FEMALE TERRORISM

Cagla Gul Yesevi, Assistant Prof. Dr.
Istanbul Kultur University, Department of International Relations, Turkey

Abstract

This paper aims at highlighting reasons behind female terrorism. There has been a debate that maternal ethic and maternal thinking gendered from motherhood and non-violence. In that sense, women have been symbolized as mothers for peace. Both maternal ethic and feminist approaches helped construction of women as destroyers of life. Examining human security, the changing nature of terrorism should be considered by referring to violent female terrorism. The social and psychological reasons for being female terrorists were investigated by referring mainly to the Baider Meinhoff Gang, Palestinian terrorist organizations, and Chechen terrorist organizations in this study. The psychological and social factors of female terrorism were examined.

Keywords: Female terrorism, feminism, maternal ethic

Introduction

Human security aims at defending the individual against any threat such as terrorism, violent conflicts, and human rights' abuses. The human security has been in relation to human, not to the state. This new concept changed the priorities that the sovereignty and survival of the state could take precedence over individual rights and sovereignty. It could be stated that governments are instruments of citizens to improve the well-being of people. Evaluating the concept of human security, the human dignity and livelihood should be prevented against any threat (Ispas, 2011, pp.11-12). In this respect, it is very likely that human security has been violated by terrorism. Terrorism could be explained as the use of illegitimate violence by sub-state groups to inspire fear, by attacking civilians and/or symbolic targets (Kiras, 2005, p.492).

Vera Zasulish shot the Governor General of St. Petersburg on 24 January 1878 and then, she was arrested. Surprisingly, two prosecutors refused to hear her case. Regarding the preceding event, it could be stated that in the past, women were far less likely to be arrested and also they were forgiven as Zasulish. Nevertheless, nowadays, female terrorism has been

apparent and dangerous phenomenon that it is not be ignored or forgiven as it is used to be in the past (O'Connor, 2007, p.95).

Needless to say, having considered new human security approach, the potential threats originated by the women, namely female terrorists, should be paid massive attention. The striking factor is terrorist groups have been using physical appearances of women. Members of terrorist groups generally accepted that women have been considered as innocent, defenseless, fragile and non-violent. As a result of this, they have not been searched carefully in security points. Hence, terrorist groups have proposed a new identity to women as being victim or villain. They have labeled women that they have been sacrificing themselves for the case. In the light of this, women have been used as a propaganda tool to attract new recruits. Moreover, the other aspect of this issue is that human security deals with the dignity of human beings. At this point, it is important to stress that terrorism; terrorist groups drastically impaired the honor, dignity and also livelihood of female terrorists. One of the dimensions of this event is that some women have been humiliated because they were raped, e.g. Chechen female suicide bombers. The other dimension is that they have been considered physically inferior in the battle ground. Female terrorists are not regarded eligible to fight in the battle ground. In that sense, terrorist groups by stressing women's humiliation because of rape and physical inferiority in the battle ground have been forcing women to become suicide bombers.

There are many reasons behind why a person becomes a terrorist. For example, family factors, the social environment, religion, being born in refugee camps, imprisonment, feeling a victim, desiring to be a hero, feeling hate and anger (Post, Sprinzak, Denny, 2003, pp. .171-177). As Stahelski (2004) states terrorists were made, not born. Many psychological and social factors contribute to the construction of a terrorist. It could be stated that feminism helped construct a new identity for women.

According to Robert Derry (2008), maternal ethics are an approach to formulating ethical theory by holding the mother-child relationship to be central. Maternal ethic presented women as mothers for peace. Nevertheless, feminism has deteriorated this image and converted them to destroyers of life. Moreover, there have been mainly two dimensions of being a female terrorist. Female terrorists, in a way, have been gaining honor and feeling themselves useful by participating in terrorist acts. Another possible dimension that should be presented although those women participated in terrorist acts, they have been still humiliated and subjugated. As a result of this, they have been forced to become suicide terrorists.

