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Terrorist Activity of Women – an Outline of the Problem

Abstract

The activity of women in terrorism has been observed in various organizations around the world. The membership of women in terrorist groups is strictly associated with a plan of action of organizations and potential targets. A structure of a group is also of significant importance. The psychological background of terrorism with women's participation is particularly linked with functions performed by women terrorists in accordance with their personal predispositions and requirements of a terrorist group. The article presents the women's engagement in terrorism. Functions fulfilled by the women within terrorist organizations are also discussed. The special attention is drawn to leadership positions associated with the logistics and the issue of suicide bombing with women's participation.

Keywords: women terrorists, suicide attacks, women's leadership roles

Aktywność kobiet w terroryzmie – zarys problemu

Abstrakt

Aktywność kobiet w terroryzmie miała miejsce w wielu organizacjach na całym świecie. Członkowsko kobiet w grupach terrorystycznych jest ściśle związane z planem działania organizacji oraz potencjalnymi celami. Nie bez znaczenia jest także sama struktura ugrupowania. Psychologiczne podłoże terroryzmu z udziałem kobiet jest szczególnie związane z funkcjami, jakie pełnią terrorystki zgodnie z ich osobistymi predyspozycjami i wymaganiami ugrupowania terrorystycznego.

W artykule opisano kobiece zaangażowanie w terroryzm. Omówione zostały funkcje, jakie kobiety realizują w ramach organizacji terrorystycznych. Szczególna uwaga została zwrócona na role przywódcze, związane z logistyką oraz na problematykę zamachów samobójczych z udziałem kobiet.

Słowa kluczowe: kobiety-terrorystki, zamachy samobójcze, role przywódcze kobiet

Introduction

Women's participation in terrorist groups is strictly associated with an organization's roadmap and potential targets. A structure of a group is also of significant importance. An operational value increases together with women terrorists adjusting to a profile of an organization and its modes of operation. Special training programs and indoctrination cause that women are as equally desired members of terrorist groups as men. So we have to deal with the feminization of terrorism – a phenomenon known for a long time. More about the phenomenon is written in the article entitled "Feminization of Terror – Psychological Analysis of the Role of Women in Terrorist Structures" [4].

Women-terrorists cooperate with terrorist groups in every possible form. Bringing present lives, personality, skills and energy they become the most significant assets of an organization. They are trained to fulfill the specific tasks for example to deliver explosives to a location of the terrorist attack however, their trainings are not focused on this single function. A task which will be assigned to a woman-terrorist depends on her capabilities, individual predispositions and requirements of an organization.

Terrorist groups have perfectly mastered the methods of women-recruits' training and taking advantage of stereotypes regarding the weaker sex. During the specialized trainings, women are taught how to kill, carry explosives in their bodies¹ and under clothes e.g. pretending pregnancy. The trainers prepare the future terrorists for the most advanced tasks simultaneously enabling the realization of their personal motivations or evoking the aggression which is translated into the desire for the revenge during a terrorist campaign².

1 The example of women from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam who during the special training are taught how to hide the grenades in intimate parts.

2 A group established and consisting only of women functioned effectively in the past – Rote Zora (separated from the Revolutionary Cells, operating on the territory of Germany for almost ten

Using the analyses regarding various types of organizations, including production enterprises, a standard composition of the terrorist organizations can be determined, which is divided into four personal groups:

1. Leaders.
2. Members of an organization (executing tasks assigned by the leadership, participating in various types of missions e.g. abductions, bomb detonations in public places).
3. Individuals actively supporting the terrorist activity of an organization (members not involved in carrying out terrorist attacks and missions but engaged in delivering information, money, documents or organizing medical and legal assistance).
4. Individuals passively supporting terrorist activity of an organization (members not involved in carrying out terrorist attacks, only ideologically supporting the terrorist activity or latent active members of a group) [11].

The further roles frequently fulfilled by female members of terrorist organizations can be also established. They include, apart the above-mentioned leaders, the couriers, widely understood logistic activities, and recruits ensuring the adequate human resources or a role of the so-called ‘live bomb’.

Not in all organizations can women become their integrated members. In the beginning of the fourth wave of the terrorism, in the jihad era, there was no question of female terrorists. However, organizations’ requirements and the desire for achieving a better psychological effect forced even the most serious Islamic conservatives to incorporate women into the fight in the name of Allah. Nevertheless, they still are not regarded equally to men due to traditions and religious beliefs prevailing in Islam. Therefore, the Islamic female terrorists are ‘used’ by the terrorist organizations as the couriers or as ‘live bombs’.

A significant number of women held leadership or ideological roles in terrorist groups in the revolution waves – Fusako Shinedobu (Japanese Red Army), Ulrike Meinhof, Gundrun Ensslin (Red Army Faction), Norma Ester Arosito (Montoneros), María Soledad Iparragirre Genetxea (ETA) and Susana Ronconi and Margherita Cagol (Red Brigades) [5]. A woman as a leader of a terrorist organization constitutes a truly curious phenomenon which will be wider addressed in the further part of the article.

years). This organization was a phenomenon on the European terrorist scene and its creation is linked with the wave of student protests of the 1960s. Active fight against sexism, policy toward refugees and racism was the main goal of female terrorists. Adrienne Gerhäuser together with her comrades attacked genetics institutes.

