

WOMEN IN TERRORISM: A PLACE FOR EMANCIPATION?

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

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Abstract

Women's involvement in terrorism has evolved in recent years in terms of numbers and the roles undertaken. These developments have opened up questions about why women participate in terrorism and what are the consequences of it. By taking up the emancipation angle as the main focus, the thesis argues that most women have become involved in terrorism with the desire for emancipation and escape from the patriarchal societies they live in. However, terrorism has not emancipated these women. The study criticizes the existing women in terrorism literature for neither having the theoretical discussion of emancipation nor a comparative perspective. This is why it revisits and challenges the literature on women's emancipation through terrorism which sees an increase in relative freedom of action as emancipation. By differentiating it from previous research, the thesis argues that it is not possible to be emancipated in terrorism because of its hierarchal and men-led structures. Through comparative case studies and analyzing interviews with female terrorists in the cases of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and Palestinian terrorist groups, the thesis brings up new perspectives both to the causes of terrorism and the women empowerment debates.

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This work is dedicated to women who are searching for emancipation. I hope one day, we will be equal and live in a just society. Even though this thesis argues that it is not possible to reach emancipation through terrorism, the hope of emancipation is always with us.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

From 1985 to 2010, women suicide bombers perpetrated over 257 suicide attacks, constituting 25% of the total, across various terrorist organizations (Bloom, 2011). Starting from 2002, the percentage of women in terrorist organizations constitutes more than fifty per cent of the militants in some countries (Bloom, 2011). Terrorist groups have found women as an exploitable resource and have used them in the scarcity of male terrorists (Sixta, 2008). In 2002, the Islamic leader of Hamas, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, stated that “Women are like the reserve army, when there is a necessity we use them” (Malik, 2009).

Figure 1 shows the changing numbers of women's terrorist attacks over the years. Whereas before 1985, the number of terrorist attacks perpetrated by women was very low, starting from the 1990s, it changed dramatically. After the 2010s, the number of attacks by women decreased; however, women's participation in terrorism is still high, meaningful and worth discussing with its causes and outcomes.

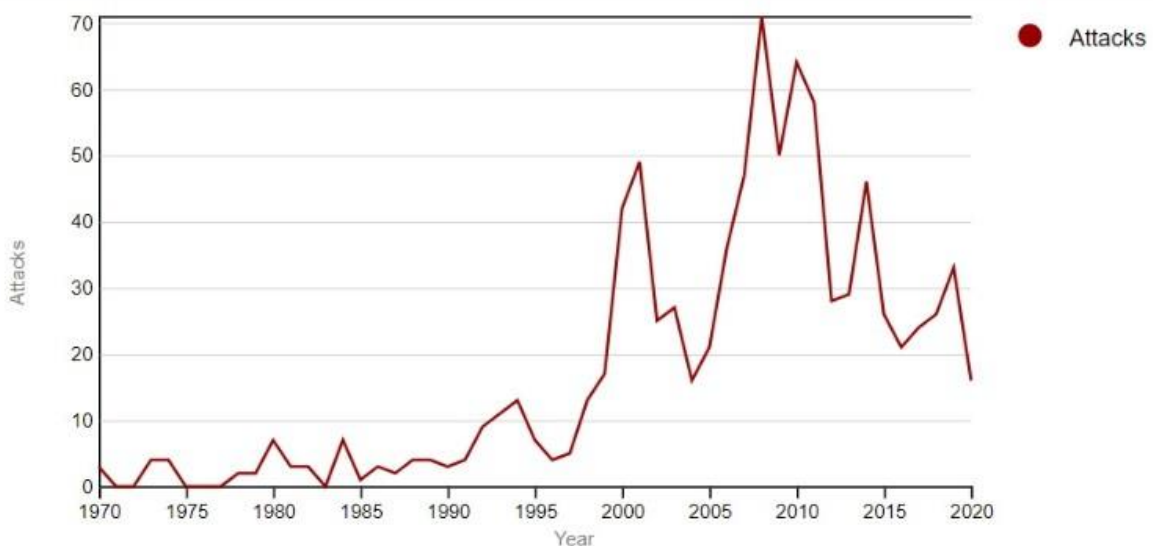


Figure 1. Women terrorist attacks over the years

Source: Global Terrorism Database

Not only the growing numbers of women involved in terrorism but also the roles fulfilled by them in terrorist organizations have evolved over the years. Until the last part of the 20th century, women's participation in terrorism was generally restricted to mothering and cooking; however, in the last decades, women have taken roles like being suicide bombers, active frontline fighters and decision-makers in terrorist organizations (Eggert, 2015). For example, in the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) 70% of suicide bombers have been female in the last two decades (Pape, 2005). Not only PKK but also Chechen Rebels and Palestinian terrorist groups have used females as suicide bombers in their operations (Pape, 2005; Eke, 2003). Some scholars see the changing roles of women terrorism as women empowerment (Alison, 2003; Sixta, 2008; Victor, 2004) by breaking the typical gender norms in their society. On the other hand, some other scholars underline the women's lack of access to the main decision-making bodies in terrorist organizations with the hierarchical nature of terrorism (Jordan & Denov, 2007). So the ongoing discussion in terrorism studies with the changing roles of women opened up two important questions this thesis wants to analyze.

