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Cross-Regional Trends in Female Terrorism

KARLA J. CUNNINGHAM [a]
[a] Department of Political Science, SUNY Geneseo, Geneseo, New York, USA
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Cross-Regional Trends in Female Terrorism

KARLA J. CUNNINGHAM

Department of Political Science
SUNY Geneseo
Geneseo, New York, USA

Worldwide, women have historically participated in terrorist groups but their low numbers and seemingly passive roles have undermined their credibility as terrorist actors for many observers. This analysis contends that female involvement with terrorist activity is widening ideologically, logistically, and regionally for several reasons: increasing contextual pressures (e.g., domestic/international enforcement, conflict, social dislocation) creates a mutually reinforcing process driving terrorist organizations to recruit women at the same time women's motivations to join these groups increases; contextual pressures impact societal controls over women that may facilitate, if not necessitate, more overt political participation up to, and including, political violence; and operational imperatives often make female members highly effective actors for their organizations, inducing leaders toward "actor innovation" to gain strategic advantage against their adversary.

Although women have historically been participants in terrorist groups[1] in Sri Lanka, Iran, West Germany, Italy, and Japan, to name a few cases, very little scholarly attention has been directed toward the following questions: first, why women join these groups and the types of roles they play; and second, why terrorist organizations recruit and operationalize women and how this process proceeds within societies that are usually highly restrictive of women's public roles. Answering these questions may facilitate the creation of a comprehensive strategy for combating terrorism and limiting political violence. Regardless of region, women's involvement with politically violent organizations and movements highlights several generalizable themes. First, there is a general assumption that most women who become involved with terrorist organizations do so for personal reasons, whether a personal relationship with a man or because of a personal tragedy (e.g., death of a family member, rape). This assumption mirrors theories about female criminal activity in the domestic realm, as well as legitimate political activity by women,[2] and diminishes women's credibility and influence both within and outside organizations.

Second, because women are not considered credible or likely perpetrators of terrorist violence, they can more easily carry out attacks and assist their organizations. Women are able to use their gender to avoid detection on several fronts: first, their "non-threatening" nature may prevent in-depth scrutiny at the most basic level as they are simply

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Address correspondence to Karla J. Cunningham, PhD, Department of Political Science, SUNY Geneseo, 1 College Circle, Geneseo, NY 14454, USA. Email: cunningh@geneseo.edu

not considered important enough to warrant investigation; second, sensitivities regarding more thorough searches, particularly of women's bodies, may hamper stricter scrutiny; and third, a woman's ability to get pregnant and the attendant changes to her body facilitate concealment of weapons and bombs using maternity clothing, as well as further impeding inspection because of impropriety issues. Finally, popular opinion typically considers women as victims of violence, including terrorism, rather than perpetrators, a perspective that is even more entrenched when considering women from states and societies that are believed to be extremely "oppressed" such as those in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Such a perspective is frequently translated into official and operational policy, wherein women are not seriously scrutinized as operational elements within terrorist and guerilla organizations because of limited resources and threat perception.

This analysis contends that female involvement with terrorist activity is widening ideologically, logistically, and regionally for several reasons: first, increasing contextual pressures (e.g., domestic/international enforcement, conflict, social dislocation) creates a mutually reinforcing process driving terrorist organizations to recruit women at the same time women's motivations to join these groups increases; contextual pressures impact societal controls over women thereby facilitating, if not necessitating, more overt political participation up to, and including, political violence; and operational imperatives often make female members highly effective actors for their organizations, inducing leaders toward "actor innovation" to gain strategic advantage against their adversary.[3]

Contextual Pressures and Innovation

Since 11 September 2001 United States law enforcement and national security efforts have been aggressively targeted at identifying current and potential terrorist actors who threaten the country's interests. This activity has largely centered on Muslim males because of the types of terrorist attacks that have threatened the United States over the past decade (e.g., the World Trade Center (1993), the African Embassy bombings (1998), and the USS *Cole* bombing (2000) to name a few). All of the incidents were planned and implemented by Muslim, and predominantly Arab, males residing within the United States or abroad.

Terrorist organizations tend to be highly adaptive and although there are fundamental differences among terrorist groups along ideological lines (e.g., ethnonationalist, religious, MarxistLeninist) that influence the types of ends these organizations seek, they are typically unified in terms of the means (e.g., political violence) they are willing to employ to achieve their goals. The means/goals dichotomy is reflected by the absence of a single definition of terrorism with which all can agree.[4] Nevertheless, an ancient Chinese proverb quickly gets to the heart of terrorism noting that its purpose is "to kill one and frighten 10,000 others."[5]

Problematic, and evidenced by the evolving nature of campaigns in Sri Lanka and Israel/Palestine, as well as historical examples from Ireland and Lebanon, is that terrorist organizations tend to adapt to high levels of external pressure by altering their techniques and targets. Terrorist organizations learn from each other and "[t]he history of terrorism reveals a series of innovations, as terrorists deliberately selected targets considered taboo and locales where violence was unexpected. These innovations were then rapidly diffused, especially in the modern era of instantaneous and global communications."[6] Corresponding to existing terrorism theory, the use of suicide campaigns is an example of one type of tactical adaptation utilized by terrorist organizations, especially

in the Arab–Israeli conflict and Sri Lanka, and both cases have also witnessed an evolution in targets (e.g., combatant to civilian).

This analysis suggests that terrorist organizations "innovate" on an additional level, particularly under heavy government pressure or to exploit external conditions, to include new actors or perpetrators.[7] In both Sri Lanka[8] and Palestine, female participation within politically violent organizations has increased and women's roles have expanded to include suicide terrorism. Sri Lanka's "Black Tigers," composed of roughly 50 percent women, is symbolic of this adaptation. In 2002, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade in the Occupied Territories began actively recruiting women to act as suicide bombers in its campaign against Israeli targets. Other organizations have demonstrated efforts to recruit and employ women. For example, the Algerian-based Islamic Action Group (GIA) operation planned for the Millennium celebration in 1999 reportedly had a woman, Lucia Garofalo, as a central character. The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and Peru's Shining Path have growing levels of female operatives, and even right-wing extremist groups in the United States, such as the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC), are reportedly witnessing high female recruitment levels and one woman associated with the rightist movement, Erica Chase, went on trial in summer 2002 with her boyfriend in an alleged plot to bomb symbolic African-American and Jewish targets.

Women's Political Violence and the Role of Society: The Case of Algeria

Almost universally women have been considered peripheral players by both observers and many terrorist organizations, typically relegated to support functions such as providing safe houses or gathering intelligence. However, women have been central members of some organizations, such as Shigenobu Fusako, founder and leader of the Japanese Red Army (JRA), and Ulrike Meinhof, an influential member of the West German Baader-Meinhof Gang. In Iran, Ashraf Rabi was arrested in 1974 by the SAVAK, the country's secret police, after a bomb accidently detonated in her headquarters. In Sri Lanka, women have been effective suicide bombers for the Liberation Tigers for Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and interestingly, their role is modeled after women's participation in the Indian National Army (INA) during the 1940s war with Britain, which included female suicide bombers.[9] Women have also historically been active, albeit less visible members, of a range of right-wing organizations including the Ku Klux Klan (KKK)[10] and the Third Reich.[11] If women's involvement with political violence is interpreted more broadly to include revolutionary movements, then scholarly discourse clearly demonstrates the importance of women like Joan of Arc and women during the Russian Revolution.[12]

Thus, even a cursory look at history provides numerous examples of a diverse array of cases and roles of women's involvement with political violence. Despite historical evidence though, most observers remain surprised and baffled by women's willingness to engage in political violence, especially within the context of terrorism. Importantly, the "invisibility" of women both within terrorist organizations, and particularly their assumed invisibility within many of the societies that experience terrorism, makes women an attractive actor for these organizations, an advantage that female members also acknowledge. This invisibility also makes scholarly inquiry of the phenomenon more difficult and may lull observers into the false assumption that women are insignificant actors within terrorist organizations.

An analysis of the role of "veiled" and "unveiled" women during the 1950s Algerian resistance against the French provides insights into the process by which women

were consciously mobilized into "terrorist" roles within a MENA case by both politically violent organizations and the women who chose to join these organizations. Significantly, "[t]he Algerian woman's entrance into the Revolution as political agent was simultaneous with the deployment of the necessarily violent 'technique of terrorism,'" and the veil became "both a dress and a mask," facilitating women's operational utility during the Revolution.[13] Mirroring scholarly discourse on the "popular upsurge" in transitions against authoritarian rule in which civil society "surges" and then retreats, women's incorporation into the Algerian resistance movement emerged within a process of resistance to international oppression, suggesting that the societal sector may have been momentarily, albeit effectively, mobilized to include women.[14]

The phased mobilization of women into the Algerian resistance movement, and the societal environment that facilitated it, is argued to have had three distinct junctures. Prior to 1956, Algerian resistance led to the "cult of the veil" and women's decisions to veil were an active response to colonial attempts to unveil them and thereby dominate society even further. Only men were involved in armed struggle during this period but French adaptation to resistance tactics prompted male leaders to hesitantly transform their strategy and include women in the "public struggle." This initiated the second phase of women's mobilization, wherein "terrorist tactics are first fully utilized" and the conflict moved to urban areas and women unveiled in order to exploit their opponent. The final phase occurred when "woman . . . was transformed into a 'woman-arsenal': Carrying revolvers, grenades, hundreds of false identity cards or bombs, the unveiled Algerian woman move[d] like a fish in the Western waters."[15] "By 1957, the veil reappeared because everyone was a suspected terrorist and the veil facilitated the concealment of weapons." Further, "[r]esistance [wa]s generated through the manipulation, transformation, and reappropriation of the traditional Arab woman's veil into a 'technique of camouflage' for guerilla warfare."[16]

The societal process(es) that facilitated the coalescence of organizational and individualist interests in Algeria is significant. There occurred "[a] transformation of the Muslim notion of femininity, even if only momentarily during decolonization, [which] is central to theorizing the general range of *possibilities* for Algerian women's subjectivity and agency."[17] Significantly, this same type of process has been visible within the Palestinian context for at least three decades. Although women were not actively visible in the earlier periods of the Arab–Israeli conflict, with the creation of the General Union of Palestinian Women (1969) and the spread of education, there was a growing idea among Palestinian leaders "that women constitute half the available manpower resource, one that a small, embattled nation cannot afford to waste. Women began to participate, publicly, in every crisis, from Wahdat camp in the 1970 Amman battles to the latest Israeli invasion in South Lebanon." Although women were willing to participate, and Palestinian leaders were clearly willing to rely on them, Arafat's conception of their role conflicted with societal conceptions of women's roles, thereby making it difficult for women to fully participate in the conflict.[18]

The Algerian case is illustrative of a number of themes that will be developed in this article. First, there was a mutually reinforcing process driving both women and organizations using political violence together. The revolutionary features of Algerian resistance against external, colonial control led to broad political mobilization that included women, a process engendered not only by the promise of socialist "equality" but also by the colonial state's efforts to regulate the veil. Furthermore, the entrenched features of a war for independence inextricably involves virtually every societal segment and ensures that the conflict extends to the household level. Second, the deepening

sociopolitical process of the resistance increasingly overlapped with operational imperatives within the all-male resistance movement that indicated the utility of using women against the French.

