DEVIANT WOMEN:
FEMALE INVOVLEMENT IN TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS

OLIVIA M. BIZOVI

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Mercyhurst University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
APPLIED INTELLIGENCE

RIDGE SCHOOL FOR INTELLIGENCE STUDIES
AND INFORMATION SCIENCE
MERCYHURST UNIVERSITY
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DEDICATION

For my loving family, I could not have done this without their unwavering support.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Deviant Women:

Female Involvement in Terrorist Organizations

A Critical Examination

By

Olivia M. Bizovi

Master of Science in Applied Intelligence

Mercyhurst University, 2014

Professor James G. Breckenridge, Chair

Traditionally, women are seen as the 'fairer' sex, reinforcing the notion that they are unlikely to commit violent acts. However, female involvement in terrorist organizations has been increasingly noted in media outlets and academia. These increases in frequency and scope of involvement elicit the question of whether or not female involvement is likely to increase in the next three to five years. This involvement is of notable concern for law enforcement and national security, since women are frequently not scrutinized as closely when it comes to screening for terrorist activity.

A case study approach was taken to evaluate three United States designated terrorist organizations, Al-Qaeda, the Black Widows, and Hamas, that currently involve women in their operations as well as one group with female participants that is no longer in existence, the Tamil Tigers. This research examined both the variety of roles to which

women are assigned as well as the demographic compositions of female recruits and operatives within each organization.

The research found a wide range of demographics of female members as well as the increased notion that terrorist groups can use women as a surprise; increasing both their tactical and strategic advantages and making their operations more successful than they may be with male operatives. Additionally, recent media coverage has indicated an increased number of women involved in suicide bombings and the formation of their own brigade within established terrorist organizations. The notable success terrorist organizations have with female members indicates a likelihood that they will continue to employ female members over the next three to five years.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AQ   Al-Qaeda

AQI   Al-Qaeda in Iraq

HAMAS Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya (The Islamic Revolution)

ISIS   Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

JI   Jemaah Islamiyah

LTTE   Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

PLO   Palestinian Liberation Organization

RAF   Red Army Faction (Baader-Meinhof Gang)

RB   Red Brigades

INTRODUCTION

"The key awareness is of being a *double* victim, with oppression having to be fought on two fronts. In that light it is perhaps more surprising -- and this is the view many criminologists and psychiatrists -- that more women are not violent. They certainly seem to have more to be angry about."

MacDonald, 1991, p. 232

Introduction to the Problem

Cragin & Daly (2009) note that "since the advent of modern terrorism in 1968, women have played a small but expanding role in terrorist organizations and their corresponding revolutionary movements" (p. 103). This existence of a role within the organizations is evidence that their participation is significant enough to be noticed by the greater community. In regard explicitly to female suicide bombers, Zedalis (2004) notes that "given the globalization of terror from nonstate actors, experts believe that suicide bombing, which will include female suicide bombers, will increase" (p. 13). This is specifically referencing female participation in terrorist organizations as suicide bombers, which is just one of the many roles of women within their respective organizations. Terrorist organizations are starting to take advantage of the fact that they are more likely to get past security forces using a female operative than a male operative; "terrorist leaders apparently have learned that if they deploy women--particularly as couriers and decoys, but also as suicide bombers--they can more easily evade security forces" (Cragin & Daly, 2009, p. 104-105). This is connected to the premise that women are not as likely as men to commit violent acts. However, history has demonstrated that female operatives are capable of committing violent acts.

Background of the Problem

Society has a difficult time understanding what motivates women to commit

violent acts, especially when those acts are carried out in a public manner and impact a

large number of people. Female involvement in general criminal acts is not easy for

society to understand. Moreover, it is even more difficult to comprehend the drive

behind women's involvement in terrorism in addition to understanding the premise of the

organizations that employ them. It has been noted that "society seems more afraid of

violent women than men, as if they were more threatening than men" (MacDonald, 1991,

p. 238). This denial and fear of violent women complicates society's acceptance of the

notion of violent women. Consequently, this ingrained concept of women as the 'fairer

sex' increases the difficulty in making law enforcement and national security officials

aware of the danger posed by females involved in terrorist organizations.

The term 'terrorism' was first coined during the French Revolution, the 'Reign of

Terror', and has since evolved into the concept that is used during the 21st Century. The

stereotypical terrorist has evolved from a lone assassin, to religious fanatics, to state-

sponsored groups. In order to explain the vast array of terrorist events that have taken

place, terrorist motivations are classified into a number of different categories.   These

categories are fluid in nature, which makes it difficult to place terrorist motivations into

one category; they often overlap across a number of motivations. These categories

include state-sponsored, religious, ethnic, and politically motivated terrorist acts

(Spindlove & Simonsen, 2013). All acts of terrorism are, to a certain degree, politically

motivated which is the essence of why it is called terrorism (Hoffman 2006). Part of

defining the previously mentioned groupings was looking at past terrorist events as well

as the potential for historic events to influence future terrorist incidents.

History plays a significant role in current terrorist organizations; members'

motivations are often fueled by past events. Bloom (2011) notes:

> Much of what inspires religious terrorism today is reflected in the history of these
> early organizations. The early terrorists' desire for publicity, their indoctrination
> of children, their targeting for foreign occupiers, and attacks against collaborators
> are all surprisingly similar to the tactics used today in Israel, Sri Lanka,
> Chechnya, Iraq, and Afghanistan (p. 10).

The historical background of these organizations is particularly important when looking

to the future evolution of the group and the potential change in roles within those

organizations, especially when considering that the purpose of terrorist organizations is to

instill fear into the population to achieve their desired goal.

One interpretation of terrorism is that it is a social construct, one which is "...not a

given in the real world but is instead an interpretation of the events and their presumed

causes" (Turk, 2004, p. 271). Based on this concept, individuals engage in terrorist

actions based on their ideological and political motivations and the desire to change the

status quo to something different. Turk (2004) indicates that the "construction and

selective application of definitions of terrorism are embedded in the dynamics of political

conflicts, where ideological warfare to cast the enemy as an evildoer is a dimension of the

struggle to win support for one's own cause" (p. 273). Due to Turk's definition, there are

a number of reasons as to why individuals get involved with terrorist organizations,

specifically why women are involved. The need to understand both terrorism as an social

and political construct as well as the notion that women are participants in terrorist acts is

pertinent to the effective application of intelligence and targeting.

Statement of the Problem

The roles of women, particularly in relation to terrorist organizations, has not been significantly researched to date nor is there an abundance of information regarding what motivates their involvement (Bloom 2011). This lack of information regarding the role of women significantly limits the resources and approaches that analysts are able to employ when looking at terrorist events and the threat that each organization will pose. The current media coverage of terrorists indicates the existence of women within these roles as well as the need for intelligence analysts to be aware of the changing environment.

Purpose of the Study

This study aims to evaluate the current participation of women in four selected terrorist organizations as well as the likelihood that their participation will increase in the next three to five years. Additionally, this study aims to determine if there are societal elements that indicate the types of roles that women may be involved in within these organizations. Examining the increasing role of women in these organizations serves to inform law enforcement and national security analysts of the changing nature of terrorism and how that may impact the approach these organizations take in analyzing terrorist organizations and activity.

Research Questions

The primary research question for this study is that female participation in terrorist organizations will increase in the next three to five years. This study also aims to answer the following sub-questions:

- Does familial involvement encourage female participation?

- Do women participate in terrorist organizations based on past violence and abuse against them?
- Do women who participate fall in a certain age range?
- What roles do women play within the organization?
- Will the pool of females participating in terrorist organizations increase?

Definition of Terms

There is no universally acceptable definition of "terrorism" (Schmid 2011). The term is largely acknowledged as a political concept, though it impacts the military, law enforcement, and political spheres. Terrorism, as defined by the United States Department of Defense is "the unlawful use, or threatened use, of force or violence against individuals or property to coerce and intimidate governments or societies, often to achieve political, religious, or ideological objectives" (US Dept. of the Army and the Air Force, 1990, p. 3-1). Similar to the definition by the US Department of Defense, the FBI defines terrorism as "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives" (Terrorist Research and Analytical Center, 2003, p. ii). The US Department of State uses the definition from Title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f(d) which states that terrorism is "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience". Though there are slight differences among the various agencies, the underlying concept of terrorism is the same. An entity is attempting to elicit fear from a group of people or society, and this fear is instilled by either the threat of violence or the action itself.

Hoffman (2006) defines terrorism as "violence -or, equally important, the threat of violence-used and directed in pursuit of, or in service of, a political aim" (p. 2-3).

Hoffman's definition combined with notion that the purpose of terrorist acts is to instill fear within a population and target non-combatants. This is applicable at both the individual and state level. Additionally, terrorism can be seen as an extreme criminal act that targets non-combatants with the intent to instill fear. Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis, Hoffman's definition of terrorism with the addition of targeting non-combatants and instill fear into the population, will be used.

Nature of the Study

This study will be conducted using a qualitative case-study approach. Three terrorist organizations, al-Qaeda (AQ), Hamas, and the Black Widows, will be examined as support for the hypothesis. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) refutes the hypothesis; since the organization is no longer in existence female involvement is unlikely to increase. These cases will be examined to determine which roles women participated in within the organization as well as any progression of their status within the group.

Relevance and Significance of the Study

There is limited research available that examines the roles of women in terrorist organizations and the likelihood that their participation will increase in the next three to five years (Bloom 2011). Research pertaining to specific terrorist roles is available, but it is limited in regard to the scope of the issue. More importantly, the increased involvement of women within terrorist organizations poses a different set of concerns for law enforcement and national security analysts.

