towns?	40 %	55 %	5 %
Are you satisfied with the Community Driven Development being undertaken in the Hazara Community? Is it self-sustaining?	30 %	60 %	10 %
Are there sufficient medical facilities available for Hazaras?	30 %	70 %	-
Are there any hindrances to Education of Hazara Youth?	60 %	30 %	10 %

Table 1: Data representation of responses collected during interviews in the field

The above data presents in detail the respondents point of view about each research question. The interviews were designed to collect the detailed responses of each individual regarding varying aspects of the research. The above table hence broadly only categorizes the respondents view in agreement or disagreement to the statements that were presented and also outlines a percentage of respondents who declined from answering a certain question or were hesitant of sharing their views.

Most of the interviewed population agreed that there were linkages of the global wave of sectarianism with its rise in Pakistan. Zia's Ideology and Islamization also seemed to be believed as the major cause of shi'a Sunni rift in Pakistan according to the respondents of the research. The perspective of respondents about this violence being ethnic or exclusively sectarian was found to be divided. 30% of the population considered that the existing scenario was a consequence of both sectarian and ethnic issues in the country. It is essential to note here that around 30% of the respondents thought that this extremism that was targeting Hazaras was exclusively ethnic and did not draw strong connections of it with intra sect crevice and dispute.

Majority of population projected that the government's efforts for Hazara- for community development and security alike were deemed ineffective and fewer. Similarly, the CDD models that were currently followed by the community did not seem to be appreciated by all the members of the community.

3.4 Data Presentation from Focus Group Discussions:

There were three focus group discussions that were conducted in the field. The first FGD (Focus Group Discussion) was conducted amongst men of varying ages, professions and backgrounds. The second focus group discussion was female oriented FGD, which was conducted to collect Reponses from women's perspective as a member of Hazara community. The third FGD was a mixed gender and Youth oriented FGD.

The focus group discussions in the field were a debate initiation approach for me as a researcher

and helped the community to talk about issues that had not been addressed very conveniently in individual interviews and were able to spark a discussion that led the respondent to discover various aspects of community and questions at hand.

3.4.1 Data Presentation for Focus Group Discussions For Men:

Despite being a closed community, it was easy to access men of varying ages and professions for focus group discussion. Response of the focus group discussion with men was obtained through a structured focus group discussion guide[34] to generate discussion on various aspects of Hazara community, real causes of threat to them and its impact on the development. The demographics of the interviewed population are presented in illustrations below.

3.2.2 Demographics of the interviewed population:
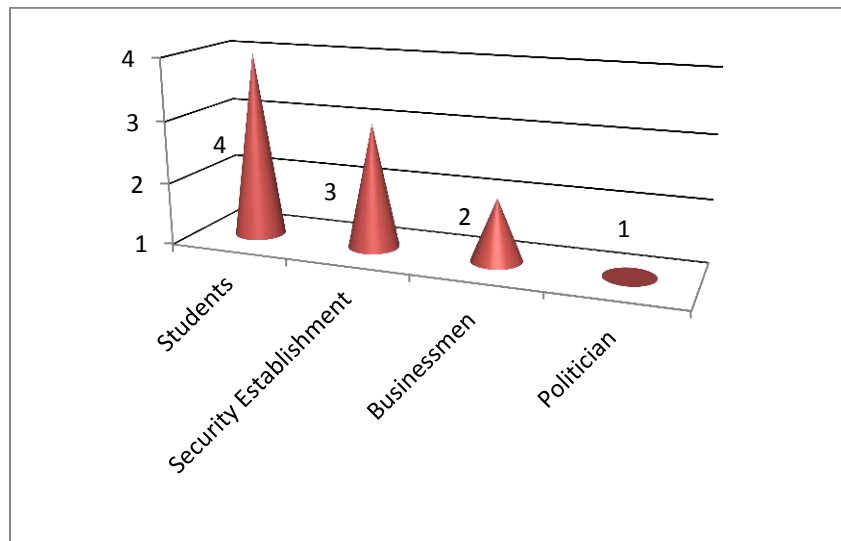
FIGURE 6: PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUNDS OF PARTICIPANT IN FGD FOR MEN

Due to the nature and scope of the discussion and personal contacts, most of the men gathered for focus group discussion had better awareness of security situation and were also well linked within their community. They had fair idea of intricacies of fighting the terrorism and urban area law and order issues. Above chart explains profession wise analysis of panel members. Out of 10

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[34] Attached as appendix D.

men gathered for focus group discussion, three men belonged to security establishment mainly police and constabulary, four were students, one was politician and two were businesspersons.
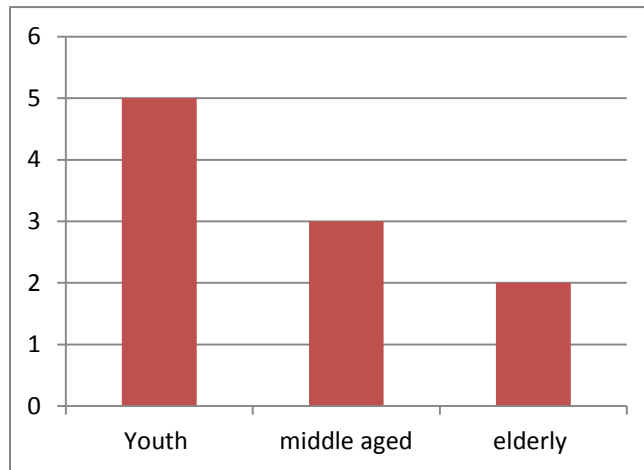
FIGURE 7: **AGE ANALYSIS OF FGD PARTICIPANTS (MEN)**

The above graph represents ages of focus group discussion panel of men.

The above figure is a representation of age distribution of the interviewed population. Five members of the panel were in their youth (18-35), Three members of the penal were middle aged (30-56 years of age) and two members of the panel were elderly (56 and above years of age). Mainly youth members of the panel belonged to security establishment or students. Their opinion was more focused on the development and strong feelings for the community. Middle aged and elderly persons had more general view about the issues being faced by their community. During discussions one could find out convergence of the opinion amongst same profession members of the panels.
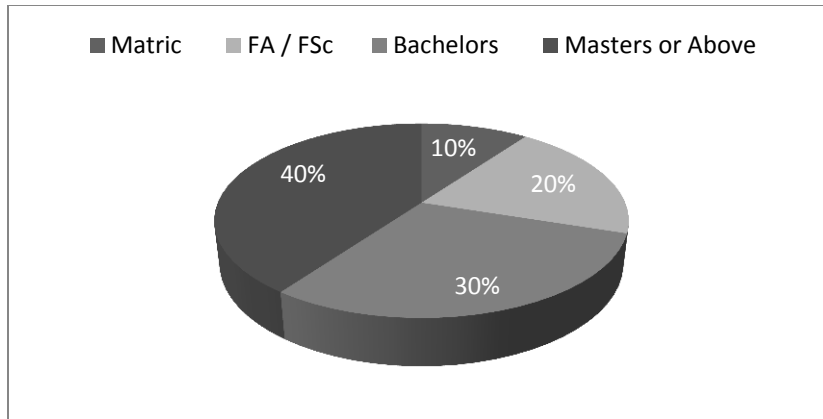
FIGURE 8: LITERACY RATE AMONGST THE RESPONDENTS

Almost all members of the panel were literate. 40% members held Masters or above degrees and 30% were Bachelor's degree holders. 20% of the panel had acquired 12 years of knowledge and just a one panel member (10%) was higher secondary school certificate holders.

3.4.2 Demonstrating responses from Focus group discussion (men):

A structured focus group discussion guide was used to obtain responses of panel members on various aspects pertaining to Hazara community in general and Hazara men in particular. Discussions highlighted the underlying reasons for sectarianism in Muslim world and its linkages with Pakistan, reason of sectarianism in Pakistan and various security threats to the Hazara Community. The most important revelation of the focus group discussion with men was difference of opinion on the reason of target killing of Hazaras as majority of the panel members (about 50%) were of the opinion opined that it was ethnic and regional political biases rather than sectarianism responsible for the mass killings of Hazaras.

Primary Research Questions	Response 1	Response 2	Response 3
In your opinion what are causes of Sectarianism (فرقہ پرستی) in Muslim World?	Vested Interest of Muslim Leaders – 50 %	Saudi – Iran Rivalry – 30 %	Historical – 20 %
Are there any linkages between global sectarianism and sectarianism in Pakistan?	Yes – 60 %	No – 30 %	Mix – 10 %
What are reasons of sectarianism in Pakistan? Did Zia's Islamization had any role to play	Policies of Successive Governments (specially Zia's era) – 40 %	External Factors – 30 %	Difference of Religious Parties - 30%
What are the underlying reasons of violence against Shi'a community in Pakistan?	Zia's Policies of Wahabism – 60 %	Saudi Influence – 30 %	Genuine ideological differences – 10%
What are reasons of Target Killing of Hazaras in Quetta?	Ethnic – 50 %	Sectarian – 30 %	Mix – 20 %
What are effects of sectarianism on economic and development activities of men in particular?	Considerable – 50 %	Manageable – 40 %	Negligible – 10 %
Do men feel more besieged in this scenario of being targeted?	No – 50 %	Yes – 50%	-
Have there been any interventions by the government for the community to provide relief?	Satisfied – 60 %	Unsatisfied – 30 %	Mix – 10 %
What is the way forward for Development and social services in the Hazara Community	Public Driven – 50 %	Community Driven – 30 %	Public – Private Partnership – 20%
Are people satisfied with the efforts for development and provision of essential services within the community	No – 80 %	Yes – 10 %	Mix – 10%

TABLE 2:

RESPONSE DEMONSTRATION FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION FOR MEN

3.4.3 Data Presentation for Focus Group Discussions for Women

Hazaras are a conservative community, further have closed down themselves socially and these societal obstacles made it tough to encourage woman participation for focus group discussion for this research. The sensitivity of the topic also hindered easy access to Hazara Women. Due to above mentioned reasons, woman panel member for focus group discussion lacked diversity in profession as opposed to men focus group. Responses of the panel members were obtained through structured focus group discussion guide[35]. Detailed demographic analysis of the panel members is given in succeeding papras.