Feminism and Terrorism

Feminism deals with sexual and gender inequality of women (Heywood, 2007, p.64). Feminists aimed to provide equal political, economic and social rights to women. Petnam stated feminism claimed that women's experiences were systematically different from men's and that all social relations were gendered. Feminists try to change women's inequality, exploitation, or oppression. In that sense, cultural feminists are opposed to the view that women are solely responsible for the care of children, their health and community. It is alleged that men could also learn how to nurture. As Pettman (2005) stated there has been widespread rhetoric that the state has been imagined as male and the nation as female. In other words, the nation has been feminized and as a result of this, men are assigned as the responsible protectors. Moreover, the main duty given for a woman is to be the mother of the nation. Marxists/socialist feminists focus on international capitalist system; Marxist feminists condemn capitalism and socialist feminists, on the other hand, condemn patriarchy as the causes of women's oppression (Smith, Owens, 2005, p.284). Liberal feminists seek equal rights in the military; they believed that women's protection rhetoric excluded them from power. Cultural feminists claimed that being nurturing and peaceable are women's values but they also state that men can learn to nurture (Pettman, 2005, s.673). It could be emphasized that feminists wished to resist the identification of women only with motherhood (Moore, 2008, p.283).

There has been "beautiful soul" narrative; in that sense that women are more peaceful than men. Even if they are soldiers or fighters; they have been characterized as weak and vulnerable rather than violent. It was also stated when the armed service was over, they would turn to be mothers. It was also stated that "the beautiful soul" narrative was used as a reason to fight in the war. Thus, it was stated that without the beautiful soul to protect, the just warrior had nothing to excuse his fighting. In other words, it was stated that protection required violence, violence required protection (Sjoberg, 2010). The beautiful soul narrative has been accompanied with maternal ethic. Generally, women and motherhood have been using as synonymous, as Melzer indicated women as mothers and violence could not be imagined together. It was stated that neither woman was able to reconcile this conflict between motherhood as institution and her maternal emotions. Feminists explained that maternal ethics and maternal thinking gendered from motherhood and nonviolent behaviors of women. It was stated that feminist theorists opposed persistently dissociation of women from violence which was considered natural in the 1980s (Melzer, 2011). The other aspect of this issue is that as Cresnhaw (2000) suggests the "maternal-sacrificial code" is highly developed in women because of childhood development, the

patriarchal pressures of society, and their genetic disposition to protect and sacrifice for their children. It was alleged that this code made female terrorists more willing to sacrifice their lives in the name of the group (Crenshaw, 2000, pp.408-409). Therefore, this maternal code explains both the mothers of peace and also the destroyers of life. In other words, maternal emotions of women have made them peaceful and nonviolent. Nonetheless, when they become terrorists, they could be most dangerous terrorists by sacrificing themselves for the accomplishment of the case with the help of maternal emotions.

Female terrorists are constructed with the help of psychological and social factors. Women have been identified with peacefulness and beauty. Observing this, women are obliged to give birth, raise their children, and be calm and peaceful. They are considered naive, coward, vulnerable, fragile, easy to be invaded as homeland, women are expected to be defenseless as a nation. Men are obliged to protect them. Moreover, men trying to protect women become superior beings and as a result of this, subjugate and oppress women again. Thus, this fragile beauty of women was subordinated by the brave hearts of men. The main aim of feminism is to change this construction and liberate women. Terrorism could be proposed as a struggle, assault against generally accepted, constructed characteristics of women as peaceful, passive, fragile and defenseless. The argument is whether the women are always the mothers for the peace or they could also be the destroyers of life. There has been a tendency to identify women as mothers having beautiful souls to be protected and maternal ethic inciting them to be non-violent. Nonetheless, the maternal-sacrificial code has resulted with evilness, violence and female terrorism. Feminism tries to destroy the label of mother of peace and in a way, it could also be stated it paved way for the construction women as destroyers of life.

Baader Meinhoff Gang and Female Terrorism
Hudson (1999) claimed that leftist terrorist organizations were largely dominated by women. Many women joined German terrorist group in 1970s and 1980s. German women participated terrorist acts that they were more emancipated and liberated than women in other European countries. It was claimed that one of the reasons behind the female terrorism could be guilt complex. Dealing with *Baider Meinhoff* Gang (the RAF), an early member of this gang, Astrid Proll claimed that there has been national guilt complex. It was stated if mothers voiced their views against Hitler's regime; many of the Hitler's atrocities would not have happened (Hudson, 1999, p.54). The huge amount of anger towards the social ills could be a reason to become a terrorist. It was also alleged that the members of the *Baider Meinhoff* Gang had male characteristics. Macdonald (1992) maintained that male

characteristics were explained with repairing cars, driving, accounting. Moreover, it was stated that women were more practical and pragmatic and they could be rather single-minded (Hudson, 1999, pp.55-58). Therefore, it could be stated they became obsessive in their activities and duties within the organization. National guilt complex should be investigated further, however, feeling anger and revenge have been the main emotions that led human being to take action. It should be noted when a family member is killed; bitter emotions were high in that time, and women were eager to participate terrorist organization. It was also stated that male characteristics of female terrorists were apparent. Nowadays, male characteristics could not be limited by repairing cars, driving, and accounting. The main theme has been women of the RAF were resorting to violence easily.