Assumptions and Limitations

This study assumes that secondary information pertaining to each terrorist organization is accurate and that past and current participation in terrorist organizations is indicative of the type of involvement in the next three to five years. Additionally, this study assumes that men will continue to be involved in terrorist organizations and that these organizations will adapt in response to changes in society.

Limitations for this study are the time allotment, the use of only open source information, and limited previous research. Additionally, there was a lack of funding for primary research, as well as difficulty obtaining primary research due to the nature of the topic

Organization of the Study

This study will be presented in the following manner:

This first chapter provides a background, including the definition of key terms as they will be used in this study, and the relevance.

The second chapter contains the literature review which looks at deviant women, motivations, roles in terrorist organizations, as well as the theoretical framework.

Chapter three describes the qualitative case study approach, specifically the structured-focus comparison, used in this study and the overall limitations.

The fourth chapter will include the results of the case study conducted for this thesis. The qualitative approach outlined in chapter three will be detailed for al-Qaeda, the Black Widows, Hamas and the Tamil Tigers.

The fifth and final chapter will summarize the results from the case studies, note the implications of this study, and provide recommendations for further research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction to the Literature Review

As recently as June 2014, a statement was made in the media regarding the recent allegations of female involvement in Boko Haram, including a suicide bombing by an alleged female member of Boko Haram in Gombe, Nigeria. The statement in the *AllAfrica* article "Nigeria: Female Suicide Bombers, Our New Challenge – Military" written by Omona and Ogbodo-Iwuagwu (2014, June 15) indicated:

> "women are always allowed to pass free at security's check points without undergoing any checks because they believe that they cannot engage in such criminal activities, but the Gombe Incident should be an eye opener to everybody so both male and female should be check thoroughly so that we don't experience what happened in Gombe" (para. 10).

This statement expresses both the current involvement of women in terrorist organization as well as the perception that women are unlikely to commit those types of acts.

This study aims to evaluate the current participation of women in four selected terrorist organizations as well as the likelihood that their participation will increase in the next three to five years. Additionally, this study aims to determine if there are societal elements that indicate the types of roles that women may be involved in within these organizations.

This chapter intends to provide a background for the reader to become familiar with existing literature regarding terrorism and criminal women as well as provide a detailed theoretical framework for the study. The first section looks at "deviant" women -- women who engage in criminal acts -- and the various explanations provided in an attempt to understand why women engage in criminal acts. This is important since

perception greatly influences the way in which individuals evaluate and interact with a potential terrorist member.

The second section on motivation provides a brief overview of the various factors that may contribute to an individual's desire to participate in terrorist organizations. Since there are a number of reasons why individuals may become involved, it is important to take this section as a number of possibilities rather than a complete set of motivations.

Thirdly, the various roles in terrorist organizations are outlined. This is not an exhaustive list, but it does include a large range of roles. Men and women are involved in these roles and depending on where the individual falls within the organization, the manner of their participation changes. It is important to note this array of positions so that analysts can more effectively evaluate potential operatives and more effectively understand what their role is within the larger organization.

Theoretical Framework

The application of theory is contingent upon context. There is limited research pertaining to the roles of women in terrorist organizations so theories specific to female participation are incomplete. Therefore, there is no single theory that can account for women's roles in all terrorist organizations, particularly theories which would serve the purpose of decreasing the level of uncertainty surrounding women's participation in terrorist organizations, for those in the intelligence community. Specific elements within each theory are applicable to a range of female roles within terrorist organizations, though the theory in its entirety is not necessarily applicable to every element of that role. Rather, they are theories that have been applied to a number of scenarios with an emphasis on links between gender and crime. Therefore, for this study an expanded

version of general strain theory (GST) is applicable. This theory uses the general premise of GST and extends it so that it is applicable to terrorism. It should be noted that as "a social psychological theory, it does not describe the larger forces that contribute to the development of the above strains and help shape the reaction to them" (Agnew, 2010, p. 148). The strains referenced by Agnew are the various factors that may contribute to an individual's decision to become involved in terrorism. This theory identifies one avenue for women's involvement in terrorist organizations.

General Strain Theory, coined by Robert Agnew in 1992, states strain increases the likelihood of individuals committing crimes. As defined by Merriam-Webster, strain is "to stretch to maximum extension and tautness", in regards to strain theory this 'tautness' is created by social and economic factors. General Strain Theory is an expansion of Robert K. Merton's strain theory which noted that economic desires were the only strain that would turn an individual to crime. Agnew expanded this to note three different types of strain, which Lilly, Cullen, and Ball (2011) note as:

1. Strain as the failure to achieve positively valued goals (traditional strain).
2. Strain as the removal of positively valued stimuli from the individual.
3. Strain as the presentation of negative stimuli (p. 75).

These various types of strain indicate a variety of factors which can contribute to an individual committing various crimes. While this has typically been applied to criminal behavior, the theory is just as relevant for terrorists, according to Agnew (2010). Some individuals who join a terrorist organization are likely influenced by various societal strains which move them in the direction of terrorist acts. This theory proposes that when individuals are unable to adapt to or cope with the strain, they engage in criminal behaviors.

The general strain theory of terrorism builds upon the previously mentioned elements and attempts to evaluate 'collective strains'. Agnew (2010) argues that "terrorism is more extreme than most common crimes, since it often involves the commission of serious violence against civilians who have done nothing to directly provoke their victimization" (p. 136). Based on this, Agnew suggests that the strains terrorists encounter are collective in nature, which creates a different type of strain than those found in GST. Three collective strains are noted to contribute to the likelihood of terrorism, they are: "(a) high in magnitude, with civilian victims; (b) unjust; and (c) caused by significantly more powerful *others*, including complicit civilians, with whom members of the strained collectivity have weak ties" (Agnew, 2010, p. 136). This approach takes the general premise of GST and refines it using the literature discussing terrorism.

While the expanded GST of Terrorism is applicable to this study, it should be noted that there are a number of factors which contribute to terrorism. When looking at female participation in terrorist organizations it is important to note the factors that contribute to their decision to become involved with the group. It is often a culmination of a number of these factors which leads individuals to participate in terrorist organizations. Acknowledging the potential contributing factors to terrorist involvement, decision makers and analysts are more likely to understand women's involvement as well as the likelihood that it will increase in the near future.

Review of the Research Literature

Deviant Women

"In thinking about the role of women in terrorism what comes to mind at first is their status as victims, as individuals to be humiliated for political or religious reasons" (Weinberg & Eubank, 2011, p. 22); the ingrained mindset that women are victims and not perpetrators makes it difficult for society to accept the existence of female terrorists. Women's involvement in terrorist organizations is perplexing for a number of reasons. Typically, women are "associated with nurturing and caring, and are still often revered by society as Madonna figures" (MacDonald, 1991, p. xiv) whereas men are "traditionally seen as having certain familiarity with violence--whether as defenders or aggressors, they are expected to know how to fight" (MacDonald, 1991, p. xiv). This conceptual divide between roles of women and men increases the difficulty of understanding the threat of female terrorists.

The notion of women as the more nurturing gender has been present for a significant period of time; therefore, when women are perpetrators of violence, there is a greater level of societal astonishment than with men. However, men were not the only ones who were surprised by female violence. Even during the Holocaust, women's violent acts were shocking to those around them, including other women:

> Once the female recruits completed their training, took their oaths, and entered the camp system, very few exhibited a human attitude toward the prisoners in their purview. Female guards at Camp Neuengamme were known for their shrill screaming, slapping, and beating. To a prisoner, however, such 'disciplining' would have been better described as random acts of terror -- acts that were especially disturbing because it was a woman who committed them (Lower, 2013, p. 21-22).

Even in the greater context of the atrocities that took place during the Holocaust, it was more disturbing that women were violent actors when compared to the men who were carrying out many of the same acts.

Females who engage in deviant behavior have historically been perceived as individuals who are flawed in some respect. During the early 20th century, criminologist Cesare Lombroso and psychiatrist Sigmund Freud attributed women's deviant behavior to something that was inherently wrong with them in a physical or mental sense, respectively. Lombroso, considered to be the "father of modern criminology", describes "female criminality as an inherent tendency of women who, in effect, had not developed properly into feminine women with moral refinements" (Lilly, Cullen, & Ball, 2011, p. 233). While this theory has since been disproven, scientists and theorists as early as the 20th century viewed women who engaged in criminal acts to be abnormal. The perception of "normal" women was of nurturing, caring, and subservient individuals. Occurring around the same time as the publication of Lombroso's theories of female criminality, Freud used biological and anatomical information to assess and explain characteristics of female criminality. According to Freud, women who digressed from social norms were attempting to compensate for their anatomical inferiority. A key element of Freud's assessment is that women "developed an inferiority complex and tried to compensate for it by being exhibitionistic, narcissistic, and well dressed" (Lilly, et.al., 2011, p. 235) and that an "emphasis was placed on changing women to fit into society as defined by men rather than on changing society" (Lilly, et.al., 2011, p. 235). While these theories have been disproven, the underlying difficulty for society to understand women who commit acts of violence remains; even as society becomes more aware of terrorist activity, there is still a knowledge gap in understanding why women engage in terrorist acts as well as why organizations use women.

