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CONTEMPORARY VIEWS ON NEW FORMS OF TERRORISM IN THE XXI CENTURY CASE OF WHITE WIDOWS

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Abstract: In this paper, the authors examine the topic of suicide terrorists as the most radical form of terrorism. On the example of suicide bombers, the reasons for resorting to terrorism were explained, as well as the most optimal ways of eliminating or at least reducing this threat. The analyses often state that the main motives of suicide bombers are rewards in heaven or economic benefit or family's persuasion, but we believe that this explanation is too simplistic. We will prove that the main motive is the lack of sense of purpose in life, dehumanization of man, human activities, and different cultures. Special attention is paid to explanation of the motives of "white widows".

Keywords: terrorism, social and economic motives, "white widows".

INTRODUCTION

Although jihad is seen as a holy war, its meaning is much broader and includes "primarily devoted nationwide religious engagement in terms of affirmation and spread of Mohammedanism, which, however, includes the violence, but also is not reducible only to violence". Should we be led only by a narrower understanding and reduce Islamic terrorism only to a holy war against the unbelievers, many questions would remain unanswered, because Islamic extremists as their enemies see not only the external enemies, but also unbelievers in their ranks.3

After years of U.S. involvement in the war in Iraq, women are now playing a significant role in terrorist attacks carried out by the insurgents. Iraq has a population of over 13 million women from which terrorist organizations can recruit. Over the past two years the insurgent force has increasingly turned to this pool to maintain strength. For example, in 2007 there were eight instances of a female suicide bombing in Iraq. As of August 2008, 27 female suicide bombers gave their lives in support of the insurgency. Between 1985 and 2006, over 220 female suicide attacks occurred which constitutes roughly 15% of the total suicide attacks worldwide.5

TERRORISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Nowadays, the most famous Arab terrorist organizations operating in the name of Islam are Hezbollah and Hamas. Given that there are many similarities between the two mentioned organizations, by comparative analysis, both of them will be examined in this paper. Hezbollah translates into Party of God, and was founded in 1982, while today it has several thousand members. As the main objective, they state the struggle for the establishment of a Shiite government of caliphate in Lebanese Umma, that is, expulsion of Israelis from southern Lebanon. Their main enemy is Israel, but the list also includes all those who support Israel. Hezbollah was founded as a pro-Iranian paramilitary formation, and during Khomeini's it enjoyed huge financial support, which even today, although significantly reduced, is very important. Although they use different ways of struggle, suicide attacks are most prevalent.6

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2 Simeunović Dragan, *Terorizam – opšti deo*, Pravnifakultet u Beogradu, 2009, p. 198.
3 Mina Zirojević, *Terorizam – međunarodni pogled*, Institutu za međunarodnu politiku i privredu, Beograd 2014.
4 Steve Niva, "Behind the Surge in Iraqi Women Suicide Bombers," Foreign Policy in Focus, (August 11, 2008), http://www.fpif.org/fpiftxt/5455 (accessed August 14, 2008).
5 Mia Bloom, Women as Victims and Victimizers, (April 11, 2008),http://www.america.gov/st/peacesec-english/2008/

April/20080522172353SrenoD0.6383936.html (accessed April 13, 2009).

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When it comes to Hamas,⁷ their main objective is to establish a Palestinian state in the Israel territory and regardless of strategic or tactical goals that were being adjusted to changing conditions and situations, violence for violence's sake has always been their motto. Hamas was founded twenty-five years ago with the aim of liberation of Palestine, which in the opinion of its founders, has been missing due to the lack of aggressiveness of the PLO.8 As is the case with Hezbollah, Hamas is also a great supporter of suicide attacks, and according to official data of the Israeli government, almost four fifths of all terrorist attacks in the past two decades directed against Israelis, were Hamas's and Hezbollah's acts. As is the case with Hezbollah, Hamas also receives great financial support from abroad.