The famous members of *Baider Meinhoff* Gang, Ulrike Meinhof and Gudrun Ensslin left their children behind when they went underground. As Melzer explained these behaviors challenged the ideological construction of motherhood as a primary identity Nuclear family, hetero-sexuality and propagated gender roles were considered in 1950s in Germany. The sexual revolution occurred in mid-60s, lesbianism challenged sexual morals. Feminists supported to enable women to leave the home to participate in political work in the 1970s. It was alleged that Ensslin and Meinhof were products of a society influenced by postwar conservatism and protestant faith. Ensslin expressed that capitalism and patriarchy accounted for each other. Meinhof also indicated that patriarchal ideology was pursued through capitalism. She argued that women were caught in the dilemma between working for a wage and taking care of their children which resulted in unfair work burdens and an inevitable sense of failure. She pointed out according to her central feminist argument that liberation from capitalist exploitation could happen with the liberation of women from patriarchal ideologies (Melzer, 2011). The famous members of the RAF behaved contrary to motherhood, peacefulness and maternal ethic. They explained their behavior with feminism and moreover, they stated that women could be liberated by abolishing capitalism. Female terrorism of the RAF has been contrary to assessment of maternal-sacrificial code.

Palestinian Terrorist organizations and Female Terrorism

Palestinian women acquired auxiliary and subservient roles in a Palestinian liberation terrorist group. They don't lead, initiate or plan terrorist activities (Berko, Erez, 2007). As a result, it is apparent that the type of society provides the structure of the terrorist organization. Although Palestinian national struggle encouraged women's voices in political resistance, the importance of the family, and women's roles in the family were highly stressed. Berko and Erez mentioned that women assumed they

were liberated within terrorist organizations, nonetheless, oppression and gender subjugation were continued within terrorist organizations. It was also mentioned that Palestinian male terrorists have considered that terrorism is shameful and dishonorable for women (Berko, Erez, 2007). Recently, Palestinian women have been used as suicide terrorists. There are many reasons of martyrdom as escaping from honor killings and cleaning herself from traditional humiliation because of rape, and taking revenge of their beloved ones. Most of these actions have been accomplished voluntarily (McGirk,2007). Claudia Brunner (2005, p.13) stated that Palestinian female suicide bombers had not challenged the unequal gender relations within Palestinian society, or the masculinist nature of the suicide bombings, or the asymmetric nature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Khaled expressed that 20 years ago, nationalism was the first cause of female terrorism rather than feminism. She also stated that egalitarian gender-role was given in struggles but not outside of it (Ness, 2008,p. 357). Leila Khaled was member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. She was the part of a team that in 1969 hijacked and diverted a plane going from Rome to Athens and taking it to Damascus. This terrorist act was very brave and used for the propaganda. Female terrorism gained momentum.

Wafa Idris was the first female suicide bomber in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, she was the member of Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade. Female suicide bombers, Akhras and Idris were living in refugee camps. Wafa's husband divorced her because she was not able to carry a baby. She killed herself and 81 year old Israeli man on 27 January 2002. Afterwards, Ayat Akhras, being a member of Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, blew herself up outside a Jerusalem supermarket on March 3, 2002. Ayat Akhras stated that she was going to fight instead of the sleeping Arab armies who were watching Palestinian girls fighting alone until the victory (O'Connor, 2007a, p.97). Although there has been a view that dealing with Palestinian case, Palestinian female terrorists were called as "failed women". As Berko and Erez mentioned, it is important to note that Palestinian women should partake in the Palestinian national struggle, nonetheless, if they become fighters, they cannot be "good women" and if they wish to remain "pure women", they cannot be terrorists (Berko, Erez, 2007). This situation was changed in first and second *intifadehs.* Rapid communication within integrated and interdependent world with the help of globalization and modernity brought propaganda effect of female terrorism and increased the support for the Palestinian case.

The internalization of the subjugation of a nation has been apparent in Palestinian female terrorism. Moreover, being born and living in refugee camps, being surrounded by a harsh environment, and experiencing great anger towards Israel have been reasons behind this female terrorism.