Women are used as scouts mainly due to the fact that they are suspected of terrorist activity to a lesser extent [12]. Terrorist organizations such as the Al-Qaeda are effectively able to use the stereotypic thinking about women as fragile, vulnerable and innocent creatures who should bear and bring up children. Logistical functions executed by women for terrorist organizations will be broader discussed in the following part of the paper. A reconnaissance activity allows for gathering the essential information which facilitates better and more precise organization of an attack. Women can apply their personal charm, built closer relations to manipulate influential leaders thus, obtaining knowledge hardly possible to gain by the male terrorists.

Recruitment of new members is to be perceived as another significant function from the perspective of terrorist organizations. Female terrorists, without raising suspicions, search for appropriate individuals who could contribute to a group in the future. In this case, the common belief regarding the terrorism as the male domain and the opinion that women can be trusted to a greater extent than men is also applied. Women act as 'decoy' which encourages men to join a group or increase the terrorist activities. A successful terrorist attack conducted with the women's engagement causes the growth of the interest in the membership of such organization. The future recruits-women want to follow the steps of the terrorist recognized all over the world.

Women assist in recruitment of new members of terrorist organizations also through bringing up their own children in a certain ideology and drafting principles on which the surrounding reality is based. This phenomenon can be seen in particular when the terrorism is born as the effect of a long-lasting conflict characterized by no feasible opportunities to be ended. Upbringing based on hate and enmity facilitates the further recruitment of a new generation which since an early age is shaped through a friend-foe prism. Such cases have been observed in Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka. Choosing the terrorist path in such a case results from the combination of numerous factors, including upbringing conveyed by parents [8].

The triumph of one female terrorist envisages the possibility to success by the others. The most prominent members of terrorist organizations become role models to follow. The most famous female the ETA terrorist Idoia López Riaño – pseudonym the Tigress, the merciless killer, seducing and coqueting men in discos, mainly policemen, who later were murdered by her by even over a dozen shots is worth mentioning [19]. Malika El Around, the legendary member of jihad, can serve as the further example of the followed female terrorist. El Around created her own Internet Webpage through which the future militants were recruited. Her webpage contained the information about the

murderous activity of the USA and terrorist instructions [12] encouraging to vengeance in the name of Allah. Owing to similar initiatives, the female terrorists were given the opportunity for self-learning and participating in virtual trainings. Customized blogs and Internet forums enabled women contact with the terrorist world incorporating them into the jihad without breaching traditional social norms. Malika El Around became the example for Islamic dreamers of independence and sex equality. At any costs she wanted women to follow her – become martyrs sacrificing their lives for the Allah.

Terrorist organizations treasure women as well when the recruitment of men is limited. This is the case in the FARC where women constitute 40% of the members [17]. A number of the active members indicates the strength of the group thus, the FARC cannot afford to accept only men in its ranks. In this particular example, the female members of the militia participate in all tasks not due they are the best suited for it but for the lack of other alternatives.

Female terrorists play a significant role in groups fulfilling, typically women's tasks – maintaining hiding places, assisting injured personnel and storing weapons. Although this function is omitted in studies on the terrorism, the fact that women, despite participation in risky missions, are used for the organization of life during intervals between terrorist activities is worth underlining. It also happens that women are sexually abused by their principals. Conscripted recruits are to serve bodies for their superiors' pleasure. They receive prerogatives allowing for leading seemingly normal life in an organization in return of sexual intercourse. This practice is presented in the report "You'll learn not to Cry. Child combatants in Colombia" [14], which describes the fates of the Latin-American militia members after commencing subversive activities.

Women are to be also engaged in dealing with the so-called 'soft targets'. They are frequently used for killing other women or children and copying with possible hostages to let men solely concentrate on operational and tactical activities.

The number of successful attacks with women's involvement encourages an organization to strengthen its ranks both in the volunteers and adequately manipulated and threatened recruits. According to specialists it is easier to understand reasons why the terrorist organizations are willing to cooperate with women than guess motivations of female terrorists themselves. The intimidation constitutes a domain of the terrorism, whereas the surprise which is aggravated by the female members of terrorist organizations less frequently suspected of terrorist activities is to be treated as its indispensable element. Women's involvement in the terrorism has broaden its field of operation and allowed for achieving more spectacular effects.

Logistic functions executed by women for the purposes of terrorist organizations

Often terrorist organizations use women for logistical functions. It can be concluded that logistic tasks are not medially recognized and frequently remain unnoticed but terrorists have no illusions. The logistic operation is to be seen as the integral part of the terrorism. Owing to women, whose tasks are not connected with fighting, terrorist organizations are able to plan and conduct an attack more effectively as well as gained funds required for further operations. Discussed functions mainly consist in purchasing, maintaining in good condition and transporting materials indispensable for terrorists as well as taking care of hiding places and terrorists together with the involvement in particular he elements of terrorist operations [8].