The characterization of deviant women is enhanced by the media's portrayal of women who commit violent acts; "the idea of women acting as agents of violence runs completely counter to expectations of femininity; images of female terrorists thus attract widespread publicity, and disseminate the organization's message to a wider audience" (Von Knop, 2007, p.401). It is through this publicity that terrorist organizations are able to use women to their advantage. This approach is one way in which the organizations are able to further their objectives and spread their ideologies.

Motivations

There are a number of motivations which propel individuals to participate in terrorist organizations, ranging from political to social to psychological to cultural. These types of motivations differ by individual as well as organization. For terrorists to successfully assimilate into an organization their motivations must align with the ideologies and actions of the group.

Spindlove and Simonsen (2013) note that there are three main categories of motivations: rational, psychological, and cultural. Within these categories, there are number of different factors that influence and dictate an individual's desire to engage in terrorist acts. The concept supporting a rational terrorist is that the individual compares the costs and benefits of both joining the organization and the operations he or she is instructed to carry out. The psychological motivation operates on the premise that individuals desire to belong to a group with a similar outlook. This need for inclusion not only drives the psychological influence, but also contributes to the dynamic among members within the organization. Culture plays a large role in motivating individuals largely due to the sense of identification and unity that it evokes by those who are

embedded within it. There is a sense of belonging related to culture, and the idea is to maintain that divide between those who are accepted in the culture and those who are not (pp. 15-17). Religion, as a part of culture, is often a strong catalyst for terrorist activity. This is largely based on the fact that religion "encompasses values and beliefs deeply rooted in a long-standing and ancient cultural paradigm" (Spindlove & Simonsen, 2013, p. 17). Personal motivations are often a combination of a number of factors; rarely can individuals or organizations limit their motivation to one factor.

Collective identity is a way that social psychologists view individual's participation in terrorist organizations. This approach negates any theory which argues there is something inherently wrong with terrorists that makes it difficult to understand their motivations; "there are no individual psychological traits that distinguish terrorists from the general population" (Post, 2010, p. 15). Post (2010) also notes that "within each group there will be motivational differences among the members, each of whom will be motivated to different degrees by group interest versus self-serving actions as well as those inspired by ideology" (p. 15).

Consequently, while a taxonomy of terrorist motivations can be identified, terrorists may exhibit multiple motivations. Every member of a terrorist organization engages in violence to fulfill his or her own desires or beliefs or represent a constituency he/she believes to be victimized by the state or other groups; therefore, within a given organization, there will be a multitude of individual and organizational ideologies and motivations that influence terrorist acts (Bjørgo 2004; Crenshaw 1981; Danzell 2011; Hoffman 2006).

Roles in Terrorist Organizations

Terrorist groups are comprised of a number of positions and roles that signal levels of involvement, ranging from support-type roles to distinctive operational assignments. While it is contingent upon the terrorist organization, women have been active in various roles within their groups. Even in regions where the gender divide is more prevalent, these roles have changed over time to integrate women. This is also true for women involved in military actions as well as terrorist organizations. Frazier (2002) notes that for women:

> Their roles in warring have been clearly delineated and boundaries unmistakably demarcated. Society, through its body of rules and its numerous institutions, has conventionally dictated [women's] roles within the boundaries of militancy. Assisting in subordinate roles is welcomed and encouraged. Actually fighting in the war is not. Yet women have demanded to be integrated in all aspects of war including frontline fighting. (para. 5)

This military role is similar to the women's participation in both violent acts as well as their support in roles which are typically envisioned as male dominated. Women have transitioned from background roles in terrorist organizations to the frontlines. The roles that comprise a terrorist organization range from support to actions and now often include positions within logistics, recruitment, suicide bombers, and operational leaders.

Logistics

Logistics is defined by Merriam-Webster as "the procurement, maintenance, and transportation of military matériel, facilities, and personnel". In regards to a terrorist organization, logisticians "smuggle weapons and funds to terrorist fighters or perhaps act as couriers with messages between terrorist leaders and their operational cells" (Cragin & Daly, 2009, p. 21). The individuals who act in these roles are typically chosen because they do not draw a significant amount of attention to themselves, which makes it easier for them to move about more freely. They often act as the couriers, protectors, and

decoys under the larger umbrella of 'logistician'. Terrorist organizations frequently use women within the logistician role since it is largely considered to be a support role; female couriers typically carry and deliver packages between members of the organization. Furthermore, the use of couriers, especially following an attack or operation, helps to decrease the level of suspicion directed towards the actual operatives. The more individuals involved, the more difficult it is for authorities to conduct an effective investigation (Cragin & Daly, 2009). The role of courier is not limited to women. However, they are used frequently since they can remain in their established societal role while also making runs and passing information to individuals within the organization.

Female terrorists frequently come across as innocent and calm, even following imprisonment, which makes it difficult for society to grasp the true nature of the role the women played. Anat Berko (2012) interviewed Sabiha, a female terrorist, in an Israeli prison, "…it was hard for me to see her as 'the engineer,' whose horrible exploits as a terrorist I had learned about from the media" (p. 46). Sabiha was given the name "the engineer" for her involvement as the explosives expert in a number of terrorist attacks against Israeli citizens; "she had been convicted of preparing explosive belts and bombs. Being pregnant hadn't stopped her. Not only did she prepare explosives, she taught others how to as well" (Berko, 2012, p. 46). The difficulty understanding Sabiha's roles was compounded by the fact that she was not only married, but also pregnant at the time of her arrest. Many people view pregnant women as docile and nurturing, not as explosive experts working for a terrorist organization.

Terrorist organizations will also use decoys to distract the authorities from discovering/suspecting the planned operation. The perception of women as the 'fairer sex' makes them much more successful decoys than men. Organizations use women because they will "take advantage of their seemingly innocent status in society to distract security officials from their duties or even lure them to harm" (Cragin & Daly, 2009, p. 34). This use of women gives the terrorist organizations the advantage, since the seemingly 'innocent' women are frequently able to divert officials from the intended target to a different location. This gives the terrorists a greater opportunity to carry out their mission with a decreased level of interference.

Cragin and Daly (2009) also see women in the role of protectors (p. 30-3). This role is thought of as an underlying support role and is frequently classified under the role of 'logistician'. These individuals are not necessarily considered to be part of the terrorist organization, though they may act in a manner which helps the active members elude the authorities or provide a safe location for the organization to send people. Fundraising and gathering food and goods for members of terrorist organizations is also seen as a 'protector' type role. Women frequently belong to social groups where they gather and raise supplies for those individuals who need them. In many cultures it is socially acceptable for women to meet and gather goods, which means they are more easily able to smuggle and distribute goods into the organization.

Similar to women in the role of the decoy, they have often "used their femininity to confound security authorities or place them in awkward positions where they would have to go against culturally acceptable behavior" (Cragin & Daly, 2009, p. 30). There are many stories of women using "their inherent power within society to protect potential

terrorist operatives in the Palestinian territories" (Cragin & Daly, 2009, p. 30). While the above statement is referring to Palestine, women are frequently able to create distractions and scenes that make the authorities uncomfortable enough that they will release the operative; such as women making a scene near a male officer so that it draws negative attention to the situation. Occasionally this is done by women who have no relation to the operative they are 'protecting' and it is not something that is necessarily planned ahead of time. Regardless, these women contribute to the continuity of the operation, and potentially the terrorist group, by using themselves as a combination decoy and protector.

Recruiters

Recruiters solicit and gather additional members to support the cause of the terrorist organization. As defined by Cragin & Daly (2009), recruiters are "individuals used or designated by terrorist leaders to attract new logisticians, financiers, suicide bombers, or guerilla fighters into their organizations" (p. 39). Recruitment can be achieved by a number of different techniques including force, solicitation, familial connections, relationships, and online participation. Familial ties are a frequent method for recruiting new individuals. Family members will often persuade an individual to join the organization because they are part of the organization or because they believe it will better the organization overall. Additionally, individuals have been brought into terrorist organizations through marriages. Muriel Degauque joined Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) after marrying her husband. Degauque went on to be one most infamous female suicide bombers in Iraq (Cragin & Daly, 2009). The acquisition of Degauque is just an example of how individuals are recruited by family members, including, but not limited to,

spouses, siblings, and children. Additionally, some terrorist organizations will actively recruit individuals with a certain skill set. When this is the case, specific traits are sought out by the organization, including an educational background, familial connections, the ability to gain access to certain locations, or a certain physical appearance that will aid the purpose of the terrorist.

Female recruiters for terrorist groups are found less frequently than female logisticians, though they are still present in a number of organizations (Smith et.al 2014). In addition to encouraging other women to join, women inadvertently aid in the recruitment of men; "female terrorism also increases male recruitment because men can be shamed into joining when women appear to be usurping their dominant role in conflict" (Von Knop, 2007, p. 401). While the women involved in terrorism may not be participating for the purpose of recruitment, the organization as a larger entity will potentially benefit from their actions. This is particularly evident in societies where the gender roles are clearly divided and are expected to be upheld. Often, women are the community's facilitators, propagandists, and historical conscience. By these standards, women are able to act as the conduit for gathering more followers as well as persuading people who may be unsure about their participation in the organization.

Individuals are recruited into organizations both directly and indirectly. Women are recruited and, in turn, recruit new members in both ways; they believe in the objective of the organization, they have familial connections to the organization, or they know particular individuals that would fit a certain role within the organization. These women are key nodes in recruiting both men and women in rural and urban areas. People are recruited by friendly means as well as coercion; often times the type of recruitment is

contingent upon the situation as well as what the organization needs at that moment. One

of the organizations that will be examined in the case study portion of this study, The

Chechen Black Widows, often use female.