3.2.2 Demographics of the Female Focus Group Discussion Population:
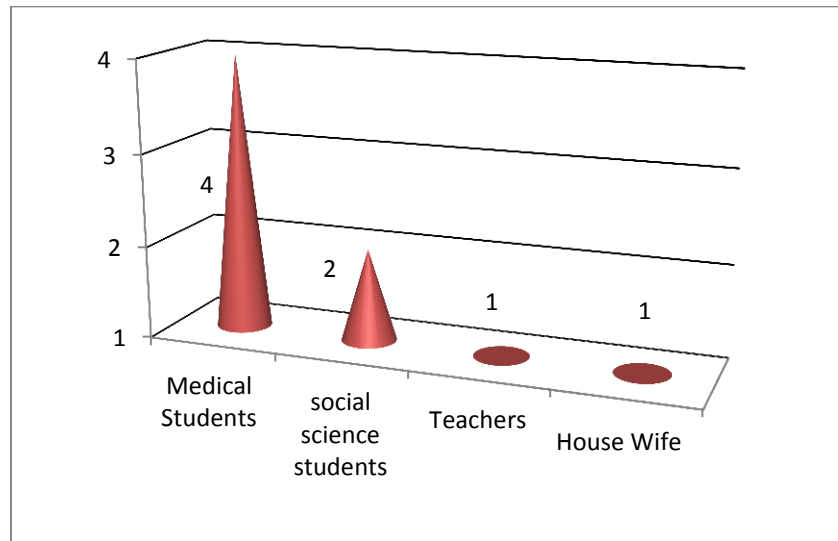
FIGURE 9: ILLUSTRATING PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUNDS OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION FOR WOMEN

Based on the personal contacts, woman gathered for focus group discussion were mainly medical students or medical professionals (doctor). Some university students were also present for focus group discussion. Penal members had definite views on social problems being faced by the community however; their response to security related questions was not conclusive. Above chart explains profession wise analysis of panel members. Above-illustrated chart explains

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[35] Women Focus Group Discussion Guide is attached as Anx E.

professional diversity of women panel members. Out of eight women gathered for focus group discussion, four were medical students belonging to Quetta Medical College, one was doctor teaching in the same institution. Two women were social students in University of Balochistan and one panel member was a house wife.
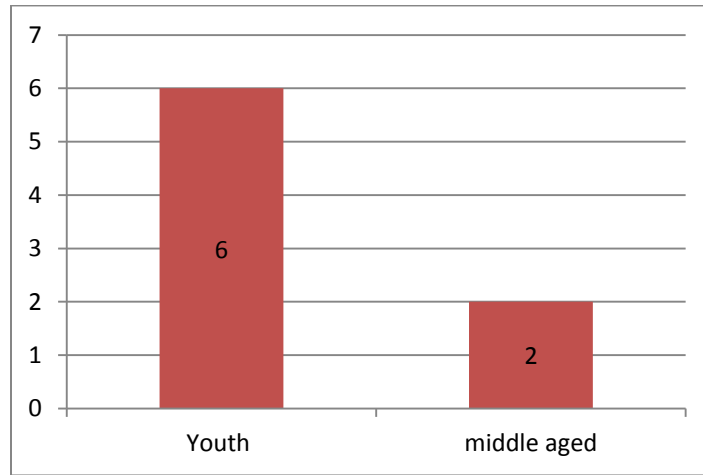
FIGURE 10: AGE WISE RESPONDENT POPULATION ANALYSIS FOR FGD (WOMEN)

The above figure is a representation of age distribution of the woman focus grouped discussion population. All the students were their youth (18-35 years), whereas professional woman and homemaker were middle aged (30-56 years of age). Woman were dissatisfied with the social services in their communities however all defied the security threats to their community and were actively involved in their social and professional lives.
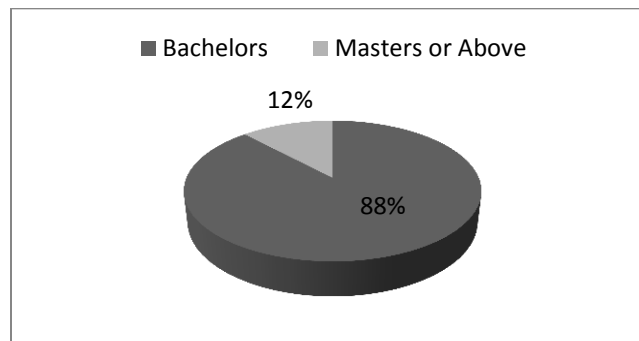
FIGURE 11: LITERACY RATE AMONGST THE RESPONDENTS FOR FGD (WOMEN)

All female participants of the focus-group discussion were highly qualified. All eight participants had done their Bachelor's degree. Six participants were perusing their professional degrees being

students. Comparative analysis of qualification of woman focus group is show in the above chart. With the exception of one woman, all others were either professionals or aspiring to be one in near future. Their resolve to work for their communities and their families was visible during the discussion.

3.3 Demonstrating Responses from Woman Focus Group Discussion Participants:

A structured focus group discussion guide was used to obtain responses of panel members on various aspects pertaining to Hazara community in general and Hazara woman in particular. Due to lack of diversity of participants with regards to their professions, almost unanimous views were expressed on various issues being faced by the Hazars particularly Hazara women. Their opinion about security situation was not very conclusive however they expressed openly about social issues being faced by Hazara women. All student participants of the focus group wanted to join professional life and contribute in the society rather than sitting in their houses.

Primary Research Questions	Response 1	Response 2	Response 3
In your opinion what are causes of Sectarianism (فرقہ پرستی) *in Muslim World?*	Historical – 40 %	Saudi – Iran Rivalry – 40 %	Vested Interest of Muslim Leaders – 20 %
Are there any linkages between global sectarianism and sectarianism in Pakistan?	Yes – 50%	No – 50%	-
What are reasons of sectarianism in Pakistan? Did Zia's Islamization had any role to play	Policies of Successive Governments (specially Zia's era) – 60 %	External Factors – 30 %	Difference of Religious Parties - 10%
What are the underlying reasons of violence against Shi'a community in Pakistan?	Zia's Policies of Wahabism – 80%	Saudi Influence – 20 %	-
What are reasons of Target Killing of Hazaras in Quetta?	Ethnic – 50 %	Sectarian – 50%	-
What are effects of sectarianism on economic and development activities of women in particular?	Manageable – 50 %	Considerable – 30 %	Negligible – 20 %
Do women feel more besieged in this scenario of being targeted?	No – 60 %	Yes – 40%	-
Have there been any interventions by the government for the community to provide relief to women?	Unsatisfied – 50%	Satisfied – 40 %	Mix – 10 %
What is the way forward for Development and social services in the Hazara Community	Public Driven – 40 %	Community Driven – 40 %	Public – Private Partnership – 20%
Are women satisfied with the efforts for development and provision of essential services within the community	No –70 %	Yes – 20 %	Mix – 10%

Table 3: TABULATED RESPONSES OF WOMEN DURING FGD

4.1 Who Targets Hazaras; Hazara Persecution – Separating Myths from Reality

Hazaras are known to be the most educated and qualified citizens of Quetta involved in all facets of administrative and public life. The community today can be recognized in two predominant settlements, Hazara enclaves of *Alamdar Road* and *Barori Road*. After a decade of brazen, senseless and unrestricted killing of Hazaras in the city, some portion of the community has now migrated to other parts of the country, with considerable proportion of the entire population seeking refuge abroad as Shia violence across Pakistan continues persistently.

The systematized violence and target killing of Hazaras can be dated back to the year 2003 when police recruits were targeted in Quetta, killing 12 police recruits of Hazara youth. Suicide attack on a *Shia Imam Bargah* (Mosque) also took place the same year killing over 60 people from the community. This can be pronounced as the first major terrorist incident in Pakistan after US invasion of Taliban's regime in Afghanistan. In 2004 *Moharram* procession of Hazara community was targeted killing almost 100 people mostly Hazaras. Ever since, targeted attacks and killings of Hazaras has become a routine occurrence.

Sajjad Changazi – an elder from Hazara community shared that

'people would go to buy household items from the market and target killers would shoot them on Saryab Road and Spini Road. Slowly we started restricting ourselves from going outside of our two territories of Alamdar Road and Barori Road.'

Quite a few members of our community also migrated outside Quetta. He further said that militants also started target killing of our people going to Iran for pilgrimage of Holy Sites. Most of these attacks occurred near *Mastung, Lak Pass* and *Dalbadien* area.

Fatima – a medical student maintains that:

"main reason for Hazaras being particularly vulnerable to sectarian attacks is our prominent / distinctive facial features and Shia affiliation."