Further operation of a terrorist groups is based on logistic activities, prevents a risk of information leakage or even failure of an action. The leaders of terrorist organizations have recognized how well logistic tasks are executed by women. Moreover, their appearance is frequently misleading thus, carrying explosives, disseminating strategic information among terrorists or even pretending wives or mothers, without casting suspicions, contact with captured and imprisoned terrorists by them is more effective than by men.

There are also situations when leaders of terrorist groups are unwilling to engage women into operational terrorist activities and non-military tasks are the only form of cooperation with women, apparently less dangerous. However, it seems to be a wrong impression as generally terrorist activity is associated with an enormous risk, and logistic missions can be as dangerous as an armed struggle. Terrorist networks engaged in logistic operations are monitored and gradually cracked down by anti-terrorists because the annihilation of even minor part of a terrorist organization can cause changing plans by the terrorists or delaying a planned attack.

Logistic activity of women is not necessarily to be linked associated with the entire engagement in operation of a terrorist organization. Female terrorists can wait latent, housekeeping or working to execute missions assigned by the leaders of groups they are members, when required. Logistical duties can be a target activity or a career path to regular structures of an organization. Logistic functions are of the utmost importance for terrorists. Women cooperating with terrorists in this sense indisputably contribute to a success of organizations. Their missions, spectacular to a lesser extent, are essential during the planning and executing of terrorist campaigns. Logistic functions conducted by the women-terrorists include the following roles: couriers, defender (housemother), dangle-decoy [8].

Couriers cooperating with terrorist groups are responsible for transporting weapons, money and information between the members of organizations. Moreover, delivering explosives to places of potential attacks or even constructing bombs are among the tasks performed by them. The phenomenon of the women-couriers is not new in the world of terrorism. It was not until the 1950s of the 20th century when women supported fight against French occupation in Algeria. Weapons, grenades and forged documents for the underground movement were carried by them. It was possible, because women were not so meticulously searched as men [19].

During the Palestinian Intifada one of the women's tasks consisted in carrying leaflets which contained important information as far as the further functioning of the resistance movement was concerned. The Palestinian women performed also other functions connected with the fund-raising and money smuggling to support the terrorist activities. A significant number of female smugglers were caught during an attempt to cross the border with the huge amount of money (even up to 10.000\$) [8].

The value of women in terms of the fund-raising for terrorist activity was also noticed by the Al-Qaida. In June 2002 six potential terrorists were arrested and accused of planning the attack on the British and American ships in Morocco [7]. The attack was to be conducted by men from the Saud Arabia whose wives were of Moroccan origin. It turned out that marriages served as the covers for the terrorists and to obtain Moroccan citizenships and the wives were actively involved in terrorism through collecting and transferring the money. They were just the couriers in the Al-Qaida (CNN 2016).

The female couriers were mainly used by the Al-Qaida for forwarding information to different states as they easier can cross the borders [19]. While elaborating couriers' functions in terrorist organizations two paths of women's career can be noticed. The former consists in women's inclusion as the integrated members of an organization, simultaneously conducting logistic tasks. The discussed group of the female terrorists is trained for each type of missions and they are able to work as couriers when required. The Columbian RAFC or the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine can serve as the examples of such groups. The recruitment and training of women only for courier missions constitutes the latter form of the cooperation. Having had several tasks accomplished, they can become the operational members of an organization or their activity can be ceased. This style characterizes both the Al-Qaida and the Hezbollah operations [8].

As he claim Winn and Decker: "In Islamist organizations such as al-Qaida and Hamas, the responsibilities of women traditionally were to simply provide moral

and logistics support [17].” Women in these task appeared relatively easy to fulfill for women in the societies in which the woman is identified with the hearth and in any event is not associated with the violence. Using the female delicate appearance, women are able to divert attention from the terrorist activities, sneak or even hide terrorists from their own group before the law and judicial institutions. Owing to this apparently minor support the female members of terrorist organizations facilitate completing the terrorist operations despite the authorities into security standby.

The housemothers’ role proved to be effective during Intifada of 1987 among the Palestinian women. Women organized committees ensuring the support for protesters as well as for demonstrations [10]. What is more, the above-mentioned function was applied by the Al-Qaida and other terrorist organizations cooperating with the Osama Bin Laden group in Afghanistan, Indonesia and Iraq. Women were brought into terrorist activities through the marriages with the Al-Qaida’s members. This way, terrorists promised to protect women, whereas on the other hand, they became protected by marriages with local women, being suspected of terrorism to a lesser extent. The reconstruction of militia and collaborators networks on the Pakistani-Afghan border constituted the example of such initiatives. The ties were reestablished through the terrorists’ marriages. The Al-Qaida provided trainings and protection for women and children of fallen terrorists [10].

The described function is frequently ignored by the terrorism researchers due to the fact that it is difficult to examine. However, the role of a woman-housemother is challenging and dangerous for women risking their lives to divert the attention in order to make a terrorist campaign successful. Besides, the function aims at gaining the support for the terrorist activities in the societies women linked with terrorists come from. This is a good instrument to cheat antiterrorists, find new cooperation channels and recruit other members for organizations [8].