RQ1: Why do women participate in terrorism?

RQ2: What are the consequences of participation in terrorism in terms of women's emancipation?

By taking a more cautious position in the discussion of emancipation, the thesis first states what is understood from the concept of emancipation and a gender-just society for deeper discussion. Then it argues that women participate in terrorism with the aim of emancipation; however, they cannot be emancipated. Applying the greed versus grievances theory to analyze women's involvement in terrorism, the thesis adopts a more individualistic perspective in the debate. It argues that by making rational calculations, women participate in

terrorism with private aims rather than communal ones as the greed theory suggests. However, the thesis criticizes the greed theory for being so materialistic by coming up with a non-materialistic reason, emancipation, for the explanation of women's involvement in terrorism.

Secondly, the second argument of the thesis is about the consequences of women's terrorism in terms of emancipation. The existing scholarship on women in terrorism lacks the proper definition of emancipation and theoretical framework for the discussion. The main problem found in the supporters of women's empowerment through terrorism is that these scholars have perceived relative freedom, expansion of the bundle of available practices, as emancipation. For example, according to Sixta (2008), women participating in terrorism mostly come from societies where women are repressed. By applying violence and involvement in terrorism, women experienced freedom and showed that they were equal to men (Sixta, 2008). However, an increase in the relative freedom of action do not mean emancipation and living in a just society. As Anderson (1999) highlights emancipation of women needs a gender just society which means living without hierarchies and domination. The thesis visits the most common examples of terrorist groups known for recruiting women militants (the Palestinian female terrorists and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam), the evidence shows that terrorist organizations are so hierarchal and male-dominated that, it is not possible to be emancipated through. This is why the thesis challenges the liberal view of emancipation and existing scholarship which sees women's emancipation through terrorism possible. By separating emancipation as a cause and an outcome, it acknowledges emancipation as one of the main reasons for terrorist involvement; however, it argues that terrorism has not brought emancipation to women. In doing this, it analyzes emancipation from two perspectives: micro (individual) and meso (group) levels and leaves the macro level analysis for further research.

Thirdly, to validate their argument, the scholars mostly apply the expressions of female terrorists. For example, Alison (2003, p. 52) argues that women are “ambivalently empowered” in Sri Lankan Tamil Tigers by giving quotations from female terrorists’ expressions. But by being dependent on the female terrorist expressions, she disregards how the preferences are shaped by society. This is why the thesis brings up the adaptive preferences notion of Amartya Sen (1999) to discuss the societal factors in the decision-making processes of people. Sen argues that the desires of people are adjusted by societal position. Thus, a person who occupies lower tiers of the social hierarchy could feel satisfied but this expression of satisfaction does not mean that the society is just. This is why the thesis wants to take one step back from the expressions of women terrorists and gain a broader perspective in the debate by focusing on the organizational structures and the main decision-making bodies of the terrorist groups.

Lastly, women and terrorism literature is deprived of a comparative study and depends on the interviews conducted with a few women terrorists. Even though the thesis does not bring up new interviews, it applies to a comparative perspective to see the differences and similarities between women participating in different terrorist organizations. The main contribution of the thesis to the literature is bringing a theoretical perspective to the emancipation discussion and applying it to comparative case study research to gain a broader angle in its analysis. By differentiating itself from the liberal view, which sees freedom as freedom of action, the thesis comes up with a new perspective on the emancipation debate by stating that the causes and consequences of terrorist involvement need to be separated. The thesis argues that even though one of the key reasons for most of the women's participation in terrorism has been emancipation, it has not brought emancipation to women.

Hypothesis: Even though one of the primary reasons for women's terrorism participation is emancipation, terrorism does not bring emancipation to women.

To see the applicability of the hypothesis the thesis put forward, comparative case study method is applied and two cases are examined: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and Palestinian female terrorism, both originated from patriarchal societies with a high number of women recruits. The thesis analyses several interviews with female terrorists conducted by Alison (2003) and Jamaha (2004) for the Sri Lankan Tigers, Berko & Erez (2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2008) and Erez & Laster (2020) for the Palestinian terrorist groups. So the thesis revisits the existing literature and reopens the debate of women emancipation through terrorism. These analyses reveal significant parallelism between the cases of Palestine and Sri Lanka. Emancipation and escaping from patriarchal societies are found as one of the primary reasons for women. On the other hand, several barriers that impede women's emancipation after terrorist involvement are observed such as limited access to main decision-making bodies, hierarchical and obedient structures of terrorist groups, continuing the traditional mindset in terms of gender equality and difficulty in leaving terrorist organizations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Argument

2.1 Terrorism Debates

The word terrorism first became popular during the French Revolution with positive connotations emphasizing democracy and virtue (Hoffman, 2006). Early terrorist groups, like anarchists in the 19th century, were not hiding behind the labels of “freedom fighter” or “urban guerilla” rather they were defining themselves as terrorists and their actions as terrorism (Hoffman, 2006). Over time its meaning has evolved and later counterparts refused to use the title of terrorism. Whether different groups call themselves as terrorists or not, to decide how to label groups, what is understood from terrorism is crucial to discuss. However, both in the literature and in different agencies' definitions, no consensus has been achieved in defining terrorism. Neither experts nor long-established scholars were successful in defining terrorism. Alex Schmid analyzed more than a hundred definitions of terrorism to find a definition which is more acceptable in the book *Political Terrorism: A Research Guide* (Hoffman, 2006); however, he did not even come closer to his goal.