Many Hazaras were also killed while traveling to/from Iran for visiting Shia Holy Sites. According to UK Home Office, in sectarian violence against Shia Community in 2012, Hazara Shia of Quetta amounted to one-quarter amongst all Shias killed. In 2013, approximately half of Shias killed in sectarian attacks were Hazaras of Balochistan. (UK home office report 2016 on Visa/Asylum Policy for Hazaras , 2016). The bloodiest attacks on Hazaras since independence of the country were in January and February 2013 in which at least 180 Hazaras were killed. First attack was a suicide attack in Snooker Club of Quetta on January 10, 2013 and consequently a second attack was bomb blast in a vegetable Market in Hazara Town on February 17, 2013. According to statistics of a report on minorities published by Jinnah Institute 288 incidents of violence against Shia Community occurred between 2012 to 2014,(Jinnah Institute published in Minority report, 2016). Detail of these events is covered in the table below.

Incident Detail	2012	2013	2014	Total
Targeted Attacks	42	40	148	230
Suicide / Bomb Attacks	11	16	10	37
Damage to Worship Areas	5	9	7	21

Table 4 : Detail of attacks on Hazara Community by Type

Source: (Timeline of attacks on Hazaras in Baluchistan, 2013)

A total of 230 targeted attacks were carried out on the Hazara community from the year 2012 to the year 2014. The largest incidents were recorded in the year 2014. Similarly a total of 37 suicide attacks were accrued out on the community and 21 attacks damaged the worship places

of the community. Over the years, the statistics display a rise in the extremism specifically targeting this community.

4.2.1 Sectarian Aspect

Main threat to Hazaras of Quetta is sectarian violence and target killing by militants of Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ). Fatwa of LeJ to kill Hazaras is attached at *Annexure A*. According to UK Home Department note on Hazaras, approximately 1400 Hazaras had been killed upto November 2015 and about 3500 were severely injured in 189 attacks by sectarian militants since 1999(Office, 2016).

Sher Ali Changazi– a police officer in Quetta belonging to Hazara Community maintains that

"Ever since launch of Operation Zarb-e-Azb in 2014 and Operation Radd-ul-Fassad by Pakistan Army, number of sectarian attacks and casualties of Hazaras have decreased considerably".

The bloodiest attack on Hazaras was carried out in 2013 in which 180 Hazaras were killed. LeJ claimed the responsibility of that attack. *LeJ* did not only kill Hazaras but members of Frontier Corps (FC) Balochistan and Police who were assigned to protect Hazara community members, their Imambargahs, processions or pilgrims.

LeJ enjoyed a close alliance with *Tahrik-e-Taliban Afghanistan* (TTA). It fought alongside Afghan Taliban in Afghanistan. In 1998, it helped Taliban in massacre of thousands of Hazaras living in *Mazaar Sharif*. For Pakistan Military things went complicated when LeJ joined hands with *Tahrik-e-Taliban* Pakistan (TTP) and perpetrated violent attacks against civilians particularly Shias in Pakistan. It has also been involved in high profile attacks on Pakistan Army's personnel and installations. Most of the attacks carried out by *LeJ*against Hazaras in Balochsitan are in collaboration with TTP.

Sher Ali Changazi opines that

'LeJ has suffered many setbacks in recent past. Killing of their leader Malik Ishaq in a police encounter in Punjab was a major blow. Likewise killing of Usman Kurd – Balochistn Head of LeJ by FC in 2015 broke backbone of LeJ in Balochsitan. Hard-core cadre of LeJ is not more than few hundreds. However, with its tactics of operating in small groups amounting to as few as two or three members and with the large network of Deobandi Madrassas and sympathizers in the mosques and markets, it can effectively plan and terrorist attacks against Shias. It has been reported to have sleeper cells in Punjab and Karachi beside presence in mountains of Balochistan that is the focus of Operation Radd-Ul-Fassad of Pakistan Army. '

LeJ is not the only militant sectarian organization involved in sectarian killing of Hazaras. According to Dawn Newspaper report (2016), militants of *Jamaat-ulAhrar (JuA)* which is a breakaway faction of TTP gunned down two Hazara men travelling in a Rickshaw. There are also reports of target killing of Hazaras of Quetta by *Jandullah*– a *sunni* militant organization which normally targets Iranian Security Forces.

4.2.2 Zia's Policies – Real Cause of Sectarianism

While responding to this question most of the participants of focus group discussions criticized former President General Zia's policies of *'Wahabism'* of Pakistani society, participation in *Afghan Jihad* and backing of *Sipah-e-Sahaba* for real causes of sectarianism in Pakistan. Muhammad Ali – a retired police officer said,

"There was no sectarianism before Zia. He brought this menace in Pakistan just to safeguard his own regime. He sowed the seeds of sectarianism when he started promoting beliefs of one sect i.eWahabism. Afghan Jihad was an attempt to strengthen his own regime and ensure international acceptance especially from USA."

4.2.3 Linkage between Global Sectarianism and Sectarianism in Pakistan

There are evidences that global sectarianism has linkages with sectarianism in Pakistan. Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern countries promote *'Wahabi'* School of thought, its Madrassas and religious political organizations in Pakistan through funding and ideological support. On the other hand Iran backs Shia organization in Pakistan. Two events, Iranian Revolution and Russian invasion of Afghanistan of 1979 gave both the Saudi Arabia and Iran to promote their proxies in Pakistan. Recently Interior Minister Nisar Ali Khan admitted before the parliament in a written reply that approximately 23 Madrassas in Pakistan were receiving foreign funding. Pakistani government has raised question of foreign funding with Iran and ME countries many a times. According to Wiki-leaks Cable of 2013, it was revealed that Saudi funding is a significant source of funding of *Salafi* Militants worldwide including TTP and LeJ in Pakistan.

Al-Qaida and Afghani Taliban have been cooperating with Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and vice versa. *LeJ* helped Taliban in their offence in Mazar Sharif while many Al-Qaida operatives were apprehend from Madrassas and sleeper cells of *LeJ* in Pakistan. *LeJ* has recently been cooperating with ISIS for carrying out sectarian killings in Pakistan. ISIS is equally oppressive and ruthless against Shia's like *LeJ*. This convergence of ideology has helped both the organizations to come close. *Lashar-Jhangvi-Alami* has recently surfaced with its international agenda against Shias.

Pakistan Army recently conducted operation against *LeJ Al Almi in Koh Safaid* area of Baluchistan near *Mastung.* According to ISPR press release of Jun 6 confirmed that 12 operatives and sympathizers of ISIS were also killed in the said operation. The community members were not verbal about their opinions on sectarianism and usually preferred keeping their views to themselves.

The researched population analysis determines that a mere 20% of the total respondents attempted to answer this question. The responses that were collected were subtle references that drew connections between the global wave of sectarianism and local scenario.

4.2.4 Politico-Ethnic Aspect

The community has varying perspectives and responses to the notions of the issue being exclusively a sectarian. The ideas varied with age, profession and socio-economic backgrounds. The politically and religiously educated groups of people categorize the issue as highly sectarian and call the mass killings 'Shi'a killings. However, there are a considerable number of respondents who negated that the issue can be called sectarian only.

One of the young respondents who was quite an influential youth leader and had represented Pakistani Hazara community commented

'I think that calling the issue sectarian is just a way of finding an easier way out and parting ways from reality. The issue of Hazara killings is a socio-political problem. The province of Baluchistan is very resource deprived and the political attention is always divided against the province. The inattention towards the province has resulted in the communities living here to be less educated and are hence, easy targets for brainwashing and using them for personal agendas'

She further added that

'we need the need to understand how these people in a secluded province are thinking. The Hazaras are educating themselves austerely and hence acquiring better jobs and status at the government / they threaten private level and the local balochis. They consider that Hazaras are outsiders and they are getting better opportunities. It is very important to understand that we are also living at the same place as these Balochis are and are just using the resources more efficiently. Technically, we are equal when it comes to being deprived of our rights, killing the Hazaras is not going to solve the problem at hand'.

In August 2015, The Friday Times reported on the arrest of a group of university students who confessed to targeted attacks against the Hazara (Times T. f., 2015).

Asghar Changezi – a retired army officer is of the view that

'there is a political and ethnic angle to the target killing of Hazaras also. Some dissident baloch leaders promote this perception that Hazara are non-residents and they are taking their share of jobs and business in Quetta. Through target killing of Hazaras they want to restrict opportunities of Hazaras to education, job and business.'

4.2.5 Government Efforts to Protect Hazaras

There are no constitutional discriminatory laws or policies by the Government / State against Hazaras. Educated Hazaras have access to government jobs if fulfilling merit-based criteria. Many Hazaras are serving in police and other civil services for example Commissioner of Quetta is a hazara lady. Hazaras are not at the risk of persecution / harm from the state (UK Home Department Note on Asylum Requests of Pakistani Hazaras, Oct 2016).
Ali Asghar – a hazara youth stated that

'there is a fear of persecution / serious harm to their community from non-state actors; however Government is providing effective protection to the community. The lack of capacity / resources of law enforcing agencies may hinder their ability to protect Hazaras.'

According to UK Home Department Report on Hazaras, "there is evidence that the Pakistan authorities provide a degree of protection to Hazaras". For example, during the sacred month of Muharram law enforcement agencies provide security for participants in Ashura processions. The two main Hazara communities of Quetta are protected by high walls and security checkpoints, provided by the security forces. The police is known to provide escorts to Hazara groups who wish to travel to and from their workplaces in Quetta. The Pakistan authorities continue to implement counter-terrorism strategies across the country to protect civilians.

4.2.6 National Action Plan

After Army Public School attack in Peshawar in 2014, highest political and military decision makers of Pakistan formulated National Action Plan (NAP). NAP is most sincere effort by the Government in combating terrorism and extremism and tackle hate campaign against minorities. NAP provides policy guidelines to counter hate speech and inciting violence against minorities and other sects. However, progress in implementing policy changes, in light of NAP to address these issues has been slow, irregular and uneven.