Cragin and Daly (2009) refer to propagandists as the individuals who "throw

ideas out into the public in hopes that they might inspire individuals to 'pick up a gun,'

even though they might never meet these new recruits in person" (p. 45). These

individuals can recruit others by several means, including pamphlets, through other

organizations, and via the Internet. Terrorist organizations often have a pamphlet or

magazine which they publish in hopes of spreading information about the group and

finding individuals who are interested. Al-Qaeda uses the magazine *Inspire* to recruit

individuals, as well as to spread information regarding some of the work that the

organization is currently doing. Recently, Al-Qaeda has started a magazine which is

aimed specifically at the recruitment of women; *Al-Shamikha* is focused on persuading

women to become involved in the group and is published in addition to *Inspire*. *Al-
Shamikha* also allows the leadership to influence the types of roles these individuals will

play, since they often feature articles on specific things that people can do, which they

claim will aid the larger organization and their beliefs. The benefit to using magazines

and pamphlets is that while they inform the current members of an organization, they also

have the ability to indirectly recruit additional members.

The Internet is also being used as a recruitment tool for both men and women.

The media attention that various terrorist organizations receive serves as indirect

recruitment. Additionally, individuals specifically go to the Internet to recruit members

who are not located in the same region; "the Internet has become an incredibly important

tool of recruiting in the past decade, both for men and women. Women have formed their

own chat groups, disseminate propaganda on behalf of their organizations, and solicit

membership through the Web" (Cragin & Daly, 2009, p. 47). Increased access to the

Internet, as well as an increased proficiency, has allowed individuals within terrorist

organizations to use this as another way to spread their beliefs as well as to encourage

others to join the organization. Moreover, the magazines and pamphlets are often

available via the Web, so the population that can receive and view the material is no

longer limited to the geographic region in which the group operates.

Certain individuals also use the Internet to spread their opinions regarding a

conflict that is taking place. Thomas (2003), author of "Al Qaeda and the Internet: The

Danger of "Cyberplanning", in the Journal *Parameters* stated:

> Al Qaeda uses prearranged phrases and symbols to direct its agents. An icon of
> an AK-47 can appear next to a photo of Osama bin Laden facing one direction
> one day, and another direction the next. The color of the icons can change as
> well. Messages can be hidden on pages inside sites with no links to them, or
> placed openly in chat rooms (p. 119).

The ability to use the Internet to effectively communicate with individuals, although

deceitful, is a strong advantage for Al-Qaeda. While Thomas (2003) was looking

specifically at Al-Qaeda, a number of terrorist organizations have the advantage of using

the Internet to convey messages, both explicitly and implicitly, to their followers. In

doing so, they are disseminating propaganda in support of their cause. For example,

Malika is considered to be a role-model for jihadi women. She did not believe that

women should be involved in violence for their cause, though they were able to write

about it; it was an indirect way of participating in an attack. According to Malika, "her

mission is 'to write, to speak out. That's my jihad. You can do many things with words.

Writing is also a bomb'" (Bloom, 2011, p. 204). Through written communication,

individuals are able to recruit future members of a terrorist organization in addition to

perpetuating their opinions of current events and directing the actions of other members.

Some branches of an organization responsible for propaganda will change

overtime to serve a different function within the organization. For instance, the

Vituthalai Pulikal Munani (Women's Front of the Liberation Tigers), also known as the

Birds of Freedom, was the branch of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri

Lanka responsible for the support and propaganda of the larger organization. The Birds

of Freedom were later known for their involvement as female suicide bombers within the

LTTE instead of their propaganda. Though, when they were involved in the propaganda

element, they were indirectly recruiting individuals for participation:

> The way the LTTE recruit people is very different from the way a traditional
> military would recruit... They will have propaganda materials about how bad the
> government army is, how the occupation is making our land worse, how we are
> suffering… [T]hey [encourage] the people to come together, on a voluntary basis.
> So typically, your son or daughter will be exposed to this material, and then
> someday you will see that they are not there, they just disappear [to the LTTE]
> (Jordan & Denov, 2007, p. 52)

LTTE's recruitment of individuals was through facilitation and propaganda. Children

growing up were influenced by LTTE through the constant exposure to ideas and beliefs

of the organization. At a certain point, the distinction between what the terrorist group

was promoting and what was actually taking place in their society no longer existed.

This was a combination of historical conscious coupled with pamphlet propaganda used

to sway the minds of the younger generation into participating in the LTTE.

An organization is able to maintain a high level of control through the use of the

Internet. The ability to disseminate select information to certain groups and regions as

well as control the information that is available to the greater public is a significant advantage. Encrypted information presents an increased level of difficulty for those who oppose a terrorist group; this allows Al-Qaeda members a certain amount of time before other groups know of their intent. Al-Qaeda members' use of chat groups and blogs provides virtual control. These chat rooms and forums allow members to communicate with one another more directly than going through a website and gathering information. Ideas and concepts are distributed and discussed as well as expectations and issues regarding a certain action. The level of information available on the forums and sites varies, but the more open and personal ones frequently aim to gain the sympathy of followers. This is a key manner of providing information to sympathetic followers (Thomas, 2003, p. 117).

History is often conveyed through the telling of stories. Facilitators of historical conscious "lay the foundation for young people to believe in a particular terrorist group's worldview and even become terrorists themselves" (Cragin & Daly, 2009, p. 49). In most societies, women are the main caretakers of the children so they have the first opportunity to expose their children to terrorist organizations. Based on this, it makes sense that terrorist organizations would use women to further their objectives and raise another generation of individuals who believe in the same ideology as the organization. Historical consciousness is an indirect recruitment method. It should be noted that this method of recruitment is more prominent in areas where conflict has been going on for a number of years, spanning generations, areas such as Israel and Palestine. Interestingly using this process increases the difficulty of reaching a peace agreement or consensus between the conflicted entities.

In addition to acting as recruiters, women are often targeted to be brought into terrorist organizations. Some theorist argue that women are targeted because they are considered to be the vulnerable individuals within a society; "…many women involved in terrorism had lost their father or had weak fathers. The absence of a father makes a girl easy prey for terrorist organization recruiters" (Berko, 2012, p. 19). This is especially prevalent in extremely traditional societies where women's roles are both restricted and dependent on the men in their lives. This puts women who are financially as well as emotionally unstable at higher risk of being radicalized. Furthermore, some girls are taken advantage of and 'recruited' into the organization. Some of the coercion tactics used are "drugging, kidnapping, and sexual assault." There are instances of terrorist organizations kidnapping and drugging their female bombers prior to sending them on their missions. These tactics both create willing individuals who will carry out their mission as well as decrease the level of information that the authorities may be able to gather if they were to intercept one of the operatives (Bloom, 2011).

Suicide Bombers

Dr. Boaz Ganor (2003), International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) Executive Director, defines a suicide attack as "an operational method in which the very act of the attack is dependent upon the death of the perpetrator. The terrorist is fully aware that if he does not kill himself, the planned attack will not be implemented" (para. 2). Suicide bombers have been used by terrorist organizations dating as far back as 1AD (Pape 2005). For these early terrorist organizations, religion was largely used as the motivation behind the suicide attacks. The historical groups that used suicide terrorists were the Hindu Thugs, the Jewish Zealots, and the Muslim Assassins. While these

groups of may have operated with political or social motivations, the underlying element was religion; there was a divine element that served as the underlying rationale for the attacks (Bloom, 2005).

> A suicide bomber is a weapon with a brain that can change directions or make adjustments to the situation. Because there is no need to plan for the perpetrator's escape route, the hardest part is reaching the target. The suicide bomber is deadlier than other forms of terrorist attacks because of his or her ability to switch targets midmission or, if the detonator fails, to find an alternative way of activating the explosive. (Bloom, 2011, p. 113)

The ability for the bomber to change their course, target, or method of detonation makes it more difficult for security forces to contend with the threat (Pape 2005). Not only is the detonation portion of the bomb deadly, but the fact that the plan can change without any advanced notice or planning is what makes the suicide bomber dangerous. The use of female bombers is important because "they provided a tactical advantage, increased the number of combatants, received enhanced media coverage, and maximized psychological impact" (Zedalis, 2008, p. 50). The public reaction elicited by female bombers supports the greater terrorist organization by making a statement, gaining media attention, and ultimately achieving the group's objective.

There is a significant amount of media coverage surrounding female suicide bombers. Suicide attacks are done not only to instill fear and inflict damage upon a group of people but also to garner attention for a particular cause. Therefore, the juxtaposition of 'docile' women with violent explosions yields a more significant impact on the greater society. The deeper message that female suicide bombers get at is: "Terrorism has moved beyond a fringe phenomenon and insurgents are all around you" (Bloom, 2005, p. 144). This digression from traditional gender roles coupled with violent terrorist acts magnifies the level of fear introduced into a society. Additionally, the media

coverage of female suicide bombers often encourages other women to join the cause. Many bombers are seen as martyrs for their cause and according to Cragin & Daly (2009), "…a certain mystique has emerged around women terrorists. They are seen as more deadly and more determined than their male counterparts, but oddly enough also as tragic romantic characters" (p. 55).