According to Hoffman (2006), what is crucial in the definition of terrorism is to differentiate it from its close friends like guerilla warfare and insurgency. Even though these concepts are mostly used as synonyms and have similar tactics with similar goals, the term guerillas refers to larger armed groups who control a geographical area. Despite many similarities between war guerillas and insurgents, the latter differ in their tactical strategies by mostly using hit-and-run attacks. On the other hand, terrorists do not operate through open armed units, mostly do not aim to control territory or local population and face limitations in terms of numbers/logistics when they attempt organized large-scale political mobilization (Hoffman, 2006)

Hoffman examined 109 different definitions of terrorism and looked at the frequencies of definitional elements in these definitions. Violence /force, political and fear are the top three concepts which are emphasized by various definitions (Hoffman, 2006). After examining definitions and differentiating terrorism from other close friends, Hoffman concludes with a broad definition of terrorism which this thesis adopts. Terrorism is defined by Hoffman through five characteristics:

- ineluctably political in aims and motives;
- violent—or, equally important, threatens violence;
- designed to have far-reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target;
- conducted either by an organization with an identifiable chain of command or conspiratorial cell structure (whose members wear no uniform or identifying insignia) or by individuals or a small collection of individuals directly influenced, motivated, or inspired by the ideological aims or example of some existent terrorist movement and/or its leaders; and
- perpetrated by a subnational group or non-state entity. (Hoffman, 2006, p.40)

Thus terrorism is seen as a deliberately constructed creation which generates fear through violence or only threat of violence with the aim of political change. Terrorist activism involves violence (or its threat) and it is designed to reach beyond the victims or terrorist attacks' objects in terms of psychological effects.

Not only the definition of terrorism but also the question of how to explain terrorist activities are crucial and highly debated topics in the terrorism literature. Scholars explain terrorism through different dynamics and background conditions like socio-economic conditions, individual motives, organizational structures and ideological identifications. Crenshaw differentiates background conditions of terrorism from immediate stimuli to explain the reasons for terrorism. For her, background conditions contain political exclusion and deep cleavages in society, whereas immediate stimuli refer to state repression and violent

incidents (Crenshaw, 2011). Terrorism studies include a wide range of scientific approaches and explanations for terrorism are diverse. Terrorism is studied from the perspectives of anthropology, criminology, psychology, political science, social movement studies, human geography and sociology (Chenoweth et al. 2019).

Even though various approaches try to explain terrorism scientifically, it does not mean that terrorism studies do not have any recognizable trends. According to Goodwin (2019), in traditional terrorism studies, terrorism is explained by the tactical choice of government opponents that it is less costly in specific features like recruitment, required resources and mobilization than other alternatives of civil war or insurgency. Terrorism is defined as the “weapon of the weak” and the supporters of the desperation theory argue that after trying nonviolent methods, government opponents apply terrorism as a “last resort” (Goodwin, 2019). Secondly, traditional terrorism studies conceptualized terrorism as *retaliation against* state repression, adopted by non-state opponents as a kind of revenge mechanism (Goodwin, 2019). While before the September 11, 2001 Al-Qaeda attacks in the USA, political science literature saw terrorism as a cheaper and easier way of political violence of political opposition, the research on terrorism sevenfold increased following the Al-Qaeda attack. The increase in attention also led to an increase in the number of psychologists’ research in terrorism by displacing the political scientists’ dominance in terrorism studies (Philips, 2021). Following the changes in academia, a new explanation for the causes of terrorism has emerged: the *radicalisation* of potential terrorists’ theory has become pre-eminent in the literature (Goodwin, 2019) by creating a dichotomy between new and old types of terrorism. The new explanation of terrorism argues that: “not all radicals may be terrorists, but all terrorists are radicals” (Goodwin, 2019, p.258). So this perspective sees ideological radicalization as the necessary condition for terrorism but not sufficient.

On the other hand, in terrorism literature, it is not that easy to come up with such taxonomies. For example, Fortna (2015) challenges the definition of terrorism as the “weapon of the weak” and brings up examples of strong terrorist organizations in terms of technology, number of people and resources. Collaterally, Goodwin (2019) sees terrorism as a tactic and a strategy so that terrorism can be used by any group by challenging the existing explanations for terrorism like radicalization and retaliation.

In the literature, terrorism is not only discussed by its definition, origins and classification but also is classified by waves according to its targets, aims and period by a famous article by Rapoport (2004). According to Rapoport, the first wave is the anarchist wave constituting “the first global and truly international” terrorism witnessed in history (Rapoport, 2004, p. 47). It is followed by the anti-colonial, New Left and last by the Religious wave. Inspired by Rapoport’s classification, some scholars argue that the fourth wave of terrorism was replaced by the fifth wave. However, no consensus was achieved about the fifth wave of terrorism. Whereas for Kaplan it is ethnic terrorism (ethnoterrorism) (Kaplan, 2021), Honig and Yahel define the fifth wave as the emergence of terrorist semi-states (Honig & Yahel, 2019). On the other hand, da Silva shows the wave-like pattern of eco-terrorism as the new wave after the religious one (da Silva, 2020). As can be seen from different articles, no consensus has been achieved on the question of whether the religious wave has ended and displaced by which wave.