Launch of Operation Zarb-e-Azb by former Army Chief General Raheel Sharif and ' Operation *Radd-ul-Fassad'* by current Army Chief General Qamar Javed Bajwa has helped in countering religious extremist elements living with impunity in settled areas across the country. In August 2015 killing in a police encounter of Malik Ishaq, the notorious head of the *LeJ* has weakened the outfit.

Critically, the larger issue of regulating madrassas most of which belong of *Deobandi* Sect remains unaddressed.

However, some people blame government for not doing enough to ensure 'right to life, security and adequate protection of Hazaras' as promised in article 2(2) and 5(b) of the constitution of Pakistan. Failure to effectively investigate and then apprehend those perpetrating attacks has heightened the sense of vulnerability of Hazara, and has led to the assumption amongst some that authorities are not only unable or unwilling to adequately address the situation, but possibly also complicit. While there is no strong evidence to support this, it points to the almost total impunity of perpetrators and the lack of sense of protection Hazara feel from local and national level authorities (Mehmood & Akbar, 2016).

4.2.7 Military Courts

In 2015, National Assembly of Pakistan passed 21[st]amendment of the constitution allowing Military Courts to try Civilians under Pakistan Army Act for "offenses relating to terrorism, waging of war or insurrection against Pakistan". Under military courts many terrorist of *LeJ* have been tired for target killing of Shias including Hazaras. However, lacunas in judicial system of Pakistan and poor investigation / prosecution are among many hindrances amounting to high acquittal rate in cases filed in Anti-Terrorist courts.

4.3 Hazaras; Living the life of discrimination and threat:

There is societal discrimination along with threats to their security which may restrict Hazaras in carrying out their daily life activities. However largely because of insecurity to Hazaras they themselves restrict their movement outside two Hazara enclaves of Quetta. Some of the cases of discrimination reported against Hazaras are usually result of local nepotism / feuds and does not represent broader societal attitudes towards Hazaras.
AmnaNauroz comments in an angry tone

'I would not agree that we are treated any decently by the locals in Baluchistan. They feel threatened by us because we have educated ourselves and the locals of this Province now think that our motive is to acquire political, economic and administrative control over this part of the country. We are just trying to find opportunities to guard ourselves from this oppression only'.

4.3.1 Hazara Migration

According to Human Rights Commission of Pakistan Report of 2015, Some Hazara families were shifting to other major cities to include Karachi and Islamabad due to fear to sectarian killings. According to Dawn News Article of March 2014, out of approximately 600,000 Hazaras about 100,000 have left their hometown i.e Quetta. Same article suggested that approximately 80,000 Hazaras have shifted to Karachi, Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Those migrating to Karachi

are settling in Hazara Communities of Hussain Hazara Goth and Mughal Hazara Goth areas. Some Hazaras have also migrated to Australia, Canada , UK and Malaysia. (Gier, 2014).

A middle-aged working woman from the community revealed

'there have been large number of migrations from this community. There are so many people we know who have now settled in Australia or the United Kingdom and seek asylum in the countries with social protection. There are others who had no money but neither could live here anymore, they moved to Indonesia illegally on Boats and those who survived this long journey later moved to Canada or Australia after staying in refugee camps for some time'.

4.3.2 Formal Citizenship and Illegal Immigrants

Most of Hazaras of Quetta (the locale of this research) got legal status of Pakistani Citizens in in 1960s. Those Hazaras with formal citizenship have access to state functionalities e.g health, education and politics. Since most of Hazaras migrating from Afghanistan do not go to refugee camps rather they get settle with their relatives in Hazara town or get self-settled. Hazaras migrating from Afghanistan live as immigrants / exiles in Pakistan rather than as refuges. This situation creates problem for Pakistani Government in provision of assistance to the community from international donors like UNHCR etc. State resources are never enough to cater to all (local Hazars and Refugee Hazaras both). (Biseth, 2011).

 Since government cannot provide basic education for illegal immigrants of Hazara community, they have themselves opened schools for the education of their children specially girls. This community driven initiative helps them educate their girls. It is interesting to note that Hazaras did not have such community driven initiatives In Afghanistan for education of girls. But in Pakistan they have realized that with better education of their girls they can have better life of their families as they do not have lands to cultivate as opposed to Afghanistan. They have realized that education contributes to personal empowerment of girls through increasing their range of skills necessary for day to day activity. These girls increase their competences and consequently become less dependent on their male counterparts. (Biseth, 2011).

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4.3.4 Constrained Opportunities

The violence faced by Hazaras has even affected the educational opportunities available to young educated university students. While the traumatized community may well have established a self-sustaining ecosystem to meet their daily needs within their localities, Hazara youth are no longer able to access the vast array of education, business and work opportunities across Balochistan.

In a focus group discussion with youth from the community, these challenges were amply highlighted.

"Once university buses that used to take us to Balochistan University started being targeted, many people stopped sending their children there. Now, most children study till grade 10 only because the local school in our area only has classes till grade 10,"

Another participant, a young girl who did not want to be identified said she has started work in the city, but the level of discrimination she faces is unprecedented.

"You know, when I was at university, I never heard my fellow students calling me an infidel. I never imagined I was different. Ever since I started working, I have colleagues who continuously tell me why Shias are infidels, because we pray differently and because of our religious beliefs. I am shocked by the level of discrimination I am facing daily. It is very hard working each day along with people who think you are infidels and who discuss your religious beliefs."

Asi fHussain,a young Hazara says,

"We are unable to move freely amid fears of target killings. We are mostly bound to our two enclaves. Though we the youth defy this self-imposed ban on travel and do go out in the main Bazaars however our parents remain worried till the time we are not back in our town".

Asif Hussain also continues to say that ever since our university busses were targeted, our parents fear sending us out to Baluchistan University or any other educational institute outside Hazara Town.

The situation is not totally bleak for Hazaras in Quetta. A continuous effort by the Law enforcement Agencies and defiance of Hazara youth to succumb to the fears of insecurity has helped the Hazaras seen moving in the main markets of Quetta. An article in Pakistan Today in June 2015 referred to 300 shops run by Hazaras being located outside of the two main enclaves, in the 'main city areas'. Hazaras, however, were reportedly wary of travelling around Quetta owing to their being easily identifiable.

4.4 Status of education in Hazara Community

Education attainment has a visible priority for Hazara community as a whole, be it sending the children to schools or arranging for them to leave the city to find better opportunities for education attainment. The tilt of the community as a whole towards knowledge attainment is visible in thriving community schools and large number of kids going out of their closed community to better schools. The time that I had a chance to spend in the community, it was easy to conclude that education is a priority of the community and their threat to their security is not a barrier for the education attainment for them.

4.4.1 Analysis of education system of Hazara:

There are no specific statistics available that can really showcase the community's level of learning or education attainment specifically. The statistics available are reflective of the city of Quetta in particular and not Hazara town in particular.

The question when was asked to respondents about the level of education in their community there was one phrase which more than 60% respondents used

 'literacy rate in our community is 100%'.

The firsthand information that I gathered from my respondents is the only viable source and the information that can be trusted. It is evident from the responses that literacy rate in the

community is indeed very high. The community when discussed education in the focus group discussions or during individual responses, they made precise statements that the community has great focus on education attainment for children of all ages.

A young female engineer while responding to the education related questions during her interview stated

'Everyone sends their children to school in our community. There is no segregation of poor or rich. You will see here that for the poorest and for the richest of my community there is an understanding established that education is an agent of change for all of us and hence from all houses, children of all ages hang their bags on their shoulders and set out to get educated in the formal education systems'.

4.4.2 Hindrances to education attainment for Hazaras:

The threat to the mere existence of community has been reiterated in various arguments through literature and history of the community. The security situations and ruthless killings of this set group of people is one major factor contributing towards their closing down from the rest of the communities and is a huge barrier to their education attainment too. The Hazaras are living in a secluded environment. The day-to-day errands are not run in a normal pattern, as there is a constant danger to the life when you move out of community. The province of Baluchistan is already a far-flung province with poor road networks to even poorer education systems. There is only one university in the city Quetta and one Medical College that too have had political and sectarian influences throughout their history of existence; Baluchistan's political negligence towards its development has had its toll on this community too.

There are no higher education opportunities for the youth of Hazara for what exists is already too dangerous. One of the students in an interview commented

'the universities inside Quetta are too dangerous for us, they are far away from the community and there is no secure transportation available to reach the university. Those who have the financial stability choose to move out of the province to find better opportunities'.

The opportunities for the youth of Hazara are limited and constraints are too many. The eagerness to attain education is apparent in most youngsters of this community but they are restricted because of their security situation.

Education of illegal immigrants / refugee of Hazara Community is a challenge as government cannot provide basic education for illegal immigrants of Hazara community, they have themselves opened schools for the education of their children specially girls. This community driven initiative helps them educate their girls. It is interesting to note that Hazaras did not have such community driven initiatives In Afghanistan for education of girls. However, in Pakistan they have realized that with better education of their girls they can have better life of their families as they do not have lands to cultivate as opposed to Afghanistan. They have realized that education contributes to personal empowerment of girls through increasing their range of skills necessary for day-to-day activity. These girls increase their competences and consequently become less dependent on their male counterparts. (Biseth, 2011)

4.4.3 Functional systems of schooling (formal education):

There are primarily two ways in which children are being sent to school in the community. There are schools within the community running as private businesses where parents send their children. The middle to lower middle class finds this an easy way to send their children for schooling. The community school is accessible and a safer option for them. The other options that are being exercised by parents who are comparatively from a well off background are the schools in the cantonment area of the city. The area is adjacent to the community which makes it easy to access and along with security from military, parents think that this is better schooling for their children especially secondary and higher secondary education. There are private van services, which transport these students from the community to these schools and back to their

houses. There are also some affluent private schools established inside the cantonment and some parents send their children to these schools too.