Third, Algerian men and women generally shared the same political objective—freedom from French colonial domination. Equally significant, however, is that women and men held a secondary, albeit divergent, goal regarding social change; women clearly wished for greater equality, albeit not in the Western feminist sense, whereas men saw social change as asserting more authentic cultural forms (e.g., Islam). The articulation of the latter's vision of social change is captured in *La Charte d'Alger* (1964) wherein women's inferiority under colonialism resulted from poor interpretations of Islam to which women "naturally" reacted. As a result, "[t]he war of liberation enabled the Algerian woman to assert herself by carrying out responsibilities *side by side* with man and taking part in the struggle. . . . In this sense the charter reveals its unwillingness discursively to allow women's participation in the war to be the product of their chosen activity. Women's historical action is legitimized by their proximity to men . . . not by their agency."[19]

This process led to two outcomes that are visible in other cases. First, upon achieving the group's ends, women's participation therein is reinterpreted or reframed as less authentic, which allows women to be legitimately politically peripheralized (i.e., because they were not full and "authentic" participants) and their objectives, particularly with respect to social change, to be dismissed. Second, women's participation is not individually chosen; rather, it is facilitated by relationships with others or structural factors (e.g., poverty) that distance women from the violence they participated in, allowing society (and emergent political leaders) to not only separate women from the citizenship rights inherent in military-type service but also placing women's violence within a more palatable context. Importantly, this process mirrors women's participation in war and even instances of political mobilization within more limited (i.e., less violent) environments of political change, suggesting that it is not unique to terrorist or revolutionary structures and rather reflects more embedded features of female citizenship and political participation.

Patterns of Operational Female Terrorism

Not only have women historically been active in politically violent organizations, the regional and ideological scope of this activity has been equally broad. Women have been operational (e.g., regulars) in virtually every region and there are clear trends toward women becoming more fully incorporated into numerous terrorist organizations. Cases from Colombia, Italy, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Turkey, Iran, Norway, and the United States suggest that women have not only functioned in support capacities, but have also been leaders in organization, recruitment, and fund-raising, as well as tasked with carrying out the most deadly missions undertaken by terrorist organizations—suicide bombings. Regardless of the region, it is clear that women are choosing to participate in politically violent organizations irrespective of their respective organizational leaders' motives for recruiting them.[20]

European Female Terrorism

European terrorist organizations are among the oldest groups to examine and offer the first insights into women's roles in these organizations. Women have been drawn to leftist and rightist organizations in Europe, and have thus been involved in groups with

goals ranging from separatism to Marxist-Leninism. Women have been, and in certain cases continue to be, active members of several terrorist organizations within Europe including the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA, Basque Homeland and Unity), the Irish Republican Army (IRA), and the Italian Red Brigades (RD), to name a few. Mirroring the Palestinian conflict, which will be discussed later, Irish women, particularly mothers, have been widely active in their conflict with the British, which was waged close to home in their neighborhoods and communities.

One examination of the operational role of women in Italy's various terrorist factions during the 1960s and 1970s identifies several important tendencies. Although women generally accounted for no more than 20 percent of terrorist membership during this period, Italian women who participated in terrorist organizations were overwhelmingly drawn to leftist and nationalist organizations. This corresponded to a general period of social change, evidenced by movement in areas such as divorce, abortion, education, and employment, which allowed the Italian left to recruit and mobilize the country's women.[21] Women within the Italian left had a good chance of functioning as "regulars" and occasionally in leadership roles, particularly during the later stages of the organization's operations.[22]

The Italian experience correlates with a general trend[23] in which leftist organizations tend to attract more female recruits not only because their ideological message for political and social change (e.g., equality) resonates with women, but also because those ideas influence leadership structures within the groups. As a result, "[w]omen tend to be overrepresented in positions of leadership in left-wing groups and to be underrepresented in right-wing groups."[24] Conversely, rightist organizations have more limited recruitment of women and they have historically been characterized by an almost uniform absence of female leaders. In Norway, male domination of rightist organizations, and the inability of women to obtain leadership positions, prompted the creation of Valkyria, an all-women rightist organization that allowed members to develop leadership skills and opinions.[25]

North American Female Terrorism

Women's roles North American–based terrorist organizations mirrors the variability of Europe but includes an international element that is distinguishing, at least at this juncture. First, there is an important division between women based on "origination," for lack of a better word. One group of women involved in alleged terrorist organizations are members of, or closely tied with, an expatriate or immigrant community that has links to international terrorism. The other group of women has links to domestic terrorist organizations,[26] and within this category there are three subsets: those belonging to right-wing organizations that include the WCOTC[27] and the Aryan Nation, as well as militia movements and "patriot" organizations; those belonging to "leftist" groups typically linked to Puerto Rican nationalism;[28] and those belonging to "special interest" terrorist groups that range from leftist to rightist including the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), and anti-abortion activists.[29] Second, women's roles in North American terrorist organizations are highly influenced by their organization's target. For most international terrorist organizations, North America is less a theater of operation than an extremely important locus of financial, logistical, and ideological support for operations in other parts of the world. Obviously, for domestic terrorist organizations this is not a limiting factor. Third, readily available social and political freedoms in the region facilitate travel, communication, and organizational advancement that may be unattainable in other states. Finally, most connections involve both Canada and the

United States, particularly with respect to legal entry and residency status for international terrorist groups.

Both the Mujahadeen-e-Khalq (MEK) and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) have attracted official attention in both the United States and Canada since 2000 for incidents involving female members. Mahnaz Samadi became a member of the MEK in 1980 and was an active fighter for the organization against Iranian targets in the 1980s, including alleged terrorist attacks in Tehran in 1982. After becoming leader of the National Liberation Army and the National Council of Resistance (NCR), a MEK civilian front, she replaced Robab Farahi-Mahdavieh in 1993 to head NCR fundraising in North America. Mahdavieh is alleged to have been involved with the 1992 attack against the Iranian embassy in Ottawa, leading to her deportation from Canada in 1993. Samadi was arrested in 2000 by Canadian officials and was deported to the United States where senior officials became involved to prevent her deportation to Iran.[30] A similar fund-raising role was allegedly carried out by Zehra Saygili (a.k.a. Aynur Saygili, Beser Gezer)[31] and Hanan Ahmed Osman (a.k.a. Helin Baran)[32] both with the PKK. Osman allegedly entered Canada in 1984 and was granted refugee status. She then turned to recruiting, fund-raising, and propaganda activities on behalf of the PKK. Saygili arrived in Canada in 1996 and allegedly became active with the Kurdish Cultural Association in Montreal to raise money and support for the PKK.[33]

Another woman suspected of having ties with terrorist networks, but later cleared by the U.S. government under somewhat vague circumstances, was a Montreal woman born in Italy, Lucia Garofalo. Garofalo was allegedly linked to Ahmed Ressam, who was found guilty in U.S. federal court of plotting a terrorist attack within the United States around the Millennium celebrations. Garofalo pled guilty to two counts of illegally transporting individuals into the United States, including her attempt to smuggle Bouabide Chamchi through an unstaffed border crossing in Vermont. She also admitted to providing him with a stolen French passport. Garofalo and Chamchi were arrested after explosive-sniffing dogs positively indicated on the vehicle she was driving. One week before attempting to transport Chamchi into the United States, Garofalo reportedly successfully transported a Pakistani man into the country, raising speculation at the time that she was transporting aliens into the United States. Phone records linking Garofalo with Ressam and other members of the conspiracy, vehicle ownership by a reported member of the Algerian Islamic League, travel records showing numerous trips to Europe, Morocco, and Libya without apparent funding to support such travel, and personal ties linked Garofalo to several individuals indicted in the Millennium operation.[34] Because terrorist charges have been dropped against Ms. Garofalo, her overall role in the Millennium plot is unknown and likely minimal; however, she is reported to have had contact with a large number of individuals linked to the plot and is married to Yamin Rachek who was deported from Canada and has been wanted by both German and British officials for theft and passport fraud. In an effort to secure counsel for her husband, Garofalo allegedly was in contact with one of the individuals linked to the Millennium plot.

Both the Anti-Defamation League (ADL)[35] and the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) have noted an emerging trend in U.S. right-wing movements involving the growing mobilization of female members, particularly on the Internet. According to the SPLC, women now make up 25 percent of right-wing groups in the United States and as much as 50 percent of new recruits, and these young women want a greater role in their organizations, including leadership, than their predecessors have demanded.[36] Considering that domestic terrorism remains the most likely source of terrorist activity in the

United States, according to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and that right-wing terrorist groups are among the most active domestic terrorists in the country, this trend is noteworthy.