The role of a dangle/decoy is the last role performed by the women in the framework of logistic tasks. Terrorist organizations have mastered in taking advantage of the way how women are perceived in society and trained their female terrorists to perform tasks as decoys in order to ensure effectiveness of an attack or to play a decoy role to seduce their target, cause a pain and kill. Female terrorists executing these tasks are characterized not only by ruthlessness but also by resourcefulness and nerves of steel [2].

Alham Tamimi performed the function under consideration during the suicide attack at the outskirts of Jerusalem in 2001. The female terrorist accompanied Izzadin

al-Masri to arise less suspicious as the couple. Tamimi also actively participated in planning of the attack and was aware of the fact that owing to her Jordanian passport and adequate appearance, as the couple they would look as tourists. The attack claimed 15 victims and 130 random persons were wounded. Women and children were among the victims [3]. Alham Tamimi was captured but she was released from prison in 2011 as the result of the exchange for an Israeli soldier [2]. The terrorist during the interview given after releasing from the custody did not express repentance. She appreciated the number of victims who she dedicated to Allah [3].

Women were also used by such organizations as the IRA or the ETA to lure soldiers in a deserted place in order to kill them. A paramilitary cell of the IRA called Cuman na mBahn operated in Ireland and its female members were to sexually tease and attract soldiers whose lives were to be ended by an already waiting the IRA sniper [8].

Woman as the leader of a terrorist organization

Women have been searching for the means to act equally to men in terrorist organizations since the third wave of terrorism in the 1960s. Only several of them managed to lead a terrorist group. The female leaders of groups deserved their place in the history due to their determination, organizational skills and spectacular missions.

A leadership role in a terrorist group generally corresponds to entire relinquishing of political violence. However, examples of women-leaders have revealed that complete resignation from the current life, including abandoning their families is the price to be paid for commanding a terrorist group.

Women as leaders are responsible not only for preparing and planning of terrorist campaigns. Frequently this function is associated with an appropriate preparing and promoting an ideology of an organization, implementing the effective training programs and recruiting. Raising funds for the terrorist activity constitutes one of the most significant tasks executed by a female leader.

Women proved themselves as leaders during revolutionary waves of terrorism [14]. The first and the third waves created female icons of terrorism – Wiera Zasulicz, Wiera Figner (female terrorists from the Narodnaya Volya), Urliche Meinhof, Laila Khaled or Fusako Shigenobu [2]. Whereas, in ongoing jihad era the female terrorists are welcome in strict leaderships of organizations. Their roles and possibilities of promotion in an organization hierarchy were drastically limited due to the social norms and Islamic religion enforced by the tradition.

The leftist organization, named the Red Army Faction (also called the Baader-Meinhof group), notably went down into the German history. It was the largest leftist terrorist group in Western Europe [13]. Women's participation in this organization is undisputable. A structure of the organization allowed women for active involvement in organizing, the frequently cruel actions on equal terms with men. The Red Army Fraction was reactivating, recruiting new generations and creating new wings [10]. In the organization, young girls were trying to express their increasing discontent related to the situation on the international arena. They were aware that peaceful demonstrations or minor, not-publicized by media, terrorist attacks would not bring satisfactory results. Through armed robberies, abductions and bank robberies, female German citizens fought in conformity with their ideals. The RAF enabled women actively fight against the American imperialism or domination of the Springer group. Susanne Albrecht, Verena Becker, Juliane Plambeck, Irmgard Möller, Inge Viett, Astrid Proll and Brigitte Mohnhaupt fighting in the Red Army Faction fought for a better world [14]. Led by the youthful ideals and individual stimuli, headed by Ulriche Meinhof and Gudrun Ensslin, for almost three decades they changed their lives into dangerous fight.

Contrary to the common opinion, it was Gudrun Ensslin who was the true leader of the Red Army Faction. Together with Andreas Baader she was implementing her radical ideas since 1968 till her suicide death in 1977. Ensslin did not become the icon of the female terrorism as Ulriche Meinhof, nevertheless, her example proves that women played the significant role in the leftist terrorism.

Gudrun Ensslin was a politically active student in turbulent for Germany of the 1960s. Within several years she transformed from the protesting student into the irrespective terrorist which was caused by the events from June 1967 when Benno Obnesorge was shot – one of the protesters [3]. It was that time she realized that the state aggression could be only countered by the aggression. Ensslin abandoned her husband and son as she longed to live her life according to the radical beliefs. She bound with Andreas Baader and finished her life together with him in a prison cell in Stuttgart – Stammheim committing the suicide on October 18, 1977. Gudrun Ensslin according to the official statement hanged herself on window bars [13].

As far as the terrorist activity of the German woman is concerned, the fact that she became the leader of the group from the very of its establishment is worth noticing. Together with Andrea Baader and Ulriche Meinhof they went into the German and world's history. Ensslin was responsible for the financial issues of the Baader – Meinhof group. She also influenced directions of the organization operation e.g. it was

Ensslin who decided to organize joint exercises for terrorists from Germany in the Middle East [8]. Moreover, she not only planned but also actively participated in the terrorist attacks. It was her who together with Baader conducted the terrorist attack on the department stores in Frankfurt in 1966. Ensslin was a very intelligent fanatic thus she was considered as the main visionary and strategist of the Baader-Meinhof group. According to Eileen MacDonald, a researcher of women's terrorism, Gudrun Ensslin owing to her daily devotion to the Red Army Faction, was a soul of the group, whereas Ulrike Meinhof played a symbolic role of the head, while Andreas Baader can be seen as the engine which propelled operation of the terrorist group.