Acquiring liberty, emancipation, respect and equality within authoritarian and warring society has been difficult. Also, being raped or being infertile resulted in discrimination and humiliation. They have not been identified as pure and respected women. Therefore, some of them chose to help their society by becoming suicide bombers. The religious factors have been crucial to participate terrorist activity; women believed that they would become martyrs when they were killed just like men.

The LTTE and Female Terrorism
        The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (the LTTE) used women as suicide bombers more often. The LTTE was formed in 1976 to create independent Tamil state in north and east of Sri Lanka. There were Hindu Tamils and Buddhist Sinhalese living in Sri Lanka. The population of Hindu Tamils was 9% of the Sri Lankan population and Buddhist Sinhalese comprised of 74 % of the whole population. During British rule, Tamils were favored and they had good education. However, they were excluded from the government at independence. The LTTE's most spectacular terrorist operation was the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 and Sri Lankan president Premadasa in 1993. It was alleged that Tamil families prized education for sons and good marriages for daughters. Moreover, a good dowry and a woman's reputation provided for a good marriage. Families encouraged female children to stay at home to preserve reputation. It was indicated that Tamil culture did not support active, public roles for women in the conflict in the 1970s. Furthermore, the LTTE began to include females by referring to leftist ideology and feminist thought. It could also be alleged that the LTTE was greatly influenced by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine; both organizations were trained in Lebanon in 1977 and 1984. It was also alleged that Leila Khalid's operations inspired the LTTE's decision to employ women (O'Connor, 2007,pp.44-48).
        The sexes were segregated within the LTTE. Peter Schalk stated that the incarnation of an LTTE female warrior as a kind of "secluded armed virgin" (Ness, 2008). Adele Balasingham (2001) stated that female martyr was considered as the redemption of the collective life at the expense of individual life that martyrs were honored. He mentioned that female martyr was a wholly willing subject. Moreover, it was stated that the LTTE female combatants maintained the innate qualities attributed to femininity (Ness, 2008, p.364). The LTTE allowed active female fighters to meet with the press, publish books, and make films about them (O'Connor, 2007a, p.97). The LTTE objected to being considered as a terrorist organization. They were claimed that they were the sole legitimate representative of the Sri Lankan Tamils. O'Connor explained that the LTTE supported and reinforced

traditional roles for women and they were called as "armed virgins"(O'Connor, 2007a, pp.51,57).

Cunningham (2003) tried to specify the reasons of female terrorism. Cunningham quoted that personal motives were influential. It was claimed that rape was influential factor for a women to participate in the LTTE. Moreover, Cunningham mentioned that freedom and liberation were considered as key themes at both collective and individualistic levels. These themes captured the ideology of the LTTE. Lastly, sacrifice was considered as an important factor. Cunningham pointed out that female sacrificed themselves for their family and for their male children. It was added that sacrifice was accomplished if a woman has been unable to undertake her role as a wife and mother within the society because of the rape. Rape was considered as individual or collective shame of dishonor by Sri Lankans and could be overcome through female suicide terrorism (Cunningham, 2003, p.181). These social and psychological reasons have been similar to Palestinian female terrorism. The LTTE used leftist ideology and feminism to acquire more female terrorists as the RAF.

Chechen terrorist organizations and Female Terrorism

As O'Connor presented that Chechen female terrorists were sometimes called as "black widow" who were driven to terrorism after the deaths of their men. Secondly, O'Connor indicated that they were also called "zombies" who were forced or tricked into terrorism by Chechen men. Zarema Muzhikhoeva was illustrated as a zombie. She failed to set off her bomb at a Moscow café on July 9, 2003. It was stated that she was beaten, raped and drugged (O'Connor, 2007a, p.96). Spechard and Akhmedova (2006) pointed out that they could not find a basis in reality for these widespread claims related to Chechen female suicide terrorists. It was also mentioned that although popular support for suicide terrorism was not strong within Chechnya, Chechen terror groups like Palestinians and increasingly Iraqi groups enjoy strong support within the worldwide Muslim population. It was proposed that Chechens had used much a greater number of women than any other Islamic-related terror groups. It was alleged that Chechen women, prior to war, were freer than other women. Many men were killed and Chechen women began to avenge their deaths. Spechard and Akhmedova (2006) stated that these Chechen women were religiously motivated by Wahhabist violent ideology and were seeking to become martyrs, believing that they would be reunited with loved ones in the paradise and enjoy the benefits of their family members being admitted to paradise as a result of their act. It was also added that the majority of Chechen women did not support suicide terrorism. The main theme behind

Chechen female terrorism has been great anger, resentment and revenge felt against Russians.