Lisa Turner, founder of the "Women's Frontier" of the WCOTC, provides insights into the perceived role of women for this and other White supremacist organizations.[37] Although acknowledging the role of women in combat and as martyrs for the organization (particularly Vicki Weaver and Kathy Ainsworth[38]), Turner states that "most women are not 'Shining Path' guerilla fighters." She rejects the use of women as suicide bombers ("cannon fodder") by the LTTE not on the basis that such a role is beyond women, but that it emanates from male exploitation of women that appears conjoined with their "non-White" status. Turner concentrates on avoiding a generalized understanding of what is, or is not, a revolutionary and from this argument she asserts that women's roles within the organization should be a function of their unique talents and abilities. This includes leadership positions and she notes that women can become Reverends within the organization as well as Hasta Primus, the second highest position within the organization and the main assistant to the group's leader, the Pontifex Maximus.[39] Female leadership within right-wing groups is not isolated to the WCOTC; Rachel Pendergraft is reportedly a lieutenant in the Ku Klux Klan, an organization that has clearly targeted potential and current members with a women's website.[40] Women have also been associated with potentially more violent activities, such as Erica Chase, who went on trial in summer 2002 for an alleged plot to bomb prominent African-American and Jewish targets.

Women have played a central and important role in the Puerto Rican nationalist movement, particularly the Puerto Rican Armed Forces of National Liberation (FLAN) and *Los Macheteros* (The Machete Wielders or the Puerto Rican Peoples' Army), both designated as terrorist organizations by the FBI. Women such as Blanca Canales and Adelfa Vera were significant leaders in the early nationalist movement and women are significantly represented in nonterrorist, but "supportive" entities like the Puerto Rican New Independence Movement (NMIP) and various demonstrations surrounding U.S. military exercises on Vieques. Additionally, women have been tried and incarcerated in the United States for their affiliation and actions with Puerto Rican nationalist movements. For example, 5 of 15 individuals arrested and tried by the United States between 1980 and 1985 for sedition, conspiracy, and illegal weapons possession were women (Dylcia Pagan, Alejandrina Torres, Carmen Valentin, and Alicia and Ida Luz Rodriguez) with Pagan (a.k.a. Dylcia Pagan Morales) considered the leader of the group by the government.[41]

For both the ALF and ELF, the most visible members are male, as evidenced by spokespeople (e.g., Craig Rosebraugh of the ELF) and arrests. However, this surface impression is likely not indicative of the actual rosters of these organizations and the individuals who take part in their operations. According to the FBI, the ELF and ALF have committed 600 criminal acts since 1996 amounting to more than US$42 million in damages.[42] Neither the ALF nor ELF disseminate lists of their members and members' names tend to only come to the surface based on arrest records.[43] In a report documenting actions undertaken by the ELF and ALF in 2001, of the 23 individuals associated with various legal actions ranging from arrest, imprisonment, and subpoenas only 3 were women.[44] However, this should not be construed as totally representative of female participation rates within these organizations, based upon historical trends that clearly demonstrate higher female participation rates within leftist organizations.

To date women affiliated with designated terrorist organizations in North America, both international and domestic, have played mixed roles in their respective organiza-

tions. International organizations appear to have incorporated women into more important structures, particularly those associated with fund-raising and recruitment, although cases remain few and far between. Domestic terrorist groups are increasingly targeting females for recruitment, and are attracting a diverse occupational and generational group of women. However, their roles within the leadership structures of their respective organizations is either minimal (right wing) or unknown (special interest). Leftist organizations have traditionally centered on Puerto Rican independence and have frequently involved women in a variety of capacities, including leadership positions, mirroring trends visible in Latin America and other "nationalist" settings.

Latin American Female Terrorism

Women have historically been involved in numerous revolutionary movements in Latin America (e.g., Cuba, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Mexico) so their more visible role in groups like the FARC and Shining Path is not surprising.[45] Within Latin America, two of the most notable terrorist organizations designated by the U.S. Department of State, Colombia's FARC and the Shining Path of Peru, have increasingly incorporated women into their organizations. Figures on total female membership within the FARC vary from 20 to 40 percent, with a general average of 30 percent.[46] Although the FARC's senior leadership structure, particularly the Secretariat, remains all male, women have been ascending throughout the group's ranks, with women now reportedly bearing the title "Commandante." Like Shining Path, the FARC has recruited and retained women for more than a dozen years. Unlike the FARC, the Shining Path's senior leadership structure, the Central Committee, is composed of 8 women (out of 19).[47] The Latin American phenomenon of "machismo" is noted as responsible for the continuation of senior male leadership for the FARC and the "cult of personality" that is said to surround the Shining Path's former leader, Abimael Guzman. As with the LTTE, women of both groups experience the same types of training and expectations as their male counterparts and women have been increasingly used in intelligence roles by the FARC.[48]

In Latin America, female activism in politically violent organizations remains concentrated within leftist movements, corresponding to themes seen in Europe and North America. In both Colombia and Peru, the revolutionary features of the respective movements is significant, mirroring processes in Palestine and Sri Lanka, as well as Iran, South Africa, and Eritrea. For the most part, women join the FARC and Shining Path while young, engage in all facets of the organization, and often remain members for life, although activism rates may alter with age, as is true with their male counterparts. Also noteworthy is that cases drawn from three regions (South Asia, Middle East, Latin America) confront more generalized poverty and "youth bulges" than is true of North America and Europe. Between 1983 and 2000, the percentage of the population living on less than US$2 per day was 45.4 for Sri Lanka, 36 for Colombia, and 41.4 for Peru. Data released by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics in early 2002 showed that 57.8 percent of those living in the West Bank and 84.6 percent of those living in the Gaza Strip were living below the poverty line. In addition to poverty, each of these states is confronting some form of "youth bulge" evidenced by the percentage of their populations between 0 and 14 as reported in 2001. These figures ranged from 25.9 percent in Sri Lanka, 31.88 percent in Colombia, 34.41 percent in Peru, 49.89 percent in the Gaza Strip, and 44.61 percent in the West Bank.[49] Thus, the fact that poor, young individuals are frequently drawn to terrorist organizations and politically violent groups is neither regionally limited nor gendered.

South Asian Female Terrorism

The Sri Lankan case shares some parallels with MENA terrorist organizations, including the structural imperatives that favor the use of women as suicide bombers, the intersection of political and sociocultural goals of liberation, and sociocultural norms that idealize sacrifice.[50] As of 2000, roughly half of the LTTE's membership[51] were females, who are frequently recruited as children into the Black Tigers, an elite bomb squad composed of women and men.[52] Women enjoy equivalent training and combat experience with their male counterparts and are fully incorporated into the extant structure of the LTTE. Women's utility as suicide bombers derives from their general exclusion from the established "profile" of such actors employed by many police and security forces (e.g., young males), allowing them to better avoid scrutiny and reach their targets. The 1991 assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, then leader of India, by a young Tamil woman who garlanded him, bowed at his feet, and then detonated a bomb that killed them both, provides proof of the power of this terrorist weapon. However, that woman, identified as Dhanu (a.k.a. Tanu), suggests some of the contradictory themes that arise when considering women's roles in the LTTE.

Reportedly prompted to join the LTTE because she was gang-raped by Indian peacekeeping forces who also killed her brothers,[53] Dhanu has become an important mythical force utilized for further recruitment as rape has been identified as one of the primary reasons motivating young women to join the LTTE. The goal of *eelam* (freedom) pursued by the LTTE is said to be conjoined with the pursuit of similar personal, and perhaps even societal, freedom for female recruits as "[f]ighting for Tamil freedom is often the only way a woman has to redeem herself."[54] Also inherent in the struggle is the idea(l) of sacrifice, particularly for Tamil rape victims who are said to be socially prohibited from marriage and childbearing. Equating the sacrifice of the female bomber as an extension of motherhood, suicide bombings become an acceptable "offering" for women who can never be mothers, a process that is reportedly encouraged by their families.[55] "As a rule, women are represented as the core symbols of the nation's identity" and the "Tamil political movements have used women's identity as a core element in their nationalism."[56]

According to *Jane's Intelligence Review*, "suicide terrorism is the readiness to sacrifice one's life in the process of destroying or attempting to destroy a target to advance a political goal. The aim of the psychologically and physically war-trained terrorist is to die while destroying the enemy target."[57] It is also on the increase. Aside from the LTTE, the main groups that employ suicide terrorism in pursuit of their objectives are located in, or linked to, the Middle East, such as Hamas, Hizballah, and Islamic Jihad. The LTTE is the only current example of a terrorist organization that has permanently adopted "suicide terrorism as a legitimate and permanent strategy."[58] Suicide terrorism in this context is the result of a "cult of personality" rather than a religious cult, demonstrating that "under certain extreme political and psychological circumstances secular volunteers are fully capable of martyrdom."[59]

Sri Lanka is not the only place in South Asia, however, where women are, or have been, allegedly involved with terrorism. Among Sikh militants, women have participated in an array of roles including armed combat. Importantly, Sikhism does not distinguish between male and female equality forming a religio-societal grounding that neither precludes female combat nor categorizes that role as uniquely masculine (or "unfeminine"). Rather, societal resistance to female combat roles is fostered by well-founded fears of sexual abuse, rape, and sexual torture of women if captured. Within the Sikh case, women's "support" roles are not viewed as peripheralized or indicative of

women's marginalization within the political sphere. Instead, women's support of their husbands and sons is seen to critically enable their ability to fight and die for the nation, and women's roles as mothers producing future fighters for that nation is also recognized. As a result, "[w]hile it is obvious that the celebrated virtues of courage, bold action, and strong speech are consonant with masculinity as understood in the West, among Sikhs these qualities are treated as neither masculine nor feminine, but simply as Sikh, values. Women may be bound to the kitchen and may have babies in their arms, but they are still fully *expected* to behave as soldiers, if necessary."[60]

Additional examples of women's participation with politically violent organizations relate to the Indian–Pakistan confrontation over Kashmir. According to Indian sources, Shamshad Begum was arrested by Indian security forces in October 2001 for allegedly acting as a guide responsible for identifying safe travel routes for members of Hizbul Mujahadeen.[61] Another female member of the same organization was reportedly killed by Lashker-e-Taiyaba members. Indian sources claim that women are drawn to the organization for financial motives, and women's roles as couriers have been improved by a "requirement" to wear a *burqa*.[62] Reports of female involvement in terrorist groups expanded by December 2001 as the Indian press reported female bomb squads were being prepared by Pakistan-supported groups in Kashmir for attacks against senior officials during the Republic Day Parade.[63]