2.2. Women in Terrorism

The question of why people rebel and participate in terrorist groups or civil wars is asked by many scholars both in terrorism and civil war literature. The ‘greed’ perspective focuses on private gains whereas the ‘grievance’ aspect concentrates on the public good features of the rebellion (Hoeffler, 2011). While from the greed perspective, the personal

rational decision is at the centre of the analysis, grievances see rebellions as producers of public good. Public goods are defined as non-rivalrous and non-excludable goods so that grievances analysis focuses on the rebellions of regime change and justice-seeking (Hoeffler, 2011). From the grievances perspective, 'horizontal inequalities', which refer to social, economic, political or cultural status between culturally defined groups, are seen as significant catalysts for civil wars (Stewart, 2008). So, people join rebellions not for individual but for societal gains. They aim to change unjust society and regime by eliminating existing inequalities.

On the flip side of the coin, political rebellions are perceived as the consequences of economic reasons, and greed. In that sense, rebellions are seen as a kind of industry that generates profit by looting which could not be distinguished from bandits or pirates (Grossman, 1999, p. 269). The greed dimension assumes that people try to minimize their costs and maximize their benefits (Hoeffler, 2011). According to the rational choice model, potential recruits make a rational decision before joining rebellions depending on cost and benefit analysis (Hoeffler, 2011). Hence different from the grievances angle, from a greed perspective, the reason for joining rebellions is not societal or public good benefits but private ones. The greed versus grievances model is formed as an economic model that provides a framework for understanding the root causes of internal conflicts. In the model, internal conflicts of 161 countries were analyzed from 1960 to 1999 (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004, pp. 588-589). The model argues that economic factors (greed), and opportunities for taking pieces from natural resources are more powerful to explain the internal conflicts than political factors (grievances) (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004, pp. 588-589).

Whereas greed and grievance theory has become influential, it is also criticized by many scholars. Nathan (2005, p. 2) argues that Collier and Hoeffler's model has empirical,

theoretical and empirical flaws which affect the reliability of the conclusions derived from the article. Nathan points out the complexity of the causes of civil wars which change depending on the context. Collier and Hoeffler's model cannot capture the complexity of the motivations changing from society to society with the classification of greed or grievance. Other potential factors for civil war like institutional weakness or breakdown also should have been brought into the picture. Therefore, rather than focusing on empirical data, case studies and country-specific causes for civil wars are seen as important methods for analyzing the causes of the conflicts (Nathan, 2005, p.11).

How can be the grievances and greed theory applied to explain the increasing women's participation in terrorism? According to Collier and Hoeffler, economic reasons (material benefits) are the driving reasons for the rebellion rather than political inequalities. Whereas it may grasp the reality in some cases, it is so materialistic that does not count non-material forces which will be crucial for participation to the terrorist groups. Whereas there are material reasons which create a kind of suitable environment and ease the participation in terrorism, not every woman applies terrorism as a tool for deriving material benefits. Other psychological forces that make a woman rebel against society and participate in terrorist organizations seem crucial to analyze.

By looking from a gendered lens to terrorism participation, this thesis focuses on the greed dimension and personal gains attained by terrorism. The reason for focusing on greed rather than grievances perspective is that the thesis looks at the individual choices of females and their personal gains from terrorism. It takes a woman as a rational individual who is seeking private gains. The process of terrorism participation is regarded as a consequence of rational calculation with potential costs and benefits. By not focusing on the societal aims of regime change or justice-seeking, the thesis takes an individualistic micro-foundational

perspective. So, the greed dimension is a more suitable choice for the goals of the research. However, different from most of the greed scholars, the thesis focuses on a non-material private gain: emancipation. The pursuit of escaping from patriarchal society and pursuing freedom from societal rules are seen as non-material women's incentives to participate in terrorist organizations.

However, what does one understand from emancipation? Emancipation signifies the liberation of an entity from various forms of control, dependence, restraint, confinement, restriction, repression, slavery or domination (Susen, 2015). According to Susen (2015), the definition of emancipation has three main dimensions: 'entity' as the carrier of emancipation, 'liberation' as the process of emancipation and 'control' underlining the obstacles to emancipation. Carriers of emancipation are human subjects who can transform themselves into protagonists of emancipation. The process of emancipation refers to social practices geared toward liberation. The liberation practices are articulated through the terms "selfrealization", "enlightenment", "transformation", "revolution", and "empowerment. Susen (2015) states that the description of the process of emancipation is still an open question. However, all forms of emancipation include a subject and the subject's exemption from one or several sources of relatively arbitrary authority. Barriers to emancipation are often seen as adverse forms of control. The impediments to emancipation are perceived as negative forces, stemming from arbitrary and unjust exercise of authority. The endeavours towards liberation are responses to disempowering encounters like "domination", "alienation", "repression", "deception", and "illusion" (Susen, 2015).