One of the parents commented

'Education of our children is our first priority for us. As a community, you will see that everyone sends their children to school here. We think it is their primary right to get educated and besides that is the only way of exiting from the vicious circle of being targeted every day. There have been months when we did not send our children to school because of the security situation in the city. My wife and I counted days of the missed school for our children and we were so worried that they will lag behind but we had no choice'.

There is always an associated threat of sending your child to school out of the community especially when there is travelling involved in the premises of the city, which are unsafe for Hazaras. One of the fathers who sends his child to school away from the community expresses

'there is a great threat when we send our children to school and there is always a sense of threat that keeps clinging to us until the children are not back home but we have no choice. We want our children to acquire the best education and that is not possible within this community and our children are not ready to sacrifice their futures either so we just send them out of the safe space we have here'.

The community has an astounding number of youngsters who have moved out of the city and are pursuing higher education in other cities. These bright youngsters are trying to defy the odds against them and have a better chance at a successful life.

4.4.4 Funding and support to the schools in the community:

The private schools that are in the community are run more in form of a business than a charity. The schools that are inside the community are mostly privately owned businesses that have employed people from within the community to teach children. There have been several instances when the questions of school funding were raised by me within community leaders

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when they were gathered for a focus group discussion or during individual's interviews. It's worthwhile to mention here that the question was rather reluctantly answered and they were of the collective view that there is no specific foreign finding involved to support the education system here and the system of education within the community is being run on the basis of self-sustenance and community's help. There are reported to be almost 18x schools being run by Afghan consulate for Afghan Refugees including Hazaras however, government does not recognize these schools as degree / certificates awarding institutions.

4.5 Social Development Facilities and Recreation:

McCarthy while discussing the importance of social development in conflict stricken societies maintains the view that the post-conflict environment is usually unstable and requires economic development coupled with a focus on social development. He maintains that where economic development can lead enabling better, social development remains an important factor for development. He maintains Development should not be exercised creating infrastructural evident changes, but in order to restructure the economy and facilitate a positive peace that addresses the causes and consequences of conflict (McCarthy, 2011).

The United Nations mandate also outlines the importance of social development and states that economic development where plays a role in eradicating poverty, the social development initiatives helps to improve lives and hence can promote prosperity and world peace[36].

The Hazara community displays where elements of their personalized developmental models, it is quite evident on the other hand, that community is resource deprived and marginalized. The comparatively lower focuses of government and civil society on this population and their social development have led them to entirely depend on themselves to improve their lives and lead a enhanced lifestyle. The community has no apparent social development facilities that are visible. There are no parks or designated grounds for the children for sport, exercise or any other activity. A respondent *Ahmed Asghar* commented that

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[36]http://www.un.org/esa/about_esa.html

'there are no specific parks or playgrounds available for the children to play or to recreate healthy activities. Opportunities for extracurricular activities for our children are quite constrained'.

The focus group discussion on the issue also brought forward clear voices of youngsters about the lack of these kinds of opportunities for them and members of the community. It is worthwhile to mention here that youth of the community is well versed and fairly informed about their rights and responsibilities as citizens of this country.

4.5.1 Community led initiatives for social development:

The interviews and Focus group discussions outlined the fact that government has shown no interest for social development of Hazaras such issues are not a mandate of the ruling political parties. These kind of initiatives have been not introduced in the community by the Central or provincial governments. There is an apparent grievance towards the ruling party of the youth and elderly alike for keeping the needs of Hazaras as an unimportant and unaddressed matter over the years.

The focus on education of the community have instilled strong leadership and innovation amongst the youth of Hazaras and they appear as a vibrant group of individuals who are exploring the life and opportunities that come their way even In such a guarded environment . Several youth led initiatives in the community are currently functional and are helping the community explore new avenues for their socio-economic development and an inclusive progress of community.

Evening Computer Classes and Language Courses: The evenings of the community are quite thriving in terms of activity in the community. The evenings seem prescheduled for most of the people in the community. One of the resource person in the community explained 'in the evenings you will see that everyone is busy and going about their business. Our community has a great arrangement for evenings. Most of the people here have enrolled themselves as students for computer courses and language classed. You will see children, teenagers and even adults taking these classes and making the most out of their day'.

Youth career counseling centers: The communities based on self-help and youngsters who have had exposure have developed a strong career-counseling network. Every now and then there will be a proper career counseling day announced where youngsters can come in explore the opportunities and acquire help from their peers. A youth leader who has been interviewed explained 'we have brochures and information from internet available on hand for the students who are seeking opportunities. We guide them how they can apply for higher education abroad or can qualify for various funded fellowships. We want the Hazaras to progress and have stable future'.

4.6 Health Care Facilities:

Health facilities are a primary necessity for any community. The quality healthcare systems have to meet certain universal standards to provide the health facilities that are essential and the provision of such superior systems has been a target to be achieved for all nations of the world. The sustainable development goals (SDGs)[37] have designed the SDG 4 entirely on universal health care. The SDG on health pledges to provide access to quality essential health-care services and access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all. Pakistan is signatory of SDGs and hence has pledged to make efforts to provide healthcare facilities in an inclusive manner.

The communities which are under-attack and in the state of conflict, the importance of universal quality health care services increases manifold. The turbulent state of security for the Hazara communities increases there incidence of accessing the health care systems in their community. The district profile report of Quetta illustrates that there are only 6 public sector hospitals in the entire district of Quetta with an exceptional shortage of qualified doctors and nursing staff. According to an estimate drawn in the report, there is one doctor available in city of Quetta for every 1,057 patients. This report also further suggests that health issues are gravest at the Chilton Town of Quetta- the residential area accommodated by Hazara(Planning and Development Dept, 2011).

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[37]On September 25th 2015, countries adopted a set of goals to end poverty, protect the planet, and ensure prosperity for all as part of a new sustainable development agenda. Each goal has specific targets to be achieved over the next 15 years.http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/

'The health care system for the community is compromised. There are no specialized doctors for the community members neither is there access to health centers of the entire population' commented a senior doctor who is a female medical officer at one of the private hospitals in the Hazara town.

4.6.1 Primary dependence on Private health care facilities:

There are limited public health facilities available in Quetta however;Hazaras have restricted themselves to private health facilities available within the community due to insecurity.

A senior administration officer at a one of the private health care facilities in the Hazara community was of the view

'there are a lot of patients that seek medical care from primarily two private hospitals here in the community and the doctors have large number of patients to see every day'

4.6.2 Combined Military Hospital – the only access to superior facility:

'The routine treatment is conducted within these facilities but if there is an emergency situation than the patients are usually referred to the emergency room in Combined Military Hospital'

a senior leader of the community made the remark at a focus group discussion.

Patients requiring specialized health care are taken to Military Hospital available in the cantonment. Around 70% of the total respondents believed that health care facilities available to them are extremely poor and needed attention from the government and their community representatives alike. A group discussion conducted amongst the youth of the community reflected that community members that their political representatives have not been able to raise their voice for the right of their people and hence they have a vulnerable status as citizens of this community.

'We are highly dependent on CMH in case of an emergency situation or if a community member is too unwell. There are limited to no facilities for latest technology tests here at the hospitals' said an elderly respondent.

Provincial government also provides vaccination to newborn inside Hazara Community but there are issues of confidence that bar them for entering or exiting the premises where this population resides.

4.7 An Inquiry into Models of Development of the Hazara Community:

4.7.1 Relief and Response to threat- The internal Mechanisms of the society:

Hazara community's targeting has accelerated over the past few years and the media have blatantly reported threat to their mere existence over the course of years. The community has struggled to grab the attention of government and media towards the issues of their threatened existence but to till date their targeted killings have not stopped. According to a published report of Daily Times, there have been 1400 attacks that were directly targeted at the Hazaras and minority Shi'a community in the past 15 years (Times D. , 2016). The community can be identified by a bondage that they have developed to cope with the conflict and threat that is now routine for the community. The constant nature of these events where might make the community resilient it has also given them a chance to strengthen their own relations respond to these attacks and make systems of relief for their community.

The community leader comments

'it is evident that these incidents have made our relationships within the society even stronger. We realize that we need to act fast and in unity to make our lives a little bearable. You see the situation of this community is very fragile and everyone has suffered here in one way or the other'.

Community meetings: the engagement with the community is an outstanding reminder that strength of people lies within themselves and how they evolve into resilient beings after being bruised number of times. The community has grieved and is aching with the situation worsening over the course of years but these occurrences have just led them to find innovative means to protect what is let of them.

Mr. Naveed in a detailed talk revealed

'there have been people who have fled the situation and found themselves safer homes in foreign countries but then there are those who had no choice but to stay behind. These are the people who are learning and teaching relief and response now'.

The engagement with the community revealed that there are weekly community meetings, which are held to discuss the issues at hand and come up with solutions. The meetings involve community leaders and people who influence over the societies.

One of the female respondents said

'we know that these meetings are helpful for our community. When our brothers and fathers go for these sessions we know that something important will be discussed'.

She further explained on inquiry

'the meetings are held after a targeting incident happens. They console the families and help is lent to them in social and economic terms'.

Disciplined voluntary force for security of the community:

The community is not very welcoming to an outsider nor is it easy to get the information as a researcher from the respondents. The long years of riotous conflict has led the community to close down itself and refrain from unnecessary social meeting especially with an outsider.