Several themes arise from the South Asian context that provide additional insight into female terrorists, particularly suicide terrorism. First, personal motives (e.g., family, rape, financial) are argued to greatly influence women to join organizations like the LTTE and, even more importantly, into becoming suicide bombers (e.g., rape). Second, freedom and liberation are key themes at both the collective and individualistic levels. Collectively, freedom and liberation capture the legitimating ideology of the LTTE vis-à-vis the Sinhalese and the Indian governments, the mujahadeen in Kashmir vis-à-vis India, and the Sikhs vis-à-vis India for Khalistan. Liberation also appears to be conceptualized individualistically as, according to one Tamil Tiger, "the use of women in war is part of a larger vision of the guerrilla leadership to liberate Tamil women from the bonds of tradition."[64] However, this has led to accusations that women are less committed to *eelam* as their primary motivation for participating in the LTTE, joining instead for personal vengeance.[65] The idea of sacrifice as an ideal is the third theme and it centers both on the role of women within society as a whole (e.g., motherhood) as well as for suicide bombers more particularly. Female sacrifice for her family, and particularly for her male children, is seen as a generalized cultural norm that is usefully extended to female self-sacrifice for her community and family, particularly if she is unable (e.g., because of rape), to undertake her role as wife and mother within the society. In both the Sikh and Sri Lankan examples, female martyrdom is viewed as necessary to overcome the individual and—more importantly—collective shame of dishonor caused by rape. Fourth, the personalism of women's motives that arguably drive them to join organizations like the LTTE is both responsible for somehow diminishing the overall "authenticness" of women's roles in these organizations, particularly for outside observers, and allowing for charges of LTTE exploitation of its female cadre who are used as "throw-aways" or "as artillery."[66]

Middle East and North African Female Terrorism

From the earliest days of the Palestinian resistance, women have been involved in both the leftist and rightist sides of the Palestinian struggle against Israel.[67] The events of

2002 suggest that this pattern remains intact. Through April 2002 four Palestinian women have become suicide bombers on behalf of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, an offshoot of Fatah, prompting, in part, a major Israeli military offensive against the Palestinians begun in March 2002. However, although these attacks have shocked Israeli security analysts, there is a sustained, and varied, history of Palestinian women who have been involved with terrorist organizations, particularly since the nationalist-based movements began to increasingly carry out violent activities in the 1960s. One of the most well-known female terrorists is Leila Khaled, affiliated with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), who hijacked a plane in 1969. Another woman convicted of planting a bomb in a Jerusalem supermarket during 1969, Randa Nabulsi, was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.[68] Although there has been a low probability that women will be used by Islamist terrorist groups, continuing the trend of lower female representation among rightist organizations, there is precedent for such inclusion in Palestine. Etaf Aliyan, a Palestinian woman who is also a member of Islamic Jihad, was scheduled to drive a car loaded with explosives into a Jerusalem police station in 1987 but was apprehended before the attack could take place. If the attack had occurred, it would have represented "the first suicide vehicle bombing in Israel"[69] and significantly, it would have been implemented by a woman.

Women's roles were increasing among secular and Islamist Palestinian organizations before 2002, suggesting a warning sign of the impending escalation of Palestinian violence against Israeli targets. In particular, there was an apparent trend in women's growing roles within the Palestinian resistance that was initiated with examples of male/female collaboration (e.g., suggesting female training by more experienced males), followed by individual women planting explosive devices but not detonating them, to the culmination wherein women were tasked with actually detonating bombs on their own persons. Thus, in hindsight suicide bombing by women appeared to be a logical progression in women's operations within various organizations, and suggests that women may be tasked with tandem suicide bombing and other operations in the future.

For example, Ahlam Al-Tamimi was arrested by Israel's Shabak in 2001, charged with extending logistical support to the Hamas cell that attacked the Sbarro pizzeria in West Jerusalem. She reportedly worked with Mohamed Daghles, a member of the Palestinian Authority security body. The two are linked to at least two incidents in summer 2001. In July, Al-Tamimi reportedly carried a bomb disguised as a beer can into a West Jerusalem supermarket that detonated but did not injure anyone. In August, Al-Tamimi was linked to a Hamas bomber who carried a bomb in a guitar case into a Sbarro pizzeria that killed the bomber and 15 others.[70] In another instance, on 3 August 2001, Ayman Razawi (a.k.a. Imman Ghazawi, Iman Ghazawi, Immam Ghazawi), 23,[71] a mother of 2, was caught before she could plant an 11-pound bomb packed with nails and screws hidden in a laundry detergent box in a Tel Aviv bus station. However, despite the escalating role of women in the *intifada*, the prospect of a female suicide bomber remained remote through the first weeks of 2002 because "[t]here have been very few cases of Arab women found infiltrating Israel on a mission to murder civilians."[72]

That perception changed dramatically in the wake of 28 January 2002 when Wafa Idris (a.k.a. Wafa Idrees, Shahanaz Al Amouri),[73] 28, detonated a 22-pound bomb in Jerusalem that killed her, an 81-year-old Israeli man, and injured more than 100 others. Confusion punctuated the immediate aftermath of the attack given that heretofore women had only helped plant bombs and it was not clear whether Idris had intended to detonate the explosive or whether the explosion was accidental. Equally unclear was whether she was acting on behalf of some group or how she had obtained the explo-

sives. This confusion made the Israelis reticent to confirm that the attack constituted the first "official" case of a female suicide bomber related to the Arab–Israeli conflict and, therefore, a significant shift in the security framework within which the Israelis would have to operate. As Steve Emerson is quoted as stating in the wake of Idris's attack, if true the bombing "opens a whole new demographic pool of potential bombers."[74] By early February the Israelis declared that Wafa Idris was a suicide bomber[75]—a first. The Fatah-linked Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade (a.k.a. Al Aqsa Brigades) claimed responsibility for her attack and described Idris as a "martyr."

Idris's motivation to commit a suicide operation was arguably prompted by a sense of hopelessness under occupation and rage, not heaven as promised to her male counterparts.[76] As a result, her action is seen "to have been motivated more by nationalist than religious fervor,"[77] a motivation that is frequently attributed to her male counterparts. In addition to not being a "known" member of a terrorist organization, and therefore more likely to be identified as a potential suicide bomber, Idris did not carry out the attack in the "normal" fashion. She carried the bomb in a backpack, rather than strapped to her waist, raising widespread speculation that she did not intend to detonate the bomb and the explosion was accidental.[78] Another cause for skepticism about Idris's role in the attack arose from the lack of a note and martyr's video, which are typically left behind by one engaging in a "martyr's operation."

The response by secular and Islamist Palestinian leaders to the attack is important. Although the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade claimed responsibility for the attack, it did not do so immediately. The strong reaction by the "Arab street" to the attack, and the heightened sense of insecurity noted by Israeli officials, provide two excellent reasons why women's operational utility increased for Al-Aqsa's leaders. First, Idris's action resonated strongly throughout the Arab world. Egypt's weekly *Al-Sha'ab* published an editorial on 1 February 2002 entitled "It's a Woman!" that is reflective of the general tone that emanated throughout the Arab press regarding the attack. The editorial stated, in part, "It is a woman who teaches you today a lesson in heroism, who teaches you the meaning of Jihad, and the way to die a martyr's death. . . . It is a woman who has shocked the enemy, with her thin, meager, and weak body. . . . It is a woman who blew herself up, and with her exploded all the myths about women's weakness, submissiveness, and enslavement."[79]

The profound reaction to her attack by the masses both within and outside Palestine created a turning point for the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade that had two effects: first, a willingness to use both men and women in terrorist attacks and second, an acknowledgment of the utility of using suicide bombers against civilian targets within Israel to undermine Israeli security and force Israel to negotiate from a position of weakness. Within days of the attack, Abu-Ahman, founder and leader of Al-Aqsa, showed signs of a tactical shift, asserting that there would be a "qualitative military operation by Al-Aqsa Battalions (*sic*) against Israeli targets," within a short period of time[80] that was clearly designed to take advantage of the psychological and tactical significance of female members of the organization. By the end of February, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade reportedly confirmed it had created a "special women's unit" named after Wafa Idris[81] to carry out attacks. Subsequent attacks by female suicide bombers over the next three months did not confirm the existence of a "special unit," but it did signify the group's willingness to utilize female members for suicide operations was not a fluke.

Reactions by Islamists were more mixed and muted, but not rejective in the immediate aftermath of the attack. Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, spiritual leader of Hamas, initially opposed Idris's action citing personnel imperatives, stating that "in this phase (of the

uprising), the participation of women is not needed in martyr operations, like men." He went on to note that "[w]e can't meet the growing demands of young men who wish to carry out martyr operations," and "women form the second line of defence (*sic*) in the resistence to the occupation." However, he later qualified his objection when he added that if a Hamas woman wanted to carry out a "martyr operation," she should be accompanied by a man if the operation required her to be away more than a day and a night. Hamas leaders Sheikh Hassan Yusef and Isma'eel Abu Shanab noted that there was no *fatwa* (religious decree) that prevented a woman from being a martyr, ostensibly against Israeli occupation in the Palestinian territories.[82] Sheikh Abdullah Nimr Darwish, spiritual leader of Arabs in Israel, was more forceful in advocating the new role for women, driven in large part by the extension of the occupation to the home. He stated "the women will fight. Now the Palestinians prefer to be killed at the front rather than wait and be killed at home. . . . Israel has the Dimona nuclear plant, but we Palestinians have a stronger Dimona—the suiciders. We can use them on a daily basis. He also pointed, with pride, at the sight of Palestinian women in white shrouds at funerals—a sign of their readiness to become shuhada, or martyr." Further, women lined up to become martyrs, shouting "make a bomb of me, please!"[83] All of these reactions were in keeping with the August 2001 *fatwa* issued by the High Islamic Council in Saudi Arabia urging women to join the fight against Israel as martyrs.