Anne Speckhard (2008, pp. 1030-1032) mentioned that female terrorists were not motivated from feminist cause. She articulated that societal oppression played a minor role to become a member of terror organization. She stated that they were motivated by conflict zones of trauma, revenge, nationalism, expression of community outrage. Moreover, female suicide terrorists were influenced by alienation, marginalization, negative self-identity, and desire to act on behalf of those inside conflict zones. She stated that women were not coerced or forced in suicide terrorism, they volunteered freely. Human bombers have not been psychologically abnormal or seriously pathological, but they have been traumatized. She maintained that Muslim women had potentiality to indoctrinate their children with hate, sacrifice and ideologies supporting suicide terror. Moreover, organizations believed that females were perceived as more trusted and they were able to pass security points more easily. The inclusion of women as suicide bombers increases the number of combatants. Moreover, Knop stated female suicide terrorism increased the publicity of an attack and acquired much greater impact. Furthermore, Knop explained that suicide bombers provided a low-cost, low-technology, low-risk weapon that maximized target destruction and instilled fear (Knop, 2007, pp.411-412). Thus, they were used as suicide bombers.

Bloom (2005) also pointed out that the recruitment of women by insurgents mobilized greater numbers of operatives by shaming men into participating. Moreover, it was indicated that women in radical secular organizations had engaged in anti-colonial and revolutionary struggles. Therefore, Bloom articulated that insurgent and terrorist organizations provided women a potential avenue for advancement beyond what their traditional societies could offer. There has been a widespread hope that new roles and identities would be presented. It should be noted that women seek empowerment and equality by turning themselves into human bombs; nonetheless, this situation reinforced the inequalities of their societies. Bloom (2007, pp.8-9) indicated that fanaticism and death cults did not lead to liberation politics for women. Men have been exercising control over the women in terrorist organizations. Women do not govern the organization and they are not in the higher positions of decision-making process. Brigitte Nacos (2005) remarked that women were considered as interlopers in terrorist organizations. Moreover, terrorist organizations like the managers of election campaigns, knew about and exploited cultural gender clichés that were reinforced by the media. Physical appearance of women has been an important indicator of female terrorism. Physical appearance of women was broadly used in media. It was stated that female terrorists, from Palestinian

Leila Khalid to German Ulrike Meinhof, had fascinated the popular imagination with their frequent combination of feminine charms and ability to kill in cold blood. Moreover, the mass media reinforced the stereotype of female terrorist for the sake of love.

Female Terrorism and Psychological Factors

As Deborah Galvin (1983) mentioned that male and female terrorists were varied in socio-psychological background as their connections, motives, objectives and life-styles. Archetypal terrorist could not be defined. She alleged that there had been many variables affecting females in general; these were penis envy, fear of dependency, feeling of powerlessness, unfamiliarity with game-playing, the propensity for sacrifice and psychological self-sacrifice. The main theme related to female terrorism could be the equal treatment. However, it should be pointed out that a woman destroys herself, her features of being woman. Galvin stated that terrorism has been male-dominated activity; it is related to struggle for power. Fighting has been considered as the entering in to state of manhood. She explained that the game of terrorism was a male game played according to male rules.

Female terrorists deal with every aspect of terrorism. Feminine characteristics do not inhibit their adaptation to the more brutal terrorist roles and activities. It should also be noted that element of surprise was attached to female terrorists. Many people do not expect any violent act coming from women. They were considered as nonviolent, fragile and victim-like. It is obvious although some terrorist groups banned love affairs, women frequently used for sexual purposes. It was stated that terrorism has been a male game and in turn, sex is used to create and maintain male supremacy and female dependency (Galvin, 1983, pp.21-31). The element of surprise originated from the childhood, guns were given to boys to fight and dolls were given to girls to nurture. The socially gendered roles shaped the society. Women feeling powerless, having propensity to sacrifice, feeling humiliated and subordinated may attempt to change the rules of the game. There have been alleged themes that terrorism proposed equal treatment to women. However, the nature of terrorism is masculine and also sexual roles are given to women, this situation has further strengthened female subordination, suppression, fragility and humiliation. Their self-esteem has been rather destructed within terrorist group.