Meinhof was the oldest member of the pack. Her main task consisted in creating the entire ideology of the group. Nonetheless, she actively participated in operational missions, for example she supported releasing Andreas Baader from prison in 1970 [13]. Under the pretext of writing a book together, Meinhof applied her profession in order to support terrorist from behind a desk, writing complimentary articles about them. Since 1960, she worked as a chief editor of the leftist 'Konkret' [14] magazine but the passive fight turned to be not sufficient for her thus as a result she became more and more uncompromised and radical. Cooperation with Baader and Ensslin allowed her for fighting against the imperialist oppression of the capitalist world.

Ulrike, similarly to Gudrun Ensslin, abandoned her family to engage in the subversive activities. The involvement of the journalist in the Baader-Meinhof group has been repeatedly studied by the specialists who could not believe how significantly the German terrorist changed her life for the RAF. Sources motivating Meinhof which affected the chosen by her the terrorist path have been strongly searched. Post-mortem examination of her brain overturned the hypothesis regarding her mental incompetence [18]. The reasons of engagement of all women in the RAF were undoubtedly significantly complex. Meinhof as educated person was tired of passive waiting for the authorities' reaction on her articles condemning all forms of violence, famine and injustice. Helplessness and hatred caused that she reached for weapons. It is plausible that Ulrike Meinhof's radicalization of the attitude towards social issues was affected by her husband's deceits, who she separated with, after revealing several affairs, and frustration related to cancer. Both environmental factors together with the personal experience impacted decisions taken by Meinhof during her terrorist activities. The female terrorist died of the night of 8 to 9 May 1976, probably committing a suicide [16]. Her activities influenced two next generations of the RAF which officially ceased the terrorist operations in 1992 [3].

Meinhof became the icon of the women's terrorism also due to the fact that as a terrorist she published manifests of the group justifying the necessity for the armed struggle and was seen as a kind of a spokesperson of the Red Army Faction. It is her who is perceived to a larger extent as the leader than previously described Ensslin. In Japan a woman was also able to prove that it was feasible to lead a terrorist organization. Fusako Shigenobu belonged to a very executive leadership of the Japanese Red Army (JRA). The group numbered not more than 25 members and 100 supporters [17]. Despite such a minor composition, the Japanese organization secured its place in the history through spectacular worldwide terrorist attacks.

The Japanese Red Army was established in 1969 separating from the Japanese Terrorist League with the main goal to overthrow the government and the monarchy. The JRA ideology called for worldwide communist revolution [17]. As soon as the assumed goals turned to be unrealistic to achieve, the member of the Japanese terrorist group concentrated their efforts on the Palestinian issue. The activists of the Japanese Red Army actively supported the Popular Front of the Liberation of Palestine and Fusako Shigenobu was personally responsible for the contacts with the Middle Eastern terrorists. What is more, the JRA established its detachments in Singapore and Malaysia.

The organization won several spectacular successes. It mastered in attacks on the embassies and planes hijacking [18]. The attack on Lod airport in Tel Aviv during which 26 persons were killed and 80 others were wounded is among the most brutal actions of the organization [11]. The terrorist attack was conducted with weapons and grenades. Moreover, it was the suicide mission during which the husband of Fusako Shigenobu died [3]. In 1974 a JRA unit seized the French embassy in the Hague and in the following year the operation was repeated in the American consulate in Kuala Lumpur. The other successes of the Japanese terrorist include the embassies in Rome – the American and the British ones, the military club in Naples and the American embassy in Madrid. The bomb attacks on Japanese companies were also carried out [15].

The members of the Japanese group lived hidden in a part of Lebanon controlled by Syria. The Popular Front of the Liberation of Palestine funded and protected their counterparts from Japan. Despite the support, a decline of the JRA occurred in the 1990s. The majority of the staff was unmasked by Japanese services. The time for Fusako Shigenobu also came. The JRA leader was captured in Osaka in 2000. A year later she issued the order to finally dissolve the organization.

Fusako Shigenobu was born in Japan but she spent the most of her terrorist life in Libya, as she was responsible for cooperation with terrorists from that region. What

is interesting, apart holding the leadership function, she actively participated in the terrorist campaigns [13]. During the fight for the ideas she lost not only her husband but also the possibility of upbringing the daughter in normal conditions. The maternity of Shigenobu was complicated because of her involvement in terrorism. She was forced to give the daughter into the care of fellow terrorists in Libya during the execution of attacks. The child of Shigenobu spent her first years in a Palestinian refugees camp in Libya [11].

The Japanese terrorist was captured in 2000 after 30 years of operation. In 2006 the woman was sentenced to 20 years in prison by the Japanese court for the attack on the French embassy in the Hugu in 1974. Shigenobu expressed repentance for victims killed in the attack at Lod airport. Moreover, the Japanese woman professed that the ideals she fiercely fight for and which she was able to die for, unavoidably passed away. The further activity of the Japanese Red Army was not reasonable. Therefore, one of the most influential women in the terrorist world dissolved the organization and ended her spectacular terrorist career. Undeniably her life entailed tough choices between the private life and adherence to own aspirations.

