

TARGETED ASSASSINATION AND ORGANIZED VIOLENCE: A CRIMINOLOGICAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS OF PREMEDITATED MURDER BASED ON FIR EVIDENCE UNDER THE PAKISTAN PENAL CODE

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Abstract

This study was focused on targeted assassination and organized violence. A criminological and legal analysis of premeditated murder based on FIR evidence under the Pakistan Penal Code is an attempt to analyze First Information Reports (FIRs) in the context of Pakistan Penal Code as founding legal and criminological texts in cases of premeditated targeted killings. The study addresses an important gap in the literature in the general area of international law or counterterrorism approaches as it fails to account for the processes of domestic criminal justice of creation of the organized homicide through narration and legal documentation at the FIR stage. Based on the Rational Choice Theory and on the Routine Activity Theory, targeted assassination is a conceptualized research of being a calculated and planned type of violence that is conditionalized by the intent of offenders, the opportunity structure as well as a collective criminal act. Using a qualitative form of doctrinal and narrative methodology, FIRs registered under relevant provisions of Pakistan Penal Code, specifically Qatl-e-Amd, common intention and criminal conspiracy were analyzed systematically. Data have been analyzed using a thematic and legal content analysis to recognize the indicators of mens rea, premeditation, weapon use and collaboration between the offenders. Results indicate that FIR narratives tend to have implicit values of planned and coordinated violence though, inconsistent legal formulation and non-verified reporting methodologies undermine its usefulness in creating an actionable criminal case. The study shows that FIRs are not simply procedural tools but important mechanisms in the direction in which the process of adjudication-the medium of investigation, prosecution and adjudication-outcomes. It suggests that by improving legal coherence and accountability, use of standardized FIR documentations, specialized police training and timely prosecutorial oversight should be used. By foregrounding FIR based analysis, the contribution of this research to criminological theory and the field of criminal law and policing policy, it is relevant to Pakistan.

Keywords: Targeted assassination, Organized violence, First Information Report (FIR), Premeditated murder, Pakistan Penal Code, Criminological analysis, Criminal conspiracy.

Introduction

Targeted killings interpreted as the deliberate and premeditated use of lethal force against specific persons have come under extreme legal and criminological scrutiny particularly when they are outside the judicial framework and take place in politically charged situations (Rostow, 2014.) In the case of Pakistan, intentional murder comes under 'Qatl e Amd' is codified under Section 300 and 302 of the Pakistan Penal Code which requires proof of 'mens rea' and deliberate intent to kill PPC, (1860). The First Information Report (FIR) serves as the procedural initial stage in the criminal justice process in Pakistan; that is, it is the beginning in the procedural stage where the law enforcement personnel will formally record the allegations of cognizable offences and the procedural process of investigation and prosecution will begin, which means the content of its evidence and the narrative is essential to establish legal interpretations and guide the investigation process (Mumtaz et al., 2024). Analyzing FIRs is criminologically significant as it gives us a sense of how police and legal institutions construct narratives of intent, collective action and culpability at the earliest stage of criminal justice which has implications for how cases of organized violence are understood and also how they are adjudicated. FIR based investigations have played a significant role in unravelling the dynamics of the procedural as well as articulation in the official records of aspects of premeditation, common intention and criminal conspiracy.

Purpose and Contribution of the Study

This study seeks to see how FIRs legally and narratively construct incidences of premeditated targeted killing under the Pakistan Penal Code with particular reference to the narration of elements of criminal intent, collective agency and conspiracy in the narrative and legal construction of FIR evidences. By combination of criminological concepts and a doctrinal legal analysis, the research helps in understanding more deeply the socially constructed, institutionally documented and legally interpreted nature of organized lethal violence in the criminal justice system in Pakistan. Ultimately, the purpose of this analysis is to construct relationships between police reporting practices, legal doctrine and criminological theory to provide an understanding of how to increase clarity of investigation, rigor of evidence and substantive justice outcomes in cases involving organized and purposeful violence.

