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**PERCEPTIONS OF PALESTINIAN SHAHEEDS:  
PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS, RELIGIOSITY AND  
FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS**

**JOSEPH MATTHEW ATTARD**

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Huddersfield

Submission 15<sup>th</sup> October 2019

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## **Abstract**

The Palestinian conflict has existed for generations. It has been characterised by conventional wars but also with guerrilla warfare by the Palestinians who feel that their fire power is not comparable with the Israelis. This guerrilla war has taken many forms. Often the aim is to disrupt Israeli activity rather than defeat them in an asymmetrical conflict. One such tactic has been suicide terrorism. Whilst recognising that there are profound and complex political issues that underpin suicide attacks there still remain important questions about who undertakes such attacks and what are their characteristics.

Within their social context suicide bombers are referred to as 'martyrs' (in Arabic Shaheed), yet despite this acclaim from their community there are still three psychological issues that it is fruitful to explore. One is whether they have any particular personality characteristics that relates to their activity and thus may make them more vulnerable to the pressures to act. A second, within the Muslim context of their actions is whether there is some aspect of religiousness that makes them particularly open to martyrdom. A third is the issue of the kind of family relationships that are conducive to a person deciding whether to undertake a suicide terrorist operation.

It is extremely difficult to study the characteristics of suicide terrorists in any theatre of war and the Palestinian conflict has its own particular challenges. However, through the development of careful relationships it was possible to oversee interviews conducted in the West Bank, Palestine among 24 families. From each family a minimum of 2 and a maximum of 3 members completed interviews and questionnaires about a member of their family and their family relationships. 12 Palestinian Shaheed families participated. Members from these

families went on suicide operations in the first or second Intifada during the early 90s and 2000s respectively. The other 12 families constituted the comparison group, as they did not have a Shaheed in their family. Religiosity, personality and family relationships were studied in both groups using a tailor- made questionnaire specifically drawn up for this study, adapted versions of the Muslim Attitude towards Religiosity Scale (MARS), the Fundamental Interpersonal Relationship Orientation-Behaviour (FIRO-B) and the Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS). The BFRS indicated that at least in the Palestinian context and in the time period of the first and second intifada Shaheeds came from families with a lot of cohesion. Members pertaining to these families were able to express themselves and their opinions. These families were lower than the comparison families as regards to expressing anger. Perhaps unexpectedly they were peaceful families. It was also found that Shaheeds were perceived by their families to be lower on Received Control on the FIRO-B and higher on Religiosity by the MARS than the non-Shaheeds in the comparison families. The FIRO-B also indicated that Shaheeds were perceived to be both high on Received Inclusion and Expressed Inclusion.

Case studies of a selection of individuals and their families helped to elaborate the results from the comparison of the results of the questionnaire study. These demonstrate that within the Palestinian culture that sees itself as under a harsh occupation many families could accept that one of their members could become a Shaheed. However, those families who are particularly open to discussion and religious may be more likely to implicitly or explicitly support one of their members to make the ultimate sacrifice for their cause.

This study intended to put forward a list of indicators whereby families at risk of having a member contemplating to commit an act of suicide bombing belonging to a society similar to the Palestinian society would be able to realise that a member is at risk of committing such a suicidal attack. Individuals undertaking suicide operations seem to be high on Received

Inclusion on the FIRO-B, this means that these people are quite popular hence they should be encouraged to go into politics in order to bring change in socially acceptable manners. This coupled with the fact that Shaheeds were also found on the FIRO-B to appreciate Expressed Inclusion, wanting to be popular does help a person who decides to go into politics. The fact that Shaheed families are very strong in cohesion, expression of opinion in the family, and low on anger may be conducive so that family members will be knowledgeable of the wishes or intentions passing through the other member's mind. Similarly to prior acts of suicide being committed, during certain political scenarios words and other parlance relating to suicide operations should not be ignored. However, the fact that Shaheeds seem to be low as regards to Received Control on the FIRO-B means that they may be convinced that the only way a change can be brought about is by a suicide operation. In addition to this it may be difficult to change their cognitive patterns especially due to the fact that this is coupled with a strong element of religiosity, hence the individual may see his suicide operation as a vocation or as wanted by a higher entity since *Allah hu Akbar* (God is Great). This research project pinpoints factors and possibly proposes intervention strategies that will help families of Shaheeds to channel the energy and will of the members to commit a suicidal operation into another act leading towards alternate behaviour that is less destructive but nonetheless will help his/her aggravated community with much less destruction albeit with great might.

# Table of Contents

List of Figures	13
List of Tables	14
Dedication	16
Acknowledgments	17
Academic Biography	19
Chapter 1 Introduction	20
1.1 Structure of the Rest of the Thesis	23
Chapter 2 Terrorism, Suicide and Suicide Terrorism	24
2.1 Introduction	24
2.2 Setting the Parameters	24
2.2.1 Terrorism	25
2.2.2 Suicide and Suicide Terrorism	27
2.3 The Historical aspect of Terrorism and Suicide Terrorism	32
2.4 Support for Terrorism	35
2.4.1 Community or Group Support	36
2.4.2 Family Support	41
2.5 Family Relationships	48
2.6 Personality Characteristics of Suicide Terrorists	52
2.6.1 Suicide Terrorism and "Normality"	53

2.6.2	Rationality and Suicide Terrorism	57
2.6.3	Social Learning Theory and Terrorism	59
2.6.4	The Frustration Aggression Hypothesis and Terrorism	60
2.6.5	The Psychoanalytic Perspective and a Damaged Self-Identity Leading to Terrorism	61
2.6.6	The Avoidant-Dependent Personality Type and the Suicide Terrorist	63
2.6.7	Group Processes and Suicide Terrorism	70
2.6.8	Depression, Suicidal tendencies and Suicide Terrorists	71
2.6.9	The Authoritarian Personality and Suicide Terrorism	75
2.6.10	Is there a Terrorist Personality?	77
2.6.11	Dissociation and Psychic Numbing	78
2.7	Religiosity and Suicide Terrorism	80
2.7.1	Suicide Terrorism and Islam	82
2.7.1.1	Suicide in Islam	82
2.7.1.2	Shaheed Status and Rewards	83
2.7.1.3	Making Sense of Shahada	84
2.7.2	Secular Suicide Terrorism	92
2.8	Family Personality and Religiosity: How do they Interrelate with Suicide Terrorism?	94
2.9	Conclusions and Aims	100
Chapter 3 Methodology		106
3.1	Introduction	106
3.2	The Case Study Method	106
3.2.1	Historical Background	107
3.2.2	The Case study in Psychology	108
3.2.3	Basic Rules	109

3.2.4	Advantages and Disadvantages of Case Studies	110
3.2.5	A General Concluding Comment	110
3.3	Investigating Terrorism through Case or Family Studies	111
3.4	Method	113
3.4.1	Design	114
3.4.2	Access and Recruitment	115
3.4.3	Sampling	117
3.4.4	Measures	118
3.4.4.1	The General Questionnaire	121
3.4.4.2	The FIRO-B (adapted version)	122
3.4.4.3	The BFRS	125
3.4.4.4	The MARS	126
3.4.5	Pilot Study	126
3.4.6	Data Collection	127
3.5	Ethical Considerations	130
3.6	Data Analysis	132
Chapter 4 Shaheed and Non-Shaheed Case Studies		134
4.1	Introduction	134
4.2	Case Study: Shaheed 1	134
4.2.1	General Details	134
4.2.2	Family Relationships	135
4.2.3	Personality of the Shaheed	137
4.2.4	Religiosity	140
4.2.5	Concluding Comments	141
4.3	Case Study: Shaheed 2	142
4.3.1	General Details	142

4.3.2	Family Relationships	142
4.3.3	Personality of the Shaheed	145
4.3.4	Religiosity	147
4.3.5	Concluding Comments	148
4.4	Case Study: Shaheed 3	149
4.4.1	General Details	149
4.4.2	Family Relationships	149
4.4.3	Personality of the Shaheed	152
4.4.4	Religiosity	154
4.4.5	Concluding Comments	155
4.5	Case Study: Shaheed 4	155
4.5.1	General Details	155
4.5.2	Family Relationships	156
4.5.3	Personality of the Shaheed	158
4.5.4	Religiosity	161
4.5.5	Concluding Comments	162
4.6	Case Study: Shaheed 5	163
4.6.1	General Details	163
4.6.2	Family Relationships	163
4.6.3	Personality of the Shaheed	166
4.6.4	Religiosity	168
4.6.5	Concluding Comments	169
4.7	Case Study: Non-Shaheed 1	172
4.7.1	General Details	172
4.7.2	Family Relationships	172
4.7.3	Personality of the Non-Shaheed	174
4.7.4	Religiosity	174

4.7.5	Concluding Comments	175
4.8	Case Study: Non-Shaheed 2	175
4.8.1	General Details	175
4.8.2	Family Relationships	175
4.8.3	Personality of the Non-Shaheed	177
4.8.4	Religiosity	179
4.8.5	Concluding Comments	180
4.9	Case Study: Non-Shaheed 3	180
4.9.1	General Details	180
4.9.2	Family Relationships	181
4.9.3	Personality of the Non-Shaheed	183
4.9.4	Religiosity	185
4.9.5	Concluding Comments	185
4.10	Case Study: Non-Shaheed 4	186
4.10.1	General Details	186
4.10.2	Family Relationships	186
4.10.3	Personality of the Non-Shaheed	188
4.10.4	Religiosity	190
4.10.5	Concluding Comments	191
4.11	Conclusion	192

## Chapter 5 Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds: Perceived Religiosity, Perceived Personality

	and Family Relationships	193
5.1	Introduction	193
5.2	Religiosity	194
5.3	Absence of Anger and Conflict in Families	196
5.4	Expressed Inclusion with Received Inclusion	198

5.5	Received Inclusion with Religiosity	201
5.6	Expressed Inclusion with Religiosity	204
5.7	Received Control with Religiosity	207
5.8	Family Cohesion and Support with Religiosity	211
5.9	Expression of Self and Opinion in the Family with Religiosity	215
5.10	Absence of Anger and Conflict in the Family with Religiosity	218
5.11	Conclusion	221
Chapter 6 Discussion		223
6.1	Introduction	223
6.2	Personality	224
6.3	Family Relationships and Religiosity	229
6.4	Criminality	231
6.5	Limitations	232
6.6	Conclusion	236
Chapter 7 Policy and Implications		237
7.1	Introduction	237
7.2	Intervention Strategies	237
7.3	What Happened to Hanna Issa?	245
7.4	Further Research	246
7.5	Conclusion	247
Appendices		250
Appendix 1 – Letter of Reference by Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs, Malta		251
Appendix 2 – SREP email through Ms. Kirsty Thomson		252

Appendix 3 – Participant Information Sheet	253
Appendix 4 – Participant Consent Form	256
Appendix 5 – Shaheed Family General Questionnaire	258
Appendix 6 – Non-Shaheed Family General Questionnaire	267
Appendix 7 – FIRO-B adapted version for Shaheed Family Members	275
Appendix 8 – FIRO-B adapted version for Non-Shaheed Family Members	282
Appendix 9 – BFRS Shaheed Family Members	289
Appendix 10 – BFRS Non-Shaheed Family Members	291
Appendix 11 – MARS Shaheed Family Members	293
Appendix 12 – MARS Non-Shaheed Family Members	294
Appendix 13 – Case Summaries	295
Appendix 14 – Descriptive Statistics	297
Appendix 15 – Arabic Version Shaheed Family General Questionnaire	298
Appendix 16 – Arabic Version non-Shaheed Family General Questionnaire	309
Appendix 17 – Arabic Version FIRO-B adapted version for Shaheed Family Members	319
Appendix 18 – Arabic Version FIRO-B adapted version for non-Shaheed Family Members	322
Appendix 19 – Arabic Version BFRS Shaheed Family Members	325
Appendix 20 – Arabic Version BFRS non-Shaheed Family Members	328
Appendix 21 – Arabic Version MARS Shaheed Family Members	331
Appendix 22 – Arabic Version MARS non-Shaheed Family Members	332
Appendix 23 – Back Translation Shaheed Family General Questionnaire	333
Appendix 24 – Back Translation non-Shaheed Family General Questionnaire	341
Appendix 25 - Back Translation FIRO-B adapted version for Shaheed Family Members	348
Appendix 26 – Back Translation FIRO-B adapted version for non-Shaheed	

Family Members	351
Appendix 27 – Back Translation BFRS Shaheed Family Members	354
Appendix 28 – Back Translation BFRS non-Shaheed Family Members	356
Appendix 29 – Back Translation MARS Shaheed Family Members	358
Appendix 30 – Back Translation MARS non-Shaheed Family Members	359
Bibliography	360

(75000 words)

## List of Figures

Figure 1: MARS Scores for Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds	196
Figure 2: BFRS Scores for Absence of Conflict and Anger for Shaheed and Non-Shaheed Families	196
Figure 3. Scatterplot Expressed Inclusion – Received Inclusion Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds	199
Figure 4. Scatterplot Received Inclusion - Religiosity of Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds	202
Figure 5. Scatterplot Expressed Inclusion – Religiosity Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds	205
Figure 6. Scatterplot Received Control – Religiosity Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds	207
Figure 7. Scatterplot Cohesion (Family Support) – Religiosity of Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds	211
Figure 8. Scatterplot Expressiveness (Expression of Opinion & Self in the Family) – Religiosity Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds.	215
Figure 9. Scatterplot Absence of Conflict (Absence of Conflict and Anger in the Family) – Religiosity Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds.	218

## List of Tables

Table 1. Shaheed 1: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores	137
Table 2. Shaheed 1: FIRO-B Shaheed scores	140
Table 3. Shaheed 1: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)	141
Table 4. Shaheed 2: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores	144
Table 5. Shaheed 2: FIRO-B Shaheed scores	147
Table 6. Shaheed 2: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)	148
Table 7. Shaheed 3: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores	152
Table 8. Shaheed 3: FIRO-B Shaheed scores	154
Table 9. Shaheed 3: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)	155
Table 10. Shaheed 4: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores	158
Table 11. Shaheed 4: FIRO-B Shaheed scores	161
Table 12. Shaheed 4: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)	162
Table 13. Shaheed 5: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores	166
Table 14. Shaheed 5: FIRO-B Shaheed scores	168
Table 15. Shaheed 5: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)	169
Table 16. Non-Shaheed 1: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores	172
Table 17. Non-Shaheed 1: FIRO-B non-Shaheed scores	174
Table 18. Non-Shaheed 1: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)	175
Table 19. Non-Shaheed 2: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores	177
Table 20. Non-Shaheed 2: FIRO-B Non-Shaheed scores	179
Table 21. Non-Shaheed 2: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)	180
Table 22. Non- Shaheed 3: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores	183
Table 23. Non-Shaheed 3: FIRO-B Non-Shaheed scores	184
Table 24. Non-Shaheed 3: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)	185
Table 25. Non-Shaheed 4: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores	188

Table 26. Non-Shaheed 4: FIRO-B Non-Shaheed scores	190
Table 27. Non-Shaheed 4: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)	191
Table 28. Correlation Expressed Inclusion – Received Inclusion Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds	198
Table 29. Correlation Received Inclusion – Religiosity Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds	201
Table 30. Correlation Expressed Inclusion – Religiosity of Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds	204
Table 31. Correlation Received Control – Religiosity Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds.	208
Table 32. Correlation Cohesion (Family Support) – Religiosity Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds.	212
Table 33. Correlation Expressiveness (Expression of Opinion & Self in the Family) – Religiosity Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds.	216
Table 34. Correlation Absence of Conflict (Absence of Anger and Conflict in the Family) –Religiosity Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds.	219

**To My Beloved Son**  
**Gian Roberto**  
**&**  
**My late Mother in Law**  
**Grace**

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Joseph Matthew Attard

15<sup>th</sup> August 2019

## **Academic Biography**

Joseph Matthew Attard graduated with a first degree in Psychology with honours (B.Psy.Hons.) in November 1996 from the University of Malta. He read for a Master's of Science degree in Applied Forensic Psychology at the University of Leicester. He is a member of the Malta Chamber of Psychologists (MCP) in the professional grade and is a Forensic Psychologist (Malta Psychology Profession Board (MPPB) Warrant No. 142). Mr. Attard gave consultancy services to the Maltese Government on issues relating to Prisons including training of prison staff and rehabilitation of offenders. He also offered his services in matters related to counter terrorism issues. He currently is a Psychology teacher (Teacher's Warrant No. 7292).

# Chapter 1 Introduction

Who would want to kill people indiscriminately? Moreover, how many humans are ready to kill themselves with the intention of killing others? This is surely not to be considered to be in the realm of statistical normality, but it undoubtedly exists. It may be due to some innate individual factor or factors. It may also be the result of social or environmental issues. Any findings that may explain such a phenomenon will surely be a breakthrough and even if it is a minimum contribution towards this knowledge base it may kick start more valuable research with the aim of making a contribution to explain terrorism or more specifically suicide terrorism. Such knowledge base may make the world a safer place hence due to this scholars, academics and professionals may be encouraged to contribute.

Terrorism is one of today's biggest challenges, not only to security forces and governments but also to individuals in a host of communities around the globe. Suicide terrorism is a potent sub-type of the terrorism phenomenon. During the last 35 years it has affected directly a number of countries namely: Lebanon, Israel, Uzbekistan, Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Chechnya, Turkey, Morocco, Algeria, Afghanistan, the United Kingdom, Spain, the United States, and Iraq. It is the weapon of the weak in struggles that are asymmetrical due to military and other relative resources capabilities (Atran, 2003). In such conflicts the weaker side may see no option but to kill themselves in the course and with the purpose of inflicting the highest amount of damage to their enemy. The fact that the target population is aware that the terrorist is ready to die to reach his/her goal one might reasonably predict that this will create both a threat to normal life and also may induce hysteria and panic in the target population where normal life may no longer be possible as the fear of a suicide attack looms heavy.

Suicide terrorists are also known as *Shaheed* in their Islamic Jihadi communities, *Shaheed*, written in Arabic as الشهيد pronounced as *alshshahid* literally translates itself from Arabic to

English as *Martyr*. The word Martyr signifies that these people are highly respected in their communities and in their families. They are considered to have sacrificed their life for a cause. Ansari (2005) explains that in Arabic Shaheed means *being present* or *an observer* since the Shaheed gives witness to the truth.

Since the Shaheed is willing to die in the course of his/her operation the resultant effect on the enemy is magnified and much more damage can be inflicted on the enemy. They can also make final minute adjustments and hide weapons including suicide vests on their own bodies. They also do not think about having an escape route and are not afraid to infiltrate heavily armed maximum security areas. Pape (2005) states that from 1980 to 2003, notwithstanding that suicide terrorist acts comprise only 3% of all terrorist acts recorded, they account for 48% of all the deaths resulting from terrorism, and this excludes 9/11.

Suicide terrorism as a Modus Operandi (MO) of inflicting harm reached its climax with the events of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 in New York and Washington and continued to gain worldwide attention with other major terrorist incidents in other western cities such as London and Madrid that may have been considered to be safe from terrorism prior to the July 7<sup>th</sup> 2005 London bombings and the March 11<sup>th</sup> 2004 Madrid bombings.

At first glance one may consider suicide terrorism, more particularly if it is of jihadi origin to be positively related to religiosity. However, evidence shows that this may not be the case. For example, if one considers the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) or the (Kurdistan Workers Party) PKK terrorist organisations, religiosity is arguably not an issue as these are secular groups. Such a situation is also found in Palestine; in the 1990s suicide terrorism was initiated by both Palestinian Hamas (PH) and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ). These two organisations are religious fundamentalist in nature. However in the early 2000s the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and Fatah, both secular terrorist organisations

participated fully in the use of suicide terrorism (Bloom, 2004). Pape (2005) suggests that there may be other issues that may act as confounding variables, such as differences in religion and culture between the dominators and the dominated.

As a result of the July 7<sup>th</sup> 2005 London bombings a House of Commons Report (2006, p. 31) was commissioned. It stated that: "In a few cases there is evidence of abuse or other trauma in early life, but in others their upbringing has been stable and loving". As regards the 9/11 suicide bombers, some have had traumatic family experiences such as the lead suicide bomber Mohammad Atta as explained by Razzaque (2008). However, Canter (2006, p. 108) states that: "the 9/11, the London bombers and the Madrid bombers are reported to have lived in functional families". So this suggests that evidence concerning the relationship between family experiences and suicide terrorism is inconclusive, and hence may merit further investigation.

Terrorism is a behaviour issue that is certainly not typical in the general population (Victoroff, 2005). It is feasible to argue that understanding the mind of the terrorist is pertinent towards developing effective strategies in the security business that may reduce such a threat (Clayton, Barlow & Ballif-Spanvill, 1998; Wardlaw, 1989). Terrorists use the lack of predictability on their target population to strike most effectively hence inducing the most damage to their enemy. This brings about tremendous psychological fear (Schmid, 2005). The suicide terrorist induces more fear than a non-suicide terrorist as he/she seems not to value his/her life when compared to reaching the goal of inflicting damage, pain and death to the enemy. It is reasonable to conclude that understanding the way he/she thinks, hence their personality helps in protecting people who may be exposed to suffer as a result of suicide terrorism attacks. Assessment, profiling and prediction of behaviour of individuals who opt to use terrorism or moreover its more potent version, suicide terrorism poses a challenge to

scientists. It is therefore appropriate for scientists to single out factors or pinpoint a combination of factors that may be related to suicide terrorism behaviour.

So how do personality characteristics influence suicide terrorism? What type of family relationships may encourage an individual to opt for suicide terrorism? What role does religiosity, especially Islam play? This study aims to investigate through the respective family members of Shaheed and non-Shaheed individuals the relationship, if any, between personality characteristics and suicide terrorism. It also investigates family relationships with regards to the characteristics of these that may be common among this type of terrorists. Issues related to the religiosity of suicide terrorists and their families are also investigated. The outcome of this research may be helpful both to security personnel but also to family or friends who wish to intervene and help their loved ones not to sever their ties with them by becoming a suicide terrorist.

## **1.1 Structure of the Rest of the Thesis**

In chapter 2, more particularly, the literature concerning how personality, family relationships and religiosity have been found to relate to suicide terrorism is critically reviewed. Since the hereunder study attempts to research suicide terrorists through the eyes of their family particular reference will be made to studies using family members as participants. Chapter 3 is the methodology chapter and will address the way this research was carried out. It will also discuss issues relating to the participants and the questionnaires used. Chapter 4 will present case studies of Palestinian Shaheed and non-Shaheed individuals. Chapter 5 will present the results obtained and their meaning. Chapter 6 will discuss these results together with the limitations of this study. Chapter 7 will highlight implications to policy that may be appropriate.

# **Chapter 2 Terrorism, Suicide and Suicide Terrorism**

## **2.1 Introduction**

In this chapter the literature concerning the relationship between suicide and terrorism will be reviewed. The roots of suicide terrorism will also be looked at from a historical perspective as this will show from where suicide terrorism has emanated. The effects of community or group support that suicide terrorists are given will also be discussed. In the light of this, relationships in families may also encourage an individual to undertake or not a suicide terrorist operation. It will also be argued that the suicide terrorism phenomenon is not simply a group issue but also a personal one, hence personality characteristics that may be conducive for suicide terrorism to occur will be also set out. Some authors have argued that religiosity is an issue that is imperative for suicide terrorism to occur while others have argued otherwise. The issue of religiosity will be also examined in the light of what authors with diverging opinions have theorized. Finally, in the light of current research, how family, personality and religiosity may interact in order to influence a person whether or not to undertake a suicide terrorist operation will be also discussed. Limitations and shortcomings in the current research literature will be also pointed out and the potential contribution of the present research will be presented.

## **2.2 Setting the Parameters**

It is important that suicide, terrorism and suicide terrorism are defined in the context and for the purpose of this study. In this way the parameters are set since these terms are used by both academics and non-academics in ways that may encapsulate a whole spectrum of issues, sometimes referring to different phenomena.

### **2.2.1 Terrorism**

Schmid (1983, p. 1) surveyed 109 definitions of the word *terrorism* and came to the conclusion that: "there is no clear and generally accepted definition of what constitutes terrorism". Since one man's terrorist (the person who is conducting the act of terrorism) is another man's freedom fighter. So, it is close to impossible to come out with a singular and universal definition of terrorism. Sageman (2017a) uses the social identity perspective to argue that terrorism all depends on the in-group an individual is in and how they relate to the out-group. So for the Afghan rebels during the occupation by the Soviet Union the Soviet Union did acts of terrorism towards them and vice versa and in 1770 the American patriots performed acts of terrorism, as perceived by King George while on the other hand the King was considered by the patriots as conducting acts of terrorism towards them. Also, recently for Al Qaeda or the Islamic State (IS) the United States performed acts of terrorism on the former while the United States sees the issue vice versa. Moreover, Sageman (2017a) contends that any attempt to define terrorism depends on the entity or the person who is drawing the said definition and is independent from the party upon which such a label is being attached.

Moghaddam (2005, p.161) defines terrorism as, "politically motivated violence perpetrated by individuals or state sponsored agents, intended to instil fear and helplessness in a population in order to influence decision making and to change behaviour". Neither the above nor any other definition provides a universal exhaustive explanation for the phenomenon of terrorism. This may be reflected in the different roles that terrorists are involved in their respective terrorist group or organisation, for example the psychological and social profile of an individual involved in fund raising to support the terrorist organisation may be different from that of a member aspiring to become a suicide bomber.

Moghaddam (2009) puts forward the various involvements of individuals in terrorist groups through a staircase metaphor where prospective members or members move up different floors when being radicalized. They may also move down these floors through the process of de-radicalization, yet the majority remains on the lower floors without longing to move up the staircase. At the lowest levels there are those who feel that they are being treated unfairly by a society or community that is eventually targeted by the terrorist organisation, higher up the staircase are those who identify themselves with terrorist organisations and condone their activities as legitimate and on the highest floors of the staircase, on the fifth floor as suggested in Moghaddam's metaphor, there are the operatives, those who carry out the terrorist attacks and also those who sacrifice their lives for the cause, the suicide terrorists. Individuals on various floors are entrusted with different roles in the organisation, people on the lower floors are usually involved in logistical support and fund raising, and while on the upper floors are those who physically are conducting the terrorist operations but what causes people to move up the staircase metaphor and become suicide terrorists seems to be unanswered by Moghaddam.

Sageman (2014) suggests that terrorism must be defined for a particular context and time. This is another reason why there exists no universal definition of terrorism. Canter (2009) argues that terrorism is multifaceted and that no single discipline is equipped to fully explain it in a general way, this again makes it even more difficult to define. Generalisations across cultures and time may lead to erroneous and conflicting results. Moreover the psychological make-up of a terrorist may be different, hence there may not be a single psychological or social profile of a terrorist that is common for all cultures and all times, and even in the same culture and time both the psychological makeup and social environments may be different (Soibelman, 2004). So for the purpose of the here under study a particular context and time period will be considered; the first and second intifada as explained in further details in the sections below and chapter 3, the methodology chapter.

## 2.2.2 Suicide and Suicide Terrorism

Both sociological and psychological theories have attempted to explain suicide, sociology from a social perspective while psychology from an individual one. While defining terrorism is considered to be relative, defining suicide is more objective. Cole & Cole (2009, p.262) defines suicide as "the conscious effort to end one's life". Durkheim (1951) classifies suicide into four main categories:

- Egoistic suicide* – when an individual does not find a basis for existence in life. This is usually caused by low social integration.
- Altruistic suicide* – when the basis of existence lies beyond life itself. This is usually caused by high social integration.
- Anomic suicide* – when peoples' lives are changed by a change of social control.
- Fatalistic suicide* – when social control is overwhelming.

Durkheim suggests that Altruistic suicide is an act of fanatic sacrifice of oneself that stems from loyalty, fealty and identification with the group or society that they are highly integrated in. This type of suicide may be described as sacrificing oneself for the benefit or good of others. These individuals, according to Durkheim, are also willingly very much controlled by the society that they belong to. Orbach (2004) suggests that the transformation to the better of not only the personal self-image but also that of the whole Palestinian nation fuels further and motivates suicide terrorism in accordance with Durkheim's Altruistic suicide category.

There are also combinations of these main types of suicides, of particular relevance is Anomic-Altruistic suicide. This is a politically motivated type of suicide also known as suicide of the besieged. When a city is captured its citizens may opt to kill themselves due to fear of the change in their way of living and also these citizens would love their city and their way of life so much that they would not want to survive its probable destruction. However, this is very different from suicide terrorism as the enemy is not targeted in the process of committing suicide. While Durkheim seems to explain suicide it seems that suicide terrorism is difficult to

explain using his theory, though at first glance Altruistic suicide seems to explain suicide terrorism and indeed a number of authors have interpreted it to be so (Pape, 2005, Biggs, 2005, Gambetta, 2005 and Zahezadeh, 2015), however it is important to keep in mind that the situations where Durkheim studied suicide are very different from when suicide terrorism occurs. Durkheim's examples from the military are not military personnel killed in battle like for example the Kamikaze pilots in the Second World War, but these are people who have been hurt by leave or promotion refusal, insults, and similar occurrences.

Shneidman (1980) argues that a person about to commit suicide experiences what is popularly known as tunnel vision where the person will focus solely on the act without considering other facets important in life, such as responsibilities, memories or relationships. Both Stein (2002) and Orbach (2004) argue that there are similarities between the mental processes experienced by a person about to commit a conventional suicide and a suicide terrorist. Shneidman (2001) attempts to explain suicide using 4 categories. He argues that individuals that may attempt to commit suicide fit into one of them:

- *The death seeker.* This person would clearly want to die, however this may be temporary. This may be related to revenge suicide terrorism especially after some incident where the out-group makes the in-group of an individual suffer. This individual may then opt for a suicide terrorism act against the out-group. He/She may only consider such a revenge terrorist act for some time only, but on the other hand such a suicide terrorist act may be planned and activated.
- *The death initiator.* This person would want to quicken the process of death. This may occur for example when a person is suffering from a terminal illness and the individual would want to hasten his/her process leading to death. This may be related to what was stated by a Chechen youngster: "When death is looming anyway – especially for fugitives or those who feel they will be killed". (Speckhard, 2012, p.31)

- *The death ignorer*. This person believes that death is not the cessation of existence but a passage way into a better place. Suicide terrorists who are highly religious, such as the Jihadi terrorists may fit into this type of suicide.
- *The death darer*. This person is not sure whether he/she should die or not but through his/her suicide he/she would want to attract attention or make others suffer. A suicide terrorist may want to make the enemy classified as his/her out-group suffer and consequently becoming a hero for his/her in-group. However, Shneidman (2001) contends that the prospective suicide in this category may have second thoughts and abandon his/her suicide. It may also follow that as a result of which the suicide terrorism act will then be abandoned.

In all of the four suicide cases listed above Shneidman concludes that this behaviour is atypical. It may be considered to be more atypical when suicide involves the killing of third parties such as in the case of a suicide terrorist act. So this theory suggests that suicide terrorists may be suffering from psychopathological and even social issues as contended also by Lankford (2013). As will be explained hereunder this is discussable and may not be the case.

The suicide terrorist combines the act of suicide and terrorism in a single activity. Merari (2010) defines suicide terrorism as an act where the actors kill themselves for the purpose of killing others, such actors are not government agents. As explained earlier all definitions of terrorism are value laden and Merari's definition seems to be at the high end of the spectrum as his definition is very exclusive and aimed at a certain group or groups of people. Pape (2005) argues that it is a common misconception that suicide terrorists are people who want to end their lives anyway and opt to end it in a theatrical way. However, Pape suggests that these people will never commit suicide and therefore they opt for suicide terrorism on the grounds of particular circumstances, for example these circumstances may be religious or cultural where suicide is condemned. Pape continues to argue that suicide terrorists act out

of altruistic motives and not egoistic ones that are the hallmark of most suicides. They seem to be free of brainwashing as in the case of mass suicides organised by religious cults. They resemble more soldiers that volunteer for suicide missions. In fact Durkheim (1951, p.219) states "because it is his duty" as a soldier, however Speckhard (2012, p.34) in her case study accounts presents a Chechen woman Elza, whose brother and husband were killed by the Russians in Chechnya. Their bodies were found mutilated in a ditch. Speckhard explains "but she did know from her exposure to Wahhabism that "martyrdom" or suicide terrorism is the loophole for people like her, that going as a suicide bomber is not included in the Islamic definition of suicide among extremists". In fact while meeting the commandant responsible for her husband's and brother's deaths she detonated a bomb on herself killing him and his guards. Speckhard (2012) found among Palestinians that Istashhad or Martyrdom is perceived to be an honourable exit from life. Speckhard (2012) concludes that at the face of destruction, violence and death, females like their male counterparts reach a certain point when they will strike back exiting life. Like the Chechens, Palestinians opt for death and not imprisonment. Speckhard (2012, p. 323) cites another example of a father of a suicide terrorist, "if Israelis caught him they would lock him in jail for the rest of his life he prefers to live in heaven and eternity". So Istashhad may be considered to be an honourable exit from life when it comes to living in deep psychological or physical suffering or both.

As already stated above Pape (2005) classifies suicide terrorism as a form of altruistic suicide. While not excluding egoistic or fatalistic suicide from all suicide terrorism cases, Pape (2005, p.180) argues that suicide terrorists are "people who are anchored to community and friendship networks". In fact Speckhard (2012, p.131) cites a letter of a suicide terrorist to his mother stating: "the thing that made me do it is the killing of old people, old women, children, and the assassinations that the Israelis do". Moreover, Pape (2005) identifies four patterns that point towards altruistic motives in most cases of suicide terrorism. Suicide, including anomic and egoistic are not considered to be high in countries where suicide

terrorism is highly prevalent. An example of this is post 2000 Palestine. Team suicide terrorism is more a hallmark of altruistic than egoistic characteristics. The suicide terrorist is not separated from the community as in the case of mass suicides organised by religious cults but these people are tightly bound to the society. Finally, it is important to point out that while on one hand egoistic suicide occurs when an individual does not want to experience the pain that is expected to be experienced, altruistic suicide occurs when an individual experiences pain that is normally not expected to be experienced by an individual. Having said this Speckhard (2012, p. 80) explains that:

“In Gaza there is an excellent mental health clinic run by premier psychiatrist Eyad Sarraj with a staff of forty, but it only serves Gaza and still cannot possibly meet all the needs of the entire population given twenty percent are estimated to have posttraumatic stress disorder. Fatima (a highly traumatised Palestinian young woman) is right – they will turn to other remedies like drugs, fantasies, and ideologies and actions that promise what seems to be an honourable exit from life – taking their own lives while killing their enemies.”

Lankford (2013) argues that suicide terrorists are no different from other people who commit conventional suicides and who usually suffer from severe psycho-social problems; they are very different from people who sacrifice their life for others, but still a lot remains unanswered as people in the in-groups of suicide terrorists see them as heroes and not as people suffering from problems. Sageman (2017b), p. 185 strongly criticizes Lankford’s line of argument by stating: “Nevertheless, mental health professionals, who have never examined a terrorist, and amateur psychologists persist in believing that terrorists suffer from some sort of mental disorder on the basis of very selective second hand anecdotal evidence. Adam Lankford, 2013 is just one of the latest examples”. Atran (2003) argues that symptoms that are typical of suicidal individuals are absent from suicide terrorists. In fact suicidal intent is completely ruled out by people involved in such operations (Schbley, 2003; Post, Sprinzak and Denny, 2002).

Orbach (2004) puts forward the point that we do not know what their inner personal motives are, their psychological state is still questionable and the psycho-social process into becoming suicide terrorists still requires further investigation.

As stated earlier, suicide terrorism combines the act of suicide and terrorism as it is very likely that the individual committing the terrorist activity will be killed if the terrorist act is successful. Academics again are in a lack of agreement on the definition of suicide terrorism. On the one hand Shay (2004), Hafez (2006a) and Bloom (2005) advocate certain death of the individual carrying out the suicide terrorist operation for its success (a classical case is the suicide bombing scenario) while Pedahzur (2005, p. 8) states: "Suicide terrorism includes a diversity of violent actions perpetrated by people who are aware that the odds they will return alive are close to zero". An example of this is the assassination of Indira Gandhi by her body guards. In fact these were consequently killed by other security forces. For the purpose of this study this definition of suicide terrorism will be considered as suicide bombing will be considered to be one type of suicide terrorism.

The historical aspect of terrorism and suicide terrorism is important to be briefly presented due to the fact that as explained above they are multi-faceted and culturally dependent. Their development through time has led them to be what they are today. As Atran (2003, p. 1534) argues terrorism, more particularly suicide terrorism, is "an ancient practice with a modern history".

### **2.3 The Historical aspect of Terrorism and Suicide Terrorism**

Suicide terrorism dates back to Judea when it was occupied by the Romans. The Jewish sect of the Zealots (*sicari*) used daggers and knives to kill and obviously be in turn killed. This Modus Operandi (MO) was again used by the *hashashin*, an Islamic order calling themselves the Order of Assassins during the early part of the Christian crusades. (Lewis, 2002).

Maximillian Robespierre, in the time of the French Revolution, conceptualized that *terror* was the systematic use of violence to attain promptly and efficiently political goals. What was known as *The Reign of Terror* lasted till the fall of Robespierre in July 1794. During this period the Jacobins killed a huge number of people who were considered to be their enemies (Atran, 2003). It was in this period that Sageman (2017a) records what he considers to be the first suicide bombing act, whether being the first suicide bombing or not may be regarded to be hypothetical. What is important is as Atran (2003) contends that technological advancement was used in suicide terrorism leading to suicide bombing. On 13<sup>th</sup> December 1789 in the town of Senlis, a clock maker named Rieul-Michel Billon who was discharged from the municipal militia for charging an excessively high interest rate to an innkeeper was waiting quietly inside his booby trapped home while his former unit paraded in front. He shot at them and the soldiers stormed his home. At what he considered to be the most opportune moment he set the explosion killing himself and 25 others from his former unit and injuring another 41.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the justification of violence for political goals during the Russian Revolution, Cambodia and Iran. Suicide attacks came from both state sponsored agents, such as the Japanese Kamikazes in the Second World War and non-state sponsored, such as the Russian anarchists. The Japanese Kamikazes proved to be very effective such as in the battle of Okinawa where 2000 Kamikaze pilots crashed into 300 US vessels as a result of which 5000 US personnel were killed. Consequently, the United States opted for the use of the atomic bomb (Axell, 2002).

Suicide attacks in the middle-east in contemporary time was first recorded in December 1981 where the Iraqi embassy in Beirut was destroyed leaving 27 dead and more than 100 wounded. Till today, the bombers have not been known. Hezbollah organized the October 1983 truck bombings on the barracks housing a multi-national peace keeping force. Two

suicide terrorist truck bombers targeted US and French troops. As a result of this bombing 241 US personnel and 58 French soldiers were killed. Consequently, French and U.S. troops pulled out of Lebanon. Suicide attacks in Lebanon resulted in the ceding of land in Lebanon that was acquired by the Israelis during the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 (Atran, 2003).

In the Israeli-Palestinian scenario the first suicide bomb occurred on April 16<sup>th</sup> 1993 in an Israeli settlement in the Jordan Valley. The suicide bomber was Tamam Nabulsi, a Hamas member. Suicide terrorism in this area can be categorised in two: what is called as the first Intifada (literally meaning shake or shake-off, in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict it means shaking off Israeli power from Palestinians in order to gain independence), from 16<sup>th</sup> April 1993 to 29<sup>th</sup> September 2000 and the second Intifada or El-Aksa Intifada, from 29<sup>th</sup> September 2000 to the beginning of May 2004. In the first intifada there were 61 suicide attacks: 41 were launched by Hamas and 20 were dispatched by Islamic Jihad, so only Islamic organisations were involved. Out of the above mentioned suicide bombing attacks 43 or 70% were successful and consequently blew themselves up as the rest were captured prior to being successful. During the second wave there were 274 attempts out of which 142 or 52% were successful to detonate their suicide bomb. Of all the attempts: 99 were dispatched by Hamas, 70 by Fatah, 67 by Islamic Jihad, 10 by the Popular Front for the liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and 28 by other organisations (Kimhi & Even, 2004). Most of the suicide terrorism was done to disrupt the peace process that was being planned through the Oslo accord.

A hallmark in suicide terrorism were the plane attacks on the US by Al Qaeda. And later on Al Qaeda inspired suicide bomb attacks on major European cities such as: London, Madrid, and Paris. Suicide terrorism is no longer a threat resulting from individuals physically in contact with terrorist organisations but these may be inspired through for example social media. This makes the phenomenon of suicide terrorism more dangerous both in the immediate present and distant future. This is how through the development of technology,

whether it is bombs or social media suicide terrorism has evolved to become more dangerous than what it was in ancient times when primitive weapons like daggers were used.

## **2.4 Support for Terrorism**

Support for terrorism does not include only financial, operational or logistic types but it also includes sympathy towards actions of terrorists. This is described by Cherney & Murphy (2017) as support of a passive nature since people who support terrorists in this way believe that they have valid grievances and that they have all the right to fight and oppose their oppressors in the way they do.

Suicide bombing incidents were very common in Palestine from 1992, during the first Intifada where they occurred at the rate of 3 per year and later during the second Intifada in the early 2000s increased to over 20 every year. Bloom (2005) argues that suicide terrorist attacks were used to gain popular support from the Palestinian community. They did gain popular support so much so that even Marxist leftist groups such as The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) started using the term Jihad. In fact the suicide terrorist tactic did manage to succeed to force the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) to withdraw from the Gaza strip in 1994 and the West Bank in 1995 (Pape, 2005). As Bloom (2005) contends, due to the effectiveness of suicide terrorist operations other Palestinian organisations joined in the suicide bombing campaign during the second Intifada. Although the Palestinians were subjected to tremendous retaliation by the IDF support was high as a result to the way suicide terrorists and suicide terrorism was marketed to the Palestinian community leading to what was termed as the Art of Martyrdom. The aim of the attacks was to de-rail the peace process between the Israelis and the Palestinians and indeed it was successful in this regard, especially with suicide attacks that occurred deep in the heart of Israeli cities.

### **2.4.1 Community or Group Support**

Zahedzadeh (2015) argues that the suicide terrorist needs to feel that he/she is supported by the wider community. Such a support, though fluctuating was present in the Palestinian community between the early 1990s and 2000s as explained above.

Shikaki (2006) suggests that suicide terrorism in Palestine fluctuated according to how much they felt threatened by the Israelis. Also, the Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre (JMCC), in a survey of a sample of Palestinians in March 1996 reported that 5% supported terrorist attacks. This went up to 36% in September 1997, as reported by The Centre for Palestine Research and Study (CPRS). In all eight polls were conducted. The mean rate of support was found to be 24%, this was when the majority of the Palestinians also supported the peace process, which in fact was making good progress. With the second intifada support for suicide terrorism among Palestinians increased dramatically to 74% as stated by a JMCC poll in April 2001. Support among Palestinians decreased to an average of 62% as cited by both the JMCC and the Palestinian Centre for Policy and Survey Research (PSR) after Israel launched operation "Defensive Shield" when Israeli forces reoccupied the West Bank. Support for suicide terrorism then dropped to 46% after the death of Arafat, but support was present most of the time among the Palestinian community. However terrorist organisations are not always perceived positively, for example Hamas was not always seen in good light by Palestinians. The conservative Gazans were very critical of Hamas for assisting a mother to become a Shaheed. Pictures were released of her in combat gear with her children, one of them, a baby was also holding what looked like a mortar shell. Hamas defended itself by saying that this depicted the despair of Palestinian mothers and their rage against the Israelis (Speckhard, 2012).

Triandis (1995) suggests that collectivistic cultures are cultures where for example the group or the family is much more important than the individual. On the other hand individualistic

cultures are characterised by independent people who are self-assured and responsible for their own choices. Post, Sprinzak & Denny (2003) studied 35 terrorists of Middle-Eastern origin in prison using semi-structured interviews. They argue that collectivistic cultures seem to be more supportive for attacks on foreigners. This obviously contrasts with the situation in the UK as the latter may be differentiated from the Middle East as arguably it is characterised by an individualistic culture rather than a collectivistic one. Notwithstanding, the UK Shaheeds are celebrated within their terrorists networks and on the web by their fellow members (Cole & Cole, 2009). Support for terrorism was reported by Hoffman (1998) to be less in Italy or Germany when the Red Brigades or The Red Army Faction conducted attacks in their respective countries. Again Italy and Germany are arguably characterised more by an individualistic culture rather than a collectivistic one. Moreover the target was not foreigner but co-national. This is different from for example the Palestinian scenario where terrorism enjoyed popular support (Bloom, 2004). So it seems that cultures that are more collectivistic where the group and the family takes precedence over individuality may be more supportive of terrorism. This may be the resultant effect of stronger interpersonal and family relationships in collectivistic societies.

Zahedzadeh (2015) argues that community or group support is essential in supporting suicide operations. Hence, terror groups portray such operations as being beneficial for the suffering community at large, consequently successful individuals completing these operations are portrayed as heroes. Pape (2005, p.28) portrays suicide terrorism as the "Art of Martyrdom". Anniversaries of suicide operations are celebrated. Material gifts are handed to family members of the Shaheed. Speckhard (2012) points out how family members of Shaheeds are invited for interviews on television stations. This has a snowball effect whereby community support picks up momentum hence similar attacks are encouraged. Orbach (2004) highlights the enthusiasm that the Palestinian public has for the Intifada and that no retaliation by the Israeli army has proven to have an immediate cooling effect of their enthusiasm. For the

Palestinians there was a time that it might have seemed that suicide terrorism was the solution to their problem of getting back their land and consequently having fewer Jews immigrating to Palestine while those living in the Israeli settlements will return back to their country of origin. Orbach (2004) suggests that it seems that suicide terrorism has given meaning and replaced the helplessness and desperation in the lives of the Palestinians.

The Art of Martyrdom is very present among the Palestinian community. The Shaheed or Martyr is praised not only on the news and in religious sermons but also in Palestinian art and culture. The fact that small children know Shaheed names comes as no surprise as they are praised in school text books. A study done on 29 text books used in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grades found that they contained phrases praising the Shaheed and martyrdom (Merari, 2010). Orbach (2004) reports that students are indoctrinated in their tender years of schooling to believe that suicide terrorism is the way forward. Orbach (2004), p.118 cites Jack Kelly of USA Today reporting an 11 year old boy saying in class: ("I will make my body a bomb that will blast the flesh of the Zionists, the sons of pigs and monkeys... I will tear their bodies into little pieces and will cause them more pain than they ever knew" His classmates shouted: "*Allah Akbar*" [God is Great] and his teacher shouted: "May the virgins give you pleasure".) Merari 2010 cites Steinberg (2005, p. 23) in order to describe the Palestinian public attitude towards suicide terrorism:

"Support for suicide bombings went far beyond the military wings of the nationalist and Islamic movements. Parents dressed their babies and toddlers as suicide bombers and had them photographed in the local photography studios. Children marched with suicide belts around their chests. University exhibitions included one that recreated an actual suicide bombing carried out in the Sbarro restaurant in Jerusalem, replete with pizza slices and bloody body parts. The Palestinian Authority named popular soccer tournaments after martyrs belonging both to Fatah and the rival Hamas, with even the suicide bomber who blew himself up

during an Israeli family celebration of Passover, killing thirty of them, thus honoured. On public TV, the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation aired videos of men being lured away by the hur, the beautiful virgins of Paradise promised to martyrs, as if they were commercials or public service announcements. If the term cult did not suggest a fringe phenomenon, we might begin to speak of a cult of martyrdom; as it is, the devotees of death on all fronts have become too numerous and too diverse for us to do so any longer.”

The suicide terrorist needs to be supported so that detection and surveillance leading to their ultimate elimination by security forces of the community that is being targeted is avoided. They may be known but no one will tell (Pape 2005). Martyr status is obtained through highly publicised funerals, Shaheed videos, photos and also popular modern drawings such as graffiti and murals. The terrorist organisations have to provide also logistical support. Speckhard (2012) carried a number of interviews with families and close friends of suicide terrorists. For example, in the case of a Chechen woman Elza, who had two of her family members killed by the Russian forces, the terrorist organisation provided her not only with the logistical support but also with the bomb, so if it was not for the terrorist organisation Elza would not have conducted the suicide operation. The agenda is usually set by terrorist organisations but it has to be accepted by the wider community. However, this community support may also lock the suicide bomber in a kind of whirlpool situation where the individual feels that he/she cannot turn back. One thing that seems to put the suicide bomber in this situation is the Shaheed video, usually the prospective suicide bomber dressed in combat gear or holding armaments in his/her hands speaks in this video and declares why he/she will be conducting the suicide operation. Speckhard (2012) cites Ariel Merari, and also she found cases where this phenomenon was experienced. On the other hand there were other cases where this effect was not experienced. This shows how community support can not only lure an individual

to become a suicide terrorist but it may also lock this individual into a point of no return from executing successfully the mission.

Speckhard (2012, p. 395) cites one of her interviews where the family of a suicide bomber describes the support given to their family by Hamas:

“The leaders of Hamas visit us even now to give us and the children spiritual support, “Tayseer’s [suicide bomber’s] cousin explains. “Yes, they check us frequently,” his wife agrees. “Other [political] movements don’t care about their martyrs after. They are just killed and forgotten. But these ones don’t forget. They bring sweets and toys for the children, visit frequently and at festivals their names are read. This makes us very proud. Now [the children] are enrolled in the Hamas school and take social cars to school. For the poor and martyr children these services are free.”

It is Hamas Policy not to take more than one member for Istashhad from any one family. So the brother of the above mentioned suicide bomber had to do everything by himself: buy the materials to construct the bomb, construct the actual bomb and strap it to his body. He was helped by his pregnant wife who sold her jewellery to finance the mission and helped him strap the bomb onto his body. For a pregnant wife to strap her husband with a bomb with the intention to detonate himself may be considered to be not only out of the ordinary but bizarre. So one may consider this husband wife relationship to be an unusual one, but one has to see things through the eyes of a different culture where a wife should be supportive to her husband till the end. After her husband died she re-married and left her son with her husband’s family, again this is also cultural and in no way can be interpreted as abandonment of the baby. Notwithstanding this lack of support by Hamas prior to the mission he is still considered to be a Hamas Martyr.

## **2.4.2 Family Support**

The above shows how support for the family helps the suicide terrorist. On the other hand family support towards the suicide terrorist is also important. The latter is part of the community's support which is described above, however family support will be discussed in further detail hereunder. Sageman (2017b) argues that the influence of the parents towards political violence that may lead to suicide terrorism is important however that of the peers in this regard is even more important. Post et. al., (2003) confirms that the peer group is stronger than the family at recruitment stage and that as Berko (2007) contends, the family may not be knowledgeable that their acquaintance may be on the path to suicide terrorism. Sageman (2017b) concludes that political violence may therefore be a result of social influence. This may be so in areas where there is conflict, such as Palestine and other Middle Eastern countries where parents and teachers may encourage children to participate in political violence. However, parents and teachers in more peaceful countries are unlikely to encourage children to perform acts of terrorism. On the other hand it may be argued, as seen above, that peers have more influence. Having said this the influence of family members namely the parents on prospective suicide terrorists cannot be ignored.

Merari (2010), with the assistance of Ms. Nasra Hasan, a Pakistani Muslim woman who worked with an international refugee organisation in the occupied territories studied suicide bombers by visiting and interviewing their families and failed suicide bomber candidates in Palestinian prisons. She managed to study 34 out of the 36 suicide bombers that committed a suicide terrorist attack between 1993 and 1998, prior to the second intifada.

Most of the families (79%) in the Merari (2010) study stated that they were aware that their sons were involved with either Hamas or Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) before they set out on their suicide mission, however they were not aware of the details of their underground activities. One father expressed his surprise for his son's suicidal act of terror. He continued

by explaining that even the political scene was relatively quiet, this was at the time of the Israeli-Palestinian Oslo Agreement. The families reported that 47% of the suicides had talked about martyrdom while 44% had talked about Paradise, 35% mentioned both. Merari (2010, p.91) cites one mother saying in the interview that her son frequently said: "Look, your son is a Shaheed (martyr)! When you hear of my shahada (martyrdom) do not tear your clothes and pull your hair... When they bring you my body, thank Allah saying: O Allah, you have honoured us in my son's martyrdom. I am an asset for you on this earth as well as in death". Another used to tell his mother that he does not want to marry because he wants to be a Shaheed. Another used to invite his mother; "Come, have a photograph taken with me before I do Istashhad". (Merari (2010, p. 92). A brother of a suicide terrorist reported that the latter had started talking about Istashhad more than two years prior to his suicide operation, moreover two months before his suicide operation he increased his talking on the subject and when he used to hear the news about suicide terrorist incidents he used to say that he will carry out the perfect suicide terrorist operation. It seems that the prospective suicide bombers talked on the subject with their relatives but on the other hand the families said that they were never aware of their intention to commit a suicide terrorist act. One suicide terrorist told his mother who was a widow to forgive him on the evening before his suicide operation and another individual reported that he knew about his brother's suicide operation. It may be that those relatives who negated any knowledge of their relative's plan for a suicide terrorist operation did so out of fear of being arrested or any other serious consequences since they may be seen as accomplices to the suicide terrorist operation by the Israeli security forces. The above is indicative that these Palestinian suicide terrorists confided with their family members about the possibility of their suicide terrorist operation and that this may have been a result of good family relationships.

Canter (2006) in a critique article contends that it is much easier for family members such as the mother to perceive their relative's suicide operation as martyrdom rather than as an act

of despair and suicide. Martyrdom gives the family a sense of pride at their relative's tragic death but also a logical reason why such a tragic experience had to happen. One cannot negate the fact that a sense of ambivalence between the feelings of pride and sorrow is very common. Speckhard (2012) explains that in a particular case a Palestinian mother professed in an interview that her son's martyrdom was a very beautiful present for Mother's Day. However, she then cites another interview with this same mother who lost two sons on two different Shaheed operations as declaring that if she had known about their missions she would have done anything to stop them but now that they have successfully completed their missions she considers them as Shaheeds and is proud of them. So there seems to be ambivalence as to how the immediate family perceives the act of martyrdom and hence supporting it and their Shaheed relative.

Speckhard (2012, p.97) cites another of her Palestinian interviewees when she asks her: "How would you feel if your brother or a close friend went as a bomber?" and she answers: "I would be sad but the one who is dead chose to do it. It's an honour. It doesn't mean our sadness will control us". Also, a father of another suicide bomber exclaimed: "We thanked Allah that he is a martyr" (Speckhard, 2012, p. 318).

Merari (2010) explains that in the last days and nights preceding the fatal operation, 15 out of 34 stayed at home. Apparently, the ones who did not stay home wanted to stay away from their family supposedly in order to avoid emotions that may undermine their suicide operation as they may decide not to continue with their suicide terrorist operation plans not to sever ties with their family members and loved ones. It could be also that they were wanted by the Israeli and Palestinian authorities, since security forces were watching their homes. However, some of these individuals did manage to pay a last visit. In a particular case an individual who was away from home for more than 4 months as he was wanted by the Israeli forces did manage to pay a last visit on the morning of the suicide attack. Pedahzur

(2005) suggests that suicide terrorists were allowed to spend their last night with their family since the act was considered to be prestigious among Palestinian families who would not stop the family member from continuing with his/her plans.

As already mentioned above through the interviews done by Merari (2010) and Speckhard (2012) families of suicide bombers seem to have undergone an emotional tug of war between pride in the armed struggle of their relative that led to his suicidal mission and their deep grief over his loss. In fact the majority of families expressed a mixture of both deep sorrow and pride in the suicide mission of their relative. Most seem to reason like this father who though was sorrowful justified the act by saying, "Of course we feel sorrow, but we accept the operation and his Istishhad. Our son didn't kill civilians or children but Israeli soldiers who were still occupying our land, and it was inside the Gaza Strip" (Merari, 2010 p.99). (Speckhard, 2012, p.395) explains the emotions of relatives of a suicide bomber: "But after we learned we were proud!" Tayser's [suicide bomber's] cousin adds. Tayser's wife nods, "Yes, after the shock, I was proud." At the further end of the spectrum there are those family members who seem to encourage, moreover lure their family members to commit acts of suicide terrorism. It is interesting to note that only one Palestinian mother is known to have encouraged her son to commit Istishhad. There are also Chechens who send their wives or sisters on suicide terrorism missions so it's important to note that family members do not always protect each other from suicide terrorism missions.