Stahelski (2004) proposed many researchers alleged "father factor" as an important indicator for a person to become a terrorist. Father factor was explained with the absence, economic or social impotency, or remoteness of a father. Also, it was stated that cult model is applicable to terrorist organizations. Most cults centered on charismatic leader. Usually, these

charismatic leaders have been men. God-like position of these male leaders attracted female terrorists and help to construct their female terrorist identity.

O'Rourke (2009, p.681) stated that female attackers were driven by the same general motives and circumstances that drive men. Moreover, O'Rourke remarked that women attackers upheld, rather than eschewed their societies' norms for gender behavior.

Female Terrorism and Sociological Factors

Martha Crenshaw (2004, pp. 410-412) mentioned that most of the researches of terrorism did not think that personality factors account for terrorist behavior and they also mentioned that they did not see significant gender differences. It is apparent that terrorism has been a group activity. In that sense, shared ideological commitment and group solidarity are more important determinants of terrorist behavior than personal characteristics. However, Ariel Merari (2007) claimed that terrorist suicide was basically an individual rather than a group phenomenon. Merari stated that the terrorist frame work offered that excuse for doing it. Della Porta claimed that individuals seek to maintain self-respect, the support of the peer group, and the sense of belonging that was heightened by a sense of shared risk (Crenshaw, 2000).

The root causes of terrorism were counted as lack of democracy, lack of civil liberties and the rule of law, too rapid modernization, extremist ideologies, history of violence, civil wars, dictatorships, occupation, illegitimate and corrupt governments, repression by foreign occupation or colonial powers, social injustice, the presence of charismatic ideological leaders (Björgo, 2007). Yoram Schweitzer and Farhana Ali maintained that female terrorists were motivated by revenge, redemption, respect and relationship. It was stated that the loss of loved ones, an inability to conceive children or being considered not marriageable were considered as reasons being a female terrorists. Moreover, reinvention of themselves due to alleged or real sexual misconduct was another reason of female terrorism. Furthermore, both male and female terrorists have had a link between suicide terrorism with the sense of immortality (Bloom, 2007).

Religious and cultural differences have affected the methods of terrorist groups. The Red Brigades in Italy, the Red Army Faction in Germany and the Shining Path in Peru were radical-socialists with no religious connections. The programs of these terrorist organizations included the liberation of women (Bloom, 2007).

The approval of terrorism could be similar among both women and men. Referring to findings from representative national surveys in Jordan and Algeria, Mark Tessler and Michael D. H. Robbins (2007, pp. 323-324) pointed out that the support for terrorism against the US did not flow directly

from discontent with personal, cultural, economic and social circumstances but rather from perceptions about who or what was responsible for the status quo and moreover, there was no separation between women and men in their views about terrorism. It was stated that both men and women with less confidence in domestic political institutions and with stronger disapproval of American foreign policy were likely to express their approval of terrorism against US targets. He mentioned that younger people were more likely to express their approval of terrorist acts against the US. Although it is apparent that the ideology, and activity could be rather remote from each other; this approval strengthens and honors the terrorist activity. Approval of terrorism could be seen as the first step to become a terrorist. Internalization of guilty party, recognition of party who is responsible of corruption, social and economic ills provides enemy to wage war.

Female terrorists have had many roles; they could be collaborators, informers, human shields, recruiters, sexual baits in person or over the internet, and as perpetrators of acts of destruction and death (Berko, Erez, 2007). Thereby, they could easily smuggle arms, transport arms. Galvin (1983) maintained that females were used to gain more support from the sympathizers and from the outsiders. Socially, recruitment of a female terrorist provides public attention and moreover, they were seen as innocent, victimized and they are rather free in their actions.

Cultural and traditional habits of women are important. Laura Bush stated that because of their military gains in much of Afghanistan, women were no longer imprisoned in their homes. She alleged that Afghan women could listen to music and teach their daughters without fear of punishment. She mentioned that the fight against terrorism was also a fight for the rights and dignity of women (Abu-Lughod, 2002, p.784). However, she also stated that they continued to use their *burqas*. Emancipation and liberation of Afghan women could not be accomplished. Amy Caiazza dealing with Taliban stated that economic instability combined with patriarchal views of women roles, bred conditions that lead to violence against women and undermine the capacity to build peaceful societies. She also stated that reacting to this situation, women resort to violence. It was alleged that for many women, participating in and supporting acts of terrorism were ways to protect their families, homes and communities (Caiazza, 2001).