Research Objectives

The following are main research objectives of this study:

1. To examine how the First Information Report (FIR) legally and narratively constructs premeditated targeted killing under the Pakistan Penal Code.
2. To analyze how elements of mens rea, common intention, and criminal conspiracy are reflected through the FIR's narrative and the application of relevant penal provisions.

Literature Review

The First Information Report (FIR) sits in a primal place in the criminal justice systems in South and South East Asian nations such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar and Singapore. It is the first formality that is made by police by receiving information pertaining to the commission of cognisable offence (offenses of a serious nature like murder, rape or robbery which pose immediate threat to the social order) (Research Society of International Law & National Police Bureau, Pakistan, 2016). Typically coming down from a complaint made by the victim or any other

information provider, the FIR may be filed orally or in letter and registration of FIR is mandatory for beginning of investigation by police in cognizable cases.

Legally, the FIR has to contain some basic information like date, time, and place of incident, description of incident and details of the accused, if known. Procedural safeguards are for transparency such as complainant's right to have the information read back to him / her and to be able to sign the recorded statement and to be provided with a free copy of the FIR. Thus, the FIR serves not only as a trigger for setting into motion the machinery of investigation of the state, but also as a framework of narration of the alleged offence in the criminal justice process. In contrast, non-cognizable offences do not constitute a reason to register FIRs, and these specific offences come in the form of entries made in station diaries or community service registers (Research Society of International Law & National Police Bureau, Pakistan, 2016).

The concept of intentional murder is covered under the Pakistani criminal law, Qatl-e-Amd under Section 300 of Pakistan Penal Code (PPC), 1860. Qatl-e-Amd is described as bringing about the death with intent to kill or with intent to injure the body with such intent as to cause death, hence necessitating the presence of mens reas or criminal intent (United Nations Office on drugs and crime, 2017). It is a close legal formulation of the idea of premeditated murder as intent and deliberation are an important part of the crime (Sections 300-302 PPC, 1860).

Punishment for Qatl-e-Amd is laid down in Section 302 PPC, (1860) which contemplates a graduated order of punishments i.e. death penalty as Qisas (Section 302 (clause - a) PPC, 1860), death or life imprisonment as Ta'zir (Section 302 (clause - b), 1860) or imprisonment ranging up to 25 years when the offence is not within the ambit of any of the foregoing (Section 302 (clause - c), 1860). This progressive method is indicative of how the law has recognized various degrees of culpable and intentional murder of individuals of various degrees of culpable moral blame (Taliep, 2022).

The doctrine of common intention (Section 34 PPC, 1860) and common object (Section 149 PPC, 1860) deal with those cases where there is collective participation in criminal acts. Jurisprudence always lays stress on the fact that the common intention form is needed in a prearranged plan and previous meeting of minds; being mere similarity of intent of multiple offenders is not sufficient to attract vicarious liability (Munir, 2024).

Organized violence is defined as violent behaviour by groups or collectives which is planned and coordinated and sustained over time (in contrast to spontaneity of violence or lone acts of violence). According to Britannica, organized or collective violence encompasses planned acts of violence that include coups, terrorism and rebellions involving multiple perpetrators acting in concert against others collective violence emphasizes the social and structural aspects of group-based harm (Delaney, 2023). The recent studies also reveal that systematic violence as a power control method and access to illegal markets are commonly practiced by organized crime groups, thereby signaling the fact that organized crime violence is not a deviant behavior committed by one person but rather a component of broader social and economic networks (Calderoni et al., 2022). These perspectives place organized violence in a multidisciplinary context which includes political, economic and sociological explanations of group criminality.

Criminal conspiracy is interpreted as an agreement between two or more people to commit a crime—the essential element is the collective intent instead execution of the crime. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) explains that conspiracy involves cooperation among the participants to achieve a shared criminal objective and it becomes an offence as soon as the agreement is formed (UNODC, 2022). This definition highlights one of the fundamental rules of criminal law: The establishment of a criminal plan amounts to considerable culpability regardless of the completion of the substantive offense, which is the case as far as the analysis of FIR pages that evidence organized planning.