Leila Khaled constitutes an example of the terrorist who contrary to patterns in force undertook the fight equally as men and became a prominent activist of the Popular Front of the Liberation of Palestine. Khaled was hailed the pin-up-girl of the Palestinian revolution. An image of a young and smiling woman in the keffiyeh scarf with the AK-47 went around the world [3].

The future terrorist was raised in difficult times which undoubtedly affected the choice of the terrorist path. In the age of 4 she was expelled together with the family from Haifa [21]. The relatives of the future planes hijacker, as many Palestinians, were forced to give a way to the being created, state of Israel. Then the family stayed in Lebanon where Leila was raised and politically shaped by a leftist and significantly patriotic surrounding. Khaled became a great admirer of President Nasser and her dream was to be a teacher. Due to the difficult financial situation that goal was not achieved [7].

In 1967 after the failure of the Arabs fight against Israel the young woman joined the Popular Front of the Liberation of Palestine. It was the second organization for her and it was not until joining the PFLP when she received a chance to realize terrorist aspirations exceeding standard roles of women in the terrorist organizations of the 1960s [13]. Khaled longed for an active participating in the terrorist campaigns and shaping directions of the organization activities. She had to prove herself during the

trainings in Jordan – that she was trustworthy. In the autobiography ‘My People Shall Live’ the terrorist explains that becoming a true warrior required numerous commitments. All plans and desires had to be pushed into the background [22].

In 1969 Leila Khaled participated in a plane hijacking as the first female terrorist. It was marked as the particular moment in the history of the modern terrorism, even groundbreaking. Being on board of a TWA airlines plane from Rome to Athens armed with a pistol and a grenade together with her comrade took over the control of the plane and flew to Damascus in order to cause the plane to explode, previously releasing the passengers [11]. 113 passengers, 7 crew members and 2 Israelis were kept imprisoned in order to issue an ultimatum regarding 27 Arab prisoners. The terrorists aimed at the flight No 840 as the PFPL members believed it would have an Israeli ambassador on board.

Leila Khaled was not content with only one plane hijacking. Following year she participated in another terrorist attack. Boeing 707 of the Israeli airlines El Al flying from Amsterdam to London was hijacked by Leila and a Nicaraguan terrorist. The action occurred to be a failure for the terrorists as they were incapacitated by passengers during the attempt of seizing the plane [3]. The young terrorist was captured by the British security forces and her companion was shot.

Despite the unsuccessful operation Khaled became the icon of the women’s terrorism. Her obstinacy in striving for becoming the terrorist and participating in the terrorist operations on the equal footing with men astonished the entire world. Living in harsh times radicalized the beliefs of Leila Khaled. In the autobiography she precisely explained a way chosen by her to fight for something which was the closest to her heart. She risked her life to be perceived as one of the most popular figures of the Palestinian resistance movement in the 1960s and 1970s. She remains the political activists to this day, being the member of the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

The history of the terrorism has shown that women are able to lead a terrorist organization and doubly overcome the stereotype of the weaker sex. Motivations of the female leaders of terrorist organizations are not particularly distinct from the reasons governing their male equivalents. However, in various cases one can risk to state that women identify themselves with a political struggle to a larger extent, even making it a sense of their lives. Being a leader of a terrorist organization, in the world dominated by the men, is a hard and frequently unrewarding work. Besides, it requires a number of skills both planning and organizational. Only a limited number of women managed to achieve this.

Women in the role of suicide bombers

Before addressing the phenomenon of women-suicide bombers, the notion of the suicide terrorism requires identification. It is to be stated that it emerged in the modern form at the beginning of the 1980s in Lebanon and within time spread to other regions and states. It is regarded as a hallmark of the fourth wave of terrorism [6]. The very notion of the suicide terrorism is complicated to define. Indisputably, this is an act of terrorism which necessitates a person conducting an attack to sacrifice his/her life for the successfulness of a mission. The suicide terrorism aims at acceleration of achieving a political goal, increasing a sense of shock and causing destruction on a larger scale. Moreover, the suicide attacks are believed to be the effective weapons of terrorists as they inflict the majority of victims in a global scale [6].

The role of women as suicide bombers in terrorist groups frequently is brought to training for one, specific task – a no-return mission. Women are instrumentally used by leaders of organizations as life bombs. The success of this strategy is based on a myth about the weaker sex and not bounding women with violence. Differences between women and men in the context of suicide terrorism are worth underlining. Usually men are motivated by a religion or widely understood fanaticism whereas women-suicide bombers take into account the scale of their sufferings and traumatic experiences, concern suicide attacks as a chance for redemption and a fight against destiny which is not much favorable for them. A suicide attack might be a way to liberate from the oppression as well as to prove that they are worthy to be called martyrs.