Members of Hezbollah can only be those who are completely possessed by passion for dying –istishad,9 and one can leave the group only by dying. There are shahids- martyrs for the faith who deserved heaven, while on the other hand, we have the death of traitors who by their actions lose the right to God's path and heaven. Members of Hezbollah differ apostates from the faith who in their opinion are not true believers, but sinners, and they can also be found among Muslims who do not allow them the achievement of set goals nor provide them with support. These are the so-called mustakberins, i.e. oppressors, and attacks are also directed against them. They see themselves as oppressed, or mustazafin, people who are of the right faith. On the other hand, members of Hamas see murder of brother Muslims as a serious offense, even if they do not support them, hence their struggle is directed solely against external enemies. With intention to become the legitimate government, Hamas also works a lot on social activities, builds roads, hospitals, schools, and tends to become a liberation movement, which is not impossible given that since 2007 it has had its representatives in the Assembly, and also enjoys great support from the people. However, an insurmountable obstacle is the fact that they see Palestine as "inalienable Islamic territory". 10

FEMALE TERRORISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

When speaking of women's participation in terrorist activities in the territory of Palestine, those are mainly suicide bombings committed by women. And it all began with the attack by Wafa Idris, a 28-yearold woman who strapped with explosives blew up herself in a busy street in the centre of Jerusalem, while killing one person and wounding about a hundred passersby. Wafa entered the annals as the first Palestinian woman who carried out the suicide bombing, and her name and the attack are celebrated as an act of heroism, while many girls want to be like her, believing that by sacrificing their lives they can pay respect and show love for the country. After her death, the streets of Jerusalem were plastered with posters of her, and after the funeral, 11 several thousands of people passed by her house to pay respect and honour. Perhaps modelled after WafaIdris, but we cannot claim that with certainty, the image of a woman who decides to join a suicide mission was created in the public. In fact, Wafa Idris, at the moment of the attack, was divorced, and doctors told her she would not be able to have children. Indeed, it was the reason for the collapse of her nine-year marriage, as well as the fact that she had already lost one child in her seventh month of pregnancy. When she divorced, she was 24, and her ex-husband got married after only two weeks, which was the reason of Wafa's depression. Since she lost her father earlier, and brothers who were now responsible for her have already had their families, she was also financially dependent. So, she was with no income, and without the chance to continue her life and re-marry, because she was considered damaged as she was already married once and could not have a baby, according to some hard-line Islamic beliefs she represented a burden, obligation and shame for her family. 12 These are exactly the most common reasons given on why Muslim women choose to become a terrorist. Therefore, when describing the reasons for women's participation in terrorism, private, family-related problems and reasons, unhappy, unrequited and forbidden love, the inability to become a mother, whether they are victims of rape or assault, are always first observed, while in the case of men, the political and economic aspects are emphasized. In the media, there are clearly defined stereotypical profiles of women who are connected to terrorist actions: technically untrained women suicide bombers; avengers; unfulfilled mother (either because they are not married or cannot have children); victims of manipulation and brainwashing; and beauties that have personal problems.¹³

The very name HAMAS, as an acronym, in Arabic means zeal to the point of fanaticism.

⁸ PLO or the Palestinian Liberation Organization is a political party founded in 1964 operating in the territory of Israel, where it takes part in political life and is trying to win the independence of Palestine. PLO is the only organization recognized by the UN and over one hundred countries around the world as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

<sup>Op. cit. Simeunović D, p. 198.
Ibidem p. 200.
Wasfiyeh Idris, the mother of Idris Wafa, could not properly bury her daughter, as she did not have her body, so she only held a</sup> ceremony, which was attended by a large number of people.

¹² Apart from these, there are also data that as a Red Cross worker she was shot twice by rubber bullets while helping the wounded Palestinians, which may have had an impact on her decision to commit a terrorist act.

13 Sternadori Miglena Mantcheva, Sexy, Tough or Inept?Depictions of Women Terrorists in the News, 22 November 2007, http://

www.redorbit.com/news/health/1154128/sexy_tough_or_inept_depictions_of_women_terrorists_in_the/, 03 March 2013.

However, besides the personal reasons, a wider range of reasons of why women are joining terrorism is lately more observed, because, as numerous studies have shown, the reasons why an individual, man or woman, approaches a terrorist organization, are more or less identical. Therefore, suicide bombings carried out by women are all the more seen as an attempt of their emancipation, struggle for equality and a way of resistance, not only to oppression and occupation by foreign invaders, but the constraints of local customs and society's shackles. The truth is, this is considered as a desperate move, when all other forms of struggle fail. However, the question is whether this is the right way and whether it leads to emancipation and equality of women. In fact, as a compensation for the loss of their daughter in a suicide mission, a family receives \$ 200 monthly, whereas if a male member died, this amount is twice as large, which certainly leads to the conclusion that men's and women's lives, even after death, are not equal!¹⁴