Organized crime is a combination of three or more persons who are systematized in order to commit serious crimes, often for material gain (UNODC, 2018). To differentiate regular crimes of unlawful collaboration with others, it is important to note that such aspects of such organization crime as continuity, coordinate action, and rationality in pursuing an illicit goal are characteristic of organized crime. Research indicates that organized crime groups take part in a broad range of violent activities not to only control the markets and resources but also to enforce internal discipline and territorial dominance (UNODC, 2018; Calderoni et al., 2022). These patterns of violence are relevant to the study of targeted assassination because they are examples of how the structure of the group and common objectives affect the planning process and execution of deadly acts.

Although much of the existing literature on firearms includes availability rather than intentionality, research in criminology has found the presence of firearms to be of considerable importance when it comes to the patterns of violence. Reviews of firearm availability and homicide point out that the more access to guns, the greater is chance of fatal outcome for violent confrontations and this is so due to the fact that firearms tend to escalate the levels of violence that may have actually resulted in non-fatal injuries (Hepburn, && Hemenway, 2004).

The academic literature on specific assassination puts it in a larger context of targeted, carefully planned, premeditated violence against individuals or organizations, commonly pursuing political, security, or strategic ends. Targeted killings are characterized as deliberate, planned applications of lethal power against specially named individuals, which often occur out of judicial control and during the situation of counter terrorism to armed conflict, as an example of how the act is a combination of individual choice and organized decision making and not a spontaneous act of violence (Master, 2013; Master, 2026). The modern-day discussions underscore the fact that these murders are more frequently used by states as well as organized armed groups in the post 9/11 era in which military and intelligence work is based on systematic targeting in order to disrupt the networks and destroy perceived threats (Master, 2025). This literature cautions that organized violence of a specific kind including targeted assassinations are not just random acts of lethal violence but represent strategic decision-making within institutional, political, and social systems, and thus the prominence of intent, planning, and collective organization in criminological or legal senses of lethal organizational violence.

Research Gap

The state sponsored targeted killings and the global trends in organized violence, there are significant gaps when these macro level phenomena are viewed in the lens of domestic criminal justice processes and legal narratives. Existing literature on targeted killings oftentimes places

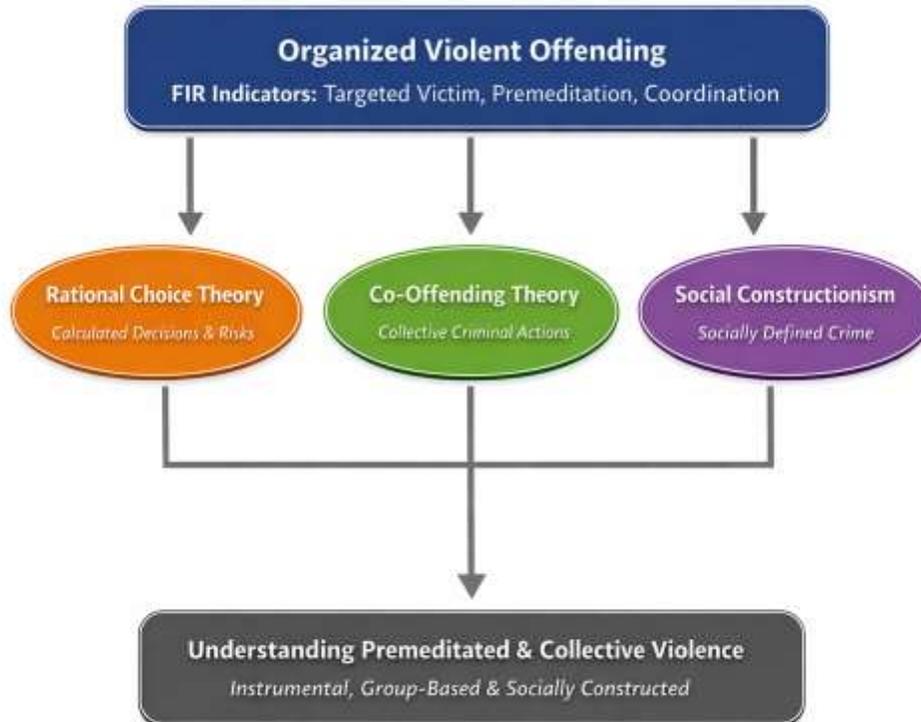
targeted killings within frameworks of international laws and state responsibility, and a focus is given on the attribution of lethal operations to sovereign actors under general international law (Melzer, 2008). Nonetheless, such international concern ignores micro legal processes by which targeted killing is understood, reported, and taken to court national legal provisions, especially in a country such as Pakistan where domestic law and police standards of reporting determine the outcomes of the law. Similarly, global empirical studies of organized violence, highlight the trends to the number of armed conflicts and fatalities, but underscore classification difficulties, particularly in terms of distinguishing civilian and combatants fatalities in intricately violent environments (Davies, Pettersson, Sollenberg, & Oberg, 2025).