Others reasoned differently, they said that if they knew before their relative's intention they would have readily stopped the family member from accomplishing the suicide mission. For example one father said: "If one goes on an operation as a soldier, I would not have prevented my son, but this was not the way." (Merari, 2010 p. 99). Another father though proud of his son's suicide mission pointed out that suicide bombing is futile and that the goal of liberating Palestine would be brought about by a large Muslim army. The majority of parents in Merari

(2010), 62% admitted that they would have done everything to stop their son from committing his suicidal mission. A typical answer to this question was: "Of course. He was my son, I would have done anything possible. He is in my heart, I still feel him in my heart. Weeping has ruined my eyes" (Merari, 2010 p. 99). This is also found in other studies, for example Speckhard (2012, p.365) cites a father of a suicide bomber: "I would rather die a hundred deaths than see the death of my child". Also, Speckhard (2012, p.365) cites a father of a female suicide bomber: "If I knew she was going to do it" ... "I would have prevented it. She is my only daughter!" and even her brother: "She's the only daughter. We won't let her go for free!" Speckhard highlights the fact that they are genuine and that they are in deep despair. Even the father who considered divine intervention in his son's suicide mission stated that: "I would have stopped him by force!" (Merari, 2010 p.99). This was supported by the mother. Another mother who was also very active in the first intifada, though acknowledging and being proud of her son's bravery stated that she would have locked all the doors and the windows so that her son would not leave home, as she was still crying over his loss. Moreover, the parents of another suicide bomber said that they would have reported him to the authorities if they would have known of his suicide operation. Another father pointed out that if Allah wanted martyrdom for his son he would not have been able to prevent it since there is a limit to keeping his son locked at home and that he could not keep him locked forever. He continues explaining; "I would have tried to keep my son at home, to calm him down, I would have told him that the IDF would demolish our home [if he did this], but he would have dismissed all these reasons" (Merari, 2010 p. 100). Also, Speckhard (2012, p.29) quotes another father of a Shaheed: "If I couldn't stop him from doing it," he answers shaking his head sadly, "I would have went with him at least to protect his back. I would go in order to die instead of him". A brother of another suicide terrorist explained: "If we had suspicions we would have stopped him, of course. First of all we love him, but also because we will lose our house and our family will be separated" (Speckhard (2012), p. 135). A particular comment made by a mother was very metaphorical in depicting the pain she has suffered and was still

suffering at the time of the interview: "Of course I would have tried to stop him! I would have cut open my chest with a knife, put him inside my heart and sewed him up tight inside, to keep him safe inside my heart" (Merari, 2010 p. 100). This is also cited in Hasan (2002). It seems according to both Speckhard (2012) and Merari (2010) that a number of family members would have stopped the suicide terrorist from committing the act. Taylor (2002) through a case study argues that children may want to follow in the parent's footsteps in becoming a suicide terrorist when they grow up but the surviving parent may discourage the son or daughter. On the other hand Guerin (2002) argues through another case study that it may be that family members, moreover the parents may encourage their sons or daughters to become a suicide terrorist. Both Taylor and Guerin used single case studies to put forward their arguments so one has to be careful before drawing any conclusions.

Only one family in Merari (2010) blamed the son for being inconsiderate towards his family by accomplishing his suicide mission. They never visited his grave, removed all his photos and belongings from their house and did not attend his funeral. The father considered his son's act as suicide and not as an act of martyrdom hence un-Islamic since Islamic teachings are extremely phobic of suicide and in actual fact the rate of suicide is very low in Muslim countries. They felt that he betrayed the family and destroyed it (Merari, 2010). Also, Speckhard (2012) cites the brother-in-law of a female suicide bomber who stated during her obituary: "We don't accept women doing such things. [suicide terrorism] She has two children. It is not right" (Speckhard, 2012 p. 409)

Cousins of suicide bombers were also occasionally interviewed by researchers. One cousin of a suicide bomber pointed out that; "as part of my conviction, yes, I could [do it], but I wouldn't under the present circumstances because I support my family" (Merari, 2010 p. 101). However, families that are closely knit and of the extended type do influence each other. Pedahzur (2005) in his critical analysis gives account how a Hamas activist influenced his

cousin who consequently became a suicide terrorist. Pedahzur (2005) continues to suggest how in 2003 8 members of the extended Al Qasame Hamula family became suicide bombers. This is indicative of how family members influence each other to become suicide terrorists. Horgan (2003) in his critical analysis theorises that family members do influence each other to become terrorists. Ricolfi (2005) investigates suicide terrorist acts between 1981 and 2003 in the Middle-East during the Arab-Israeli conflict. He suggests how the suicide terrorist himself/herself may support other family members who are perceived to have been killed unjustly by the state. Bloom (2005) in her review and analysis of the phenomenon of suicide terrorism contends that this has happened in Palestine, Chechnya and Sri Lanka. Sageman (2014) and Silke (2003a) in their critical analysis theorize how suicide terrorism may be a reaction to the killing, maiming or abuse of a family member or a loved one. The above shows that support may not only be towards the suicide terrorist but also in the other direction, from the latter to his respective family members. One may assume that making counter terrorism measures harsher will increase the incidence and numbers of suicide terrorists however Pape (2005) states that suicide terrorism is not related to the increase or decrease of counter terrorism operations. The above may give an indication that family support does encourage family members to get involved in terrorism and also become suicide terrorists.

A limitation of the Merari (2010) study is that it did not have a control group consisting of another group of Palestinian individuals and their families who were never involved in suicide terrorist operations. In this way it would have been possible to compare results from both groups. As regards Speckhard (2012) opportunity and convenience samplings are used so one has to be careful with generalizing the results since it may not be a representative sample. Also, it would have been advantageous to use both quantitative analysis coupled with the qualitative aspect as Speckhard uses only the qualitative aspect. So, for example quantitative measures may have included those as regards to family relationships in this way a quantitative measure as to family relationships would have been obtained. As stated in Merari

(2010) all participants except for one stated that they did not know about their relative's suicide operation. Consequently, if they did not know about it, it is difficult to conclude whether or not their respective family supported their suicide operation. Also, they may not have wanted to show that they knew about their relatives' suicide operations especially since they may have known that Israelis were involved in the study. Clearly it is shown in the above mentioned studies that the suicide terrorists did show certain signs that were indicative that they were about to undertake a suicide terrorist act.

Canter (2006) in his article argues that the importance of family and community support for suicide operatives is important since the in-group in contrast with the out-group gives identity to the individual. A family is an in-group to which an individual belongs. So through the family suicide terrorists get a better understanding of their self-concept, who they are, their identity. Through this process they identify with their in-group, their family while differentiating themselves from the rest, the out-groups. So family support may encourage suicide terrorists to commit themselves and consequently execute suicide terrorist operations, at least in the Palestinian scenario, healthy family relationships seem to help this process to develop.

## **2.5 Family Relationships**

Lackhar (2002b) and De Mause (2002) argue that terrorism is a product of dysfunctional families in the Islamic culture. Islamic societies are characterised by patriarchal families where the father is a dominant figure and the mother is submissive. The father is also entrusted with the education of the children, however this burden falls on the mother, but since she is oppressed she vents out her frustration on her children this may bring about personality issues resulting in borderline personality disorder; this will be discussed in the section hereunder dealing with personality characteristics of suicide terrorists in relation to their family relationships. Pedahzur (2005) states that this is not empirically confirmed and so it

merits further research. The relationship between harsh discipline that children may undergo in such families and the development of an authoritarian type of personality will be discussed in sections 2.6 and 2.8. These deal with personality styles of suicide terrorists and how these are influenced by their family relationships. Speckhard (2012 p. 406) cites a colleague who accused both her and another interviewer working with her that she did not:

“believe his claims that the root of all terrorism is family violence and chastised us for missing these things in our interviews. Khapta [her assistant] had reacted by saying that many Chechen terrorists arose from loving families and that many other forms of violence can drive a normal healthy person to join a terrorist movement. Of course, when my colleague sent me piles of research articles on violence in Arab families, including ubiquitous rates of sodomy particularly in the Gulf states, I had to acknowledge that children often reenact what they lived at home, later directing their violence unto others.”

Berko (2012) in her research using interviews with women and children that were failed suicide terrorists during the second Intifada inside prisons argues that children or young Palestinians may revert to suicide terrorism to escape family problems and the difficulties they may be facing at home. It is reported that some of these young people were threatened that things related to the modesty of their female relatives will be revealed if they did not become suicide terrorists. One has to highlight the fact that these interviews were held inside prisons and that interviewees may have had hidden agendas. They may have wanted to displace their responsibilities by putting the latter on others. Also, social desirability issues surely do come into play when data capture is done in places like prisons where people are very much dependent on others even as regards trivial things that other people who live in liberty take for granted.

Razzaque (2008) using secondary sources that may be considered to be anecdotal and subjective contends that village life in Egypt gives rise to a very sociable sub-culture that is built upon an extended family that is closely knit together. Razzaque presents a case study of the lead 9/11 bomber, Mohammad Atta (Amir). He argues that this was not the case for Atta, the predominant figure in the 9/11 bombings. His father did not socialise with his extended family, moreover he moved to Cairo driven by his ambition for his family and himself. McDermott (2005) again using secondary sources in his description of the 9/11 bombers describes the life of young Mohammed and the relationship with his father. McDermott portrays his father as a tyrant: not allowing any free time for his children, not socialising with them, obviously not spending any quality time with them. While such a family relationship certainly influences a child for life, generalisations across time and cultures may not be legitimate.

When Amir grew up to become a man he was sent by his family to study for a doctorate degree in Germany. At one point he wanted to stay with his mother to take care of her because she was ill. Apparently his mother abided by the wish of his father and explained that he had to earn his doctorate. This led to another rejection by his mother and he left for Hamburg, but from Hamburg Mohammed left for Karachi. Amir seemed to be continuously rejected, throughout his entire life by his immediate family. Although other 9/11 suicide bombers seem to have a similar relationship with their fathers Canter (2006 p. 108) refers to information in the public domain stating that the 9/11, 7/7 and the Madrid suicide operatives lived in "functional families". In addition to this it is imperative that one does not generalize as to suicide bombers' family relationships across both time and cultures. The effect that family relationships have on the decision to be radicalised and undergo a suicide mission needs to be further investigated as one may contend that a number of parameters come into play. This is so even during the final days before the mission. Both Merari (2010) and Razzaque (2008) contend that suicide operatives abandon their responsibilities towards their

families. Merari (2010) reports from interviews carried out by Ms. Hasan that there was also antagonistic behaviour towards other family members, for example a father refused to play with his children on the final evening for fear that this will undermine his readiness to die. Merari (2010) explains that it is strange for any individual not to say a final goodbye to his family and apologize for all the pain and suffering that he was about to bring unto them. In a particular case a suicide terrorist did a portrait of himself holding the Koran against a backdrop of the al-Aqsa Mosque at his uncle's studio as a token for his family. After his successful suicide operation his parents altered his photo. The altered version showed the suicide bomber holding his severed head in his hands. Merari points out that this gesture may be a result of an unusual relationship between parents and son, however this type of relationship was not specified in this research. Merari (2010 p.94) highlights this situation in one of his interviews: "Imagine the married man with a 4 year old boy, a 3 year old girl, and a wife in the last days of pregnancy: one morning he leaves home without a hint to his imminent suicide, and without any explanatory message to his wife, children and parents". On the other hand Merari (2010) explained how it was reported by family members that suicide terrorists respected their families by not only saying farewell but also giving their most cherished possessions and also asking for forgiveness from their family for any wrongdoings they may have committed towards them. It is clear that these suicide terrorist were concerned about the separation that was about to occur between themselves and their families. Merari (2010) reported in one of his interviews that a 23 year old individual slept in his mother's bedroom for 10 nights preceding his fatal mission.

Having said this Cole & Cole (2009) take to secondary sources such as newspaper and online reports from news agencies that though may be reliable arguably may lack scientific basis contend that Jihadi networks in the UK attempt to recruit youngsters from families with difficulties. Consequently these individuals may have also left their families severing all communications hence not receiving any form of support from their respective family

members. In such circumstances the Jihadi organisation that the individual becomes a member of replaces his/her family, becoming his/her sole support. As a result, it becomes very difficult to detach from the terrorist organisation as there is no other place to go for support. However, Cole & Cole (2009) explain that they did find radicalised individuals from supportive family backgrounds. Considering the above they come to the conclusion that unstable family relationships may be common in the radicalisation process of individuals in the UK but certainly it is not a pre-requisite. Moreover, Lankford (2013) refers to Atta's family problems and also to Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab's (the underwear bomber) family difficulties. He claims that suicide terrorists are plagued with family problems. On the other hand Silke (2003a) through his critical analysis of secondary sources argues that suicide terrorists come from stable and loving families. Ganor (2001) refers to the letters that show how much Shaheeds have love and respect towards their family members while Powers (2002) cites similar letters written by Kamikazes in the Second World War. Considering all the above, it is legitimate to assume that as regards to the effect of family relationships on suicide terrorism, research is inconclusive.

## **2.6 Personality Characteristics of Suicide Terrorists**

Scientific research about the personality of suicide bombers that captures information from sources that are close to them is very limited. One of these studies is Merari (2010) where Palestinian suicide bombers were studied through the eyes of their families. The families presented a positive psychological picture of the suicide bomber, notwithstanding these details were very scanty. The families did not report any morbid psychological tendencies in the suicide terrorist. Also, no criminal tendencies were reported and they considered their arrests to be politically motivated. Most of the suicide terrorists had both their parents alive at the time of the suicide operation. All suicides came from typically large Palestinian families with the number of siblings ranging from 4 to 14. The Mean number of siblings in all the 34

families in Merari (2010) was 9. Although the families' description of the suicides' personalities did not account for any one single personality type, 54% were reported to be introverts. Twenty of these families pointed out that the suicide bombers had a number of heroes or role models, all of whom were militant Islamists. Twenty five families spoke about the hobbies and recreational activities of the suicide bomber member, 14 enjoyed reading Islamic literature, such as the Quran, the Hadith (the collection of actions and sayings of Prophet Mohammed that guide the Muslim in his/her life), and Islamic Poetry. Many were reported of spending most of their free time in Mosques, which are not only centres for religious activities but also places for other social activities or events. Nineteen of the 25 families reported physical sport activities as being their deceased family member's hobbies.

### **2.6.1 Suicide Terrorism and "Normality"**

Orbach (2004) attempts to build a psychological profile of a suicide terrorists through secondary sources and indirect evidence. He admits that this is a hypothetical attempt that does not fit each and every suicide terrorist but these characteristics are typical of the majority:

- They are deeply religious and believe in the afterlife.
- They identify with the group they belong to, its leaders and the group's or national goals.
- They feel part and they belong to their group or nation.
- They are easily influenced by others, such as the media, leaders and social atmospheres.
- They are imaginative and have a lot of magical thinking to the extent that they may seem naïve. For example, most persist on thinking that their bodies will remain intact after the explosion so that they will be able to use it in heaven especially as regards sexual pleasures.
- They long for honour and personal fame.

Perina (2002) argues that the issue whether or not the suicide terrorist is normal is culture based and relative rather than objective. Perina (2002) gives the example of the Palestinian suicide bombing campaigns. The Palestinians and their allied Arab countries depicted the suicide terrorists as not only normal people but heroes. On the other hand the west and their allies claimed that the Palestinian suicide terrorists were indulging in abnormal behaviour that led not only to self-destruction but also to the killing and maiming of innocent victims. Salib (2003) argues that if suicide terrorists were not found to have any psychological ailments at a particular instance, it may be that they had psychopathological conditions before.

Cole & Cole (2009) argue that there exists no particular profile of a terrorist. Also, Speckhard (2012), p. 25 states that "no one is born a terrorist", referring to her interviews. A brother of a suicide terrorist who describes the latter as being: "really quiet ... . He always had a sense of humour, told lots of jokes. There was nothing strange about him" (Speckhard, 2012, p. 131). Another mother of a suicide terrorist was cited by Speckhard (2012), p. 290 as saying that her son, a suicide terrorist used to give up his food for her. She also said that: "He used to give a lot of money to his brothers to buy sweets and snacks". His father continued to state that: "The first day of his salary, the first thing, he gives money to his mother". His mother explained that when her son the suicide terrorist had thirteen years, his father became ill and he used to help a lot on the family's farm: "When we collected vegetables from the farm he came out of school and ran straight to help out". Silke (2003) and Moghaddam (2005) argue that there is no evidence that suicide bombers are mentally disordered individuals or that they are persons undergoing personal distress. This is also confirmed by Orbach (2004). Cole & Cole (2009) have difficulties with seeing suicide terrorism as abnormal behaviour since psychological difficulties are not found in British suicide terrorists as in suicide behaviour. The majority were found to be integrated in their families, religious and/or social groups and their immediate communities. Although some may have had low paid jobs none of them suffered

poverty. They did not see their suicide terrorist act as a way out of their problems. Speckhard (2012) refers to her interviews with a father and a brother of a female suicide bomber. They considered her to be perfectly normal. She was a graduate and happily married. Moreover Merari (1990) claims that most individuals volunteering as suicide bombers are in fact not chosen, as the most psychologically fit are chosen. It is important to highlight the fact that suicide terrorist operations are considered by the organisers to be a military operation that requires more than just psychologically healthy individuals. On the other hand Lankford (2013) also suggests that terrorist organisations do not need to recruit the most psychologically fit for suicide operations as these do the donkey work, hardly need any preparation moreover they do not need any specialized training and do not need to be endowed or gifted with any special psychological characteristics as those who are, are utilised for other specialized missions rather than suicidal ones. Lankford (2013) argues that losing the most trained and valuable individuals in suicide missions is a waste of human resources.

On the other hand Pape (2005), p. 200 states that:

“In general suicide attackers are rarely socially isolated, clinically insane, or economically destitute individuals, but most often more educated, socially integrated, and highly capable people who could be expected to have a good future. The profile of a suicide terrorist resembles that of a politically conscious individual who might join a grassroots movement more than it does the stereotypical murderer, religious cult member, or everyday suicide.”

He continues to argue that suicide terrorists are generally not belonging to criminal organisations, impulsive, harbour anti-social habits, with a criminal history, mentally disordered, so much depressed that they cannot hold a job hence unproductive individuals who desire to die since they seem not to have a reason for living. Speckhard (2004) through her interviews with survivors of Chechen suicidal attacks in Moscow describes suicide bombers as certainly not depressed, moreover they were euphoric that they were going to die. Canter

(2006), referring more particularly to the London 7/7 bombers argues using information that is in the public domain that suicide bombers have not been found to have undergone any negative personal experiences. Having said this, as explained earlier, even as regards family relationships it is not wise to draw wide conclusions across time and culture. In fact Merari (1990) concludes that there is no single psychological profile of a suicide bomber as there are different terrorist groups with different aims, social and political backgrounds together with a variety of historical contexts. All these variables come into play. In addition Hudson (1999) argues that suicide terrorists have a varied psycho-social profile. On the other hand one cannot exclude that certain personalities are not attracted to extremist beliefs and violence. However Soibelman (2004) reviewing published studies and using interviews with 5 suicide terrorists argues that personalities vary and that aggression in suicide terrorists is instrumental, used to achieve a goal and not a direct expression of an aggressive personality. Hence, the personality of suicide terrorists surely merits further investigation. Pape (2005), p. 211 referring to suicide terrorists states that: "none had the pathognomonic characteristic of a suicidal personality: past history of suicide attempts. Rather, the uncomfortable fact is that suicide terrorists are far more normal than many of us would like to believe". Also, Post, Ali, Henderson, Shanfield, Victoroff and Weine (2009), p. 13 state in their review article where group and individual characteristics are considered that: "Stressing the importance of social psychology, [our research] emphasizes the normality and absence of individual psychopathology of the suicide bombers". In addition to this in a literature review article Atran (2003), p. 1537 states that: "Overall, suicide terrorists exhibit no socially dysfunctional attributes (fatherless, friendless, or jobless) or suicidal symptoms". Also, using a comprehensive terrorism database that spans from 1981 to 2006 Hasan (2010), p. 190 states that; "most suicide bombers are psychologically normal". In a feature article using information in the public domain Brym (2007), p. 40 states that; "virtually all suicide bombers are psychologically stable". In a worldwide literature review on suicide terrorists that utilised 5 empirical studies of failed suicide terrorists or the families of the successful ones Townsend

(2007), p. 49 states that; "suicide terrorists are not truly suicidal" . On the other hand Lankford (2013) goes to great lengths to suggest the contrary, that suicide terrorists are plagued with psychological problems and personal crises. He contends that they are also suicidal and cites Lester, Yang, and Lindsay (2004), p.292 who hypothesize that:"if detailed biographies of terrorists and suicide bombers were to be collected, evidence might well be found of high frequency of risk factors for suicide". In fact Lankford (2013) did this detailed analysis using information in the public domain and came out with the above mentioned conclusion. Notwithstanding, McCauley (1991) did not find any significant difference as regards to psychopathology between the terrorist groups and the control group. However, Hasan (2002), as regards suicide terrorists highlights that what is actually frightening is their normality not their abnormality.

### **2.6.2 Rationality and Suicide Terrorism**

Scott (2000) through Rational Choice Theory explains human behaviour in terms of calculated measures that lead to expected goals where the individual's intention will be to personally gain from his or her actions. This is strictly and effectively an economic model where the individual calculates his or her costs and profits drawing on mental balance sheets leading the person to behave in certain ways and not others to maximise his or her benefits. This is done very methodologically and in a calculated manner. Rational Choice Theory finds it difficult to explain concepts such as trust or forms of pro-social behaviour such as altruism.

Considering the above one may legitimately ask: Is terrorism, more specifically suicide terrorism behaviour, rational? A classic example of suicide terrorism is the Washington and World Trade Centre suicide bombing in 2001. It may be considered to have achieved its objectives. In fact it did serve to speed up the removing of US military presence in Saudi Arabia but there were also a lot of requests from people to join Al Qaeda, so it was instrumental as regards recruitment into the organization that organized the suicide terrorist

operation. The same effect was brought about in Palestine where suicide terrorism de-railed the Israeli-Palestinian peace process and even here terrorist organisations were inundated with requests for recruitment. These and many other examples indicate that suicide terrorism does achieve results notwithstanding that self-destructive behaviour may look irrational and psychopathic, the perpetrator may see it as rational. Rational Choice theory is one of the theories that attempts to explain terrorism (Sandler, Tschirhart, and Cauley, 1983; Sandler and Lapan, 1988; Crenshaw, 1992; Wilson, 2000), where terrorism is explained as a calculated and measured choice through mathematical models. For example as regards hostage taking situations Wilson (2000) examines 100 cases of aerial hijackings and 60 cases of barricade situations in the 3 decades preceding the turn of the millennium. Through multi-dimensional scalogram analysis she shows that behaviour of terrorists is very structured and it's far from being described as irrational and not due to for example to some psychological illness as authors such as Lankford (2013) contends. Also, Wilson explains that there are behavioural similarities in hostage taking situations when similar terrorist groups are examined. There are also structures in resources used as regards to barricade siege situations and requests during aerial hijackings. This indicates that terrorists seem to be behaving using careful planning and rational behaviour and not as Lankford suggests irrational behaviour. Sandler and Lapan (1988) using modelling argue that terrorists apply structure and logic even to their choice of target. Sandler, Tschirhart and Cauley (1983) use modelling to argue that there is structure and rationality in terrorist hostage taking of both persons and property, hence structure should be applied by authorities and security forces in the negotiation process with the terrorists. Perry and Hasisi (2015) argue that suicide terrorists do their calculations when taking up a suicide terrorist operation. The researchers considered religious, social and personal incentives of suicide terrorists and using Rational Choice Theory argue that suicide terrorists are not being irrational when they undertake a suicide operation but instead they are making a calculation of their costs and benefits. Though the evidence may seem very limited it seems that suicide terrorist behaviour does not constitute erratic and irrational

behaviour due to for example psychopathological states of individuals as operations seem to be carefully planned where aims and goals seem also to be clearly known by the terrorists.

### **2.6.3 Social Learning Theory and Terrorism**

Social Learning theory (Bandura, 1973, 1998) contend that humans learn different behaviours by imitating the behaviour of other individuals. In this way Bandura offers a psychological explanation for aggression. Akers & Silverman (2004) suggest that terrorists learn that violence destruction and killing constitutes a justified means that the terrorist should also be proud of. The terrorist learns through both the leaders' teachings involving both extremist religious and political themes but also through interaction with the other members of the terrorist organisation that his/her actions will be highly valued by both the leaders and the members of the terrorist group and that politically his actions will pay off.

Townsend (2007) in a comprehensive literature review, as can be seen here under argues that there is a contagion effect. This means once a suicide is publicised others will follow suit. Townsend contends that this seems to be also the case for suicide terrorism. This effect may be found in families. As stated earlier Pedahzur (2005) points out how in 2003 8 members of the extended Al Qasame Hamula family became suicide bombers. She also gives an example of a soccer team, the Jihad Mosque soccer team. In this case the team members started opting for suicide bombing one after another in retaliation for what the Israelis were doing to the Palestinians. This may indicate that role modelling and learning through imitation is an important factor as regards to suicide terrorism.

So as Akers and Winfree (2017) argue the individual learns to become a terrorist through social experiences. Akers and Winfree suggest that these social experiences may be acquired through the social media, hence are more widespread. What may be considered to be the ultimate form of terrorism is suicide terrorism. For example, suicide terrorists are glorified on

Islamic websites and on posters and media in Palestine. This encourages people to perform such an act of aggression. Notwithstanding that a lot of people are exposed to social media or other forms of propaganda that encourages terrorism or suicide terrorism a shortfall of social learning theory is that it does not explain why just a small number of individuals in the various cultural contexts become suicide terrorists. Also, as a result of the limited evidence in support of this theory, it may be appropriate to await further research evidence before making any conclusions.

#### **2.6.4 The Frustration Aggression Hypothesis and Terrorism**

Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, and Sears (1939) argue that aggression is the result of frustration through the Frustration Aggression Hypothesis. Gurr (1970) puts forward the Relative Deprivation Model. This model suggests how frustration develops as a result of the discrepancy between expectations and gratifications. Tilly (1978) contends that aggression has to be politicized if it is to be treated as violence of the collective. Indeed, a lot of people are frustrated as a result of certain issues, such as those of a political nature but a very small fraction turn to aggression through terrorism and even a smaller fraction become suicide terrorists. Kruglanski and Fishman (2006) argue along these lines to suggest that the frustration aggression hypothesis does not provide a comprehensive explanation for terrorism. They give examples of two totalitarian societies where terrorism seems to be absent, these are Hitler's Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in Stalin's era. Undoubtedly these were two repressive regimes, notwithstanding there may be some exceptions as there were reprisals, for example Adolf Hitler did undergo a number of assassination attempts while in the satellite countries of the Soviet Union there were rebellions against the Soviet Union.

Both economic disparity and oppression may cause frustration. Gurr (1970) suggests that rebellion may lead to terrorism and also to suicide terrorism. Rebellion may be the result of the economic disparity between the haves and the have nots. This may be applicable in the

Palestinian-Israeli conflict scenario as the Palestinians, especially those who are refugees in the camps, may see themselves to be the under privileged. Oppression may result in terrorism and also may bring about suicide terrorism but again the vast majority of the aggrieved group do not become suicide terrorists. Silke (2003b), p.33 states; "Very few individuals of aggrieved minorities go on to become active terrorists. A pertinent question is, why did these particular individuals engage in terrorism when most of their compatriots did not?"

While it may be argued that frustration does bring about, through terrorism or even suicide terrorism, aggression. This may not be the case in the vast majority of instances so further research about this issue is required.

### **2.6.5 The Psychoanalytic Perspective and a Damaged Self-Identity Leading to Terrorism**

Kohut (1972, 1978) puts forward the Narcissism theory. According to this theory, lack of maternal empathy leads to damage of the self-image. This prevents the development of both a healthy self-identity and morality. Crayton (1983), Shaw (1986) and Pearlstein (1991) have suggested that the above theory can be applied to the development of terrorism in young adults. An infant has a need for caring responses to develop normally. They contend that failure of maternal empathy leads to problems with self-identity and morality. For example Crayton (1983) suggests how the humiliation of subordination might bring about negative experiences from early childhood leading to the desire of destruction of their source. As El Sarraj (2002) argues terrorists are young adults with a damaged self-identity that have undergone ego injuries and parental rejection.

Razzaque (2008) uses Freud's defence mechanism theories to suggest that prospective suicide bombers displace their libido from their partners to their team with whom they intend to conduct the suicide operation. This may have been true for most of the 9/11 and the 7/7

bombers or those who work in teams but what about those who conduct the suicide operation alone - *the lone wolves*? This seems to be a sweeping statement that merits further investigation because even the 9/11 bomber Ziad Jarrah felt compelled to phone his lover Aysel to tell her that he loved her, not once but three times. This is of particular significance in Islamic culture because even in the case of divorce the husband is obliged to tell his wife *leave* three times so that he will be aware of what he is saying and it would not be out of anger or simply in the spur of the moment. Obviously in this case the fact that he said that he loved her three times showed that he really loved her and that he did not say it just for the sake of saying it.

The psychoanalytic perspective to suicide is internally directed aggression. Menninger (1938) explains that there are three elements for suicide to occur:

- The wish to die – to escape difficulties.
- The wish to kill – as a revenge.
- The wish to be killed – as self-punishment.

Merari (2010) claims that the first two were expressed in interviews with would-be Palestinian suicide bombers. However, the psychoanalytic perspective aims at wishing to kill significant others who played an important part in the early development, during childhood, of the subject in question not the enemy, as the would be suicide bombers suggested in Merari (2010). Having said this the defence mechanism of projection may be involved. Post (1998, 2004) argues that terrorists have a damaged self-concept and project their anger against the part of their self that they do not want on others, whom they see as their enemy. This anger usually emanates from early childhood days and is directed to feelings that these individuals experience. As stated, these feelings are than directed towards others, as a form of defense mechanism. The paranoid position attempts to explain why only a small portion of the aggrieved group turns to terrorism since it argues that only those who have a damaged self-

concept, giving rise to an intolerable anger against others have the propensity to become suicide terrorists.

There seems to be a lack of scientific evidence in favour of the psychoanalytic perspective attempting to understand and explain suicide terrorism. In fact the argumentative aspect seems to be more philosophical than scientific. Hence, conclusions using this theory to explain suicide terrorism are to be drawn very carefully.

### **2.6.6 The Avoidant-Dependent Personality Type and the Suicide Terrorist**

As already stated Merari (2010) touches on Shaheed personalities besides other characteristics of suicide bombers. On the other hand Merari, Diamant, Bibi, Broshi, & Zakin (2010) studied in depth the personalities of terrorists in Israeli prisons. The study consisted of three groups; would be suicide bombers (N=15), non-suicide terrorists (N=12), and organizers of suicide missions (N=14). The suicide bomber group were found to be low on ego strength. This affected their self-direction, stress tolerance and self-control. Also when it came to understand the relationships between events, they were less capable of understanding them. They were also found, to be less able to pre-plan and establish self-objectives. They were also found to be low on achievement orientation. Due to their weaker ego strength when compared to the organizer group, the Shaheed group was found to be more capable to work in circumstances that may be considered to be undemanding where there is routine and no careful analysis nor high level of concept formation may be needed. As regards social perception, this was found to be less accurate and unrealistic when it came to other individuals and their relationships with them. One very important difference between the organizer and the martyr groups was that:

“Suicide bombers have a narrow perspective and a constrictive experience of reality. They have less available resources for planning and implementing

deliberate strategies of coping with decision making and they are more likely to show inept and ineffective ways to cope with ordinary experience of daily living.” (Merari et. al., 2010, p. 94).

Suicide bombers were mostly found to have avoidant and dependent personality styles, categorised in cluster C personality types. From the 15 suicide group participants, 13 could have their personality styles classified, 9 of these 13 were found to have avoidant and dependant personality styles. Four participants in the suicide bombing group were found to be impulsive and emotionally unstable. Gabbard (2005) describes individuals with dependent avoidant personality styles as craving for social relationships from a standing of low self-esteem. They are also in constant need of reassurance and need to be taken care of by others. Merari et. al. (2010), p. 95 highlights a participant from the Shaheed group:

“A 21-year-old suicide bomber, for example, described himself in childhood as secluded, playing alone, and avoiding the company of other children. When feeling distressed he used to stroll around by himself. He did not have intimate friends, was reluctant to express emotions, and was intimidated by unfamiliar conditions. The interviewer described him as lacking of energy, cordial, quite shy, trying to comply with the interviewer expectations.”

On the other hand the organizers of suicide terrorist operations would have a stronger ego structure when compared to the actual operatives. The weaker ego structure and the dependant-avoidant personality type will make the prospective suicide bomber more open to outside pressures and suggestions, needing other people for support and direction and are more easily exploited. The majority of the group of terrorists who did not belong to the group of the suicide bombers and neither to the group of the organizers were found to have an impulsive and unstable personality style. Merari et. al. (2010) suggest that these individuals

find it easier to externalise their anger when compared to dependant and avoidant personality types who may internalise their anger leading to self-destruction hence a suicide operation.

Merari et. al. (2010) argue that there may be a personality style and ego structure that is predominant in the Shaheed. A dependant-avoidant personality and a weak ego structure may make a person more susceptible to be influenced by others, especially by group leaders or other individuals perceived to be authoritative figures. Bongar, Kugel and Kendrick (2014), p.184 state that:

“The idea that suicide terrorists’ personality consists of highly dependent-avoidant personality is corroborated by the fact that preparation for the act includes induction of various dissociative processes (e.g. tunnel vision, altered states of attention, detachment from feelings and the body, semi-hypnotic ecstasy, self-surrender, and coming closer to God). These processes could be self-induced, but frequently are manipulated and promoted by the terrorists’ operators and spiritually guided. ”

This is also corroborated in Orbach (2004) who describes on similar lines the processes of preparation that the suicide operatives pass through with the guidance of the organizers or leaders of the respective terrorist groups.

Sageman (2017b) argues that 4 from his participants in the failed suicide group consistently contacted terrorist organisations to take them as suicide terrorists. This persistence from the suicide terrorist side is not a characteristic of the dependant-avoidant personality according the American Psychological Association argues Sageman. Sageman (2017b) claims that the Rorschach inkblot test that was used by Merari et. al. (2010), is controversial as its validation according to Sageman (2017b) is lately being consistently questioned. The argument that suicide terrorists are of the avoidant dependant personality type and that they are frequently manipulated by others contrasts highly with what Speckhard (2012), p. 332 reports. A mother

of a Palestinian female suicide bomber is reported saying about her daughter: "She would ask us, "Are we going to sit in the house as our men are outnumbered and we are watching them [die]? What can we do? We have empty hands and uncovered chests! We have to do something because our men are outnumbered!" She would tell us". Also, Schweitzer (2006) points out that this female suicide bomber was discouraged by her friends not to undergo this suicide operation but she strongly refused stating that if she was not helped in getting the bomb to detonate herself at a roadblock she would go and buy a knife to knife soldiers at a road block. Another mother was reported by Speckhard (2012) that her daughter, a suicide bomber was never forced to carry out the operation. Moreover, she was offered a way out of her mission even after she had embarked on it. It was suggested to her that she would throw the bomb into the market place instead of detonating it while wearing it. However she still refused as she wanted to die as a Shaheed. Speckhard (2012), p.353 cites the father of the latter mentioned suicide bomber, describing her as being: "very upset about the shooting of our neighbour. He was holding his child in his arms inside his home when an [Israeli] sniper shot him dead. He was shot in the head. The child was one year old. The ambulance could not come because there was shooting [at that time] and they had to take an indirect route". The brother of the victim is Jamil Qassas, one of the leaders of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade in Bethlehem. Speckhard reports that the girl decided to do something about what was happening to her people at the hands of the Israelis. So later on she decided to become a Shaheed. A wife of another suicide bomber described her husband as being committed and hard working. He used to work as a tailor but he could not continue working any longer as they closed the checkpoint so he could not go to work so he decided to fight by becoming a Shaheed.

It is difficult to conceive the above mentioned individuals as pertaining to the dependent-avoidant personality type or having a weak ego as suggested by Merari et. al. (2010). Also, Hasan (2008) found consistent stories of transgressions by who may be considered to be

enemies of the families of those individuals who subsequently became suicide terrorists, these included persecutions such as torture and beatings. Hence, he concluded that revenge and humiliation were the principle motivators of suicide terrorists. Also, Juergensmeyer (2000) argues that they seem to be seeking revenge against their transgressors. This revenge seems to be the result of the humiliation inflicted on them by their oppressors. Bloom (2006) suggests that siblings and widows in Sri Lanka, Chechnya and Palestine are commonly recruited as these are motivated by revenge. Also, Kimhi and Even (2004) using content analysis of suicide terrorism texts and a convenient sample of typology of suicide terrorists argue that revenge is one reason why suicide terrorism occurs. The authors suggest conclusions should be drawn with great caution as the sample of typologies is a convenient hence not necessarily a representative one. They cite the case of Hanadi Jaridat who had both her brother and her cousin killed by Israeli security forces. She vowed revenge on her brother's grave and eventually blew herself up in the highly popular Maxim's Restaurant in Haifa. Orbach (2004) refers to the story of Samson in the bible and compares his suicide terrorist act of destroying the temple of the Philistines by pulling down its two main pillars to suicide terrorist acts of Palestinians. He perceives it as an act of personal revenge and hate towards the enemy. Fields, Elbedour & Hein (2002) interviewed 9 families of suicide terrorists and their friends after their successful operation. This procedure was replicated as regards to 9 control subjects. They found that the vast majority of the suicide terrorist families suffered transgressions by their enemies. These included; beatings and acts of humiliation. The vast majority of the suicide terrorists in this study were imprisoned and tortured. Most of the suicide terrorists were injured or had a friend who was killed by their enemy. As a consequence of this they decided to join a terrorist organisation to be able to seek vengeance. In addition to this it was also reported that 7 of the 9 suicide terrorists decided to become suicide terrorists as a response to the sufferings of the whole Palestinian nation at the hands of their enemies. The suicide terrorist group was also found to have behavioural problems

when compared to the controls. Post (2005), p. 107 quotes an interviewee from the 35 terrorist interviewed in Israeli and Palestinian prisons:

“You Israelis are Nazis in your souls and in your conduct. In your occupation you never distinguish between men and women, or between old people and children. You adopted methods of collective punishment, you uprooted people from their homeland and from their homes and chased them into exile. You fired live ammunition at women and children. You smashed the skulls of defenceless civilians. You set up detention camps for thousands of people in subhuman conditions. You destroyed homes and turned children into orphans. You prevented people from making a living, you stole their property, you trampled on their honour. Given that kind of conduct, there is no choice but to strike at you without mercy in every possible way”

“Every possible way” may plausibly be interpreted to include suicide terrorism. Hence, this and even other research cited above contrasts highly with how Merari et. al. (2010) portrays suicide terrorists as depressive, harbouring an avoidant-dependant personality and having a weak ego. Lankford (2013) depicts suicide terrorists to resemble more murder suicides or else suicidal individuals. Hafez (2006a), p. 6 suggests that suicide terrorists are; “not significantly different from other rebels and soldiers around the world who are willing to engage in high risk activism out of a sense of duty and obligation”. In addition to this Pape (2005), p. 218 comes to the conclusion that suicide terrorists are; “much like ordinary soldiers with a strong sense of duty and a willingness to sacrifice all for the common good”. Also, Pastor (2004), p. 704 contends that suicide terrorists are; “qualitatively similar to countless people throughout history who have given their lives for a higher cause”. Lankford (2013) does not agree with the above, putting forward the argument that the vast majority of people and even other terrorists who share the same ideology do not opt for suicide terrorism, hence suicide terrorism is not normal behaviour. It also follows that even soldiers who are willing to

sacrifice their lives for others may not be considered to be normal either, since most soldiers do not opt to sacrifice their lives for their companions.

It is important for one to consider that the suicide bombers studied by Merari et. al. (2010) were the failed ones who are now locked for the rest of their lives in prison or else they are serving long prison sentences. These people have failed in the most important mission of their lives and hence it is very obvious that they feel depressed. They may be also undergoing a mixture of feelings leading to instability. This failure may also result in dependence on others and avoidance from taking responsibility, hence the avoidant-dependent personality results. Individuals in such a situation are more likely to be influenced by others and open to suggestibility. Cole & Cole (2009), p.16 argues that it is not advisable to rely too much on interviews held with terrorists in prison as they may try "to gain capital from their criminal activity" by overemphasizing "their role in the ideological struggle". On the other hand "if they are seeking redemption, they may overemphasize the role of others in their crimes. This is called the Halo Effect" (Cole & Cole, 2009, pp. 16 – 17). This occurs when the interviewee tries to look good in front of his/her interviewer. Prisoners have all the vested interest to manage the way they look, especially in the eyes of their captors. Investigating and drawing conclusions on the personality of individuals in places like prison facilities where the individual is being held captive for a long period of time or for all his/her life should be considered with greatest caution as such people are in a very vulnerable position. In addition to this, one has to highlight the fact that the researchers are Israelis. This puts all conclusions emanating from this study questionable, to say the least but also unethical as the participants may view the researchers as those controlling that little freedom they still have in their lives, as a result of which, issues of social desirability bias will surely come into play. Considering the above there may be a lot of room to argue against that suicide terrorists may have an avoidant-dependant personality type, low ego strength and that they are depressed.

### **2.6.7 Group Processes and Suicide Terrorism**

Merari et. al. (2010) also points out that personality factors are only one component that may influence a person towards suicide bombing. Post, Sprinzak and Denny (2003) argue that this is a group phenomenon as they are mostly organised by groups and not by individuals. They interviewed 35 imprisoned terrorists in the Middle-East: 21 pertaining to Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Hezbollah; 14 from the more secular Fatah and its military wing, the Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. They found out that peer pressure was a predominant reason for them to join a terrorist group, since most were joining not to be different and be the odd ones out. Sageman (2004) suggests how terrorism is not the result of individual factors but of group processes that encourage individuals to participate in terrorist activities. Loyalty to leaders together with an intimate relationship to a small number of individuals that is fuelled by the concept of a religious communion seems to be crucial for suicide terrorism (Atran, 2003). Friedland (1992) on the other hand disagrees that terrorism is purely a group process and contends that individual psychological characteristics do come also into play. Kaplan (1981) and Post (1984; 1986; 1987a; 1987b; 1990) argue that terrorism is a group process where interpersonal relationships are also involved together with ideology issues. Volkan (1988) contends that the enemy provides social identity to the individual. The out-group is important for the individual within his in-group as the former gives a social identity to the individual. This is argued by Canter (2006) as explained earlier on as the in-group in contrast with the out-group gives identity to the individual.

Notwithstanding, the actual operative of a suicide terrorist operation in the Merari et. al. (2010) study seems to have certain personality and ego structure characteristics. This is also confirmed, as will be explained here under, in a literature review analysis in Townsend (2007) where it is also claimed that group and personality characteristics combine and interact in favour of successful suicide terrorist operations. For example as suggested by Israeli (1997)

low self-esteem may combine with the group process issues hence increasing vulnerability of individuals towards being manipulated by both the group and the leaders. However, Fields et. al. (2002) in their interviews with the families and friends of 9 suicide terrorists did not find low self-esteem in any of the suicide terrorists being studied.

### **2.6.8 Depression, Suicidal tendencies and Suicide Terrorists**

Shneidman (1985) proposes ten factors common in all suicide acts.

1. The purpose of seeking a solution
2. The goal of cessation of consciousness
3. Suicide is stimulated by intolerable psychological pain
4. Frustrated psychological needs constitute a stressor
5. An emotion of hopelessness and helplessness
6. A psychological state of ambivalence
7. A perceptual state of constriction
8. An action of egression
9. An interpersonal act of communication of intention
10. A consistency with lifelong coping patterns

The above factors do partially fit suicide terrorists, while normal suicides are motivated by the wish to die suicide terrorists are motivated by the wish to kill. For example Merari (2010) found that would be Palestinian suicide terrorists were seeking a national solution, not a solution for their personal problems. Also, subjects were motivated by national and not personal needs. The study found no relationship between suicide terrorism and:

- The goal of cessation of consciousness
- The stimulation of the act due to intolerable pain
- The emotion of hopelessness and helplessness
- The action of egression

- Consistency in lifelong coping patterns as there were no prior records of attempts in the case of suicide terrorists.

On the other hand, ambivalence (would be suicide terrorists hesitated), constriction and also communication of intention either at the group level or family were found to be present among both would be suicide terrorists and suicidal individuals.

Rosenberger (2003), p. 14 argues that in psychiatry suicide is considered to be a “depressive equivalent”. He contends that the individual will have a negative self-image that may result in the decision to discard this self, hence seriously considering suicide as an option. Rosenberger (2003) claims that individuals protect themselves through defence mechanisms like denial, projection and displacement. However, Rosenberger contends that these mechanisms are not fool proof and sometimes they fail. When this happens the individual turns into a depressive state wanting to get rid of the object causing the pain, the self hence suicide. Rosenberger (2003) argues that dying for someone or a cause, such as suicide terrorism is still considered to be a depressive equivalent as the individual is still considering the self so much diminished and unimportant that one is ready to lose it either for a cause or another individual.

Townsend (2007) suggests that suicides occur as a result of a number of causes that may be interacting with one another. These may be:

- Social, such as unemployment
- Personal, these may include problems dealing with relationships
- Psychopathological, of a clinical nature for example depression.

Townsend (2007) argues that the above makes suicide a complicated matter to investigate. As a result of this researchers have split suicide into sub-groups making suicide terrorism one of them (Hawton & van Heeringon, 2000). Townsend (2007) claims that since suicide is a complex issue to investigate it is legitimate to research subgroups of the population who

commit suicide. Townsend (2007) examines a comprehensive literature review on suicide terrorism to investigate to what degree suicide terrorists may be related to people who commit conventional suicide. This literature review was done through on line searches using Google scholar and other databases namely: *PsyInfo*, *Web of Science*, *Social Science Citation Index* and *Arts and Humanities Citation index*. It includes 5 empirical studies 3 of which were published in peer reviewed journals. This literature review search spanned from 1872 to 2005. As a result of her investigations Townsend (2007) highlighted a number of differences and similarities between terrorist and non-terrorist suicides. As regards religiosity it was found that suicide terrorists are highly religious. In addition religiosity was found to protect people from suicide when this is not related to terrorism. While the suicide terrorist's main goal was to terrorise the target population that of the non-terrorist suicide was more personal. His or her main aim was to terminate his or her life escaping what may be considered for him or her to be unbearable pain. This pain may be of a physical, emotional or psychological nature. While most of the non-terrorist suicides expected to simply die consequently terminating their existence, suicides terrorists believed in an afterlife where life will be much better than what they are currently experiencing. In fact Townsend (2007) argues that the suicide terrorist goes to his or her death feeling hopeful rather than hopeless. This point is also raised in Atran (2003) and is in conflict with Lankford (2013). Townsend (2007) also claimed that vengeance and murder were motivators for suicide terrorists. This was not the case for non-terrorist suicides as they were rarely motivated by vengeance and murder. While the pro-social aspect of altruism may be found in both terrorist suicide and in some cases of non-terrorist suicide the death of others is found or at least is intended as regards suicide terrorism but is rarely found or at least it is usually unintended as regards to non-terrorism suicide. While psychological disorders such as depression are found in non-terrorist suicides these are rarely found in terrorist suicides. Also, indoctrination and group pressures are predominantly found in suicide terrorism. This is not commonly found in non-terrorist suicides except for mass suicides or members of groups involving themselves in suicide pacts. Lastly, Townsend (2007)

claims that both terrorist and non-terrorist suicides are influenced by media reports encouraging what is popularly known as the "copycat phenomenon" where both terrorist and non-terrorist suicides acts are undertaken to imitate others.

In the Merari et. al. (2010) study suicidal tendencies (6 participants, N=15) were found to be present in the suicide bombers' group, while none were found in the other 2 groups. On the other hand Orbach (2004) argues that suicide terrorism is more of a result of motivators leading to the actual act, such as; rewards in the afterlife, glorification of the self after death and financial benefits awarded to the family, rather than personal distress. In the Merari et. al. (2010) study depressive tendencies were also prevalent in the suicide bombers' group (8 participants, N=15). Only 1 participant from both the other groups was found to suffer from the above mentioned depressive tendencies. Merari et. al. (2010) attempts to relate suicidal tendencies to depression and post-traumatic stress. However Speckhard (2012), p. 396 declares: "This is something I am definitely seeing throughout Palestine: family members claim that the "martyr" was psychologically healthy when it is looking like in truth that the majority, if not all, Palestinians appear to be deeply traumatized by the violence they have witnessed in their national conflict with Israel". Sageman (2017b) claims that people react to recent events rather to remote past events, such as childhood experiences. However, in their study of suicide terrorists through the eyes of their families Fields, Elbedour and Hein (2002) claim that Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) patients are effected by cumulative traumatic events that are buried deep inside these individuals for a long period of time. So the issue of effects of traumatic experiences on the decision the individual may take to become a terrorist or a suicide terrorist may be considered to be still unclear. Also, Merari et. al. (2010) states that suicide bombers are depressed individuals, although such a conclusion was not reached by the same author in Merari (1990).

The relationship between suicide, suicide terrorism and psychopathology seems to be unclear, moreover such a relationship may not exist at all as research about this points towards conflicting points of view. Having said this, situations in countries that have ongoing conflicts like Palestine do exert psychological pressure on their inhabitants. Such psychological pressure may influence mental health but how much does mental health relates to suicide terrorism merits further investigation.

### **2.6.9 The Authoritarian Personality and Suicide Terrorism**

"A 22-year-old suicide bomber, for example, described many labile emotional shifts responding to perceived provocations by eruptive aggressive behaviour: "When I feel tense nobody can speak to me... If one merely approaches me to say "Hello, I may hit him, and on the other hand, when I see a small child crying I may cry with him," After his father's traumatic death of heart attack he almost committed suicide by cutting his wrists, only to be saved and cooled down by his mother and a Muslim cleric. He also described a lifelong maladjustment, expressing anger towards most of the people in his town, whom he perceived as cons and liars." (Merari et. al., 2010, p. 95)

Gabbard (2005) argues that people who are impulsive and emotionally unstable experience rapidly changing emotional states. These may alternate from being melancholic to being agitated and hyperactive. Gabbard (2005) contends that they are more susceptible to experience bouts of rage and anger, acting out on their emotions. This characteristic of rapid change is also reflected in the occupational and social life facet of their life. They also see reality as being polarized into black or white, right or wrong, with no grey shades in between. Kennedy-Pipe, Clubb & Mabon (2015) also suggest that terrorists have this binary form of logic. Lifton (2000) argues that terrorists may categorise issues or people as simply good or bad hence they yearn for the destruction of what they consider to be evil and the

establishment of what they consider to be righteous. Usually they see this being brought about in an apocalyptic fashion through some form of messianic intervention. Adorno (1950) proposes the Authoritarian Personality theory. This personality style is likely to be attracted to right wing ideologies and religious extremism. In fact Canetti and Pedahzur (2002) found this personality characteristic among extreme right wing Israelis. These type of individuals see the world in a very infantile way, in terms of white and black or good and bad. Cognitively these individuals cannot see shades of grey in themselves, their in-group and obviously in their out-group. Mirvish (2001) argues that the Authoritarian personality style is related to the suicide terrorism phenomenon. In fact, Mirvish (2001) suggests that another predominant characteristic of suicide terrorists is extreme conformity. This may be due to the fact that as children these individuals are trained very well to obey and in fact they do obey their parents. This importance of obedience continues to highlight that there exists good and bad and no grey shades in between. These individuals are simply trained to choose the right way refusing to believe that there are any other alternative good ways. Adorno suggests that strict parenting may hinder a child from developing into a psycho-social healthy individual by suppressing natural drives and expected misbehaviour. This individual will feel ashamed of these natural feelings and impulses and will suppress them. This energy cannot simply disappear and is projected upon others. As pointed out earlier, these individuals will accuse others of harbouring what may be considered to be shameful feelings. These are usually projected upon minorities in that society, such as other people belonging to other cultures or religions. According to Razzaque (2008) relying on qualitative published sources argues that the 9/11, 7/7 and Madrid bombers fit in this profile and have this personality. In fact, the 7/7 London Bomber Mohammed Sidique Khan's video clip prior to his suicide terrorist mission explaining the reasons for the latter, depicts western European culture (his outgroup) as evil and fundamentalist Islamic culture (his in-group) as good. Though this may not always be the case, it may be indicative that this person had an authoritarian personality. While such a personality may be common for suicide operatives in western culture who pass through the

process of radicalization, it may not be true in other situations, so this does merit further investigation. Such investigation being tailor made for a particular culture and context. It is essential to highlight that radicalised Western suicide operatives never seem to bridge the difference between East and West.

### **2.6.10 Is there a Terrorist Personality?**

A lot of questions remain unanswered and there is surely room for further investigations into the personality of suicide terrorists. Gordon (2002) asks why there seems to be a shortfall of psychiatric literature as regards to suicide terrorism? Is it because there may be no relationship between psychiatric disorders and suicide terrorism? One can hardly consider this to be an oversight. Authors like; Perina (2002); Atran (2003) and Post (2002) argue that mental or psychiatric disorders cannot explain the suicide terrorism phenomenon. Others like Rosenberger (2003); Salib (2003); Lankford (2013) and Lachkar (2004) argue that the phenomenon of suicide bombing is a result of mental issues such as aggression, depression and personality disorders such as borderline personality disorder. Victoroff (2005), p. 7 suggests that various psychological theories explaining terrorism do not give a definite or holistic explanation to terrorism and that: "any effort to uncover the "terrorist mind" will more likely result in uncovering a spectrum of terrorist minds". Kruglanski and Fishman (2006) conclude that personality, economic or political characteristics can be contributing factors for terrorism but it is difficult to consider them as root factors of the phenomenon. They argue in favour of a *Tool* perspective to terrorism where it may be used as a means to an end and not as a *Syndrome* hence treated in a clinical fashion similar to a disease. Also, Post (2005) admits that sociocultural theories seem to be robust, however as re-iterated earlier, why a small number of the aggrieved become terrorists leave much to be answered. Consequently, due to the above it is reasonable to conclude that issues related to the psychology of terrorism are inconclusive.

### **2.6.11 Dissociation and Psychic Numbing**

Arguably there may not be a typical terrorist personality but there seems to be the phenomenon of dissociation and psychic numbing. Orbach (2004) argues that the suicide terrorist enters into a dissociative mode. This may be spiritual in nature but may be psychologically induced by spiritual and political leaders. Such dissociation or psychic numbing may help the suicide terrorist to surrender himself to God's will hence merging his needs and expectations to those of a higher entity, or the Divine. The individual will seem to be in a hypnotic state with a narrow vision, absorbed in the act and detached from himself/herself. Orbach citing the Chairman of the Arab Psychiatric Association, psychiatrist Adel Sadeq contends that the induction of a hypnotic state may be related to the process of when the Shaheed does his countdown 10, 9, 8...,3, 2, 1, a count that resembles the induction of a hypnotic state. At 0 the Shaheed presses the button and at that moment he/she will believe that he/she will fly towards the creator. Stein (2002) suggests that the Shaheed at this stage reaches the climax of self-surrender to the Divine. Orbach(2004) claims that as the first drop of blood gushes out of his/her body he/she is taught that no pain is felt, his/her sins are forgiven, he/she sees his seating in heaven, is crowned with honour and escapes the suffering and anguish of both the grave and the Day of Judgement. Orbach (2004) argues that the fear of death is replaced by the fear of failing in his/her most important mission in his/her life. This, as already explained earlier, may give one possible explanation as to why failed suicide bombers have been found to be depressed in prisons.

Orbach (2004) argues that in the preparation phase of the suicide terrorist the language used helps maintain the commitment towards the suicide terrorist operation. For example: the reality of death is altered into a certainty of everlasting life and happiness, the victims of the suicide terrorist act become the perpetrators on the other hand the suicide terrorist becomes the victim. Also, the prospective suicide terrorist is called *Shaheed Al Chai* (the living Shaheed).