This tragic element evokes an image of a martyr and someone to be revered. Young girls are raised with images of female suicide bombers, individuals that are to be looked up to and admired. There are posters of both male and female suicide bombers, and children have these posters on their walls; Wafa Idris, the first female Palestinian suicide bomber representing Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade for the girls, and for the boys it is Mohammad Sidique Khan, the leader responsible for the 2007 London bombings (Bloom, 2011). This admiration and exposure to martyrdom at an early age facilitates the transition from respect to actually engaging in similar types of terrorist attacks. Additionally, the media coverage of female suicide bombers serves another purpose for the organization; "this media attention, which also serves as a 'horrible advertisement,' may improve recruitment and is one of the strategic reasons terrorist organizations deploy women" (Zedalis, 2008, p. 50). This deployment of women will continue to garner attention from the media, which will potentially increase the number of women involved in these roles within the organization. Media coverage can be actively deceptive, depicting women in aggressive, guerilla-type roles when they were not actually involved in the movement. In reference to a photo used to garner support for a guerilla war in Central America, Nordstrom (2008) notes "her picture had been borrowed to adorn the cover of a guerilla group half a world away in a war she would not be allowed to fight in"

(p. 71). This statement is an interesting take on the role of women within organizations -- they may be used to convey a cause, but it is one that they are not allowed to participate in.

The psychological element found with female suicide bombers increases the shock value; women are able to assimilate into the population that will be attacked, and detonate their bomb with an increased level of surprise. "Suicide bombers provide the low-cost, low-technology, low-risk weapon that maximizes target destruction and instills fear--women are even more effective with their increased accessibility and media shock value" (Zedalis, 2004, p. 8); they are an effective weapon for terrorist organizations to instill fear and draw out media coverage on their cause.

Zedalis (2008) noted three key elements found in an earlier study conducted by the author in 2004. This study took a strategic look at female suicide bombers to see if they were likely to continue as actors within terrorist organizations. The three predictions made by Zedalis are:

1. terrorist organizations will continue to use suicide bomber tactics and employ female suicide bombers;
2. the use of female suicide bombers will increase; and
3. the next 'first' would be the first Al Qaeda female suicide bomber. (Zedalis, 2008, p. 51).

These predictions are useful in looking at female suicide bombers and their continuation within terrorist organizations. However, it should be noted that this study was only applied to female suicide bombers and did not look at the other roles women partake in within the organizations.

 Operational Leaders

Women are infrequently in the role of operational leaders within terrorist organizations. However, there are a few organizations in which women fill those roles. Cragin and Daly (2009) note "left-wing groups are more likely to allow women to fight and take on operational roles as a reflection of societies' expectations of the women in general" (p. 73). The Red Army Faction (RAF), also known as the Baader-Meinhof Gang, was a West German terrorist organization founded in the late 1960s. This terrorist group was founded in part by women and had ties to Germany's youth movement (Cragin & Daly, 2009, p. 5). Another organization that contained female operational leaders was the Italian Red Brigades (RB); this organization was a leftist 1970s revolutionary organization. Interestingly, the RB was founded by Mara Cagol, her husband Renato Curcio, and Alberto Franceschini. Not only was Cargol involved in the overall leadership of the organization, but she was also involved in leading a small group of individuals to free a member from prison (Cragin & Daly, 2009). Jamieson (2000) noted "in general, former female members of the Red Brigades report that gender equality was maintained in the organization" (p. 56). This level of female involvement was deeper in the RB than in most organizations and women were afforded more responsibilities in organizing the group than a number of other terrorist organizations.

Women in operational roles within terrorist organization are not only linked to left-wing organizations, though they are more likely to be found in organizations that are seen as 'progressive'. In turn, there are few known religious based terrorist organizations which place women in these roles. Regardless of the type of role women play within a terrorist organization, it is important to note that they do contribute to the success of the organization. This is important when looking forward, since this change in gender

dynamics is likely to influence how enforcement officials investigate various terrorist acts.

Review of the Methodological Literature

A majority of the research on this topic is qualitative with a large focus on interviews and personal accounts. There is a significant number of case studies conducted which support this study; quantitative research is not the ideal platform for this type of information. The fact that studies looking at female terrorists are largely qualitative case studies indicates the difficulty with collecting and analyzing relevant data to conduct a quantitative study. The most effective manner to decipher micro level understanding about female   involvement in terrorist organizations, , is through the accounts of the terrorists themselves or other individuals who were close to the terrorist. Often times, there is not an open record of the individual's involvement and only those who interacted with the operative are aware of what their involvement was.

For this study, a qualitative case study approach is the most relevant since future actions of organizations employment of women. Using various organizations, the different roles women have participated in will be noted, increasing the likelihood that their involvement can be projected to the next three to five years..

Chapter 2 Summary

The information presented by the previously mentioned authors provides insight into the perception of female criminals as well as the motivations and roles behind terrorist involvement. However, this information is historical and there is a limited amount of information pertaining to the projected direction of terrorism and female

involvement. In the next section I, will through the use of case study approach, examine

several cases that reflect the intensions of my research questions.

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

There is extensive existing literature that describes the overall function and makeup of individual terrorist organizations as well as specific roles within each organization. However, there is limited information regarding the general roles of women, particularly how their involvement in terrorist organizations will evolve over the next three to five years. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a background of the methodology used in this study as well as to provide the framework for the selection of cases examined in Chapter 4. The hypothesis being tested is: female involvement in terrorist organizations is likely to increase in the next three to five years.

Case Study

A case study is a qualitative approach used to evaluate a set of pre-determined criteria across a select number of cases. For this study, the cases were chosen using a cross-sectional crucial-case case study approach, which applies a finite set of variables to a small number of cases, which for this study are four terrorist organizations. The benefit of a case study approach is that the cases can be evaluated in depth to provide a thorough body of evidence to support the acceptance or rejection of the hypothesis.

The most similar case approach will be used for this study. This method evaluates predetermined variables of each case to identify similarities among multiple cases which could determine the likelihood that female involvement within organizations will increase in the next three to five years. Three terrorist organizations, al-Qaeda (AQ), Hamas, and the Black Widows, will be examined as support for the hypothesis. The fourth case, The Tamil Tigers, refutes the hypothesis as the organization was as dissolved

in 2009, making it irrelevant to the prediction of increased involvement over the next three to five years.

Case Selection Criteria

The cases for this study were selected based on both their listing by the U.S. State Department as a terrorist organization as well as the documented and publicized involvement of women within their organization. For the positive cases, Al-Qaeda, The Black Widows, and Hamas will be used. For the negative case, the Tamil Tigers will be looked at. The author attempted to select cases which were both classified as a terrorist organization during their existence as well as contained women in various roles within the group. The organizations are largely located in the Middle East/Asia Region, though that was not done intentionally. The fourth case was selected because of female involvement during its existence. Moreover, since the Tamil Tigers were disbanded in 2009, there has not been an increase in female participation within the organization in the last 5 years. Additionally, as the terrorist organization is no longer functional it refutes the hypothesis.

Structured, Focus Comparison

Structured, focus comparison will be used to compare like variables across the four cases used in this study. The questions are created to reflect the research hypothesis and are applied equally across all of the cases. According to George & Bennett (2005), the structured, focus comparison is effective because "this procedure allows researchers to avoid the all too familiar and disappointing pitfalls of traditional, intensive single case studies" (p. 69-70). Using this method, it will be easier to note the similarities and

differences between the selected cases. The variables which will be evaluated are noted below:

Structured, Focus Comparison Questions for the Hypothesis	
Variable:	**Question:**
Marital Status	Were the women single, married, widowed, divorced?
Age	What is the average age of the women involved in this organization?
Familial Ties	Do the women in this organization typically get involved through family members or close family friends?
Role in Organization	What role did the women play within the larger terrorist organization?
Religious Affiliation	Did these women posses a particular religious affiliation?
Motivation	What was/were the main motivation(s) for involvement within the organization?

Limitations of the Research Design

This study is limited due to its use of secondary information; the author of this studyrelied upon the work of other individuals and used primarily secondary sources. Additionally, the information that is available is not exhaustive of the organizations or the involvement of individuals within terrorist organizations.

Ethical Issues

Since this study was based on secondary sources, there were no ethical issues encountered while conducting this case study.

Chapter 3 Summary

This chapter describes both the case study approach as well as the structured, focus comparison which will be used to evaluate the cases examined in regards to the hypothesis: female involvement in terrorist organizations is likely to increase in the next

three to five years. The next chapter will look at the following cases: Al-Qaeda., The

Black Widows, Hamas, and the Tamil Tigers.

RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter will apply each variable described in the methodology chapter to cases of female participation in four individual terrorist organizations. The organizations will be evaluated in the following order: Al-Qaeda, The Black Widows, Hamas, and The Tamil Tigers. The following variables will be evaluated against women within each organization: marital status, age, familial ties, role in organization, religious affiliation, and motivation. It should be noted that neither the cases nor variables are presented in any ranked order. Additionally, al-Qaeda has more information due to its history and international scope; there are a number of organizations which are either off-shoots or affiliates of al-Qaeda.

Case Study One: Al-Qaeda

Women in al-Qaeda (AQ) play a number of roles within the organization, but a majority of the women operates outside of the public eye encouraging and supporting AQ's next generation of terrorists. Osama bin Laden, the founder of al-Qaeda, issued statements which indicated the support that women provide within the organization; in past statements he "explains that women are playing an essential role as supporters, facilitators, and promoters in carrying out the Jihad" (von Knop, 2006, p. 405). While women's involvement is still encouraged and sometimes expected, it does not necessarily mean that they should be involved in active fighting. There are some exceptions to that, but for the most part, AQ leadership believes that women should be involved primarily in supporting the current and next generation of their members.