This problem of classification can be reflected in criminal justice, which is where the case of the police records, such as the First Information Report (FIR), is the main source of narratives and the primary source of evidence in differentiating between intentional and organized killing and other kinds of violence. Yet, there exists scant research which explores the nature of FIR narratives in constructing elements of mens rea, common intention and criminal conspiracy in cases of premeditated killings and the interface of these constructions with legal doctrines under the Pakistan Penal Code. Therefore although macro level analyses help to understand what organized violence looks like at the global level, and how states conceptualize targeted killings internationally, there remains a real need for nation specific, theory driven studies which analyse targeted assassination using procedural and documentary evidence such as FIRs, and bring criminological theory together with domestic legal interpretation.

Theoretical Framework

This study uses a multi theoretical framework to analyze the premeditated targeted assassinations and organized violent offending through the form of FIR evidence. Rational Choice Theory (Cornish & Clarke, 2014; Smelser, 1992; Piquero & Tibbets, 2001) is used to explain deliberate, purposive decision-making by offenders, focused on the rational evaluation of the risks and benefits of targeted victim selection coupled with controlled timing, premeditation and calculated use of means. To this effect, Social Constructionism (Miller, 2009) frames organized violence as a socially constructed phenomenon where the act is defined as crime based on the tyranny of social norms, moral judgments at the institutional level of understanding. Lastly is the criminal acts co-offending/ collective crime point of view (Felson and Cohen, 1980), these acts are put in the context of a network of offenders, facilitators and complicity where lethal violence of organization is done as a coordinated group action. The combination of these theories gives us a holistic view to view the FIR narratives and how the acts of premeditated, instrumental, and collective violent behaviour are planned, orchestrated, and socially accepted.

Diagram No.01: Theoretical Framework



Source: Researcher's Vision

Research Design

This study utilizes a qualitative criminological- doctrinal research design, by employing documentary content analytical methods; narrative criminology; and case-oriented legal analytical methods, in an attempt at examining the creation of premeditated targeted killing at the FIR stage under the Pakistan penal code (Yin, 2017; Faria & Dodge, 2022).

The design is interpretive and explanatory in nature and is based on criminology's concern with organized violence, offender decision-making, and collective criminality, rather than simply statutory interpretation (Rennison & Hart, 2022).

Methodological Orientation

The research explicitly draws upon three known criminological research techniques that are widely used for qualitative crime analysis:

1. Qualitative Content Analysis (Krippendorff, 2019)
2. Narrative Criminology (Presser, 2009; Sandberg and Ugelvik, 2016)
3. Case Study Method Using Single-Case Analytical Design (Yin, 2017)

These methods make the FIR analysis possible to be analyzed as both:

- a legal instrument, and

- a criminological artifact indicating the purposefulness, planning, coordination, and violent intent (Faria, & Dodge, 2022).

Data Source

The primary data is the FIR No. 987/022 (RMN-12/06/2022-7379) that is registered at the Police Station Ramna in Islamabad according to Section 302 PPC, (1860) and Section 34 PPC, (1860). From the criminological perspective, FIR is studies of institutional narrative in crime reports, and a state-produced narrative about the collective behavior and motives of offenders (as opposed to those of individual offenders), and actions (Presser, 2009; Sandberg & Fleetwood, 2016).