Speckhard (2012), p. 94 in one of her interviews, a Palestinian interviewee who spent time in prison points out that it's not a question of personality. It's a question of psychic numbing: "where he (the interviewee) tries not to or is actually unable to feel his emotions". The interviewee says that this happens when there are reminders of prison: "A car in the night. When I see people who are dying or arrested in a bad way. I can't do anything for them. I keep on seeing and seeing and then suddenly I am numb. It happens from time to time". Berko (2007) interviewing failed and arrested suicide terrorist and even Speckhard (2012), p. 222 describe how the suicide terrorist enters in a state of a "typical dissociative trance" where the suicide terrorist is focused on his/her mission. Speckhard (2012), p. 222 describes them as: "closed off". It seems that if a suicide terrorist is not in this state he/she may opt not to detonate in the final moments. In fact Speckhard recounts the story of Arin who did not seem to be in this state and in fact she did not detonate in the final moments when Arin saw a lady with a baby in a carriage. This made her decide not to detonate in the very final moments. Orbach (2004) argues that Arin was not prepared through the process of seclusion, indoctrination and rituals aimed to put the person in the dissociative state of psychic numbing. Speckhard (2012), p.394 states from another of her interviews with family members of a successful terrorist that: "It's unbelievable I can't describe it," Tayser's [suicide bomber's] wife gives a pained smile, "I just collapsed! He had just asked me to fix some favourite food he likes to eat". Later on during the interview Speckhard asked his wife: "Did your husband say goodbye before he left? ... At about nine p.m., at night, he started looking at people, looking at their faces: his children, his mother, me," (Speckhard 2012, p.397). His relatives reported that he seemed to be cut off from reality in a trance, concentrated on his mission. This is very common with successful suicide terrorists. The latter mentioned individual was described to be very happy by his relatives a day before the suicide terrorist incident, in actual fact he did declare that he was very happy and all he needed was to blow himself up. His

relatives were quoted by Speckhard (2012) saying that unfortunately they did not give much importance to what he said.

Though certain personality types as explained above may arguably be an important factor. It seems that living in a trance like state where an individual seems to be cut off from reality aids in the success of the terrorist suicide mission. The preparation process is essential for this psychological process to be in place at the right time. The level of religiosity that the prospective suicide terrorist has may also help in this regard.

## **2.7 Religiosity and Suicide Terrorism**

Suicide terrorism is popularly linked with Islam however, other religions such as Hinduism, Judaism and Christianity arguably encourage also this phenomenon. As regards Judaism and Christianity Silke (2006) mentions the story of the Jewish Samson from the Bible, where he is portrayed as a hero through an act of suicide terrorism by pulling down a temple of the Philistines, the enemies of his people the Israelis. This he did using his extraordinary strength by pushing down the 2 main pillars of the said temple. Silke (2003) states that Hindu terrorists have used suicide terrorism in the last 20 years more than extremists from other religions.

Fields, Elbedour, & Hein (2002) interviewed families and friends of 9 suicide terrorists. They found out that 8 out of these terrorists were described by their family members and friends to be very religious. Hasan (2002) interviewed over 250 individuals from Palestinian refugee camps in Gaza and found out that these militants indeed they believe that if they die as suicide terrorists they will gain physical entrance into heaven. It seems that militant terrorist groups using Islam indoctrinate individuals to become suicide terrorists. Suicide terrorism is not only sanctioned by Islamic teachings and preaching but also prospective suicide bombers are indoctrinated to believe that on completion of the act they will be rewarded heftily. An

opportunity sample of over 300 individuals who are Hezbollah members, considered to be potential suicide terrorists attending a public manifestation commemorating The Day of Jerusalem reveals that Islamic religion is immensely important for them (Schbley, 2003). Notwithstanding these indications, the fact that the sample is not a representative one since it is opportunistic, generalisations have to be made using great care.

Merari (2010) reported that 23 from the 34 families interviewed described their sons to be very religious, 10 families reported their sons as average religious while only one family described their son to be minimal religious. It was reported that the majority of the suicide bombers and their families studied were more religious than the majority of the Palestinian population. Hasan concludes that the suicide terrorists that she interviewed for the Merari study considered any rewards to be secondary. First and foremost what was important for them was the will of God (Pryce-Jones, 2002). This shows that in the Palestinian scenario more specifically prior to the second intifada religion seems to be an important factor that may lead a person to commit a suicide terrorist act (Atran, 2003). Atran (2006) explains that the suicide terrorist may see martyrdom through suicide terrorism as an obligation. Speckhard (2012), p.131 cites one of her interviewees, a brother of a suicide terrorist describing the latter as being: "religious – prayed and fasted". Also, a wife of another suicide bomber reporting that: "He read the Koran a lot" (Speckhard, 2012 p. 394), with great devotion and spirituality ignoring any disturbances by the extended family that lived with them in the same flat. They also bless each other, for example a mother of a suicide terrorist stated: "I always ask Allah to bless my son as he blessed me" (Speckhard (2012) p. 290). Relatives of suicide terrorists cited the Koran in favour of the *Jihad bi al saif*, the Greater Jihad. Speckhard (2012), p.135 reports them declaring: "Fight them, Allah will make them suffer. Deceive them, make yourself victorious". Also, a mother of a suicide bomber describes her daughter as never going anywhere overnight, being very religious and that she taught religious classes (Speckhard, 2012). She also was reported by her mother as frequently saying: "Keep faith in Allah. Don't

be scared" (Speckhard, 2012 p. 336). This is also confirmed in Pape (2005), he explains that though nationalism constitutes the foundation for a suicide terrorism campaign, the difference in religion between the occupied and the occupying nation is an important factor. Pape argues that this difference in religion "hardens the boundaries between national communities and so makes it easier for terrorist leaders to portray the difference in zero-sum terms, demonize the opponent and gain legitimacy for martyrdom from the local community". (Pape, 2005 p. 80)

It seems that in certain cultures such as that found in the Palestinian society religiosity is found to be related with suicide terrorism. Also, the fact that the religion of the Israelis, the occupiers and the Palestinians, the occupied are different accentuates the use of suicide terrorism by the Palestinians as a preferred weapon of choice.

### **2.7.1 Suicide Terrorism and Islam**

In Islam, purity is governed by *Jihad* (literally translated to *striving*), it is also known as *holy war*. It is true that a number of Muslims are lured to become suicide terrorists through Jihad. However, Jihad has two meanings *Jihad al nafs* as *the struggle of the soul* to live as a good Muslim and *Jihad bi al saif* which literally means *the struggle with the sword*. Islamist terrorists regard the latter as the *Greater Jihad* and make reference to the Quran to justify this kind of holy war (laqueur, 1999). Speckhard (2012), p.27 cites a fifteen year old Chechen boy: "Jihad. To be killed in war is the highest happiness, because you will be in Paradise". Moreover, Orbach (2004), p.116 argues that in cultures similar to the Palestinian society "Death by Shahada [Martyrdom] is valued more than life itself".

#### **2.7.1.1 Suicide in Islam**

Suicide is considered to be un-Islamic but suicide terrorism may be thought of as a form of suicide that has been glorified through the spiritual concept of martyrdom by both Islamic

clerics and Islamic teachings, hence it is allowed to kill yourself only if this is the sole way to inflict harm to the enemies of Islam. The fact is that both Western and Muslim cultures can co-exist but military intervention by Western countries in predominantly Muslim countries has been causing unprecedented friction for years. Here is where the difference in cultures hence religion comes into play (Pape, 2005), as a result of which suicide terrorism is perceived as martyrdom by the Muslim religion. While in conventional suicide the individual is portrayed as desperate and as losing hope in God, in suicide terrorism the Shaheed is portrayed as sacrificing his life for the Land, the honour of Muslims and for God. (Orbach, 2004)

#### **2.7.1.2 Shaheed Status and Rewards**

Ansari (2005) argues that the Shaheed status in Islam is similar to that of prophets, exemplary Imams and just individuals. The Shaheed gives his community both grace and purity and in the community his family is admired. Hafez (2006b) citing the *Hadith* and the *Koran* argues that the Shaheed is granted forgiveness for his/her sins at the moment of his/her bloodshed, immediate entry into paradise hence not suffering the pain of the tomb, being close to the righteous, prophets and saints in heaven, marriage to 72 heavenly maidens (houris), entry into the most beautiful gardens of heaven (*jannat al-firdaus*) and the privilege to intercede with God for 70 of his/her relatives for the same above mentioned privileges. Ansari (2005) suggests that the closest relatives are also given similar privileges in the afterlife. Orbach (2004) also speaks of heavenly rewards, these are physical pleasures, implying mostly sexual pleasures and spiritual ones, the latter are mostly described as being close to God. Orbach contends that political and religious leaders encourage Shaheeds to take up suicide operations by promising them eternal and everlasting sexual pleasures. The heavenly black-eyed virgins will be eternally available for the Shaheed. Their only intention will be to satisfy the sexual pleasures and needs of the Shaheed. This will be very encouraging to young men who may have financial difficulties with getting married, since in Arab cultures, such as the Palestinian society bride price may still be prevalent. Having said this there are

many heated debates as to the theological explanation of the heavenly virgins, however it seems that what is considered to be heterosexual male pleasures is highlighted in sermons and teachings. This brings up the difficulty as regards to female Shaheeds. Unless these sexual pleasures are theologically explained a vacuum is created as to what female heterosexual Shaheeds will benefit from.

### **2.7.1.3 Making sense of Shahada**

Cole & Cole (2009), pp.259-260 cite Burke (2004) in order to give a version of shahada (martyrdom):

“The act of martyrdom is therefore a testament of faith and God and the public bear witness to it. It affirms the strength of the Shaheeds’ faith, courage and bravery and their right to belong to their own close community. It also demonstrates to the enemies of the faith that, although there may be a disparity in their material strength, they are actually fighting an equal fight because it is the Shaheed rather than the enemy who possesses the greater faith and courage. To those Muslims whom the terrorists hope to motivate, it becomes impossible to ignore what the martyr believes in. It is also intended to have a shaming effect on those Muslims who realise that this act has been committed on their behalf. The act of martyrdom therefore also presents a challenge to those Muslims who have not joined the fight.”

Fields et. al. (2002) describes how the bombers’ successful operations were celebrated in their respective communities and families. These celebrations were compared to wedding celebrations. Through religiosity families and communities gave a meaning and purpose to the suicide operations. In a particular case Speckhard (2012), p.318 contends that the father: “like many bereaved parents, clings to the hope that his son is in paradise and that he can join his son there when he also dies, as seventy family members may be elected by the

“martyr” to sidestep the final judgment and enter paradise directly”. So through religion Palestinian relatives try in a very successful manner to make sense of their relative’s suicide terrorist act. Speckhard also shows how a mother was asked by her son to pray for him to become a Shaheed while on her pilgrimage to Mecca. This was nine months before his Shahada. This mother than professed in an interview that: “His Martyrdom was the most beautiful present for Mother’s Day” (Speckhard 2012, p. 399). Although Speckhard also cites another interview with this same mother who lost two sons on two different Shaheed operations as declaring that if she knew about their missions she would do anything to stop them but now that they have successfully completed their missions she considers them as Shaheeds and is proud of them.

Speckhard (2012) argues that religiosity seems to be stronger as life is threatened. This is highlighted in both Palestine and Chechnya. For example a particular Palestinian young female adult who experienced a traumatic experience and felt at a certain stage of her life that her life was endangered “became more religious ... and couldn’t stand to think of dying without her veil (hidjab) on, fearing that failing to follow the traditions of her faith at the moment of her death might compromise her eternal soul” (Speckhard 2012, p. 82). Speckhard (2012), p.82 enquires: “I wonder how much it takes for people with traumatic pasts who re-counter a serious life threat to gravitate to extremist religious messages that endorse terrorist violence as the answer to calm their fears of death and dying”

The above mentioned religiosity component came out to be very significant in Merari (2010). This makes religiosity a very important component, at least in the Palestinian scenario. Merari (2010) recounts that one suicide terrorist prayed in all the rooms of the family house, a ritual observed by Muslims before embarking on long trips such as the *Hajj* (the pilgrimage to Mecca). Another paid all his debts as in the Islamic tradition the person who pays all his debts is admitted to paradise. Yet another used to collect newspaper cuttings and photographs

of *Shaheed* individuals and regularly asked his mother to pray for *shahada* (martyrdom) with him. Roughly one-third left a last message to their families, before their suicide operation. Again the religious component props up in these messages. These were either left at home or delivered by members of the terrorist group. One read: "...I decided to join Izz ad-Din al-Qassam and we will meet in Paradise. I beg you my father, ask my mother and sisters not to weep, but to rejoice and sing. Do not put on black in mourning". (Merari, 2010 p. 94). Another suicide left a message to his mother, with whom he was very close, written on the inner side of a door and hidden by hanging clothes: "Mother, I am leaving. Be happy. After death, Allah's Paradise". (Merari, 2010 p. 94). This religious component was also shared by the suicide terrorist family members, example a father saw a divine intervention in his son's suicide mission: "This huge, very successful operation couldn't have been a human operation or carried out by human beings alone. It required so much planning deep inside Israel... It was definitely with Allah's help. Allah wanted the operation to succeed". (Merari, 2010 p.99).

Zahezadeh (2015) explains that this religious component may provide a selfish motive for a suicide operation since the individual performing the operation would be convinced that he/she will be moving into a better state *Paradise* leaving the others including the individual's family in a troublesome situation. Merari (2010) cites an individual who was planning a suicide operation telling his sister-in-law 2 days before his death; "In the future, I'll be in paradise, playing and laughing, enjoying myself, while all of you will be weeping". (Merari, 2010 p. 92). While another suicide operative played loud religious music in the morning before leaving for his fatal mission, though his brother complained he still kept it loud.

Religion for some individuals does not deal simply with the adoration and veneration of deity but is much more. Religion can lure people, especially the younger adults, to become martyrs. This they see to be God's calling in their lives. While martyrdom is not about killing other people but about sacrificing oneself, it is imperative to point out as explained earlier that

martyrdom, fundamentalism and fanaticism are not a prerogative of Islam but also of other religions such as Christianity and Judaism. Religion may provide youths with something that is certain in cultures that are plagued with uncertainty a perfect example of which is the western culture. This is where Jihadism or what Razzaque (2008) calls *Theocratic Islam* finds fertile ground. This is not simply about living as a good Muslim and helping others to convert to Islam by being a role model. Pape (2005) explains that it's about Hamas building a religious state in Palestine or al Qaeda's aim to do the same thing in the Arabian Peninsula. It's all about conquering lands to build an Islamic state that will engulf a host of nations, The Caliphate. This Caliphate, governed by the Sharia law gives certainty and stability to youths in a world full of uncertainties. Cole & Cole (2009) found out that in the UK individuals who were radicalised lacked either knowledge of Islam or were estranged of the latter mentioned religion, while most of them grew up in good Muslim families but then turned away from the faith only to discover it during the radicalisation process. During this rediscovery process individuals may become fundamentalists. People leading the radicalisation process justify violent Jihad through the *Koran* and *Hadith*. If the people who are radicalised are meant to become suicide terrorists the importance of a special commitment to Islam that will eventually lead to paradise is put forward. Hence setting the goal of Paradise on the horizon. Cole & Cole (2009) argue that while the radicalisation process takes years the decision to undertake a suicide operation may be taken very quickly by both the organisers and the operators. Philips (2006) states that Islam, during this process becomes more of an Ideology than a Religion where comradeship is considered to be essential. Cole & Cole (2009), p. 45 cite a young individual from Derby stating: "killing people is wrong, obviously, but if he was doing it for God himself – then fair enough". Another stated that both his parents would be proud of him if he would become a suicide bomber in the process of supporting the Palestinian cause. Cole & Cole (2009) state that radical Islamist groups and networks in the UK use religion for ideological purposes leading to political goals. They explained that God is worshipped through political deeds. Where individuals could not understand certain ideas they were persuaded by

the Koran. Where people were not convinced through the Koran, rationality was attempted. This resulted in what may be considered to be a strong cocktail of what may seem to be philosophical and political elements backed by religiosity in order to liberate Muslim minds and the Muslim nation, the *ummah*, as it was argued that their minds were colonised by the west. The result of all this was a young generation who were prepared to die as suicide terrorists in order to become Shaheeds and go to paradise. Cole & Cole (2009) highlight that extremist views are more common among the younger individuals. Jihad for this generation seems to grant status but also relieve boredom from day to day lives and what may be considered to be unimportant business (Cole & Cole 2009). This young generation may also resort to criminality without even considering their own personal life when faced with personal insults.

Cole & Cole (2009) point out that there are 2 Islamic ideologies as regards to the practice of violent Jihad. The first promotes violence with the goal of establishing Sharia Law in and across nations while the second is more defensive hence justifying fighting in Palestine to release occupied land from the Israelis. Cole & Cole (2009) cite a sermon by the British cleric Riyadh al Huq about Palestine he explains that the al Aqsa Mosque must be liberated from the Jews and he encouraged his followers to be ready to sacrifice everything for this goal including giving their life and considering this to be both an honour and privilege.

Islam in the Middle East is different from Christianity in the Western Culture. While in the West there is a clear distinction between the State and Christianity, in the Middle East things are different as to the distinction between the State and Islam. There the State is not secular, with no distinction between the role of the state and that of the religious authorities, so it enforces the Islamic religion.

Razzaque (2008) gives examples of organisations that fight for the above in the name of Islam, but he misses upon the other ingredients that make up the recipe. Among these organisations he mentions Hamas, one may also include Fatah or Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ). Though religion may be a guiding principle patriotism comes in the scene to bring out an added value to the equation, whereby the prospective suicide bomber's homeland in this case Palestine is also holy and needs to be purified by the expulsion of the invader. Speckhard (2012) argues that the Palestinian suicide terrorists that she studied were patriotic. Jurgensmeyer (2000) quotes Dr. Abdul Aziz Rantisi, assassinated founder of Hamas who said that Islam is about defending dignity, land and honour. Reuven Paz, a former member in the Israeli Security services in his Foreword in Speckhard (2012), p. (i) quotes his trainer after observing an elderly Palestinian in what seemed to be an act of intimacy with the land by the way he touched the soil:

Whatever we think of them, this bond to the land is something we shall never take from them. It is part of their genes, even if they move to the city and live in modern apartments. No war, fighting, arrests, or prison, will ever change it. Therefore, we should first study their minds and genes and RESPECT them, even if though we bitterly fight some of them. This is the foundation of what we call counter-terrorism.

Monro and Kreidie (1997) also points at the complexity when other factors are added to the religiosity equation. Such as; national, ethnic and past traditions since they are very much related to religion, most especially in the Islamic culture. Cole & Cole (2009) explain that radical Islamic political groups seek both religious and political aims. Moreover, they seek political aims through the Islamic religion. They oppose foreign policy of Western nations in the Middle East and secular laws in Muslim countries. They expect Muslim countries to be governed by the Sharia law and that apostate regimes that do not govern through Sharia legislation should be overthrown. These Islamic radical groups interpret Islamic teachings and

the Koran in the light of their political goals. Cole & Cole (2009) point out that this is *political Islam* that aims to establish the Caliphate. Pape (2005) argues that religion overlaps nationalism, and hence religion becomes a highly significant factor as it forms part of the national identity of a people. It is the presence of foreign troops that sets the momentum for a suicide bombing campaign, but prior to this a nationalist flame will start setting ablaze a wild fire. This fire will be much fiercer if there is less in common between the occupier and the occupied nation. This is where culture and religion come into play. The wider the difference the greater the resistance, hence the suicide bombing phenomenon. For example, Speckhard (2012) p. 311 cites a father of a Palestinian suicide bomber explaining why his son opted for such an act: "It was based on these things: patriotism and he was religious". Then later on he describes his religiosity: "He was a very good Muslim and always worshipped in our house and in the mosque, and he often stayed awake all night reading the Koran and making prayers. This was very important to him until the day of his martyrdom" (Speckhard, 2012 p. 314).

Fanon (1963), p.38 speaking about the Algerian resistance to the French occupation states:

"Individualism is the first to disappear. . . . Henceforward, the interests of one will be the interests of all, for in concrete fact everyone will be discovered by the troops, everyone will be massacred – or everyone will be saved. The motto "look out for yourself", the atheist method of salvation is in this context forbidden."

Arguably, this is found in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict leading to the Palestinian Shaheed phenomenon which is built on the disappearance of the concept of individualism. This is again arguably aided by religiosity

Hafez (2006b) with reference to the Palestinian scenario suggests that identity is related to redemption from the religious perspective. Jihad becomes an obligation with reference to sacred teachings and episodes from the life of the prophet Muhammad, while suicide becomes

martyrdom with the promise of an afterlife. This is all stressed in the video prepared by the prospective suicide terrorist with the aim that the suicide terrorist becomes a role model for others in the community. Hafez continues to contend that the blending of religion with nationalism is effective towards enticing suicide terrorism. Khosrokhavar (2005), p.109 states that: "Martyrdom in Iran, Algeria and Palestine obeys an internal logic born of the frustrated ambition to have a nation whose existence has been denied" and that: "Religion can frame loss of dignity as a sin, and then offer redemption through martyrdom" (Khosrokhavar 2005, p. 133). Pedahzur (2005) argues how martyrdom for believers can bring about the purification of sinners leading to eternal life and paradise that is much more important than the current life. Pedahzur (2005) continues to contend that suicide terrorists in religious organisations undergo a period of preparation. This leads the prospective Shaheed towards the trance like state explained earlier and may be perceived by the Shaheed as preparation for entry into haven. Pedahzur suggests that Israeli witnesses who manage to survive suicide terrorist bombing explain that some were seen smiling at the time of detonation.

Pape (2005) argues that it is the presence of foreign troops that instigates antagonism leading to the ultimate sacrifice, suicide terrorism. In actual fact as regards the Palestinian suicide bombers, in both the first and second intifada, they all occurred either in the occupied territories or in the heart of Israel. Also, in the case of Western bombings, although the US had been exporting its cultural values for years in Arab countries, suicide bombings in the West did not start prior to US troops being sent to Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Bahrain. Even Europe and Australia were not attacked prior to the arrival of their troops in Afghanistan 2001 and Iraq 2003. At this it is legitimate to stop and ponder why youths from western countries are travelling from their European homeland to fight alongside Islamic Jihadists, even by undertaking suicide bombing operations against their native countrymen in their native countries and abroad. What happened to their national identity and their religion since some are coming from a Christian background?

Jihadi Islamic teachings can provide not only the foundation for sacrificing one's life as a Shaheed but also, with the promise of a much better afterlife even fuel a person to undertake suicide operations. In this way religion may sanctify suicide and glorify it into martyrdom. Demonization of the target society converts murder into Jihad. This is how as Pape (2005) explains religion can be used for political aims for the withdrawal of foreign military forces from occupied lands. The fact that western culture is predominantly non-Islamic has been used by terrorist organisations like al Qaeda. It is the difference in religions between the occupiers and the occupied that is important to be highlighted.

On the other hand, as described hereunder one has to consider also situations where suicide terrorists come from leftist-Marxist secular backgrounds where religiosity does not come into play. Religious or ideological zeal as a result of any religion is not the sole cause of radicalization leading an individual to undertake a suicide terrorist operation. Consequently, suicide operations where the religious component is absent have to be accounted for. As Argo (2006) suggests more than half the suicide bombings in the 3 decades prior to 2003 did not have any religious issues. Liddle and Shackleford (2014) propose that notwithstanding that terrorist organisations are secular one cannot assume that its members do not believe in an afterlife. Hence the relationship between suicide terrorist operations and religiosity is far from concluded and surely merits further investigation.

### **2.7.2 Secular Suicide Terrorism**

Religion matters in the context of national resistance. Pape (2005) suggests that suicide terrorism is influenced by the religion difference component when a democratic country is the occupying force. In actual fact, as stated earlier, religion is not the only path as there are other organisations that are atheists, hence do not use religion as a pathway to suicide terrorism. In this case, there is no promise of an afterlife reward for the successful suicide

operatives. These organisations harbour secular values and ideologies such as Nationalist or Marxist-Leninist ideologies. Examples of such terror groups include the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) in Turkey and the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka and India (Gunaratna, 2003).

Crenshaw (2007) argues that suicide terrorism is not the sole modus operandi of fundamental Islamists. Also, Pape (2005) states that Islamic fundamentalism is associated with only half of the suicide terrorist attacks that occurred between 1980 and 2003. Post, Sprinzak & Denny (2003) argues that religion poses the greatest threat to society as regards to suicide terrorism. Others such as Merari (1998); Merari (2005) and Sprinzak (2000) claim that the political component is more important. While Townsend (2007) using her literature review argues that religiosity may interact with personality characteristics influencing whether or not a person will want to become a suicide terrorist. Considering all the above, it is feasible to conclude that although the religiosity variable may be popularly considered as a *sine qua non* factor for individuals to undertake a suicide operation or not, this does not seem to be so. Having said this, Pape (2005) explains: Religious difference tends to promote more suicide operations than would for example language difference, he also explains that out of the 384 suicide attackers he investigated 166 were religious (43%) while 218 (57%) were not. Hence, it is important to assess the strength of the religiosity component as regards to the suicide terrorism phenomenon, even more so in a western culture such as the UK that has become more and more *Islamophobic* as described by Cole & Cole (2009).

Although religion may not always be an important factor influencing suicide terrorism, there may be some societies where the culture provides the right opportunities for religiosity to be positively related to the occurrence of suicide terrorism operations. An example of such a culture may arguably be found in the Palestinian society.

## 2.8 Family, Personality and Religiosity: How do they Interrelate with Suicide Terrorism?

Family, personality and religiosity issues can be investigated separately as to their relationship with suicide terrorism but these variables may be also investigated as to how in a combined way they may or may not relate to suicide terrorism.

Liddle and Shackelford (2014) argues that family relationships combined with religiosity may not be enough to entice an individual to become a suicide terrorist. Having said this they contend that a life of rewards after death is quite enticing to an individual when he/she considers the pros and cons to his/her suicidal operation. So yes, the prospective suicide terrorist will love and respect his/her family and would want them to receive the financial and material rewards that are awarded to for example Palestinian Shaheed families but it is natural for this same individual to also consider any personal benefits he/she will acquire, after all he/she will be forfeiting his/her life. Atran (2003), Hasan (2008) and Krugel, Black, Tomlins, Sheykhani, Bongar, Banks & James (2014) argue that religiosity usually combines with other aspects to become a stronger motivating force. For example, it may combine with psychological characteristics such as; the humiliation-revenge perspective or pro-social and altruistic behaviour personality characteristics.

Using information found in the public domain about the 9/11 US and the 7/7 London suicide bombers Razzaque (2008) argues that certain personality types as described here under are more lured by religion than others. These personality streams perceive the world as either good or bad, with no grey shades. Religiosity feeds this need. So for example in the case of radicalised Western suicide operatives they usually feed this need to categorise good or bad through Islamic religiosity. The *us* and *them* concept or the *West* insulting *Islam*, as in the popular Jyllands Posten Danish cartoon incident in 2005 where the Prophet Mohammed was ridiculed and consequently Jihadists sought revenge. Canter (2006) argues that it is this

binary logic that fuels Istishhad. The fact that they firmly believe that they are on the right side will also give them a sense of superiority over others, such as their parents who may be moderate Muslims. This will in turn feed their ego to be more religious as they feel superior even over their own parents, regarded in Islamic culture as figures of authority. This, according to Razzaque (2008) is very common with the 9/11 and the London 7/7 bombers. However, Kimhi and Even (2004) conclude that current research cannot test the above hypothesis hence further research is needed.

As was discussed earlier a very popular explanation to suicide terrorism is an abnormal personality. It is a convenient route that attempts to comprehend suicide terrorism as it is legitimate to ask: how can normal people kill themselves with the aim of killing others? Cole & Cole (2009) cites the classical Milgram experiment (Milgram 1969). Where participants were ordered to give electric shocks to other people and they were led to think that indeed such shocks were being administered. The majority of people who never experienced psychiatric or psychological difficulties gave lethal 450 Volt shocks when ordered by authority figures. Moreover it will be easier for the individuals obeying instructions from religious authority figures if the former were highly religious people. For people having the Authoritarian Personality style it will be also easier if the victim suffering from the terrorist act is dehumanized. In fact unbelievers in the Islamic faith are called *Kuffar*. These are considered to be inferior to Muslims (Cole & Cole, 2009).

Lachkar (2002a); Lachkar (2002b) and Pedahzur (2005) argue that personality characteristics may be the result of types of family relationships. Individuals with a Borderline personality disorder are characterised by defective childhood bonding, are dependent on others, have fears of being abandoned, are very anxious and shameful, they also use defence mechanisms to cast blame on others, they also have a distorted sense of judgement and act impulsively. This personality disorder seems to emanate from particular family relationships, more

specifically those during childhood. In traditional patriarchal societies, the father is considered to be the key figure as regards to educating the sons. In most of these cases the father is hardly present consequently the responsibility falls on the mother who is an oppressed figure in such a conservative culture. The mother's pain causes frustration to these sons and will make them introverted. They will also be lured towards charismatic leaders in their community. These youngsters seem to be sought by terrorist organisations to become heroes through martyrdom. Lachkar (2002a) argues that dysfunctional parenting particularly that of the father gives rise to suicide terrorist cells developing a sense of enmeshment with the member's identity. However empirical evidence is lacking from Lachkar (2002a). Notwithstanding, Post et. al. (2003) confirm her thesis using their interviews with 35 incarcerated Middle-Eastern terrorists who reported enmeshment of their self-identity to the group's identity.

One may consider that suicide terrorism is a form of instant gratification fuelled by impulsivity as the suicide terrorist will be leaving all the problems and difficulties behind him/her through a very quick route. However especially for the person who is high on religiosity, Cole & Cole (2009) suggest that as the suicide terrorist may consider the person in authority who is giving orders to hold religious authority suicide terrorism spells more of delayed than instant gratification as rewards are delayed for the afterlife.

Razzaque (2008) argues that personality may relate to religiosity when an individual opts for a suicide operation. As suggested earlier it all starts with the personality of an individual and then religiosity comes into play to help the ailing ego. The ego finds comfort in Islamic religiosity and is ready to follow an authority figure that personifies Islam to opt for a suicide operation. Altemeyer (1988) argues that more particularly right wing authoritarians have a certain mind-set that classify the world around them into as explained earlier *black and white*, good or bad, believers and infidels. As Soibelman (2004) contends these individuals will prefer

to sacrifice their lives as Shaheeds than to live under non-Muslim rule. Pape (2005), p. 200 argues that: "Suicide terrorists are not primarily from religious cults whose members are uneducated, isolated from society and easily brainwashed into pursuing delusional aspirations". In actual fact, one has to consider other options such as the fact that suicide bombers do not have one personality type, hence further investigation into how these different personality types are related to religiosity is legitimate. For example, the Narcissistic personality type may have part of this self-love projected on another object. This may be a deity, such projections may turn out to be even romantic.

There are also other issues and circumstances where religiosity and personality may predispose an individual to choose the suicide terrorism option. Speckhard (2012) cites this example of a female suicide bomber. When she was a child she was visiting friends and a horrific incident happened. She was reported to become hysterical at the sight; a Palestinian father while holding his child having less than one year was shot in the head by an Israeli sniper. She ran along with the brother of the victim who carried him in his arms where he died and the girl fainted on the street. Speckhard (2012), p. 354 cites the brother of the victim saying that during the funeral this girl explained to him that from that time onwards everything had changed for her: "She believed that it was a sign from Allah that she had to do something to make her father and the others understand that any contact with the Jews only ended in bloodshed". The victim's brother continues to explain: "I knew then that she was destined for great things. She had too much emotion and hatred inside her to just sit quietly while other people were being massacred like that" (Speckhard 2012, p. 354). Her father describes her as: "completely normal. She would pray and fast and read the Koran" (Speckhard, 2012 p.355). This mix of religiosity together with altruism for the rest of the community is found again in another case of a suicide bomber cited by Speckhard (2012), p.394. The wife of a suicide bomber explained: "He was hoping to wake up with seventy-two angels around him ... He started to feel this way one year before. During that year he said

things like telling his mother "If I'm killed or something happens to me don't be sad". He was very sensitive about all the deaths shown on TV. They upset him". Personality and religiosity also come into play when one considers the first female Palestinian suicide bomber, Reem Riyashi. Speckhard (2012), p. 409 cites her video: "'I always wanted to be the first woman to carry out a martyrdom operation,'" Reem continues, "where parts of my body can fly all over ... God has given me two children. I love them with a kind of love that only God knows, but my love to meet God is stronger still'". Such a mix of religiosity and personality merits further investigation.

A key bond in the family relationship process is attachment that occurs at a very young age with the primary care giver, usually the mother. Shaffer (1993) contends that attachment is an emotional relationship between two persons characterized by physical closeness. Relationships during an early age with the primary care giver, usually the mother influences multiple facets of future life as a grown up. Attachment at an early age was investigated through an experiment by Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall (1978). An approximately 12 month toddler is introduced in a room together with the mother. The room is made child friendly by having toys in it. The child is subjected to either being with the mother or left alone. The child's behaviour is observed in both of these circumstances. So the child is observed when the mother is present, when she leaves, when the child is alone and when the mother returns. Ainsworth et. al. (1978) found out that the young children react differently in the same situations, however in most cases various amounts of agitation is demonstrated when the mother leaves. This would be demonstrated by crying. Notwithstanding, in most cases the child would continue to play after demonstrating his/her agitation. Also, in most cases the child will be very happy to see his/her mother. This is known as *The Secure Attachment Style*. Ainsworth et. al. (1978) reports that there is another group of children (20 to 30 per cent) who are ambivalent to the mother's arrival or departure. This is termed as *The Insecure Avoidant Style*. This tends to occur in the case of distant parenting and is typical

in Muslim or Asian families. Razzaque (2008) claims that in these families the parent child relationship is more result oriented in order to accomplish goals, such as at school, in the instruction of the Koran and later on as regards to getting married, consequently building a family and employment. Quality time such as playing is dismissed as being a waste of time. So emotional relationships tend to be very limited. Razzaque (2008) describes relationships in Muslim and Asian families as being very formal, distant and hierarchical when compared with the West. This will result in limited emotional intimacy between the parents and their children leading to delays in psychological development. Hence the children will not develop an age appropriate personality and will reason and perceive the world around them in an infantile manner. Razzaque (2008) contends that most 9/11 and 7/7 bombers had such a parental experience. Notwithstanding, as stated earlier Canter (2006) suggests that they had normal upbringing.

Berko (2007) refers to the case of a suicide bomber with the pseudo name of *Shafiqah* who opted out of her mission. Speckhard (2012) cites her actual name *Arin*. She underwent parental neglect but it was not in the early years of life as Ainsworth et. al. (1978) theorize. Arin explains that she felt neglected at age ten. Her father died in a car accident and her mother remarried. According to Arab culture she had to leave her with the family members on her husband's side. This feeling of being left abandoned was again encountered by Arin when her boyfriend was killed by the IDF. Then Arin decided to opt for a suicide operation. This may not be regarded as neglect during the early years of life as Ainsworth et. al. (1978) theorize as their experiment mentioned above involved 12 month old toddlers.

Razzaque (2008) suggests that insecure and avoidant styles of parenting are a hallmark of Muslim families. He further argues that Muslim families are characterised by formal and distant parenting together with hierarchical family structures. Razzaque (2008) contends that applying the above attachment theory, will certainly influence the psycho-social development

of the individual from a very early stage. He further suggests that a strong attachment relationship was very lacking in both the 9/11 and the July 2005 London bombers. Such conclusions and assertions have to be made with great care due to the fact that the Muslim culture cannot be put into one single compartment. In fact, Razzaque (2008) points out more particularly towards the migrant Muslims in Western countries but excludes other possibilities of Muslim families that show parenting styles characterised by secure attachment styles at an early age and the development of a healthy parental attachment style all the way into adolescence and being influential even during adulthood. He seems to exclude that suicide bombers may also come from Muslim families where there are healthy attachments styles with infants leading to healthy family relationships later on in life.

How family relationships, personality and religiosity relate to influence whether or not an individual decides to undertake a suicide bombing operation needs to be investigated further as there is a lack of research evidence. As explained above a number of claims can arguably be made but these or any other claims should be supported by further research.

## **2.9 Conclusions and Aims**

Horgan (2004, p.30) claims that the existent literature has a, "total reliance on secondary and tertiary source material to inform theoretical development". Crenshaw (2000, p.416) has suggested that current research on terrorism leaves much to be desired as to "primary data based on interviews and life histories". Moreover, "what psychological theorizing does exist on terrorism is frequently built on unreliable, invalid and unverifiable data" (Horgan, 2004, p.37). Bongar, Brown, Beutler, Breckenridge & Zimbardo (2007, p.452) argue that "psychologists offer the best explanations of and theoretical insights into behaviors that can be translated into testable propositions and useful predictions. However, they conclude that "there is an enormous need for sound psychological data to drive our clinical and other applied

endeavors in this specialty realm of psychology” (p.457). Unfortunately, 80% of what we consider to be scientific literature on terrorism is “not research based in any rigorous sense” (Schmid & Jongman, 1988 p.179). This has been confirmed by Townsend (2007) where in an extensive literature review on suicide terrorism she only found 5 empirical studies published and only 3 of these were published in peer reviewed journals. Miller (1989, p.391) makes an excellent metaphorical point especially when writing about former hostages:

“In an apparent effort to compensate for this intellectual shortfall, the literature of terrorism has exploded. Journalists, social scientists, of every subfield, and historians, of every era, have brought their resources to the subject. Philosophers have seriously entertained the issue of morality of terrorism, and psychologists have pondered the terrorist’s mindset. Policy specialists have reflected on their ‘hands on’ experiences dealing with terrorist events. Former hostages, as if anointed by their personal trauma, have become instant experts, undaunted by disciplinary boundaries, on every facet of the subject.”

This has been so especially after 9/11. Suicide bombing has been the subject of what should have been scientific investigations. It may be that researchers are not blamed for not conducting direct research in the field since they would be threading while conducting their investigations not only on what may be considered as walking on the ethical tight rope, since for example they may stumble on some possibility of a future suicide attack which if not alerted to the security services will surely be regarded as criminal, but also certain situations in the field of terrorism research may be dangerous and life threatening to both the researchers and their aides. Having said this Schuurman (2018) claims that research in the field of terrorism between 2007 and 2016 has developed to become more open to gather data from different sources that may be considered to be more of a primary nature. However what Schuurman considered to be primary sources in his analysis was lax and wide and also he limited his study to nine journals. Research in the field Schuurman admits is still subjective

and based mostly on qualitative analysis rather than quantitative. While in no way should qualitative research be considered to be of less value than quantitative it is important for both quantitative and qualitative research to complement each other.

Scientists have tried to single out factors that may induce individuals to perform suicide terrorism behaviour, this to no avail. Crenshaw (2007) explains this through her literature review essay. On the other hand there seems to be a number of causes or variables that are related to suicide terrorism, these may be individual factors, as a result of terrorist organisation propaganda, as well as other social or cultural issues, however no combination seems to stand the test of prediction (Mukherjee, Kumar & Mandal, 2014).

Shaheed family relationships, personality, religiosity and the relationship between these variables have been investigated either through sources that are distant from the Shaheed, using only interviews with the exclusion of personality, family relationship and religiosity tests. Alternatively, where personality tests were used as in Merari et. al. (2010), participants were failed and disappointed suicide bombers spending the rest of their lives in prison. Most of these individuals are still currently facing long or lifetime prison sentences and consequently may be on the verge of depression, to say the least. Consequently their current psychological state as a result of both their incarceration and the failure of their suicide terrorist mission will influence the results obtained. Canter (2006) explains that research as regards the above variables merits further investigation from sources that are closer to the Shaheed using quantitative methodologies where the participants are not heavily influenced by disappointments as a result of failed attempts. Obviously as explained above, for security reasons researchers may opt to stay away from direct contact with both suicide bombers and their closest companions or relatives and rely on less accurate sources in the public domain.

Merari et. al. (2010) compared failed suicide terrorists with non-suicide terrorists albeit terrorists and organizers of terrorist operations in prisons as regards to personality issues. However, successful suicide terrorists were not compared to non-suicide terrorists, more precisely the person and the families that do not oppose the occupiers through terrorism as regards to not only personality issues but also other variables, such as religiosity and family relationships. Comparative studies between suicide terrorists and those not involved in terrorism in cultures where suicide terrorism is glorified, such as the Palestinian culture are very lacking. The here under study attempts to fill this gap by investigating and comparing personality characteristics, religiosity and family relationships in both groups, as perceived by the respective family members. There is great value into making comparisons as indications to which variables that are common in one group and not the other may shed light as to the root causes of suicide terrorism.

As mentioned above there are further issues that one has to consider when studying the suicide terrorist phenomena. Most of the time conclusions are drawn upon popular unscientific literature such as newspaper articles where the focus may be on the operation itself and the modus operandi. In addition to this, other factors leading to the suicide terrorist act are side lined. People are heavily influenced by factors that act upon the individual from a very young age, probably from birth and even earlier. The effect of the family on an individual cannot be ignored. Neither can the effect of personality issues be taken for granted. Religiosity seems to be the most obviously related variable to suicide terrorist operations but even this may not always relate to suicide terrorism, at least in some circumstances as has been highlighted. In addition to all of this, how do the above variables relate with each other to influence a person whether or not to undertake a suicide operation?

The above study, cited in Merari (2010) though studying suicide bombers through the eyes of their family does not investigate how family relationships throughout childhood,

adolescence and early adulthood influences the decision whether or not an individual undertakes a suicide terrorism act or not. Also, in the weeks and months preceding the suicide bombing how family relationships influence the decision of the individual, whether or not to engage the enemy in a suicidal operation where success signifies certain death leading to the severing of all family relationships and ties. It is important to investigate family relationships in Shaheed families and compare them, with families who do not have a Shaheed as one of their family members, the communication skills present in the families of the suicide bombers prior to the incident and also during the early adulthood, adolescence and childhood of the suicide bomber need to be investigated from direct sources. This is lacking both if one considers Merari's study and also other studies. Merari continues to suggest that those who did not leave any message did so due to a particular mental state, such a mental state was not identified by this study. According to Merari (2010), another possibility could have been different family relations, again this was not covered by this study. If one considers Speckhard (2012) there are no tests leading to any form of quantitative analysis to back the qualitative data being presented. First hand scientific investigations, both qualitative and quantitative by examining family relationships where a suicide bomber is one of their members is of paramount importance as such research seems to be lacking. Even in Speckhard (2012) study comparative studies in relation to control subjects seem to be lacking. It is important that conclusions about family relationships are not drawn on speculations or on what may be stated in the media or any other secondary sources but these have to be backed by scientific research. The here under study attempts to fill the above mentioned gaps.

The aim of this research is to investigate:

- Whether there is any type of family relationships that may be conducive towards becoming a suicide terrorist.
- Personality trait or traits that may contribute to a mind-set that is conducive to suicide terrorism.

- The importance of Islamic religion in an individual's decision to decide whether or not to undertake a suicide terrorism operation.
- The interrelationship between religiosity and family relationships as regards the decision to undertake a suicide terrorist act or not.
- The interrelationship between personality and religiosity as regards the decision to undertake a suicide terrorist act or not.

# Chapter 3 Methodology

## 3.1 Introduction

This chapter will briefly discuss the use of case studies in research. It will also focus on the methodology used for this study. The procedure used to reach participants and the measures used will be discussed. The sampling process and the piloting of the measures will be also described. Other issues that will be given due consideration are the training of the interviewer and ethical and safety concerns that may be general for every research in psychology but more particular to this study about Palestinian suicide terrorists. Finally, how the data was analysed will be put forward.

## 3.2 The Case Study Method

The case study is popularly considered to be a qualitative means of scientific research. Bromley (1986), p.296 claims that a psychological *case study* can be mathematically defined as the function of the interaction made by a *person* on a particular *situation* and its *outcome*. For example a case study can draw out how a person in a particular situation or situations becomes a Shaheed. From the qualitative aspect the case study method provides all the needed facets for a scientific methodology; giving an account of all the relevant facts, organising them in a logical way although it can also organise them creatively, it can also be evaluated in a detailed critical manner, and it predicts outcomes and forecasts behaviour of people so that appropriate interventions can take place. Yin (1984) draws an analogy by explaining that if quantitative research occurs on a macro level qualitative research that may include case studies can be considered as a study on a micro level.

Scientific research is mostly all about rules in which individual cases fit in. The challenge for the case study method to be used in scientific research is that it turns around the tables. In

the social sciences, like psychology, general concepts may not be useful for the particular situation or individual concerned, as the social sciences are soft sciences not like for example physics that is a hard science. It is difficult to fit behavioural aspects of people into generalised rules as behavioural aspects of humanity celebrates individuality. Having said this, the case study method used in a particular case for a certain individual maybe similar to another situation for another individual. So while the hard sciences take the top down approach, soft sciences using the case study method use the bottom up approach giving insights to other cases. This develops a bank of what is termed in the legal field as case law, hence from the individual cases a general law is generated.

Hereunder, a brief historical account of the case study and its emergence in psychology will be also discussed. Basic rules in designing a case study and the advantages and disadvantages of case studies will be also put forward.

### **3.2.1 Historical Background**

Bromley (1986) explains that the case study method dates well before scientific investigation. It dates back to even before philosophy. Indeed it may be traced back to primitive humanity and used for warfare, trade and judicial purposes Strang (1949) states that the earliest recorded case study dates back to 4000 BC.

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Harvard Law School used case studies to coach students. They were also used in medicine and education. Life story accounts were widely used in sociology by the Chicago School in the 1920s and 1930s, for example in the study of deviance (Shaw, 1930) and about Polish immigrants to the US (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1920). With the introduction of what may be argued to be objective psychometrics and the wide use of questionnaires and the quantitative methodology of the survey, what may be considered to be subjective hence less scientific, life-story accounts and case studies became less popular

by the 1950s. However, they started picking up again popularity by the late 60s (Bromley, 1986).

In medicine the case study method initiated the clinical method. Bromley (1986) explains that at first it consisted of taking note of the signs and symptoms of the patient, the treatment given and the progress of the patient. As medical tests became more sophisticated and also with the introduction of technology case study methods in medicine have become more reliant on computerized systems. These became more detailed as to the diagnosis, treatment and prognosis of the patient. In the initial days of psychiatry a lot depended on the case study method as there was tremendous influence from the psychoanalytic approach. Social workers and psychologists also started to use the case study method. This was based on the medical model, although the use of psychometric tests in psychology were also widely used, most of the time these were incorporated in the case study, a practice that is widely used even at present. Initially, in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the psychoanalytic school besides influencing psychiatry influenced also psychology and social work only to give way to the more quantitative experimental and psychometric methods.

### **3.2.2 The Case Study in Psychology**

Bromley (1986), p. 1 states that: "A psychological case-study is an account of a person in a situation. Of course, there is usually something interesting or problematical about the person, the situation, or the relationship between them". Prior to this Bromley (1977) explains that a case study is building and interpreting of a particular important event in an individual's life. Psychological case studies attempt to solve human behavioural problems. A case study should not stand in isolation but it should be in some way or another related to other case studies so that generalisations may be obtained, as mentioned earlier using the bottom up approach. It is the goal of the case study to provide a decision, answer, prediction or recommendation, using rational argumentation as to the problem set out in the case study itself. Unfortunately,

108

since case studies may render themselves to be highly subjective, factual evidence may be badly reconstructed and as a result erroneously misunderstood, with the result that the wrong conclusions are reached. Unfortunately, in a case study not all variables involved in the particular situation may be considered.

The way that a case study may be built is varied. Certain aspects such as life history information and demographics are always included and should not constitute a bias for the researcher or investigator. Case studies may also include observations coupled with comments on these observations. This is similar to how case studies are used in the Piagetian and Freudian school.

### **3.2.3 Basic Rules**

Bromley (1986) explains that there are 6 fundamental rules as to the compiling and writing of case studies. These are namely: truthful reporting, goals should be clear and specific, the extent to which these goals have been reached and any limitations need to be specified, it is important to have trained interviewers, the subject is to be seen in an ecological context (as he/she is not isolated but part of his/her whole environment) and finally, the case study should be written in a way that is easily understood by the reader giving the subject's point of view.

In addition to the above Tellis (1997) explains that it's best for case studies to include both qualitative and quantitative data. Unfortunately, quantitative data alone may render results that hide certain valid issues. In fact Yin (1984), p. 23 defines case studies as: "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used".

### **3.2.4 Advantages and Disadvantages of Case Studies**

A particular advantage is the use of the variables in that particular context. Variables are not limited to a particularly limited number but may be numerous and not taken out of context to be measured in an experiment Zaidah (2003). Case studies allow for both quantitative and qualitative analysis. It is not appropriate to think of case studies in terms of solely qualitative data and analysis. Moreover, case studies may use only quantitative data and analysis (Yin, 1984). Another advantage is that case studies help in explaining the complexities of real life situations that may not be captured by experiments and surveys.

As to the disadvantages, Yin (1984) explains that case studies lack rigour as investigator bias does come into play. Yin (1984) and Tellis (1997) explain that case studies lack generalisability as usually there is a small number of case studies, sometimes there is only one in a study. In actual fact Yin (1994) states that case studies are *microscopic*. On the other hand Hamel, Dufour and Fortin (1993) and Yin (1994) explain that it's not the number of case studies that are important but establishing the parameters and objectives of the research that is important. Also, since case studies yield a huge amount of data, systematic handling of the data is imperative. Unfortunately, sometimes data is not handled in a systematic way (Yin, 1984).

### **3.2.5 A General Concluding Comment on Case Studies.**

Zaidah (2007) explains that case studies are an efficient alternative to use in research when participants are not easily available. One case in point is when studying the psychology of terrorism, more specifically suicide terrorism. However, Baxter & Jack (2008) conclude that the case study method does not simply involve research of a single situation or individual, it involves much more than that. It can deal with both simple and complex situations. Case studies can very effectively answer the *How* and *Why* questions with very high ecological validity and it can give enormous insight into cases like suicide terrorism giving a contribution

into the how and why other parameters such as family relationship, religiosity and personality influence the decision of an individual to undertake or not a suicide operation that if successful will lead to the death of the individual concerned. Case studies also give the facility to gather and analyse both quantitative and qualitative data from a variety of sources such as tests and interviews in such a way so that a multi-faceted projection of the phenomenon is produced.

The case study method in psychology may be considered as a weak investigative research tool by the experimentalists and the empiricists. However, it is justified to remark that no methodology or research tool is fool proof and that every method has its inherent limitations. Psychology investigates different human behavioural problems and situations, these are studied using different methodologies. A methodology that is mostly appropriate in one particular situation may not be appropriate for another. When areas having a number of facets like terrorism, more particularly suicide terrorism, are being researched it is legitimate to use methodologies that are more participant or subject centred as these may yield unexpected results that are relevant for that particular situation.

### **3.3 Investigating Terrorism through Case or Family Studies.**

Merari (2010), with the assistance of Ms. Nasra Hasan, a Pakistani Muslim woman who worked with an international refugee organisation in Palestinian occupied territories studied suicide bombers by visiting and interviewing their families and captured suicide bomber candidates in Palestinian prisons. She managed to study 34 out of the 36 suicide bombers that committed a suicide terrorist attack between 1993 and 1998, prior to the second intifada. The interview gathered information about 7 topics:

1. Family demographic details and history, example age of parents, education, number and sibling order, occupation and marital history.

2. The suicide's demographic details and history, example date of birth, education, occupation and marital status.
3. Social milieu or the quality of his social life such as; friends, popularity, places of leisure and recreation visited by the individual, relations with women, political interests and affiliations.
4. Religious attitudes over time, example; prayer, mosque attendance, faith in paradise, speaking about martyrdom.
5. Possible precursors leading to the decision to carry out the suicide act such as events that have an impact on the individual and changes or abnormal behaviour.
6. Role models or persons who influenced him.
7. Personality characteristics example; moods, independence, mental illness or suicidal ideation, ambition, aggressiveness, empathic skills and comparing and contrasting spiritual to earthly interests.

Speckhard (2012) gathered also information about suicide terrorists using family members. She utilised her data qualitatively using it to build a psycho-social picture of the Shaheed. Another study that focused on interviewing family members and also friends of suicide terrorists was Dogu (2000) who focused on PKK suicide terrorists. Pedahzur (2005) citing the latter mentioned study argues that obtaining information from family members is extremely useful, however this information may be less accurate if the suicide terrorist member left his/her respective family a long time before the suicide terrorist incident. Also, Pedahzur (2005) continues to argue that these families may have hidden or unhidden agendas; such as portraying their deceased suicide terrorist relatives as heroes to gain respect and financial rewards from the community or on the other hand they may want to disassociate themselves from the suicide terrorist act to show those who oppress them and have authority over them that they do not condone it moreover they condemn it, however deep down they feel the opposite way. Notwithstanding, issues mentioned above getting close to people who are not

alive is very difficult and family members know their relatives at least to some extent in individualistic cultures, moreover in collectivistic ones, like the Palestinian culture. In Palestine the collectivistic community spirit is not only seen in times of crises where Palestinians help each other but also in festivities such as weddings where all the village would be invited. This collectivistic community characteristic may also be observed in the day to day way of life where pro-social behaviour is very predominant among members of the Palestinian community. Fields, Elbedour, & Hein (2002) interviewed families and friends of 9 suicide terrorists who did their suicide act during the first Intifada but at a time that was relatively quiet as regards to terror incidents. This study had also a control group to which the suicide terrorist group was compared as regards to personality, psychological state, life experiences and religiosity. All the suicide terrorists were males and all the control subjects were males having a similar age, social status, and background of the suicide bombers. Four family members from each family and two close friends were interviewed and asked questions about the respective Shaheed. This was obviously performed keeping in mind data triangulation issues. Also, 9 control subjects were studied for comparison purposes. These were friends of the Shaheeds who were chosen by the families. Each family chose 3 in all totalling 27, from whom 9 were chosen randomly. The Coppersmith's scale of self-esteem and the Achenbach Child Behaviour Checklist (a 20 item shortened version) were used with all participants. Demographic and life history information was also collected about both the suicide terrorists and the controls.

### **3.4 Method**

Hereunder, the design of this research is put forward. The way participants were accessed and recruited is also discussed. The measures and tests used are introduced and discussed together with the reasons why they were the preferred choice. The sampling process used, the piloting procedure and the data collection method are also described.

### **3.4.1 Design**

The design of this research consisted of a comparison between 2 groups of families Shaheed and non-Shaheed in terms of perceptions of family members about one of their relatives as regards personality characteristics, religiosity and family relations. These were studied through a tailor-made questionnaire designed specifically for this study, an adapted version of the Fundamental Interpersonal Relationships Orientation – Behaviour (FIRO-B) (Schutz, 1958; 1992; 1994), The Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) (Ching Ting Fok, Allen, Henry & People Awakening Team, 2011) and The Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS) (Wilde and Joseph, 1997). The 2 groups consisted of the Shaheed family group, where the Shaheed in their family was considered, while the non-Shaheed family group answered questions about another relative in their family. It was envisaged that the Shaheed group of families would consist of those that have a member in their family such as spouses, parents, siblings, sons or daughters, cousins, grandsons or granddaughters, who had died in a suicide terrorist attack. This would include either through suicide bombing or other acts that were most likely to result in the perpetrator's death, such as: knifing soldiers at check points, ramming vehicles on these checkpoints or shooting indiscriminately or discriminately in the presence of military personnel. On the other hand the non-Shaheed group included all those who did not have a relative in the family such as spouses, parents, siblings, sons or daughters, cousins, grandsons or granddaughters who died as a Shaheed in a suicide terrorist attack similar to that described above.

Sageman (2017a) claims that care must be taken when asking participants to go back in time as retrospective memories are seen by people in the light of their present circumstances. As already explained above obtaining sound and accurate information in such studies is paramount, to this effect data triangulation was used. In the hereunder study a minimum number of 2 family members from each family whether pertaining to the Shaheed or non-Shaheed family group participated. Ideally 3 family members were sought but this was not

always the case. In such a way data could be compared and contrasted so that more accurate information was available hence avoiding for example social desirability issues. It is also important that family members do not feel that they are being intruded upon as this may also give rise to less accurate information. Also, one has to keep in mind that Palestinian Shaheed families are harassed so in the hereunder study the family was only visited by a Palestinian co-national.