A future young leader of the community remarked

'you are being watched closely by us'.

The youngster who wanted to stay anonymous elaborated that there is a full fledge team of volunteering young men who have taken up the reasonability of the security of the town. These

volunteers work in shifts and keenly observe all activities. Frontier Corps or Military personnel provide the security at the main entrances of both the localities in which Hazara reside but internally this group of volunteers has taken up the task of guarding their societies.

4.8 Availability of Necessities of Life:

The province of Baluchistan is the largest province of the country in terms of geographical boundaries and the most neglected in terms of socio-economic development. The pace of development in the entire province is slow when compared to the rest of the country. The community of Hazaras has restricted themselves to their town and hence now the small vendors and shopkeepers keep all required day to day commodities available for the community consumption on their shops.

Access to outside market places:

Security fears have also restricted Hazara woman – who are very fond of buying cloths from Liaqat Bazar; the biggest market place for clothing items to some extent. The focus group discussion within the female members of the society stirred quite a debate about the issue. Women where commented that they have restricted themselves from visiting the market place from fear of being under attack.

One of the women in a FGD remarked

'the local merchants have lost their wealth because we have stopped buying from them. Most of their loyal and rich customers were from within our community.'

They now buy clothes from local merchants trading within the community or go to Garrison markets. Online shopping is also a rising trend among educated and well off families, the women were of the view.

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4.8.1 Imam Bargahs- A way of ensuring inclusivity- providing resources and addressing needs:

The women centric focus group discussions were very futile in terms of information from a female perspective. Women where emotionally felt ached at the killings of their loved ones, their strong voices were guarantor of the fact that women in this society are well educated, informed and opinionated, The Imam Bargahs hold an important place in the social lives of Shi'a communities. The Bargahs are not only holy places of worship but also reflect the way to connect and link for the community members of the same belief.

'*Imam Bargahs and the gatherings held there is a great way to connect for our community. The men and women where come together for religious beliefs, it also gives them a chance to help each other. Imam Barghas are an immensely important source of ensuring how community members are doing in terms of social and economic lives'.*

The woman respondent further added that Imam Barghas can help identify problems of our fellow community members and come up with mutual solutions. Along with it these gatherings are fundraisers for the needy families. The emotional support and economic strength these meetings provide to our community are very effective and a way of our survival.

Chapter V:
Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion:

The detailed ethnographic research that was conducted to understand the Shi'a killings of the community, apprehending the consequences of this long-led war against the Hazaras residing In Pakistan suggests following deductions from the study.

Ethnic or Sectarian- The killings are not justified:

The literature undertaken to study the conflict where continually suggested that killings in Quetta are sectarian and categorized them mere shi'a killings, the field exposure on the other hand uncovered other aspects of the violence as well. A report published by BBC(2013) calls the killings of Hazara 'violent extremism'(BBC, 2013) and so does the rest of the media claiming instantly the attacks are entirely sectarian in nature.

The responses depict [38] that locals of the community do not consider the violence entirely a sectarian phenomenon. There are ethnic linkages to the mass killings of the community and these have historical linkages with community migration and settlement in country's most disadvantaged province.

The community's data analysis suggested that the violence is a result of ineffective government policy that has deprived Balochistan of its due share and these years of being neglected has led the residents of Balochistan to remain illiterate and hence consider Hazaras a threat to them. The Hazaras are educated and manage to secure good positions in the government and have established businesses which result in rivalry in the province. The physical attributes are a bonus for the perpetrators, their descent gives them specific set of facial features and they become easy to identify.

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[38] Chapter 4 has detailed presentation or responses and presents a qualitative view of the respondents perspectives.

Grievances towards government and its ineffective policies:

The data highlighted that local community has been unsatisfied with the efforts for the problem's solution. Government's efforts to protect Hazaras are falling short of its commitment to protect life and property of its citizen. However, the claims stand rejected that sectarian killings of Hazaras have reduced lately due to launch of military operations *Zarb-e-Azb* and *Radd-ul-Fassad*. Nevertheless, capacity and capability of sectarian militant organization like *LeJ / LeJ Al Almi*and global terrorist organizations like ISIS and *Al Qaida* is not diminished completely to carry out sectarian killings of Hazaras. The locals where might recognize the military efforts to protect them, a political solution to the issue has been demanded continuously and is reflected in the data.

Troubled lifestyle of the Hazaras:

The community's observation and analysis of the information gathered from the population suggests that unabated target killing of Hazaras have instilled sense of insecurity in the community. Access of Hazaras to necessities of life including education and health are being slowed down due to insecurity. Situation may get out of hands of political and / or security officials if appropriate measures are not taken immediately and the rights of the community are not recognized and provided.

Pakistan's sectarian violence- A result of Global phenomenon and debauched local policies:

Sectarianism in Pakistan is not an isolated phenomenon as it has linkages with global sectarian milieu. Sectarian fault lines in Pakistan are routed in Zia's policies of *'Wahabism'*. Global stakeholders are also involved in bringing a rise to sectarianism in Pakistan. Killing of Hazaras of Quetta may not be considered a standalone sectarian strife but part of wider narrative of *'Salafi'* militant school of thought. However, politico-ethnic aspect of Quetta city is totally a local issue. The respondents suggested that Zia's flawed policies where caused a long term damage to the country in general it has had consequences on their community too. The sectarian aspect of these killings has been highlighted in the data but there were strong connections drawn to the global wave and ill-structured local policies.

5.2 Key Recommendations

In order to improve security situation for Hazaras and ensure their unhindered access to education, health and other chores of daily life, following is recommended:

Database for Faith-based Killings:

A data of all sectarian killings of various faiths in Pakistan be collected for true analysis of reasons behind killings and ensure counter measures. This kind of Data base will not only be valuable to stop the shi'a killings in the country but also will help curb all types of sectarian violence.

Improvement of Intelligence Sharing Mechanism:

Coordination between various intelligence and law enforcement agencies is vital in prevent sectarian / terrorism related incidents. Some effort has recently been made for coordination among intelligence agencies by formulation of National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA). There is an urgent need to fully integrate all intelligence / law enforcement agencies under NACTA for effective response to sectarian killings.

Capacity Building of Law-Enforcement Agencies:

Law enforcement agencies specially police be equipped and trained to combat faith based killings. Capacity building of police is essential in acquiring intelligence, pre-emt rather than react to sectarian incidents.

Apprehension and Prosecution of Sectarian Killers

Provincial Appex Committees formed under NAP should meet on monthly basis and get the update on apprehension and prosecution of sectarian killers of Hazaras and other religious minorities. Speedy justice should be ensured and convicted terrorists be punished immediately.

Curriculum / *Madrasah* Reforms:

Curriculum reforms for *Madrasahs* being undertaken by *Wafaq-Ul-Madaras* should be expedited with active involvement of Provincial and Federal Government and strictly implemented to ensure inter-faith harmony. Institute of religious tolerance and shunning of violent methods against non-Muslims and other sects in *Madrassas* through curriculum change.

Strict Ban on Hate Speech / Wall Chalking:

Strict ban on hate speeches and hate campaigns through mosques, media (print or electronic), wall chalking and/or other publication be ensured and those involved in hate speeches much be

punished severely. Government should formulate a high-level committee to determine what constitute hate speech or hate inciting. The proposed committee should include renowned scholars, lawyers and members from human right organizations.

Education Reforms

Free, easy and quality education for all be ensured so that *Madrassah* should not be considered as alternative or substitute for schooling. The formal schooling system along with the curriculum needs to be altered so that no hidden agendas are taught in schools.

Improve criminal Justice System:

Criminal Justice systems should be improved to ensure timely dispensation of justice to those involved in sectarianism and terrorism. NAP also required reforms in the criminal justice system

Development Related Recommendations for Hazara Community:

Common Institutional Arrangements for CDD:

Hazara Community follows a loose model of CDD which is not institutionalized. While recognizing the threat to the community provincial and federal Governments can make efforts to instill 'Common Institutional arrangements for CDD incorporating Community Based Organizations (CBOs), NGOs / private firms and provincial / federal governments. It will ensure timely provision of quality services to the community while ensuring equal participation for all stake holders and dispel sense of isolation / seclusion of the community.

5.3 Suggested Model for Community Driven Development of Hazara Community:

Hazara Community also needs to channelize their strength of strong bondage of community and instead of closing down themselves from outside world; they can opt to cooperate with provincial / federal authorities and various Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) to ensure equal development in their community. The model for common institutional arrangement for CCD suggested in this study can help in participation of community instead of tier seclusion from provincial / federal development strategies.

Hazaras are following mix model of development in which most of development is done by the provincial government through elected representatives. Though urgent / low finance development projects are also undertaken by the community and the Forum of *Imam Bargah* is

used to raise the money for such needs. There are various practical CDD models that have been devised by World Health Organisation and other development experts, these models can be replicated more effectively by community leaders in the society to ensure better future of the community. The analysis of the community suggests that community driven development exists in the society but its rather still evolving and has not acquired a shape that can render long term benefits for the Hazara population. The relief and commitment to resolving the issues of the community might be present but there have been no substantial changes that have been brought about for the society. The security concerns are highlighted and the security forces devise short-terms solutions but the development of the community is still neglected by the political leadership and local influential individual of the community too.