Women frequently act as recruiters and ideological supporters in AQ. Through this role, they are responsible for raising and ingraining the ideological beliefs of al-Qaeda into future members. There was an online periodical, *al-Khansaa*, published by the Women's Information Bureau of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula in 2004 and named for a female poet. This periodical was aimed at women who shared the same ideology and beliefs as AQ and was meant to convey the necessity and importance of female support in the organization. Van Knop (2006) notes that *al-Khansaa*:

> aims to motivate women to participate in Jihad by bringing up their children to be good Jihadis and by being supportive of their husbands, brothers, and sons. The magazine indoctrinates that the goal of a woman is also to become a Shahid [Muslim martyr] (p. 407).

This involvement is slightly more progressive than women's roles historically. In 2011, there was another online women's magazine published for jihadi purposes. *Al-Shamihka* was released by an online distributor of al-Qaeda materials, and the title is Arabic for "majestic woman". This publication contains an interesting spread of information, ranging from beauty tips and skin care to finding the right mujahedeen to marry and information on martyrdom and how it will lead to happiness. The magazine also includes interviews of other women who are martyrs and encourages them to support the cause through the raising of their children and supporting their men. It does however, encourage women who have lost their husbands to take revenge, a common motivation for female participants throughout global terrorist organizations (al-Maamoun, 2014). This magazine is still releasing issues as recently as early 2014.

While women are responsible for raising and instilling values into their children, they are also considered to be the responsibility of their male relatives. While that has not changed significantly, the public statement that women should be responsible for

'grooming' future operatives and members is a slight cultural change. Many of websites and writings convey the same premise; "women must sacrifice their sons and husbands" (van Knop, 2006, p. 408). This is a way to instill the fact that women are considered responsible for raising and caring for their husbands, with the intent that they will join al-Qaeda and may lose their lives in the process. This is a burden that the women are expected to embrace, and to a certain degree except or use to drive a deeper involvement in AQ for revenge.

Women also play a strong role as recruiters in al-Qaeda. The increased use and availability of the Internet has amplified their ability to recruit men from an ever greater distance and scope than before. Cunningham (2007) states "women's use of, and influence over, technology has the potential to affect female standing within groups and their overall operational roles" (p.114). This is highly related to the increased use of the Internet as a recruitment tool and its exploitation by women. Many women in AQ participate in online forums and organizations that conduct outreach for AQ. There were reports in 2003 that an all-female unit was being created within al-Qaeda by Umm Osama. However, there was limited information following that initial statement to indicate that a branch was actually created. Umm Osama indicated that it would be a female suicide branch; this statement created a number of comments from men who still believe that women's support of AQ should be done mostly as support for their husbands and sons, not in a combat role (Cragin & Daly, 2009). In a number of camps for AQ in Afghanistan the women and children are separated from the men; "the women's role is to support their men, helping them endure the hardships associated with frequent moves, difficult terrain, and harsh living conditions" (Bloom, 2011, p. 226). However, more

recently, women involved in Jabhat al-Nusra, the Syrian branch of al-Qaeda, are supporting the organization through intelligence gathering and even a few combatants. Their roles as combatants are still discouraged by a majority of the men in the organization (Abouzeid, 2014).

A significant portion of women involved in al-Qaeda come from or marry into an AQ family; they often support their husbands, brothers, and extended male relatives. One study found that of the 400 terrorists the author analyzed, 70 percent were married. Arranged marriages are a common practice and they are often organized to increase the ties between families or organizations. Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), an affiliate of AQ, has senior members who "will offer their sisters or sisters-in-law to new promising recruits so that they are not only drawn into the organizations, but into the family as well" (van Knop, 2006, p. 410). This increases the chances that women will actively support the organization as well as increasing the pool from which future members are drawn from.

Aafia Siddiqui, also known as "Lady al Qaeda," is wanted by jihadi groups all over the world. Siddiqui was arrested by the U.S. in 2008 with documents indicating that she had technical and chemical knowledge related to bombs. Since her capture, many jihadi groups have asked for her release in exchange for other prisoners. It is important to note that her role was likely related to the logistical and technical support of AQ. This role is not as known for female involvement in AQ, but it is still a role that some women have played in the past (Harris, 2014).

There is no particular age group for women involved with AQ. There have been supporters as young as 14 and as old as 40. Since a majority of their support is ideological and recruitment-based, they are likely most active while their children are

growing up; they are the individuals that instill the beliefs and values in the next generation of al-Qaeda.

Al-Qaeda as an organization is becoming increasingly aware of the benefit to having women involved in their organization. They are not only effective as recruiters and ideological supporters, but also as operational supporters. The element of surprise that comes with using female operatives is extremely effective for AQ. For cultural reasons, women are able to get past security much more easily than men; they often take measures to monitor and assess men that may be terrorists, but "these measures are of no use in guarding against women suicide bombers" (Bloom, 2011, p. 215). These cultural concepts are exploited by AQ, allowing women to get past security check points that men may be stopped at and into places that may be off-limits to men.

The expansive nature of al-Qaeda increases its scope and recruitment pool. Women's involvement in AQ varies depending on the affiliate they are with and what the organization is focused on. However, AQ is increasingly using women throughout its organization to support and increase the effectiveness of the terrorist group.

Case Study Two: The Black Widows

Women play a significant role in the Chechen Black Widows; the group has been active since their first attack on June 7, 2000. This act was committed when "Khava Barayev, cousin of well-known Chechen filed commander Arbi Barayev, and Luisa Magomadova drove a truck filled with explosives into the temporary headquarters of an elite OMAN (Russian Special Forces) detachment in the village of Alkhan Yurt in Chechnya" (Speckhard & Akhmedova, 2006, p. 63). While the organization has a

number of male members, a majority of the members are females who operate as suicide bombers and recruiters.

One motivating factor for the Black Widows is revenge. They were named by the international press as the Black Widows "when it became clear that many were acting in revenge for the deaths of their husbands, sons, and brothers" (Speckhard & Akhmedova, 2006, p. 63). Part of this revenge stems from Chechen tradition in which the family of a deceased individual exacts revenge on those responsible. This is traditionally limited to those who were directly involved in the original deadly encounter and does not spread to a larger group of individuals. However, Speckhard & Akhmedova (2006) note that the scope of revenge has changed significantly and is likely due to frequent exposure to war and terrorism that "revenge is becoming generalized in the minds of many" (p. 67). Chechen women are also motivated by the desire to restore honor to themselves and their families. The "routine rape of the Chechen women by the Russian soldiers" (van Kop, 2006, p. 400) brings disgrace and dishonor to the women and their families. Therefore, some women carry out and participate in terrorist actions as a way to reinstate that honor on their families.

Additionally, religious and nationalistic motivations exist in tandem with revenge increasing the complexity and scope of motivating factors. Cunningham (2008) notes that there is an interesting fusion between nationalist views and violent religious entities for the Black Widows: "The differing perspectives on the roots of female violence in the Chechen setting illustrates that the highly nationalist features of the Chechen conflict have become religiously infused" (p. 92). Following the Dubrovka hostage incident in 2002, media outlets released a pre-recorded video that arrived the day before the hostage

taking situation. It appears that the hostage situation was done in part to punish the Russians for the violence against the Chechens, but also to bring public awareness to what the Chechens were enduring, particularly the women. As noted by one of the women in the recording sent to the media, "We might as well die here as in Chechnya however we will die taking hundreds of nonbelievers with us" (CNN 2002). The blend of nationalist and religious motivations is an interesting link between the traditional motivations found within organizations.

The Chechen Black Widows are often recruited by friends and other women who hold the same views and beliefs as the potential recruit. Additionally, in this context, the women are in similar situations, which makes it easier for them convince others to join their cause. The Black Widows do not typically try to recruit members from outside of the community; therefore, it is much easier to find individuals that can relate to the issues and stresses that potential recruits may have. They are personally impacted by violence and while they have relationships outside of the organization, they are all connected by the violence they and their families have experienced. Furthermore, Speckhard & Akhmedova (2006) have evidence of:

> self-recruitment and strong willingness to martyr oneself on behalf of one's country and independence from Russia, to enact social justice (in their perspective) for wrongs done to them, and to avenge for the loss of loved ones in their families" (p. 70)

This desire to exact revenge for family members indicates a lack of coercion by other Black Widows. There is a personal motivation for women to join the Black Widows which increases the likelihood that the organization will continue to procure new members.

A number of women are married into Wahhabism; this movement is a religious sect of Sunni Islam which was established during the 18ᵗʰ century. This reform movement was based on the notion of refocusing Islam on monotheism; it is considered to be more fundamental than other Muslim groups (Global Security, n.d.).

According to Speckhard & Akhmedova (2006), the average age of female suicide bombers within the Black Widows is 25. However, the women's ages range from 15 to 45 and almost all of them were motivated by psychological and nationalist factors, as well as the desire for revenge (p. 106). Additionally, women involved in the Black Widows have no particular marital status; they are single, married, divorced, widowed, and remarried. This is largely due to the variety of motivations as well as the extended violence against them. The violence against Black Widow family members by Russian individuals has a deep impact and influence on the participation of women in the organization.

Ramzan Kadyrov, vice premier of the Russian-backed Chechen government, said on May 11, 2005, that "Chechen women are the most dangerous for national security because they have carried out the most risky operations. If the current trend continues, Chechen female bombers will continue to be a grave threat to Russian national security" (Spechkard & Akhmedova, 2006, p. 76). This statement reflects the impact that women have as members of a terrorist organization. Similar to women in other contemporary terrorist organizations, their ability to get into locations often off limits to men and the element of surprise all indicate an increased level of danger for those encountering female operatives.