### **3.4.2 Access and Recruitment**

In the field of terrorism research participants are certainly not readily available. In fact the highest hurdle of all was gaining access to these participants. Initially it seemed to be extremely difficult to obtain participants, especially for the Shaheed group. Notwithstanding recommendations from authorities in Malta (see Appendix 1- Letter of reference by Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs, Malta), prisons were inaccessible, sometimes they would not even answer emails or letters and Shaheed families seemed to be unreachable. The best alternative was through the grapevine, but to acquire trust would need time and painstaking patience. With time it started to seem obvious that the best country for such a research project to happen would be Palestine. Palestinians, moreover their family members, do not seem to mind speaking about their Shaheeds, as they are considered to be heroes and patriots not only by their families but also by the Palestinian community at large. Having said this, still making contact with Shaheed families was difficult. Speckhard (2012) explains how difficult it was for her to gain both access to and trust of these people as these family members are approached by journalists, mostly foreigners who, they feel, do not report faithfully the information given by the family members. Also, at other times these families are harassed by individuals from or sent by Israeli security forces, so gaining trust through a middle person was essential. Even Speckhard was helped by individuals acting as middle people. But first one has to find at least one middle person and gain his/her trust. The pertinent question is: *How does one go about finding this middle person?*

Since the initiation of this study two main issues were considered; getting authorities on board and gaining participants' trust. This research project started in 2010 and from its initiation contact was made with both governmental authorities in Malta but also with people who would be key to getting contact with participants. As stated earlier in 2010 the Ministry of Justice and Interior in Malta drew up a letter of recommendation in favour of this project and the author with the aim to help in the data capturing phase (see Appendix 1). This was drawn on the basis of trust since there existed a good working relationship between the author and the above mentioned Ministry, as the author gave consultancy services to the said Ministry on issues relating to prisoner rehabilitative services, prison officer training and counter terrorism strategies.

When researching a topic like suicide terrorism getting some form of government or state backing is certainly not enough; as stated earlier gaining participant trust is very important. Prior to gaining the trust of the participants, contacts with possible participants or people leading to the former is crucial. To this effect one cannot know which contact will yield possible participants so attempting to contact possible participants or individuals leading to them has to be widespread. Communication was made with the Palestinian Embassy in Malta with the aim of providing contacts leading to possible participants. Maltese nationals in Palestine were also contacted. The Maltese Imam who is also a Palestinian and Dr Joseph Mifsud, a Maltese lawyer, were also contacted. Dr Joseph Mifsud, currently a magistrate in the Maltese law courts, and who was previously a journalist, visited Palestine more than 20 times. This individual was a key person at providing contacts leading to potential participants. Over the years while working as a journalist he managed to establish a number of contacts with very influential Palestinians. This proved to be crucial at providing participants for this study. Dr Joseph Mifsud provided an email address of a Palestinian friend of his, Mr. Ibrahim Rabaia who works with the Palestinian Government, in the Ministry of Planning and who is also a

journalist. Contact with this Ibrahim Rabaia started by emails back in 2010. He was asked whether it would be possible for him to help out at making contact and consequently asking Shaheed family members to participate in the proposed study. He gave his assurance that participants would be found and he started suggesting a number of contacts that would ultimately lead to Shaheed relatives that may be prospective participants. At one point Ibrahim Rabaia expressed his wish to improve his English and stated that he wanted to attend one of the many schools in Malta that teach English language to foreigners. He was helped with getting accommodation and finding an English Language school in Malta. He came to Malta to study English in September 2012. At this time the author and Mr. Rabaia held one to one meetings. He continued to suggest possible contacts leading to the participation of Shaheed family members in this research study. Ibrahim returned to Palestine in October 2012. All of the suggested contacts unfortunately proved to be dead ends except for one, Hanna Issa (this is his pseudonym) from Ramallah, West Bank. He was a journalist and studied Journalism at university level.

Hanna travelled in camps in the West Bank to personally search for Shaheed and non-Shaheed families to participate in this study. He asked around for Shaheed and non-Shaheed families and then personally made contact with these families to ask whether there are members from these families who wished to participate. All potential participants were informed about the research through an information letter in Arabic (English version is found as Appendix 3) that was handed to each family by Hanna.

### **3.4.3 Sampling**

Ideally a random sample that is more representative would have been obtained but in studies related to terrorism moreover suicide terrorism this is very difficult. This is mostly due to the small number of participants available. So opportunity sampling was used. It was intended to have 12 Shaheed and another 12 non-Shaheed families. So the first 12 families who accepted

to participate in each of the respective groups were chosen. Age and gender of participants was not considered to be important. What was important was how much the family members knew the Shaheed or non-Shaheed relative. The whole sample was recruited with the assistance of Hanna who travelled around camps, towns and villages in the West Bank. The participants were preferably closest to the reference person, (Shaheed or non-Shaheed). However, this was not always possible, in that case the only alternative was the more distant relatives. A table is found in appendix 13 where relationships of all participants to their respective person of reference (Shaheeds or non-Shaheeds) is found.

### **3.4.4 Measures**

The aim of this study was to investigate how perceived family relationships and individual characteristics, more specifically personality and religiosity may influence one's decision to terminate one's life for a particular cause. Palestinian Jihadi suicide bombing was studied through the eyes of family members. The fact that family members answer questions about their Shaheed or non-Shaheed relative is drawing on an assumption that they know their relative very well, especially if the test is enquiring about inner feelings of the individual in question. Having said this it may be assumed that family members are more knowledgeable of each other in collectivistic cultures such as the Palestinian society rather than in individualistic ones. Also, care was taken to recruit family members as participants that know most the person of reference (Shaheed or non-Shaheed). Palestinian families who had one of their family members who decided to commit an act of suicide terrorism in the first or second intifada participated. In addition to these, and as explained earlier, Palestinian families who did not have any suicide terrorists in their family were asked to take part in the study, for comparison purposes. (See Appendix 13 for table showing age, gender of the person of reference, the Modus Operandi (MO) in the case of the Shaheeds and the relation to the person of reference of the participants in each family). When indicating the MO of the

Shaheeds it is important to note that care was taken not to have neither the Shaheed nor his or her family identified.

A battery of tests was used in this research. Each participant was asked to answer a questionnaire and three tests:

- A General Questionnaire (designed specifically for this research study) (see Appendices 5 and 6)
- An adapted version of the FIRO-B (see Appendices 7 and 8)
- The BFRS (see Appendices 9 and 10)
- An adapted version of the MARS (see Appendices 11 and 12)

The above mentioned tests were translated from English into Arabic by a team consisting of the author, Hanna and Mr. George Bonello who is an Arabic language teacher in Malta. Since Hanna was in Palestine a number of on-line video conferences were held and issues relating to appropriate terminology used were discussed. The author gave his input as to the psychological perspective of particular terms, Hanna gave his contribution as to the cultural or value laden terms from the Palestinian perspective while Mr. Bonello contributed with his technical perspective of the Arabic terms or words being chosen.

Back translations were carried out by Ms. Shaymaa Ben Saad, a Maltese person with a Tunisian origin, having Arabic as a second language. Ms. Ben Saad was in no way connected with the team who carried out the initial translations. The author discussed with Ms. Ben Saad when she had a difficulty as to the most appropriate English word to be chosen when this was the case. These back translations are listed as appendices 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30. Differences between the original English version and the back translations were judged to be minimal and not context related. For example as regards to the FIRO adapted version: *He sought out to be with people* was back translated to *He wanted to be with people*. Also, as

regards the BFRS *In our family we raised our voice when we were mad* was back translated to *The members in my family raised their voice when they got angry*. In addition to this, as regards the MARS, for example *He liked to learn more about Allah* was back translated to *He loved finding more about God* and *The supplication (Dua) helped him* was back translated to *Invocation to God helped him*. The above examples show that while the back translation by a different person did not yield another translation with the same words, the meaning of the statements is very much related. As regards the General Questionnaire, since the Arabic alphabet is not comparable with the English alphabet Roman numbering was used to identify the different sections. Hence:

Section A	was back translated to	Section I
Section B	-	Section II
Section C	-	Section III
Section D	-	Section IV
Section E	-	Section V
Section F	-	Section VI
Section G	-	Section VII
Section H	-	Section VIII
Section I	-	Section IX
Section J	-	Section X
Section K	-	Section XI
Section L	-	Section XII
Section M	-	Section XIII

This again did not constitute any contextual difference between the English and the Arabic versions.

Back translations indicated that there were no substantial differences between the original English language versions of the tests and questionnaire and that the Arabic versions of the tests were a valid translation of the English versions.

#### **3.4.4.1 The General Questionnaire**

This tailor made questionnaire investigated a range of issues. The introductory part catered on demographics. As regards the other sub-sections they catered for information regarding family life but also delinquency and criminality, religiosity in the family and family mental health. A family therapist in Malta, Dr Charles Azzopardi helped out in the construction of this questionnaire. The General Questionnaire for the Shaheed families was slightly different from that which was used by the non-Shaheed families (see Appendices 5 and 6) as the former focused also on what may have encouraged the Shaheed to undertake the respective suicide terrorism mission and how this may have affected his/her family. The questionnaire was divided into various sections that treated various aspects as regards both the person of reference and his/her family:

- Section A – Cohesion between family members
- Section B – Conflict among family members
- Section C – Religiosity in the Family
- Section D – Family members Delinquency and Criminality
- Section E – Authority and Discipline in the Family
- Section F – Enmeshment (The feeling of being one and inseparable)
- Section G – Family Adaptability to various situations
- Section H – Family Structure
- Section I – Evaluating Alliances in the Family
- Section J – Identification in the Family (Role models)
- Section K – Isolation and Time Together in the Family
- Section L – Parent/Sibling/Spouse Relationships

- Section M – Other Questions about the Suicide terrorist (Shaheed - Martyr) the reference person's (Shaheed or non-Shaheed) relationship with others in the family, also how his/her act of suicide terrorism, in the case of the Shaheed group affected his/her respective family.

The General Questionnaire was utilised in building up the descriptive parts of the case studies. It was intended to provide further information as regards to perceived personality, religiosity and family relationship issues of the reference person (Shaheed or non-Shaheed) and their respective families.

#### **3.4.4.2 The FIRO-B (adapted version)**

As regards measuring the personality of both Shaheed and non-Shaheed individuals care was taken not to have an excessively long test since there were two other tests to be completed in addition to a questionnaire. For example tests like the (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory 2) MMPI-2 with 567 questions or the shorter version (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory 2 Restructured Form) MMPI-2RF comprising of 338 questions were ruled out as they take an hour and a half or an hour to complete and it was sought that the completion by participants of the whole battery of tests and questionnaire will not take more than an hour.

Fundamental Interpersonal Relationship Orientation (FIRO) theory relates as to how an individual both acts and reacts towards others. So it is not simply based on the inner needs of a person but also on the external reaction towards other people's actions. An adapted version of the Fundamental Interpersonal Relationships Orientation – Behaviour (FIRO-B) (Schutz, 1958; 1992; 1994) comprising of 54 statements was used. Schutz proposes to measure personality on 3 levels; Inclusion, Control and Openness. Inclusion is about the wish to be included, accepted and given attention. People who seek a lot the latter mentioned

interaction qualities from others tend to have a high score on what is termed as the Expressed Inclusion element. On the other hand people who receive a high amount of these qualities from others tend to be high on Received Inclusion. As to the Control level; this deals with power, authority and dominance. People high on Expressed Control want to control, dominate, and exert power and authority on others. While people high on Received Control tend to accept others to dominate and control them. The latter are very submissive to others. Lastly, Openness deals with affection and closeness. People high on Expressed Openness want to open up with others to show their affection and closeness to others. While people high on the Received Openness work to elicit affection and closeness from others.

The FIRO-B was adapted so that the personality of the Shaheeds and the non-Shaheeds was investigated through the eyes of their relatives. It was still scored on a 6 point scale; only grammatical changes were done to the statements so that they refer to a Shaheed or a relative in case of the comparison group. Another change was made to the introductory statement of the test. This depended on whether the participants are those families who have a suicide terrorist as one of their members or not (see Appendices 7 and 8).

FIRO scales have been used, for example, to predict managerial and leadership skills (Ahmetoglu, Chamorro-Premizic and Furnham, 2010). In the here under study an attempt is made to draw relationships leading to predictions, based on the respective family members perceptions, between these scales and suicide terrorism. This was done in relation to the Merari et. al. (2010) hypothesis that suicide terrorists are found to be of the avoidant-dependant personality type. To this effect the Control dimension of the FIRO was used to investigate further through the eyes of family members the above mentioned claim. Suicide terrorists are popularly portrayed as individuals lacking love and emotions. This was also investigated through the Openness dimension of the FIRO-B, again as perceived by the family participants of each person of reference.

Relationships between the FIRO-B and other personality tests may shed further light on the personality of the reference persons. The FIRO-B element of Received Control has been positively correlated with The Big Five Trait of neuroticism (Mahoney & Stasson, 2005). Hence, the FIRO element of Received Control may be indicative of the presence of neurotic traits such as anxiety and depression. Also comparisons, with the FIRO-B scales and the perceived Religiosity for both the Shaheed and non-Shaheed groups may be drawn. Although the Eysenck Personality Scale (EPS) was not used to directly measure the perceived personalities of the reference persons (Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds) it was referred to indirectly since Wilde and Joseph (1997) found out that individuals scoring high on the MARS Scale score low on the Psychoticism Scale of the (EPS). Hence are less aggressive, less egocentric, less unsympathetic and less manipulative. In addition to this Wilde and Joseph (1997) found a positive relationship between Religiosity and social desirability again on the EPS, which may be related to the Inclusion element of the FIRO-B. Notwithstanding, any relationships and predictions need to be seen in the light that the sample is an opportunity one hence may not be representative.

The FIRO-B is an interpersonal measure rather than an intrapersonal one so this constitutes a more appropriate measure for behaviour involving others. The Receiving as well as Expressing components of the 3 dimensions allow one to assess interactions and behaviour that an individual has towards others as well as what the individual gets from others. This is highly appropriate in the context of this study because the impact of relationships, more specifically family relationships on the individual and its relationship to whether or not this may influence a decision to undergo or not a suicide terrorist operation are being investigated. The FIRO-B has also been used commonly in the interpersonal context and related to style of offending behaviour (Youngs, 2004) where personality correlates of offending style were investigated.

#### **3.4.4.3 The BFRS**

The Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) was used to measure the social dynamics of the family both prior to the incident, in the case of the Shaheed and even during the childhood of the Shaheed or non-Shaheed. The 16 item (BFRS) (Ching Ting Fok, C., Allen, J., Henry, D. People Awakening Team, 2011) was employed. It measures 3 facets as regards to family relationship:

- *Cohesion* - including supporting each other, and how much the family feels united.
- *Expressiveness* - including expression of self and opinion of individual family members in the family.
- Absence of Conflict and anger in the family.

All the items are scored on a 3 point scale: *Not at all*, *Somewhat*, and *A lot*. In turn these 3 categories are together subdivided into 20 parts as can be seen in Appendices 9 and 10. This 16 item test is short hence participants are not bored by a lengthy data capture process as in addition to this test there are 2 other tests and a questionnaire as already indicated above. The 3 facets of family relationships stated above are compared with the perceived religiosity of the reference person for both the Shaheed and non-Shaheed groups. In this way similarities and differences as regards to family relationships and perceived religiosity of the reference person between the 2 groups may be pointed out.

Ching Ting Fok, C. et. al. (2011) suggest that the BFRS may be suitable to use with other non-westerners as it has been initially used with native Eskimos in Alaska. It is suggested that it should be used with collectivistic culture groups in East and South Asia, collectivistic cultures in the West and collectivistic cultures in the Middle East such as the Palestinians.

#### **3.4.4.4 The MARS**

The 14 item Muslim Attitude towards Religiosity Scale (MARS) (Wilde & Joseph, 1997) was used to measure the perceived religiosity of the Shaheed or the non-Shaheed in each family. Initially this test was drawn by Wilde & Joseph (1997) to be taken by the individual whose level of religiosity was to be measured. This test was adapted so that the religiosity of a person was measured through the eyes of another individual. In this way the religiosity of either the Shaheed or non-Shaheed was measured through the eyes of their respective family members (see Appendices 11 and 12). The families of the Shaheeds were asked to answer these questions instead of the deceased by recalling how they saw or perceived him or her prior to their fatal mission and even before, since their childhood days, where applicable. The families of the non-Shaheeds answered the questionnaire with reference to a chosen relative. This test consists of 14 items scored on a 5 point Likert scale. The fact that this test is short is advantageous as participants were asked to answer 3 tests and a questionnaire, the latter requiring open ended answers to be written in spaces provided, so it was important that the time taken by participants to answer the whole battery of tests and questionnaire was not excessively long. This test was also chosen since Wilde and Joseph (1997) found relationships between the MARS and different personality characteristics. For example, a positive relationship was found between religiosity and social desirability, while a negative relationship was found between religiosity and aggressiveness, egocentricity, being unsympathetic and manipulative. In this way results from the MARS may be related to personality characteristics. Hence, results from the adapted version of the FIRO may be also compared with the MARS results for both Shaheed and non-Shaheed groups in Chapter 5 and discussed further in Chapter 6.

#### **3.4.5 Pilot Study**

Conducting a pilot study with people or their family members involved in terrorism is very difficult since their availability is very scarce. So alternatives or people in similar situations

may be asked to participate in the pilot study. In this study the tests (the adapted version of the FIRO-B, the BFRS and the MARS) and a face to face interview with open questions were piloted utilizing a Palestinian individual who lost his brother as a result of natural causes. As originally a face to face interview was going to be used instead of the General Questionnaire. The face to face interview was videotaped while a copy of the tests was kept as reference. After careful consideration the face to face interview was changed into a questionnaire with closed and open questions as can be seen in appendices 5 and 6 in order to make the instrument more accessible to participants in such a way that the researcher's presence may not be necessary as Shaheed families may feel less comfortable in the presence of foreigners. The other 3 tests remained unchanged. After this there was no piloting of this final questionnaire. This questionnaire made the instrument more accessible to participants since everything was self-explanatory in the participants' native language, Arabic. It was also envisaged that participants would feel more comfortable with a questionnaire rather than a face to face interview, especially as regards Shaheed families as these have been constantly harassed by individuals such as for example the security services and also foreign journalists. So it was predicted that a conversation with questions and answers may be perceived as intimidating by some of the participants most especially those coming from Shaheed families as explained above.

### **3.4.6 Data Collection**

All the printed material to be used by the participants was sent by DHL to Palestine. The first batch catered for the 12 Shaheed families. These were sent in the summer of 2015. After the first 6 families were completed they were sent back to Malta again using DHL. After which the remaining 6 Shaheed families completed their questionnaires and these were also sent from Ramallah to Malta again by DHL. Then, the printed material to be used by the 12 non-Shaheed families was sent from Malta to Ramallah. After completion of all questionnaires and tests this time they were sent back to Malta in one package again using DHL services. Private postage

services were used for the safety and security of both the printed material but mostly also so that the data will be more protected from being lost.

Material for each family was carefully put in A4 envelopes and each sheet was coded so that if mistakenly sheets got mixed up they would easily be retrieved. Each family had an envelope that was coded. In each envelope there was the following contents in Arabic (see appendices 3 to 12 for the English versions):

- A letter of information for participants (Appendix 3)
- 3 packs each stapled including:
  - A consent form (Appendix 4)
  - General Questionnaire – specifically designed for this study (Appendix 5 – Shaheed family, Appendix 6 – non-Shaheed family)
  - An adapted version of the Fundamental Interpersonal Relationship Orientation – Behaviour (FIRO-B) (Appendix 7 – Shaheed family, Appendix 8 – non-Shaheed family)
  - Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) (Appendix 9 – Shaheed family, Appendix 10 – non-Shaheed family)
  - An adapted version of the Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS) (Appendix 11 – Shaheed family, Appendix 12 – non-Shaheed family)

The reverse charges facility was used when sending the completed questionnaires and tests from Palestine to Malta so that charges would not be incurred by the Palestinian individual who was administering the data capturing process. Moreover, it was agreed that this person would be remunerated the sum of 1000 Euros for the whole data gathering process including travelling expenses. Shortly after the first batch was received in Ramallah 100 Euros were sent using Western Union Money transfer services to cover travelling expenses. After this 2 successive payments of 100 Euros each were sent. When all the 12 Shaheed envelopes were

received in Malta another payment of 300 Euros was sent to the person working on the data capture. After receipt in Malta of the completed 12 non-Shaheed envelopes, two remunerations of 200 Euros each were sent to Hanna finalizing the remuneration promised. No participant was remunerated for his or her participation.

All printed material handed to the participants was self-explanatory and the person administering the data gathering process had mainly to hand out the questionnaire and tests to the participants. Notwithstanding this Hanna Isa, the person doing the data capture was given by the author seminars on how to be ethically correct during the whole process, for example how to respond if a participant was visibly perturbed while writing his/her answers, and when to suspend the data gathering process for a short period of time or stop the whole process of data gathering with a particular participant or a family altogether and how and what to do in this eventuality. He was also instructed on how to use effective verbal and non-verbal communicating skills so that he will have a good rapport with participants, how to introduce himself to the family and how to communicate with participants during the data gathering process if any need should arise and consequently participants would need to communicate with him, for example, as regards clarifications about the tests or questionnaire. He was also instructed not to push people to participate. This training was done on-line through audio-video conferencing. He knew very well all the instrumentation as he was very much involved in its translation so Hanna, the person doing the data gathering, was very familiar with the instrumentation being used; this helped him a lot when clarifications were asked for by participants.

Questionnaires and tests were handed to family member participants. They were then kindly asked to read the letter of information about the research study. They then were asked to sign their consent form, a copy of which they were asked to keep. Hanna explained to the participating family members that they should go back in time to when they lived with the

Shaheed or the person of reference as regards the non-Shaheed family group. Since questions were self-explanatory and clearly written intervention by Hanna conducting the data gathering process was minimum. Hanna sent photos and audio recordings of some of the interviews he did with Shaheed families to the author in Malta as a number of participants were reluctant to be photographed, video or audio taped. As regards the non-Shaheed family participants the reference person who was being considered by the participants was agreed before they started answering the tests and questionnaire. This was also written in the instructions prior to answering the tests and questionnaire. In this way participants from the same family referred to the same person.

### **3.5 Ethical Considerations**

It is important to note that in the light of ethical considerations all information leading to the identification of the participants was removed. This is especially so as regards the Shaheed group where all details about the suicide operation were not included in this thesis. Also, secondary information that was gathered but not needed in the arguments put forward in this thesis was also omitted with the goal of protecting the identity of both the suicide terrorist and his or her family. Shaheed and non-Shaheed families were identified by case numbers as can be observed in Chapter 4 and as explained earlier even the person who assisted the author was given a pseudonym upon his request as he volunteered to do the data gathering exercise for this study discreetly for his own security as he was afraid that he may be called for questioning by security forces. Safety and security issues especially for people involved in the data gathering process in the terrorism field is always an issue so Hanna was advised by the author not to take any unnecessary risks when making contact with people that may have links to individuals who may be considered to be involved in terrorism activities or with terrorist organisations.

The guidance of the School Research Ethical Panel (SREP) was sought throughout the whole process of the adaptation of the instrumentation and questionnaires used. Even after the piloting stage when the interview was converted into a questionnaire the guidance of SREP was sought so that any alterations or amendments were made in-line with SREP recommendations. Appendix 2 is an email granting final approval with recommendations for minor amendments. The email listed as Appendix 2 (SREP email through Ms. Kirsty Thomson) was received after the interview was changed into a tailor made questionnaire.

Ethical procedures were followed in the instrumentation, letter of information to participants and consent form as suggested by SREP but also in the way the data gathering procedure was conducted. SREP requested assurance that psychological help is to be provided if and when necessary to the participants. The TA' AWON Institute for Conflict Resolution offered such a support in the eventuality that such a need would arise. Hannah made sure that every participant knew about this service that was offered to all participants if and when needed by giving them the contact details of the institute. The chairperson of this organisation at the time was Mr. Ibrahim Rabaia who offered his full support. In fact at one particular Shaheed family residence during the data gathering process a mother of a Shaheed started crying incessantly and could not be consoled by anyone. The person conducting the data gathering process stopped as instructed during the training process and gave the family the contact details of the TA' AWON Institute. After leaving their home he made contact with the researcher in Malta, again as was advised during the training stage. After communicating with the researcher what had happened at the family home, he was advised by the latter not to attempt again to do the interview with this family but instead to find another Shaheed family as a replacement. He was also advised to pay a visit to this family the next day to check on the well-being of the mother. It was also suggested that he would encourage the family to make contact with the TA' AWON Institute so that the mother will be supported. It was reported that the mother was calm and collected the next day and that she did not feel the

need to seek psychological support. Notwithstanding, they were reminded that this psychological service was still available if and when they needed it.

Special care was taken not to use the phrases "suicide terrorist" or "suicide bomber" as both these phrases may be offensive to families especially to those Palestinian families who lost relatives in the Palestinian – Israeli conflict. Such special care was taken both during verbal communication but also as regards written documentation and instruments handed to family members. This advice was given to me by the person that was entrusted with the data gathering and it was also confirmed by Post et. al. (2003) where one of the terrorist participants in this study became upset at the word "suicide" and wanted the word "martyrdom" or "Istashhad" to be used.

### **3.6 Data Analysis**

Hanna had already tried to come to Europe but was blocked by the IDF at the Jordanian border and consequently had lost his air ticket and also his payment for his accommodation. This was some months prior to when the data capture process was done. This is an experience that Palestinians pass through regularly. It was also an ordeal for Ibrahim Rabaia to come to Malta to learn English. Hanna decided to use the money he earned from this research project to try his luck again and attempt to come to Europe. The first time he wanted to go to Italy. This time he decided to come to Malta. He did manage to arrive in Malta in December 2015 and the opportunity was taken to translate the data from Arabic to English. The advice of Mr. George Bonello, the Arabic language teacher was sought. Mr. Bonello commented that Hanna's translations were found to be very faithful to the Arabic versions, as expressed by the participants. This information was used in the building of the case studies presented here under. The case studies were partly built by comparing the answers of all the participants from each family in the General Questionnaire. They also referred to the FIRO-B adapted version, BFRS and MARS scores given by the participants from the family. When there was a

lack of agreement between the scores given by the participants from each family an average was worked out.

Qualitative and quantitative data analysis was used. The qualitative part consisted of case studies of Shaheed and non-Shaheed individuals. As regards quantitative analysis this consisted of descriptive statistics such as bar charts showing means. As measures are not normally distributed difference in Means between groups were shown using the Mann Whitney Test. Pearson correlations were also used between different variables as an indication of any possible relationships between these variables. Scatter graphs were used to indicate differences between the Shaheed and non-Shaheed groups.

# **Chapter 4 Shaheed and Non-Shaheed Case Studies**

## **4.1 Introduction**

Nine case studies will be presented hereunder five of them deal with Shaheed individuals and their families while the rest look into four non-Shaheeds and their families. These case studies will mostly focus on the family relationships and religiosity of the families but also the personality and religiosity of the Shaheed or non-Shaheed individuals referred to also as reference persons.

## **4.2 Case Study: Shaheed 1**

### **4.2.1 General Details**

The Shaheed in this family is a male, the elder brother in the family, who was aged 26 when he committed his suicide operation. From this family the mother, a sister and a brother participated. Their ages were 60, 25 and 40 years respectively. The Shaheed undertook his Istashhad through suicide bombing.

The participants reported that the Shaheed did Istashhad in order to revenge what the Israelis did to the Palestinian people, for his land and his God and to be close to God and to defend his land. However, the family did not face any serious problems or concerns in the time period from when the Shaheed was a child up to when he committed Istashhad. The participants stated that the Shaheed was never encouraged to do Istashhad. The person, a Palestinian from Ramallah, who visited the family home during the data gathering phase sensed that even if the Shaheed was encouraged by someone to do Istashhad, the family was fearful to give any details.

#### **4.2.2 Family Relationships**

This family reported that they always felt “a sense of togetherness” and that they always helped and gave support to each other. They helped each other by giving money and solving each other’s problems. The father and the Shaheed who was the eldest helped most. It was reported that the family never experienced serious conflicts between them and that they rarely had arguments and that these were verbal arguments, after which they always made peace. The Shaheed was a catalyst in making reconciliation, this was mostly based on forgiving and forgetting wrongdoings. The person who got angry most in the family was the father. Participants reported that there was a high absence of anger and conflict in the family. The absence of conflict and anger in the family was reported to be 100 (Range 6-120) on the Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) (Ching Ting Fok, Allen, Henry & People Awakening Team 2011) (Table 1). According to this scale it can be deduced that situations where serious conflicts occurred between members in which they became very angry at each other were very uncommon.

It was reported that the father and the mother made the important decisions in the family. There rarely were punishments for the children who broke rules in the family and when there was these were verbal punishments. Verbal punishments, in the form of admonitions, were administered by the mother as it was reported that the father was away most of the time due to work commitments, so when the father was away the mother took charge. It was also reported that the mother did not get angry as much as the father and that she tried to solve problems in a humoristic way.

Cohesion in this family was also reported to be high on the BFRS scale (Cohesion 122, Range 7-140) (Table 1). This was confirmed by the participants who considered themselves to be highly inseparable, however they did not find it difficult to be separated from each other if the need arose. On the other hand they were very much dependent on each other but not

always discussed aspects of their life within the family. They very frequently sought advice from other family members on most issues. The family adapted highly so that the needs of different family members are met.

At the time when the Shaheed did his suicide operation the family had a grandmother living with them. The Shaheed got along well with everyone, but he mostly got along best with the youngest brother. Moreover there was no one in the family with whom the Shaheed did not get along well. It was also reported that everyone in the family was close to each other, again confirming the high BFRS Cohesion score. It seemed that the mother was the one who mostly showed love and affection in the family, but the father did also show affection towards the family members. Love and affection in the family was shown through kind words, being calm and "by giving all that we needed and more" stated one of the siblings of the Shaheed. There was disagreement among the participants as regards to who was most able to comfort the person who was in distress. The mother and the Shaheed were reported to comfort such a family member however another participant considered every member in the family as being able to provide such comfort in time of need. It also seemed that the brothers in the family, including the Shaheed got along extremely well together. It was indicated by the participants that the Shaheed understood mostly the family members, but as regards this the mother was also indicated. So it seems that the family members had the possibility to express themselves and their opinions, at least with the mother and the Shaheed, hence the high score of Expressiveness on the BFRS Scale (44, Range 3-60) (Table 1). The participants unanimously confirmed that the parents of the Shaheed were happily married.

The Shaheed was indicated by more than one participant to be the family member who was most fun to be with, however the middle brother was also indicated as a pleasant character to be with. The family did a number of activities that were both work or fun related together, these included; picnics and visiting relatives, picking olives during olive harvest time and

farming the land, organising Bar BQs and parties, doing housework, participating in the village feasts such as weddings that are really and truly village celebrations in the Palestinian culture.

The participants perceived their family to be different from other families since they feel that they are more united and love more each other and also since they simplify more the problems they encounter. They feel different also because, as one of the participants stated the home that has a Shaheed is very special and in fact they have special respect from others. It seems that there is disagreement between the family members as to whether or not they wish that things and situations were different in their family. Notwithstanding, the above shows that family members had very healthy and strong family relationships between them, this is confirmed by Speckhard (2012) who describes the Shaheed Palestinian families that she studied through her diary accounts and interviews as having healthy family relationships.

Description of Family Relationship	Range	Score	%
Cohesion (support)	7 – 140	122	87
Expressiveness (expression of opinion)	3 – 60	44	73
Absence of Conflict (angry conflict)	6 – 120	100	83

Table 1. Shaheed 1: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores

### 4.2.3 Personality of the Shaheed

The FIRO-B (Schutz, 1958; 1992; 1994) was used to describe the personality of the Shaheed through the eyes of his relatives. He is reported to be very high on Received Inclusion (48, Range 9-54) Table 2, this shows that he received a lot of attention from others, was very

popular with his friends and family but on the other hand he was not necessarily dominant (Youngs, 2004). In fact his family perceived him as sociable, moreover his brother stated that: "There was no one like him".

As regards Expressed Inclusion (38, Range 9-54) (table 2) shows that the Shaheed sought less popularity and attention than he received. In fact both the Shaheed and the members of his family who participated in this study considered him as being a humble person. He was described as a person who liked to help others. One may consider this resulting from the Expressed Inclusion need.

The Shaheed was very low on Received Control (16, Range 9-54) (Table 2) and more than double on Expressed Control (34, Range 9-54) (Table 2). In fact he saw himself as, a leader, and as a responsible person. He also perceived himself as a good role model and exemplary to others. It was also indicated that the Shaheed was mostly autonomous and nobody controlled his decisions, also he felt that he should do more. This is very contrary to what Merari, Diamant, Bibi, Broshi, & Zakin (2010) put forward. They explain that Shaheeds are of the Dependant- Avoidant Personality type who are easily controlled by others namely the groups they belong to and moreover by their leaders. On the other hand it was reported that the Shaheed was influenced by one of his brothers and that the mother was his role model. Notwithstanding this, but even after considering his Expressed and Received Control values it is difficult to consider the Shaheed as being manipulated by anyone. Mahoney & Stasson (2005) found out that Received Control is positively related to The Big Five trait of neuroticism. Consequently individuals low on Received Control are to be found low on the Neuroticism trait. This is contrary to what Merari et. al. (2010) suggests. Merari et. al. (2010) describes Shaheeds as depressive and with unstable emotions. The family reported that they did have a member who felt helpless and depressed but this member was never indicated.

On the other hand the Shaheed was described to never isolate himself from the other family members and was perceived as being humorous.

The Shaheed was reported to have an Expressed Openness of 38 (Range 9 -54) (Table 2). This shows that the Shaheed showed love and belongingness to the people who were closest to him, his family. As regards Received Openness, the Shaheed was reported to score 30 (Range 9 - 54) (Table 2). This may not be considered to be a high score but mid-range though surely not in the low range. This means that the Shaheed rapport with his family members was one that elicited love and care in his favour. On the other hand Merari (2010) explains that for a Shaheed love and belongingness was not important. He explains further that Shaheeds were kind of disengaged from their relatives and family members. However this does not seem to be true for this individual who was very much loved by his family and also was reported to be a very loving family member.

FIRO Element	Range	Score	%
Received Inclusion	9 – 54	48	89
Expressed Inclusion	9 – 54	38	70
Received Control	9 – 54	16	30
Expressed Control	9 – 54	34	63
Received Openness	9 – 54	30	56
Expressed Openness	9 – 54	38	70

Table 2. Shaheed 1: FIRO-B Shaheed scores

#### 4.2.4 Religiosity

Religion was reported to be very important in the family and that they frequented the Mosque quite often. Most of the family members went to the Mosque on Fridays. The brothers including the Shaheed frequented mostly the Mosque, but other members, such as the mother and sister were reported to go to the Mosque on Fridays as well. They did pray sometimes as a family and all the family members, especially the father and the brothers participated. They also feel a lot of spiritual (religious) unity in their home.

The Shaheed was reported to score 69 (Range 14 – 70) (Table 3) on the Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS) (Wilde and Joseph, 1997). This is considered to be a very high

score which means that the Shaheed was very religious. Pape (2005) explains that religiosity fuels suicide terrorism. Also, Wilde and Joseph (1997) found out that individuals scoring high on the MARS Scale score low on the Psychoticism Scale of the Eysenck Personality Scale (EPS). Hence are less aggressive, less egocentric, less unsympathetic and less manipulative, these characteristics confirm the description of the qualities of the Shaheed given by the 3 family member participants. Wilde and Joseph (1997) found a positive relationship between the lie scale on the EPS and the MARS. Denoting that people scoring high on the MARS seek social desirability, hence want to be liked by others, this again fits well in his personality profile.

	Range	Score	%
Religiosity	14 – 70	69	99

Table 3. Shaheed 1: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)

**4.2.5 Concluding Comments**

The family had no members involved in crime and delinquency. In addition to this the participants reported that the Shaheed was never involved in crime and delinquency. However, one of the participants reported that the Shaheed was once arrested and taken to prison.

The family miss the Shaheed that is why they are very sad and pray for him so that he may be in haven. On the other hand they feel proud and “all the children in the house” (the extended family) “want to be like him”. He was considered by the family to be a very special person. The family passed through a terrible ordeal after the Istashhad. The grandmother who lived with the family suffered a heart attack and died and all the brothers were arrested. The family is very sad because they lost the elder brother. Also, the Shaheed was engaged

to a girl and was about to get married (Istashhad happened just before they were about to get married). For 10 years his fiancée refused to get married until the Shaheed's mother suggested that she should get married. In fact she got married and named her first son for the Shaheed.

## **4.3 Case Study: Shaheed 2**

### **4.3.1 General Details**

The Shaheed in this family is a male father who was aged 32 when he committed his suicide operation. From this family the wife, and a daughter of the Shaheed participated. Their ages at the time of their participation were 43 and 21 years respectively. The Shaheed undertook his Istashhad in a particular way by means of shooting another individual that if mentioned may lead to the identification of himself and his family. The participants reported that the Shaheed did Istashhad "for his land, for Palestine".

### **4.3.2 Family Relationships**

This family reported that they always felt "a sense of togetherness" and that they helped and gave support to each other. They helped at home with the housework. Everyone helped with the housework. It was reported that the family rarely had conflicts and fighting episodes between them and when there were these were verbal arguments, after which they always made peace by apologizing. The person who got angry most in the family was the mother (the wife of the Shaheed). Participants reported that there was a high absence of anger and conflict in the family. The absence of conflict and anger in the family was reported to be 75 (Range 6-120) on the Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) (Ching Ting Fok et. al., 2011) (Table 4). According to this scale it can be deduced that situations where serious conflicts occurred between members in which they became very angry at each other were uncommon.

It was reported that the father and the mother made the important decisions in the family. Punishments for the children who broke rules in the family were not so often and when there was these consisted of denying certain things or privileges. Punishments were administered by the mother. The mother's discipline may have been different as to how the father (the Shaheed) handled situations where disciplinary measures needed to be taken. It was reported that the mother gave a lot of importance to education and schooling.

Cohesion in this family was also reported to be high on the BFRS scale (Cohesion 127, Range 7-140) (Table 4). This was confirmed by the participants who considered themselves to be highly inseparable. They also found it difficult to be separated from each other. Aspects of the family members' individual life were not always discussed within the family. However, they very frequently sought advice from other family members on most issues. The family adapted highly so that the needs of different family members are met.

At the time when the Shaheed did his suicide operation the family lived at home as a nuclear family. The Shaheed got along very well with his wife and elder daughter and his brothers. It was also reported that everyone in the family was close to each other, again confirming the high BFRS Cohesion score. It seemed that both the mother and the father (the Shaheed) were the ones who mostly showed love and affection in the family. Love and affection in the family were shown through giving gifts, saying nice words to each other, kissing and going on vacation trips in Palestine. Both parents were reported to be able to comfort other members of the family in time of need. The Shaheed was reported that he got along well with all the other members of both the nuclear and extended family. It was indicated by the participants that the Shaheed understood mostly the family members, but as regards this the mother was also indicated. So it seems that the family members had the possibility to express themselves and their opinions, with both the mother and the father (the Shaheed), hence the high score

of Expressiveness on the BFRS Scale (47, Range 3-60) (Table 4). The participants unanimously confirmed that the parents of the Shaheed were happily married.

The Shaheed was indicated to be the family member who was most fun to be with. The family did a number of fun things together, these included; picnics and visiting relatives and organizing fun activities like parties.

The participants perceived their family not to be different from other families. Participants prefer situations in their family to be different than they actually are or were in the past. Though this was not specified it is legitimate to assume that after the death of the father (the Shaheed) hardships were endured by all the family members. Notwithstanding, the above shows that family members had very healthy and strong family relationships between them, this is confirmed by Speckhard (2012) who describes the Shaheed Palestinian families that she studied through her diary accounts and interviews as having healthy family relationships.

Description of Family Relationship	Range	Score	%
Cohesion (support)	7 - 140	127	91
Expressiveness (expression of opinion)	3 - 60	47	78
Absence of Conflict (angry conflict)	6 - 120	75	63

Table 4. Shaheed 2: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores

### **4.3.3 Personality of the Shaheed**

The FIRO-B (Schutz, 1958; 1992; 1994) was used to describe the personality of the Shaheed through the eyes of his relatives. He is reported to be very high on Received Inclusion (48, Range 9-54) Table 5, this shows that he received a lot of attention from others, was very popular with his friends and family but on the other hand he was not necessarily dominant (Youngs, 2004). In fact he is described as generous and humorous.

As regards Expressed Inclusion (42, Range 9-54) (table 5) shows that the Shaheed may have sought less popularity and attention than he actually received. In fact the Shaheed was perceived by members of his family who participated in this study to be generous and that he liked everyone. One may consider this resulting from the Expressed Inclusion need.

The Shaheed was low on Received Control (21, Range 9-54) (Table 5) and higher on Expressed Control (37, Range 9-54) (Table 5). In fact he saw himself as, a leader, ambitious and a dreamer. He was also very patriotic and an active member of the Fatah military wing. This contrasts to what Merari et. al. (2010) suggest. They explain that Shaheeds are of the Dependant-Avoidant Personality type who are easily controlled by others namely the groups they belong to and moreover by their leaders. On the other hand it was reported that the Shaheed's role model was his father (the grandfather of the daughter's participant) and the prophet Mohammed. Notwithstanding this, but even after considering his Expressed and Received Control values it is difficult to consider the Shaheed as being easily manipulated by anyone. Mahoney & Stasson (2005) found out that Received Control is positively related to The Big Five trait of neuroticism. Consequently individuals low on Received Control are to be found low on the Neuroticism trait. This is contrary to what Merari et. al. (2010) suggests. Shaheeds are described by Merari et. al. (2010) as depressive and with unstable emotions. The family reported that they did not have any member in the family who felt helpless and depressed. Also, the Shaheed was described to never isolate himself from the other family

members and was perceived to be generous, humorous and liked everyone. The Shaheed was reported that he perceived himself to be ambitious, a dreamer, humble, humorous, a leader and very patriotic as he was a member of the Palestinian Intelligence.

The Shaheed was reported to have an Expressed Openness of 43 (Range 9 -54) (Table 5). This shows that the Shaheed showed love and belongingness to the people who were closest to him, his family. As regards Received Openness, the Shaheed was reported to score 26 (Range 9 - 54) (Table 5). This may not be considered to be a high score but mid-range though surely not in the low range. This means that the Shaheed rapport with his family members was one that elicited love and care in his favour. On the other hand Merari (2010) explains that for a Shaheed love and belongingness was not important. He explains further that Shaheeds were kind of disengaged from their relatives and family members. However this does not seem to be so for this individual who was very much loved by his family and also he was reported to be a very loving father.

FIRO Element	Range	Score	%
Received Inclusion	9 – 54	48	89
Expressed Inclusion	9 – 54	42	78
Received Control	9 – 54	21	39
Expressed Control	9 – 54	37	69
Received Openness	9 – 54	26	48
Expressed Openness	9 – 54	43	80

Table 5. Shaheed 2: FIRO-B Shaheed scores

#### 4.3.4 Religiosity

Religion was reported to be very important in the family. However, they only frequented the Mosque sometimes and only the father (the Shaheed) and the mother went to the Mosque on Fridays. They did pray sometimes as a family and most of the family members, especially the father and the mother participated.

The Shaheed was reported to score 69 (Range 14 – 70) (Table 6) on the Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS) (Wilde and Joseph 1997). This is considered to be a very high score which means that the Shaheed was very religious. Pape (2005) explains that religiosity fuels suicide terrorism. Also, Wilde and Joseph (1997) found out that individuals scoring high

on the MARS Scale score low on the Psychoticism Scale of the EPS. Hence are less aggressive, less egocentric, less unsympathetic and less manipulative, such characteristics are congruent with how these 2 participants describe the Shaheed. Wilde and Joseph (1997) found a positive relationship between the lie scale on the EPS and the MARS. Denoting that people scoring high on the MARS seek social desirability, hence want to be liked by others, this again fits well in his personality profile.

	Range	Score	%
Religiosity	14 – 70	69	99

Table 6. Shaheed 2: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)

**4.3.5 Concluding Comments**

The family had no members involved in crime and delinquency. In addition to this the participants reported that the Shaheed was never involved in crime and delinquency. However, it was reported that on several occasions the Shaheed was arrested and imprisoned for long periods.

The family miss the Shaheed that is why they are very sad, however they are proud of his Istashhad. The family passed through a terrible ordeal after the Istashhad. The mother (wife of the Shaheed reported that: "The children lost their father and we feel empty". The daughter explains that "from a happy and humorous family" they became "a sad family because there are no emotions in the family as the father (the Shaheed) gave a lot of love in the family".

## **4.4 Case Study: Shaheed 3**

### **4.4.1 General Details**

The Shaheed in this family is a male, the second brother in the family, who was aged 20 when he committed his suicide operation. From this family the father, and the 7<sup>th</sup> brother participated. Their ages were 76 and 26 years respectively at the time when they were participating in the study. The Shaheed undertook his Istashhad by means of suicide bombing.

Though these 2 participants were reporting about the suicide bomber mentioned above, this family has 2 other members who died fighting for the Palestinian cause. Though these are not considered as undergoing suicide operations, they are considered to be also Shaheeds by both the Palestinian community and their family since they died defending their homeland. Both of them died defending their camp against the IDF.

The participants reported that the Shaheed did Istashhad for Palestine (the homeland), the Palestinian cause and the people who died resisting the IDF when they attempted entry into their camp (2 of these were his brothers). The family's concerns from the childhood of the Shaheed to the time of his Istashhad seem to be more on the macro level, such as the Palestinian cause or the well-being of the people in the camp than more particularly surrounding the family itself. The participants stated that the Shaheed was never encouraged to do Istashhad.

### **4.4.2 Family Relationships**

This family reported that they always felt "a sense of togetherness" and that they always helped and gave support to each other. They helped each other by giving money to each other, helping with the construction of the home and with the housework. The father, mother, brothers and sisters, everyone helped. It was reported that the family never experienced

serious conflicts between them and that if there were any disagreements these led to verbal arguments without insults, after which they always made peace. The father and the mother initiated the reconciliation process, this was mostly done through kind words. No particular member was pinpointed as getting angry most. Participants reported that there was a high absence of anger and conflict in the family. The absence of conflict and anger in the family was reported to be 116 (Range 6-120) on the Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) (Ching Ting Fok et. al., 2011) (Table 7). According to this scale it can be deduced that situations where serious conflicts occurred between members in which they became very angry at each other were very uncommon.

It was reported that the father, the mother and the elder brother made the important decisions in the family. There were no punishments for the children who broke rules in the family. It was also reported that no one in particular got angry most.

Cohesion in this family was also reported to be high on the BFRS scale (Cohesion 140, Range 7-140) (Table 7). This was confirmed by the participants who considered themselves to be highly inseparable, consequently they found it difficult to be separated from each other if the need arose. On the other hand they were immensely dependent on each other and they always discussed aspects of their life within the family. They always sought advice from other family members on most issues. The family always adapted so that the needs of different family members are met.

The Shaheed got along well with the mother. There was no one in the family with whom the Shaheed did not get along well with. It was also reported that everyone in the family was close to each other, again confirming the high BFRS Cohesion score. It seemed that the mother was the one who mostly showed love and affection in the family. Love and affection in the family was shown verbally by saying kind words, by showing emotions in sharing loving

feelings and treatment of each other in a respectful manner. The mother was most able to comfort the member of the family who was in distress. It was indicated by the participants that the eldest brother who died defending the camp was the member who mostly understood the other members. So it seems that the family members had the possibility to express themselves and their opinions, with both the mother and the eldest brother, hence the highest possible score of Expressiveness on the BFRS Scale (60, Range 3-60) (Table 7). Both participants confirmed that the parents of the Shaheed were happily married.

The Shaheed and both brothers who died defending the camp, who are also considered to be martyrs were indicated by both participants to be the family members who were most fun to be with. The family did a number of fun and work activities together, these included; spending the evenings together eating and joking, visiting relatives and friends and going for picnics, construction of their home, planning and helping in family weddings.

The participants perceived their family to be different from other families since they feel that they are more respected, good people and more religious. Both participants do not wish that things and situations were different in their family. The above shows that family members had very healthy and strong family relationships between them, this is confirmed by Speckhard (2012) who describes the Shaheed Palestinian families that she studied through her diary accounts and interviews as having healthy family relationships.

Description of Family Relationship	Range	Score	%
Cohesion (support)	7 – 140	140	100
Expressiveness (expression of opinion)	3 – 60	60	100
Absence of Conflict (angry conflict)	6 – 120	116	97

Table 7. Shaheed 3: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores

#### 4.4.3 Personality of the Shaheed

The FIRO-B (Schutz, 1958; 1992; 1994) was used to describe the personality of the Shaheed through the eyes of his relatives. He is reported to be very high on Received Inclusion (52, Range 9-54) (Table 8), this shows that he received a lot of attention from others, was very popular with his friends and family but on the other hand he was not necessarily dominant (Youngs, 2004). In fact his family perceived him as: kind hearted, humorous, sociable, and generous.

As regards Expressed Inclusion (49, Range 9-54) (Table 8) shows that the Shaheed sought less popularity and attention than he received. In fact it was reported by both participants from this family that the Shaheed perceived himself as being a humble person.

The Shaheed was very low on Received Control (11, Range 9-54) (Table 8) and very high on Expressed Control (50, Range 9-54) (Table 2). In fact he was perceived by the participants to be a leader. This is similar to other Shaheed case studies above and contrary to what Merari et. al. (2010) put forward. The latter argue that Shaheeds are of the Dependant-Avoidant Personality type who are easily controlled by others namely the groups they belong to and

moreover by their leaders. In actual fact it was reported by both family members that nobody influenced the Shaheed's decisions. So, after considering his Expressed and Received Control values it is difficult to consider the Shaheed as being easily manipulated. Mahoney & Stasson (2005) found out that Received Control is positively related to The Big Five trait of neuroticism. Consequently individuals low on Received Control are to be found low on the Neuroticism trait. This is contrary to what Merari et. al. (2010) suggests. This later study describes Shaheeds as depressive and with unstable emotions. Both family member participants reported that there was no member in their family who felt helpless and depressed. The Shaheed was reported by both family member participants to isolate himself. One of the participants stated that one month prior to the operation the Shaheed wanted to be left alone. This in no way should be considered as indicative of depression. Albeit it could be a manifestation of the *trance* like phenomenon that suicide bombers pass through when their operation draws nearer (Merari, 2010 & Speckhard, 2012).

The Shaheed was reported to have an Expressed Openness of 39 (Range 9 - 54) (Table 8). This shows that the Shaheed showed love and belongingness to the people who were closest to him, his family. As regards Received Openness, the Shaheed was reported to score 29 (Range 9 - 54) (Table 8). This may not be considered to be a high score but mid-range though surely not in the low range. This means that the Shaheed rapport with his family members was one that elicited love and care in his favour. On the other hand Merari (2010) explains that for a Shaheed love and belongingness was not important. He explains further that Shaheeds were kind of disengaged from their relatives and family members. However this is definitely not true for this individual who was very much loved by his family and also he was reported to be a very loving family member.

FIRO Element	Range	Score	%
Received Inclusion	9 – 54	52	96
Expressed Inclusion	9 – 54	49	91
Received Control	9 – 54	11	20
Expressed Control	9 – 54	50	93
Received Openness	9 – 54	29	54
Expressed Openness	9 – 54	39	72

Table 8. Shaheed 3: FIRO-B Shaheed scores

#### 4.4.4 Religiosity

Religion was reported to be very important in the family and that they frequented the Mosque quite often. The father, brothers including the Shaheeds frequented the Mosque on Fridays. They did pray sometimes as a family and all the family members, participated.

The Shaheed was reported to score 70 (Range 14 – 70) (Table 9) on the Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS) (Wilde and Joseph, 1997). This is considered to be the highest score which means that the Shaheed was extremely religious. Pape (2005) explains that religiosity fuels suicide terrorism. Also, Wilde and Joseph (1997) found out that individuals scoring high on the MARS Scale score low on the Psychoticism Scale of the (EPS). Hence are

less aggressive, less egocentric, less unsympathetic and less manipulative, these characteristics confirm the description of the qualities of the Shaheed given by both participants. Wilde and Joseph found a positive relationship between the lie scale on the EPS and the MARS. Denoting that people scoring high on the MARS seek social desirability, hence want to be liked by others, this again fits well in the Shaheed’s personality profile.

	Range	Score	%
Religiosity	14 – 70	70	100

Table 9. Shaheed 3: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)

**4.4.5 Concluding Comments**

The family had no members involved in crime and delinquency. In addition to this the participants reported that the Shaheed was never involved in crime and delinquency.

The family feels proud, safe and happy after the suicide bombing. Though their house and its contents were destroyed in several break-ins in their home and all of the family members were arrested. One of the participants stated that: he was “very proud” of his brother’s Istashhad while his father stated that: “Istashhad was a good thing that happened in the family”

**4.5 Case Study: Shaheed 4**

**4.5.1 General Details**

The Shaheed in this family is a male, the elder brother in the family, who was aged 22 when he committed his suicide operation. From this family the mother and the father participated.

Their ages were 56 and 57 years respectively. The Shaheed undertook his Istashhad through a suicide bombing operation.

The participants reported that the Shaheed did Istashhad in order to revenge what the Israelis did to the Palestinian people, as a reaction for Israeli injustice, to defend his people and Palestine. His mother explained that he believed in the Palestinian cause and the atmosphere where he lived encouraged and affected him. His father explained that he wanted to revenge the Martyrs (by the term Martyrs he meant those who were killed by the Israelis while fighting for the Palestinian cause). The father stated that the family did not face any serious problems or concerns in the time period from when the Shaheed was a child up to when he committed Istashhad. On the other hand the mother did indicate that there may have been some problems however she did not specify what they were. Both parents stated that they did not know whether their son, the Shaheed, was encouraged to do Istashhad. It is very likely that the parents were afraid to specify further details as to what lured their son to embark on a suicide operation. This was found to be quite a common occurrence among Shaheed families.

#### **4.5.2 Family Relationships**

Both parent participants reported that they always felt “a sense of togetherness” and that they always helped and gave support to each other. They stated that the siblings of the Shaheed helped their family by giving money to the father so that he could use for the family needs. Everyone helped in the family by giving their fair share. It was reported that the family never experienced conflicts between them and that they never had arguments. The Shaheed was a catalyst for peace in the family. No one in the family got particularly angry. Participants reported a very high absence of anger and conflict in the family. The absence of conflict and anger in the family was reported to be 116 (Range 6-120) on the Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) (Ching Ting Fok et. al., 2011) (Table 10). According to this scale it can be

deduced that situations where serious conflicts occurred between members in which they became very angry at each other were hardly existent.

It was reported that the father made the important decisions in the family. There were no need to give punishments to the children who broke rules in the family. It was also reported by both parent participants that they did not differ in the way they disciplined their children.

Cohesion in this family was reported to have the highest score on the BFRS scale (Cohesion 140, Range 7-140) (Table 10). This was confirmed by the participants who considered themselves to be highly inseparable and they did find it very difficult to be separated from each other if the need arose. They were also very much dependent on each other and they always sought advice from other family members on most issues. The family always adapted highly so that the needs of different family members are met.

The Shaheed got best along with his mother. There was no one in the family with whom the Shaheed did not get along well. It was also reported that everyone in the family was close to each other. This points again towards the highest possible BFRS Cohesion score. Both parent participants confirmed that it was the Shaheed and the eldest daughter who were the most loving in the family. Love and affection in the family was mostly shown by buying gifts for each other. Both parent participants considered themselves to be the members most able to comfort other members in the family who were in distress. It was reported by both participants that the Shaheed got along very well with everyone. It clearly seems that the family members had the possibility to express themselves and their opinions with a number of other family members. This is indicative of the highest score possible of Expressiveness on the BFRS Scale (60, Range 3-60) (Table 10). Both parent participants confirmed that they were happily married.

The Shaheed and his eldest brother were indicated by both parent participants to be the family members who were most fun to be with. The family did a number of fun things together, these included; spending the evenings together talking and eating good food.

The participants perceived their family to be different from other families since they feel that their family is more sociable, although they have less money. Also, it was stated that not all families are the same. They also see their family to be different as they see themselves to be more religious. Both participants are happy with the way things are in their family and they do not wish things to be different. The above shows that family members had very healthy and strong family relationships between them, this is confirmed by Speckhard (2012) who describes the Shaheed Palestinian families that she studied through her diary accounts and interviews as having healthy family relationships.

Description of Family Relationship	Range	Score	%
Cohesion (support)	7 – 140	140	100
Expressiveness (expression of opinion)	3 – 60	60	100
Absence of Conflict (angry conflict)	6 – 120	116	97

Table 10. Shaheed 4: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores

### 4.5.3 Personality of the Shaheed

The FIRO-B (Schutz, 1958; 1992; 1994) was used to describe the personality of the Shaheed through the eyes of his relatives. He is reported to have the highest possible score on Received Inclusion (54, Range 9-54) (Table 11), this shows that he received a lot of attention from

others, was extremely popular with his friends and family but on the other hand he was not necessarily dominant (Youngs, 2004). In fact his family perceived him as sociable.