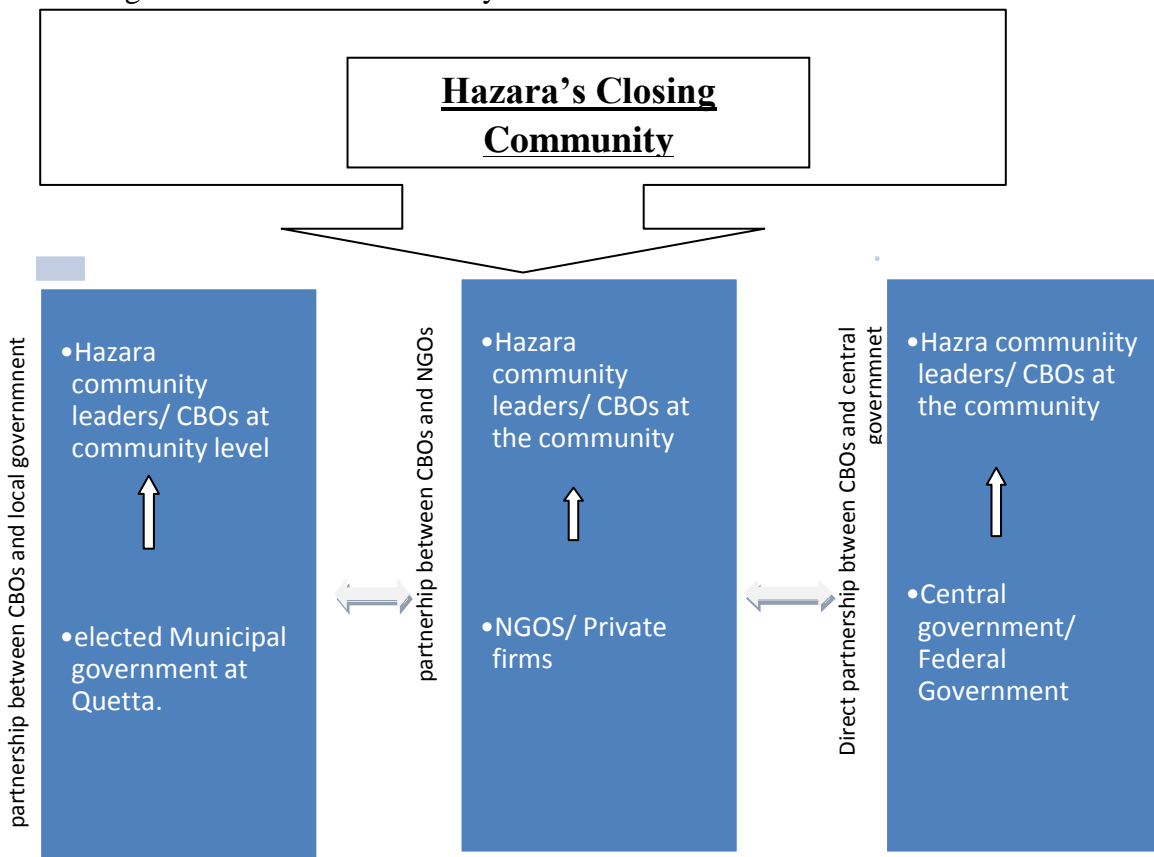The following model is an outcome of my research

FIGURE 10: SUGGESTED INDIGENOUS MODEL FOR COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT[39]

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[39] The model is an outcome of this research. The model has been inspired from (Dongier, et al.)model of CDD for poverty reduction in communities. Available at : http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.532.8799&rep=rep1&type=pdf

The models of community driven development have to be based and operated on the principles of transparency, participation, empowerment of communities, and greater response towards needs of the community by the governments; the motive continuously being enhancement of capacity of the local community (World Bank , 2017). The illustration above has been suggested keeping in view the dynamics of Hazara community residing in Quetta. The community's long-term assassination in name of ethnicity and sectarianism has been established in the research work, the research further also recognized that community is actually functioning on a participative model of development that is community driven. The model that this exclusion has led the community to follow has not matured as of yet and is still evolving. However, the model can be assisted by the local leaders and governments to improve the outcomes and lives of the community.

The model presented in the figure 1 suggests that community will work on a parallel partnership in three tiers, CBOs and local government, CBOs and NGOs and a direct partnership of Federal government with CBOs. The Community based organizations as has been highlighted in the model have to work in close proximity with the community leaders. The community leaders in the Hazaras have quite an influential role and keeping a close liaison with these leaders can render better results for the residents of this communal. The model suggests the CBOs to take a leadership role in driving all development related activities and also work as reporting and stocktaking institutions. The CBOs by conducting investigative reporting can help identify the problems that need urgent attention and the local government representatives can resolve issues. NGOs also play a pivotal role in such communities and improving their partnership with the CBOs and local leaders can bring the advocacy action and required attention.

The most important partnership in the entire context is that of community's with the Federal government. The community issues that local government cannot solve can be taken up to central government and monetary support can be requested along with a policy amendment. The devolution of power has given the decision making power to local governments but it is very important to keep the federal government cognizant about the matters of the community at hand for better action and planning.

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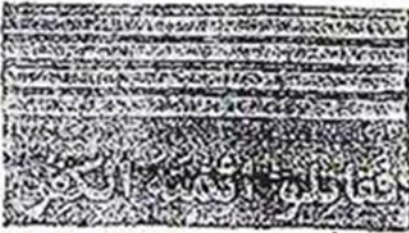
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Annexure A:

لشکر جھنگوی پاکستان

بلوچستان یونٹ

شیعہ کافر ہے

شیعہ واجب القتل ہے

مورخہ

تمام شیعہ واجب القتل ہیں، ہم پاکستان کو ناپاک قوم سے چھٹکارہ دیںگے۔ پاکستان کا مطلب پاک سر زمین ہے، اور یہاں شیعوں کو رہنے کا کوئی حق نہیں ہے۔ ہمارے پاس تمام علماء کرام کے فتوے اور دستخط موجود ہیں جس میں شیعوں کو کافر قرار دیا جا چکا ہے، جس طرح ہمارے جانثاروں نے افغانستان میں شیعہ ہزارہ قوم پر کامیاب جہاد کرکے قتل کیا۔ لہذا ہمارا مشن پاکستان کے ہر شہر، ہر گاؤں، ہر جگہ اور ہر کونے سے شیعہ اور شیعہ ہزارہ جیسے ناپاک مذہب اور ناپاک قوم کا خاتمہ ہے۔ پہلے کی طرح پاکستان خاص کر کوئٹہ میں شیعہ ہزارہ قوم پر کامیاب جہاد جاری ہے۔ اور جاری رہے گا اور پاکستان میں ان کا قبرستان بنائیںگے۔ ان کے گھروں کو بموں سے خودکش حملوں سے تباہ کیا جائیگا اور اس سرزمین پر ہم حقیقی اسلام کا جھنڈا لہرا کر ہی دم لینگے۔ ہمارے جانثاران اور فدیان پاڑہ چنار میں کامیاب کاروائیاں کرکے اب سارے پاکستان میں کاروائیاں شروع کرنے کے حکم کے انتظار میں ہے اور ہم پر شیعہ ہزارہ قوم کے خلاف جہاد فرض ہو چکا ہے۔ 80 کو ہمارے فدیان نے ہزارہ ٹاؤن میں کامیاب کاروائی کرکے اب ہمانا ٹارگٹ علمدار روڈ آپ کے گھر ہونگے۔ جب تک ہمارے تمام بے گناہ گرفتار ساتھیوں کو رہا نہیں کیا جاتا ہم اپنی کاروایاں جاری رکھینگے۔

سالار

لشکر جھنگوی پاکستان

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Annexure B: Interview Guide

The Shi'as of Hazara, QUETTA- The challenges to security and formation of their integrated models of Community Driven Development

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

Name of Respondent: _____ age: _____

sex: Male/Female/other   education: _____ skill sets: _____

Occupation: _____contact (optional): _____

place of origin _____

The researcher begins with an overview of research and presents the idea of deserting on the topic to the respondent.

    a) **Hazara community specific questions (Threats to security and existence)**

1. **a) How do you see violence against your community?**   _____ _____ _____ __   **b) What are the reasons of targeting your community in your understanding?**   _____ _____ _____ _____
2. **Have you been ever directly or indirectly affected by these attacks? If so, Would you like to talk about it?**   _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ __
3. **Would you attribute these attacks as sectarian violence? Elaborate.**   _____ _____

_____
_____
_____
_____

4. **Have successive governments or present government made any efforts for the security of this community?**

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

5. **What is the effect of mass killing of Hazaras of Quetta on this community? How it has impacted their lifestyle?**

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

6. **What are the effects of these violent attacks on economic lives of the residents?**

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

7. **What has been effects on development activities of Hazara because of these threats?**

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _

b) **Inquiring upon the models of development and reflecting upon their models of community driven development models**

1. **RELIEF AND RESPONSE TO THREAT; INTERNAL MECHANISMS OF COMMUNITY**
   a. How an endangered and insecure community like yours responds to existential threats?

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   __

   b. Do you have a community specific criterion of response and relief?