Women conducted numerous suicide attacks in the name of various organizations within the period of three decades. Both, the number of foiled attacks and those which did not come to the effect is unknown. The scale of the phenomenon is at such a high level that it must not be ignored by antiterrorists. Chechen black widows, members of the LTTE, women from the Kurdistan Workers' Party, the Hamas, the al-Aqsa Martyrs and other terrorist groups have proved to the world that they are able to scarify their lives. Leaders of the above-mentioned organizations being aware of the fact that this type of terrorist campaigns is effective caused that the tactics was disseminated. Frequently the suicide attacks are conducted with the use of vehicles filled with explosives. Women can also be equipped with a suicide belt which became popular prevalent in 1992 after the successful suicide attack on a former prime minister of India conducted by a young Tamil woman [16].

The first women's suicide attack was conducted on 9 May 1985 in Lebanon by a member of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party Khyadali San [16]. Two Israeli soldiers

were killed in the attack and two others were wounded. Before the suicide bombing, the terrorist issued the statement in which she claimed that the attack was the revenge for the enemy's activities.

On January 27, 2002 the first Israeli suicide woman blew herself on the territory of Palestine killing one person and wounding many others [16]. The history of Wafa Idris is not entirely clear as her motives are not commonly agreed on. According to one of the versions the woman was selected due to her unsuccessful private life. Life failures, double injuries sustained from Israeli rubber bullets and appropriate manipulation created a merciless killer from Idris. The first suicide bombing in this part of the world indicated that women can also be attackers. Besides, it was the success propaganda, even the mother of the assassin expressed her proud regarding the act of her daughter-martyr [13]. During the funeral of the Palestinian, gathered women announced that act to be just the beginning. They indicated the will to change their bodies into the booby traps in order to revenge on Jews. After the death of Idris, Yasser Arafat officially commenced mentioning about the 'Army of Roses' which was joined by the female volunteers willing to share with the deceased fighter.

The Kurdistan Workers' Party enabled women to prove themselves as suicide bombers equaling their status to men. The first woman conducted a suicide attack on June 30, 1996 wounding thirty people and killing six soldiers. Owing to the successful attack, the suicide women's terrorism is permanently inscribed in the strategy of the KWP. Membership in the group was recognized by women as the attractive alternative to life in a prison of traditional culture, tyranny imposed by a family and sex inequality. Young Kurdish women could reach the same status as men in the KWP. This was unachievable aside the organization. Women were not attracted through promises related to salvation as in Libya or Palestine. The religion was replaced by a cult of personality – the leader Abdullah Ocalan.

The women suicide terrorism could develop in the fourth wave owing to acceptance and support of the Islamic clergymen and leaders. The Hamas was the organization which, for the longest period of time, was reluctant to accept women in terrorism. However, being impressed by the efficiency of attacks with women participation, the Hamas leaders changed their point of view. It was not until 2002 when sheik Ahmed Yassin announced that women could conduct an attack however, only cooperating with a man. Reem Salih al-Rayasha was the first female suicide terrorist acting on behalf of the Hamas [3]. The tactics appeared to be effective to such an extent that a separate unit responsible for training women was established in the Hamas.

A fatwa (religious edict) issued in 2001 by the Islamic Supreme Council encouraging Palestinian women for active fighting against the infidels was a significant turnover in the history of women suicide terrorism [20]. The conservative Islamic world commenced recognizing the women as valuable resources for the terrorist organizations. Their efficiency was appreciated by further engagement in the struggle, nevertheless, the possibility of co-decision on the fate of the organization by them was not granted. Women can only play the role of life bombs. The operational value of women occurred to be more important than fossilized stereotypes based on the patriarchal social structure pursuant to which women are to stay at home by their husbands and children.

Since 2003 in the territory of Iraq the suicide terrorism has become an effective form of the fight, as the Al-Qaida approved including women in all phases of terrorist activities. The number of conducted attacks in Iraq forced security forces to establish in Diyala Province a special unit called the 'Daughter of Iraq' to deal with searching of women at posts, schools and hospitals as well as conducting the intelligence missions. Women in Iraq are not beyond suspicion. It is proved by the number of attacks – between 2003 and 2008 forty five women were involved in suicide bombings on Iraqi civilians and American Forces and more than 30 attacks took place between 2007 and 2008 [9].

Iraqi suicide attackers are characterized by features common for those of other states. Frequently, the members of their families (husbands, brothers and fathers) were killed by the security forces. It is not only the grief and emptiness which push young Iraqi women to sacrifice their lives in a terrorist campaign but also the fact that these women cannot count on the financial support, protection and they lose self-esteem in the eyes of the family and the local society. The Iraqi suicide attackers are usually younger than their male equivalents and what can surprise, better educated [19]. The Iraqi attackers can be divided into three groups based on their motivations. The first contains the women who as teenagers were forced to marry members of terrorist organizations. Another consists of Iraqi women who believe that all Shi'ites are enemies and they are to be killed. The third group includes women who lost their husbands, brother or fathers from American or Iraqi forces' hands. However, Hasna Maryi – the Iraqi suicide bomber who conducted the attack on a checkpoint in Iraq in 2007 killing 3 policemen and wounding 10 civilians was led by a distinct motivation. Hasna Maryi is not consistent with the three above- mentioned categories. According to the family, the woman was not particularly devoted to the religion, was not raped or forced to the suicide mission. The Iraqi woman supported her brother in preparation of the attack. However, as soon as his mission failed, Hasna volunteered to complete

the brother's mission [14]. The family of the attacker received the footage recorded before the attack in which the terrorist explained the reasons why she had decided to conduct the suicide mission. The first record came directly from Hasna. Her statement did not include any religious or political motivations but reminiscences about a younger brother and the will to sacrifice life to commemorate him [12].