As regards Expressed Inclusion (54, Range 9-54) (Table 11) shows that the Shaheed sought popularity and attention as much as he received. In fact both family member participants described the Shaheed as treating others very well by for example buying gifts and helping out both at home and in the family business. This may be considered to be the resultant effect from the Expressed Inclusion need which was the highest possible value.

The Shaheed was low on Received Control (25, Range 9-54) (Table11) and very much higher on Expressed Control (44, Range 9-54) (Table 11). In fact he was reported by both parent participants to be "determined" and as having a "strong personality". This is very contrary to what Merari et. al. (2010) suggests. They argue that Shaheeds are of the Dependant-Avoidant Personality type who are easily controlled by others namely the groups they belong to and moreover by their leaders. On the other hand both parent participants reported that the Shaheed's role model was his father but that nobody influenced his decisions. After considering the above and also both his Expressed and Received Control values it is difficult to consider the Shaheed as being manipulated by anyone. Mahoney & Stasson (2005) found out that Received Control is positively related to The Big Five trait of neuroticism. Consequently individuals low on Received Control are to be found low on the Neuroticism trait. This is contrary to what Merari et. al. (2010) suggests. This later mentioned study describes Shaheeds as depressive and with unstable emotions. The family reported that they did not have any member in their family who felt helpless and depressed. The Shaheed was described by the father as to never isolate himself from the other family members. However the mother stated that he did isolate himself but did not specify how.

The Shaheed was reported to have the highest possible score as regards Expressed Openness. This was found to be 54 (Range 9 -54) (Table 11). This shows that the Shaheed showed a lot of love and belongingness to the people who were closest to him, his family. As regards Received Openness, the Shaheed was reported to score 32 (Range 9 – 54) (Table 11). This may not be considered to be a very high score but slightly above the mid-range. This means that the Shaheed rapport with his family members was one that expressed a lot of love and care towards others, but he also received love and care in his favour, though less than what he gave. Merari (2010) explains that for a Shaheed love and belongingness was not important. He explains further that Shaheeds were kind of disengaged from their relatives and family members. However, this does not seem to be true for this individual who showed a lot of love but was also reported and in fact the FIRO-B scores do show that he showed love and affection to others.

FIRO Element	Range	Score	%
Received Inclusion	9 – 54	54	100
Expressed Inclusion	9 – 54	54	100
Received Control	9 – 54	25	46
Expressed Control	9 – 54	44	81
Received Openness	9 – 54	32	59
Expressed Openness	9 – 54	54	100

Table 11. Shaheed 4: FIRO-B Shaheed scores

#### 4.5.4 Religiosity

Religion was reported to be extremely important in the family and that they always went to the Mosque as a family. Most of the family members went to the Mosque on Fridays. The brothers including the Shaheed were reported by both participants as attending the Mosque on Fridays. They did pray sometimes as a family and all the family members participated.

The Shaheed was reported to score 70 (Range 14 – 70) (Table 12) on the Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS) (Wilde and Joseph, 1997). This is considered to be the highest possible score which means that the Shaheed was extremely religious. Pape (2005) explains that religiosity fuels suicide terrorism. Also, Wilde and Joseph (1997) found out that

individuals scoring high on the MARS Scale score low on the Psychoticism Scale of the Eysenck Personality Scale (EPS). Hence are less aggressive, less egocentric, less unsympathetic and less manipulative. In fact the Shaheed was reported to be loving and caring. Wilde and Joseph (1997) found a positive relationship between the lie scale on the EPS and the MARS. Denoting that people scoring high on the MARS seek social desirability, hence want to be liked by others, this again fits well in the Shaheed’s personality profile.

	Range	Score	%
Religiosity	14 – 70	70	100

Table 12. Shaheed 4: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)

**4.5.5 Concluding Comments**

The family had no members involved in crime and delinquency. In addition to this the participants reported that the Shaheed was never involved in crime and delinquency.

The mother explains: “we are proud because he walks in his forefathers’ footsteps but we are sad because we lost him. We miss him since he is not here anymore. They (IDF) bombed the home and arrested my husband” (the Shaheed’s father). The father explains: “we are very proud but sad because we miss him. Losing the son, missing him. The home bombed by the Israelis and being arrested”.

## **4.6 Case Study: Shaheed 5**

### **4.6.1 General Details**

The Shaheed in this family is a male who was aged 18 years when he committed his suicide operation. From this family the grandmother, and the mother participated. Their ages were 70 and 50 years respectively. The Shaheed undertook his Istashhad by means of suicide bombing.

The participants reported that the Shaheed did Istashhad for his homeland (Palestine), in order to revenge what the Israelis did to the Palestinian people. The mother stated that the Shaheed was never encouraged to do Istashhad, while the grandmother stated that she did not know whether her grandson was ever encouraged to do such an operation. The person, a Palestinian from Ramallah, who visited the family home during the data gathering phase sensed that even if the Shaheed was encouraged by someone to do Istashhad, the family was fearful to give any details. This occurred very often during the data gathering stage. In fact in this case at some point during the data gathering stage it was indicated that the Shaheed was encouraged to do Istashhad by the eldest brother who was in prison. Both participants (mother and grandmother) stated that the family did not face any serious problems or concerns in the time period from when the Shaheed was a child up to when he committed Istashhad, however it transpires that the mother was divorced when the Shaheed was a child and that he was raised by his mother, grandmother, grandfather and uncle.

### **4.6.2 Family Relationships**

This family reported that they always felt "a sense of togetherness" and that they always helped and gave support to each other. They helped each other by helping with the housework and supporting each other. The grandfather, grandmother, mother, brother and uncle helped most. It was reported that the family never experienced conflicts between them and that they

were a very peaceful family. They always discussed things together in a very peaceful manner. There was no one who got particularly angry in the family. Participants reported that there was a high absence of anger and conflict in the family. The absence of conflict and anger in the family was reported to be 115 (Range 6-120) on the Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) (Ching Ting Fok et. al., 2011) (Table 13). According to this scale it can be deduced that situations where serious conflicts occurred between members in which they became very angry at each other were highly uncommon.

It was reported that the grandfather made the important decisions in the family. Sometimes there were punishments for the Shaheed, as a child, when he broke the rules, these were both physical and verbal punishments. These did not include corporal punishments but denying things such as pocket money. These punishments were administered by the grandfather.

Cohesion in this family was reported to be the highest possible score on the BFRS scale (Cohesion 140, Range 7-140) (Table 13). This was confirmed by the participants who considered themselves to be highly inseparable. They did find it emotionally very difficult to be separated from each other if the need arose. They were very highly dependent on each other and always discussed aspects of their life within the family. They always sought advice from other family members on most issues. The family adapted very highly so that the needs of different family members are met.

The Shaheed got best along with the grandmother and the uncle. The Shaheed did not get along well with his grandfather but than it was also reported that both the grandfather and the Shaheed were close to each other. In addition, it was also reported that everyone in the family were close to each other, again confirming the high BFRS Cohesion score. It seemed that the mother and the grandmother were the ones who mostly showed love and affection

in the family. Love and affection in the family was shown through hugging and kissing and meeting each other's needs. Both the Martyr and the grandmother were most able to comfort the family member who was mostly in distress. It was indicated by the participants that the grandmother understood mostly the family members. So it seems that the family members had the possibility to express themselves and their opinions with a number of persons in the family, hence the highest possible score of Expressiveness on the BFRS Scale (60, Range 3-60) (Table 13). Both participants confirmed that the parents of the Shaheed were not happily married, in fact as stated earlier they were divorced.

The Shaheed was indicated by both participants to be the family member who was most fun to be with. The family members worked together in the home, doing for example housework. The participants perceived their family to be different from other families since they feel that they are more united and love more each other and also since they simplify more the problems they encounter. They feel different because they are a very strongly united family with the members being very close to each other. The participants state that they do not wish things to be different in their family. This family has had very healthy and strong family relationships between them. This is confirmed by Speckhard (2012) who explains that the Shaheed Palestinian families that she studied through her diary accounts and interviews have healthy family relationships.

Description of Family Relationship	Range	Score	%
Cohesion (support)	7 – 140	140	100
Expressiveness (expression of opinion)	3 – 60	60	100
Absence of Conflict (angry conflict)	6 – 120	115	96

Table 13. Shaheed 5: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores

### 4.6.3 Personality of the Shaheed

The FIRO-B (Schutz, 1958; 1992; 1994) was used to describe the personality of the Shaheed through the eyes of his relatives. He is reported to have the highest score on the Received Inclusion element (54, Range 9-54) (Table 14), this shows that he received a lot of attention from others, was very popular with his friends and family but on the other hand he was not necessarily dominant (Youngs, 2004).

As regards Expressed Inclusion (49, Range 9-54) (Table 14), this was found to be less than the Received Inclusion element. This shows that the Shaheed sought less popularity and attention than he received. He was described to be a generous person. One may consider being generous as resulting from the Expressed Inclusion need.

The Shaheed was very low on Received Control (20, Range 9-54) (Table 14) and more than double on Expressed Control (47, Range 9-54) (Table 14). In fact he saw himself as having a strong personality and being very patriotic. So he did not want to be controlled by Israelis, whom he saw as those occupying his land. This is very contrary to what Merari et. al. (2010) put forward. They contend that Shaheeds are of the Dependant-Avoidant Personality type who are easily controlled by others namely the groups they belong to and moreover by their

leaders. On the other hand it was reported that the Shaheed was influenced by his grandmother and his uncle. It was also reported that the grandfather, grandmother and uncle were his role models. Notwithstanding this, but even after considering his Expressed and Received Control values it is difficult to consider the Shaheed as being manipulated by anyone. Mahoney & Stasson (2005) found out that Received Control is positively related to The Big Five trait of neuroticism. Consequently individuals low on Received Control are to be found low on the Neuroticism trait. This is contrary to what Merari et. al. (2010) suggests. This later mentioned study describes Shaheeds as depressive and with unstable emotions. The family reported that they did not have any family members who felt helpless and depressed. Also, the Shaheed was described to never isolate himself from the other family members.

The Shaheed was reported to have the highest level of Expressed Openness of 54 (Range 9 - 54) (Table 14). This shows that the Shaheed showed a lot of love and belongingness to the people who were closest to him, his family. As regards Received Openness, the Shaheed was reported to score 37 (Range 9 – 54) (Table14). This may not be considered to be a high score but higher than mid-range. This means that the Shaheed rapport with his family members was one that elicited love and care in his favour, in fact he was described as being generous. On the other hand Merari (2010) argues that for a Shaheed love and belongingness were not important. He further contends that Shaheeds were kind of disengaged from their relatives and family members. However this does not seem to be true for this individual who was very much loved by his family and also he was reported to be a very loving family member as the Received and Expressed Openness scores indicate.

FIRO Element	Range	Score	%
Received Inclusion	9 – 54	54	100
Expressed Inclusion	9 – 54	49	91
Received Control	9 – 54	20	37
Expressed Control	9 – 54	47	87
Received Openness	9 – 54	37	69
Expressed Openness	9 – 54	54	100

Table 14. Shaheed 5: FIRO-B Shaheed scores

#### 4.6.4 Religiosity

Religion was reported to be extremely important in the family and that the grandfather and the Shaheed went to the Mosque quite often. They did pray sometimes as a family and all the family members who were at home during praying times participated.

The Shaheed was reported to score 68 (Range 14 – 70) (Table 15) on the Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS) (Wilde and Joseph, 1997). This is considered to be a very high score which means that the Shaheed was very religious. Pape (2005) explains that religiosity fuels suicide terrorism. Also, Wilde and Joseph (1997) found out that individuals scoring high on the MARS Scale score low on the Psychoticism Scale of the (EPS). Hence are less

aggressive, less egocentric, less unsympathetic and less manipulative. Wilde and Joseph (1997) found a positive relationship between the lie scale on the EPS and the MARS. Denoting that people scoring high on the MARS seek social desirability, hence want to be liked by others, this fits well in the Shaheed’s personality profile.

	Range	Score	%
Religiosity	14 – 70	68	99

Table 15. Shaheed 5: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)

**4.6.5 Concluding Comments**

The family had no members involved in crime and delinquency. In addition to this the participants reported that the Shaheed was never involved in crime and delinquency.

The mother states that the family feels proud but also sad because they lost him. The grandmother elaborates further explaining: “we are proud because what he did makes us proud”. She continues to explain that some of the family members are still arrested and that the IDF are still trying to destroy their home. This they cannot do because they, the Shaheed’s family do not own the home where they live so legally it cannot be destroyed as retribution for the Shaheed’s suicide bombing act.

## **4.7 Case Study: Non-Shaheed 1**

### **4.7.1 General Details**

The non-Shaheed or person of reference in this family is a female, the eldest sister in the family, who was aged 30 at the time of the interview. From this family the father, mother and a sister participated. Their ages were 50, 45 and 18 years respectively. The family did not face any serious problems or concerns in the time period from when the person of reference was a child up to her adulthood.

### **4.7.2 Family Relationships**

This family reported there wasn't always a feeling of "togetherness", this was only present sometimes as was the help and support given to each other. They helped each other by doing housework and everyone did his or her fair share. It was reported that sometimes the family had conflicts between them and that sometimes they had fights and that these were verbal arguments, after which they made peace most of the time verbally, by discussing things out. The eldest brother initiated the reconciliation process. The person who got angry most in the family was the father. Participants reported that there was a low level of absence of anger and conflict in the family. The absence of conflict and anger in the family was reported to be 52 (Range 6-120) on the Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) (Ching Ting Fok, et. al., 2011) (Table 16). According to this scale it can be deduced that situations where serious conflicts occurred between members in which they became very angry at each other were of average occurrence.

It was reported that the father made the important decisions in the family. There sometimes were punishments for the children who broke rules in the family and when there was these were both physical and verbal punishments. These punishments were administered by the father. The mother's disciplinary measures were similar to the father's.

Cohesion in this family was also reported to be higher than mid-range on the BFRS scale (Cohesion 95, Range 7-140) (Table 16). This was confirmed by the participants who considered themselves to be inseparable either sometimes or most of the time, however they did not find it emotionally hard to be separated from each other if the need arose. On the other hand they were either sometimes or most of the time dependent on each other and sometimes discussed aspects of their life within the family. They sometimes sought advice from other family members on most issues. The family sometimes adapted so that the needs of different family members are met.

The person of reference got best along with the youngest brother and the mother. However there was conflictual information, as it was also reported that the person of reference did not get along well with the mother. It was also reported that she did not get on well with both the middle and the eldest brother. It was also reported that not everyone in the family was close to each other, again confirming the slightly above mid-range BFRS Cohesion score. It seemed that the mother and a particular sister were the ones who mostly showed love and affection in the family. Love and affection in the family was shown verbally and through hugs and kissing. There was disagreement among the participants as regards to who was most able to comfort the person who was in distress. The eldest brother and a sister were reported to comfort such a family member. It was indicated by the participants that a sister and the eldest brother understood mostly the family members. Although the family members had the possibility to express themselves and their opinions, at least with the eldest brother and a sister, Expressiveness score on the BFRS Scale was only slightly above mid-range (39, Range 3-60) (Table 16). Not all participants agreed that the parents in this family were happily married.

The youngest brother was indicated by all the participants to be the family member who was most fun to be with. The family did a number of fun things together, these included; picnics and visiting relatives.

The participants did not perceive their family to be different from other families. Sometimes the participants do wish that things were different in their family. Considering all the above as regards to family relationships, it seems that this family does not enjoy strong healthy relationships between them. This is contrary to what has been shown with regards to Shaheed families as stated by Speckhard (2012) who describes the Shaheed Palestinian families that she studied through her diary accounts and interviews as having healthy family relationships.

Description of Family Relationship	Range	Score	%
Cohesion (support)	7 – 140	95	68
Expressiveness (expression of opinion)	3 – 60	39	65
Absence of Conflict (angry conflict)	6 – 120	52	43

Table 16. Non-Shaheed 1: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores

**4.7.3 Personality of the Non-Shaheed**

The FIRO-B (Schutz, 1958; 1992; 1994) was used to describe the personality of the person of reference through the eyes of her relatives. She is reported to be slightly above the mid-range as regards to Received Inclusion (36, Range 9-54) (Table 17), this shows that she received not so much attention from others, wasn't highly popular with her friends and family but on the other hand she may have been dominant at times (Youngs, 2004). Although, her

family perceived her as sociable but also having an entrepreneurship quality hence being an initiator. As regards Expressed Inclusion (42, Range 9-54) (Table 17) shows that the reference person sought popularity and attention approximately as much as she received. In fact, in the eyes of the participants the reference person perceived herself as a sociable person and they also considered her as being so.

The reference person was slightly above the mid-range on the Received Control element (33, Range 9-54) (Table 17) and slightly higher on the Expressed Control scale (41, Range 9-54) (Table 17). In fact she saw herself as: a leader, an entrepreneur and well educated. When considering her Expressed and Received Control values one can conclude that the person of reference exerted her control on other individuals slightly more than she allowed others to control her, hence her leadership and entrepreneurship qualities. The participants stated that the reference person never isolated herself from the other family members. Also, the family reported that they did not have any member who felt helpless and depressed.

The reference person was reported to have an Expressed Openness of 37 (Range 9 -54) (Table 17). This shows that the reference person showed love and belongingness to the people who were closest to her, her family. As regards Received Openness, the reference person was reported to score 31 (Range 9 - 54) (Table2). This may not be considered to be a high score but mid-range though surely not in the low range. This means that the reference person rapport with her family members was one that elicited love and care in her favour.

FIRO Element	Range	Score	%
Received Inclusion	9 – 54	36	67
Expressed Inclusion	9 – 54	42	78
Received Control	9 – 54	33	61
Expressed Control	9 – 54	41	76
Received Openness	9 – 54	31	57
Expressed Openness	9 – 54	37	69

Table 17. Non-Shaheed 1: FIRO-B Non-Shaheed scores

#### 4.7.4 Religiosity

Religion was reported not to be important in the family. The family members did not go often to the Mosque. The father and the mother frequented the Mosque on Fridays. The father did sometimes pray. This family is not very religious.

The person of reference was reported to score 28 (Range 14 – 70) (Table 18) on the Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS) (Wilde and Joseph, 1997). This is considered to be a low score which means that the person of reference was not found to be religious.

	Range	Score	%
Religiosity	14 – 70	28	40

Table 18. Non-Shaheed 1: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)

#### **4.7.5 Concluding Comments**

Contrary to the Shaheed families this non-Shaheed family does not enjoy as much healthy relationships like the Shaheed families. Again, in contrast to the Shaheeds this individual was low in Received Inclusion, hence not very much popular and included and relatively high in Received Control. As regards religiosity, dissimilar to what is typical of the Shaheed group, both this non-Shaheed individual and her family were found to be lower on religiosity.

### **4.8 Case Study: Non-Shaheed 2**

#### **4.8.1 General Details**

The person of reference in this family is a male, who was aged 23 at the time of the data capture. From this family the father, the mother and a brother participated. Their ages were 58, 45 and 25 years respectively. The family did not face any serious problems or concerns in the time period from when the reference person was a child up to his adulthood.

#### **4.8.2 Family Relationships**

The participants in this family reported that there was a high level of "*a sense of togetherness*" and that most of the time they did help and give support to each other. They helped each other by doing housework and working together, everyone helped. It was reported that it was not often that the family members experienced serious conflicts between themselves and that they did not fight they only had arguments due to different opinions. It was the father who

got angry most in the family. Participants reported that absence of anger and conflict in the family was slightly above the mid-range. The absence of conflict and anger in the family was reported to be 79 (Range 6-120) on the Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) (Ching Ting Fok et. al., 2011) (Table 19). According to this scale it can be deduced that situations where serious conflicts occurred between members in which they became very angry at each other did occur sometimes. This contrasts with what the participants reported that there was no fighting in the family.

It was reported that the father and the mother made the important decisions in the family. There rarely were punishments for the children who broke rules in the family and when there was these were verbal punishments. Verbal punishments were administered by the mother and father. It was reported that the mother's discipline was not different from the father's.

Cohesion in this family was reported to be high on the BFRS scale (Cohesion 132, Range 7-140) (Table 19). This was confirmed by the participants who considered themselves to be highly inseparable. In fact they did find it difficult to be separated from each other if the need arose. They were very much dependent on each other but discussed aspects of their life within the family only occasionally. They always sought advice from other family members on most issues. The family always adapted so that the needs of different family members are met.

The reference person got along with every member of the family, but he mostly got along best with his mother. The reference person did not get along well only with his father. The father and the mother were the ones who mostly showed love in the family. Love and affection in the family was shown through hugging and kissing. The mother and the sister were most able to provide such comfort in time of need. It seems that the family members had the possibility to express themselves and their opinions, at least with the mother and the sister in times of need, hence the high score of Expressiveness on the BFRS Scale (54, Range 3-60)

(Table 19). The participants unanimously confirmed that the parents of the non-Shaheed were happily married.

It was reported that all the family members were fun to be with. The family did a number of fun things together, these included; organising picnics and BAR BQs, working on the land and visiting relatives.

The participants perceived their family not to be different from other families in Palestine. Sometimes they do wish that things and situations would be different in their families. Considering the above, in this family there does seem to be good and healthy relationships between its members.

Description of Family Relationship	Range	Score	%
Cohesion (support)	7 – 140	132	94
Expressiveness (expression of opinion)	3 – 60	54	90
Absence of Conflict (angry conflict)	6 - 120	79	66

Table 19. Non-Shaheed 2: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores

**4.8.3 Personality of the Non-Shaheed**

The FIRO-B (Schutz, 1958; 1992; 1994) was used to describe the personality of the reference person through the eyes of his relatives. He is reported to be very high on Received Inclusion (50, Range 9-54) (Table 20), this shows that he received a lot of attention from others, was

very popular with his friends and family but on the other hand he was not necessarily dominant (Youngs, 2004). In fact his family perceived him as sociable.

As regards Expressed Inclusion (49, Range 9-54) (Table 20) shows that the reference person sought slightly less popularity and attention than he received. In fact the participants explained that the person of reference perceived himself to be generous. One may consider this resulting from the Expressed Inclusion need.

The person of reference was very low on Received Control (17, Range 9-54) (Table 20) and more than double on Expressed Control (48, Range 9-54) (Table 20). In fact he saw himself as, a leader, and he was also self-confident. It was also indicated that the person of reference was of a strong personality. The family reported that they did not have any family member who felt helpless and depressed and that he never isolated himself from the other family members.

The non-Shaheed was reported to have an Expressed Openness of 34 (Range 9 -54) (Table 20). This shows that the person of reference showed love and belongingness to the people who were closest to him, his family. As regards Received Openness, the non-Shaheed was reported to score 35 (Range 9 - 54) (Table 20). This may not be considered to be a high score but slightly above the mid-range. This means that the rapport of the person of reference with his family members was one that elicited love and care in his favour. In fact he was described to be an educated individual.

FIRO Element	Range	Score	%
Received Inclusion	9 – 54	50	93
Expressed Inclusion	9 – 54	49	91
Received Control	9 – 54	17	31
Expressed Control	9 – 54	48	89
Received Openness	9 – 54	35	65
Expressed Openness	9 – 54	34	63

Table 20. Non-Shaheed 2: FIRO-B Non-Shaheed scores

#### 4.8.4 Religiosity

Religion was not all that important in the family. They hardly prayed as a family and when they did it was the mother and the father who prayed. The person of reference was reported to score 39 (Range 14 – 70) (Table 21) on the Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS) (Wilde and Joseph, 1997). This is considered to be slightly above the mid-score which means that the person of reference was of average religiosity.

	Range	Score	%
Religiosity	14 – 70	39	56

Table 21. Non-Shaheed 2: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)

#### **4.8.5 Concluding Comments**

The participants reported that the family had no members involved in crime and delinquency. In this family there seems to be very positive family relationships, especially as regards supporting each other and expression of self and opinion. However there does seem to be some conflicts between family members. As regards to religiosity, this family does not seem to be that religious. The person of reference in this family likes to be included by others and is actually included, accepted and popular. The received control scores indicate that he does not want to be controlled by others though he does want to control others and situations, hence being dominant. The Received and Expressed Openness scores do indicate that the person of reference both receives from others and expresses emotions and closeness.

### **4.9 Case Study: Non-Shaheed 3**

#### **4.9.1 General Details**

The person of reference in this family is a male who was aged 18 at the time of the data capture. From this family a brother, a sister and another brother participated. Their ages were 45, 22 and 24 years respectively. The family did not face any serious problems or concerns in the time period from when the person of reference was a child up to his adulthood.

#### **4.9.2 Family Relationships**

This family reported that most of the time they did feel “a sense of togetherness” and that most of the time they did give support to each other. They helped each other by doing the housework and with other personal matters. Everyone gave his or her fair share. It was reported that occasionally the family did experience conflicts between them and that these rare conflicts were verbal arguments, after which they did not always make peace. Conflicts were resolved by discussing out certain issues. No family member in particular initiated the reconciliation process. The person who got angry most in the family was the father. It seems that there was a low absence of anger in this family especially due to the fact that it seems that the reconciliation processes after conflicts did not always take place. The absence of conflict and anger in the family was reported to be 36 (Range 6-120) on the Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) (Ching Ting Fok, et. al., 2011) (Table 22). According to this scale it can be deduced that situations where serious conflicts occurred between members in which they became very angry at each other were common and as explained earlier sometimes unresolved.

It was reported that the father made the important decisions in the family. There rarely were punishments for the children who broke rules in the family and when there was these were verbal punishments. Verbal punishments were administered by the mother and the father. It was also reported that the mother’s discipline was not different from that of the father’s.

Cohesion in this family was reported to be mid-range on the BFRS scale (Cohesion 76, Range 7-140) (Table 22). However, the participants considered themselves to be almost always inseparable, and they found it always emotionally difficult to be separated from each other if the need arose. They sometimes were dependent on each other and sometimes discussed aspects of their life with other family members. Also, they sometimes sought advice from

other family members on most issues. The family, sometimes adapted so that the needs of different family members are met.

The person of reference got along best with the middle brother. The reference person did not get along well with the youngest sister. It was also reported that the father and the youngest brother and the father and the eldest brother were very close to each other. It seemed that the middle brother was the one who mostly showed love and affection in the family. Love and affection in the family were shown through humour, joking and playing games together as a family. When someone was sad it was the mother who was most able to comfort such a family member. So it seems that the family members had the possibility to express themselves and their opinions, at least with the mother and the middle brother hence the high score of Expressiveness on the BFRS Scale (46, Range 3-60) (Table 22). The participants unanimously confirmed that the parents of the reference person were happily married.

The middle brother was indicated by more than one participant to be the family member who was most fun to be with. The family did a number of fun things together, these included; doing work at home and even house work, going to picnics and trips.

The participants did not perceive their family to be different from other families. The participants do not wish that things and situations were different in their family and they did prefer them as they were. The above shows that family members are able to express themselves and their opinion in their family, however cohesion and support is lower while absence of conflict and anger is lowest, denoting high anger levels.

Description of Family Relationship	Range	Score	%
Cohesion (support)	7 – 140	76	54
Expressiveness (expression of opinion)	3 – 60	46	77
Absence of Conflict (angry conflict)	6 – 120	36	30

Table 22. Non- Shaheed 3: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores

### 4.9.3 Personality of the Non-Shaheed

The FIRO-B (Schutz, 1958; 1992; 1994) was used to describe the personality of the reference person through the eyes of his relatives. He is reported to be slightly above mid-range as regards to Received Inclusion (36, Range 9-54) (Table 23), this shows that he received attention from others, is popular with his friends and family. In fact his family perceived him as sociable.

As regards Expressed Inclusion (42, Range 9-54) (Table 23) shows that the reference person sought more popularity and attention than he received. In fact both the reference person and the members of his family who participated in this study considered him as being a sociable person. He was described as a person who liked to help others. One may consider this resulting from the Expressed Inclusion need.

The reference person was high on both Received Control (39, Range 9-54) (Table 23) and Expressed Control (41, Range 9-54) (Table 23). In fact he saw himself and also was seen by the participants to be both, an entrepreneur and an initiator. It was reported that no one influenced or was considered to be a role model for the reference person. The family member

participants did not report that there were any members in this family who felt helpless and depressed. The reference person was described to never isolate himself from the other family members.

The reference person was reported to have an Expressed Openness of 35 (Range 9 -54) (Table 23). This shows that he showed love and belongingness to the people who were closest to him, his family. As regards Received Openness, the reference person was reported to score 33 (Range 9 - 54) (Table 23). This may not be considered to be a high score but slightly above mid-range. This means that the person of reference rapport with his family members and close friends was one that elicited love and care in his favour.

FIRO Element	Range	Score	%
Received Inclusion	9 - 54	36	67
Expressed Inclusion	9 - 54	42	78
Received Control	9 - 54	39	72
Expressed Control	9 - 54	41	76
Received Openness	9 - 54	33	61
Expressed Openness	9 - 54	35	65

Table 23. Non-Shaheed 3: FIRO-B Non-Shaheed scores

**4.9.4 Religiosity**

Religion was reported to be not so important in the family and that they rarely frequented the Mosque. It was only the eldest brother who sometimes frequented the Mosque. They never prayed as a family.

The reference person was reported to score 24 (Range 14 – 70) (Table 24) on the Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS) (Wilde and Joseph, 1997). This is considered to be a low score which means that the reference person was not religious.

	Range	Score	%
Religiosity	14 – 70	24	34

Table 24. Non-Shaheed 3: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)

**4.9.5 Concluding Comments**

The family had no members involved in crime and delinquency. In addition to this the participants reported that the reference person was never involved in crime and delinquency.

This family seems to have conflict and anger present among its family members however there seems to be a high level of expression of self and opinion among its members and there also exists a reasonable amount of cohesion and support among its members.

The person of reference in this family likes to be included by others and is actually included, accepted and popular less than he wishes. The Received Control score indicate that he is controlled by others though he does want to control others and situations, hence being dominant at times. The Received and Expressed Openness scores do indicate that the person of reference both receives from others and expresses emotions and closeness.

## **4.10 Case Study: Non-Shaheed 4**

### **4.10.1 General Details**

This person of reference in this family is a male who was aged 26 at the time of the data capture phase of the study. The person of reference left for the US sometime after his family was interviewed. From this family the father, the mother and a sister participated. Their ages were 56, 40 and 19 years respectively. This family did not face any serious problems or concerns in the time period from when the person of reference was a child up to adulthood.

### **4.10.2 Family Relationships**

This family reported that they always felt “a sense of togetherness” and that they always helped and gave support to each other. They helped each other by helping with the housework. Everyone helped, even the extended family. It was reported that the family did occasionally have conflicts between its members but there were no fights. These conflicts were always resolved peacefully. They reconciled by apologizing and talking in order to understand each other’s different viewpoints. The mother and eldest sister mostly helped in the reconciliation process. It was also stated that the person who started the conflict sometimes would initiate the process of reconciliation. The people who got angry most were the father, the mother, and the eldest brother. Absence of anger and conflict in the family was reported to be well above the mid-range value. The absence of conflict and anger in the family was reported to be 64 (Range 6-120) on the Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) (Ching Ting Fok et. al., 2011) (Table 25). According to this scale it can be deduced that situations where serious conflicts occurred between members in which they became very angry at each other were quite uncommon.

It was reported that the father and the eldest brother made the important decisions in the family. There rarely were punishments for the children who broke rules in the family and

when there were these verbal warnings. These verbal warnings were given either by the mother, by the eldest brother or eldest sister.

Cohesion in this family was reported to be high on the BFRS scale (Cohesion 119, Range 7-140) (Table 25). This was confirmed by the participants who considered themselves to be highly inseparable. In fact they always found it emotionally very difficult to be separated from each other. However, they were less dependent and it wasn't common to discuss aspects of their life within the family. They sometimes sought advice from other family members on most issues. The family adapted very often so that the needs of different family members are met.

The person of reference got best along with a brother and a cousin. There was no one in the family with whom the non-Shaheed did not get along well. It was also reported that the mother and the sisters were closest to each other. It seemed that the mother, the father and the eldest sister were the ones who mostly showed love and affection in the family. Love and affection in the family was shown by caring for the other family members and wishing them well. The mother, the father and a sister were most able to comfort the person who was in distress. It was indicated by the participants that the mother and the eldest sister understood best the family members. So it seems that the family members had the possibility to express themselves and their opinions, with the mother, the father and the eldest sister, hence the high score of Expressiveness on the BFRS Scale (54, Range 3-60) (Table 25). The participants unanimously confirmed that the parents of the non-Shaheed were happily married.

A number of family members were indicated as being fun to be with, this included a variety of siblings from the family and also a cousin. The family did a number of fun things together, these included; watching films, listening to a brother playing the oud (Arabic version of guitar), trips, dancing, Bar BQs, singing, picnics, and parties.

The participants did not perceive their family to be different from other families. It seems that there is disagreement between the family members as to whether or not they wish that things and situations were different in their family. Notwithstanding, the above shows that family members have quite healthy and reasonably good family relationships between them.

Description of Family Relationship	Range	Score	%
Cohesion (support)	7 – 140	119	85
Expressiveness (expression of opinion)	3 – 60	54	90
Absence of Conflict (angry conflict)	6 – 120	77	64

Table 25. Non-Shaheed 4: Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) Scores

**4.10.3 Personality of the Non-Shaheed**

The FIRO-B (Schutz, 1958;1992;1994) was used to describe the personality of the person of reference through the eyes of his relatives. He is reported to be high on Received Inclusion (38, Range 9-54) (Table 26), this shows that he received a good amount of attention from others and was popular with his friends and family.

As regards Expressed Inclusion (43, Range 9-54) (Table 26) shows that the reference person sought more popularity and attention than he received. In fact this may have given rise to him feeling nervous and angry. He was described as a person who liked to go to parties. This may be the result of the high score of both the Received and Expressed Inclusion elements.

The reference person was high on Received Control (41, Range 9-54) (Table 26), though he was described as being disobedient. In actual fact, he was found to be higher on the Expressed Control scale (42, Range 9-54) (Table 26). The family reported that they did not have any member who felt helpless and depressed. On the other hand the person of reference was described to isolate himself from the other family members but was perceived as being humorous.

The person of reference was reported to have an Expressed Openness of 36 (Range 9-54) (Table 26). This shows that he showed love and belongingness to the people who were closest to him, his family. As regards Received Openness, the person of reference was reported to score 31 (Range 9 – 54) (Table 26). This may be considered to be slightly above the mid-range. This means that the non-Shaheed rapport with his family members was one that elicited love and care in his favour.

FIRO Element	Range	Score	%
Received Inclusion	9 – 54	38	70
Expressed Inclusion	9 – 54	43	80
Received Control	9 – 54	41	76
Expressed Control	9 – 54	42	93
Received Openness	9 – 54	31	57
Expressed Openness	9 – 54	36	67

Table 26. Non-Shaheed 4: FIRO-B non-Shaheed scores

#### 4.10.4 Religiosity

Religion was reported to be not so important in the family and that they never went to the Mosque, except on very rare occasions. Sometimes both mother and father prayed together at home.

The person of reference was reported to score 39 (Range 14 – 70) (Table 27) on the Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS) (Wilde and Joseph, 1997). This is considered to be a mid-range score which means that the person of reference wasn't very religious.

	Range	Score	%
Religiosity	14 – 70	39	56

Table 27. Non-Shaheed 4: Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale (MARS)

#### **4.10.5 Concluding Comments**

The participants reported that the person of reference was never involved in crime and delinquency. In addition to this the family had no other members involved in crime and delinquency.

Both the person of reference and his family were not found to be very religious. The MARS score points out that the person of reference was found to have a mid-range score. As regards to family relationships in this family the BFRS confirms that there are very high levels of cohesion and support and expression of self and opinion. Though the person of reference was described as being angry, the BFRS confirms a high absence of anger and conflict in the family. As regards to the personality of the person of reference, high levels of both Received and Expressed Inclusion indicate that this person seeks both to be popular and accepted by others and in fact others do accept him, although a higher score of Expressed Inclusion indicates that the person of reference expects to be more popular and accepted by others than he actually is. Both Received and Expressed Control are high, although the latter is slightly higher. This shows that although this person may follow rules and regulations he does expect others to follow more his rules and regulations than he does, hence controlling both others and situations. This person was described and in actual fact both gives and receives love, shows his emotions and was described to be close to people.

While a Palestinian individual may seek a way out of the Palestinian ordeal through a suicide operation this individual decided to immigrate to the US, but who actually escaped the

occupation of his/her land and what is the best way to deal with such an issue? What causes a person to decide one way or another? How does family, religiosity and personality influence this decision?

#### **4.11 Conclusion**

The answer to the question as to which course of action may be taken by an individual may be considered to be very subjective. Some Individuals may consider suicide terrorism to be the best way to fight the occupation. It seems that religiosity, for those who committed Istashhad in the first and second intifada as perceived by the respective families among Palestinian Shaheeds, is an important factor. Family relationships are healthy in Shaheed families, which is contrary to what one may expect. Also Shaheeds seem to be loved and are also loved by their family members. They are not perceived to be depressed and want to fight their occupiers. They do not seem to have the dependent-avoidant personality type, moreover they are perceived to be leaders, having entrepreneurship qualities, who are initiators and are well motivated to fight those that they see as occupying their land.

# **Chapter 5 Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds: Perceived Religiosity, Perceived Personality and Family Relationships**

## **5.1 Introduction**

The aim of this research is to investigate if there is any type of family relationships that may encourage a person to undertake a suicide terrorist operation. It also aims to explore any personality traits that may encourage an individual to become a suicide terrorist. The importance of religiosity (Islamic religiosity) is also considered. The interrelationship between these variables that may influence an individual to decide to become a suicide terrorist is also investigated.

Shaheed and non-Shaheed families were asked to participate. The instruments used to measure these variables included:

- A tailor made questionnaire that gathered information regarding various aspects of both the family and the Shaheed or non-Shaheed individual. This included among other things; family life, delinquency and criminality, religiosity and mental health. This was mainly used to construct the descriptive parts of the case studies.
- Personality of both Shaheed and non-Shaheed individuals was measured through the respective family members' perceptions using an adapted version of the Fundamental Interpersonal Relationships Orientation – Behaviour (FIRO-B) (Schutz, 1958; 1992; 1994). FIRO theory is based on how an individual behaves in relation to others. So it is not simply based on the inner needs of a person but also on the external reaction towards other people's actions. Personality is measured on 3 levels; Inclusion (is about being included, accepted, and attention), Control (deals with power, authority and dominance) and Openness (affection and closeness). These 3 personality levels are

measured along two dimensions Expressed and Received as explained earlier on in Chapter 3.

- The 16 item Brief Family Relationship Scale (BFRS) (Ching Ting Fok, C., Allen, J., Henry, D. People Awakening Team, 2011) was used to measure the family dynamics. It measures 3 facets as regards family relationship: Cohesion, Expressiveness and Absence of Conflict and Anger in the family.
- An adapted version of the 14 item Muslim Attitude towards Religiosity Scale (MARS) (Wilde & Joseph, 1997) was used to measure the perceived religiosity of the Shaheed or the non-Shaheed in each family.

The hereunder results are based on the perceptions of family members of the Shaheeds and the non-Shaheeds in both family groups respectively. Religiosity of the Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds and absence of conflict and anger results for both the Shaheed and non-Shaheed family groups are presented hereunder. Means for religiosity of the Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds as perceived by their respective family members were found to be statistically significant. Means for absence of conflict and anger in Shaheed and non-Shaheed families were also found to be statistically significant. Received and Expressed Inclusion for the Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds are also compared and presented on a scatter graph. Personality variables of both the Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds are compared with their respective religiosity and depicted on scatter graphs. Family relationship variables for the Shaheed and non-Shaheed family groups are compared with religiosity of the Shaheed and non-Shaheed and presented on scatter graphs.

## **5.2 Religiosity**

Figure 1 depicts the MARS Scores as perceived by the family members for each participant. Individuals in the Shaheed group seem to be perceived by the family members to be high on

religiosity when compared with the individuals in the non- Shaheed group. The Mean of the MARS Scores is significantly higher for the Shaheed group (Mean=67.25) when compared with the non-Shaheed group (Mean=45.33). In fact when applying a Mann Whitney test this difference was found to be statistically significant with a p-value of 0.002 (Mann-Whitney Statistic value=20.5).

The above indicates that Shaheeds are perceived by their families to be more religious than non-Shaheeds. This has been expected among the Palestinian population as it confirms similar studies such as Fields, Elbedour, & Hein (2002) where 9 suicide terrorist families and friends were interviewed. They found out that 8 out of these terrorists were described by their family members and friends to be very religious. Schbley (2003) interviewing an opportunity sample of over 300 Hezbollah members, considered to be potential suicide terrorists attending a public manifestation commemorating The Day of Jerusalem reveals that religion is immensely important. Also, Hasan (2002) interviewed over 250 individuals from Palestinian refugee camps in Gaza found that these militants indeed believed that if they die as suicide terrorists they will gain physical entrance into heaven. It seems that militant terrorist groups using Islam indoctrinate individuals to become suicide terrorists. Suicide terrorism is not only sanctioned by Islamic teachings and preaching but also prospective suicide bombers are indoctrinated to believe that on completion of the act they will be highly rewarded.

This shows that religiosity is an important variable as regards to suicide terrorism, at least in the Palestinian context. However, there may be different interpretations of this result. One interpretation is that those who are more religious and consequently perceived to be so by their families are more likely to commit suicide terrorism. Another interpretation to this result is that it might be that those who commit suicide terrorism are more likely to be seen as highly religious by their families.

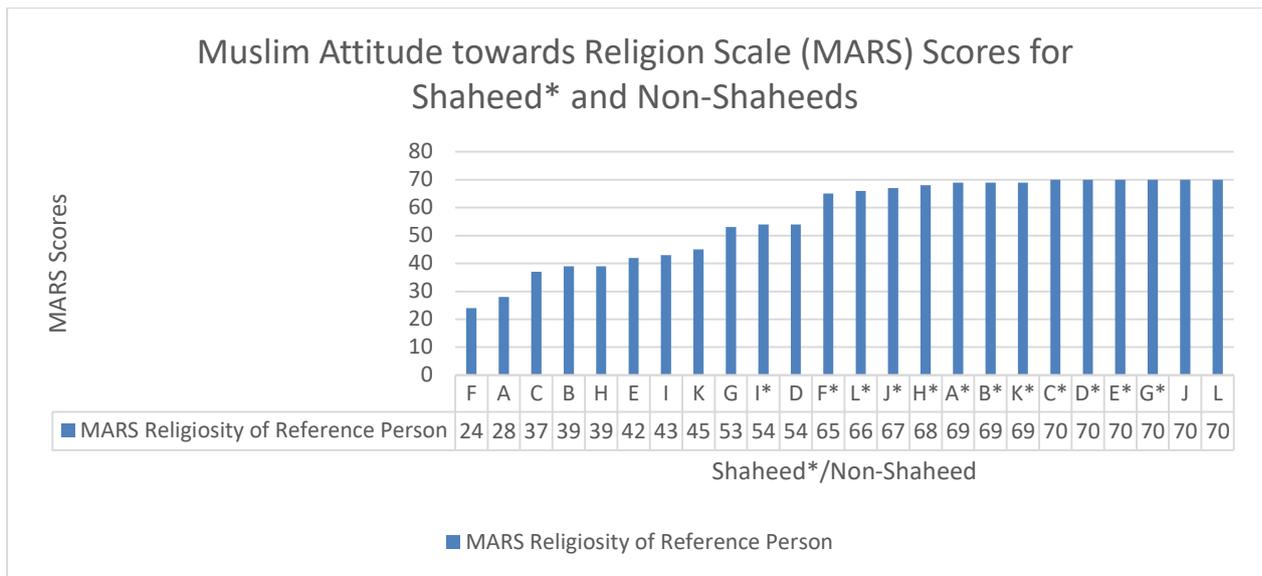


Figure 1: MARS Scores for Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds

### 5.3 Absence of Anger and Conflict in Families

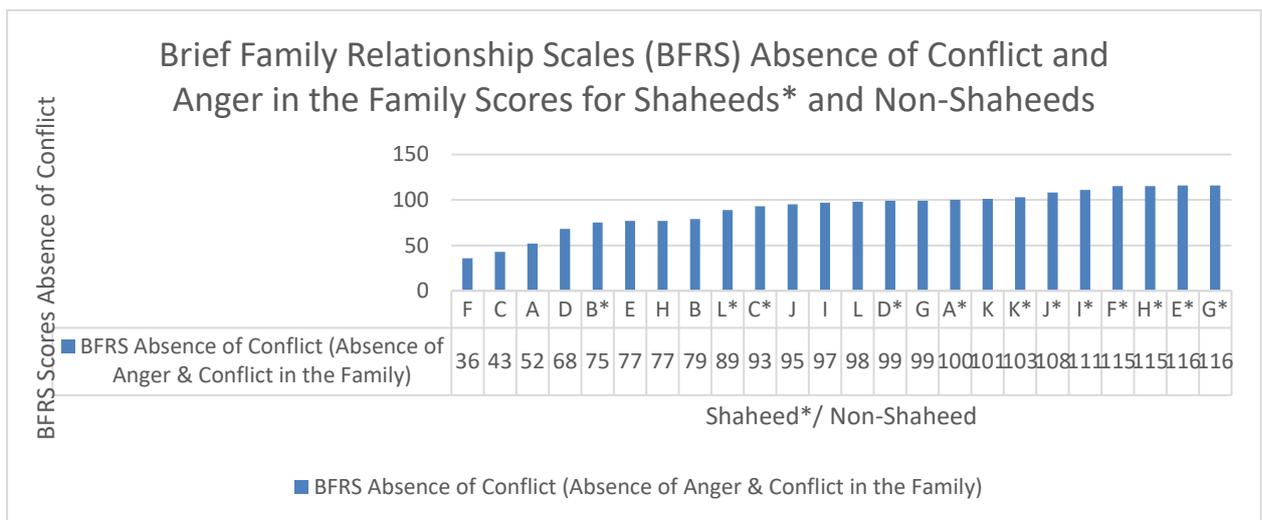


Figure 2: BFRS Scores for Absence of Conflict and Anger for Shaheed and Non-Shaheed Families

Figure 2 depicts the BFRS Scores for absence of conflict and anger in each family. Families in the Shaheed group seem to be high on absence of conflict and anger when compared with the families in the non- Shaheed group. The Mean of the BFRS Scores for absence of conflict

and anger is significantly higher for the Shaheed group (Mean=103.33) when compared with the non-Shaheed group (Mean=76.83). In fact when applying a Mann Whitney test this difference was found to be statistically significant with a p-value of 0.002 (Mann-Whitney Statistic value=20.5). The above indicates that Palestinian Shaheeds seem to come from the more peaceful families where anger and conflict is found less. This seems to be in conflict with what Berko (2012) found in her research interviews with Palestinian women and children that were failed suicide terrorists during the second Intifada. She found that children and young Palestinians may use the suicide terrorism route to escape family problems and the difficulties that they may be facing in their families. Also, Lackhar (2002b) and De Mause (2002) argue that terrorism is a product of dysfunctional patriarchal families. Notwithstanding, Pedahzur (2005) contends that this is not empirically confirmed and so it merits further research.

It is important to point out that Shaheed families may be motivated to portray themselves as good families since they are considered by the Palestinian society to be good, moreover role model families. Consequently, they may perceive themselves more positively when compared to the non-Shaheed families. They may also feel guilty for possibly having contributed to the Shaheed's decision to undertake a suicide operation as a result of which they may want to hide their guilt by portraying themselves as good, peaceful families where anger may be found less.

### 5.4 Expressed Inclusion with Received Inclusion

	FIRO Received Inclusion	FIRO Expressed Inclusion
FIRO Received Inclusion	1	.604**
Sig. (2-tailed)		.002
N	24	24
FIRO Expressed Inclusion	.604**	1
Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	
N	24	24

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 28. Correlation Expressed Inclusion – Received Inclusion Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds

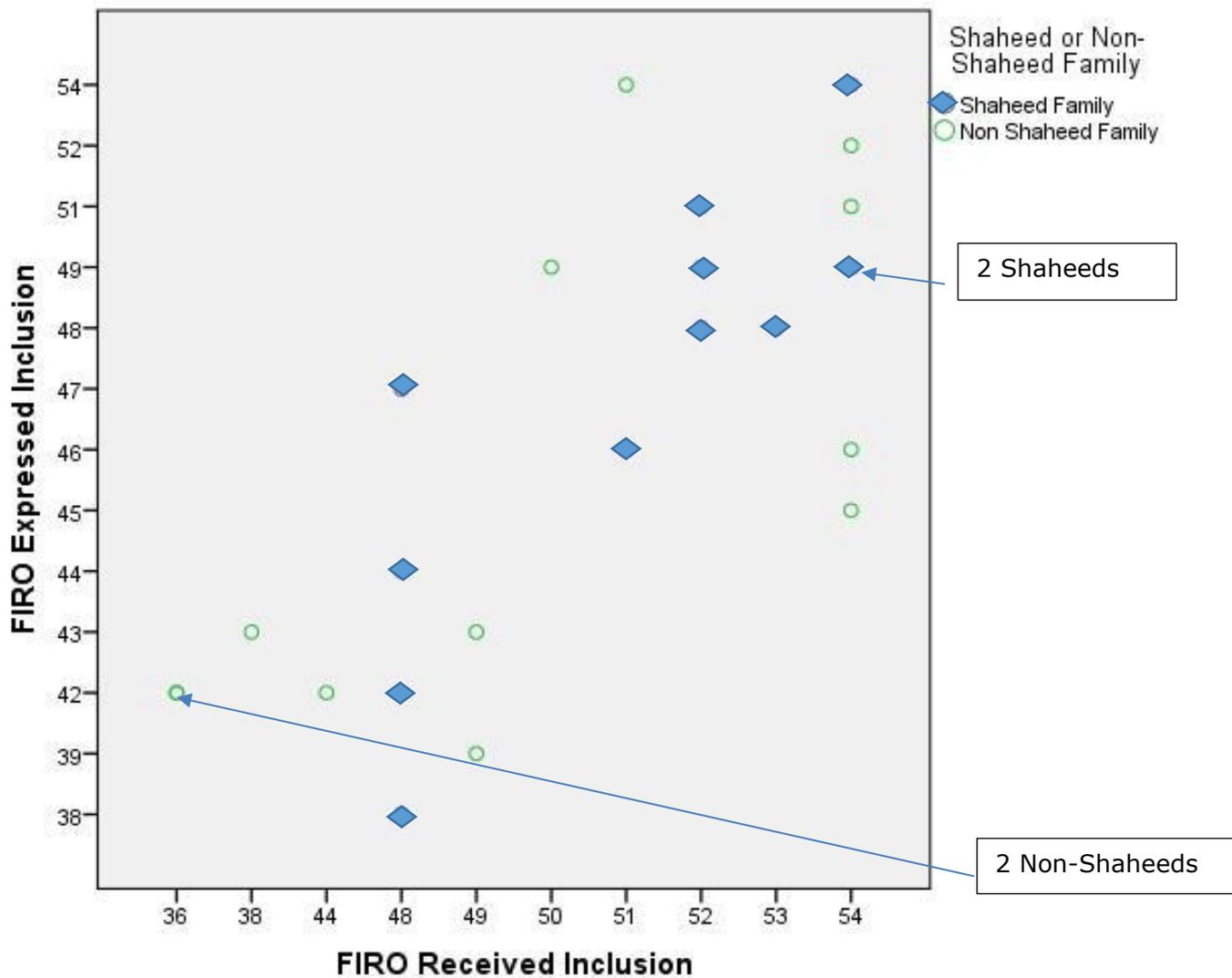


Figure 3. Scatterplot Expressed Inclusion – Received Inclusion Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds

The relationship between FIRO Received Inclusion and FIRO Expressed Inclusion was found to be significant at the 0.01 level ( $r = 0.604$ ) (Table 28). The Scatterplot (Figure 3) shows that the relationship seems to be evenly distributed between both the Shaheed and the non-Shaheed groups. This means that the more the reference person (Shaheed or non-Shaheed) may be included, popular and accepted by others, the more he/she may want to be included, popular and accepted. For example Shaheed 4 has maximum scores on both perceived Received and Expressed Inclusion i.e. score on both elements is 54. Also, non-Shaheed 2 Received Inclusion 50 and Expressed Inclusion 49. Conversely, if the reference person is not

included, accepted and popular he/she may be discouraged from eliciting such a behaviour from others.

Both Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds were perceived by their families as having a positive relationship between Received Inclusion and Expressed Inclusion. Shaheeds or non-Shaheeds who are perceived by their family members as wanting attention and importance are indeed given such attention and importance by others. As perceived by the families, whether an individual decides to undertake or not a suicide terrorism operation does not seem to influence the relationship between Received and Expressed Inclusion. It may also mean that individuals who want to be popular, accepted and included by others seem to work hard for this and possibly attain this. Individuals may work for and achieve Inclusion for example at the family or peer group level. According to Sageman (2017b) parents but mostly peers influence individuals. This may occur with the aim that the individual will be more included and accepted by others, hence satisfying the Inclusion need. Unfortunately, in the Palestinian society this may also lead a person to get involved in a terrorist organisation, eventually considering seriously to take part in a suicide terrorism operation. Post et. al. (2003) confirms that the peer group is stronger than the family at recruitment stage. Lachkar (2002a) suggests that dysfunctional parenting particularly that of the father gives rise to suicide terrorist cells developing a sense of enmeshment with the member's identity, however this lacks empirical evidence. Notwithstanding her thesis is confirmed by Post et. al. (2003) by using interviews with 35 incarcerated Middle-Eastern terrorists who reported enmeshment of their self-identity to the group's identity. This enmeshment of identity may occur so that the individual achieves more Inclusion from the group. This group-individual identity may arguably be further hardened by the fact that the religion of the Israelis, the occupiers and the Palestinians, the occupied are different.

Sageman (2017b) concludes that political violence may therefore be a result of social influence. This may be so in areas where there is conflict, such as Palestine and other Middle Eastern countries where parents and teachers may encourage children to participate in political violence. However, parents and teachers in more peaceful countries are unlikely to encourage children to perform acts of terrorism. On the other hand it may be argued, as seen above, that peers have more influence. Having said this the influence of family members namely the parents on prospective suicide terrorists cannot be ignored. Consequently, it may mean that within the Palestinian scenario there may be individuals who satisfy their Inclusion needs through being a Shaheed while on the other hand there may be others who achieve this through other means that will not include the termination of their life through a suicide terrorist operation.