Conclusion

Patriarchal societies try to oppress women. Some women try to escape from this oppression by participating in terrorist groups. However, the main themes of female terrorism have not been explained through liberation, emancipation and equality. In fact, female terrorists would still be identified and appraised with their physical appearances and sexuality. Feminism

revealed two different notions for female terrorism. On the one hand, cultural feminism supported maternal ethics and peacefulness of women. On the other hand, as Marxists and Socialist feminists stated capitalism and patriarchy are regarded as the main causes of women subjugation and they should be abolished. Although there has been a tendency to prove women as powerful and influential in politics by fighting, and being terrorists, their role has been minor in many organizations. It is important to stress that they are not in administrative posts. Female terrorists sometimes were born as activists in refugee camps and constructed by these harsh environments and violent institutions. They were constructed by revenge, great frustration and anger. Female suicide bombers have been faithful, devoted believers of their case. It should also be pointed out that terrorism has been still the men's game and women have been sacrificed themselves in this game as being the guns of men. In that sense, female suicide terrorism proved that they were considered as useless in terrorist operations and used as a cheap gun in male's game. It is generally accepted that, their deaths are considered as precious advertisement to gain support and new recruits.

In sum, as it was mentioned, terrorists were made, not born. Liberal feminism has tried to change women's protection rhetoric. This brings us that liberal feminism inclined to give more power to women in the battlegrounds. In addition to this, cultural feminists claimed that men could learn how to nurture and care for children. In this context, feminist theory opposed to maternal ethic which indicated motherhood and nonviolence have been the features of women. The striking fact is that both maternal ethic and feminism helped construction of violent female terrorists. Obviously, it could be alleged that maternal ethical code stimulated sacrificial instincts and made women dangerous terrorists.

Indeed, it is generally accepted that feeling anger and revenge have been the main emotions behind becoming a terrorist. Dealing *Baider Meinhoff*, it was claimed that female terrorists behaved like men and they were converted to man-like creatures. One of the famous members of this gang, Meinhoff maintained that the liberation of women from capitalist exploitation could be accomplished with the liberation of women from patriarchal ideology. Female terrorism of the RAF was contrary to the assessment of maternal sacrificial code and motherhood allegations. The most striking factor is that the famous members of it left their children. Moreover, the women were in upper positions of the gang.

Considering the Palestinian terrorist organizations, female terrorist have had subservient roles. Being born and lived in refugee camps, revenge, great anger, nationalism were reasons of becoming a female terrorist. In the past, the Palestinian women were not encouraged to become terrorist. Sometimes, being infertile or raped led Palestinian women to become suicide

bombers. Similarly, rape was considered as shame of dishonor by Sri Lankans. In that sense, it was proposed that it could be overcome through female suicide terrorism. Regarding the LTTE, leftist ideology and feminism were used as influential tools for acquiring more female recruits.

Considering religious beliefs, it is important to note that both Palestinian and Chechen terrorists believed they would become martyrs if they were killed. Moreover, both Palestinian and Chechen terrorist were not motivated by feminism. They were motivated mostly, by negative self-identity, self-sacrificial attitudes, revenge and national sentiments. Furthermore, it could be stated women did not have administrative posts of the organizations, in both Chechen and Palestinian cases.

Psychologically, many women were traumatized by living in harsh conditions and losing their loved ones. Therefore, pathological female terrorists have been constructed. In this context, they need to overcome physical and psychological weaknesses and they construct themselves as more powerful creatures, namely female terrorists. Considering psychological factors, father factor has been influential. The charismatic, father-like, powerful leaders attracted women whom lost homes, loved ones; fathers, sons and husbands.

There has been a general acceptance that terrorism was defined as a men game played with the rules of men. It was expected that terrorism could provide equal roles for women. Terrorism considered as a group activity. Different traditional, political and social conditions of the societies have provided varied types of terrorist organizations. Religious beliefs, approval of terrorism by the majority of the people, undemocratic regimes, and political pressures, unfair treatment of citizens, extremist ideologies, unlawful acts, repression, and occupation could be presented as the social and political reasons of terrorism. In this context, female terrorists were not born as terrorists and they were part of their society. In other words, female terrorists were constructed by their society which they were born.

References:
Bloom, M. (2005). Mother, Daughter, Sister, Bomber. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 55-62.
_, (2007) "Women as Victims and victimisers", *ejournal USA*, May 2007, Retrieved from http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0507/ijpe/bloom.htm. (12.10.2011).
_, (2007). Female Suicide Bombers: A Global Trend. *Doedalus,* winter, 1-9.
Abu-Lughod, L. (2002). Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others. *American Anthropologist, 104*(3), 783-790.