Case Study Three: Hamas

Hamas, also known as the Islamic Revival Movement, is a conservative terrorist organization in Israel. This organization held control as the leading political power of the Gaza Strip from 2007 to June of 2014. There is currently a political union between Fatah and Hamas to govern Gaza. Fatah was previously the leading political power of the West Bank. Hamas has women involved in their organization, however they are seen in more of a logistical and support role than a leadership role.

While Hamas is considered an extremely conservative organization, they have used women in the past, which increases the element of surprise. Women have acted as suicide bombers, to spread propaganda, and in a logistical support role. Ahlam at-Tamimi was a planner for an attack on a Sbarro pizzeria in 2001 in Israel. This attack killed 15 instantly and wounded 130; of those killed eight were children (Bloom, 2011). Based on this attacked, at-Tamimi is "responsible for one of the deadliest attacks in Israel's history. Her rise to prominence and ability to influence others shows beyond a shadow of a doubt that women are not the weaker sex or inherently more peaceful than their male counterparts" (Bloom, 2011, p. 33). Interestingly, two months prior to the Sbarro attack, at-Tamimi was involved in a failed bombing which lead to a number of changes in the manner in which the following attack took place, including the use of a suicide bomber rather than a timed device. It was through at-Tamimi's plans, experience, and intelligence work surrounding the area that the suicide bomber was able to effectively detonate the device and kill a number of Israeli individuals. According to a number of sources and interviews, "Ahlam provided the intelligence and was pivotal in planning the operation, choosing the target, and accompanying the bomber" (Bloom, 2011, p. 112). She even returned to work as a newscaster immediately after the bombing

took place and reported what had happened. At-Tamimi was eventually arrested by Israeli Secret Service and charged with "extending logistical support to the Hamas cell responsible for the Sbarro bombing" (Bloom, 2011, p. 119). This arrest placed her in jail with a number of women who were imprisoned for supporting Hamas.

Between 2002 and 2009, there were 96 Palestinian women who attempted to carry out suicide bombings; only eight of those were actually successful and one of those eight was carried out by a member of Hamas. While Hamas primarily abides by traditional roles and expectations, they are willing to utilize women to promote their cause and act on behalf of the organization. There are a number of women incarcerated in Israel for failed attacks against Israeli forces. These women will sometimes grant interviews to news agencies, though they are careful to accurately portray Hamas' propaganda with the intent of recruiting more individuals.

This use of women is one that garners a significant level of attention, likely due to the "seeming incongruity of women, symbols of fertility, and the gift of life, intentionally taking the lives of others" (Schweitzer, 2008, p. 131). Additionally, in Israel, children who are born while their mothers are incarcerated are allowed to stay in the prison with their mother for two years. While this is meant to allow the mother and child to stay together, terrorist organizations exploit it under the guise that the Israelis are keeping children imprisoned. This trend is an extremely effective way to use women as a way of garnering attention for their cause: "they [terrorist organizations] use women to avoid detection and catch the enemy off guard knowing that that the bomber will later become an issue for the Israelis with international human rights organizations" (Bloom, 2011, p.

129). This effective manipulation by Hamas increases their effectiveness as a terrorist organization as a whole.

Hamas, as an organization tends to fall on a nationalist/religious side of the spectrum rather than a secular group such as Fatah or the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) (Cunningham, 2011, p. 87). The continued violence between Palestinians and Israelis is what motivates individuals within Hamas to participate in terrorist acts. There is the additional notion of revenge that also motivates women. In addition to being exposed to the political tension, many of them have personally experienced the violence that exists between Israel and the Gaza Strip.

While in prison, at-Tamimi is seen as "a symbol of the Palestinian resistance and then new feminine face of Hamas" (Bloom, 2011, p. 112). At-Tamimi is so representative of Hamas's women that Bloom (2011) notes:

> Ahlam at-Tamimi is a model of women's liberation and leadership. She does not consider herself unequal to men even though she works for a conservative religious organization with no female leaders. Yet, with her fame or notoriety she is winning office of Hamas in local elections by becoming the face of Hamas's women. She chooses to do this while wearing the traditional Islamic robes and veil (p. 267)

This statement reflects the effectiveness of using female operatives, especially in a conservative organization. While the women may not take a leadership role, they are effective at increasing support and garnering media attention for both their plight and that of the population they are representing.

Case Study Four: The Tamil Tigers

The Tamil Tigers, also known as LTTE, was a terrorist organization formed to combat the Sri Lankan government in the late 1970s and defeated in 2009. The

organization engaged in activities meant to further their intention to create a separate state for the Tamil people of Sri Lanka.

The Black Tigers, sometimes referred to as the Freedom Birds, was a branch within the organization which was considered the suicide wing of the LTTE. While the Black Tigers contained both male and female members, "30-to-40 percent of the LTTE's suicide terrorism has been carried out by females" (Ness, 2008, p. 24), indicating that a significant portion of female members participated in suicide bombings. The fact that a significant percentage of women were involved in the suicide branch of the organization indicates that the Tamil Tigers were accepting, at least to a certain degree, of women's involvement in their organization. However, there were certain parameters put in to place to ensure that women's involvement was still culturally acceptable. For example, "female Black Tigers are separated from their male counterparts, and relationships are not allowed to develop between them" (Cragin & Daly, 2009, p. 67). Members of the organization were also referred to as "brother" and "sister" which was thought to be another manner of deterring sexual relations between the combatants (Stack-O'Connor, 2007). Additionally, the training of female recruits, both with the Black Tigers and the LTTE overall, was separated by gender though the curriculum was similar. C.D. Ness (2008), notes that "to date, females have carried out more suicide bombings in its [LTTE's] name than in the name of any other group" (p. 24), which is likely related to the secular nature of the organization and the increased acceptance of women as female combatants within the group.

Based on women's involvement in ground-level combat of LTTE, it was noted that "the women's successes in combat led to their demand for control over their own

units and training" (Stack-O'Connor, 2007, p. 50). This level of integration within the organization, coupled with their ability to successfully carry out operations, gave women the ability to command and instruct their own units within the Tamil Tigers. Lewis (2012) states, "women had become a significant percentage of the overall strength of the LTTE long before they were used for suicide missions" (p. 101). This indicates that the organization was willing to involve women in roles other than suicide bombings in order to gain a stronger following and suggests "that the group was more open to gender equality than was the Tamil society at large" (Lewis, 2012, p. 101). Though LTTE was a secular organization, they did need to "find culturally acceptable ways to balance the advantages of adding women to the fight against alienating its conservative support base" (Stack-O'Connor, 2007, p. 50). In addition to using women from a tactical standpoint, it was noted that "there was a psychological advantage to be gained using women to defeat the Sri Lankan military in a country where women were seen as second-class citizens" (Bloom, 2011, p. 153). In a nation where gender roles are traditionally defined, the gender distinction made the intended Sri Lankan military's defeat especially impactful.

The average age of the girls involved in the Black Tigers is 14 to 16 years old (Ness, 2008, p. 24). However, there is little available information regarding the specific age of women involved in the ground operations of LTTE, separate from the Black Tigers subgroup.

Since LTTE is largely a political movement, religion does not play a role in the organization at all; "religion plays little to no role in recruiting, training, and motivating Black Tigers" (Stack-O'Connor, 2007, p. 52-3).

In addition to the political motivation, it is noted that rape and sexual assault were motivating factors specific to women involved in LTTE. This threat of rape and sexual assault was often integrated into LTTE propaganda which was specifically targeting potential female recruits. Stack-O'Connor (2007) remarks that the Tamil Tigers "uses the stories of women's sexual victimization as a way to attract members and justify attacks. The LTTE also publicizes reports of rape and sexual assault to discredit the Sri Lankan and Indian governments" (p. 55). Sexual assault as propaganda is effective both for recruiting and retaining women within the organization. Additionally, there are reports that LTTE threatened to spread rumors of sexual misconduct and assault if women tried to leave the organization. This threat was an effective means to control women once they were already embedded within the organization and ensure that they complied with what they were asked to do (Stack-O'Connor, 2007). For women who were already assaulted or raped, joining the LTTE was a chance for redemption. For those who are sexually assaulted, "Tamil women are considered 'damaged goods' and social customs prevent them from getting married or bearing children" (van Knop, 2006, p. 400). One way to regain honor is to join and participate in a terrorist organization which restores some dignity and honor to their family.

In May of 2009, the Tamil Tigers were defeated by the Sri Lanka military and government. This was accomplished through a number of offensives starting in 2007; by 2008, the LTTE was on the complete defensive. The organization was militarily defeated in 2009, with reports that many of the top members of LTTE died in a battle in May of 2009. There was additional assurance that the organization was defeated when "Sri Lankan authorities achieved another major success when, in early August, they captured

the LTTE's new international leader, Kumaran Pathmanathan, in Kuala Lampur,

Malaysia" (Uyangoda, 2010, p. 105).

Prior to their defeat, the Tamil Tigers used female operatives extensively; in the

ground operations as well as a special suicide bomber branch. The organization was

effective at producing propaganda that would encourage female participation through the

notions of protection and redemption and their belief in the political values of the

organization.