### 5.5 Received Inclusion with Religiosity

	FIRO Received Inclusion	MARS Religiosity of Reference Person
FIRO Received Inclusion	1	.588**
Sig. (2-tailed)		.002
N	24	24
MARS Religiosity of Reference Person	.588**	1
Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	
N	24	24

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 29. Correlation Received Inclusion – Religiosity Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds

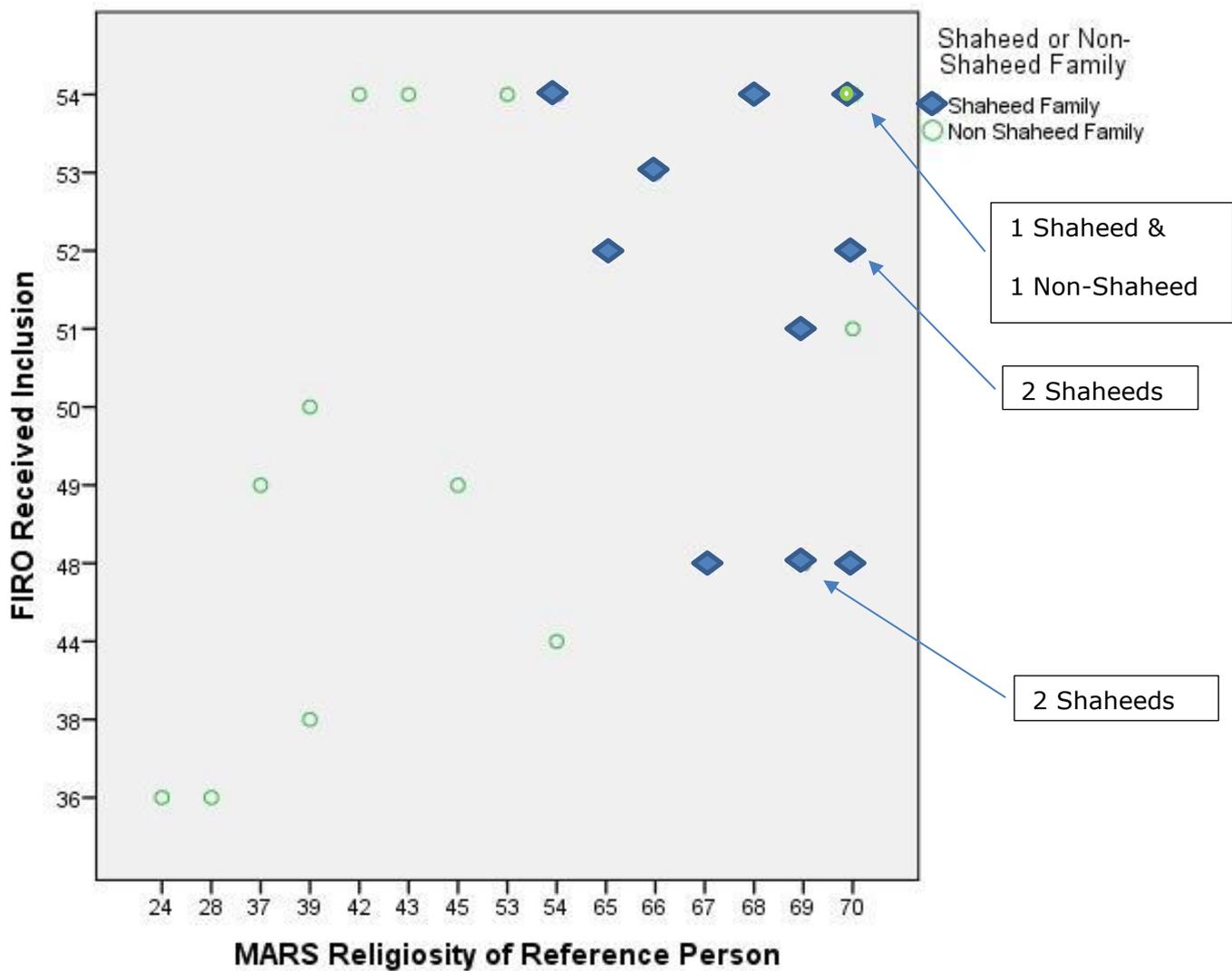


Figure 4. Scatterplot Received Inclusion - Religiosity of Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds

As perceived by the family members Received Inclusion was correlated with Religiosity of the Shaheed or the non-Shaheed and found significant at the 0.01 level ( $r = 0.588$ ) (Table 29). This means that the more the Shaheed or non-Shaheed is religious the more this individual would receive Inclusion. The Scatterplot in Figure 4 shows that Shaheeds seem to be high on both Received Inclusion and Religiosity, as reported by their family members. It seems that the reference person who is more popular, included and accepted is more religious. For 202

example Shaheed 3 Received Inclusion Score is 52 and MARS Score is 70. Conversely, the reference persons who are less popular, less included and less accepted by others are less religious. For example non-Shaheed 3 Received Inclusion Score is 36 and MARS Score 24. It seems that Shaheeds are both very religious and well integrated in their respective societies or groups, such as peer groups than the non-Shaheeds. Both Received Inclusion and Religiosity seem to be important characteristics that make up a suicide terrorist in the Palestinian scenario.

This shows that family members perceived Shaheeds as being more religious and included (given attention or importance) by others. In the Palestinian society Religiosity may be perceived as a pathway towards Received Inclusion. For example, in the Palestinian culture individuals or families who consider Islam to be important in their lives ask Allah for blessings on each other. In this way people may receive Inclusion through their religion, as Islam unites them as a nation. Speckhard (2012) p. 290 cites from one of her interviews with a mother of a suicide terrorist saying: "I always ask Allah to bless my son as he blessed me". This may imply that through Religiosity a person may be more accepted, given attention and importance by others but that unfortunately in certain instances this may also encourage a person to consider getting involved in religious terrorist groups, this may ultimately lead these individuals to seriously consider undertaking a suicide terrorism mission.

### 5.6 Expressed Inclusion with Religiosity

	FIRO Expressed Inclusion	MARS Religiosity of Reference Person
FIRO Expressed Inclusion	Pearson Correlation 1 Sig. (2-tailed) N 24	Pearson Correlation .397 Sig. (2-tailed) .055 N 24
MARS Religiosity of Reference Person	Pearson Correlation .397 Sig. (2-tailed) .055 N 24	Pearson Correlation 1 Sig. (2-tailed) N 24

Table 30. Correlation Expressed Inclusion – Religiosity of Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds

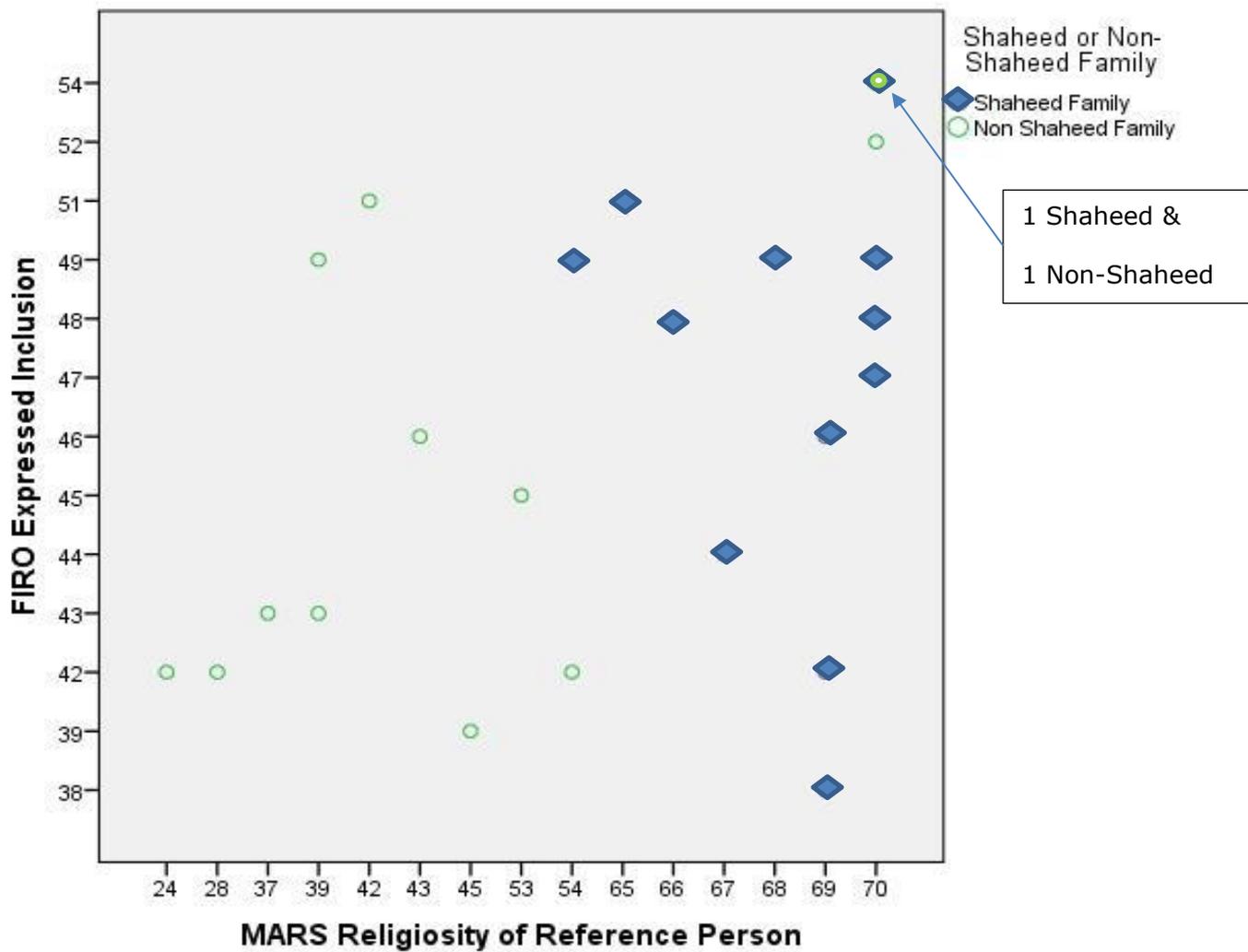


Figure 5. Scatterplot Expressed Inclusion – Religiosity Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds

The correlation between FIRO Expressed Inclusion and Religiosity was not found to be significant, the strength of the correlation  $r = 0.397$  (Table 30). This may mean that Religiosity may be one way that an individual uses to be given attention and importance and that other individuals, such as the non-Shaheeds may attempt to get their Inclusion not from religion but from other social aspects of the Palestinian life. The Scatterplot (Figure 4) shows that Shaheeds seemed to be grouped together with most of them having a high level of Expressed Inclusion and Religiosity.

Although the correlation between Expressed Inclusion and Religiosity was not found to be significant, the scatterplot shows that it seems that suicide terrorists are perceived as seeking attention and importance from others and also being highly religious. Within the Palestinian society it seems that it may be possible for prospective Shaheeds to seek to be accepted, included and important by being religious. For example Shaheed 3 Expressed Inclusion Score is 49 and MARS Score is 70.

Ansari (2005) argues that the Shaheed status in Islam is highly honoured and similar to that of prophets and exemplary Imams. The Shaheed gives his community both grace and purity and in the community his family is respected. Hafez (2006b) citing the *Hadith* and the *Koran* argues that the Shaheed is granted a place in haven that is close to the virtuous, prophets and saints. He will also marry in haven 72 black eyed virgins, and be granted the honour to intercede with Allah for 70 of his/her relatives so they will also attain heavenly privileges. Ansari (2005) contends that the closest relatives are also given similar privileges in the afterlife. Orbach (2004) also speaks of heavenly rewards, which are physical pleasures, mostly sexual pleasures but also spiritual ones, such as being close to God. Orbach contends that political and religious leaders encourage Shaheeds to take up suicide operations by promising them eternal and everlasting sexual pleasures, hence attempting to satisfy their Expressed Inclusion needs as the heavenly black-eyed virgins will be eternally available for the Shaheed to satisfy their sexual needs and pleasures. This will be very encouraging to young men who may have financial difficulties with getting married, since in Arab cultures, such as the Palestinian society bride price may still be prevalent. This, as already highlighted earlier in chapter 2 brings up the issue of how female heterosexual Shaheeds will be rewarded so that they would be treated similarly to their male heterosexual counterparts.

### 5.7 Received Control with Religiosity

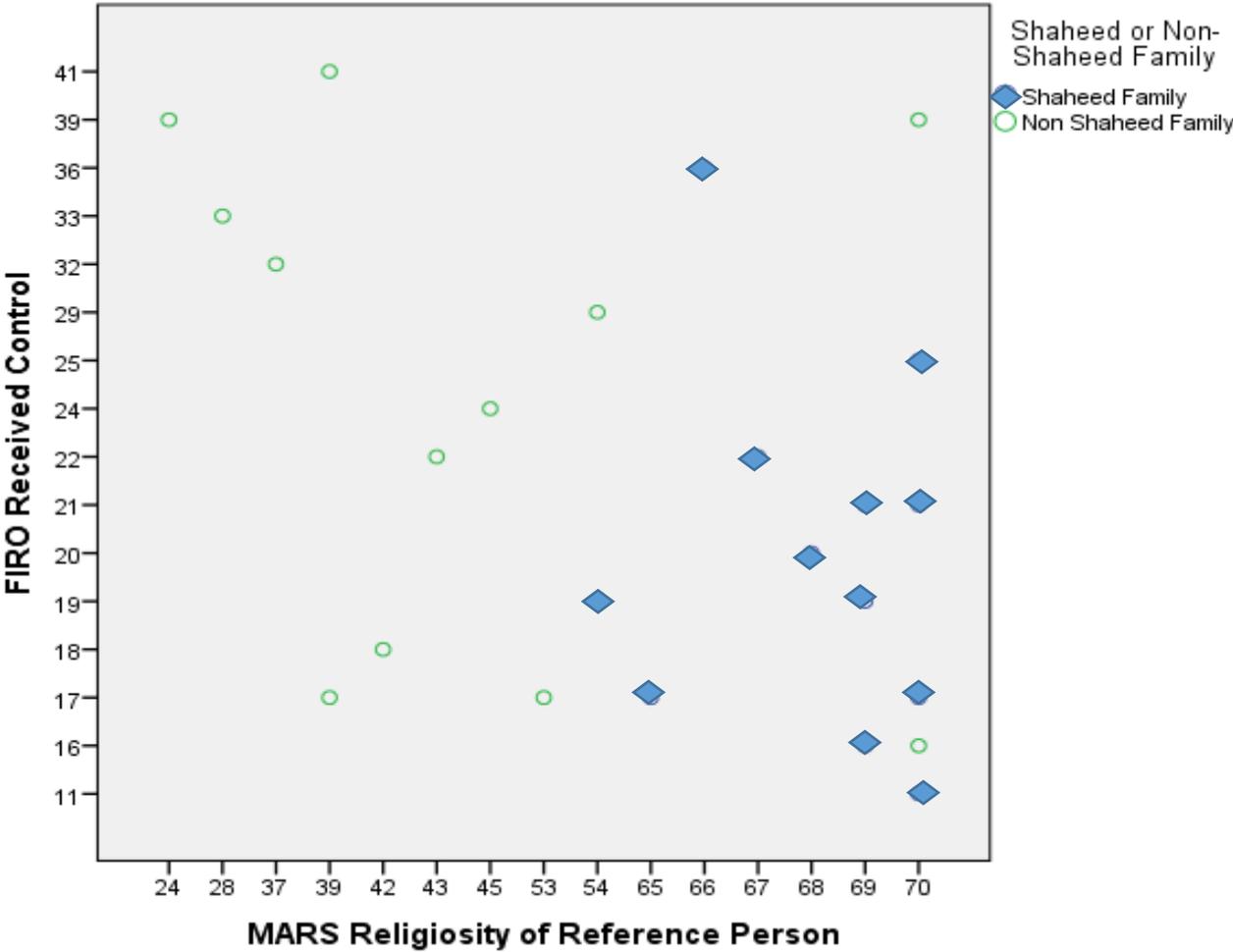


Figure 6. Scatterplot Received Control – Religiosity Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds

	MARS Religiosity of Reference Person	FIRO Received Control
MARS Religiosity of Reference Person	1	-.451*
Pearson Correlation		.027
Sig. (2-tailed)		
N	24	24
FIRO Received Control	-.451*	1
Pearson Correlation		.027
Sig. (2-tailed)		
N	24	24

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 31. Correlation Received Control – Religiosity Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds.

Religiosity has been found to be negatively correlated with FIRO Received Control at the 0.05 level ( $r = -0.451$ ) (Table 31). This means that across the two groups the more Religious a person is the less this individual allows other people to control him or her. The above scatterplot (Figure 6) shows that most of the Shaheeds have a high amount of Religiosity but scored low on Received Control. One may expect Religious individuals to be allowed to be led by others and follow laws and regulations, however results from this study as perceived by respective family members indicate the contrary. This means that as Religiosity seems to increase Received Control or rather the control that the individual allows himself or herself to be subjected to seems to decrease. Probably this may be due to the fact that the religion of what they see as the oppressive state, in Palestine (Judaism) is different from their religion (Islam). This study shows that Shaheeds tend to be high on Religiosity and low on Received

Control. For Example Shaheed 3 Received Control Score is 11 Mars Score is 70 and Shaheed 1 Received Control Score is 16 MARS Score is 69. On the other hand non-Shaheeds have been perceived to have lower scores in Religiosity, denoted by the MARS and higher Received Control scores. For example, non-Shaheed 1 Received Control Score is 33 MARS Score is 28 and non-Shaheed 3 Received Control Score is 39 MARS Score is 24. In such a situation where the enemy, whom the terrorist sees as the occupier of his Land, is a member of a different denomination the prospective suicide terrorist may be low on Received Control as this control is seen emanating from the occupier. Highly religious individuals like the suicide terrorists may feel threatened by the religion of the occupier hence they refuse and rebel against the control of the occupier consequently also their religion. Pape (2005), argues that though nationalism constitutes the foundation for a suicide terrorism campaign, the difference in religion between the occupied and the occupying nation is an important factor. Pape argues that this difference in religion "hardens the boundaries between national communities and so makes it easier for terrorist leaders to portray the difference in zero-sum terms, demonize the opponent and gain legitimacy for martyrdom from the local community" (Pape, 2005 p. 80). Also, since Shaheeds have been found to be very religious it may be that they feel closer to Allah. Since they feel to be inspired by the deity they will refute advice, directions or orders from other people.

Mirvish (2001) argues that the Authoritarian personality style is related to the suicide terrorism phenomenon. This may be due to the fact that as children these individuals are trained to obey their parents and in actual fact they do obey them. As a result of obedience their mind set is trained to think that there is only good or bad with no grey shades in between. Canter (2006) suggests that it is this binary logic that feeds Istashhad. The fact that they firmly believe that they are on the right side will also give them a sense of dominance over others. This may be a plausible explanation why low levels of Received Control are related to high levels of Religiosity as their suicide terrorist mission is Allah's will and this is

unquestionable, this will in turn feed their ego to be more religious. This, according to Razaque (2008) is very common with the 9/11 and the London 7/7 bombers. However, Kimhi and Even (2004) conclude that current research cannot test the above hypothesis hence further research is required.

Merari et. al. (2010) argues that suicide terrorists have an Avoidant-Dependant Personality type. Such a personality type is characterised by a weak ego structure and arguably by high Received Control as these personality types tend to rely and depend on others. This study has not found suicide terrorists to be so. Both the scatterplot and the correlation show that suicide terrorists are perceived by their families as being very religious but not wanting to be controlled by others. This indicates that suicide terrorists were perceived to be independent thinkers and not easily manipulated by others. On the other hand it may also be that relatives of the respective Shaheed are trying to avoid the notion that they could have intervened more effectively and persuaded the Shaheed not to commit the suicide terrorism operation.

### 5.8 Family Cohesion and Support with Religiosity

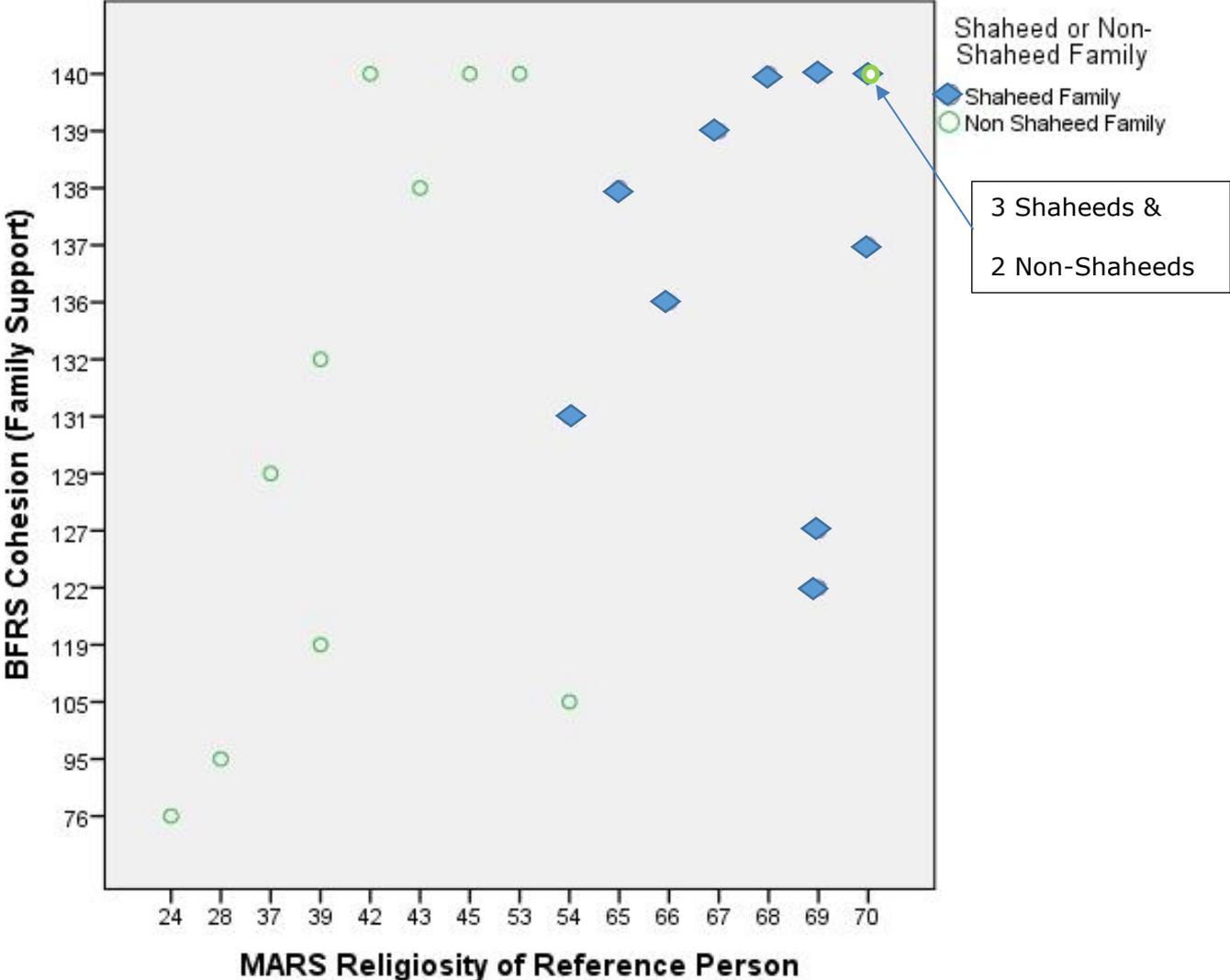


Figure 7. Scatterplot Cohesion (Family Support) – Religiosity of Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds

	MARS Religiosity of Reference Person	BFRS Cohesion (Family Support)
MARS Religiosity of Reference Person	1	.634**
Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)		.001
N	24	24
BFRS Cohesion (Family Support)	.634**	1
Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	
N	24	24

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 32. Correlation Cohesion (Family Support) – Religiosity Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds.

The relationship between Family Support or Cohesion between family members and Religiosity of the Shaheeds and of the non-Shaheeds was found to be significant at the 0.01 level ( $r = 0.634$ ) (Table 32). This means that across both Shaheed and non-Shaheed groups the more Religious reference persons live in families that are more tightly knit together and more supportive of each other. The Scatterplot (Figure 7) also shows that the Shaheed group seems to have both a high level of family cohesion and Shaheed religiosity. A characteristic of Shaheeds is that it is perceived that they receive a lot of support from their families. For example Shaheed 3 has both maximum scores on the MARS Religiosity Score and his family Cohesion and Support Score (MARS Score = 70, BFRS Cohesion and Support Score = 140). Conversely, non-Shaheeds come from families that seem to be less closely knit together, less religious and are less supportive of each other. For example in the case study non-Shaheed 3 the family Cohesion Score was found to be mid-range 76 while the MARS Score for the non-Shaheed was found to be 24. Also, Religiosity in the family is reported to be less important in

this case study and in the other non-Shaheed case studies when compared with the Shaheed case studies. This study shows that as perceived by the respective family members and more particularly within the Palestinian society both Family Cohesion and Religiosity seem to be important characteristics found in both families and individuals who decide to undergo a suicide operation.

Canter (2006) highlights the importance of family and community support for suicide operatives and its importance since the in-group in contrast with the out-group gives identity to the individual. A family is an in-group to which an individual belongs. So through the family suicide terrorists get a better understanding of their self-concept, who they are, their identity. Through this process they identify with their in-group, their family while differentiating themselves from the rest, the out-groups. So family support may encourage suicide terrorists to commit themselves and consequently execute suicide terrorist operations. At least in the Palestinian scenario, healthy family relationships seem to help this process to develop.

Such support may be reflected even in the planning and execution of the terrorist suicide plan itself. In one of the cases brought up by Speckhard (2012), a suicide bomber was not supported by Hamas in his suicide operation due to the fact that his brother had been dispatched by this organisation on another suicide terrorist mission and it is Hamas Policy not to take more than one member for Istashhad from any one family. So this individual had to do everything by himself: buy the materials to construct the bomb, construct the actual bomb and strap it to his body. He was helped by his pregnant wife who sold her jewellery to finance the mission and helped him strap the bomb onto his body as in Muslim culture the wife is expected to support her husband.

Ricolfi (2005) investigates suicide terrorist acts between 1981 and 2003 in the Middle-East during the Arab-Israeli conflict. He explains how the suicide terrorist himself/herself may

support other family members who are perceived to have been killed unjustly by the state. Bloom (2005) in her review and analysis of the phenomenon of suicide terrorism argues that this has happened in Palestine, Sri Lanka and Chechnya. Sageman (2014) and Silke (2003a) in their critical analysis theorize how suicide terrorism may be a reaction to the killing, maiming or abuse of a family member or a loved one. This indicates how support may not only be towards the suicide terrorist but also in the other direction, from the latter to his/her respective family members. Religion, especially since there is a difference between the Israelis and the Palestinians helps as Pape (2005) explains to harden the boundaries and fuel suicide terrorism.

Suicide terrorists in Palestine are perceived to live in supportive and tightly knit families where he or she is also perceived by the family members as being highly religious. This shows that both good family relationships and high suicide terrorist religiosity were perceived to be present in the Palestinian scenario. While it may be true that Shaheeds are religious and that they live in tightly knit and supportive families it may be also that Shaheed families are motivated to perceive both their relative as being a very religious person and that their families as tightly knit and supportive families because both Shaheeds and their families are considered by the Palestinian community as being role models. Consequently, they may be living up to the expectations of their society.

## 5.9 Expression of Self and Opinion in the Family with Religiosity

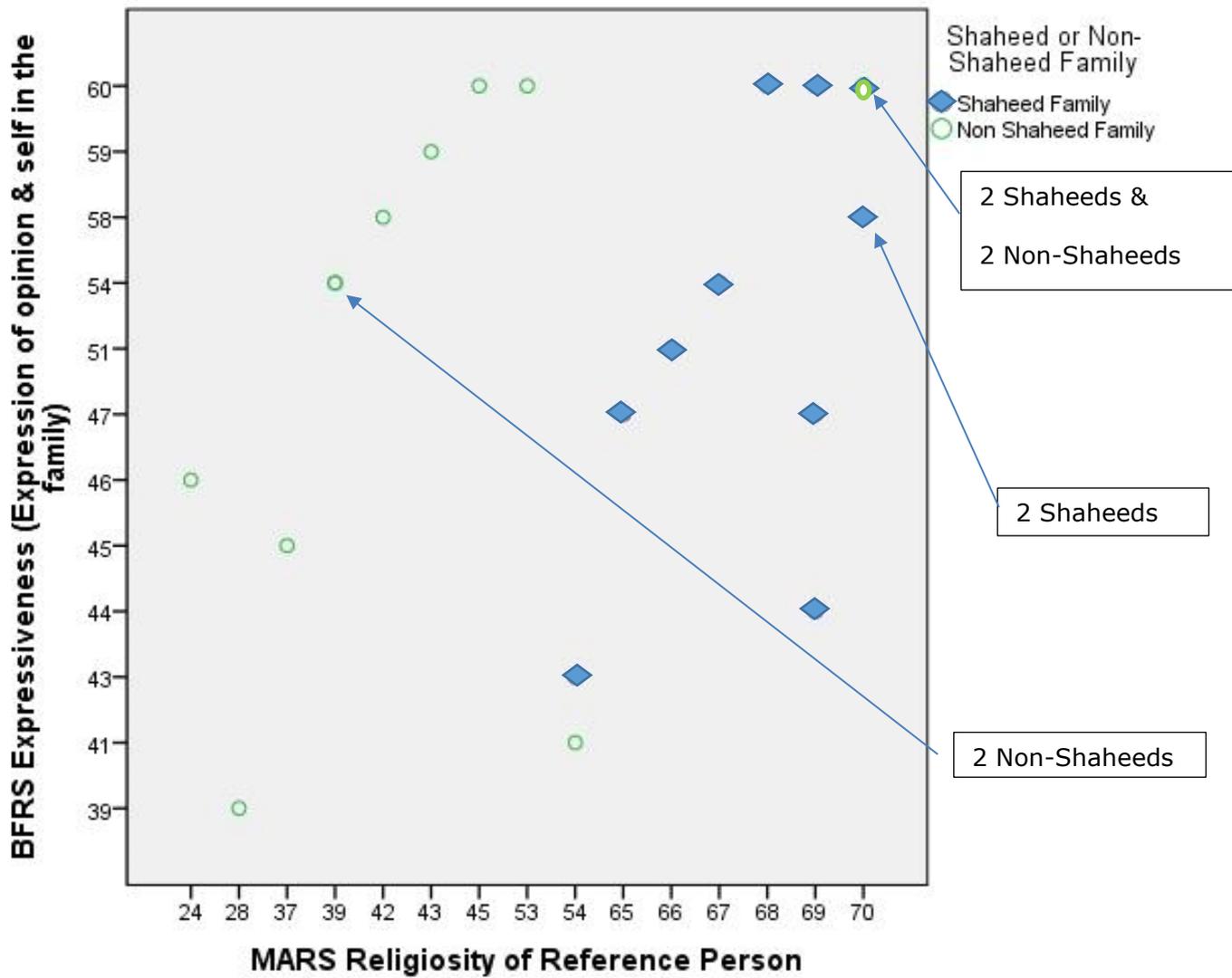


Figure 8. Scatterplot Expressiveness (Expression of Opinion & Self in the Family) – Religiosity Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds.

			BFRS Expressiveness (Expression of opinion & self in the family)
MARS Religiosity of Reference Person	Pearson Correlation	1	.383
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.065
	N	24	24
BFRS Expressiveness (Expression of opinion & self in the family)	Pearson Correlation	.383	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.065	
	N	24	24

Table 33. Correlation Expressiveness (Expression of Opinion & Self in the Family) – Religiosity Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds.

The relationship between expressing of opinion and self in the family and religiosity was not found to be significant ( $r = 0.383$ ) (Table 33). This may be due to the fact that the Muslim Religion does not intrinsically help people to open up and express themselves due to boundaries such as those that are authority related which in turn may be created by a patriarchal family style that may be characteristic of the more religious Muslim families. Consequently, this quality may be due to particular family relationships and the Shaheed personality. The Scatterplot in Figure 8 shows that Shaheeds seem to be high on both perceived religiosity and expressing both opinion and self in the family.

This indicates that suicide terrorists in Palestine are not only perceived by their family members to be highly religious but also seen as living in families where one can express

216

himself/herself and his/her opinion. The fact that Shaheeds are highly religious Muslims seems that Religion for them is instrumental to express themselves since their Islamic faith helps them to opt to move into another life (the afterlife) in order to express themselves and their opinion as they have been trained to do so in their respective families. The combination of high level of Religiosity and high Expression of Self and Opinion in the family may provide one of the ingredients for becoming a Shaheed. These people are encouraged to express themselves and voice their opinion from an early stage in their lives, this may have taught them how to express themselves, leading to the ultimate expression of dying as a Shaheed. The promise of a rewarding afterlife may have encouraged them even further to undergo a suicide operation and die as a Shaheed.

Atran (2003), Hasan (2008) and Krugel, Black, Tomlins, Sheykhani, Bongar, Banks & James (2014) contend that religiosity can combine with other aspects to become a stronger motivating force for suicide terrorism. For example, it may combine with psychological characteristics such as; the humiliation-revenge perspective or pro-social and altruistic behaviour personality characteristics. The above results may be indicative that Religiosity may combine with expressing self and opinion in the family so that a stronger motivating force for suicide terrorism is present.

### 5.10 Absence of Anger and Conflict in the Family with Religiosity

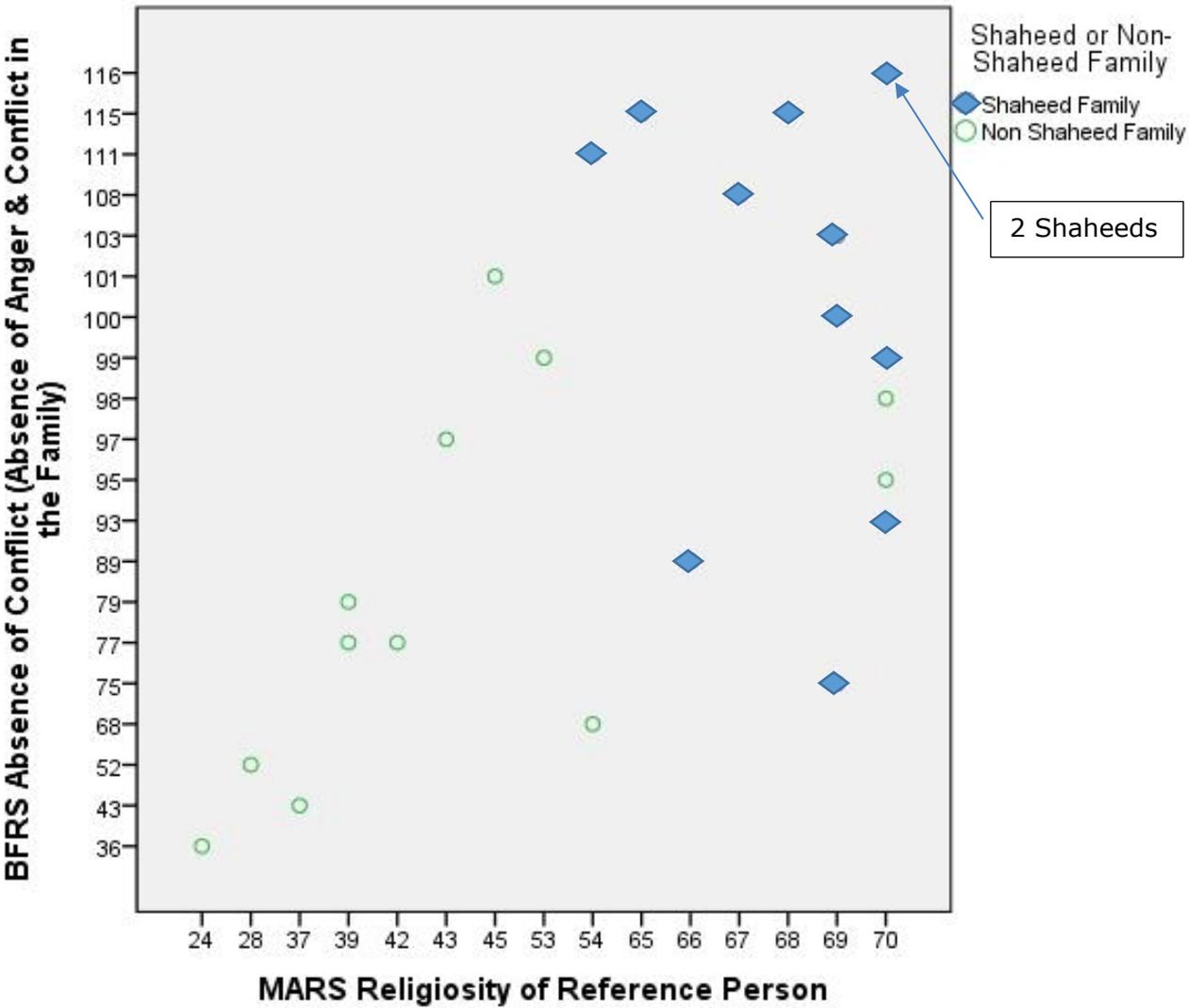


Figure 9. Scatterplot Absence of Conflict (Absence of Conflict and Anger in the Family) – Religiosity Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds.

	MARS Religiosity of Reference Person	BFRS Absence of Conflict (Absence of Anger & Conflict in the Family)
MARS Religiosity of Reference Person	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.745** .000 24
BFRS Absence of Conflict (Absence of Anger & Conflict in the Family)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.745** .000 24

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 34. Correlation Absence of Conflict (Absence of Anger and Conflict in the Family) – Religiosity Shaheeds and Non-Shaheeds.

The relationship between absence of conflict and anger in the family and religiosity of the Shaheed or non-Shaheed is significant at the 0.01 level ( $r = 0.745$ ) (Table 34). This shows that across both Shaheed and non-Shaheed groups the more religious reference persons tend to live in families where Anger and Conflict is found less. The Scatterplot (Figure 9) shows that Shaheeds have both a high level of perceived religiosity and a perceived high absence of conflict and anger in their families. This study seems to indicate that those families that are more religious are more peaceful and harmonious, this may have been expected. However what may not have been expected is that Shaheeds, as can be seen in Figure 8 are highly religious and seem to be coming from harmonious families. In fact all 5 Shaheed cases presented have high perceived Religiosity as perceived by the MARS Scores and a high

219

Absence of Conflict and Anger in their families as indicated by their respective BFRS Scores. Also, the Shaheed families presented in the case studies are more religious when compared to the non-Shaheed case studies. High levels of Absence of Conflict and Anger in families of Shaheeds may be contrary to the populist opinion that people who decide to undertake a suicide operation as terrorists come from families that have a lot of anger and conflict.

The lack of the manifestation of anger and conflict in Shaheed families and the high religiosity of the Shaheed and also that of his/her family as can be seen in the Shaheed case studies is expected since religious individuals and families are expected neither to harbour anger nor entertain conflicts. The situation turns out to be different in the case of the non-Muslim termed the *Kuffar*. A non-Muslim is considered to be valued less than a Muslim. As Pape (2005) argues this dehumanisation process helps when aggression in the more potent and lethal form of suicide terrorism is applied against such an individual. This also gives an opportunity to the Shaheed to vent out the anger that he may have towards his out-group using an Islamic religious principle the *Jihad bi al Saif* (The Jihad of the Sword) hence legitimizing further the said aggression.

Merari et. al. (2010) argues that suicide terrorists being of the Avoidant-Dependant personality internalise their anger. This is contrary to other personality types who externalise their anger. Suicide terrorists may therefore internalize their anger leading to self-destruction through a suicide operation. While as explained above arguably suicide terrorists may not be of the Avoidant-Dependant personality type due to for example low received control levels, high Religiosity levels may lead towards expressing their anger towards the enemy through *Jihad bi al Saif*.

The above indicates that Palestinian suicide terrorists are perceived to come from functional and peaceful families where anger and conflict is absent. Again, this was related to high levels

of perceived religiosity of the suicide terrorist by their family members. While the above may be true it may be, as explained earlier that Shaheed families are motivated to perceive themselves as exemplary families and that their relative Shaheed, who is highly esteemed by the Palestinian community is perceived not only to be very religious but also to live in a family that is peaceful where anger and conflict seem to be non-existent. As explained earlier since Shaheed families are considered to be role model families in the Palestinian society, it may be that that they may be either living up to the expectations of their community or perceiving their families to be highly functional families and their Shaheed relative as highly religious as is expected by the Palestinian society.

## **5.11 Conclusion**

This study seems to show that Shaheeds are far from being depressed and unhappy individuals who are easily manipulated by terrorist organisations into taking up a suicide operation. In fact Shaheeds were perceived by their family members to have low scores on the Received Control Element of the FIRO-B. This may not be considered as an indication of a Dependent-Avoidant Personality type as suggested by Merari et. al. (2010). Also, as explained earlier in the Shaheed case studies Mahoney & Stasson (2005) found out that Received Control is positively related to The Big Five trait of neuroticism. Consequently individuals low on Received Control are to be found low on the Neuroticism trait, hence not being depressed. This is contrary to what was concluded by Merari et. al. (2010) that Shaheeds are depressed individuals. None of the Shaheeds investigated were described by their respective family members as being depressed. Moreover they were described by the respective participant family members to be highly motivated individuals, initiators, leaders and of having entrepreneurship skills.

Another interesting finding was the absence of anger and conflict in Shaheed families. This is very markedly shown when compared with the non-Shaheed family group. Razzaque (2008) explains how Mohammed Atta the 9/11 lead bomber had a relationship with his father that was characterised by conflict and oppression and that this relationship would have bottled inside him a tremendous amount of anger. It is popularly perceived that suicide terrorists have a lot of anger entrapped inside them that they release during the suicide operation in the destruction of self and others. Though this may be true in some situations and for some individuals it seems that families of Palestinian Shaheeds more particularly those from the time period of the first and second Intifada are not perceived to be so. Having said this such anger against family members can be hidden as individuals would not want to tarnish their inclusion to a very important in-group, their family, so they may express it on an out-group, that is non-Muslim, in a manner that is coherent to Islam, Jihad bi al Saif.

These results are indicative that Palestinian Shaheeds are perceived by their family members to be very religious. In their lifetime they were perceived to be included and popular with their friends, families and the Palestinian society in general and that they also seem to enjoy it and want more of it. Shaheeds were perceived by their family members to be controlled less than the non-Shaheeds. Shaheed families were both reported to be supportive and found to be closely knit families. Shaheeds also live in families where they seem to have space to express themselves and voice their opinion. These results also point towards Shaheeds having less anger and conflicts in their families than the non-Shaheeds. Moreover, Shaheed families seem to perceive themselves to be good, functional and peaceful families. This may be since they are seen to be so by the Palestinian community. Consequently, it could also be that these families live up to the expectations of their society hence may become, after their relative's suicide terrorist operation, even more functional, peaceful and loving families.

# Chapter 6 Discussion

## 6.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to discuss the findings of the study in relation to personality, religiosity and family relationships of Shaheeds as perceived by their respective relatives. It will also lay out issues in relation to how Islamic religiosity may through social institutions applaud criminal acts of aggression sometimes leading to self-sacrifice, as in the case of suicide terrorism. This chapter will also look into the limitations of this study.

The aim of this research was to investigate:

- Whether there are any type of family relationships that may be conducive towards becoming a suicide terrorist.
- Personality trait or traits that may contribute to a mind-set that is conducive to suicide terrorism.
- The importance of Islamic religion in an individual's decision to decide whether or not to undertake a suicide terrorism operation.
- The interrelationship between religiosity and family relationships as regards the decision to undertake a suicide terrorist act or not.
- The interrelationship between personality and religiosity as regards the decision to undertake a suicide terrorist act or not.

A combination of particular family relationships and personality characteristics of the Shaheed seem to indicate a predisposition for an individual to undertake a suicide terrorist operation. This study seems to point out that a combination of healthy family relationships where anger and conflict is less predominant and where one can express himself/herself together with a personality characteristic that may be high on Received Inclusion and Expressed Inclusion

while being low on Received Control may blend together to encourage individuals living in a society that is repressed and with limited military means, like the Palestinian community, to look towards suicide terrorist missions as a solution to their problems. Islamic religiosity may be an effective tool and instrumental to achieve such an aim especially if as Pape (2005) suggests there is a difference between the religious denominations of the suppressed and the occupiers as is the case in the Palestinian scenario. Moreover, Islamic religiosity may be instrumental in providing a motivating factor through the concept of an afterlife that will be perceived by the Shaheed to be far better than his/her current situation. Hence, Islamic religiosity may be instrumental and act as a motivating factor similar to what may be found in secular terrorist organisations where an individual forfeits his or her life for the honour of the leader or his/her nation, who may be considered to be valued more than the individual's life. In some cultures leaders may be even perceived as almost deity. This may be seen, for example if one takes into consideration the Japanese Kamikazes and how they looked up to their emperor.

## **6.2 Personality**

It is very convenient to consider suicide terrorists as being individuals suffering from mental disorders in need of psychological or psychiatric help due to problems in their personality as claimed by Lankford (2013) or are depressed as Merari et. al. (2010) suggest. As Hasan (2002) contends, what is actually frightening is their normality not their abnormality. Most people find it difficult to understand how psychologically healthy and normal individuals would willingly want to kill themselves for the purpose of killing others. This study has indicated through investigations with the respective family members that suicide terrorists seem to be psychologically healthy people having good interpersonal relationships who are not depressed. This was reported in the case studies in Chapter 4. It is also indicated by perceived low Received Control scores as reported by the respective family members of the Shaheed

group that were positively related to low scores on the neuroticism trait of The Big Five Personality scale as is argued by Mahoney and Stasson (2005). Hence, Shaheeds may be arguably considered to be less anxious and depressed. In addition to this Wilde and Joseph (1997) found Religiosity on the MARS scale to be negatively related to the Psychoticism Scale of the EPS hence since Shaheeds were perceived by their respective family members to be high on the MARS scale this may be indicative of psychologically more healthy individuals. This can be noted in the case studies presented in Chapter 4 in the scattergraphs in Chapter 5 and when Religiosity as perceived by the respective family members was compared for the 2 groups (Shaheed and non-Shaheed) in the latter mentioned Chapter. This is in line with Pape (2005) who suggests that the typical suicide terrorist resembles an individual who consciously joins a political movement and is not what may be considered to be a stereotypical suicidal individual. It also confirms Townsend's (2007) conclusions that suicide terrorists are not suicidal.

The FIRO-B elements of Received and Expressed Inclusion in this study as perceived by the respective family members have been found to be related for both the Shaheed and non-Shaheed groups. Social status is important for most individuals and indeed it does provide for both the Received Inclusion and Expressed Inclusion needs. Being a member of Hamas or Fatah in Palestine does provide social status. This is similar to countries like for example the UK (Cole and Cole, 2009) where in certain fundamentalist Islamic communities, belonging to radicalised networks brings about social status that quenches the Received and Expressed Inclusion needs for certain people who may ultimately move on to suicide terrorism. Suicide terrorists in Palestine know that after their death they will be acclaimed and revered not only in their radicalised networks, moreover in the wider Palestinian Community. On the other hand suicide terrorists in Western countries such as the US and Western Europe will be acclaimed within their radicalised networks and also globally on Jihadi websites. This may also encourage people in search of the Received Inclusion need to pursue a suicide operation

knowing that Inclusion will be given. This is also confirmed by Orbach (2004) when trying to build the personality profile of a suicide terrorist. Where they are described to be seeking and wanting honour and fame. This study has indicated that the suicide terrorists presented in the case studies may have tried to satisfy their needs to belong to the Palestinian community by sacrificing their lives. The love for their community is reflected in the fact that they were described by their family members as patriotic.

As regards the situation in Western European countries particularly in the UK Cole and Cole (2009) explain that during the training period prospective suicide terrorists are taught how to have an increased sense of control and power both over others and situations. This is very interesting as Palestinian Shaheeds were perceived in this study to be low on the Received Control element suggesting that these people did not allow others to control, take charge or directly or indirectly manipulate their decisions. Suicide terrorists may be arguably considered to be of low ego strength who are easily manipulated by leaders of their respective terrorist groups. This study has shown that suicide terrorists are perceived by their families to be individuals who are leaders, have entrepreneurship and initiative. They have been described that they are not easily controlled by others, hence not possessing avoidant-dependant traits as Merari et. al. (2010) suggest. Also, Orbach (2004) attempts to build a psychological profile of a suicide terrorist and he also describes them to be influenced by others, such as the media, leaders and social atmospheres, this study has found suicide terrorists to possess characteristics that are contrary to both described by Orbach (2004) and Merari et. al. (2010).

Trying to find the common denominator in the personality of suicide terrorists is certainly not an easy task. Speckhard (2012) states that it is non-existent as no 2 terrorists moreover suicide terrorists are alike. Although as explained earlier others like Orbach (2004) do attempt to build psychological profiles of suicide terrorists. This study has shown suicide terrorists to be people who are perceived to want inclusion and in actual fact are included by others. So

these people want to be accepted, recognised and popular and that through their suicide terrorist mission they know that they will become so, if it is successful. Hence one is not surprised that Merari et. al. (2010) found failed suicide terrorists in Israeli prisons to be depressed. Moreover, as explained above Mahoney & Stasson (2005) found out that Received Control is positively related to The Big Five trait of neuroticism. Consequently individuals low on Received Control are to be found low on the Neuroticism trait. This is contrary to what for example Lankford (2013) concludes that suicide terrorists are plagued with psycho-social problems. In addition, suicide terrorists in this study were perceived by their family members as not easily manipulated by others again contrary to what Merari et. al. (2010) found in incarcerated failed suicide terrorists in prison environments that due to the seriousness of their criminally hostile act may be serving long, if not life prison sentences. Such environments and situations arguably indoctrinate inmates to depend on others. This may explain the Avoidant-Dependant personality characteristics and the low ego strength found by Merari et. al.

Individuals who are optimistic and positive on one aspect may be positive on other aspects. This may be more so with the more religious Palestinian families. Thabet, Thabet and Vostanis (2017) found that Palestinians use religion as a coping strategy against neurosis, such as depression and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) symptoms. They also use religion to perceive negative aspects of their life in a more positive way. Since this study has found Shaheeds and their families to be religious, contentment and psychological health may be more prevalent in the Shaheed families notwithstanding the more severe difficulties they may have faced. Having said this, one has to admit that most of these participants, both from the Shaheed and non-Shaheed family groups are plagued with traumas and grieved with losses of loved ones due to the Palestinian conflict and undoubtedly these episodes do leave their mark on any individual notwithstanding personality characteristics and the high religiosity that a person may have. This clearly has an impact on an individual's behaviour, emotions,

way of thinking, perceiving the environment and other individuals including those who have given their lives through suicide operations for the Palestinian cause. Notwithstanding, this study seems to depict a picture of Shaheeds through their respective family members as psychologically healthy individuals.

As explained earlier, Wilde and Joseph (1997) found out that individuals scoring high on the MARS Scale, similar to the Shaheeds in this study, score low on the Psychoticism Scale of the Eysenck Personality Scale (EPS). Hence are less aggressive, less egocentric, less unsympathetic and less manipulative. Wilde and Joseph (1997) found a positive relationship between the lie scale on the EPS and the MARS. Denoting that people scoring high on the MARS seek social desirability, hence want to be liked by others, this again fits well in these Shaheed personality profiles in the case studies found in chapter 4.

Finally, as Speckhard (2012) concludes no one is born a terrorist and yes, people can be put off from this track. Although, on the other hand not all terrorist will be de-radicalized and in that case intervention from security forces will be the only option. This study has not found Shaheeds to be mentally disordered individuals notwithstanding that most Palestinians did pass from traumatic experiences. In actual fact one may argue that this study seems to suggest that suicide terrorists may be acting rationally in accordance with the Rational Choice theory as explained earlier on where everything is weighed, measured and calculated. This may include not just the MO of the operation but also financial gains to the respective family, fame after the operation, gains to the Palestinian cause but also joys and personal pleasures, such as sexual ones in the afterlife.

### **6.3 Family Relationships and Religiosity**

This study has found, contrary to the popular opinion that families of suicide bombers seem to have healthy interpersonal relationships and to be very peaceful families where for example anger seems to be found less when compared to the non-Shaheed families. This is contrary to what Berko (2012) found out in her research. Moreover, Lachkar (2002b) and De Mause (2002) contend that Islamic terrorism is the product of dysfunctional families due to a patriarchal family structure. Notwithstanding, as Pedahzur (2005) explains this is not empirically confirmed. It seems that contrary to what Razzaque (2008) contends insecure and avoidant styles of parenting may not be predominant in Palestinian Muslim families. In fact this study has found family relationships among suicide terrorists in the Palestinian society to be very healthy when compared with the non-Shaheed group. This unexpected characteristic is very important as it can be used to help both these families and the prospective suicide terrorist as is suggested in Chapter 7.

This study seems to indicate the important part played by Islamic Religiosity in suicide terrorism most especially in Palestine during the first and second intifada. This is also highlighted by Atran (2003). Perceived high Islamic Religiosity is seen in the Shaheed group as this study has shown a statistical significance as to the means depicted by the MARS scores of both the Shaheed and non-Shaheed groups. This is also reflected in the case studies found in Chapter 4. Since Shaheeds are very religious they may believe that their suicide terrorism mission is Allah's will, consequently they may become unstoppable from ultimately carrying out the suicide terrorist operation. This may be further accentuated by Low Received Control, as this study has found Shaheeds to have the latter characteristic according to the FIRO-B, where the prospective suicide terrorist will not take any input from third parties as what is important is the will of God (Pryce-Jones, 2002).

It is being argued through this study that Islamic Religion may be a pathway to feeling accepted and needed in the Palestinian society. Not only in this life but since Muslims believe in an afterlife, even after their deaths. This study has found Shaheeds to be perceived by their family members to obtain Inclusion through Religiosity. This may consequently result in affiliations in Religious organisations that may harbour terrorist ideologies hence leading the individual to consider becoming a Shaheed through a process of radicalization. As argued by Ansari (2005) the Shaheed status in Islam is honoured very highly and the Shaheed is granted a lot of privileges and pleasures in the afterlife, even sexual ones.

This study has found both through quantitative analysis but also as depicted by the case studies that strong and good family relationships seem to be related to Religiosity as perceived by the respective family members, this may have been expected. What may have not been expected is that Shaheed families seem to have strong family relationships, in addition to being high on Religiosity. Family Cohesion and Support have been also found to be positively related with Religiosity. However, it seems that Shaheed families seem to be high on both Family Cohesion and Support and Religiosity. This study seems to confirm what Speckhard (2012) has argued through the case studies presented were Family Cohesion and Support together with Religiosity seem to be predominant in Shaheed families. Atran (2003), Hasan (2008) and Krugel, Black, Tomlins, Sheykhan, Bongar, Banks & James (2014) argue that religiosity can combine with other aspects to become a stronger motivating force for suicide terrorism. This study seems to show that it may combine with Expressing of Self and Opinion within the Family in such a way that is conducive for the individual to express himself or herself in a very strong manner such as that of a suicide terrorist. Finally, Shaheed families in this study seem to be high on Absence of Anger and Conflict in the Family and Religiosity. Aggression may be displaced on others especially the non-Muslims or *Kuffar*. These individuals are considered to be valued less than Muslims hence as Pape (2005) argues the process of murdering them may be easier for a strong Muslim since the victims are dehumanized.

## 6.4 Criminality

None of the 12 Shaheeds in this study were reportedly involved in criminal activity. If they were imprisoned in their lifetime it was reported that they were so for political reasons. In the Palestinian scenario it may be difficult to draw a line between defending one's community and loved ones and criminality. This tends to be more defined in other countries and situations, such as Western Europe where countries are not in a quasi-civil war scenario, as is the case for both the Palestinian 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Intifada scenarios. In fact Cole and Cole (2009) does suggest a relationship between suicide terrorism and participation in criminal gangs in the case of individuals coming from other peaceful countries such as for example Western European countries where certainly the using of violence in order to reach political objectives is obviously inappropriate. This as explained earlier maybe very different in the case of conflict riddled countries like Palestine where acts that in peaceful countries are considered to be not only criminal but barbaric are acclaimed and encouraged not only among terrorist organisations but in educational institutions such as schools. For example, such as in the case stated by Orbach (2004), where an 11 year old boy is cited as saying in class that he wants to become a suicide bomber, the students acclaim him and his teacher augurs sexual pleasures in the afterlife. In this way children from a tender age are socialised into thinking that aggression against their enemy where the modus operandi of suicide terrorism is employed is not only decriminalised but applauded and rewarded in the afterlife since as mentioned earlier the Islamic religion may be instrumental in the recruiting of suicide terrorists through the lauded Jihad bi al Saif. So, for Palestinians certain acts of violence perpetrated against the perceived enemy are considered as acts of political resistance and in defence of the community, in this case the Palestinian community. This was also found by Merari (2010) as family members of suicide terrorists considered their respective suicide terrorist family member not to be involved in criminal activity notwithstanding him being arrested or being involved in other activities of a violent nature against the Israelis. As stated

above this finding seems to be replicated in this study. This study also confirms what Pape (2005) suggests that suicide terrorist may not be considered to be the stereotypical criminal.

## **6.5 Limitations**

A major issue in this study is the sample size. It is justified to consider a sample of 12 Shaheed and 12 non-Shaheed families as being a very small sample. In addition, this was not a random sample selection but an opportunity sample. Hence it may not be representative, so care has to be taken when attempting to generalize these findings. However, finding participants to study the suicide terrorism phenomenon is surely a mammoth of a task, hence it is not only difficult to have bigger numbers but close to impossible. In actual fact a sample of 12 Shaheed and 12 non-Shaheed compares very well with both the Merari et. al. (2010) study that had 15 failed suicide terrorists, 12 non-suicide terrorists and 14 organizers of suicide terrorist operations. Also, Fields et. al. (2002) study had as participants 9 Shaheed families, from which 4 members participated, these included both parents a brother and a sister. In addition to these for every Shaheed 2 male friends were interviewed. As regards the control group 9 non-Shaheeds were interviewed. So compared with other studies the sample size of this study is similar. Notwithstanding the small size of the sample in this study one has to point out that all the data was triangulated as 3 or 2 participants from each family answered the battery of tests in relation to either the Shaheed or non-Shaheed or their family. So information given was cross checked through the use of more than one source. Having said this, due to the fact that each group consisted of 12 participants quantitative analysis has to be reported keeping in mind the small sample involved. Hence for example, correlation coefficients have to be reported keeping this limitation in mind.