Despite Israeli assertions that Idris's attack was a planned suicide bombing, significant uncertainty surrounds the authenticity of this attack as an Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade–planned suicide attack. More likely is that Idris was to plant the bomb as Al-Tamimi and Razawi were to have done in 2001. Nevertheless, Al-Aqsa learned an important lesson about the utility of female suicide bombers, and the uncertainties of the Idris case were addressed in subsequent attacks by female martyrs: Darin Abu Aysheh (a.k.a. Dareen Abu Ashai, dareen Abu Eishi), 21, detonated an explosive device on 27 February 2002 at an Israeli checkpoint in the West Bank;[84] Ayat Akhras, 18, blew herself up on 29 March 2002 at a Jerusalem neighborhood grocery store in a wave of Passover attacks that followed Israeli attacks against Arafat's headquarters;[85] and Andalib Takafka blew herself up in a crowded Jerusalem market, killing 6 and wounding more than 50 people on 12 April 2002, undermining efforts by the U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell to move ahead with peace talks.[86]

Historical and recent cases of female Palestinian terrorism suggest several trends. First, female activism has tended to be more active within the secularist context (e.g., leftist) rather than among Islamists (e.g., rightist), reflecting a general global trend. However, although women have been more active with the nationalist/secular side of the Palestinian movement, women have been linked to Islamist groups either directly or in terms of their overall support. Second, as the conflict with Israel deepened, the scope of activism widened to include women in an increasing array of activities, up to and including suicide bombing, and women pushed for these expanded roles. Third, women activists have tended to be young, with one or more politically active family members (male), and exposed to some form of loss (e.g., within their family or immediate community) that arguably contributed to their mobilization. Importantly, marital, educational, and maternal status were not uniform factors. Also, these factors are not radically divergent from males who undertake suicide operations within this context. Fourth, Palestinian secular leaders' willingness to include women in martyr operations was influenced by security assessments (e.g., an ability to evade security scrutiny and travel more deeply into Israel), operational constraints (e.g., growing Israeli pressure on male operatives), and publicity. Female suicide bombers represent one way to overcome Israeli security

pressures, heighten Israeli insecurity, and exhaust Israeli security resources by significantly increasing the operational range and available pool for suicide operations. Akhras is an exemplary case as witnesses noted she looked "European," and dressed like any Israeli schoolgirl.[87] Trying to protect against that type of terrorist represents a fundamental challenge for any security apparatus.

Conclusion: Preliminary Trends and Themes

Although there is a tendency to dismiss the overall threat of women suicide bombers, or female terrorists more broadly, because they have historically engaged in such a small percentage of terrorist activities, contextual pressures are creating a convergence between individual women, terrorist organization leaders, and society that is not only increasing the rate of female activity within terrorist and politically violent organizations, but is also expanding their operational range. The tactical advantage of this convergence is apparent particularly with respect to female suicide bombers, a tactic designed to attract attention and instill widespread fear in the target audience, because as one observer noted in the wake of Idris's attack, "it's the women we remember."[88] Because suicide terrorism is designed to attract attention and precipitate fear, in an increasingly charged atmosphere it takes more and more to attract attention, increasing the utility of female suicide bombers. Female suicide bombers also fundamentally challenge existing security assessments and socially derived norms regarding women's behavior, heightening the fear factor. Finally, and more significantly, the small number of women who have, to date, been used in such operations suggests that they will be able to better evade detection than their male counterparts.

Leftist organizations may be more likely to initially recruit or attract women because their goals tend to conform more easily to general processes of social change in society. Nevertheless, security, operational, and publicity assessments inducing secular organizations to recruit and operationalize women in a variety of roles, including as suicide bombers, may spread to rightist organizations including Islamist groups and right-wing organizations. This process may first be visible in Palestine if violence is prolonged or deepens for four reasons: first, women are operationally significant to achieve the over-all goals of the *intifada* in a manner that at least immediately overrides potential social costs of their mobilization; second, given the nascent "public" political roles of women in the region, and sociocultural factors that facilitate this role, women could very well be "demobilized" back into the private realm with little effort; third, nothing in Islam precludes women from serving in this function; and fourth, as the conflict has progressed the lines between the secular/nationalists (e.g., Fatah) and the Islamists (e.g., Hamas) has blurred.[89] Furthermore, it is also possible that groups like Al Qaeda may see women as operationally useful, as enabling conditions abound, including: the horizontal structure and loose affiliations of these organizations, the "war on terrorism" and its escalating enforcement efforts, and no overt religious prohibition against women's activity.

There is a real fascination for many observers with why women join and participate in groups like the FARC, Shining Path, the LTTE, and even the Palestinian groups, perhaps in part because this membership is fairly visible and sizable within their respective organizations. This focus is not overly surprising "[b]ecause politics, and especially revolutionary politics, has traditionally been regarded as a male affair . . . [and as a result] the historian has never really had to 'explain' why an individual man chose to enter political activity."[90] Ergo, trying to "explain" why an individual woman engages in

not just political activity but violent political activity becomes quite necessary because there is something not quite "natural" about it.

Both women and men join politically violent organizations, and engage in an array of activities within those organizations, for similar reasons. Most frequently, individuals want to achieve some form of political change, whether revolutionary or more limited in nature. At the most basic level, groups that use political violence as a tactic have as their end-goal a right to draw up and implement new rules of the political game. In revolutionary or nationalist contexts like Palestine, Colombia, and Sri Lanka, the potential political change is far-reaching and typically involves replacing some form of external (or externally linked) leadership. However, political institutions do not arise in a cultural vacuum and often necessitate some form of social change.

Typically women are said to have engaged in political violence for personal (private) reasons, whether because of a male family member, poverty, rape, or similar factors. Importantly, this argument suggests women do not choose their participation consciously, but are rather drawn in as reluctant, if not victimized, participants. Even women who join for ideological (public) reasons are suspect, especially in revolutionary contexts. Here, women's motivations for "freedom" are viewed dualistically as both collective (e.g., independence) and individualistic (e.g., equality) or their ideological motivations are not fully developed, making them "helpers" to men rather than ideologues in their own right. The Algerian case suggests dualistic goals for both men and women, differing only with respect to their conceptualization of social change, the secondary goal, not political change, the primary goal. Nevertheless, there remains an entrenched belief that women's motives are more personal (and private), leaving behind an impression of insincerity and shallowness that prevents women from having any fundamental voice in creating new structures.

In addition to determining why women join organizations there is an equal effort to untangle what women do once they join. Although women have historically been involved with politically violent organizations, most of their activities have been in "support" capacities; thus, their presence has been seen as passive. Usually, this support has come from mothers, who have moral authority, a certain degree of safety vis-à-vis the adversary, and fairly clear boundaries within which they operate (both with respect to their own societies and the adversary).[91] Such action is typically viewed as initiated by the women themselves, and while resistance or terrorist leaders may exploit this activity through propaganda, the role is so natural, if not expected in a highly conflictual context, that very few find this type of activity threatening (e.g., Ireland, Sri Lanka, and Palestine).

This is not true of the "warrior" women. Even a cursory review of interviews with these women demonstrates that women are pushing for expanded roles within their respective organizations, from leadership to combat, and that a growing number of younger women are joining organizations and staying. However, what is equally clear is that for most observers (e.g., academic, journalistic, policymakers) this choice seems so foreign and unnatural to women that there must be an explanation beyond simply that women want to fight for their respective causes.[92] As a result, women are duped into being "cannon fodder" as they are tasked with the most dangerous missions because they are expendable to their leaders. Additionally, history is replete with cases where women's support and service have not produced extended political freedom. But here is the rub, and the significance of the expanding roles of women in various organizations on both the left and right. As female "warriors," women are able to carve out roles themselves both within their respective organizations and with the hope of doing so in the structures

that result from the struggle. Significantly, the women who are being drawn to these movements may be attracted by political opportunities implied by combatant (public) roles regarding citizenship that were denied their mothers who remained altogether private during earlier conflicts. Although it is safer and easier to simply dismiss "warrior" women as pawns of male leaders, as "dupes," and as misguided women who have lost sight of their femininity, this obscures the more interesting issue of why and how women have concluded that political violence will help them achieve desired political (and perhaps social) ends.

In evaluating the roles of women in terrorist and politically violent organizations, it remains prudent to be cognizant of the following: first, the implications of limited data; second, the possibility of denial and deception; third, that invisibility does not necessarily equate with passivity or powerlessness; and fourth, organizational versus societal imperatives. The secretiveness of many of the groups addressed in this study underscores the difficulties with obtaining reliable information related to both male and female recruitment, leadership, and operational roles. Furthermore, group leaders may mislead observers regarding the depth and breadth of female participation in their groups, either through inflation or under-inflation, to gain strategic advantages vis-à-vis their adversaries. Relatedly, just because women are not necessarily visible participants within organizations does not correlate with their absence or passivity within said organizations. Women's operational strengths and tactical advantages may induce leaders to keep female participants well-hidden until contextual pressures necessitate the group show its hand. Finally, it should not be immediately concluded that societal structures that traditionally limit female public roles will hold under tremendous conflict, nor that such structures will necessarily dictate women's roles once within politically violent organizations.

As a result, academic and policy observers must be extremely cautious in how they approach and frame female activism within terrorist or politically violent organizations. Women have been, and will continue to be, willing to serve in a variety of groups, including right wing/religious and, significantly, they may very well be tasked in combatant roles. Terrorist or politically violent organizations are extremely aware of the potential utility of female members because this actor allows them to play on established biases and assumptions in their adversary. Terrorist organizations engage in "actor innovation" because women are able to penetrate more deeply into their targets to gather intelligence or carry out violent operations than many of their male counterparts. These organizations are interested in immediate results; the system that results will be dealt with later. This same imperative drives both female members of these organizations and the societies within which this process occurs. Societies that are under extreme strain due to occupation or conflict will often loosen their constraints on women to facilitate the convergence of individual and terrorist organizational interests. The aftermath of this process remains generally uncertain, as many of the cases discussed herein remain unresolved.

Notes

1. Organizations labeled as "terrorist" are derived from the United States Department of State listing of designated terrorist organizations through either support or operational activities (see *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2000,* available at (http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2000/2450.htm). This analysis will utilize this designation for the sake of simplicity.

2. Because a woman's place is "naturally" private her motivation to become "public" would have to be personal. This suggests as well that once this personal reason has been resolved she will willingly and naturally return to her normal, private, role.