The assumption that participation in terrorism leads to the emancipation of women and the improvement of their position can be also considered wrong, because regardless of their demonstrated dedication, which generally mostly women admire, this kind of action causes discomfort in men, while the public condemns such participation, because although they proved themselves as good citizens, they have failed in performing their main role, the role of mother. Regardless of whether they made their children orphans by carrying out their action, or are not able to become a mother, it is believed that their primary role is to keep the home and family together; therefore, regardless of the importance and contribution they have made in their political struggle, they once again become the object of conviction of that same society that forced them into such actions. When speaking of a patriarchal, conservative and closed society, in which the only way to escape from the harsh reality of the embarrassment and violation of family honour is seen in violent activities, we must note that there is one dominant way of thinking - the common good goes always before individual. This is even more evident when it comes to women living in Muslim countries, to whom family's wellbeing, sacrifice and blind subservience come first, where they have to be obedient in relation to the family, husband, brothers and even their male children. Since any form of relationship with males who are not part of the family is strictly prohibited to them, and may be the reason for their exclusion from society, many of them remain without the support of family members, first of all fathers and brothers, if they join terrorist organizations. To join a terrorist organization, they leave their homes and supervision of male family members; training is usually carried out by men, and for the family's honour to see a girl in the company of a man who is not her relative is a great shame, so many of them, even if they might want to give up their original terrorist plans, remain without choice, because they don't have the possibility of returning home, and often the very fact that they sacrificed for the greater cause is not enough to restore the family's reputation. This is an addition reason of why they become easy targets, since they are very sensitive and susceptible to manipulation. In addition, they often become victims of sexual violence, and since they have no one to turn to for help, these crimes remain unreported. In addition, in terms of equality with men, insoluble task is set before them to "fight against the occupying forces, while they are simultaneously required to accept and obey the patriarchal environment. Therefore, it can rightfully be said that women in these environments suffer a double oppression, political and gender, which they are trying to overcome by their involvement in terrorist activities, which leads to a new failure, because the roles of a good woman and a terrorist cannot be achieved simultaneously.

The advantages of women's participation in terrorist activities are numerous, from the fact that it is easier for them to hide explosives, that they have easier access to targets and specific institutions due to weaker security measures, all the way to the greater media attention that these actions receive; however, they were not easily accepted. Female suicide bombers were embraced first by secular organization, and only later by religious. The former Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin strongly opposed the participation of women in terrorist activities, saying that there is no need for women's activism because there are already too many men willing to participate in jihad, while after two years he supported Reem Riyashi in the first suicide attack performed by woman sponsored by Hamas. This mother of two was only 22 when she had an affair with a member of Hamas, and she carried out the attack after their affair was discovered and, according to some claims, at his urging. She carried out the bomb attack on the Erez border crossing, in which four Israeli soldiers were killed. However, it is important to note that it is considered that the first Muslim woman involved in the terrorist attacks was Leila Khaled who participated in the aircraft hijackings in the 1970s. On 29 August 1969, Leila Khaled participated in the first hijacking of an aircraft that was en route from Rome to Athens, but she was defending herself by saying that she told the pilot to take the turn to see her hometown Damascus, which she was unable to visit. After several months, she participated in a new attempt of hijacking, after which she was arrested, and although armed with bombs, she stated that her task was clearly limited and that she was not allowed to harm the passengers. After several years spent in prison, she was released in an exchange of hostages, and today she is politically active and is a member of the Palestinian National Council. Although she herself was once involved in terrorist activities, she strongly opposes female

Friedman Marilyn, Female terrorists: martyrdom and gender equality, Springer Science + Business Media B.V, 2008, p. 57.
 Rubenberg, Cheryl, Palestinian Women: Patriarchy and the Resistance in the West Bank, Boulder and London, Lynne Reinner

¹⁵ Rubenberg, Cheryl, Palestinian Women: Patriarchy and the Resistance in the West Bank, Boulder and London, Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2001, p. 75.

suicide terrorism "because everyone is equal in death - rich, poor, Arab, Jew, Christian, we are all equal. I would rather see women equal to men in life".10