The make up of the control group also constitutes a limitation. For example, it may have been more appropriate to compare a deceased relative with another deceased relative since as

argued by Sageman (2017a) individuals who have passed away may be seen differently than those that are still living. Currently, the reference persons in the non-Shaheed family group are living while those in the Shaheed family group are deceased. Also, it may have been better to have used a quasi-random sample for the non-Shaheed group similar to that used by Fields et. al. (2002) where the Shaheed families were asked to pinpoint three very close friends of the deceased Shaheed creating a pool of twenty-seven non-Shaheed reference persons and families from which then nine of them were chosen randomly. This would have given rise to possibly a more representative sample.

As mentioned in the methodology chapter this study was undertaken by studying Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds through the eyes of family members. Pedahzur (2005) argues that obtaining information from family members is extremely useful, only if the person is known well by members of his/her family. So for example, if the suicide terrorist would have left the family a long time before the suicide terrorist incident, it may be the case that this person would have changed. Moreover, radicalization effects may have also changed the Shaheed. So care was taken to have participants that knew well the person of reference, whether being the Shaheed or the non-Shaheed. Also, Pedahzur (2005) continues to argue that families of dead suicide terrorists may have overt or covert agendas as a result of certain goals such as; financial rewards, respect from their community or disassociation from the suicide terrorist due to fear from their oppressors. The fact that data is not gathered directly from the person of reference (Shaheed or non-Shaheed) undoubtedly constitutes a limitation as the study is gathering perceptions from the respective family members in both groups. However, as explained in the methodology of this study the research is drawing on the assumption that participants know very well their relative. In addition, in the case of for example the adapted version of the FIRO-B personality test, this mostly reports on observable behaviours of the reference person. Also, it is important to highlight the fact that the Palestinian society has arguably more characteristics of a collectivistic culture rather than an individualistic one so

their lifestyle including their social interactions allow them to be exposed more hence arguably they will know each other well. Having said this, as regards the FIRO-B it is important to acknowledge its limitations especially in the case of the very particular circumstances that the Shaheed families have passed through and consequently the societal pressures they may have been subjected to, leading them to answer in a way that they may believe is expected from them. In fact they may consciously avoid to give their opinion through statements listed in the FIRO-B about their relative. Moreover, they may express themselves differently from how they actually feel about their relative. Though the FIRO-B was translated into Arabic the fact that the participants may not have understood terms and statements cannot be completely ruled out. This is even truer when it comes to cultural differences for example as regards the expression of needs. More particularly when it comes to the expression of needs in the patriarchal arguably male dominated Palestinian culture. For example, it may be that it is not expected for males to show their emotions as it may be considered to be a sign of weakness. The above may also be applicable not only to the FIRO-B but to other questions such as those listed in the General Questionnaire.

Another issue is the social desirability perspective. Palestinians want to project their cause in a favourable way, hence it is very plausible that they would project the Martyr to foreigners as a hero. This was mitigated by asking a Palestinian national to handle the data capture, but still participants knew through the letter of information that ultimately the data will reach a third party who in addition is a foreigner. As already mentioned in the methodology chapter Sageman (2017a) claims that care must be taken when asking participants to go back in time as retrospective memories are seen by people in the light of their present circumstances. As a result of this, one has to point out that once a person has passed away relatives and friends will perceive the individual as more favourable and will see him/her in a more positive light than when the person was alive. It may be the case that the perceptions of family members are accurate and that the qualities identified did influence the person to commit a terrorist

act. However, for example, it may be the case that Shaheed families, in retrospect, want to think the best of their relative and score them as more religious or enjoying more positive family relationships than their non-Shaheed peers. Consequently it may be that when the Shaheed was alive the respective family did not privately perceive the person as having such good qualities and that now that the Shaheed is dead and that he or she is portrayed to be a hero they do not want to tarnish his or her reputation as they stand to lose on both esteem by the Palestinian society in general and also they stand to lose financial rewards that are given to them by the Palestinian community since their relative is considered to be a hero. Consequently, most especially Shaheed family members knowingly or not knowingly may perceive their Shaheed relative less objectively by seeing him or her in a more positive light.

The above study was undertaken in Palestine and any generalisations as regards to the results in this study about suicide terrorists in other contexts have to be made with great caution. It is important to consider that societies are different. For example, religiosity may be less important in other communities such as those in which both the PKK and the LTTE operated. Also, other cultures may be more industrialised and more individualistic similar to the West European and North American cultures. Merari et. al. (2010) suggests that it would be advisable to conduct research in a particular setting or context and not draw conclusions for those settings or contexts by applying research findings obtained from elsewhere. In other words it would be advisable to apply these Jihadi suicide terrorist findings to Western or even other Middle East countries such as Iraq and Syria with great caution. Moreover, what is being considered in this study are perceptions of relatives of both the Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds and not first hand information. So objectively the personalities and other characteristics of the reference persons, such as the suicide terrorists, which would of course be impossible to measure have not been measured. As the only realistic access to suicide terrorists seems to be to perceptions, it is not possible to make objective statements about the influence of religiosity or other personality characteristics, on the likelihood of becoming a suicide terrorist.

## **6.6 Conclusion**

Notwithstanding the great caution advised above a main and predominant characteristic of Jihadi terrorism is Islamic Religiosity or rather its use to achieve political objectives. The use of religiosity reaches its climax when preparing individuals to undertake suicide terrorist operations. If family relationships are such that are similar to those in the findings above and personality characteristics of the prospective suicide terrorists are close to what have been perceived by the respective Shaheed families above, one may consider this study in the evaluation of a situation that may be similar to the Palestinian context.

# **Chapter 7 Policy and Implications**

## **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter attempts to put forward the implications of the findings of this study. Intervention strategies are also suggested. This section also speaks about the person who was instrumental in the data collection phase and the effect that this research study has, one may say, indirectly brought about in his life. Finally, issues related to further research are also suggested.

## **7.2 Intervention Strategies**

Notwithstanding the above mentioned limitations this study does give a list of indicators that can help the community, more specifically the Palestinian community or some other community similar to it and their families to counter suicide terrorist strategies. Orbach (2004) attempts to analyse suicide terrorism in Palestine and poses the question whether this is due to a desperate situation arising from failures of both the Oslo Agreement and the Camp David talks held in the year 2000. If this is the case than the Palestinian Shaheeds may be imitating the biblical character of Samson. Orbach (2004) argues, with a special reference to the second Intifada, the Al Aqsa Intifada, that suicide terrorism was seen by the Palestinians as a means of delivering hope to their nation rather than a consequence of helplessness, hopelessness and despair. It is important for all legislation and policy that influences the Palestinian society to be fundamentally built on hope so that no Palestinian individual would feel the need or feel obliged to recur to suicide terrorism to acquire hope for himself or herself, his or her family and the Palestinian community at large. Palestinians need to feel that they can freely roam their country and that they can work towards improving their economy. Palestine needs to be given more status and respect at international level as sometimes it is referred to as "Israel",

moreover it seems to be non-existent. This was experienced while working on this research project. When the questionnaires and tests were being posted to Ramallah for data gathering purposes, DHL staff were not able to find the address of the person receiving the package in Palestine instead it was listed as "Israel". In this way Palestinians may feel robbed of both their land and identity. As a result of this suicide terrorism may be facilitated through processes induced by the Palestinian society itself through social institutions such as the family or the educational system where as explained earlier Islamic religiosity is an instrumental motivating factor towards suicide terrorism where the leverage of a better afterlife is utilized to entice the more religious individuals towards a suicide terrorist operation.

The case studies of the Shaheeds in Chapter 4 have indicated that Shaheeds are different from other suicidal individuals. They have been described by their family members to be psychologically healthy individuals low on neuroticism and psychoticism. They are perceived to go to their deaths as hopeful individuals rather than hopeless ones. In their life time they are seen by their families to be leaders and initiators possessing entrepreneurship skills. As Atran (2003), Hasan (2008) and Krugel, Black, Tomlins, Sheykhani, Bongar, Banks & James (2014) argue Religiosity seems to be a propelling factor fuelling suicide terrorists towards their ultimate goal, that of successfully completing their Istashhad.

As explained earlier Shaheeds are not perceived by their families to be low on Received and Expressed Inclusion. More specifically they were perceived to be on the higher ends of the Received Inclusion and Expressed Inclusion needs spectrum. This means they want to be included and accepted and indeed they are accepted and popular as denoted through their family members' perceived Inclusion scores by others in their community. Shaheeds were also perceived by their families to be low on the Received Control element, this means that they are not easily controlled and manipulated by others. The above are very good ingredients that make politicians, especially in the democratic model where people are elected to office

through popular voting. Though this political model is present in Palestine, one has to admit that in other Middle Eastern countries this model did not find its feet, was not successful and indeed it was attacked by insurgents themselves since in many ways it denotes the Western culture and is consequently considered to be alien to the Arab culture and the Muslim world. Unfortunately, the democratic model to do politics may be seen as part of the foreign invasion and hence rejected. However, having said this these people may be introduced into politics using the existent political model that is already in place, although this may be a closed system governed by a regime. So this is not always possible, however every scenario has to be considered on its own particular merits. What is important is that people who have the above mentioned personality characteristics are given the possibility to contribute as leaders for their respective community in a constructive way.

This study indicated that there is a connection between perceived religiosity, more particularly perceived Islamic religiosity and suicide terrorism at least in the Palestinian 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Intifada scenarios. It is most appropriate to consider further what this means, as to the lifestyle of these individuals but also their knowledge of Islam. People may practice their religion fervently but may not be as knowledgeable about it. In fact the MARS, used in this study, takes into account perceptions of how much an individual practices Islam not how much knowledge the person has about the Islamic faith. This lack of knowledge about religion may put a prospective suicide terrorist in a situation where he/she may be easily radicalized and turned into a suicide terrorist by extremist groups through both peer group pressure (Post et. al., 2003) in order to receive Inclusion and Islamic teachings Orbach (2004), which may be projected in a very distorted manner with the aim that political objectives may be reached. During this process emphasis is placed on rewards in Paradise for the Shaheeds through an indoctrination process by the spiritual leaders. The individuals who pass through such an indoctrination process may quote the Koran in a distorted and out of context fashion and according to the philosophical mind set of the leaders of their respective radical organisation.

This argument is also brought up by Cole and Cole (2009) when radicalisation and terrorist violence leading to suicide terrorism among British Muslims is discussed. Unfortunately, this is how Islam is hijacked by pseudo religious leaders to fulfil a political agenda. This study points towards the magnitude that Jihadi Religiosity plays in suicide terrorism, this may be used in the psychic-numbing process of the Shaheed leading to successful terrorist operations.

The process of dehumanisation assists the suicide terrorist while preparing for the suicide operation where the killing of other people is being planned and consequently, in due process executed. The dehumanisation process makes the murder of the target individuals easier. Religion may help and be an efficacious tool in this process especially if it is very important as has been found to be in the Palestinian scenario in this research study or in any other environment where Jihadism prevails. In the Jihadist context non-Muslims or *Kuffar* are considered to be inferior to Muslims, hence from the moral perspective easier to eliminate. This dehumanisation philosophy resultant from religion has been used in suicide terrorist operations all over the world and in various case scenarios (Pape, 2005).

This study, through the information given by Shaheed family members has found Shaheeds to be strong practicing Muslims. It is important that these people are exposed with the Islam that intends to offer peace not destruction. The word *Islam* comes from the word *Salaam* which means *Peace*. So it is very important that this religion is not hijacked by political leaders who portray themselves as spiritual leaders and manage to convince people, more particularly young individuals to become *Sword* Jihadists. It is suggested that the international community should devise policy to encourage internationally sponsored agencies to assist governments and non-governmental organisations to invest in educational campaigns and promote Islam as a peaceful religion through religious teachings and promotional campaigns on the media.

Merari (2010) points out that families of 16 suicide terrorists noted behaviour in the latter that retrospectively was indicative of their intention to commit a suicide terrorist act. These behaviours can be categorised into 2 types:

- Preparation for the mission
- Bidding a final farewell to the family

They prepared for the mission by buying new clothes and getting groomed, for example with a haircut. This was done so that these individuals would not be noticed in a shabby state and hence they would blend more easily in the target community, the Israeli society. However, it was also done because according to Muslim tradition they wanted to die in a clean state. Also, Speckhard (2012) states that a suicide bomber was growing a beard as a devoted Muslim would do but prior to his mission he shaved it. In the Merari (2010) study suicide terrorists bid farewell by for example giving their photos to members of their family, giving candy to children, asking for forgiveness for any wrong doing, giving their personal and most cherished belongings (similar to people who decide to commit suicide) and also giving away or spending their savings. It is important that behaviours denoting farewell should not be ignored by family members who have good relationships between them.

As highlighted earlier, this study has also shown that Shaheed families in Palestine have very good relationships between their respective members, and are very close to one another. This is another characteristic, this time adherent to families, which can be used to counter suicide terrorism. Workshops for families can be organised in villages where certain behaviours that are indicative of suicide terrorist behaviour are highlighted. Behaviours as those mentioned above cannot simply be left unchecked by family members and close friends. Moreover, characteristics most common of suicide terrorist behaviour prior to their fatal mission are shared so that their families will have a very good indication as to the intention of any of their family members who may be pondering on undertaking a suicide terrorist operation, if possible in the very early stages of their plans as certain aspects of the preparation for the

suicide terrorist mission such as the propaganda video, that is produced with the intention to be aired after the completion of the suicide terrorist act may lock the prospective suicide terrorist in what may be described to be a “whirlpool” situation where turning back from the road leading to the suicide terrorist mission may be very difficult. Also, empathic skills are shared with these families in such a way that individuals will open up their inner most feelings with their families. This may be easier with families that enjoy good healthy relationships and where there is fertile ground for family members to express themselves and their opinion since these are families that are closely knit families with a lot of cohesion, as has been found in this study with Shaheed families. In this way they will receive support so as to encourage these individuals not to embark on suicide operations. Organisations, possibly not state sponsored to avoid government interference, should provide support to families who have individuals that in the judgement of their loved ones seem to be good candidates for terrorist suicide operations.

Notwithstanding that this study is indicative that psychological disorders may not be prevalent in Shaheed families, it is plausible to consider to encourage coping strategies to be another way for combating suicide terrorism operations. These, as explained hereunder can be either macro (on a large scale hence targeting large numbers in the Palestinian society) or micro in nature (targeting specific and particular families). For example, a Palestinian interviewee explained to Speckhard (2012) that he found writing to be a good coping strategy. Also, getting married is another strategy that helped him to cope with not giving in to a suicide operation, but he explains that to get married he needs a good job. Yet another coping strategy this person had was helping Palestinians who come out of prison. In fact, he gave them psychological assistance as he was studying psychology. In actual fact Thabet et. al. (2017) does suggest a comprehensive plan of psychological clinical intervention on a large scale for Palestinians as these people have been found to suffer psychological difficulties such as PTSD as a result of traumatic experiences characteristic of such conflicts.

Post (2005) argues that counter terrorism should not be limited to smart bombs or other forms of physical force. Governments seem to forget the psychological component. He suggests that communication should be used to combat terrorism as sometimes people especially young people join terrorist organisations as a result of peer or sub-culture pressures. As indicated in this study individuals who may later become Shaheeds may join terrorist organisations with the aim to be included, this may be further accentuated if these organisations are religious since Shaheeds in this study were perceived by their families to be highly religious. It is very important that, exit from these organisations should be facilitated by state authorities hence facilitating the de-radicalisation process. A massive internationally powered de-radicalisation programme should be put into place through which an opportunity is given to individuals who are involved in terrorism to socialize with other individuals and peer groups who are not involved in terrorism hence satisfying their Inclusion needs. In Palestine this may be aided through healthy extended family relationships that are very much prevalent. Also, the fact that Palestinian society is collectivistic in nature is advantageous in building new social relationships.

Hardy (2015) argues that measures taken to fight terrorism have indeed favoured its proliferation. For example, very drastic policies and legislations, such as frequent checkpoints where innocent individuals are subjected to harsh treatments and home demolitions of Palestinian individuals serve first of all to create Martyrs and make the conflict even more severe. They may give very hopeful individuals who may be low on Received Control, as has been found in this study a one and only option, that of a suicide terrorist operation. It is suggested that such policies are softened through legislation that does not make such a conflict severer but on the contrary the intention will be to bring both parts closer towards reconciliation. Razzaque (2008) puts forward a triangle for the causation of Jihadi terrorism which may lead to suicide terrorism. This triangle involves the terror network, the personality

and the extremist ideology. He explains that a lot of effort is made in dealing with the terror network component but little is done as to the extremist ideology one. Having said that, even less is done as regards to the personality component. Unfortunately, efforts done by the security forces on supposedly terrorist networks may even fuel the extremism ideology component as in the case when these supposedly terrorist networks or organisations are found to be innocent after harm is done to individuals in the process of the apprehension and arrest of individuals supposedly pertaining to these terrorist networks (Cole & Cole, 2009). Sageman (2017b) suggests that this may lead towards self-fulfilling prophecy as a result of the labelling process. Sageman (2017b) contends that as regards terrorism the criminal justice system seems to be moving away from a model where perpetrators are caught and punished after the crime to one where alleged perpetrators are punished before they commit the crime. The reason given by security forces and criminal justice systems is so that catastrophes similar to 9/11 are avoided. While this argument may be considered reasonable Sageman (2017b) highlights excerpts from his interviews: helping a childhood friend by giving the person some money or inviting the person at home, asking personal advice from an Imam who has connections to terrorist organisations or being friends with an individual who has a connection to a terrorist organisation should and does not make a person a terrorist. Razzaque (2008) suggests that for the fight against terrorism to be effective it should take place on all the above mentioned three fronts. He also highlights the fact that the fight against terrorism hence suicide terrorism has to take place on both the extremist ideology component, which includes religion and culture, and the personality component hence both personality and extremist ideology, that may be related to Religiosity need to be investigated thoroughly so that action on these other 2 fronts will be taken in the light of scientific knowledge. To this regard this research was intended to give a contribution as this study attempts to make connections to both the personality and ideological components.

As regards more specifically the Palestinian-Israeli conflict a two state solution where both the Israeli and Palestinian states exist in the region may be considered to be key. It is such a two state solution independent from each other that may give a possibility to families that are inherently peaceful and loving such as the Shaheed families as has been found in this study to live in amity. Israel and Palestine have two different cultures and religions, a two state solution gives the possibility and space to both independent countries to practice their culture and religion. So difference in religion and culture will not fuel further suicide terrorism as explained above, this most especially in the light of the fact that both Shaheeds and their families were perceived in this study to be highly religious. Inclusion needs may be satisfied by prospective Shaheeds through the Religiosity characteristic more freely if a free Palestinian state is in existence. Hence individuals may not need to opt for membership in religious terrorist groups with the possibility of taking up suicide terrorist missions as has been indicated in this study. Shaheeds were perceived by their families in this study to have high entrepreneurship skills and a strong ego. They were also perceived to be low on the Received Control scale of the FIRO-B. Living in their own free country will give them the possibility to express in a more constructive manner this characteristic of their personality rather than considering a suicide terrorist operation.

### **7.3 What happened to Hanna Issa?**

Hanna returned to Palestine after spending some months in Malta. During this time he also travelled to Sicily with a friend of his Claudia (*this is a pseudonym*), to visit her family. Claudia is a separated 50 year old mother with a 9 year old son. He had met her when she visited Palestine some months earlier. Claudia explained to Hanna about her plans of doing business in EU countries in both the fashion and catering industries. Her family forked financial assistance towards her investment. She wanted Hanna to help her manage her business, so after he left she applied for a work visa for Hanna in an EU country. This was quite a hustle

but she did manage to obtain it and Hanna came to the EU in November 2016, this time on a work visa. Hanna is currently in the EU managing Claudia's outlets. So it may be plausible to say that this study did in fact open an opportunity for a Palestinian.

Psychology is about changing people's lives to the better. This study did not have the intention to change a life of a Palestinian in this way but indeed it did and for the author this is surely an added feather in the cap of this project. Indeed the author recognises the significance of these results and consequently the conclusions derived from them, but what do these mean if these do not do any difference in people's lives? One has to keep in mind that this thesis is being written at a time when innocent people, including young children are being overrun by vehicles in terrorist operations all over Europe, innocent people are being knifed in public places, while fortunately enough at the time of writing bomb plots are being foiled. One of the reasons the perpetrators are giving for enacting such horrendous acts is the Palestinian conflict. Even Osama Bin Laden used the Palestinian conflict and the sufferings of the Palestinians to justify his terrorist activity such as the classical suicide terrorist operation of 9/11. The Palestinian conflict has been so long with us that it seems that the world has learned to live with it, but this is surely not the way forward. So yes, one could easily conclude that there is no peace in Western countries without a peaceful solution to the Palestinian problem.

## **7.4 Further Research**

This study has focused mostly on how the social environment such as family relationships and religion may lure an individual towards suicide terrorism. However, terrorism may be also linked to novelty seeking or high level stimulation through adventurous activities. This may be mostly due to genetics rather than to learned experiences (Hacker, 1983; Kellen, 1979; Levine, 1999). It may be advantageous to consider the nature perspective or contribution

towards radicalisation into terrorism which may possibly lead to suicide terrorism. Young people who are genetically predisposed may be attracted to terrorism as the above mentioned characteristics are typical of adolescence but in some adolescents they may be more predominant as suggested earlier due to the possibility of genetic predispositions. The fact that terrorist activity seems to decrease with age may also point in the direction of biological factors that may be worthy of further investigation (Laqueur, 1987; Levine, 1999; Akhtar, 1999).

## **7.5 Conclusion**

The data gathering phase was quite a mammoth of a task in this whole research project. In all it took 5 years out of the 10 years for completion of the whole project. Families of Palestinian Shaheeds and non-Shaheeds proved to be an asset for this research, although at first they seemed almost impossible to reach but ultimately what initially seemed very difficult, almost impossible started to look possible. As contacts started building up and days turned to weeks and weeks turned into months and months into years the doors of both Shaheed and non-Shaheed Palestinian families started opening. Moreover, as explained earlier, utilizing family members of suicide terrorists was used by other researchers such as Dogu (2000); Fields et. al. (2002), Speckhard (2012) and Merari (2010), however not all used control groups for example Merari did not utilize participants from families of non-suicide terrorists as controls for comparison purposes, while others such as Speckhard relied totally on the qualitative and descriptive aspect. This study has attempted to use both qualitative and quantitative aspects of research and analysis and also a control group while using family members as participants. The fact that Hanna, the Palestinian gathering the data did the data gathering on his own was very advantageous as this led to less intrusion, most especially with the Shaheed families who are plagued with harassment. These families have experienced and recounted in both this research and also with other researchers, such as Speckhard (2012)

that people regularly barge into their houses and legally wreck items such as furniture. Moreover, if the family of the suicide terrorist owns the home it is raised to the ground in less than 30 minutes and the family is given less than 10 minutes to vacate their home while the family members especially the males are arrested.

This study intended to put forward a list of indicators whereby families at risk of having a member contemplating to commit an act of suicide bombing belonging to a society similar to the Palestinian society would be able to realise that a member is at risk of committing such a suicidal attack. Individuals undertaking suicide operations seem to be high on Received Inclusion, this means that these people are quite popular hence they should be encouraged to go into politics in order to bring change in socially acceptable manners. This, coupled with the fact that Shaheeds were also perceived to appreciate Expressed Inclusion, wanting to be popular does help a person who decides to go into politics. The fact that Shaheed families have been perceived to be very strong in cohesion, expression of opinion in the family, and low on anger may be conducive so that family members will be knowledgeable of the wishes or intentions passing through the other member's mind. Similarly to prior acts of suicide being committed, during certain political scenarios words and other parlance relating to suicide operations should not be ignored. However, since Shaheeds were also perceived to be low as regards to Received Control means that they may be convinced that the only way a change can be brought about is by a suicide operation and that it may be difficult to change their cognitive patterns especially due to the fact that this is coupled with a strong element of religiosity as perceived by their families, hence the individual may see his or her suicide operation as a vocation or as wanted by a higher entity since they truly profess and live the maxim *Allah Hu Akbar* (God is Great). It was the intention of this research project to pinpoint factors and possibly propose an intervention strategy that will help families of Shaheeds to channel the energy and will of the members to commit a suicidal operation into another act leading towards alternate behaviour that is less destructive but nonetheless will help his/her

aggravated community. More research is needed into giving help to families and any prospective suicide operant to devise helping skills into helping the latter with channelling their energy to bring about change for their good and the good of their community with much less destruction albeit with great might.

# Appendices

## Appendix 1

### Letter of Reference by Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs, Malta

MINISTERU GHALL-  
GUSTIZZJA

U L-INTERN

*Uffiċċju tas-Segretarju Permanenti*



MALTA

*Office of the Permanent Secretary*

MINISTRY FOR  
JUSTICE AND

HOME AFFAIRS

14 August 2010

#### TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Mr Joseph M Attard of 'Springfield' Plot 130, Triq il-Garni, Mellieha, has a relationship with the Ministry for Home Affairs which dates back to 1992. Then, he was posted to the Correctional Services Department and tasked with organising and managing educational services for inmates. His sterling contribution in this area led to his remit being widened in subsequent years to incorporate hands on training for Prison Officers and also direct involvement in the selection of new prison recruits.

In 2005, Mr Attard was deployed to the Malta Police Force, on grounds of public policy, specifically to perform duties relating to forensic psychology in the Anti-Terrorism Unit. There he performed a range of sensitive duties which included profiling individuals who were involved in terrorism-related offences, carrying out risk analysis and threat assessments in relation to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting which was held in Malta in 2005 and setting up a functioning database.

Throughout his assignments in the Ministry for Home Affairs, Mr Attard has proved himself to be a person of the highest integrity and has shown himself to be well-deserving of the trust shown in him by the respective authorities in assigning him the aforementioned sensitive duties. He was found to be a reliable, discreet and trustworthy person and all his actions and decisions were characterised and influenced by a sense of sound judgement and perceptive analysis.

Mr Attard has been accepted by the University of Huddersfield to undertake research leading to the award of a PhD under the programme Investigative Psychology of Terrorism. His research project is entitled "The Personal Narratives of Terrorists: Understanding the Processes of Radicalisation" and will require him to produce a detailed case-study archive based on first-hand interviews with a number of terrorists. He will be under the direct supervision of Professor David Canter.

This letter is intended by way of recommendation to facilitate the favourable processing of Mr Attard's requests to pertinent authorities overseas to obtain security clearance to enable him to gain access to prisoners held in several countries.

  
**Mario DeBattista**  
Permanent Secretary  
Ministry for Justice and Home Affairs

House of Catalunya  
Marsamxett Road, Valletta CMR 02  
TEL: 22957000

## Appendix 2

### SREP email through Ms. Kirsty Thomson

On Mon, Feb 16, 2015 at 10:12 AM, Kirsty Thomson <[K.Thomson@hud.ac.uk](mailto:K.Thomson@hud.ac.uk)> wrote:

Dear Joseph,

Dr Karen a, former SREP Chair, as asked me to contact you with regard to the above.

Karen has confirmed that you have now addressed the amendments for Phase 1 of the study – therefore full ethical approval is given for Phase 1 of your study as detailed above.

- i.
  - However you need to rephrase this sentence in the Information Sheet from:

Confidentiality and anonymity are maintained only on the grounds that others will not face no harm in the foreseeable future by what is stated by the participant.

to:

Confidentiality and anonymity are maintained only on the grounds that others will face no harm in the foreseeable future by what is stated by the participant. (the word 'not' has been removed)

- Please check fonts in the Information Sheet as some sentences are a different font.
- Consent Form - please change the wording above (as per Information Sheet) as well.
- Please note it be sensible to offer a date/ or state data you provide can be withdrawn up to the point of analysis in the Consent and Information Sheet. You would not want a participant to approach you during analysis or prior to submission and ask for their data to be withdrawn.

With best wishes for the success of Phase 1 of your research project.

Regards,

Kirsty

(on behalf of Dr Karen Ousey, former SREP Chair)

**Kirsty**

Research Administrator

**Thomson**

: 01484 471156

: [K.Thomson@hud.ac.uk](mailto:K.Thomson@hud.ac.uk)

: [www.hud.ac.uk](http://www.hud.ac.uk)

School of Human and Health Sciences Research Office (HHRG/01)  
University of Huddersfield | Queensgate | Huddersfield | HD1 3DH

## Appendix 3

### Participant Information Sheet



### **Can Family Relationships or Other Individual Qualities Influence People to Sacrifice their lives?**

#### INFORMATION SHEET

You are being invited to take part in this study about family relationships that existed in the families of those individuals who decide to sacrifice their lives in the course of killing those whom they consider to be their enemies so that a particular goal is achieved. If your family has never been involved in such activity you may also have been asked to participate for comparison purposes. This study aims to study the way family relationships related with the personality and religiosity of the person who sacrifices his life in the way mentioned above. Before you decide to take part it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with me if you wish. Please do not hesitate to ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

What is the study about?

The purpose of the study is to better understand what happens in families that have a person who decides to terminate his life in the course of killing those whom he considers to be his enemies so that a particular goal is achieved. This will help to study the processes involved and how family relationships may influence this.

Why I have been approached?

You have been asked to participate because either one of your family members decided to terminate his life in the course of killing those whom he considers to be his enemies so that a particular goal is achieved. It could also be that you had decided to take part in an operation as mentioned above. On the other hand, it could also be that neither you nor any member of your family was ever involved in a similar operation but you have been approached to answer the questionnaires for comparison purposes.

Do I have to take part?

It is your decision whether or not you take part. If you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form, and you will be free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. A decision to withdraw at any time, or a decision not to take part, will not affect you.

What will I need to do?

If you agree to take part in the research you will be asked to answer four (4) questionnaires. In total, this should take about 1 hour.

Will my identity be disclosed?

All information disclosed within the interview will be kept confidential. Confidentiality and anonymity are maintained only on the grounds that others will face no harm in the foreseeable future by what is stated by the participant.

What will happen to the information?

All information collected from you during this research will be kept secure and any identifying material, such as names will be removed in order to ensure anonymity. It is anticipated that the research may, at some point, be published in a journal or report. However, should this happen, your anonymity will be ensured, although it may be necessary to use your words in the presentation of the findings and your permission for this is included in the consent form.

Who can I contact for further information?

If you require any further information about the research, please contact me on [u0975747@hud.ac.uk](mailto:u0975747@hud.ac.uk) or my supervisors Professor David Canter [dvcanter@btinternet.com](mailto:dvcanter@btinternet.com) and Dr. Donna Youngs [d.youngs@hud.ac.uk](mailto:d.youngs@hud.ac.uk)

Yours truly,

Joseph M. Attard

B.Psy.(hons.) (Malta) M.Sc. (Leicester)

PhD candidate (Huddersfield)

## Appendix 4

### Participant Consent Form



### CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: Can Family Relationships or Other Individual Qualities Influence People to Sacrifice their lives?

It is important that you read, understand and sign the consent form. Your contribution to this research is entirely voluntary and you are not obliged in any way to participate, if you require any further details please contact your researcher.

I have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this research.

I consent to taking part in it.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research before the analysis phase and without giving any reason.

I give permission for my words to be quoted (by use of pseudonym)

I understand that the information collected will be kept in secure conditions

for a period of five years at the University of Huddersfield

I understand that no person other than the researcher/s and facilitator/s will   
have access to the information provided.

I understand that my identity will be protected by the use of pseudonym in the   
report and that no written information that could lead to my being identified will  
be included in any report.

Confidentiality is maintained only on the grounds that by what I say others will face   
no harm in the foreseeable future.

If you are satisfied that you understand the information and are happy to take part in this  
project please put a tick in the box aligned to each sentence and print and sign below.

Signature of Participant:	Signature of Researcher:
Print:	Print:
Date:	Date:

(one copy to be retained by Participant / one copy to be retained by Researcher)

## Appendix 5

### Shaheed Family General Questionnaire

#### General Questionnaire.

1. How were you related to the Shaheed eg. (brother, mother, sister, father, cousin, nephew, uncle) \_\_\_\_\_
2. Your age \_\_\_\_\_
3. Your gender Male  Female

Kindly answer the hereunder questions with reference to the family where the Shaheed lived from the time of his childhood to when he committed his Istashid. Mark YOUR preferred Answer where appropriate or write YOUR Answer in the space provided.

#### Section A

4. Was there a feeling of togetherness in your family?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes                  Most of the Time                  Always

5. Did you help and give support to each other?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes                  Most of the Time                  Always

6. How did you help each other? \_\_\_\_\_

- 
7. Who helped? eg. (brother, mother, sister, father, cousin, nephew, uncle) \_\_\_\_\_
- 

#### Section B

8. Did you have conflicts in your family?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes                  Most of the Time                  Always

9. Did you fight in your family?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes                  Most of the Time                  Always

10. If you had fights in your family, How did you fight?

Verbally (with words)

Physically (hitting each other or throwing things at each other)

11. After conflicts did you make peace?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes                  Most of the Time                  Always

12. How did you reconcile with each other? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

13. Who initiated the process of reconciliation? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

14. Who got angry most? \_\_\_\_\_

15. Was there anyone who argued most, and with whom? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

### Section C

16. How important was religion in your family?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes                  Most of the Time                  Always

17. Did you go to the Mosque as a family?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes                  Most of the Time                  Always

18. Who went to the Mosque? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

19. Did you pray as a family?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes                  Most of the Time                  Always

20. Who prayed? \_\_\_\_\_

Section D

21. Did the family have any member involved in crime and delinquency?

Yes

No

If Yes, How many members? \_\_\_\_\_

22. Was the Shaheed ever involved in criminal activity or delinquency?

Yes

No

If Yes, What kind of criminal or delinquent behaviour was he involved in? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Section E

23. Who made the important decisions in the family?

Father

Mother

Elder brother

Grandfather

Other  Who? \_\_\_\_\_

24. Were there severe punishments for the children who broke the rules?

Not at All

Not so Often

Sometimes

Most of the Time

Always

25. What kind of punishment? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

26. Who administered the punishment?

Father

Mother

Elder brother

Grandfather

Other  Who? \_\_\_\_\_

27. Was mum's discipline different from dad's?

Yes

No

How? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Section F

28. How much did family members consider themselves to be inseparable?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes      Most of the Time      Always

29. Did they find it emotionally hard to get away from each other?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes      Most of the Time      Always

30. Were they overly dependent on each other?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes      Most of the Time      Always

31. Did they discuss aspects of their life within the family?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes      Most of the Time      Always

32. Did they seek advice from members of the family on most issues?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes      Most of the Time      Always

Section G

33. Did the family adapt so that the needs of different family members are met?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes      Most of the Time      Always

Section H

34. Who was living at home? (mark where applicable)

Father                   Mother       Brothers                   Sisters       Grandfather

Grandmother       Uncles       Aunts       Cousins

Others  Who? \_\_\_\_\_

Section I

35. With whom, in the family, did the Shaheed get best along with? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

36. With whom the Shaheed did not get along with? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

37. Who was closest to whom, in the family? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

38. Who showed most love and affection in the family? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

39. How was this love and affection shown? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

40. When someone was sad who was most able to comfort him/her? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

41. How was this comfort shown? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

42. Who was most fun to be with? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

and whom did he/she get best along with? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

43. Who was the member that understood mostly the other members of the family?

\_\_\_\_\_

44. Was there anyone who spent most time than anyone else with some other family member?

Yes

No

If Yes, Who spent most time with whom?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

45. Do you consider that the marriage of the parents of the Shaheed was a happy one?

Yes

No

Section J

46. Did the Shaheed have a family member as a role model?

Yes

No

If Yes, Who? \_\_\_\_\_

47. Was there any member in the family whose behaviour mostly resembled any other member in the family? \_\_\_\_\_

48. Who was most influential in the Shaheed's decisions?

\_\_\_\_\_

Section K

49. Was there anyone in the family who felt helpless or depressed?

Yes

No

If Yes, Who? \_\_\_\_\_

50. Did the Shaheed isolate himself from the rest of the family members?

Yes

No

If Yes, How? \_\_\_\_\_

51. Did any member of your family prefer to spend time alone?

Yes

No

If Yes, Who? \_\_\_\_\_

52. What fun things did you usually do as a family? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

53. Did members of your family usually spend time together doing something?

Yes

No

If Yes, Describe this Activity? \_\_\_\_\_

Section L

54. Did the Shaheed get along well with other members of his family?

Not at All                      Not so Often                      Sometimes      Most of the Time                      Always

Section M

55. How did the Shaheed see himself? (What was his impression of himself?)

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56. What kind of person was your relative, (the Shaheed)? \_\_\_\_\_

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57. Why do you think the Shaheed did Istashid? \_\_\_\_\_

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58. Did the family face any serious problems in the time period from the childhood of Shaheed to just before Istahid?

Yes

No

If Yes, What kind of problems? \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

59. Were there any serious concerns in the family in the time period from the childhood of the Shaheed to just before istashid?

Yes

No

If Yes, What kind of concerns? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

60. Did you wish that in the family things and situations were different?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes                  Most of the Time                  Always

61. Why do you think that your relative did istashid? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

62. Was he ever encouraged to do istashid?

Yes

No

If Yes, What encouraged him? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

63. Do you think that your family was any different from other families?

Yes

No

If Yes, How? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

64. How does your family feel now that the Shaheed has done istashid? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

65. How has the Istashid effected the family?

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## Appendix 6

### Non-Shaheed Family General Questionnaire

#### General Questionnaire.

Kindly answer the hereunder questions with reference to your family.

Think of a brother, son, cousin, nephew etc.) and answer the hereunder questions with reference to the time period when he was a child or during his early adulthood. (Important – Members belonging to the same Family should consider the same relative)

Mark YOUR preferred Answer where appropriate or write YOUR Answer in the space provided.

1. How were you related to him eg. (brother, mother, sister, father, cousin, nephew, uncle) \_\_\_\_\_
2. Your age \_\_\_\_\_
3. Your gender Male  Female

#### Section A

4. Was there a feeling of togetherness in your family?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes                  Most of the Time                  Always

5. Did you help and give support to each other?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes                  Most of the Time                  Always

6. How did you help each other? \_\_\_\_\_

---

7. Who helped? eg. (brother, mother, sister, father, cousin, nephew, uncle) \_\_\_\_\_

---

Section B

8. Did you have conflicts in your family?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes      Most of the Time      Always

9. Did you fight in your family?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes      Most of the Time      Always

10. If you had fights in your family, How did you fight?

Verbally (with words)

Physically (hitting each other or throwing things at each other)

11. After conflicts did you make peace?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes      Most of the Time      Always

12. How did you reconcile with each other? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

13. Who initiated the process of reconciliation? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

14. Who got angry most?

\_\_\_\_\_

15. Was there anyone who argued most, and with whom? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_





Section G

33. Did the family adapt so that the needs of different family members are met?

Not at All                  Not so Often                  Sometimes      Most of the Time      Always

Section H

34. Who was living at home?

Father                   Mother       Brothers                   Sisters       Grandfather

Grandmother       Uncles       Aunts       Cousins

Others  Who? \_\_\_\_\_

Section I

35. With whom, in the family, did the relative get best along with? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

36. With whom the relative did not get along with? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

37. Who was closest to whom, in the family? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

38. Who showed most love and affection in the family? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

39. How was this love and affection shown? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

40. When someone was sad who was most able to comfort him/her? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

41. How was this comfort shown? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

42. Who was most fun to be with? \_\_\_\_\_

and whom did he/she get best along with? \_\_\_\_\_

43. Who was the member that understood mostly the other members of the family?

44. Was there anyone who spent most time than anyone else with some other family member?

Yes

No

If Yes, Who spent most time with whom?

45. Do you consider that the marriage of the parents of the relative was a happy one?

Yes

No

#### Section J

46. Did the relative have a family member as a role model?

Yes

No

If Yes, Who? \_\_\_\_\_

47. Was there any member in the family whose behaviour mostly resembled any other member in the family? \_\_\_\_\_

#### Section K

48. Was there anyone in the family who felt helpless or depressed?

Yes

No

If Yes, Who? \_\_\_\_\_

49. Did the relative isolate himself from the rest of the family members?

Yes

No

If Yes, How? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

50. Did any member of the family prefer to spend time alone?

Yes

No

If Yes, Who? \_\_\_\_\_

51. What fun things did you usually do as a family? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

52. Did members of the family usually spend time together doing something?

Yes

No

If Yes, Describe this Activity? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Section L

53. Did the relative get along well with other members of his family?

Not at All

Not so Often

Sometimes

Most of the Time

Always

Section M

54. How did the relative see himself? (What was his impression of himself?)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

55. What kind of person was the relative? \_\_\_\_\_

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---

---

56. Did the family face any serious problems in the time period from the childhood of the relative to his adulthood?

Yes

No

If Yes, What kind of problems? \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

57. Were there any serious concerns in the family in the time period from the childhood of the relative to his adulthood?

Yes

No

If Yes, What kind of concerns? \_\_\_\_\_

---

58. Did you wish that in your family things and situations were different?

Not at All

Not so Often

Sometimes

Most of the Time

Always

59. Do you think that the family was any different from other families?

Yes

No

If Yes, How? \_\_\_\_\_

---

60. How would you feel if one of your family members became a Shaheed? \_\_\_\_\_

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## Appendix 7

### **FIRO-B adapted version for Shaheed Family Members**

Below is a list of some different ways of behaving towards others that your relative Shaheed may have had:

Read each statement put an X in one of the 6 boxes to show how much you agree that the statement is *true*.

The more you agree it is true, the nearer your X should be to the AGREE side.

1. He sought out people to be with.	DISAGREE							AGREE
2. People decided what to do when he was with them.	DISAGREE							AGREE
3. He was totally honest with his close friends.	DISAGREE							AGREE
4. People invited him to do things.	DISAGREE							AGREE
5. He was the dominant person when he was with people.	DISAGREE							AGREE
6. His close friends told him their real feelings.	DISAGREE							AGREE
7. He joined social groups.	DISAGREE							AGREE

8. People strongly influenced his actions.	DISAGREE							AGREE
9. He confided in his close friends.	DISAGREE							AGREE
10. People invited him to join their activities.	DISAGREE							AGREE
11. He got other people to do things he wanted done.	DISAGREE							AGREE
12. His close friends told him about private matters.	DISAGREE							AGREE
13. He joined social organisations.	DISAGREE							AGREE
14. People controlled his actions.	DISAGREE							AGREE
15. He was more comfortable when people did not get too close.	DISAGREE							AGREE
16. People included him in their activities.	DISAGREE							AGREE

17. He strongly influenced other people's actions.	DISAGREE								AGREE
18. His close friends did not tell him about themselves.	DISAGREE								AGREE
19. He was included in informal social activities.	DISAGREE								AGREE
20. He was easily led by people.	DISAGREE								AGREE
21. He believed that people should keep their private feelings to themselves.	DISAGREE								AGREE
22. People invited him to participate in their activities.	DISAGREE								AGREE
23. He took charge when he was with people socially.	DISAGREE								AGREE
24. His close friends would let him know their real feelings.	DISAGREE								AGREE
25. He included other people in his plans.	DISAGREE								AGREE

26. People decided things for him.	DISAGREE							AGREE
27. There were some things he did not tell anyone.	DISAGREE							AGREE
28. People included him in their social affairs.	DISAGREE							AGREE
29. He got people to do things the way he wanted them done.	DISAGREE							AGREE
30. His closest friends kept secrets from him.	DISAGREE							AGREE
31. He had people around him.	DISAGREE							AGREE
32. People strongly influenced his ideas.	DISAGREE							AGREE
33. There were some things he would not tell anyone.	DISAGREE							AGREE
34. People asked him to participate in their discussions.	DISAGREE							AGREE

35. He took charge when he was with people.	DISAGREE							AGREE
36. His friends confided in him.	DISAGREE							AGREE
37. When people were doing things together he joined them.	DISAGREE							AGREE
38. He was strongly influenced by what people said.	DISAGREE							AGREE
39. He had at least one friend to whom he could tell anything.	DISAGREE							AGREE
40. People invited him to parties.	DISAGREE							AGREE
41. He strongly influenced other people`s ideas.	DISAGREE							AGREE
42. His close friends kept their feelings a secret from him.	DISAGREE							AGREE
43. He looked for people to be with.	DISAGREE							AGREE

44. Other people took charge when he worked together with them.	DISAGREE								AGREE
45. There was a part of himself he kept private.	DISAGREE								AGREE
46. People invited him to join them when he had free time.	DISAGREE								AGREE
47. He took charge when he worked with people.	DISAGREE								AGREE
48. At least two of his friends told him their true feelings.	DISAGREE								AGREE
49. He participated in group activities.	DISAGREE								AGREE
50. People often caused him to change his mind.	DISAGREE								AGREE
51. He had close relationships with a few people.	DISAGREE								AGREE
52. People invited him to do things with them.	DISAGREE								AGREE

53. He saw to it that people do things the way he wanted them to.	DISAGREE							AGREE
54. His friends told him about their private lives.	DISAGREE							AGREE

## Appendix 8

### **FIRO-B adapted version for Non-Shaheed Family Members**

Think of a relative e.g. brother. Below is a list of some different ways of behaving towards others that this relative may have had: *(Important – Members belonging to the same Family should consider the same relative)*

Read each statement put an X in one of the 6 boxes to show how much you agree that the statement is *true*.

The more you agree it is true, the nearer your X should be to the AGREE side.

1. He sought out people to be with.	DISAGREE							AGREE
2. People decided what to do when he was with them.	DISAGREE							AGREE
3. He was totally honest with his close friends.	DISAGREE							AGREE
4. People invited him to do things.	DISAGREE							AGREE
5. He was the dominant person when he was with people.	DISAGREE							AGREE
6. His close friends told him their real feelings.	DISAGREE							AGREE
7. He joined social groups.	DISAGREE							AGREE

8. People strongly influenced his actions.	DISAGREE							AGREE
9. He confided in his close friends.	DISAGREE							AGREE
10. People invited him to join their activities.	DISAGREE							AGREE
11. He got other people to do things he wanted done.	DISAGREE							AGREE
12. His close friends told him about private matters.	DISAGREE							AGREE
13. He joined social organisations.	DISAGREE							AGREE
14. People controlled his actions.	DISAGREE							AGREE
15. He was more comfortable when people did not get too close.	DISAGREE							AGREE
16. People included him in their activities.	DISAGREE							AGREE
17. He strongly influenced other people's actions.	DISAGREE							AGREE

18. His close friends did not tell him about themselves.	DISAGREE							AGREE
19. He was included in informal social activities.	DISAGREE							AGREE
20. He was easily led by people.	DISAGREE							AGREE
21. He believed that people should keep their private feelings to themselves.	DISAGREE							AGREE
22. People invited him to participate in their activities.	DISAGREE							AGREE
23. He took charge when he was with people socially.	DISAGREE							AGREE
24. His close friends would let him know their real feelings.	DISAGREE							AGREE
25. He included other people in his plans.	DISAGREE							AGREE
26. People decided things for him.	DISAGREE							AGREE

27. There were some things he did not tell anyone.	DISAGREE							AGREE
28. People included him in their social affairs.	DISAGREE							AGREE
29. He got people to do things the way he wanted them done.	DISAGREE							AGREE
30. His closest friends kept secrets from him.	DISAGREE							AGREE
31. He had people around him.	DISAGREE							AGREE
32. People strongly influenced his ideas.	DISAGREE							AGREE
33. There were some things he would not tell anyone.	DISAGREE							AGREE
34. People asked him to participate in their discussions.	DISAGREE							AGREE
35. He took charge when he was with people.	DISAGREE							AGREE

36. His friends confided in him.	DISAGREE							AGREE
37. When people were doing things together he joined them.	DISAGREE							AGREE
38. He was strongly influenced by what people said.	DISAGREE							AGREE
39. He had at least one friend to whom he could tell anything.	DISAGREE							AGREE
40. People invited him to parties.	DISAGREE							AGREE
41. He strongly influenced other people`s ideas.	DISAGREE							AGREE
42. His close friends kept their feelings a secret from him.	DISAGREE							AGREE
43. He looked for people to be with.	DISAGREE							AGREE
44. Other people took charge when he worked together with them.	DISAGREE							AGREE

45. There was a part of himself he kept private.	DISAGREE								AGREE
46. People invited him to join them when he had free time.	DISAGREE								AGREE
47. He took charge when he worked with people.	DISAGREE								AGREE
48. At least two of his friends told him their true feelings.	DISAGREE								AGREE
49. He participated in group activities.	DISAGREE								AGREE
50. People often caused him to change his mind.	DISAGREE								AGREE
51. He had close relationships with a few people.	DISAGREE								AGREE
52. People invited him to do things with them.	DISAGREE								AGREE
53. He saw to it that people do things the way he wanted them to.	DISAGREE								AGREE

54. His friends told him about their private lives.	DISAGREE							AGREE
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## Appendix 9

### BFRS Shaheed Family Members

#### Brief Family Relationship Scale

*You are kindly invited to go back in time to when the Shaheed was a young boy or a young adult.*

*Think about the family where he grew lived and answer the hereunder questions by circling your best preference.*

*Circle your best preference*

*Not at All                      Somewhat                      A Lot*

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

1. In the family there was real help and support for each

other.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

2. In the family there were a lot of arguments.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

3. The family spent a lot of time doing things

together.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

4. The family could talk openly at home.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

5. The family got really mad at each other a lot.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

6. The family worked hard at what was done at

home.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

7. In the family there was a feeling of togetherness.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

8. In the family sometimes members told each other

about their personal problems.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

*Not at All*                      *Somewhat*                      *A Lot*

9. In the family tempers were lost a lot  
at home.                      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

11. In the family members were often put down.                      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

12. In the family members really supported each other.                      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

13. In the family members sometimes were violent.                      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

14. Members were proud to be part of the family.                      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

16. In the family members got along well with each  
other.                      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

18. In the family discussions began easily.                      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

19. In the family voices were raised when members got  
mad.                      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

## Appendix 10

### BFRS Non-Shaheed Family Members

#### Brief Family Relationship Scale

*You are kindly invited to go back in time to when you were a young boy/girl or a young adult.*

*Think about the family where you grew and lived and answer the hereunder questions by circling your best preference.*

*Circle your best preference*

*Not at All*

*Somewhat*

*A Lot*

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

1. In our family we really helped and supported each other.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

2. In our family we argued a lot.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

3. In our family we spent a lot of time doing things together.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

4. In our family we talked openly in our home.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

5. In our family we were really mad at each other a lot.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

6. In our family we worked hard at what we did in our home.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

7. In our family there was a feeling of togetherness.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

8. In our family we sometimes told each other about our personal problems.

*1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20*

	<i>Not at All</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>A Lot</i>
9. In our family we lost our tempers a lot at home.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
11. In our family we often put down each other.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
12. My family members really supported each other.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
13. My family members sometimes were violent.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
14. I was proud to be a part of our family.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
16. In our family we really got along well with each other.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
18. In our family we began discussions easily.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
19. In our family we raised our voice when we were mad.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	

## Appendix 11

### MARS Shaheed Family Members

#### Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale - (MARS)

Kindly give your opinion about your relative who died during the Istashid operation answering the statements hereunder:

Circle the appropriate answer.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Sometimes	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. He found it inspiring to read the Qu'ran.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Allah helped him.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Saying his prayers helped him a lot.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Islam helped him lead a better life.	1	2	3	4	5
5. He liked to learn about Allah very much.	1	2	3	4	5
6. He believed that Allah helped people.	1	2	3	4	5
7. The five prayers helped him a lot.	1	2	3	4	5
8. The supplication (dua) helped him.	1	2	3	4	5
9. He thought the Qu'ran is relevant and applicable to modern day.	1	2	3	4	5
10. He believed that Allah listened to prayers.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Mohammed (peace be upon him) provided a good mode of conduct for him.	1	2	3	4	5
12. He prayed five times a day.	1	2	3	4	5
13. He fasted the whole month of Ramadan.	1	2	3	4	5
14. He observed his daily prayers in the Mosque.	1	2	3	4	5

## Appendix 12

### MARS Non-Shaheed Family Members

#### Muslim Attitude towards Religion Scale - (MARS)

Think of a relative e.g. brother (*Important – Members belonging to the same Family should consider the same relative*). Kindly give your opinion about your relative answering the statements hereunder:

Circle the Correct Answer.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Sometimes	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. He found it inspiring to read the Qu'ran.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Allah helped him.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Saying his prayers helped him a lot.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Islam helped him lead a better life.	1	2	3	4	5
5. He liked to learn about Allah very much.	1	2	3	4	5
6. He believed that Allah helped people.	1	2	3	4	5
7. The five prayers helped him a lot.	1	2	3	4	5
8. The supplication (dua) helped him.	1	2	3	4	5
9. He thought the Qu'ran is relevant and applicable to modern day.	1	2	3	4	5
10. He believed that Allah listened to prayers.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Mohammed (peace be upon him) provided a good mode of conduct for him.	1	2	3	4	5
12. He prayed five times a day.	1	2	3	4	5
13. He fasted the whole month of Ramadan.	1	2	3	4	5
14. He observed his daily prayers in the Mosque	1	2	3	4	5

## Appendix 13

### Case Summaries

1 <sup>st</sup> 12 Shaheed Non-Shaheed	2 <sup>nd</sup> 12 Non-Shaheed	Sex Person of Reference	Age Person of Reference	Participants	Modus Operandi (MO)
1 (Case Study Shaheed 1)		Male	26	Mother, Sister, Brother	Suicide Bombing
2 (Case Study Shaheed 2)		Male	32	Wife, Daughter	Shooting
3		Male	22	Mother, Brother, Brother	Suicide Bombing
4		Male	19	Cousin, Mother, Father	Ramming & Shooting
5 (Case Study Shaheed 3)		Male	20	Brother, Father	Suicide Bombing
6		Male	19	Father, Brother, Mother	Shooting
7 (Case Study Shaheed 4)		Male	22	Mother, Father	Suicide Bombing
8 Case Study Shaheed 5)		Male	18	Grand Mother, Mother	Suicide Bombing
9		Female	18	Mother, Father, Brother	Suicide Bombing
10		Male	25	Brother, Brother, Father	Shooting & Knifing
11		Male	22	Father, Mother	Ramming, Shooting & Knifing
12		Male	19	Brother, Father	Suicide Bombing

1 <sup>st</sup> 12 Shaheed Non-Shaheed	2 <sup>nd</sup> 12 Sex Reference	Person of Reference	Age Person of Reference	Participants	Modus Operandi (MO)
1 (Case Study non-Shaheed 1)		Female	30	Sister, Mother, Father	Not applicable
2 (Case Study non-Shaheed 2)		Male	23	Brother, Mother, Father	Not applicable
3		Male	25	Mother, Father, Sister	Not applicable
4		Male	24	Sister, Brother, Father	Not applicable
5		Male	30	Father, Mother, Brother	Not applicable
6 (Case Study non-Shaheed 3)		Male	18	Brother, Sister, Brother	Not applicable
7		Male	25	Sister, Brother, Father	Not applicable
8 (Case Study non-Shaheed 4)		Male	26	Mother, Father, Sister	Not applicable
9		Female	35	Sister, Sister, Mother	Not applicable
10		Male	30	Father, Sister, Mother	Not applicable
11		Male	32	Mother, Father	Not applicable
12		Male	25	Sister, Mother, Father	Not applicable

***Details that could have identified Participants were removed***

## Appendix 14

### Descriptive Statistics

#### Report

Shaheed or Non-Shaheed Family		FIRO Received Inclusion	FIRO Expressed Inclusion	FIRO Received Control	FIRO Expressed Control	FIRO Received Openness	FIRO Expressed Openness	BFRS Cohesion (Family Support)	BFRS Expressiveness (Expression of opinion & self in the family)	BFRS Absence of Conflict (Absence of Anger & Conflict in the Family)	MARS Religiosity of Reference Person
Shaheed Family	Mean	51.17	47.08	20.33	38.42	30.00	45.33	135.83	53.50	103.33	67.25
	N	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
	Std. Deviation	2.517	4.209	6.050	9.327	3.954	7.101	5.997	6.749	12.858	4.495
Non Shaheed Family	Mean	47.42	45.67	27.25	42.75	32.25	43.42	124.50	53.00	76.83	45.33
	N	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
	Std. Deviation	7.128	4.755	9.459	2.633	2.864	7.902	21.517	8.045	22.906	14.374
Total	Mean	49.29	46.38	23.79	40.58	31.13	44.37	130.17	53.25	90.08	56.29
	N	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24
	Std. Deviation	5.568	4.451	8.531	7.058	3.567	7.412	16.497	7.267	22.654	15.290