Methods of Data Analysis

The following are the methods of data analyzing in this study:

1. Qualitative Content Analysis

The FIR text was coded in an organized way to determine criminological indicators of:

- Premediation (planning, preparation, timing),
- Specialized violence (selective of victim)
- Structured implementation (numerous parties, coordination), and
- Instrumental violence (selection of weapons).

Inductively, codes were obtained based on the accepted methods of qualitative content analysis and later aligned with the doctrinal aspects of the Pakistan Penal Code (Krippendorff, 2019; Rennison and Hart, 2022).

2. Narrative Criminological Analysis

Based on narrative criminology, the FIR was interpreted in order to take a look at how:

- Criminal intent is storied,
- Violence is legalized or normalized and
- Criminals are staged as collective actors and not individual actors.

The focus was on the sequencing of the events, role attribution, and causal framing to get the idea of how premeditation and conspiracy are created and told in official accounts of crimes (Presser, 2009; Sandberg and Ugelvik, 2016).

3. Case Study Method

The analytical case study design was single-case in nature, and it made it possible to study the way in which a targeted killing is contextualized in the Pakistani criminal justice system.

The study does not pursue statistical generalization but instead is keen on analytical generalization that advances the broader criminological knowledge of organized homicide and targeted violence (Yin, 2017).

Analytical Framework

The structure of the analysis is based on an act-actor-context criminological framework that is widely used in criminological qualitative research on violence (Rennison and Hart, 2022):

- Act: the nature of violence, the use of weapons, lethality.
- Actor: intensity of offenders, communality of purpose, coordination.
- Context - planning, no provocation, organized.

This framework is embedded in doctrinal concepts of mens rea, common intention and conspiracy under criminal law (Yin, 2017).

Unit of Analysis

The FIR is a criminological text and legal document under analysis, and it includes:

- Factual narration,
- Absent mindedness and, attribution of collective behavior,
- Legal description of the criminogenic act (Presser, 2009).

Ethical Considerations

The research is made solely on documentary data. The personal identifiers are anonymized. The research follows the ethical standards of criminological document-based research (Faria & Dodge, 2022).

Methodological Contribution

Methodologically, the present research illustrates how the qualitative methods of criminology can be used in FIRs to uncover pattern of organized violence and premeditation before any trial or conviction and helps increase the criminology methodological approaches in FIR research in South Asia (Rennison & Hart, 2022).

Results

The following is a study that produces results:

A. The First Information Report (FIR) legally and narratively constructs premeditated targeted killing under the Pakistan Penal Code

The following results proved that premeditation is narratively constructed in FIR No. 987/022 (RMN-12/06/2022-7379) registered at Police Station Ramna, Islamabad as a form of rational and instrumental violence. The FIR invokes section 302 and section 34 of the Pakistan Penal Code (1860), which indicates that there is an intentional killing that shared criminal intention.

Criminological Finding

The FIR is a manifestation of rational choice behaviour, whereby violence is used in the instrumental sense, to obtain a specific outcome - in this case - the death of a chosen target. The following indicators of instrumental and premeditated violence are apparent in the FIR No. 987/022:

- Target selection of the victim
- Use of a firearm for the purpose of ensuring lethality
- Absence of immediate provocation
- Controlled Time and Space of the offence abroad

These things together suggest a calculated process of decision-making in the framework of rational choice and instrumental violence in criminology.

Legal Correlation

Section 302 of Pakistan Penal Code (1860) to substantiate the offence is intentional and premeditated murder. The fact that four principal suspects are identified in the FIR and there is explicit mention of other unidentified associates, networked involvement in commissioning of First Degree Murder.

Furthermore, the narrative details of the FIR prove the participation of the facilitators and supporters and hence extend the criminal liability under Sections 109 and Section 114 PPC (1860), dealing with abetment and the presence at the abetment of the commission of the offence. All together, the incidence is legally built as a thought-out, delivering killing of a Pakistani citizen abroad with several participants and the joint criminal motive.