Emancipation discussion has the central position in critical terrorism studies. Critical terrorism studies (CTS) criticize traditional terrorism by having a 'state-centric' and problem-solving viewpoint. According to CTS scholars, traditional terrorism studies overlook the

given framework and existing power structures (Jackson, Breen Smyth, & Gunning, 2009). Without questioning power relations, traditional terrorism studies serve to sustain the status quo (Toros and Gunning, 2009). CTS aim to centre critical orientation in its analysis with a sceptical attitude and challenge the common terrorist wisdom (Jackson et al. 2009). To do so, CTS takes emancipation as its foundational philosophical grounding and emphasizes vulnerable individuals, not states (McDonald, 2007).

In CTS, Booth defines emancipation as ‘freeing people from those constraints that stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do’ (Booth, 1999, pp. 43–6; 2005, pp. 181–2). For Booth (2005), emancipation is defined as a ‘strategic process’ and procedural terms rather than an endpoint. According to McDonald (2007, p.253), emancipation is ‘the process of freeing up space for dialogue and deliberation, and the diffusion of power to ‘speak’ security’. It is also seen as a key concept to the space for reducing violence and hearing marginalized voices. (Michel & Richards, 2009)

By borrowing Booth’s definition of emancipation, this thesis sees emancipation as a process where marginalized voices gain the ability to make their choices freely. However, Booth overlooks how choices are formed. Booth’s definition assumes that preferences are formed by people without any influence. However, life conditions affect how a person forms his/her preferences. Adaptive preferences term introduced by Amartya Sen points out what Booth overlooks: the influence of society over preferences. Sen argues that preferences and desires are adjusted by society based on their position (Sen, 1999). People perceive their life through the social position they occupy and form preferences from this viewpoint. Even though a person in a disadvantaged group may feel satisfied with his/her situation, it shouldn’t be disregarded that the preference and satisfaction of the person are developed within a social and political context. This is why the thesis sees emancipation as not only the liberation of

making choices freely but also the absence of domination which is defined by the uncontrolled ability to prevent actions intentionally (Lovett, 2018). So, the absence of any prevention to the action is not enough for emancipation but non-domination, sharing an equal position with other groups, is seen as a requirement.

The emancipation of women in a patriarchal society is one aspect of the emancipation discussion. According to Anderson, freedom can be reached by living in a gender-just society (Anderson, 1999). Gender just society occurs through relational egalitarianism where different groups in the society have equal positions and power (Anderson, 1999). Anderson does not focus on the equal distribution of outcomes (in material terms) but on equal concern and respect which only can be achieved by equal social relations in society. A just society only can be reached in an environment where different groups (women, ethnic minorities or other vulnerable groups) have equal power and status without any hierarchy and domination (Anderson, 1999). In this just society, all equals are free to participate in politics without any marginalization and no one lives with the mercy or permission of other groups. Anderson's perception of equality and a gender-just society are highly linked with the perception of women's emancipation. To live in a gender-just society, the absence of hierarchy between men and women is a must and only in a just society women can be emancipated.

The increase in women's participation in terrorism and the roles taken by them opened up discussions about the motives behind women's participation and whether it brought emancipation to women or not. According to Zedalis (2004), female suicide bombers are young people whose ages vary between seventeen and twenty-four who are educated and coming from middle economic status. Both female and male terrorists are neither poor nor wealthy economically (Sixta, 2008). As Mia Bloom says, "Contrary to popular perception,

they are not unbalanced sociopaths prone to self-destructive tendencies. Nor are they poor, uneducated religious fanatics” (Bloom 2005b, 2). If women terrorists are neither sociopaths nor poor people searching for wealth, what motives are determinant in increasing female terrorism?

Scholars mention the tactical reasons for women recruitment by terrorist organizations because of its practical advantages (Schweitzer, 2003; Sixta, 2008). For example, women mostly look more innocent in terms of physical appearance with the worldwide perception of non-violent personality (Schweitzer, 2003). This is why they can more easily pass the security check points and staff without creating any suspension about their aims (Schweitzer, 2003). Moreover, the depiction of women terrorists in media and television are more horrifying for the audience than the male perpetrators. Since women are stereotyped as more non-violent individuals than men, they are seen less prone to be murderer (Sixta, 2008). Statistics also confirm that perception that based on O’Rourke’s calculations, attacks perpetrated by women mostly resulted with more casualties than men as represented in the Table 1. So the tactical advantages resulted with more casualties of recruiting women terrorist explain the demand side of the women involvement in terrorism; however, it is still an open question why women take terrorist actions.

TABLE 1 Average Casualties per Individual Attack by Group

	Lebanese	PKK	LTTE	Chechen	Palestinian	Total
Female	2.3	2.3	12.1	20.9	3.4	8.4
Male	3.3	1.4	10.4	13.3	4.0	5.3
Percentage (Female: Male)	70%	164%	116%	157%	85%	158%

Table 1. Average Casualties per Individual Attack by Group

Source: Lindsey A. O’Rourke’s calculations in the paper “What’s Special about Female Suicide Terrorism?” written in 2009.