What is specific to female suicide terrorism is that it is in most cases directed against an individual, that is, clearly defined target, and that in these attacks women proved to be very efficient. Specifically, one of the five attacks carried out by female suicide bombers was aimed at killing a specific individual, while this is the case with one of the 25 attacks carried out by male suicide bombers.¹⁷ However, it would be incorrect to say that their participation is reduced only to participation in suicide attacks. Besides the role of suicide bombers, women often serve as support and assistance to male fellow fighters, including conducting various researches, observing targets or places of the next attack, because they attract less attention, and do not awake suspicion. Often they are the ones that follow another woman or man who embarked on their suicide mission, to ensure that the attack is actually performed, but also to not arouse suspicion by some of the security bodies. In addition, they are entrusted to find shelter for the other women participating in missions, to smuggle weapons under their clothes, to find information on the Internet, to escort men in recon. One of them was Ahlam Tamimi, known not only for collecting information and planting a bomb under a car near a shop in Jerusalem, shortly after she was recruited to Hamas, but also for escorting Izz al-Deen Masri, who was heading to his suicide mission, when in a bomb attack in front of a pizza restaurant 15 Israelis were killed and over a hundred people were injured. When speaking of the victims of manipulation, we can point out Iman Asha, a 27-year-old who tried to plant a bag with 5 kg of explosives at the main bus station in Tel Aviv, but was revealed. Iman was persuaded to this move by her husband, who was rumoured to have collaborated with the Israelis, and by this act, Iman wanted to restore the family's reputation.

The new threat comes from Al Qaeda, which has long resisted including women in their ranks. As reported by the world media, this terrorist organization, within its ranks, has formed a group consisting only of women. The group is called the Burkha Brigade, where women are trained and taught how to handle weapons, fire from rifles and pistols, handle explosives, how to pass unnoticed, and infiltrate the enemy lines. The previous attacks carried out by members of Al Qaeda were, as is the case with Hamas and Hezbollah, mostly small-scale, and as they shifted the boundaries of terrorist struggle by the 2001 attack, it is feared that the very activity of women within Al Qaeda will bring new dimensions to the phenomenon of "female terrorism".

PERCEPTION OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

The last decade has shown that women are increasingly participating in terrorist activities, and that in the future this tendency will grow. In fact, if we look at the beginnings of the "female terrorism", when the violence committed by female terrorists created fear and shocked the public, today it is just another form of terrorist struggle. It would be incorrect to say that attention and astonishment of the public are not high anymore, but they are far from what they used to be the day when a woman for the first time betrayed her primary role, and instead to give life, she decided to take it. From the role of assistant, logistics support, women have become the main protagonists of the attacks, and lately not only suicide attacks. They are trained on how to handle weapons, how to fight, and in some terrorist organizations, they also participate in preparation and designing of attacks, selection of targets, and are at the top of the organization. However, despite growing participation in terrorist activities, they still manage to pass security controls unnoticed, without raising suspicion, to reach the highly protected persons and places, and to do what their male colleagues could not. Precisely because of this, as well as the fact that the number of female terrorist is on the rise, that today there is almost no terrorist organization among whose members are no female fighters, we can claim that also in the future activities women will have a very important role. Besides the execution of tasks, the role of female terrorists will definitely also be in encouraging young girls and boys to join their activities, raising their children in the spirit of violence, by providing justification for their actions. However, their role will not end there, and judging by the current situation, in the future female terrorists will be just as skilled and trained as their male fellow fighters are. Although it may seem a premature conclusion, the fact that most terrorist organizations have a large number of female terrorists, that they are no longer disposable as human bombs, as well as the fact that the range of their responsibilities has expanded and that today they go through military training, indicate that male and female members of a terrorist organization are being equated. The fact that women are given the opportunity to directly participate in struggle can be somewhat considered as the way for the establishment of gender equality, especially if one bears in mind that "society, through its body of rules and its numerous institutions, has conventionally dictated their roles

¹⁶ Victor Barbara, Army of roses: Inside the World of Palestinian Women Suicide Bombers, 2003, pp. 63-64.
17 O'Rourke Lindsey, Behind the Women, behind the Bomb, The New York Times, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/02/opinion/02orourke.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0, 03 March 2013.

within the boundaries of militancy. Assisting in subordinate roles is always welcomed and encouraged. Actually fighting in the war is not. $^{\circ}_{18}$