B. The Elements of Mens Rea, Common Intention, and Criminal Conspiracy are Reflected through the FIR's Narrative and the Application of Relevant Penal Provisions

1. Men Rea and Common Intention

Criminological Finding

The offence has the characteristics of collective violence and is in accordance with criminological theories of co-offending and group crime. Indicators include:

- Several offenders acting in concert.
- Shared goal regardless of differentiated roles.
- Joint performance of the act instead of independent & parallel action.

Legal Correlation

Section 34, of the Pakistan Penal Code (1860) turns this collective intention into joint criminal liability. In this case four persons have been specifically nominated as a suspect and rest others have been implicated as a supporting or unknown offenders, which reflect the principle of common intention under section 34 PPC (1860).

2. Organized Violence and Criminal Conspiracy

Criminological Finding

The FIR shows characteristics of organised violent offending such as they are planned, coordinated and facilitated. Key indicators include:

- Previous arrangements among the offenders overseas
- A structured series of acts done abroad
- Presence of facilitators at the crime site or accomplices backing up the incident.

Legal Correlation

Although these organized elements are narrated in the FIR, the respective section of the law under the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) was not specifically mentioned in the formal charges. Section 120-B PPC (1860), deals with criminal conspiracy and it formalizes liability of an organized agreement to commit an offence. The facts contained in the FIR indicate the possibility of such a conspiracy,

though the provision contained in the relevant law seems to have been left out in the recorded charges.

Table No. 01: Integrated Criminological–Legal Findings

Criminological Pattern	FIR Indicators	Relevant PPC Sections	Interpretation
Rational Premeditation	Planning, timing, weapon choice	302 (Included in FIR)	Intentional murder
Collective Violence	Multiple actors, coordination	34 (Included in FIR)	Joint liability
Organized Crime	Planning, facilitation	120-B (Not included in FIR)	Criminal Conspiracy
Networked Participation	Abetment and support	109, 114 (Not included in FIR)	Extended liability

The results indicate that the FIR constructs the art of organized, rational, and collective killing but not spontaneous violence between persons. The FIR converts criminological trends in planning, coordination, and instrumental violence into categories of malaise rea, common intention, and criminal conspiracy which have legal consequences.

Discussion

The indicating factors which were found in FIR No. 987/022 such as selection of targeted victims, serious efforts of weapon use, absence of provocation, and the controlled timing suggest the existence of a pattern of instrumental violence consistent with theory of rational choice wherein offenders consider means as well as ends to attain a calculated outcome (Cornish & Clarke 2014). In the rational choice perspectives, violent offenders make purposive decisions of the use of force when perceived benefits outweigh risks (Smelser, 1992), which is consistent with the storyline told in the FIR that there was premeditation and lethal intent (Piquero & Tibbets, 2001). Moreover, addition of abetment and support roles to the FIR is relatively based on criminological theories that view violent crimes as web activities that entail collective agency and not individual actions (Felson and Cohen, 1980). The Pakistan Penal Code (1860), Sections 302, 109 and 114 operationalize these criminological facets by ensuring that other criminal elements beyond the direct perpetrators and the planners are a source of the crime specifically when it comes to orchestrated targeted killing, rational motivation and shared criminal responsibility. It is a combination of criminological argument and legal constructions which highlight the ways in which institutional discourses, such as FIRs, are both indicative and constitutive of how official value of organized lethal violence is construed in the course of the criminal justice process.