MacDonald (1991) states that increasing terrorist incidents are correlated with increasing feminism. For example, German women exhibit greater liberation and self-awareness compared to their Italian and French counterparts. As a consequence of lagging behind Germany in terms of women's emancipation, Italy, France and Britain have fewer instances of female terrorism (MacDonald, 1991). Describing women terrorists as liberated people from traditional gender roles is a Western idea (Talbot, 2001). Academics believe that the wake of feminism will cause increasing instances of female terrorism (Vetter & Perlstein, 1991). The idea of feminism, female emancipation and empowerment are seen as the source of motivation for women terrorists that Georges-Abeyie (1983), Weinberg and Eubank (1987) regard feminism as the central reason for women's involvement in terrorism.

However, women terrorists do not only emerge from countries with strong feminist traditions (Georgers-Abeyie, 1983). Clara Beyler (2003) sees the female suicide bombing attacks as an act of statement and rebellion against the patriarchal society. She underlines that suicide terrorism emerges from the societies which dominate its people like Kurd, Tamil, Palestinian or Arab. So Beyler (2003) states:

There is a difference between men and women suicide attackers: 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.

Whereas female terrorists acts are seen as a rebellion against gender norms, women have not classified themselves in such narrow fields. For example, Leila Khaled, a terrorist who led a group of men to hijack a plane, does not describe herself as a feminist (Talbot, 2001). Astrid Prohl, an early member of the Red Army Faction, defined their group as "well-armed social workers" (MacDonald, 1991, p. 64) without any emphasis on feminism. Mara Aldrovandi states "We cannot make a woman's island within the Communist revolution." (Neuburger & Valentini, 1992, p. 105). As opposed to the common portrayal,

some feminist scholars emphasize that feminism is not a widespread motivation among female terrorists (Laur, 1991-92).

Some scholars argue that just like men, for their involvement in terrorism, women have a variety of reasons (Eager, 2010; Sjoberg & Gentry, 2008). Social, personal or idealist reasons, key events and revenge can be counted as some of the common motivations among female terrorists (Bloom, 2005a; Cunningham, 2003; Jacques & Taylor, 2009). On the contrary, some other scholars argued that women's involvement in terrorism differs from men in terms of recruitment methods, motivations, awards and positions (Berko & Erez, 2005; Bloom, 2005a). The second camp argues that women rely on men with whom they have/had close relationships in their decision-making processes (Ness, 2005). As such, their fathers, husbands, brothers or partners are seen as coercive or persuading power to join extremist groups (Talbot, 2001). Weinberg and Eubank (1987) state that because of the high number of marital relationships in terrorist groups, women must be drawn into terrorism by men. Particular supporting evidence can be found in right-wing groups. Sibylle Vorderbrugge, a terrorist who served for an illegal neo-Nazi organization, claimed that she took action because of her affection for Manfred Roeder (the leader of the group she was part of) (MacDonald, 1991).

On the other hand, when women are asked why they are involved in terrorism, they reject this passive portrayal of their involvement (Talbot, 2001). According to interviews conducted by MacDonald (1991), all women disagreed with the assertion that they were drawn into terrorism by men. Leila Khaled was attending PLO meetings without informing her family because her family did not approve of her involvement (Talbot, 2001). While some women may be dragged into extremist organizations because of their men, it is not representative of all female terrorists. Deriving from the long-standing notion of conventional

femininity where a female is framed solely in relation to men, this widespread misleading stereotype prevailed (Talbot, 2001). The belief that women engage in terrorism with the influence of men reinforces the disempowered women portrayal whose actions are not under their control. This conviction continues the categorization of female terrorists firstly as women by diminishing their agency and separating terrorism from their female experience (Talbot, 2001). This is why this thesis sees women as a rational agency who takes their own actions and pursue their own benefits without the influence of any other figure.

Besides the motivations of the female terrorists when the question comes whether the involvement in terrorism empowered women or not, some scholars argue that women who participated in terrorism are empowered by breaking the existing gender roles in their societies (Alison, 2003; Victor, 2004; Sixta, 2008). For example, Sumathi, who joined the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) when she was 14, emphasizes how a woman should behave in Tamil society. According to Sumathi, girls are forbidden from certain activities like climbing, riding or swimming (Alison, 2003). This is why she decided to join LTTE and she could do many activities in LTTE which she could not in Tamil society. The example is interpreted as women's empowerment and emancipation by the scholars in that camp.

So Table 2 shows the scholars who answer positively to the question of whether terrorism has brought emancipation to women or not with the particular evidence they put forward. The aim of the thesis is to revisit and challenge the scholarship which sees the women emancipation through terrorism possible.