Berko, A. and Erez, E. (2007). Gender, Palestinian Women, and Terrorism: Women's Liberation or Oppression. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, *30* (6), 493-519.

Brunner, C. (2005). Female Suicide Bombers-Male Suicide Bombing? Looking for Gender in Reporting the Suicide Bombings of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. *Global Society, 19*(1).

Caiazza, A. (2001). *Why Gender Matters in Understanding September 11: Women, Militarism and Violence*. Institute for Women's Policy Research IWPR Publications, no.1908., 1-6.

Crenshaw, M. (2000). The Psychology of Terrorism: An Agenda for the 21st century. *Political Psychology,* 21(2), 405-420.

Cunningham,K. J. (2003). Cross- Regional Trends in Female Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 26,* 171-195.

Derry, R. (2014). Maternal Ethic. In Robert Kobb (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Business Ethics and Society.* Sage Publications. Retrieved on 2014, May 12 from http://knowledge.sagepub.com/view/ethics/n503.xml

Galvin, D. M. (1983). The Female Terrorist: A Socio-Psychological Perspective. *Behavioral Sciences & Law, 1*(2), 19-32.

Heywood, A. (2007). Feminism. *Politics*, (pp**.**63-64). New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Hudson, R. A. (1999). *The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who becomes a Terrorist and Why?,* Washington: Federal Research Division Library of Congress.

Ispas, L. et al., (2011). The concept of Human Security in International Relations. *Revista Academiei Fortelor Terestre ,1*(61).

Kiras, J. D. (2005). Terrorism and Globalization. In John Baylis & Steve Smith (Eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics*, (pp.479-498). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Knop, K. V. (2007). The Female Jihad: Al Qaeda's Women. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 30*, 397-414.

McGirk, T. (2007, May 14). Moms and Martyrs", *Time.*

Melzer, P. (2011) Maternal Ethics and Political Violence: The Betrayal of Motherhood among the Women of the RAF and June 2 Movement. *Seminar 47.1, A Journal of Germanic Studies,* 81-102.

Moore, N. (2008). Eco/Feminis, Non-Violence and the Future of Feminism. *International Feminist Journal of Politics, 10*(3), 282-298.

Nacos, B. (2005). The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and in Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict Terrorism, 28*, 435-451.

Ness, C. D. (2008). In the Name of the Cause: Women's Work in Secular and Religious Terrorism. *Conflict & Terrorism 28*(5), 353-373.

O'Connor, A. S. (2007a). Picked Last Women and Terrorism. *Joint Force Quarterly,* 44, 95-100.

_. (2007b). Lions, Tigers and Freedom Birds: How and Why the Liberation Tigers of Eelam Employs Women. *Terrorism and Political Violence, 19*(43), 43-63.

O'Rourke, L. A. (2009). What's Special about Female Suicide Terrorism. *Security Studies, 18*, 681-718.

Pettman, J.J. (2005). Gender Issues. In John Baylis & Steve Smith (Eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics*, (pp.669-688). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Post, J.M., Sprinzak, E, Denny, M. D. (2003). The Terrorists in Their Own Words: Interviews with 35 Incarcerated Middle Eastern Terrorists. *Terrorism and Political Violence, 1*5(1), 171-184.

Sjoberg, L. (2010). Women Fighters and Beautiful Soul Narrative. *International Review of the Red Cross*, *92*(*877*), 53-68.

Smith, S., Owens, P. (2005). Alternative Approaches to International Theory. In John Baylis & Steve Smith (Eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics*, (pp.271-296). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Speckhard, A. Ahkmedova, K. (2006). The Making of a Martyr: Chechen Suicide Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 29*, 429-492.

Speckhard, A. (2008). The Emergence of Female Suicide Terrorists. *Studies in Conflict & Terorrism, 31,* 1023-1051.

Stahelski, A. (2004). Terrorists are made, not born: Creating Terrorists Using Social Psychological Conditioning, Retrieved on 2011, July 30 from http://www.homelandsecurity.org/journal/articles/stahelski.html

Tessler, M., Robbins, M. H. (2007). What Leads Some Ordinary Arab Men and Women to Approve of Terrorist Acts Against the United States? *Journal of Conflict Resolution,.51*(2), 305-328.