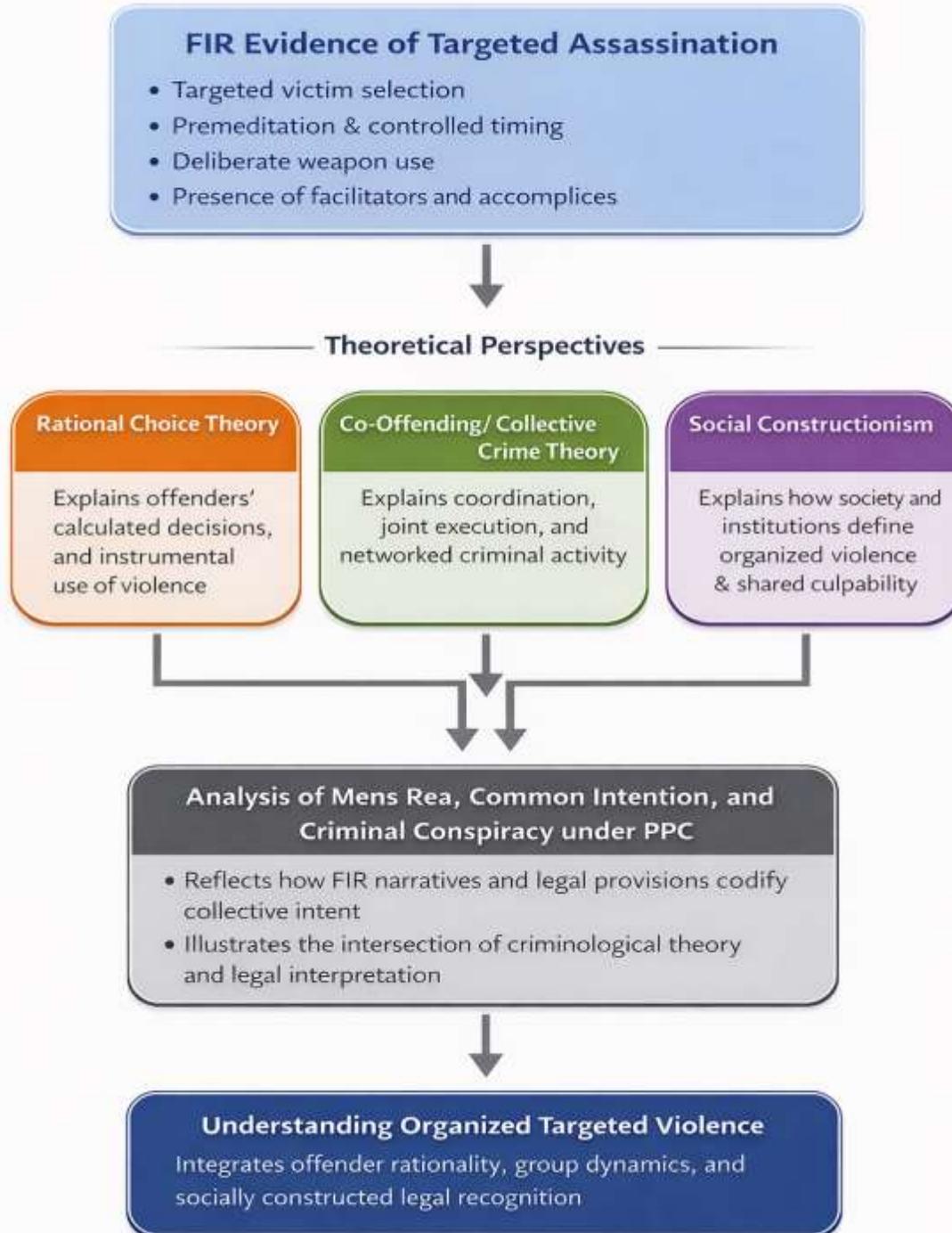
The crime is indicative of collective criminality in which more than one offender was involved in committing the crime with a common goal, it was done as a team, not as an individual. Legally, Section 34 of the Pakistan Penal Code (1860), assigns joint liability for all participants working in furtherance of a common intention including known and unknown participants. From a social constructionist view, this legal principle is society's negotiated understanding of violence within groups as being socially harmful, and that to be a crime, the intent of a group, not lone action, must be considered. The law, therefore, is not only to codify the coordinated behaviour as a criminal act

but also to construct the moral meaning and social meaning of common guilt in accordance with societal norm.