3. The common belief that women's participation in political violence is quite limited is not supported by even a cursory examination of history. However, what is clear from that cursory look is that women's experiences with political violence have not received sustained attention, and what examination has occurred has often been heavily influenced by established Western norms of appropriate female behavior. Given the constraints of any article-length analysis, certain limitations were necessary in approaching the subject matter. As a result, this work should not be construed as an exhaustive inventory of women's participation in politically violent or terrorist organizations, past or present, but rather a selective examination of primarily current critical cases.

4. Several of the most oft-quoted terrorism definitions include those used by the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the United States Department of State, and the United States Department of Defense (DoD). The FBI defines terrorism as "the unlawful use of force and 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" (28 Code of Federal Regulations Section 0.85). The State Department defines terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience" (United States Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2000*, available at (http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2000/), 13 April 2001). Problematic with both definitions, however, is that they fail to capture organizations motivated by religious or economic motives, such as Islamist organizations in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) or narcoterrorist organizations such as the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia (FARC) and National Liberation Army (ELN) in Colombia. The DoD partially overcomes this deficiency by widening the goal orientation of terrorist organizations as it defines terrorism as "the calculated use of violence or the threat of violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological" (Department of Defense, "DoD Combating Terrorism Program," Directive Number 2000.12, available at (http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/downing_rpt/annx_e.html), 15 September 1996).

5. Jamie L. Rhee, "Comment: Rational and Constitutional Approaches to Airline Safety in the Face of Terrorist Threats," *DePaul Law Review* 49(847) Lexis/Nexis (Spring 2000).

6. Martha Crenshaw, "The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice," in Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), p. 15.

7. If we examine state behavior with respect to military recruitment, we see a similar process. Samarasinghe notes "most nations have increased women's military roles only when there has been a shortage of qualified men and a pressing need for more warriors. . . . The decision to permit women into combat is made by men. . . . [And] the allowable space within which women could operate in military units is also determined by them." (Vidyamali Samarasinghe, "Soldiers, Housewives and Peace Makers: Ethnic Conflict and Gender in Sri Lanka," *Ethnic Studies Report* XIV(2) (July 1996), p. 213).

8. As of early 2002, a cease-fire deal was secured between the Tamil Tigers and the government of Sri Lanka, halting the type of violence that will be discussed in this article. However, even if this activity is now a matter of historical record, rather than a current phenomenon, it offers important insights into how women were (are) mobilized into a politically violent movement.

9. Peter Schalk, "Women Fighters of the Liberation Tigers in Tamil Ilam. The Martial Feminism of Atel Palacinkam," *South Asia Research* 14(2) (Autumn 1994), pp. 174–175.

10. See Kathleen M. Blee's *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) for an interesting study of this widely overlooked phenomenon.

11. See Claudia Koonz, "Women in Nazi Germany," in Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, eds., *Becoming Visible, Women in European History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977).

12. Marie Marmo Mullaney, "Women and the Theory of the 'Revolutionary Personality': Comments, Criticisms, and Suggestions for Further Study," *The Social Science Journal* 21(2) (April 1984), pp. 49–70.

13. Jeffrey Louis Decker, "Terrorism (Un)Veiled: Frantz Fanon and the Women of Algiers," *Cultural Critique* 17 (Winter 1990), pp. 180–181.

14. Although O'Donnell and Schmitter's argument centers around mobilization against domestic authoritarian rule, there are parallels in the decolonization process that makes this comparison useful. See Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986). With respect to civil society, O'Donnell and Schmitter argue that "private" civil society mobilizes only temporarily to become "public" to achieve its goal (transition from authoritarianism). Once that goal is achieved, civil society willingly returns to its "natural" private sphere. This conceptualization bears striking parallels to the role of women wherein Algeria's "private" women (a role physically visible through the veil) are temporarily mobilized into "public" action to achieve independence. However, once the aim of the mobilization is completed (e.g., independence) they are assumed to willingly and naturally return to their private role. However, not all scholars (Karla J. Cunningham, "Regime and Society in Jordan: An Analysis of Jordanian Liberalization," Dissertation, University at Buffalo, 1997; Peter P. Ekeh, "Historical and Cross-Cultural Contexts of Civil Society in Africa," Paper presented at the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)—Hosted Workshop on *Civil Society, Democracy, and Development in Africa,* 9–10 June 1994) are convinced that the rigid conceptual boundaries between "public" and "private" in transition are meaningful, with important ramifications for transition.

15. The account of these phases are taken from Decker, "Terrorism (Un)Veiled," pp. 190–192. The first quotation is located on p. 191, the second is on p. 192.

16. Ibid., p. 193.

17. Ibid., p. 183, emphasis in original.

18. This account of the conflicting interests of Palestinian women, leaders, and society was discussed by Soraya Antonius, "Fighting on Two Fronts: Conversations with Palestinian Women," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 5 (October 1979), pp. 28–30.

19. Marnia Lazreg, "Citizenship and Gender in Algeria," in Saud Joseph, ed., *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), p. 62, emphasis in original.

20. The regional cases that are discussed later are utilized to demonstrate these developments given the constraints of an article. However, it should be understood that this is not, and is not intended to be, an exhaustive inventory of cases in which women have engaged in political violence or terrorism. Cases from Africa (Eritrea, South Africa) and East Asia (Japan, Korea, Vietnam) are also worth investigating.

21. Leonard Weinberg and William Lee Eubank, "Italian Women Terrorists," *Terrorism: An International Journal* 9(3) (1987), p. 247.

22. Weinberg and Eubank, 1987, pp. 250–252. The authors' conclusions are based on biographical reviews of female terrorists reported in two major Italian newspapers. Concentrating on individuals identified and arrested by the Italian government, the authors admit that their information "does not represent a sample of terrorists" (Ibid., p. 248). A point to consider is that women's roles and representation may remain somewhat skewed, even in this worthwhile study, because one of the apparent operational advantages of female members to terrorist organizations, at least in other contexts, is that they tend to go unnoticed by officials. As a result, relying on official recognition of key women may not provide the fullest picture of women's roles in varying terrorist organizations.

23. For a good analysis of female participation in left- and right-wing organizations within the United States during the 1960s and 1970s please see Jeffrey S. Handler, "Socioeconomic Profile of an American Terrorist: 1960s and 1970s," *Terrorism* 13(3) (May–June 1990), pp. 195–213.

24. Ibid., 1990, p. 204.

25. Katrine Fangen, "Separate or Equal? The Emergence of an All-Female Group in Norway's Rightist Underground," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9(3) (Autumn 1997), pp. 122–164. In contrast, leftist women tend to organize their own organizations to pursue a particular objective (Ibid., p. 122).

26. According to the FBI, domestic terrorism is "the unlawful use, or threatened use, of force or violence by a group or individual based and operating entirely within the United States or Puerto Rico without foreign direction committed against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof in furtherance of political or social objections" (United States Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation, Terrorism in the United States 1999, Counterterrorism Threat Assessment and Warning Unit, Counterterrorism Division, available at http://www.fbi.gov/publications/terror/terror99.pdf, 1999). For the purposes of this study, FBI official designations of domestic terrorist status will be utilized in characterizing a group as terrorist. Between 1980–1999 there were 327 incidents or suspected incidents of terrorism within the United States, of which 239 were attributed to domestic terrorism (Ibid.). The analysis of domestic terrorism offered in this article is focused on groups or categories the FBI deems as generally active. As a result, historical examples of female participation may not be included, particularly if the group is no longer actively identified by the FBI as a terrorist threat.

27. According to the FBI, the WCOTC has been linked to acts of domestic terrorism including the July 1999 shootings of several racial minorities by Benjamin Nathaniel Smith in Illinois and Indiana (United States Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1999).

28. Women's participation with left-wing movements is long-standing, with prominent examples from the 1960s and 1970s including the Weathermen, the Black Panthers, and the Symbionese Liberation Army. The discussion of left-wing terrorism in this article does not focus on these examples because they have diminished or disappeared, at least with respect to FBI reporting of left-wing terrorism.

29. Please note that these three generalized categorizes have been created to facilitate discussion within the limited confines of this article. There is tremendous variation within the three categories that such grouping tends to obscure.

30. Background on Samadi and Mahdavieh were drawn from: Aaron Sands,

"Secret Arrest of Saddam Ally," Ottawa Citizen 1 February 2000, Lexis/Nexis, 3 March 2002; Moira Farrow, "Woman Ordered Deported Not a Terrorist Lawyer Says," *The Vancouver Sun,* 8 April 1993 Lexis/Nexis, 3 March 2002.

31. See *Zehra Saygili v. The Minister of Citizenship & Immigration and Solicitor General for Canada,* Court No. DES-6-96, available at (http://decisions.fct-cf.gc.ca/cf/1997/des-6-96.html).

32. Tom Godfrey, "Lax Security Screening Has Allowed 'Sleeper' Terrorists to Infiltrate Canada for Years," *Toronto Sun,* 7 October 2001, available at (http://www.canoe.ca/TorontoNews/04n1.html).

33. The PKK reportedly used women as suicide bombers in Turkey during 1998, but ended the tactic thereafter, suggesting that suicide terrorism was used temporarily to achieve a specific objective (Ehud Sprinzak, "Rational Fanatics," *Foreign Policy* 120 (September/October 2000), ProQuest, 25 March 2002, pp. 4–5). For more information on the PKK's use of suicide bombing during 1998 please see "Female Separatist Rebel Captured in Southeastern Turkey," *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, 15 August 1998, Lexis/Nexis, 31 January 2002; "Female 'Terrorist' Reportedly Carries Out Suicide Bombing," *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, 24 December 1998, Lexis/Nexis, 31 January 2002; and "Child Wounded in Female Suicide Bombers' Attack in Southeastern Turkey," *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, 17 November 1998, Lexis/Nexis, 31 January 2002.