Question	Answer	Scholars	Evidence
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What are the consequences of terrorism for women?	Emancipation and women empowerment	Alison(2003) Victor (2004) Sixta (2008) Beyler (2003) Ann (1993) D. Rajasingham-Senanayake (2001,2004)	Being in the leader cadre of organizations (even though the percentage of women leaders' in the leadership positions is not very clear) Ex-women terrorists express the feeling of emancipation Wider spectrum of actions including "manly" associated actions like fighting Women friendly statements of terrorist organizations War time destroyed old structures and created an environment for women empowerment
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Table 2. The overview of the argument: Women emancipation through terrorism

The thesis is not the only one which is more sceptical of the argument. Most feminists doubt the idea of women's liberation through terrorism by arguing that the military's nature is anti-feminist. For example, Radhika Coomaraswamy (1996) links feminism with non-violence and the celebration of life rather than death; if not, feminism cannot come up with the alternatives, feminists seek. While some scholars point out the non-violent features of feminism, some other scholars emphasise the tactical reasons for the recruitment of women by terrorist organizations (Dissanayake, 2017; Bloom, 2011) and women's limited access to decision-making positions (Jordan & Denov, 2007). Chandra de Silva (1999) underlines the

absence of evidence of women's participation in decision-making processes or taking roles in the planning at the high levels of terrorist organizations through the example of the LTTE.

Considering the limitations in the decision-making processes and hierarchal structure of terrorist groups, it can be argued that terrorist organizations are not a "paradise" for women, too. Escaping from a more patriarchal society to a less patriarchal one does not necessarily mean the emancipation of women. This is why the thesis stands with the second camp; however, the previous studies are more descriptive with different aims than the thesis or reluctant to take any clear position in the discussion of emancipation. Thus, the thesis wants to analyze different cases to elaborate that terrorism has not brought emancipation to women. In the process, micro and meso level emancipation analysis, Sen's adaptive preferences and the way of definition of emancipation will shed light on the debate.

Overall, in the discussion of female terrorism and emancipation, the literature offers a bundle of perspectives. In the literature, female terrorism is linked with feminism and emancipation. The analyses are twofold. Scholars argue that in societies where women's rights are prevalent, female terrorism is more common. On the other side, escaping from repressing social norms is found as a reason for female terrorism. However, do women join terrorist groups for feminist goals or are they looking for different gains? What are non-material elements achieved by women as personal gains? These questions are still open to further research and discussion. Secondly, what is the relationship between female terrorism and emancipation? Some scholars in the literature take emancipation for granted with terrorist participation. The logic is the following: women escape from patriarchal society with feminist goals so they would be emancipated through terrorism. However, the thesis argues it is not the case. This is why the thesis aims to argue that terrorism has not brought emancipation to

women even though emancipation has been one of the initial reasons for participation by applying case studies in following chapters.

Chapter 3: Research Design

The thesis applies a comparative case study as a research method for the questions presented in the introduction. Both research questions the thesis asks are causal ones with X and Y.

Question 1: *Why do women participate in terrorism?*

Answer 1: *X1(cause) the pursuit of emancipation → Y1 (output) terrorist involvement*

Question 2: *What are the consequences of participation in terrorism in terms of women's emancipation?*

Answer 2: *X2 (cause) terrorist involvement → Y2 (output) no emancipation*

When it is put like that one can argue that these two questions state two contradicting arguments. However, the thesis makes one important division in the debate by conceptualizing the desire for emancipation as a motive which leads to terrorism involvement and a failure to emancipate as a result of terrorist participation. So the pursuit of emancipation is different from emancipation (the output of the terrorist involvement) which differentiates the research from the articles written before.

The thesis aims to criticize the hypothesis of terrorism theory which argues that one of the reasons for women's participation in terrorism is emancipation and those who are involved in terrorism are emancipated (Alison, 2003; Sixta, 2008, Victor, 2004). The thesis challenges the hypothesis by stating that the understanding of terrorism as emancipating for women in existing literature lacks conceptual clarity because it does not define emancipation. Secondly, because of the lack of a theoretical framework for what they mean by emancipation and

women empowerment, they link the desire for the emancipation of women with the outcome of it. They perceive the relative freedom of action as emancipation; however, they overlook the hierarchical structures of the terrorist groups, few women in decision-making positions and the difficulty of leaving the group. This is why, the thesis reopens and revisits the women's emancipation discussion through terrorism by coming up with a new hypothesis:

Hypothesis: Even though one of the primary reasons for women's terrorism participation is emancipation, terrorism does not bring emancipation to women.

According to Lijphart (1971), if a study aims to come up with a definite hypothesis to be tested by a greater number of cases, the study is a hypothesis-generating case study. So by coming up with a new hypothesis, the study is hypothesis-generating research. To see the applicability of the hypothesis, the most common and discussed cases in the discussion of women's emancipation in terrorism are selected: the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and Palestinian women terrorists.

The reasoning behind the case selection is as follows, the thesis wants to look at the reasons for the terrorist participation of the women and whether it brings emancipation from the patriarchal restrictions. This is why the first condition for the case selection is looking at societies with patriarchal structures and gender-unjust societies to compare the before and after of participation in terrorism. The second condition is to look at the organizations in which women's participation is high to make the discussion meaningful. When the statistics were visited to find the best cases for the discussion, two distinguishable and highly debated ones emerged by meeting these two requirements. Sri Lanka's Tamil Tigers and Palestinian female terrorists are the cases which have the most female suicide bombers as can be seen in Figure 2. Because of the word limit and the data limitations of the thesis, not all but the first

two terrorist groups are selected for the case study. These two terrorist organizations also meet the first criteria for the case selection by originating from traditional societies where women's rights do not prevail within the patriarchal systems.