The FIR reflects organized violent offending, as they are arranged in advance, there is a structured sequence of actions and facilitators or accomplices are involved. Although the story of these coordinated elements is captured in the narrative of the FIR, the actual legal part of the document does not take reference to one of the relevant PPC (1860) provisions, but, in the second place, underground agreements to commit a crime are subject to criminalization, namely, Section 120-B PPC (1860), which formalizes the repercussions of any organized contract. In terms of a social constructionist perspective, the legal dimension of conspiracy implied in answering the assigned questions mirrors the social construction of the coordinated harm defined by society as morally and legally unacceptable, indicating how the law creates the meaning for the organized criminality that is not confined to mere individual acts (Ujjan, 2023).

Diagram: No. 02

Theoretical and Analytical Framework for Targeted Assassination Based on FIR Evidence



Source: Researcher's Vision

The diagram shows the feed-flow of FIR evidence of targeted assassination such as premeditation, use of weapons, facilitators in three theoretical perspectives: Rational Choice Theory, Co-Offending, Social Constructionism. These theories together provide information to analyze the concepts of mens rea, common intention, and criminal conspiracy to give a comprehensive understanding about the organized targeted violence.

FIR. No. 987/022, it is clear that premeditated targeted killings are instrumental, collective and organised, in that they are characterised by the targeted selection of victims, the control over the time period of the killings, the deliberate use of weapons and the coordination of facilitation. The perpetrators operate in a calculated rationality (Rational Choice Theory) in networked organization (co-offending) and the narrative provided by the FIR is based on a social construction of understandings of organized violence. These findings demonstrate the fact that such assassinations are not the result of just isolated events, but are planned in a strategic manner and are socially aware and criminologically significant events. As Haque (2021) pointed, "Violence breeds violence. Violence turns monsters of us all. And if it doesn't of those who have committed it then rest assured, there has been a monster created somewhere as a result of the action."

Conclusion

This study shows how the First Information Report doesn't act as a procedural trigger of the criminal justice process but as a decisive legal and criminological text that discards targeted killing as organized, intentional and collective violence under the Pakistan Penal Code (1860). By deploying concepts of rational choice, social constructionism and co-offencing to qualitative FIR analysis, the research covers a crucial gap in existing literature that has almost entirely overlooked FIR narratives as substantive analytical sources. The results prove the fact that there are elements of mens rea, common intents, and criminal conspiring which are embedded within the FIR descriptions in the form of signs of planning, coordination, weapon usage, and the sharing of liability influencing the direction into which the investigation proceeds and how it is interpreted by the police from the very beginning. Methodologically, the study confirms the documentary analysis of FIR as a reliable methodology for studying organised homicide, but analytically determines that early framing of the narrative plays a significant role in attribution of criminal responsibility. The study concludes by highlighting the importance of developing formalized recording practices of FIRs to explicitly document premeditation and shared roles of criminality in order to increase the coherence of evidentiary operations, the functionality of the prosecution process, and the effectiveness of institutionalization in response to targeted killings in Pakistan.

Policy Recommendations

First, standardized FIR recording guidelines need to be implemented so as to provide clear reporting of premeditation, mass involvement, usage of weapons, and conspiratorial roles when committing a targeted killing. Structured FIR templates in line with the relevant provisions of the Penal Code of Pakistan (1860) would eliminate ambiguity in narration and reinforce legal formulation of a mens rea, common intention, and criminal conspiracy at the best stage of investigation itself.

Second, specialized training programs for police officers should be institutionalized to improve the ability of police officers to record FIRs as documents that have legal consequences and are

more than simply procedural statements. Such training should apply to get factual narratives translated into legally coherent descriptions supporting organized violence and targeted assassination charges, without sacrificing evidentiary neutrality.

Third, an integrated oversight mechanism with prosecutors at the stage of registering FIRs should be developed in relation to serious offences like targeted killings. Early contact by the prosecutor can help ensure proper application of the penal provisions, avoid misclassification of organized homicide, and make better use of the case during trial.

Finally, fragmentary pieces of FIR information regarding targeted killings need to be digitized and systematically analyzed to decide on intelligence-led policing and policy formulation. Establishment of a Centralized FIR based analytical database would be conducive for early warning of the patterns of organized violence, inter-agency coordination and strengthening preventive measures against Targeted Assassinations in Pakistan.

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