34. For the ups and downs of this particular case see Neil MacFarquhar, "Woman Freed After Pleading in Border Case," *The New York Times*, 16 February 2000, Lexis/Nexis, 25 March 2002; Michael G. Crawford, "MILNET: The Algerian Y2K Bomb Case," 2001, available at (http://www.milnet.com/milnet/y2kbomb/y2kbomb.htm), 7 March 2002; Cindy Rodriguez, "Stress Line US Tries to Tighten Security on Canadian Border," *The Boston Globe*, 7 November 2001, Lexis/Nexis, 6 March 2002; Lloyd Robertson, "Lucia Garofalo Pleaded Guilty to Immigration Charges Today But Was Cleared of Terrorism Charges," *CTV Television, Inc*., 15 February 2000, Lexis/Nexis, 6 March 2002; David Arnold, "Garofalo Might Go Free: U.S. to Recommend Release of Montrealer Suspected of Terrorism Link," *The Gazette* (Montreal), 15 February 2000, Lexis/Nexis, 6 March 2002; "Special Report: The Future of Terror: On Guard: America is the Dominant Nation Entering the New Century—and the Top Target for Extremists," *Newsweek Interna-*

tional, 10 January 2000, Lexis/Nexis, 6 March 2002; "Canadian Police Search Apartment of Accomplice of Terrorism Suspect," *Agence France Presse*, 24 December 1999, Lexis/Nexis, 6 March 2002; Butler T. Gray, "U.S. Prosecutors Link Arrests in Vermont and Washington State," *Washington File, United States Department of State International Information Programs*, 1999, available at (http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/terror/99123004.htm), 15 March 2002; and "Canadian Woman Has Ties to Washington Bomb Suspect, 2 Algerian Terrorist Groups," *CNN.com*, 30 December 1999, available at (http://www.cnn.com/2000/US/01/12/border.arrest.02), 15 March 2002.

35. "Feminism Perverted: Extremist Women on the World Wide Web," Anti-Defamation League, 2000, available at (http://www.adl.org/special_reports/extremist_women_on_web/print.html), 18 February 2002.

36. "All in the Family," Southern Poverty Law Center, n.d., available at (http://www.splcenter.org/intelligenceproject/ip-4k2.html), 28 March 2002. Also see Jim Nesbitt, "The American Scene: White Supremacist Women Push for Greater Role in Movement," Newhouse News Service, 1999, available at (http://www.newhousenews.com/archive/story1a1022.html) accessed 24 July 2002.

37. Turner's efforts to create a women's organization within the larger movement is noteworthy and parallels Norwegian experiences (see Fangen, "Separate or Equal?," especially pp. 124–127, 128–140, 144–155).

38. Vicki Weaver, wife of Randy Weaver, was shot by an FBI sniper in August 1992. Randy Weaver, a white separatist, was accused by the government of illegal weapons sales. Kathy Ainsworth was killed by the FBI in 1968 when she and another man tried to plant a bomb at the house of an ADL leader in Mississippi, allegedly on behalf of the Ku Klux Klan. She is one of the only known women affiliated with the white supremacy movement in the United States to be tasked with this type of mission. Interestingly, an additional woman often noted as a "martyr" is Hanna Reitsch who was reportedly a leading proponent of suicide plane missions on behalf of the Nazis during World War II (see http://www.sigrdrifa.com/sigrdrifa/67hanna.html for a sample biography). For additional information on "martyrs" identified by the white supremacist movement (see http://www.volksfrontusa.org/martyrs.shtml).

39. Turner's argument regarding women's roles in the WCOTC were taken from Sister Lisa Turner, "The Women of the Creativity Revolution," ChurchFliers.com, n.d., available at (http://www.churchfliers.com/sub_articles/women.html), 2 April 2002. In looking at the WCOTC site over a period of several months, there have been clear changes in the positioning of women's sites. In April 2002, women's issues were clearly not a priority but there was a direct link on the main page directing women to four white women's movement sites: Elisha Strom: A Woman's Voice, available at (http://www.elishastrom.com), Free Our Women Campaign (FOW), available at (http://www.midhnottsol.org/fow/index.html). Mothers of the Movement (MOTM), available at (http://www.sigrdrifa.com/motm), and Sigrdrifa.com—Premier Voice of the Proud White Women, available at (http://www.sigrdrifa.com). Sigdrifa publishes a journal that addresses a wide range of issues important to women in the movement including feminism, women's roles in the organizations, recruitment, and prison outreach. Elisha Strom's "Angry White Woman" site covers an array of issues clearly central to women in the movement, including debates over feminism and the importance of motherhood. She is also extremely critical of Kathleen M. Blee's works on the white power movement (see Blee, Women of the Clan, 1991 and *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). The WCOTC links, however, are not fully representative of the websites oriented toward women in the white power movement. Stormfront has a women's page as well which links into a variety of profiles of women who have joined the white power movement (see http://www.stormfront.org). Through their links page Women for Aryan Unity can be assessed at (http://www.wau14.cjb.net/), which features a picture of a white woman holding her baby that acts as the site's gateway to a site dedicated to the more pagan side of the white power movement, pictures of the Aryan sisterhood including tatoos, childrearing tips, and similar features. By July 2002, the WCOTC had removed the linkage to women's sites from their main page for unknown reasons, although this author speculates that the growing outside scholarly and activist scrutiny of these women is unwelcome by the organization for various reasons, including operational. Attempts to find the Women's

Frontier using the WCOTC search engine as of July 2002 were ineffectual, bringing up only four articles apparently targeted to women, including the aforementioned article, none of which was accessible.

40. See (http://www.kukluxklan.org/lady4.htm) for the KKK's "Woman to Woman" website, which covers a range of issues including children, attacks against the feminist movement, and even women's roles in combat.

41. In 1999 President Clinton offered the individuals arrested and convicted during this time, known by many Puerto Rican activists as the "independentistas," clemency. All but two accepted the offer.

42. Dale L. Watson, "The Terrorist Threat Confronting the United States," Statement before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Washington, D.C., 6 February 2002, available at (http://www.fbi.gov/congress/congress02/watson020602.htm), 18 February 2002.

43. See "What is the Earth Liberation Front (ELF)?" available at (http://www.animalliberation.net/library/facts/elf.html) for details on organizational features of the group.

44. "2001 Year End Direct Action Report Released by ALF Press Office," 2001, available at (http://www.earthliberationfront.com/library/2001DirectActions.pdf), 30 March 2002.

45. For a useful examination of women's roles in Latin American guerilla movements please see Linda M. Lobao, "Women in Revolutionary Movements: Changing Patterns of Latin American Guerilla Struggle," *Dialectical Anthropology* 15 (1999), pp. 211–232.

46. For varying figures see Jeremy McDermott, "Girl Guerillas Fight Their Way to the Top of Revolutionary Ranks," *Scotland on Sunday,* 23 December 2001, Lexis/Nexis, 2 April 2002; Karl Penhaul, "Battle of the Sexes: Female Rebels Battle Colombian Troops in the Field and Machismo in Guerilla Ranks," *San Francisco Chronicle* 11 January 2001, Lexis/Nexis, 2 April 2002; and Martin Hodgson, "Girls Swap Diapers for Rebel Life," The Christian Science Monitor, 6 October 2000, available at (http://www.csmonitor.com/durable/2000/10/06/p6s1.htm), 2 April 2002. Aside from a fascination with the makeup habits of the female FARC members, these articles offer some insights into the motivations driving women into the FARC's ranks.

47. M. Elaine Mar, "Shining Path Women," n.d., *Harvard Magazine*, available at (http://www.harvardmagazine.com/issues/mj96/right.violence.html), 2 April 2002. During the late 1980s, "approximately 35 percent of the military leaders of . . . [the Shining Path], primarily at the level of underground cells . . . [were] also women" (Juan Lazaro, "Women and Political Violence in Contemporary Peru," *Dialectical Anthropology* 15(2–3) (1990), p. 234). Additionally, by 1987 roughly 1,000 women had been arrested on suspicion of terrorism in Peru including four senior Shining Path female leaders: Laura Zambrano ("Camarada Meche"), Fiorella Montano ("Lucia"), Margie Clavo Peralta, and Edith Lagos (Ibid., p. 243).

48. This position is advanced by McDermott, "Girl Guerillas Fight Their Way to the Top."

49. This data was drawn from several sources. Poverty rates for Colombia, Peru, and Sri Lanka were taken from the United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2002*, available at (http://www.undp.org/hdr2002/) whereas the data for the Gaza Strip and the West Bank were found in "More Than Two Thirds of Palestinian Children Living on Less than US$1.90/day," 21 May 2002, available at (http://www.iap.org/newsmay213.htm). The demographic data can be found in the Central Intelligence Agency's *The World Factbook 2001*, available at (http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html).

50. Interestingly, the LTTE's creation of an organized squad of female suicide bombers is said to be mirrored after the Indian National Army's (INA) activities against the British during the early to mid-1940s (see Schalk, "Women Fighters of the Liberation," p. 174).

51. United States Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2000*, "Asia Overview," 30 April 2001, available at (http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2000/2432.htm), 2 April 2002.

52. Some observers further identify the female cadre of the Black Tigers as the "Birds of Freedom." See, for example, Charu Lata Joshi, "Sri Lanka: Suicide Bombers," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1 June 2000, available at (http://www.feer.com/_0006_01/p64currents.html), 11 March 2002. The idea of a bird carrying the soul of the martyr to paradise is a theme seen in Islamist discourse on martyr operations.

53. Ana Cutter, "Tamil Tigresses: Hindu Martyrs," n.d., available at (http://www.columbia.edu/cu/sipa/PUBS/SLANT/SPRING98/article5.html), 11 March 2002. Also see Frederica Jansz, "Why Do They Blow Themselves Up?" *The Sunday Times,* 15 March 1998, available at (http://www.lacnet.org/suntimes/980315/plus4.html), 3 April 2002.

54. Cutter, "Tamil Tigresses."55. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Joke Schrijvers, "Fighters, Victims and Surviors: Constructions of Ethnicity, Gender and Refugeeness among Tamils in Sri Lanka," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 12 (3 September 1999). The quotation on women as core national symbols is on p. 308; the quote on Tamil use of women's identity is on p. 311; and the quote on purity and suicide bombing is on p. 319 with emphasis in the original.

57. "Suicide Terrorism: A Global Threat," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, 20 October 2000, available at (http://www.janes.com/security/regional_security/news/usscole/jir001020_1_n.shtml), 11 November 2001.