Therefore, it should not be expected that in future women will leave terrorist activities, and it is certainly the reason to think about them as future protagonists, when designing strategies to fight terrorism. However, before we commit to the fight against terrorism, we will look back on their current role and motives for their participation. Today female terrorists are primarily involved in suicidal, bombing attacks, and the difference between men and women participating in a suicide attack is that "women consider combat as a way to escape the predestined life that is expected of them. When women become human bombs, their intent is to make a statement not only in the name of a country, a religion, a leader, but also in the name of their gender."19 This brings us to one of the reasons why women participate in terrorist activities – to show that they are equal to men, that they can perform the same tasks as they do. For some of them, terrorism is the path to emancipation, however, the path filled with violence and victims. Thus the participation of Palestinian women had global reverberations, because "sacrifice for the Palestinian homeland would not be for men alone; on the contrary, all Palestinian women will write the history of the liberation with their blood, and will become time bombs in the face of the Israeli enemy. They will not settle for being mothers of martyrs. "20 With the aim to demonstrate their equality in action, female terrorists are often more willing to participate in dangerous actions, in order to demonstrate their commitment to the goal. However, can we talk about equity and equality if these equity and equality are confirmed by violence? How can terrorism be the path to emancipation, if a woman is worth less while living, than while dying in the name of a terrorist goal? In environments where women fight for equality, it will be difficult for men to give up their role of a man - saviour, holder of family honour, respect and responsibility, since it is a tradition that has lasted for thousands of years. It is possible that the role of women in the struggle will be recognized, that the importance of her role will exceed the belief that there is no place for women in the political, economic, military issues, but everything will very soon fall into oblivion when the time of war passes. After all, who would be left to fight for equality and the rights of these women if they all give their lives to prove that they can be just as violent, cruel and merciless as men. The path to the emancipation of these women should be directed against the shackles of their own society, should be in the education, so that they release themselves from the restraints of conservative society, and not to expect to be released by those who have oppressed them for years. Besides, another indication that terrorism can never really lead to the emancipation of women is the fact that women are proving their equality by playing by the rules created by men, trying to fit their standards, instead of setting their own. Even the reasons why they join terrorism are sought in the sphere of personal, revenge or love, psychological and emotional instability, and not only by members of their own society. Researchers and analysts from around the world also want to peek behind the violence committed by women by searching for ulterior motives, because it seems that ideology, religion and the desire for liberation, nationalist affiliation, do not motivate woman like they do men.

How to put an end to terrorism, prevent the spread of this disease of modern society which is expanding rapidly, without leaving behind healthy parts? By entering all pores of society, it is hard to predict the next step, and with new protagonists, new ways and forms of struggle, consequences are unforeseeable. Should this disease be nipped in the bud or ad hoc solved, is it possible to put an end to terrorism by individual actions, or is unity necessary when addressing the main obstacles to peace in the 21st century? As mentioned above, stopping and fighting terrorism is hampered by the lack of a clear definition that will determine what falls under this concept, what are its manifestations, actors, who supports this type of violence. However, not only the lack of a proper definition is the reason why the solution is slipping away. Terrorism as a secret activity knows how to cover its tracks well, but it is important to note that the previous (not quite successful) way of fighting terrorism sometimes suits certain interests. As a first step in solving this issue, it is necessary to set up a framework of the problem we face. Clear definition of terrorism as secret action and implementation of political violence, which is most commonly carried out by groups, and less frequently by individuals and institutions, which is directed towards the (mostly) randomly selected victims, with a view to discourage and intimidate opponents, violence whose method of fighting is intimidation, and fear its tool, will bring us a step closer to solving this danger. Since this plague has gained momentum, joint and united action by all relevant authorities is necessary. After all, more and more often we hear about international terrorism, as terrorism which transcends the boundaries of a state, because participants originate from several countries, their activities are not directed against only one country in concretum and go beyond the boundaries of a country in whose territory they operate, hence to stop these kinds of violence, cooperation at the international level is required.

The previous practice has shown that the violence creates even greater violence, and according to past experience, this certainly cannot come out well. In this game, both sides are at loss, the terrorists because

¹⁸ Frazier Lucy, "Abandon Weeping for Weapons: Palestinian Women Suicide Bombers", http://www.nyu.edu/classes/keefer/joe/frazier.html, 16 March 2013.