On December 5, 2007 the first attack conducted by a female suicide bomber took place in Pakistan. The attack itself did not cause any fatalities, besides the terrorist, but became a proof that also in this country the women accepted the role of 'life bomb'. Women are trained for suicide missions in the Al-Qaida camps on the Pakistani-Afghan border region. It is possible to observe the cases when men use an image of the women in order to conduct a terrorist attack. Terrorists camouflage their activities through wearing the traditional clothes of Muslim women (in 2009 a man wearing a burqa blew himself up in the vicinity of the Shia mausoleum in Baghdad killing 30 persons and wounding 70) [12].

The European Muslim women also participate in terrorist campaigns. They constitute significantly valuable resources for the terrorist organizations as their freedom of movement through western countries is not limited. This opens new tactical capabilities before terrorists. The women from Europe converted to Islam, e.g. after a marriage with a Muslim, can become the radical merciless terrorists as demonstrated by an example of a first convert who turned into a suicide bomber.

In 2005, Muriel Degauque of Belgian origin – a member of the European detachment of the Al-Qaida blew herself up during an attack on an Iraqi police station near Baqubah. The woman experienced unsuccessful relations with Muslims and felt lonely and alienated. As a child she witnessed the death of a close relative. She regretted that she had not died in a car accident instead of a beloved brother. The past unpleasant experience could have impacted on searching a new identification by Degauque. For that reason she was vulnerable to her husband influence and manipulated, she accepted the role of the 'life bomb' seeing no chance of the better future [3].

Numerous Islamic terrorist organizations recruit women from European countries as recently converted women can provide a fertile ground for manipulation by the terrorists. The covertly frequently desire for rediscovering a sense of life in Islam desperately searching their way in Koran. It is a new phenomenon however, dynamically developing and posing a threat to Europe.

Development of new technologies has also equipped terrorist groups with new possibilities of recruitment and contact with members spread hundreds kilometers

from each other. Owing to the Internet the global Jihad could expand. Malika Around constitutes its token in female variety [3]. She strived to follow her husband foot at any cost and become a member of the Al-Qaida. Having lost her beloved she turned into even more firm supporter of the holy war. She aimed in recruiting new attackers and encouraged other women to fight. El Around created her own webpage, through which the future fighters were recruited. Her webpage contained the information about the murderous activity of the USA and terrorist instructions [1] encouraging to vengeance in the name of Allah. Owing to similar initiatives, the female terrorists were given the opportunity for self-learning and participating in virtual trainings. Customized blogs and Internet forums enabled women contact with the terrorist world incorporating them into the jihad without breaching traditional social norms. Malika El Around became the example for Islamic dreamers of independence and sex equality. At any costs she wanted women to follow her – become martyrs sacrificing their lives for Allah [8].

One complete profile of a suicide bomber is not possible to be created. Frequently motivations of women are distinct and are a result of various factors. They may include:

- a) emotional reasons,
- b) economic reasons (a suicide attack can bring large financial profits to a woman's family and improve its social status),
- c) religious and national reasons,
- d) reasons of cultural background,
- e) reasons of traumatic background [7].

In the fourth wave of terrorism the permission released by the religious leader play a significant role in the development of the phenomenon of female suicide terrorism. Women increasingly become 'live bombs' as terrorist organizations have noticed that this type of attacks inflict significant losses to an enemy and are efficient and effective. Women are trained by terrorists to construct bombs in the future, mix into the crowd and reach a target as close as possible. Usually determination of a suicide attacker is enormous and the promise of the future life in the paradise alongside Allah seems to be the best of possible options.

Conclusions

The women presented in the current article have one thing in common – sanctifying their life for terrorism. Female terrorists within the period of three decades participated

in uncountable number of terrorist attacks led by the distinct motivations which can be systemized as a reaction on injustice – death of a close person, an amorous disappointment, rape and humiliation. The desire for breaking out of a male oppression and deciding about their fate constitute the further group of motivating factors. Both groups of motivators can be attributed to the Islamic female terrorists who are placed in the social hierarchy on the position far worse than men. The history has seen the cases of women who simply aimed at realizing their ideas, fighting and risking lives in order to change the surrounding reality. This particular motivation is identified with female terrorists operating in the era of the revolutionary terrorism.

It is worth noticing the fact that some of terrorists have become a kind of terrorism icons. Wafa Idris, Urliche Meinhof, or Leila Khaled are models to follow for the next generation of female terrorists all over the world. Successes of women in terrorism cause other women to join the terrorism path.

It is also to be underlined that women prove themselves in men's roles. Women from the RAF can serve as an example which proves that they are able to abandon the current life to lead an organization, raise funds and plan terrorist attacks. Female terrorists can also be in charge of organized activities of a terrorist group during the various types of missions. Moreover, female terrorists have proved themselves as couriers, recruiters and trainers of new generations of terrorists.

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