Summary

Women are increasingly involved in terrorist organizations, largely due to their

desire to participate as well as their effectiveness in carrying out operations. While a

majority of the women are in a logistics/support role, there are some that are active in the

operations; those women tend to receive significantly more media coverage than their

male counterparts. As long as women remain effective within an organization, they are

likely to continue to be involved, if not have their influence increased. The Tamil Tigers

no longer have women in their organization because the terrorist organization no longer

exists, not because the women were ineffective in their roles. For an overview of the

roles and characteristics of women within al-Qaeda, the Black Widows, Hamas, and the

Tamil Tigers, see *Figure 4.1*.

Figure 4.1: Case Study Results

Variable	Al-Qaeda	Black Widows	Hamas	Tamil Tigers
Marital Status	Married Remarried	Single (majority) Married Divorced Widowed Remarried	Married Single	Single
Average Age	Ranges from 14-40 years old	25 years old (Range 15-45)	Ranges from 17 to 60	14-16 years old (Black Tigers)
Familial Ties*	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Roles in Organization	Intelligence Gathering (Jabhat al-Nusra) Operational Leaders Recruitment Ideological	Suicide Bombers Recruitment	Suicide Bombers Logistic	Suicide Bombers Propaganda Tactical Fighters
Religious Affiliation*	Islam	Salafi Wahhabism (Islam)	Islam	None
Motivation	Political Personal Vengeance Sexual assault/violence	Political Psychological Trauma Revenge Sexual assault/violence	Political Revenge	Political Sexual assault/violence

Main variable for increased future participation in terrorist organizations

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This thesis looked at the likelihood that female involvement in terrorist organizations would increase in the next three to five years. This was done by reviewing four designated terrorist organizations and the various manners in which they involve women within their organization. This chapter will summarize the findings from the qualitative case study conducted in chapter 4.

Summary of the Study

This case study demonstrates the various ways that women are involved in terrorist organizations, by looking at four specific terrorist groups. The Tamil Tigers is a terrorist group that is no longer in existence, however, when they were a functioning organization they had a number of women involved in various levels, including suicide bombers. The three other cases, al-Qaeda, the Black Widows, and Hamas, all incorporate women into their organization in some manner. While the Black Widows is almost exclusively comprised of women, al-Qaeda and Hamas are increasing their incorporation of women within their organization.

Figure 5.1: Summary Chart

Characteristics	Al-Qaeda	Black Widows	Hamas	Tamil Tigers
Familial encouragement	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Threat of or actual experience of violence or abuse	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Average age	27	25	38.5	15
Roles	Operational Leaders Recruitment	Suicide Bombers Recruitment	Suicide Bombers Logistic	Suicide Bombers Propaganda Tactical Fighters

Discussion of the Findings

Recent events in 2014 indicate that other terrorist organizations are increasing their involvement of women, both operationally and logistically, within their organizations. The incorporation of women within the group increases the likelihood that they would be able to enact their operations. The element of surprise is a key reason that terrorist organizations are increasing the female involvement within the group; women are more likely to get past security due to lack of suspicion. Based on the various motivations and ideological nature of terrorist organizations, it is impossible to limit female involvement to one specific role. From the four cases examined a number of commonalities emerged while a majority of the elements differed by organization.

Element of Surprise

The element of surprise was a significant finding across the organizations. The notion of female perpetrators is something that most societies are uncomfortable with, giving terrorist organizations another outlet to recruit from. The element of surprise is

something that groups such as al-Qaeda and Hamas are using to their advantage. They are able to get their female operatives through checkpoints that would typically scrutinize men and their motives. This increases the ability of the organization to not only carry out more impactful operations, but also the media coverage that follows is more startling. While most terrorist operations receive significant media coverage, those perpetrated, facilitated, or supported by female participants garner significantly more attention. Groups such as the Black Widows, receive a lot of political and media coverage for their actions not only because of their gender, but also because of the Russian-Chechen conflict surrounding their involvement. Additionally, the media coverage that comes with the increased surprise around female operatives is another way in which terrorist organizations motives and ideology are publicized. The more attention given to terrorist organizations and their actions increases the spread of information surrounding the group and the reasons in which they taking action.

Sexual Assault/Violence

Three of the four organizations had an interesting motivation for women; sexual assault. In addition to the personal and political motivations, sexual assault was a mentioned drive for members of al-Qaeda, the Black Widows, and the Tamil Tigers. The culture in which these organizations are founded have very conservative views and often times women who are sexually assaulted are seen as bringing shame to both themselves and their families. The three organizations convinced women that their involvement would re-establish their family's honor and would remove the shame they brought on themselves. This finding is significant because it is a motivation that is specific to women. The men involved in terrorist organizations are likely to cite similar motivating

factors such as political, personal, and revenge, however, the threat of sexual assault and violence is limited to women. This is mostly due to the cultural concept surrounding blame and honor, which does not implicate men. This is important to note because increased instances or threat of sexual assault are likely to create a larger pool of women for terrorist organizations to recruit from.

Roles

Similar to their male counterparts, women are involved in a number of roles within the organizations. Depending on the organization itself, they are likely to play different roles. The Black Widows and Tamil Tigers have a number of female suicide bombers and logistical support, while al-Qaeda has more women involved in logistical and recruitment roles; the recruitment both of men and women. This does not mean that there are not women exceptions to the norm. There are a few female operatives in al-Qaeda as well as Hamas, though the overwhelming majority of women are involved in the logistical elements.

Familial Connections

A significant number of women are involved in terrorist organizations based on their familial connections. For many Black Widows, they join the organization because a male family member was killed or severely injured by Russian forces and they want to enact revenge. For Hamas, many of the women's families are already involved in the organization and they are acting in support of their spouses and family by joining the cause. Additionally, some women marry into the organization as a means of strengthening the connection between two families and furthering the pool of potential recruits and members.

Age of Participants

Female participants in the four terrorist groups ranged in age from 14 to 60. Much like their male counterparts, there is not specific age to be involved in the organization, and depending on their role, the age range will change. Many of the operation leaders are older, simply because they have more knowledge at that age. On the other hand, suicide bombers and tactical fighters, as in the Tamil Tigers, are typically younger since they are easier to train for a certain role. If an organization is able to get someone that they can train for a specific role, the younger they are when they start, the easier it is to instill the organizations ideas and plans.

Pool of Female Participants and Location of Additional Members

The increased success terrorist organizations have with female members, coupled with the need for more members, is likely to increase the level of involvement. Furthermore, women are being increasingly involved with the ideological views of the organizations and the desire to participate with their male counterparts in accomplishing the goal of the terrorist group. Hamas has a number of women who are all imprisoned together, which increases the women's ability to communicate with one another about their plans, how they can continue to be involved in the organization, as well as recruit other potential members. The increased publicity surrounding female involvement is also likely to draw other individuals to the organization. Moreover, if the root causes that drive the terrorist organization in to existence are still in play, then the terrorist group will continue to operate utilizing as many different strategies as possible.

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Implications for Practice

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This study aimed to add to the body of literature surrounding terrorist organizations and their members by specifically looking at females and their increasing participation. This is something that should be noted since terrorism is likely to continue for the foreseeable future and these groups are looking for various means to increase the impact they have. One way they've accomplished this so far is by increasing the women incorporated into their organizations. They have proven numerous times that female operatives and members are able to get past various security measures due to the lessened suspicion surrounding women.

Recommendations for Further Research

Further research should be conducted on women's involvement in Boko Haram and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). These recent events indicate that female suicide bombers have been used by Boko Haram, a terrorist organization in Nigeria (Al Jazeera, 2014). However, at the time it is unknown if the women carrying out the attacks are willing participants or if they are forced into that role. There is speculation that the school girls kidnapped by Boko Haram in April of 2014 are being used to carry out terrorist acts in Nigeria. The notion of forced participation in terrorist organizations is something that should be further researched.

There are recent reports of an all female brigade, al-Khansaa, in ISIS. The brigade is said to be the 'moral' police and used to enforce religious followings by women. One ISIS official stated that "jihad is not a man-only duty. Women must do their part as well" (Gilsinan, 2014). This is an interesting notion that indicates women are likely to be involved in terrorist organizations, especially if leading members of the organization state women are also responsible for participating in the actions.

General further research should look specifically at the level of women recruiting other females for terrorist organizations as well as other areas that terrorist groups have to draw from for additional members. Furthermore, are women's participatory roles within the organizations constrained by the social norms of each society? If there is a certain type of cultural restraint, it would be worthwhile to note since that may change the way law enforcement interacts with potential members as well as an awareness of future targets.

The use of children in terrorist organizations is an interesting approach that warrants further research. Similar to women's involvement, children are rarely seen as a threat, which again increases their ability to get into more restricted or guarded places than male operatives. The element of surprise is significantly increased when children are involved, even more so than women's involvement.

Conclusions

Women are becoming increasingly involved in terrorist organizations. Based on the success terrorist groups have had with using female operatives and recruiters, they are likely to continue involving them within the organizations. The element of surprise cannot be understated; as long as women are less suspect than their male counterparts, they will continue to have success in terrorist activities. Organizations such as ISIS, al-Qaeda and Hamas have noted that women need to be involved in jihad and must do their part. As long as terrorist organizations are able to use female members, they will continue to do so. And, given that they are successful, the number of women involved will increase. The terrorist groups are adapting their ideology to include women as members; since the organizations can justify that they too are responsible in carrying out

the organizations goals. Bloom (2011) notes "women are now more essential to terrorist organizations than ever before...leaders of terrorist movements routinely make cost-benefit calculations to select the most effective tactics, targets, and operatives. Their analysis has shown that women are deadly" (p. 34). So long as women remain 'cost-effective', they will be recruited into terrorist organizations.

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