¹⁹ Beyler Clara, "Messengers of Death: Female Suicide Bombers", http://www.ict.org.il/Articles/tabid/66/Articlsid/94/current-page/20/Default.aspx, 16 March 2013.

page/20/Default.aspx, 16 March 2013. 20 Bloom Mia, Female suicide bombers: a global trend, Daedalus, vol. 136:1 (2007), p. 5.

they are losing personnel, reprisal and intimidation measures are very harsh, while their set goals are not likely to materialize. On the other hand, the international competent authorities also face difficulties in terms of how to provide funds for the fight against terrorism, and victims of terrorist attacks are an indication of their failure to tackle this problem. The way of how to deal with terrorism should maybe be looked for in a less violent and more constructive fighting strategy. It is well known that the terrorism is a way of struggle to which weaker opponents are resorting, aware that their goals cannot be achieved by legal means. For these reasons, it may be reasonable to believe that a successful strategy to combat terrorism would be the one that would promote compromise and work on increasing the chances of legal achievement of some of the terrorists' goals. Of course, there is no question of establishing a legal framework that would allow the extermination of a nation at the expense of complying with terrorist goals, however increasing opportunities to achieve individual goals by legal way would reduce the need for radical ways of fighting. As already mentioned, activists join the violent, illegal action when they see that by regular way they cannot achieve their goals, and with the radicalism of their attacks, appetites of their goals are growing. The time needed to organize and prepare a suicide terrorist attack, personnel and necessary equipment, as well as the risk involved with these activities are great, and despite all these, suicide attacks and their impact on the achievement of political goals is limited, so if one takes into account the costs that are necessary to carry out a terrorist attack, it becomes clear that there is room for negotiation.

CONCLUSION

In addition to finding a compromise on a regular basis, in order to stand in the way of terrorism, it is necessary to provide the individual with more opportunities, so that terrorist activity would not have to be the only option for achieving their goals. Increasing the opportunities that are before the individual would also facilitate leaving a terrorist organization, and it would certainly contribute to disruption of cohesion within the members themselves. The current strategy of intimidation that has been used in the fight against terrorism has shown that cohesion and unity among the members is growing when they are faced with a common enemy who uses violence to fight against them. In addition, a better chance of starting a new life is more attractive to each individual, hence a tension in the ranks of terrorists is created due to suspicion that anyone can become a traitor. Breaking the organizational and psychological connections between the members may be the only way to put an end to terrorism.

On the way to achieving their goals, it is very important for them to attract attention and public support by making their very deadly attacks look spectacular, and it is therefore necessary to deny publicity to their activities and in that way prevent promotion of terrorists. It is not enough only to condemn such attacks, but the publicity should be reduced to a minimum. Competent authorities should avoid attributing attacks to terrorist organizations, because in that way they place them in the focus. Instead, who is responsible for attack should not be made public, but it should be pointed out that some of the many terrorist organizations may be behind the attack. In this way, the public is not acquainted with the goals of their struggle, and their activities cannot gain sympathy and future followers. One of the ways to confront terrorism is also by thwarting their goal to undermine the political and economic stability of a country, by dividing economic and political centres of power. On the economic plane, solution would be decentralization, so that if one centre is hit by a terrorist attack, the other can compensate for the loss and maintain stability. When it comes to the political scene, the solution might be in delegating and setting up several power functions, as well as the federal environment.

Even though this seems like an utopian solution to put an end to the violence that threatens to leave catastrophic consequences if it comes to the use of nuclear weapons that some terrorist organizations possess, the current strategy of intimidation has not recorded any greater success either. Terrorism continues to exist as an everyday danger lurking and waiting for the right moment to attack. The consequences are to some extent repaired, but the root problem is still elusive, and the symptoms of this disease affect all parts of the world, and no one is spared. World public remembers with horror September 11, when boundaries of terrorist activity were shifted, and given the scale of this problem, it is not impossible that same as today (although only a decade ago it was unthinkable) women participate in these forms of violence, children would be in their place tomorrow.

It is evident that women are increasingly involved in terrorism. Despite this obvious involvement, counterterrorism strategies tend to ignore gender as a relevant factor for now. The war on terror has restricted freedom of action within the security environment for terrorist organizations. Consequently, it has become more advantageous for terrorist organizations to use women to support or execute terrorist activities. In countries where terrorist originates and extremist organizations find safe haven and freedom of movement, the social environment also can play a significant role in leading women towards supporting terrorism. Discriminatory religious and social customs in these same countries leave women as a largely untapped resource in supporting the ideological causes of terrorist organizations. Female terrorist acts can also generate

much greater media attention than those conducted by males, further encouraging terrorist organizations to expand the recruiting of women. Although women taking part in terrorist and extremist acts is not new and dates back more than a century, their presence in terrorist organizations as both leaders and executors is increasing around the globe.

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