   _____
   _____
   _____
   __

2. NECCESITIES OF LIFE
    a. What is the situation of availability of basic necessities of life in Chilton Town ?
    _____
    _____
    _____
    __
    b. How does society ensure internally that necessities are accessible to all?
    _____
    _____
    _____

3. BASIC EDUCATION
    a. What is the status of education in the town ?
        _____
        _____
        _____
        _____
        __
    b. are there any hindrances to the community members to access to basic and quality education?
        _____
        _____
        _____
        _____
    c. Are schools public owned or private ?
        _____
        _____
        _____
        _____
        _____
    d. Who funds and supports the private schools ?
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _

4. HEALTH:
    a. What are available health facilities?
        _____
        _____
        _____
        _____
    b. Ownership; government or private?
        _____

_____
_____
_____
_____-

c. **What facility is most accessible without threat to patients requiring detailed and complicated treatments?**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
__

5. **SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FACILITIES AND RECREATION:**
a. **What are social development facilities available for community?**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

b. **Who looks after the recreational activities and arranges them?**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

6. **What are mechanisms of philanthropy and welfare within the community? How do they function?**

_____
_____
_____
_____
__

7. **What arrangements have been made by Hazara community for their security / protection?**

_____
_____
_____
_____

Drawing connections of Hazara community's security to global sectarianism and violence

1. **In your opinion what are causes of Sectarianism (فرقہ پرستی)   in Muslim World?**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2. **Are there any linkages between global sectarianism and sectarianism in Pakistan?**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

3. **a. What are reasons of sectarianism in Pakistan?**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

   b. **Did Zia'sIslamization had any role to play ?**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____ -

4. **Do you think your facial features and physical characteristics have a role to play in your targeting?**

_____
_____
_____
_____

5. **How informed are you about your political leadership?**

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

6. **What are your expectations from the government? What steps taken my government can facilitate you and help solve the problem ?**

7. _____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Annexure C: Focus Group Discussion Guide

Focus grouo discussion guide:

Focus group discussion 1: men of variety of ages, interests and backgrounds.

Preliminary: Outline the motive of research. Brief the audience about the sanctity of the views that would be held important.

This focus group is aimed at understanding the issue at hand from a man's perspective and ascertains how development is weighed and viewed by men of Hazara community.

Participant Information	Name of the participants		ages
Information on education and background	education	Marital status	Professional status
Additional information	Name of the participant		information

Questions for discussion

1) *In your opinion what are causes of Sectarianism (فرقہ پرستی) in Muslim World?*

2) *Are there any linkages between global sectarianism and sectarianism in Pakistan?*

3) What are reasons of sectarianism in Pakistan? Did Zia's Islamization had any role to play

4) *What are the underlying reasons of violence against Shi'a community in Pakistan?*

5) *What are effects of sectarianism on economic and development activities of men in particular?*

6) *Do men feel more besieged in this scenario of being targeted?*

7) *How do men respond to these threats ?*

8) *Have there been any interventions by the government for the community to provide relief?*

9) *How do men in your society build resilience and respond to the threats?*

10) *Does community work for betterment of all in particular or formulated a relief structure for families who have been affected by these attacks?*

11) *How many schools and education systems are owned by Hazaras themselves and how many are government owned? Formal, Non-Formal, Vocational/technical- Provide details.*

12) *How do women ensure that their families have access to necessities and social development facilities?*

13) *What are the ways of providing security and protection within the community and are men only an active part of it?*

14) *How do women seek justice in the community and how is it ensured?*

Annexure D: Focus Group Discussion Guide Women

Focus grouo discussion guide:

Focus group discussion 1: Women of variety of ages, interests and backgrounds.

Preliminary: Outline the motive of research. brief the audience about the sanctity of the views that would be held important.

This focus group is aimed at understanding the issue at hand from women's perspective and ascertains how development is weighed and viewed by women of Hazara community.

Participant Information	Name of the participants	ages	
Information on education and background	education	Marital status	Professional status
Additional information	Name of the participant	information	

Questions for discussion

1) In your opinion what are causes of Sectarianism (فرقہ پرستی) in Muslim World?

2) *Are there any linkages between global sectarianism and sectarianism in Pakistan?*

3) What are reasons of sectarianism in Pakistan? Did Zia's Islamization had any role to play

4) *What are the underlying reasons of violence against Shi'a community in Pakistan?*

5) *What are effects of sectarianism on economic and development activities of women in particular?*

6) *Do women feel more vulnerable in this scenario of being targeted?*

7) *How do Women respond to these threats to their existence?*

8) *Have there been any women centric interventions for the community to provide relief?*

9) *How do women and girls in your society build resilience and respond to the threats?*

10) *Does community work for betterment of vulnerable women in particular or formulated a relief structure for women/families who have been affected by these attacks?*

11) *Are there any women centric schools and education system? Formal, Non-Formal, Vocational/technical- Provide details.*

12) *How do women ensure that their families have access to necessities and social development facilities?*

13) *What are the ways of providing security and protection within the community and how women are a part of it?*

14) *How do women seek justice in the community and how is it ensured ?*

Annexure E: Case study

<u>Case Study of Dost Muhammad</u>

Dost Muhammad is an aged fellow in his sixties now, he runs a private school in Baruri Rd Hazara Colony. His school has 10 classroom and approximately 600 Hazara kids study there. He opened this school five years ago when incidents of terrorism and target killing of Hazaras increased. Dost Muhammad with the help of some influential friends in the community opened this school. Though admission is open for all but he prefers kids of victims of terrorism / target killing. His school bears expenses of books, uniforms and other items of those kids.

Since Government of Pakistan does not recognize those Afghan origin Hazara Immigrants, it becomes very difficult for the immigrant Hazara kids to get enrolled in the government schools. Dost Muhammad has kept his school flexible. He does not bother about formal documents and status weather immigrant, refugees, exiles or locals. He has mission to educate all Hazaras. Even boys and girls don't mind sitting together and getting education. Education seems priority for kids and teaches alike in this school.

A co-teacher in Dost Muhammad's schools says that it's our passion for the education that we have altered the equation in our favor. Back in Afghanistan in 1960's we did not have even access to most of the educational institution in Afghanistan. But in Quetta, you will find Hazara students everywhere. Despite security threats, we have not given up on education. We have also broken the taboos of education for boys only. In Hazara community even literacy rate of girls is better than boys.

"I don't want my daughter to sit at home and just sew chadors – female head scarf. I think if she gets education she will be more helpful. Maybe she can get a good job and will be helpful to me like sons. "Maintained mother of a young girl Fatima in the school.

Case study: Mehreen Nauroz

Mehreen was born and bred in Quetta. She is in in her early twenties and an engineer by profession. She is bright, enthusiastic and believes that youth are catalyst for change in the society today particularly. She has a great knowledge about the descent of her tribe and history. She resides in Islamabad but never remains aloof of what is happening in her city and to her people.

Mehreen was very ambitious about the study I was conducting and believed that this could be a great help for her community that has suffered so much over the past few years. She belongs to an influential family. Her parents are educated people of her tribe and are always keen to help their member citizens. Besides all that is happening her parents have been living in the city of Quetta and have not moved far away/

Mehreen was also living in Quetta until she completed her intermediate, after which she came to Lahore for further studies. She has represented Pakistan in a delegation that went to China a few years back and was thrilled to relate that she was very proud of being the only Hazara in the entire delegation. She further says that there were a few Balochis in that delegation with her and she developed friendly ties with them but she worriedly said that 'these boys were still very keen on mentioning my descent and how they had a greater right at the province'.

Mehreen drifts into her thoughts and says that I was studying in APS, Quetta for most of my school years and it was very worrisome for my parents to everyday make sure that I was delivered to and back from school safely. She tells 'I was there when in the excruciating Cold, The Hazaras sat Day and night near the dead bodies of their loved ones in protest- It was very heartbreaking moment or us and also a defining moment. Everyone finally decided to stand for each other.

She is planning on starting her own startup and want to emerge as a entrepreneur. She says she wants to set example for her community and all women in the country. 'I want to reach a position where I can benefit people and also my opinions can bring a change'.

Additional Notes: A Day In the life of Hazaras

The sunrises in its glory in the summers in Quetta, shining like gold on the city that is older than Pakistan itself. The summers of Quetta are odd in nature, under the sun the excruciating heat is enough to lead to sunburn and when one finds a shadow for themselves, it feels like a cool spring breeze has embraced you. The day of this community begins at the break of dawn when a few older head to nearby mosques for Fajr prayers and then there is a group of younger ones still relishing a few more hours of sleep before they have to go about their days business. There are so many similarities between the communities that seems so distant from a regular Pakistani but during this regular day, I have to remind myself that there is concavity in this place from the sufferings that have come their way all these years. The stillness of the ancient city of Quetta deepens a tid bit more when one stands stationary in the surroundings of the Hazara town. When one begins to wonder that at least each one of them in a direct or indirect manner have felt burn of the sectarian killings and carry in their hearts the rubbles of memories of their loved ones who could have lived and had no existent reason to die in the name of this aggression. As the day progresses a little, further the bustle of the day starts to unfold, children moving to schools, parents accompanying the kids. There are cars moving in and out of the houses transporting a large majority of children, teenagers and adults to their place of acquiring knowledge. There an intense desire for education attainment in Hazaras and their routines are reflective of this fact. The daytime for men is to where run their errands for earning and economic independence; the women who choose to stay at home have quite a social life. Women where meet their neighbors and community members continually. The social life that keeps everyone connected in my observation is partly the cause that community is surviving beyond all odds that present-day conditions have offered them.   There are certain uncertainties that life have given this community, that these people have grown to acquaint themselves with. The small percentage of children that do not go to community schools and instead choose to go out to learn, their parents are constantly in a state of ambiguity about their children's safety and are eager to have them back in the safety of their homes. The television and thriving media that has every news flashing on Television screens within a matter of minutes have these parents remain attentive to the news to these assure themselves that today their children will return home and ill fate will not strike them on today's date. The evenings to my surprise were not all secluded and quiet; in fact, there was a lot of commotion at this time of the day. Everyone is headed somewhere and is busy in a

routine. The day ends when the community members who are on duty to guard their community take their positions. Young men are always keenly observing all activities and new people to make sure no spiteful occurrence takes place. The lights far away in mountains light up as darkness of the night draws in. The Hazaras switch on the lights inside their homes but living with this community, I am sure that the darkness that this seclusion has given them is tough to light up.