## Appendix 15

### Arabic Version Shaheed Family General Questionnaire

#### استمارة عامة

1. أو عم أو قريب أو عم ابن أو الأب أو الأخت أو الأم أو الأخ) بال شهيد؟ علاقتك هي ما  
\_\_\_\_\_ (عمة)
2. عمرك: \_\_\_\_\_
3. الجنس: ذكر  انثى

من فضلك اجب على الأسئلة التالية مشيراً الى مكان نشوء الشهيد في فترة الطفولة الى حين استشهاده، ضع دائرة حول الإجابة الأصح او اكتب إجابتك في الفراغ الموجود:

#### القسم الأول

4. هل كان هناك ترابط اسري؟  
أبداً ليس دائماً أحياناً اغلب الأوقات دائماً
5. هل كان هناك مساعدة ودعم داخل الأسرة؟  
أبداً ليس دائماً أحياناً اغلب الأوقات دائماً

6. كيف كنتم تساعدون بعضكم البعض؟  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

7. أو عم أو قريـب أو عم اـبـن أو الأب أو الأخت أو الأم أو الأخ) ساعد؟ من  
(عمة)

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---

### القسم الثاني

8. هل كان هناك خلافات اسرية؟

أبداً ليس دائماً أحياناً اغلب الأوقات دائماً

9. هل كانت هناك مشاكل اسرية؟

أبداً ليس دائماً أحياناً اغلب الأوقات دائماً

10. عند وجود مشاجرات منزلية، كيف كانت طريقة المشاجرة؟

أ- لفظي (باستخدام الكلمات)

ب- جسدي ( عن طريق الضرب أو القاء اغراض المنزل على بعضكم البعض)

11. بعد المشاجرات، هل كنتم تتصالحون؟

أبداً ليس دائماً أحياناً اغلب الأوقات دائماً

12. كيف كنتم تتصالحون؟

13. من الذي كان يبادر في اصلاح الموقف بعد المشاجرات؟

---

---

14. من الذي كان يغضب غالباً؟

---

---

15. هل كان هناك من يجادل غالبا؟ و مع من كان يجادل؟

---

---

### القسم الثالث

16. ما مقدار اهمية الدين لدى عائلتك؟

أبدا      ليس دائما      أحيانا      اغلب الأوقات      دائما

17. هل كنتم تذهبون الى المسجد بشكل عائلي؟

أبدا      ليس دائما      أحيانا      اغلب الأوقات      دائما

18. من الذي كان يذهب الى المسجد؟

---

---

19. هل كنتم تصلون صلاه عائلية جماعية؟

أبدا      ليس دائما      أحيانا      اغلب الأوقات      دائما

20. من الذي كان يصلي؟

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---

---

### القسم الرابع

21. هل كان هناك افراد من العائلة لديه اعمال مخالفة للقانون او العادات والتقاليد او الدين؟

نعم  لا

إذا كان هناك أفراد؟ كم عددهم؟

22. هل كان الشهيد متورطاً في أعمال مخالفة للقانون أو العادات والتقاليد أو الدين؟

نعم  لا

إذا كانت الإجابة نعم، ما هي هذه الأعمال؟

### القسم الخامس

23. من كان صاحب القرارات المهمة في المنزل؟

الأم  الأب  الإخ الأكبر  الجد  شخص آخر \_\_\_\_\_

24. هل كان هناك عقاب للأطفال الذين يخالفون القرارات والقوانين المنزلية؟

أبداً  ليس دائماً  أحياناً  أغلب الأوقات  دائماً

25. ما نوع العقاب؟

26. من الذي كان يعاقب؟

الأم  الأب  الإخ الأكبر  الجد  شخص آخر \_\_\_\_\_

27. هل كانت إدارة ونظام الأم مختلفة عن نظام وإدارة الأب؟

نعم  لا

كيف؟

### القسم السادس

28. هل كانت العائلة تنظر الى نفسها على انها عائلة متماسكة؟  
أبدا ليس دائما أحيانا اغلب الأوقات دائما
29. هل كان هناك شعور سيء لدى العائلة في حال تم الفراق؟  
أبدا ليس دائما أحيانا اغلب الأوقات دائما
30. هل كانوا يعتمدون بشكل كبير على بعضهم البعض؟  
أبدا ليس دائما أحيانا اغلب الأوقات دائما
31. هل كانت هناك مناقشات شخصية داخل العائلة؟  
أبدا ليس دائما أحيانا اغلب الأوقات دائما
32. هل كانوا يطلبون النصيحة من افراد العائلة في مشاكلهم الاسرية؟  
أبدا ليس دائما أحيانا اغلب الأوقات دائما

### القسم السابع

33. هل تكيفت العائلة مع احتياجات افرادها المختلفة؟  
أبدا ليس دائما أحيانا اغلب الأوقات دائما

### القسم الثامن

34. من الذي كان يعيش في المنزل؟  
الاب □ الام □ الاخ □ الاخت □ الجد □ الجدة □ العم □ العممة □ القريب □  
اخرين مثل: \_\_\_\_\_

### القسم التاسع

35. مع من كان الشهيد اكثر انسجاما من بين افراد العائله؟

---

36. مع من كان الشهيد اقل انسجاما من بين افراد العائله؟

---

37. من هم الاقرب الى بعضهم البعض بين افراد عائلتك؟

---

38. من كان الاكثر اظهارا للحب والحنان والعطف بين افراد عائلتك؟

39. كيف كان يظهر الحنان والحب في العائله؟

---

40. عندما كان هناك شعور بالسوء لدى احد افراد العائله، من الذي كان يستطيع تخفيف حدة السوء؟

---

41. كيف كان يتم اظهار الحنان والراحة؟

42. من الشخص الاكثر اثاره للمتعه في العائله؟

---

و مع من كان يقضي او تقضي افضل الاوقات؟

---

---

43. من الفرد الذي كان غالبا الاكثر تفهما لباقي افراد العائله؟

---

44. هل هناك فرد من العائله قضى اوقاتا مع عائله اخرى؟

لا

نعم

إذا كان الجواب نعم، من هو هذا الفرد ومع من قضى أوقاته؟

---

---

45. هل تعتبر/ين ان زواج والدي الشهيد/ة كان زواجا ناجحا؟

نعم  لا

### القسم العاشر

46. هل كان للشهيد/ه قدوة في عائلته/ا (شخص يعتبره/ تعتبره قدوة له/ا)

نعم  لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم، من هو/هي

---

47. هل كان هناك افراد بالعائلة يمتلكون نفس الصفات والتصرفات؟

نعم  لا

48. من كان الاكثر سيطرة على قرارات الشهيد/ة؟

---

### القسم الحادي عشر

49. هل كان هناك اي من افراد العائلة يشعر بالعجز أو الاكتئاب؟

نعم  لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم، من هو/هي

---

50. هل كان الشهيد انعزاليا عن افراد أسرته؟

نعم  لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم، كيف؟

51. هل كان هناك اي من افراد عائلتك يفضل البقاء وحيدا؟

نعم  لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم، اشرح كيف كان ذلك

52. ما هي الامور الممتعة التي كنتم تقومون بها عادة كعائلة؟

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53. هل تقضي عائلتك وقتاً معاً في القيام بشيء ما؟

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نعم  لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم ، فصف هذا النشاط

### القسم الثاني عشر

54. هل امتثل الشهيد جيداً مع أفراد عائلته الآخرين؟

أبداً  ليس دائماً  أحياناً  اغلب الأوقات  دائماً

### القسم الرابع عشر

55. كيف كان الشهيد ينظر الى نفسه؟ ( ما هو انطباعه عن ذاته)؟

56. كيف كانت طبيعة قريبك "الشهيد" (اي نوع من الشخصيات)؟

57. لماذا برأيك قام بعملية استشهادية؟

58. هل واجهت العائلة أي مشاكل كبيره خلال فترة طفولة الشهيد إلى لحظة استشهاده؟

لا

نعم

إذا كانت الاجابة نعم، ما هي نوع المشاكل؟

59. هل كانت هناك أي مواضيع مقلقة في العائلة في الفترة بين طفولة الشهيد إلى لحظة الإستشهاد؟

لا

نعم

إذا كانت الاجابة نعم، ما هي نوع المواضيع؟

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60. هل كنت تتمنى لو ان ظروف عائلتك كانت مختلفة عن ما كانت عليه؟

أبداً ليس دائماً أحياناً اغلب الأوقات دائماً

61. لماذا تعتقد بأن قريبك قام بعملية استشهادية؟

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62. هل تلقى تشجيعاً او تحفيزاً للقيام بعملية استشهادية؟

نعم  لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم، ما هي طبيعة التشجيع او التحفيز؟

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63. هل تعتقد ان عائلتك تختلف عن العائلات الأخرى؟

نعم  لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم، كيف؟

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64. ما هو شعور عائلتك الآن بعدما قام احد افرادها بعملية استشهادية؟

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65. كيف أثر الاستشهاد على العائلة؟

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## Appendix 16

### Arabic Version non-Shaheed Family General Questionnaire.

#### استمارة عامة

اجب عن الأسئلة التالية بالعودة الى عائلتك، فكر في اخ، ابن، ابن عم قريب...الخ) واجب عن الأسئلة التالية بالعودة الى فترة طفولة القريب او الى فترة نشوء هذا القريب.

(ملاحظة: الأشخاص الذين ينتمون الى نفس العائلة يجب ان يتحدثوا عن نفس القريب)

1. ما هي علاقتك بهذا القرب؟ (أخي ، أم ، أخت ، أب ، ابن عم ، عم أو عمّة) \_\_\_\_\_
2. عمرك: \_\_\_\_\_
3. الجنس: ذكر  انثى

#### القسم الأول

4. هل كان هناك ترابط اسري؟  
أبدا      ليس دائما      أحيانا      اغلب الأوقات      دائما

5. هل كان هناك مساعدة ودعم داخل الأسرة؟  
أبدا      ليس دائما      أحيانا      اغلب الأوقات      دائما

6. كيف كنتم تساعدون بعضكم البعض؟

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7. أو عم أو قريـب أو عم اـبـن أو الأب أو الأخت أو الأم أو الأخ) ساعد؟ من  
(عمة)

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### القسم الثاني

8. هل كان هناك خلافات اسرية؟

أبداً ليس دائماً أحياناً اغلب الأوقات دائماً

9. هل كانت هناك مشاكل اسرية؟

أبداً ليس دائماً أحياناً اغلب الأوقات دائماً

10. عند وجود مشاجرات منزلية، كيف كانت طريقة المشاجرة؟

ت- لفظي (باستخدام الكلمات)

ث- جسدي ( عن طريق الضرب أو القاء اغراض المنزل على بعضكم البعض)

11. بعد المشاجرات، هل كنتم تتصالحون؟

أبداً ليس دائماً أحياناً اغلب الأوقات دائماً

12. كيف كنتم تتصالحون؟

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13. من الذي كان يبادر في اصلاح الموقف بعد المشاجرات؟

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14. من الذي كان يغضب غالباً؟

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15. هل كان هناك من يجادل غالبا؟ و مع من كان يجادل؟

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### القسم الثالث

16. ما مقدار اهمية الدين لدى عائلتك؟

أبدا ليس دائما أحيانا اغلب الأوقات دائما

17. هل كنتم تذهبون الى المسجد بشكل عائلي؟

أبدا ليس دائما أحيانا اغلب الأوقات دائما

18. من الذي كان يذهب الى المسجد؟

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19. هل كنتم تصلون صلاة عائلية جماعية؟

أبدا ليس دائما أحيانا اغلب الأوقات دائما

20. من الذي كان يصلي؟

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### القسم الرابع

21. هل كان هناك افراد من العائلة لديه اعمال مخالفة للقانون او العادات والتقاليد او الدين؟

نعم  لا

إذا كان هناك افراد؟ كم عددهم؟

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22. هل كان الشهيد متورطاً في أعمال مخالفة للقانون أو العادات والتقاليد أو الدين؟

نعم  لا

إذا كانت الإجابة نعم، ما هي هذه الأعمال؟

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### القسم الخامس

23. من كان صاحب القرارات المهمة في المنزل؟

الأم  الأب  الإخ الأكبر  الجد  شخص آخر \_\_\_\_\_

24. هل كان هناك عقاب للأطفال الذين يخالفون القرارات والقوانين المنزلية؟

أبداً  ليس دائماً  أحياناً  أغلب الأوقات  دائماً

25. ما نوع العقاب؟

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26. من الذي كان يعاقب؟

الأم  الأب  الإخ الأكبر  الجد  شخص آخر \_\_\_\_\_

27. هل كانت إدارة ونظام الأم مختلفة عن نظام وإدارة الأب؟

نعم  لا

كيف؟

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### القسم السادس

28. هل كانت العائلة تنتظر الى نفسها على انها عائلة متماسكة؟  
أبدا ليس دائما أحيانا اغلب الأوقات دائما
29. هل ستشعرون بشعور سيء في حال فراق ورحيل احد افراد العائلة؟  
أبدا ليس دائما أحيانا اغلب الأوقات دائما
30. هل تعتمدون على بعض بشكل كبير؟  
أبدا ليس دائما أحيانا اغلب الأوقات دائما
31. هل هناك مناقشات و جدالات شخصية داخل العائلة؟  
أبدا ليس دائما أحيانا اغلب الأوقات دائما
32. هل تطلبون النصيحة من افراد العائلة في مشاكلكم الاسرية؟  
أبدا ليس دائما أحيانا اغلب الأوقات دائما

### القسم السابع

33. هل تكيفت العائلة مع احتياجات افرادها المختلفة؟  
أبدا ليس دائما أحيانا اغلب الأوقات دائما

### القسم الثامن

34. من الذي كان يعيش في المنزل؟  
الاب □ الام □ الاخ □ الاخت □ الجد □ الجدة □ العم □ العممة □ القريب □  
اخرين مثل: \_\_\_\_\_

### القسم التاسع

35. مع من قريبك اكثر انسجاما من بين افراد العائلة؟

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36. مع من قريبك اقل انسجاما من بين افراد العائلة ؟

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37. من هم الاقرب الى بعضهم البعض بين افراد عائلتك؟

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38. من كان الاكثر اظهارا للحب والحنان والعطف بين افراد عائلتك؟

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39. كيف كان يظهر الحنان والحب في العائلة؟

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40. عندما كان هناك شعور بالسوء لدى احد افراد العائلة، من الذي كان يستطيع تخفيف حدة السوء؟

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41. كيف كان يتم اظهار الراحة والتعاطف ؟

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42. من الشخص الاكثر اثارة للمتعة والمرح في العائلة ؟

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و مع من كان يقضي او تقضي افضل الاوقات؟

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43. من الفرد الذي كان غالباً الأكثر تفهماً لباقي أفراد العائلة؟

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44. هل هناك فرد من العائلة قضى أوقاتاً مع عائلة أخرى؟

نعم  لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم، من هو هذا الفرد ومع من قضى أوقاته؟

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45. هل تعتبر/ين أن زواج والديك أو قريبك كان زواجا ناجحاً؟

نعم  لا

#### القسم العاشر

46. هل كان لقريبك قدوة في عائلته (شخص يعتبره قدوة له)؟

نعم  لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم، من هو/هي

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47. هل كان هناك أفراد بالعائلة يمتلكون نفس صفات وتصرفات قريبك؟

نعم  لا

#### القسم الحادي عشر

48. هل كان هناك أي من أفراد العائلة يشعر بالعجز أو الاكتئاب؟

نعم  لا

اذا كان الجواب نعم، من هو/هي

49. هل كان قريبك انعزاليا عن افراد اسرته؟

نعم  لا

اذا كان الجواب نعم، كيف؟

50. هل كان هناك اي من افراد عائلتك يفضل البقاء وحيدا؟

نعم  لا

اذا كان الجواب نعم، اشرح كيف كان ذلك

51. ما هي الامور الممتعة التي كنتم تقومون بها عادة كعائلة؟

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### القسم الثاني عشر

52. هل كان افراد العائلة يقضون الوقت في قضاء الاعمال معا؟

نعم  لا

اذا كان الجواب نعم، اشرح كيفية ذلك

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### القسم الثالث عشر

53. هل ينسجم قريبك مع افراد اخرين من عائلته؟

أبدا  ليس دائما  أحيانا  اغلب الأوقات  دائما

القسم الرابع عشر

54. كيف يرى قريبك نفسه؟ ( ما هو انطباعه عن ذاته)؟

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55. ما هي طبيعة قريبك (اي نوع من الشخصيات)؟

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56. هل واجهت العائلة أي مشاكل كبيره او تغييرات مهمة خلال فترة طفولة قريبك إلى لحظة نضوجه؟

لا

نعم

اذا كانت الاجابة نعم، ما هي نوع المشاكل؟

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57. هل كانت هناك أي مواضيع مقلقة في العائلة في الفترة بين طفولة قريبك إلى لحظة نضوجه؟

لا

نعم

إذا كانت الإجابة نعم، ما هي نوع المواضيع؟

---

58. هل كنت تتمنى لو أن ظروف عائلتك كانت مختلفة عما كانت عليه؟

دائماً

أغلب الأوقات

أحياناً

ليس دائماً

أبداً

59. هل تعتقد أن عائلتك تختلف عن العائلات الأخرى؟

لا

نعم

إذا كان الجواب نعم، كيف؟

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60. كيف ستشعر لو أصبح أحد أفراد عائلتك شهيداً؟

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## Appendix 17

### Arabic Version FIRO-B adapted version for Shaheed Family Members

#### يذكر الجدول التالي بعض من التصرفات التي لربما كان يقوم بها قريبك الشهيد مع المحيطين به:

في واحدة من الفراغات الستة في الجدول لتوضيح مدى موافقتك على هذه X اقرأ جميع العبارات وضع إشارة العبارات:  
من عبارة "أوافق" أكثر X كلما وافقت أكثر على العبارات، اقتربت إشارة

1. كان يسعى للتواجد مع الناس	لا أوافق							وافق
2. يقرر الناس ما سيفعلونه عندما يتواجد معهم	لا أوافق							وافق
3. كان صادقا جدا مع أصدقائه المقربين.	لا أوافق							وافق
4. دعاه الناس لمشاركتهم وعمل بعض الأمور معهم.	لا أوافق							وافق
5. كان الشخص المسيطر عند تواجده مع الآخرين.	لا أوافق							وافق
6. أخبره أصدقائه المقربون عن مشاعرهم.	لا أوافق							وافق
7. شارك في التجمعات الاجتماعية.	لا أوافق							وافق
8. أثر أصدقائه بشكل كبير على تصرفاته.	لا أوافق							وافق
9. كان ياتمن اصدقاءه المقربين.	لا أوافق							وافق
10. دعاه الناس لمشاركتهم في نشاطاتهم.	لا أوافق							وافق
11. كلف أشخاص بالقيام بمهمات أراد انجازها.	لا أوافق							وافق
12. أخبره أصدقائه المقربين عن أمورهم الخاصة.	لا أوافق							وافق
13. انضم الى مؤسسات اجتماعيه.	لا أوافق							وافق
14. تحكم الناس بتصرفاته.	لا أوافق							وافق
15. كان يشعر براحة أكبر عندما يجلس لوحده.	لا أوافق							وافق
16. أشركه الناس في نشاطاتهم	لا أوافق							وافق

17. أثر بشكل كبير على تصرفات الناس.	لا أوافق								وافق
18. لم يخبره أصدقائه المقربين عن أمورهم الخاصة.	لا أوافق								وافق
19. كان مشاركاً في الأنشطة الاجتماعية غير الرسمية.	لا أوافق								وافق
20. كان يسهل التحكم به من قبل الآخرين.	لا أوافق								وافق
21. كان يؤمن أن على الناس الاحتفاظ بأمورهم الخاصة لأنفسهم.	لا أوافق								وافق
22. دعاه الناس للمشاركة معهم بأنشطتهم.	لا أوافق								وافق
23. كان يأخذ على عاتقه المسؤولية الاجتماعية عند تواجده مع الآخرين.	لا أوافق								وافق
24. يسمح له أصدقائه المقربون بمعرفة مشاعرهم الحقيقية.	لا أوافق								وافق
25. سمح للناس بالمشاركة في مخططاته.	لا أوافق								وافق
26. قرر الناس أموراً بالنيابة عنه.	لا أوافق								وافق
27. اخفي بعض الأمور الخاصة عن الجميع.	لا أوافق								وافق
28. شاركه الناس بأمورهم وقضاياهم الاجتماعية.	لا أوافق								وافق
29. كلف أشخاصاً للقيام بالمهام على طريقته وحسب رؤيته للأمور.	لا أوافق								وافق
30. اخفي أصدقائه المقربين أسرارهم عنه.	لا أوافق								وافق
31. كان محاطاً بالناس.	لا أوافق								وافق
32. أثر الناس على أفكاره بقوة.	لا أوافق								وافق
33. كان هناك أموراً لا يخبرها لأحد.	لا أوافق								وافق
34. طلب الناس منه مشاركتهم ورأيه في نقاشاتهم.	لا أوافق								وافق
35. لقد تحمل المسؤولية عند تواجده مع الآخرين.	لا أوافق								وافق
36. كان مصدر ثقة لأصدقائه.	لا أوافق								وافق
37. عندما كان الناس يشرعون لعمل شيء ما كان يشاركهم أعمالهم.	لا أوافق								وافق
38. كان يتأثر بقوة بما يقوله الآخرين.	لا أوافق								وافق

39. كان هناك على الأقل صديق واحد يخبره بكل شيء عن نفسه .	لا أوافق								وافق
40. دعاه الناس إلى الحفلات و الاحتفالات.	لا أوافق								وافق
41. كان يؤثر على افكار الاخرين بشكل كبير.	لا أوافق								وافق
42. لم يخبره أصدقائه المقربين عن مشاعرهم	لا أوافق								وافق
43. كان يبحث عن أشخاص لتمضية الوقت معهم.	لا أوافق								وافق
44. تولى الاخرون القيادة عنه عندما كان يعمل معهم.	لا أوافق								وافق
45. كان يخفي دائما جانبا معيناً من شخصيته.	لا أوافق								وافق
46. دعاه الناس للجلوس معهم في أوقات فراغه.	لا أوافق								وافق
47. كان يتولى القيادة عند تواجده مع الآخرين.	لا أوافق								وافق
48 لقد كان هناك صديقين على الأقل يخبرانه عن حقيقة مشاعرهما.	لا أوافق								وافق
49. كان يشارك في نشاطات الاخرين.	لا أوافق								وافق
50. تسبب الناس أحيانا في تغيير أفكاره.	لا أوافق								وافق
51. كان لديه علاقات وثيقة مع عدد قليل من الناس ،	لا أوافق								وافق
52. دعاه الناس لمشاركتهم أعمالهم.	لا أوافق								وافق
53. لقد رأى أن الناس يقومون بأعمالهم في الطريقة التي يريدونها هو.	لا أوافق								وافق
54. يخبره أصدقائه بأمور حياتهم الشخصية.	لا أوافق								وافق



17. أثر بشكل كبير على تصرفات الناس.	لا أوافق							وافق
18. لم يخبره أصدقائه المقربين عن أمورهم الخاصة.	لا أوافق							وافق
19. كان مشاركاً في الأنشطة الاجتماعية غير الرسمية.	لا أوافق							وافق
20. كان يسهل التحكم به من قبل الآخرين.	لا أوافق							وافق
21. كان يؤمن أن على الناس الاحتفاظ بأمورهم الخاصة لأنفسهم.	لا أوافق							وافق
22. دعاه الناس للمشاركة معهم بأنشطتهم.	لا أوافق							وافق
23. كان يأخذ على عاتقه المسؤولية الاجتماعية عند تواجده مع الآخرين.	لا أوافق							وافق
24. يسمح له أصدقائه المقربون بمعرفة مشاعرهم الحقيقية.	لا أوافق							وافق
25. سمح للناس بالمشاركة في مخططاته.	لا أوافق							وافق
26. قرر الناس أمورا بالنيابة عنه.	لا أوافق							وافق
27. اخفي بعض الأمور الخاصة عن الجميع.	لا أوافق							وافق
28. شاركه الناس بأمورهم وقضاياهم الاجتماعية.	لا أوافق							وافق
29. كلف اشخاصا للقيام بالمهام على طريقته وحسب رؤيته للأمور	لا أوافق							وافق
30. اخفي أصدقائه المقربين أسرارهم عنه.	لا أوافق							وافق
31. كان محاطاً بالناس.	لا أوافق							وافق
32. أثر الناس على أفكاره بقوة.	لا أوافق							وافق
33. كان هناك أمورا لا يخبرها لأحد	لا أوافق							وافق
34. طلب الناس منه مشاركتهم ورأيه في نقاشاتهم.	لا أوافق							وافق
35. لقد تحمل المسؤولية عند تواجده مع الآخرين.	لا أوافق							وافق
36. كان مصدر ثقة لأصدقائه.	لا أوافق							وافق
37. عندما كان الناس يشرعون لعمل شيء ما كان يشاركهم أعمالهم.	لا أوافق							وافق
38. كان يتأثر بقوة بما يقوله الآخرين.	لا أوافق							وافق

39. كان هناك على الأقل صديق واحد يخبره بكل شيء عن نفسه .	لا أوافق							وافق
40. دعاه الناس إلى الحفلات و الاحتفالات.	لا أوافق							وافق
41. كان يؤثر على افكار الاخرين بشكل كبير.	لا أوافق							وافق
42. لم يخبره أصدقائه المقربين عن مشاعرهم	لا أوافق							وافق
43. كان يبحث عن أشخاص لتمضية الوقت معهم.	لا أوافق							وافق
44. تولى الاخرون القيادة عنه عندما كان يعمل معهم.	لا أوافق							وافق
45. كان يخفي دائما جانبا معيناً من شخصيته.	لا أوافق							وافق
46. دعاه الناس للجلوس معهم في أوقات فراغه.	لا أوافق							وافق
47. كان يتولى القيادة عند تواجده مع الآخرين.	لا أوافق							وافق
48 لقد كان هناك صديقين على الأقل يخبرانه عن حقيقة مشاعرهما.	لا أوافق							وافق
49. كان يشارك في نشاطات الاخرين.	لا أوافق							وافق
50. تسبب الناس أحيانا في تغيير أفكاره.	لا أوافق							وافق
51. كان لديه علاقات وثيقة مع عدد قليل من الناس ،	لا أوافق							وافق
52. دعاه الناس لمشاركتهم أعمالهم.	لا أوافق							وافق
53. لقد رأى أن الناس يقومون بأعمالهم في الطريقة التي يريدونها هو.	لا أوافق							وافق
54. يخبره أصدقائه بأمور حياتهم الشخصية.	لا أوافق							وافق

## Appendix 19

### Arabic Version BFRS Shaheed Family Members

# مختصر مقياس العلاقة الأسرية (عائلات الشهداء)

أنتم مدعوون للعودة بالزمن إلى الوراء عندما كان الشهيد/الشهيدة صغيرة/ أو راشدة/ تذكروا العائلة التي كبرتم وعشتم معها وأجيبوا عن الأسئلة التالية من خلال وضع دائرة حول الرقم الأقرب لكم:

ضع/ي دائرة حول الخيار المفضل: دائماً أحياناً أبداً

1. أفراد عائلتي يدعمون ويساعدون بعضهم البعض

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

2. كان هناك الكثير من النقاشات والجدال بين أفراد عائلتي

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

3. كانت عائلتي تقضي الكثير من الوقت في عمل الأشياء سوية

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

أبدا

أحيانا

دائما

4. يتحدث أفراد عائلتي بانفتاح في المنزل

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

5. كان أفراد عائلتي يغضبون من بعضهم كثيراً

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

6. كانت عائلتي تعمل بشكل كبير في إنجاز الأمور المنزلية

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

7. هناك شعور بالتقارب والوحدة الأسرية بين أفراد عائلتي

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

8. أفراد عائلتي يتحدثون أحياناً عن مشاكلهم الشخصية

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

9. كنا في العائلة نفقد أعصابنا كثيراً

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

11. أفراد عائلتي يتعرضون للإحباط

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

أبدا

أحيانا

دائما

12. أفراد عائلتي يدمون بعضهم البعض

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

13. أفراد عائلتي أحيانا عنيفين

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

14. الأفراد فخورين لكونهم جزءا من العائلة

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

16. في عائلتي نصبر ونتحمل بعضنا البعض

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

18. نقاش أفراد عائلتي يبدأ بسهولة وسلاسة

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

19. ترتفع أصوات أفراد عائلتي عند الغضب

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

## Appendix 20

### Arabic Version BFRS non-Shaheed Family Members

# مختصر مقياس العلاقة الأسرية (العائلات العادية التي لا يوجد فيها شهداء)

أنتم مدعوون للعودة بالزمن إلى الوراء عندما كنتم أطفالاً أو راشدين

تذكروا العائلة التي كبرتم وعشتم معها وأجيبوا عن الأسئلة التالية من خلال وضع دائرة حول الرقم الأقرب إليكم:

ضع/ي دائرة حول الخيار المناسب: دائماً أحياناً أبداً

1. أفراد عائلتي يدعمون ويساعدون بعضهم البعض

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

2. نتناقش كثيراً في عائلتي

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

3. نقضي كثيراً من الوقت في العمل سوياً

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

4. في عائلتي نتكلم بشكل منفتح

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

5. كنا نغضب من بعضنا البعض كثيراً

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

أبداً

أحياناً

دائماً

6. كانت عائلتي تعمل بشكل كبير في إنجاز الأمور المنزلية

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

7. كنا نشعر بالتقارب والوحده الأسرية

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

8. كنا نخبر بعضنا أحياناً عن مشاكلنا الشخصية

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

9. كنا نغضب كثيراً من بعضنا البعض

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

11. كان أفراد عائلتي في بعض الأحيان يخطون بعضهم البعض

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

12. أفراد عائلتي يدعمون بعضهم البعض

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

13. أفراد عائلتي عنيفون أحياناً

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

أبدا

أحيانا

دائما

14. انا فخورة/ة لكوني فردا من عائلتي

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

16. في عائلتي نصبر على بعضنا البعض كثيرا

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

18. تبدأ نقاشات أفراد عائلتي بسهولة

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

19. في عائلتي نرفع أصواتنا عندما نغضب

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

## Appendix 21

### Arabic Version MARS Shaheed Family Members

### سلوك المسلمين بناء على جدول الدين

يرجى إعطاء رأيك/ي حول قريبك الذي ضحى بحياته كشهيد  
بالإجابة على الاسئلة التالية.

رؤيك يوزن سب الادي الركم ال جدول في اكتب

اوافق بشدة	اوافق	احيانا	اعارض	اعارض بشدة	
5	4	3	2	1	1. وجد الإلهام في قراءة القرآن
5	4	3	2	1	2. ساعده الله كثيرا
5	4	3	2	1	3. كانت صلواته تساعده كثيرا
5	4	3	2	1	4. ساعده الاسلام في عيش حياة افضل
5	4	3	2	1	5. كان يحب معرفة المزيد عن الله
5	4	3	2	1	6. كان واثقا بأن الله يساعد الناس
5	4	3	2	1	7. ساعدته الصلوات الخمس
5	4	3	2	1	8. ساعده الدعاء لله كثيرا
5	4	3	2	1	9. كان يعتقد ان القران صالح وينطبق على العصر الحالي
5	4	3	2	1	10. كان يؤمن و يعتقد ان الله يستمع و يستجيب للصلاة
5	4	3	2	1	11. كان يعتقد ان الرسول محمد (صلى الله عليه وسلم) قام بوضع قواعد جيدة للسلوك والتصرفاته
5	4	3	2	1	12. كان يصلي الصلوات الخمس
5	4	3	2	1	13. كان يصوم شهر رمضان بأكمله
5	4	3	2	1	14. كان يصلي يوميا في المسجد

## Appendix 22

### Arabic Version MARS non-Shaheed Family Members

### سلوك المسلمين بناء على جدول الدين

فكر في قريبك، اخاك مثلا، (ملاحظة: الأشخاص الذين ينتمون الى نفس العائلة يجب ان يتحدثوا عن نفس القريب)

رتب كل بند حسب الارتفاع الجدول في اكتب

اوافق بشدة	اوافق	احيانا	اعارض	اعارض بشدة	
5	4	3	2	1	1. وجد الإلهام في قراءة القرآن
5	4	3	2	1	2. ساعده الله كثيرا
5	4	3	2	1	3. كانت صلواته تساعده كثيرا
5	4	3	2	1	4. ساعده الاسلام في عيش حياة أفضل
5	4	3	2	1	5. كان يحب معرفة المزيد عن الله
5	4	3	2	1	6. كان واثقا بأن الله يساعد الناس
5	4	3	2	1	7. ساعدته الصلوات الخمس
5	4	3	2	1	8. ساعده الدعاء لله كثيرا
5	4	3	2	1	9. كان يعتقد ان القرآن صالح وينطبق على العصر الحالي
5	4	3	2	1	10. كان يؤمن ويعتقد ان الله يستمع ويستجيب للصلاة
5	4	3	2	1	11. كان يعتقد ان الرسول محمد (صلى الله عليه وسلم) قام بوضع قواعد جيدة للسلوك والتصرفات
5	4	3	2	1	12. كان يصلي الصلوات الخمس
5	4	3	2	1	13. كان يصوم شهر رمضان بأكمله
5	4	3	2	1	14. كان يصلي يوميا في المسجد

## Appendix 23

### Back Translation Shaheed Family General Questionnaire

#### General Questionnaire

1. What is your relation to the martyr? (Brother, mother, sister, father, cousin, relative, uncle or aunt)

---

2. Your age: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Sex: Male  Female

Kindly answer the following questions, with reference to the family where the martyr was born, from the period of his childhood until his death, circle the correct answer or write your answer in the space provided:

#### Section I

4. Was there family cohesion?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

5. Was there help and support within the family?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

6. How did you help each other? \_\_\_\_\_

---

7. Who helped? (Brother, mother, sister, father, cousin, relative, uncle or aunt) \_\_\_\_\_

---

#### Section II

8. Were there family conflicts?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

9. Where there family fights?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

10. If there were domestic fights, how were these fights?

- a) Verbally (using words) \_\_\_\_\_  
 b) Physically (by hitting each other or throwing things) \_\_\_\_\_

11. After fighting, did you reconcile?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

12. How did you reconcile? \_\_\_\_\_

13. Who would have taken the initiative to reconcile after the fights?

\_\_\_\_\_

14. Who was often angry? \_\_\_\_\_

15. Was there anyone who argued often? And who would mostly argue with whom?

\_\_\_\_\_

### Section III

16. How much important was Religion in your family?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

17. Did you go to the Mosque as a family?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

18. Who went to the Mosque?

\_\_\_\_\_

19. Did you pray in your family?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

20. Who prayed?

\_\_\_\_\_

### Section IV

21. Where there any family members involved in criminality?

No

Yes

If there are, how many? \_\_\_\_\_

22 Was the Shaheed involved in criminal activity?

No

Yes

If yes, what criminal activities was he involved in? \_\_\_\_\_

#### Section V

23. Who made the important decisions in the family?

Grandpa  Elder Brother  Father  Mother

Another person \_\_\_\_\_

24. Were there punishments for children who did not obey?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

25. What kind of punishment was given?

\_\_\_\_\_

26. Who gave the punishment?

Grandpa  Elder Brother  Father  Mother

Another person \_\_\_\_\_

27. Was there a difference between the discipline of the father and the mother?

No

Yes

How? \_\_\_\_\_

#### Section VI

28. Did the family see itself as sticking together?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

29. Was the separation or the departure of a family member hard?

335

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

30. Did they rely on each other?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

31. Were there discussions regarding personal issues within the family?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

32. Was advice from other family members sought on most issues?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

Section VII

33. Did the family adapt according to the needs of the different family members?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

Section VIII

34. Who was living at home?

Aunt  Uncle  Grandma  Grandpa  Sister/s  Brother/s  Mother  Father

Other relative such as: \_\_\_\_\_

Section IX

35. With whom in the family did the Shaheed get best along with?

\_\_\_\_\_

36. With whom in the family did the Shaheed get least along with?

\_\_\_\_\_

37. Who was closest to whom in the family?

\_\_\_\_\_

38. Who mostly showed love and affection within the family?

\_\_\_\_\_

39. How was this love and affection shown?

---

40. When someone in the family was sad who was most able to comfort him/her?

---

41. How was this comfort shown?

---

42. Who was most fun to be with?

---

And with whom did this person got best along with?

---

43. Who was the most understanding member in the family?

---

44. Were there any family members who used to spend more time with each other?

No

Yes

If Yes who spent more time with whom?

---

45. Do you consider the marriage of the parents of your relative Shaheed to be a happy one?

No

Yes

#### Section X

46. Does the martyr have a role model in his / her family (a person whom he / she considers an example)?

No

Yes

If Yes, Who? \_\_\_\_\_

47. Were there family members with the same traits and behaviors?

---

48. Who influenced mostly the Shaheed decision?

---

Section XI

49. Were any family members feeling helpless or depressed?

No

Yes

If Yes, Who? \_\_\_\_\_

50. Was the Shaheed isolated from his family?

No

Yes

If Yes, How \_\_\_\_\_

51. Were there any members of your family who preferred to stay alone?

No

Yes

If Yes, explain how? \_\_\_\_\_

52. What fun things did you usually do as a family?

---

53. Did your family spend time together doing some particular activity?

No

Yes

If Yes, describe this activity

---

Section XII

54. Did the Shaheed relate well to other members of his family?

Always

Usually

Sometimes

Not Always

Never

Section XIII

55. How did the Shaheed see himself (what was his self-impression)?

---

---

---

56. What personal characteristics did the Shaheed have?

---

---

---

57. Why do you think he did his martyrdom operation?

---

---

---

58. Did the family encounter any major problems during the martyr's childhood until the moment of martyrdom?

No

Yes

If Yes, what kind of problems?

---

---

---

59. Were there any disturbing issues in the family between the child's childhood and the moment of martyrdom?

No

Yes

If Yes, what kind of issues?

---

---

---

60. Would you prefer if your family situation and things were different from what they were?

Always

Usually

Sometimes

Not Always

Never

61. Why do you think that your relative committed a martyrdom operation?

---

---

---

62. Was he encouraged or motivated to carry out a martyrdom operation?

No

Yes

If yes, what encouraged or motivated him?

---

---

---

63. Do you think your family is different from other families?

No

Yes

If Yes, how?

---

---

---

64. What is the feeling in your family feeling now that one of its members has carried out a martyrdom operation?

---

---

---

65. How did Istashid (martyrdom) affect the family?

---

---

---

## Appendix 24

### Back Translation non-Shaheed Family General Questionnaire

#### General Questionnaire

**Go back in time and think of a relative in your family such as your brother, son or cousin and answer these questions in relation and answer these questions in relation to the time period from his birth, childhood to early adulthood.**

**(Note: persons belonging to the same family should answer these questions in relation to the same relative)**

1. What is your relation to this relative? (Brother, mother, sister, father, cousin, uncle or aunt)

---

2. Your age: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Sex: Male  Female

Kindly answer the following questions, with reference to the family where the person of reference was born, from the period of his childhood until his death, circle the correct answer or write your answer in the space provided:

#### Section I

4. Was there family cohesion?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

5. Was there help and support within the family?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

6. How did you help each other? \_\_\_\_\_

---

7. Who helped? (Brother, mother, sister, father, cousin, relative, uncle or aunt) \_\_\_\_\_

---

#### Section II

8. Were there family conflicts?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

9. Where there family fights?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

10. If there were domestic fights, how were these fights?

- a) Verbally (using words) \_\_\_\_\_
- b) Physically (by hitting each other or throwing things)\_\_\_\_\_

11. After fighting, did you reconcile?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

12. How did you reconcile? \_\_\_\_\_

13. Who would have taken the initiative to reconcile after the fights?

\_\_\_\_\_

14. Who was often angry? \_\_\_\_\_

15. Was there anyone who argued often? And who would mostly argue with whom?

\_\_\_\_\_

### Section III

16. How much important was Religion in your family?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

17. Did you go to the Mosque as a family?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

18. Who went to the Mosque?

\_\_\_\_\_

19. Did you pray in your family?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

20. Who prayed?

---

Section IV

21. Were there any family members involved in criminality?

No

Yes

If there are, how many? \_\_\_\_\_

22. Was the reference person involved in criminal activity?

No

Yes

If yes, what criminal activities was he involved in? \_\_\_\_\_

Section V

23. Who made the important decisions in the family?

Grandpa

Elder Brother

Father

Mother

Another person \_\_\_\_\_

24. Were there punishments for children who did not obey?

Always

Usually

Sometimes

Not Always

Never

25. What kind of punishment was given?

---

26. Who gave the punishment?

Grandpa

Elder Brother

Father

Mother

Another person \_\_\_\_\_

27. Was there a difference between the discipline of the father and the mother?

No

Yes

How? \_\_\_\_\_

Section VI

28. Did the family see itself as sticking together?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

29. Was the separation or the departure of a family member hard?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

30. Did they rely on each other?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

31. Were there discussions regarding personal issues within the family?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

32. Was advice from other family members sought on most issues?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

Section VII

33. Did the family adapt according to the needs of the different family members?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

Section VIII

34. Who was living at home?

Aunt  Uncle  Grandma  Grandpa  Sister/s  Brother/s  Mother  Father

Other relative such as: \_\_\_\_\_

Section IX

35. With whom in the family did the reference person get best along with?

\_\_\_\_\_

36. With whom in the family did the reference person get least along with?

\_\_\_\_\_

37. Who was closest to whom in the family?

---

38. Who mostly showed love and affection within the family?

---

39. How was this love and affection shown?

---

40. When someone in the family was sad who was most able to comfort him/her?

---

41. How was this comfort shown?

---

42. Who was most fun to be with?

---

And with whom did this person got best along with?

---

43. Who was the most understanding member in the family?

---

44. Were there any family members who used to spend more time with each other?

No

Yes

If Yes who spent more time with whom?

---

45. Do you consider the marriage of the parents of your relative Shaheed to be a happy one?

No

Yes

Section X

46. Does the reference person have a role model in his / her family (a person whom he / she considers an example)?

No

Yes

If Yes, Who? \_\_\_\_\_

47. Were there family members with the same traits and behaviors?

\_\_\_\_\_

Section XI

48. Were any family members feeling helpless or depressed?

No

Yes

If Yes, Who? \_\_\_\_\_

49. Was the reference relative isolated from his family?

No

Yes

If Yes, How \_\_\_\_\_

50. Were there any members of your family who preferred to stay alone?

No

Yes

If Yes, explain how? \_\_\_\_\_

51. What fun things did you usually do as a family?

\_\_\_\_\_

52. Did your family spend time together doing some particular activity?

No

Yes

If Yes, describe this activity

\_\_\_\_\_

Section XII

53. Did the relative of reference relate well to other members of his family?

Always

Usually

Sometimes

Not Always

Never

Section XIII

54. How does your reference relative see himself? (What is his impression of himself)?

---

---

---

55. What kind of person (what personal characteristics) did the reference relative have?

---

---

---

56. Were there any serious problems in the family of the person of reference from childhood?

No  Yes

If Yes, what type of problems

---

57. Were there any concerns in the family between the childhood of your relative of reference and adulthood?

No  Yes

If Yes, what kind of concerns?

---

58. Would you wish that things and situations in your family were different?

Always      Usually      Sometimes      Not Always      Never

59. Do you think that your family is different from other families?

No  Yes

If Yes, how?

---

60. How would you feel if a member of your family became a Shaheed?

---

---

---

## Appendix 25

### Back Translation FIRO-B adapted version for Shaheed Family Members

**The following table describes some of the behaviours that your Shaheed relative may have had with other people:**

Read all phrases, put an X in one of the spaces in the table to indicate your agreement to these terms the more you agree the closer it should be marked to the “AGREE”. The more you Disagree the closer it should be marked to the “DISAGREE”

1. He wanted to be with people.	DISAGREE								AGREE
2. People decided what to do when he was with them.	DISAGREE								AGREE
3. He was very honest with his close friends.	DISAGREE								AGREE
4. People invited him to be and do some things.	DISAGREE								AGREE
5. He was the controlling person when he was with others.	DISAGREE								AGREE
6. He spoke about his feelings with his closest friends.	DISAGREE								AGREE
7. He participated in social gatherings.	DISAGREE								AGREE
8. His friends impacted him greatly.	DISAGREE								AGREE
9. He trusted his close friends.	DISAGREE								AGREE
10. People invited him to participate in their activities.	DISAGREE								AGREE
11. He assigned people to perform tasks that he wanted to accomplish.	DISAGREE								AGREE
12. His close friends told him about private things.	DISAGREE								AGREE
13. He joined social institutions.	DISAGREE								AGREE
14. People controlled his actions.	DISAGREE								AGREE
15. He felt more comfortable sitting alone.	DISAGREE								AGREE
16. He shared activities with other people.	DISAGREE								AGREE

17. He influenced other people greatly.	DISAGREE								AGREE
18. His close friends did not speak about themselves with him.	DISAGREE								AGREE
19. He participated in informal social activities.	DISAGREE								AGREE
20. He was easily manipulated/controlled by others.	DISAGREE								AGREE
21. He believed that people should keep their own things to themselves.	DISAGREE								AGREE
22. People invited him to participate with them in their activities.	DISAGREE								AGREE
23. He took it upon himself to be responsible when with others.	DISAGREE								AGREE
24. His close friends shared their feelings with him.	DISAGREE								AGREE
25. He allowed people to participate in his plans.	DISAGREE								AGREE
26. People decided on his behalf.	DISAGREE								AGREE
27. He hid some things from everyone.	DISAGREE								AGREE
28. People shared their social issues with him.	DISAGREE								AGREE
29. He assigned people to perform tasks in his own way and according to his vision of things.	DISAGREE								AGREE
30. His close friends hid their secrets.	DISAGREE								AGREE
31. He was constantly surrounded by people.	DISAGREE								AGREE
32. People influenced his ideas strongly.	DISAGREE								AGREE
33. There were things he did not tell anyone.	DISAGREE								AGREE
34. People asked him to for his participation and views in their discussions.	DISAGREE								AGREE
35. He took responsibility when he was with others.	DISAGREE								AGREE

36. He was a source of trust to his friends.	DISAGREE								AGREE
37. People shared their work with him.	DISAGREE								AGREE
38. He was strongly influenced by what others said.	DISAGREE								AGREE
39. There was at least one friend who told him everything about himself.	DISAGREE								AGREE
40. People invited him to parties.	DISAGREE								AGREE
41. He influenced others' ideas very much.	DISAGREE								AGREE
42. His close friends did not tell him how they felt.	DISAGREE								AGREE
43. He looked for people to spent time with him.	DISAGREE								AGREE
44. Others took charge when he was working with them.	DISAGREE								AGREE
45. He would always hide his true personality.	DISAGREE								AGREE
46. People invited him to be with them in his spare time.	DISAGREE								AGREE
47. He was the leader of the group.	DISAGREE								AGREE
48. There were at least 2 people who shared their feelings with him.	DISAGREE								AGREE
49. He participated in others' activities.	DISAGREE								AGREE
50. Sometimes people changed his opinion.	DISAGREE								AGREE
51. He has had close relationships with a few people.	DISAGREE								AGREE
52. People invited him to share in their work.	DISAGREE								AGREE
53. He made sure that people did their work the way he wanted it.	DISAGREE								AGREE
54. Friends told him about their personal lives.	DISAGREE								AGREE

## Appendix 26

### Back Translation FIRO-B adapted version for non-Shaheed Family Members

**Think of a relative e.g. brother. Below is a list of some different ways of behaving towards others that this relative may have had: (Important – Members belonging to the same Family should consider the same relative)**

Read all phrases, put an X in one of the spaces in the table to indicate your agreement to these terms the more you agree the closer it should be marked to the “AGREE”. The more you Disagree the closer it should be marked to the “DISAGREE”

1. He wanted to be with people.	DISAGREE								AGREE
2. People decided what to do when he was with them.	DISAGREE								AGREE
3. He was very honest with his close friends.	DISAGREE								AGREE
4. People invited him to be and do some things.	DISAGREE								AGREE
5. He was the controlling person when he was with others.	DISAGREE								AGREE
6. He spoke about his feelings with his closest friends.	DISAGREE								AGREE
7. He participated in social gatherings.	DISAGREE								AGREE
8. His friends impacted him greatly.	DISAGREE								AGREE
9. He trusted his close friends.	DISAGREE								AGREE
10. People invited him to participate in their activities.	DISAGREE								AGREE
11. He assigned people to perform tasks that he wanted to accomplish.	DISAGREE								AGREE
12. His close friends told him about private things.	DISAGREE								AGREE
13. He joined social institutions.	DISAGREE								AGREE
14. People controlled his actions.	DISAGREE								AGREE
15. He felt more comfortable sitting alone.	DISAGREE								AGREE
16. He shared activities with other people.	DISAGREE								AGREE

17. He influenced other people greatly.	DISAGREE							AGREE
18. His close friends did not speak about themselves with him.	DISAGREE							AGREE
19. He participated in informal social activities.	DISAGREE							AGREE
20. He was easily manipulated/controlled by others.	DISAGREE							AGREE
21. He believed that people should keep their own things to themselves.	DISAGREE							AGREE
22. People invited him to participate with them in their activities.	DISAGREE							AGREE
23. He took it upon himself to be responsible when with others.	DISAGREE							AGREE
24. His close friends shared their feelings with him.	DISAGREE							AGREE
25. He allowed people to participate in his plans.	DISAGREE							AGREE
26. People decided on his behalf.	DISAGREE							AGREE
27. He hid some things from everyone.	DISAGREE							AGREE
28. People shared their social issues with him.	DISAGREE							AGREE
29. He assigned people to perform tasks in his own way and according to his vision of things.	DISAGREE							AGREE
30. His close friends hid their secrets.	DISAGREE							AGREE
31. He was constantly surrounded by people.	DISAGREE							AGREE
32. People influenced his ideas strongly.	DISAGREE							AGREE
33. There were things he did not tell anyone.	DISAGREE							AGREE
34. People asked him to for his participation and views in their discussions.	DISAGREE							AGREE
35. He took responsibility when he was with others.	DISAGREE							AGREE

36. He was a source of trust to his friends.	DISAGREE							AGREE
37. People shared their work with him.	DISAGREE							AGREE
38. He was strongly influenced by what others said.	DISAGREE							AGREE
39. There was at least one friend who told him everything about himself.	DISAGREE							AGREE
40. People invited him to parties.	DISAGREE							AGREE
41. He influenced others' ideas very much.	DISAGREE							AGREE
42. His close friends did not tell him how they felt.	DISAGREE							AGREE
43. He looked for people to spent time with him.	DISAGREE							AGREE
44. Others took charge when he was working with them.	DISAGREE							AGREE
45. He would always hide his true personality.	DISAGREE							AGREE
46. People invited him to be with them in his spare time.	DISAGREE							AGREE
47. He was the leader of the group.	DISAGREE							AGREE
48. There were at least 2 people who shared their feelings with him.	DISAGREE							AGREE
49. He participated in others' activities.	DISAGREE							AGREE
50. Sometimes people changed his opinion.	DISAGREE							AGREE
51. He has had close relationships with a few people.	DISAGREE							AGREE
52. People invited him to share in their work.	DISAGREE							AGREE
53. He made sure that people did their work the way he wanted it.	DISAGREE							AGREE
54. Friends told him about their personal lives.	DISAGREE							AGREE

## Appendix 27

### Back Translation BFRS Shaheed Family Members

### Summary of Family Relationship Scale

#### (Shaheed Families)

**You are invited to go back in time when the Shaheed was young. Remember your childhood family where the Shaheed lived, if that is the case and answer the following questions circling the number that is most appropriate.**

Not at All                      Somewhat                      A Lot

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

1. My family members supported each other      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

2. There were a lot of arguments between  
the members of my family.                      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

3. My family gathered a lot and made a lot of things  
together.                      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

4. My family members spoke openly at home.      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

5. My family got very angry at each other.      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

6. My family accomplished household matters  
successfully.                      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

7. There is a sense of closeness and family unity  
among my family members.                      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

*Not at All*

*Somewhat*

*A Lot*

8. My family members talked about their personal problems.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

9. There were a lot of anger issues in the family

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

11. My family members were frustrating.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

12. My family members supported each other.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

13. My family were violent sometimes.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

14. Each member is proud to be a part of the family. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

16. In my family we were patient with each other. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

18. In my family discussions went smoothly.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

19. The members in my family raise their voice when

raised when they got angry.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

## Appendix 28

### Back Translation BFRS non-Shaheed Family Members

#### Summary of Family Relationship Scale

##### (Regular families where there are no Shaheeds)

*You are invited to go back when you were a child. Remember the family where you grew up and lived, and answer the following questions circling the number that is most appropriate.*

	<i>Not at All</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>A Lot</i>
	<i>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20</i>		
1. My family members supported each other	<i>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20</i>		
2. There were a lot of arguments between the members of my family.	<i>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20</i>		
3. My family gathered a lot and made a lot of things together.	<i>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20</i>		
4. My family members spoke openly at home.	<i>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20</i>		
5. My family got very angry at each other.	<i>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20</i>		
6. My family accomplished household matters successfully.	<i>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20</i>		
7. There is a sense of closeness and family unity among my family members.	<i>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20</i>		

	<i>Not at All</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>A Lot</i>
8. My family members talked about their personal problems.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
9. There were a lot of anger issues in the family	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
11. My family members were frustrating.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
12. My family members supported each other.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
13. My family were violent sometimes.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
14. Each member is proud to be a part of the family.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
16. In my family we were patient with each other.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
18. In my family discussions went smoothly.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
19. The members in my family raised their voice when they got angry.	1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	

## Appendix 29

### Back Translation MARS Shaheed Family Members

#### Behaviour of Muslim based upon a Religious Scale

Kindly give your opinion on your relative that gave up his life as a Muslim Martyr by answering these questions below:

Circle the correct Answer.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Sometimes	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Found importance/inspiration in reading the Qu'ran.	1	2	3	4	5
2. God helped him.	1	2	3	4	5
3. His prayers helped him a lot.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Islam helped him lead a better life.	1	2	3	4	5
5. He loved finding more about God.	1	2	3	4	5
6. He truly believed that God helped people.	1	2	3	4	5
7. He was helped by the five prayers.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Invocation to God helped him.	1	2	3	4	5
9. He thought that the Quran is valid and applies to this era	1	2	3	4	5
10. He believed that God listens and answers prayers.	1	2	3	4	5
11. He believed that the prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him) set a good rules regarding behaviour.	1	2	3	4	5
12. He prayed five prayers daily.	1	2	3	4	5
13. He fasted all through the month of Ramadan.	1	2	3	4	5
14. He prayed daily in the Mosque.	1	2	3	4	5

## Appendix 30

### Back Translation MARS non-Shaheed Family Members

#### Behaviour of Muslim based upon a Religious Scale

Think about a close relative, your brother for example (note people coming from the same family should speak about the same family member or relative) by answering these questions below:

Circle the correct answer

Strongly Disagree   Disagree   Sometimes   Agree   Strongly Agree

1. Found importance/inspiration in reading the Qu'ran.	1	2	3	4	5
2. God helped him.	1	2	3	4	5
3. His prayers helped him a lot.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Islam helped him lead a better life.	1	2	3	4	5
5. He loved finding more about God.	1	2	3	4	5
6. He truly believed that God helped people.	1	2	3	4	5
7. He was helped by the five prayers.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Invocation to God helped him.	1	2	3	4	5
9. He thought that the Quran is valid and applies to this era	1	2	3	4	5
10. He believed that God listens and answers prayers.	1	2	3	4	5
11. He believed that the prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him) set a good rules regarding behaviour.	1	2	3	4	5
12. He prayed five prayers daily.	1	2	3	4	5
13. He fasted all through the month of Ramadan.	1	2	3	4	5
14. He prayed daily in the Mosque.	1	2	3	4	5

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