58. Sprinzak, "Rational Fanatics," p. 6.

59. Ibid.

60. The discussion of the role of Sikh women was drawn from Cynthia Keppley Mahmood, *Fighting for Faith and Nation: Dialogues with Sikh Militants* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), pp. 213–234. The quotation is located on pp. 230–231, emphasis added.

61. "Veiled Women Show the Way to Terrorists in the Kashmir," *The Statesman* (India), 20 October 2001, Lexis/Nexis, 31 January 2002.

62. Ibid. This line of reasoning is very reminiscent of Decker's discussion of Algerian women during the Resistance.

63. For example see "Indian Intelligence Agencies Warn of Possible Female Suicide Squad Attacks," *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, (originally published in *The Asian Age*, Delhi), 14 December 2001, Lexis/Nexis, 31 January 2002. Although no attacks occurred during the 26 January 2002 festivities, security was reportedly tight.

64. "Female Fighters Push on for Tamil Victory," *Michigan Daily.com* CX (93) 10 March 2000, available at (http://www.pub.umich.edu/daily/2000/mar/03-10-2000/news/09.html), 2 April 2002.

65. Jansz, "Why Do They Blow Themselves Up?"

66. The artillery reference was reportedly made by a Sri Lankan military source ("Female Fighters Push on for Tamil Victory").

67. For two good studies on the role of women in Palestinian resistance both before and during the first *intifada* see Antonius, "Fighting on Two Fronts," pp. 26–45 and Graham Usher, "Palestinian Women, the Intifada and the State of Independence," *Race & Class* 34(3) (January–March 1993), pp. 31–43.

68. Majeda Al-Batsh, "Mystery Surrounds Palestinian Woman Suicide Bomber,"*Agence France Presse*, 28 January 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 6 February 2002.

69. David Sharrock, "Women: The Suicide Bomber's Story," *The Guardian*, 5 May 1998, Lexis/Nexis, 30 March 2002.

70. For more information on Al-Tamimi and the Summer 2001 incidents that appear linked to her see Wafa Amr, "Palestinian Women Play Role in Fighting Occupation," *Jordan Times*, 29 January 2002, available at (http://www.jordantimes.com/tue/news/news6.htm), 3 February 2002; also see "Shabak Accuses Young Palestinian Woman of Assisting Hamas Cell," The Palestinian Information Center, 17 September 2001, available at (http://www.palestineinfo.com/daily_news/prev_editions/2001/ep01/17sep01.htm), 3 February 2002. As of 12 February 2002, Al-Tamimi remains in Israeli custody awaiting trial (see http://www.palestinemirror.org/Other%20Updates/palestinian_women_political_prisoners.htm).

71. Ghazawi's age has been quoted as either 23 or 24 (see Majeda Al-Batsh, "Palestinian Mother, 24, Is Among Loners Mounting Attacks On Israel," *Agence France Presse*, 6 September 2001, Lexis/Nexis, 30 March 2002; David Rudge, "Alert Security Guard Foils TA Bombing," *The Jerusalem Post*, 5 August 2001, Lexis/Nexis, 30 March 2002; "Palestinians' New Weapon:

Women Suicide Bombers," *The Straits Times (Singapore)*, 6 August 2001, Lexis/Nexis, 30 March 2002; Uzi Mahnaimi, "Israeli Fear As Women Join Suicide Squad," *Sunday Times (London)*, 5 August 2001, Lexis/Nexis, 30 March 2002; and Douglas Davis, "Women Warriors," *Jewish World Review*, 9 August 2001, available at (http://www.jewishworldreview.com/0801/women.warriors.asp), 30 March 2002).

72. Phil Reeves, "The Paramedic Who Became Another 'Martyr' for Palestine," *The Independent,* 31 January 2002, available at (http://www.ccmep.org/hotnews/parameic013102.html), 6 March 2002.

73. Hizbollah television identified the bomber as Shahanaz Al Amouri following the attack. See Imigo Gilmore, "Woman Suicide Bomber Shakes Israelis," *The Daily Telegraph* (London), 28 January 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 6 March 2002.

74. William Neuman, "Femmes Fatales Herald New Terror Era," *The New York Post*, 28 January 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 11 March 2002.

75. James Bennet, "Israelis Declare Arab Woman Was In Fact a Suicide Bomber," *The New York Times*, 9 February 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 11 March 2002.

76. Lamis Andoni, "Wafa Idrees: A Symbol of a Generation," *Arabic Media Internet Network* (AMIN), 23 February 2002, available at (http://www.amin.org/eng/uncat/2002/feb/feb23.html), 6 March 2002.

77. Reeves, "The Paramedic Who Became Another 'Martyr' "; James Bennet, "Filling in the Blanks on Palestinian Bomber," *The New York Times,* 31 January 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 6 March 2002; and Wafa Amr, "Palestinian Woman Bomber Yearned for Martyrdom," *The Jordan Times*, 31 January 2002, available at (http://www.jordantimes.com), 31 January 2002.

78. Peter Beaumont, "From an Angel of Mercy to Angel of Death," *The Guardian,* 31 January 2002, available at (http://www.guardian.co.uk/Print/0,3858,4346503,00.html), 6 March 2002.

79. Quoted in "Inquiry and Analysis No. 84: Jihad and Terrorism StudiesWafa Idris: The Celebration of the First Female Palestinian Suicide Bomber—Part II," *The Middle East Media and Research Institute*, 13 February 2002, available at (http://www.memri.org), 6 March 2002. Also see James Bennet, "Arab Press Glorifies Bomber as Heroine," *The New York Times,* 11 February 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 6 March 2002.

80. "Militant Palestinian Leader on Imminent Operations with 15-km Rockets," *BBC Monitoring Middle East,* 4 February 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 4 March 2002.

81. Sophie Claudet, "More Palestinian Women Suicide Bombers Could Be On the Way: Analysts," Agence France Presse, 28 February 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 16 March 2002.

82. Yassin and Yusef's points were taken from "We Don't Need Women Suicide Bombers: Hamas Spiritual Leader," *Agence France Presse*, 2 February 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 6 March 2002; "Islam Not (sic) Forbid Women From Carrying Out Suicide Attack," *Xinhua,* 28 February 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 31 January 2002. For further accounts of the range of religious responses to Idris' action please see "Inquiry and Analysis No. 83: Jihad and Terrorism Studies—Wafa Idris: The Celebration of the First Female Palestinian Suicide Bomber—Part I," *The Middle East Media and Research Institute*, 12 February 2002, available at (http://www.memri.org), 6 March 2002.

83. Darwish's statements were taken from "Palestinians' New Weapon: Women Suicide Bombers," *The Straits Times (Singapore)*, 6 August 2001, Lexis/Nexis, 31 January 2002.

84. Mohammed Daraghmeh, "Woman Suicide Bomber Rejected by Hamas," *The Independent*, 1 March 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 6 March 2002; Mohammad Daraghmeh, "Woman Bomber Wanted to Carry Out Sbarro-Like Attack," T*he Jerusalem Post*, 1 March 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 6 March 2002; "Woman Suicide Bomber was 21-Year Old Palestinian Student," *Agence France Presse*, 28 February 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 6 March 2002; Sandro Contenta, "Student 'Had a Wish to Become a Martyr,' " *Toronto Star,* 1 March 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 13 March 2002; Stephen Farrell, "Daughter's Dedication Was Beyond Doubt," *The Times* (London), 1 March 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 13 March 2002.

85. See "Deadly Secret of Quiet High School Girl Who Became a Suicide Bomber," *The Herald* (Glasgow) 30 March 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 1 April 2002; Anton La Guardia, "The Girl Who

Brought Terror to the Supermarket," *The Daily Telegraph* (London), 30 March 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 1 April 2002; and Cameron W. Barr, "Why a Palestinian Girl Now Wants to Be a Suicide Bomber," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 1 April 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 1 April 2002; Eric Silver, "Middle East Crisis: Schoolgirl Suicide Bomber Kills Two in Supermarket," *The Independent* (London), 30 March 2002, 1 April 2002; Philip Jacobson, "Terror of the Girl Martyrs," *Sunday Mirror*, 31 March 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 1 April 2002. The reference to the militia linked to Arafat is a thinly disguised reference to the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade.

86. David Lamb, "The World; Gruesome Change from the Ordinary; Conflict: A Quiet, Young Seamstress Further Widened the Mideast Breach When She Joined the Ranks of Palestinian Suicide Bombers," *The Los Angeles Times*, 14 April 2002, ProQuest, 3 June 2002;

"Jerusalem Shocked by Suicide Bomb; Woman Bomber Kills Six in Attempt to Derail Powell Peace Talks," Belfast News Letter, 13 April 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 3 June 2002.

87. Jacobson, "Terror of the Girl Martyrs."

88. Melanie Reid, "Myth That Women Are the Most Deadly Killers of All," *The Herald (Glasgow)* 29 January 2002, Lexis/Nexis, 6 February 2002.

89. This last point is reinforced by reports emanating from the territories that suggest at least a temporary "alignment" between the two sides. For example, in Jenin Hamas and Fatah reportedly joined together to distribute "explosive belts" and hand grenades to individuals in the camp for self defense. A woman, Ilham Dosuki, reportedly blew herself up on 6 April 2002 as soldiers approached the door to her home ("Fierce Battles in Jenin, Nablus: Unconfirmed Reports: Scores of Palestinians Killed and Injured in Jenin Refugee Camp," 2002, *Al-Bawaba*, 6 April 2002, available at (http://www.albawaba.com/), 6 April 2002.

90. Mullaney, "Women and the Theory of the "Revolutionary Personality'," p. 54.

91. See Antonius, "Fighting on Two Fronts," pp. 26–45 and Juliane Hammer, "Prayer, *Hijab* and the *Intifada*: The Influence of the Islamic Movement on Palestinian Women," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 11(3) (October 2000), pp. 299–320 for additional information on the role of mothers in the Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation.

92. This argumentation is directed from a number of sources, including feminist scholars who view violent women as "unnatural" because women are naturally peaceful, a feminine attribute that is superior and morally virtuous. Thus, violent women are either duped by male leaders or have internalized masculine (violent) traits in lieu of female traits (nonviolence). This reasoning is shared, interestingly enough, by many conservative thinkers.