Different from the LTTE, Palestinian female terrorists did not only involve one group but many such as the al-Aqsa Brigades, Hamas and Fatah. The reason for taking these different organizations as one group is the previous research studies that the thesis uses for interviews. The previous studies in the Palestinian terrorist organizations analyzed more than one organization in the same study without clear distinction. However, regardless of their involved group, the Palestinian female terrorists have similar aims (defeating the Israeli occupation), roles and strategies so they can be classified as one group.

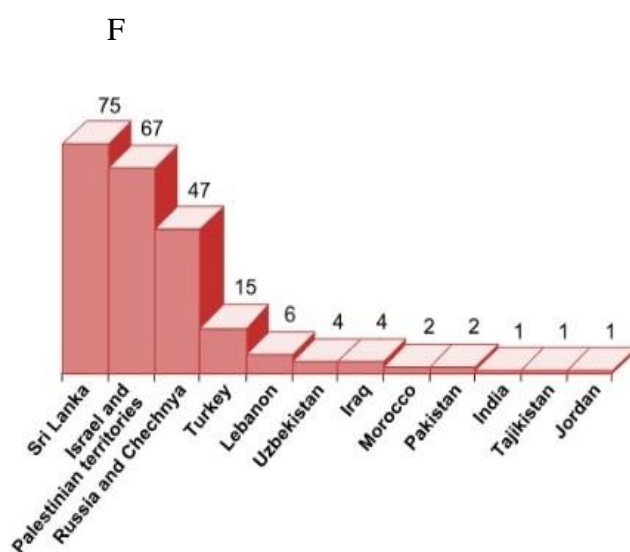


Figure 1. Female Suicide Bombers, by Targeted Areas, 1985-2006

Source: Database compiled by Yoram Schweitzer

Figure 2. Female Suicide Bombers, by Targeted Areas, 1985-2006

Source: Yoram Schweitzer's (2006) calculations borrowed from the study named *Female Suicide Bombers: Dying for Equality?*

For the empirical analysis, secondary sources are used which are conducted for other articles for similar and different debates. Whereas the empirical findings come from different studies, the ones which construct the structure of the thesis are ones from Alison's (2003) and Jamaha's (2004) interviews in the Sri Lankan Tigers and Berko and Erez (2006, 2007a, 2007b and 2008) and Erez and Laster's (2020) interviews for the Palestinian case. The reason to use mostly the literature written in the first decade of 2000 is the lack of recent debate in the women and terrorism literature in terms of emancipation angle despite notable exceptions (Frerks, 2019; Terpstra & Frerks, 2017; Dissanayake, 2017). Both in the LTTE and the Palestinian case, more recent scholarships have focused on nationalism, ethics or international dimensions of terrorism. So the thesis revisits and reopens the women emancipation debate and criticizes the existing scholarship of women emancipation through terrorism. In that process, applying secondary sources for the interviews enriches my approach and brings up a new theoretical dimension to the discussion.

Chapter 4: Case Studies – Empirical Findings

4.1 Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)

Based on the given framework, now the thesis focuses on case studies to analyze the position of female terrorists in terrorist organizations with their aims to join terrorism. Having 20 million inhabitants, Sri Lanka is an island country located in the southeast of India. 74% of the population is Sinhalese where 18% are Tamil and 7% of are Muslim (Alison, 2004). Even though Tamil's nationalist sentiments went back earlier years, after Sri Lanka's¹ independence in 1948, it became more apparent (Frerks, 2019). The reason for the deep ethnic divide can be witnessed through existing tensions primarily between two main ethnic groups, the Tamils (mostly Hindu) and Sinhalese (mainly Buddhist). Institutional decay, eased by linguistic nationalism, led the Tamils to ethnic uprising (DeVotta, 2004). By feeling repressed and marginalized under the governance of Sinhalese, the Tamils mobilized and fought for linguistic nationalism and the foundation of the independent Tamil nation.

Beginning in the 1970s, the conflict between the state and separatists was increasingly violent and led to war starting in 1983. Sri Lanka had five different militant separatist groups which had not agreed upon the strategies and demands. So they had fought also with each other. By establishing the hegemony in the 1980s, LTTE emerged as the most powerful group. As a result of the terrorist actions of the LTTE, many people lost their lives. According to Alison's (2003) findings, the estimated dead were around 70,000 people in 2002 and up to 500,000 people had to leave Sri Lanka. 600,000 people had been displaced of which 75,000 were living in the camps.

¹ Sri Lanka's official name until 1972 was Ceylon; however, for the sake of simplicity, the thesis uses the name of Sri Lanka when discussing period before 1972.

When it comes to women's participation as terrorists in the LTTE, it was not widespread until the 1980s. According to Samarasinghe (1996), the reason for women recruitment was the shortage of male combatants because of the losses of refuge and casualty. Starting from the 1980s, the LTTE, increasingly recruited women into its fighting groups (Alison, 2003). Whereas at first, the women's involvement in the LTTE was in the areas of propaganda work, medical assistance, data gathering, fundraising and recruitment for the organization, after a while, they also took roles in military training and joined actual combats (Alison, 2003). In 1983, a special fraction for women was created which was called Vituthalai Pulikal Munani (Women's Front of the Liberation Tigers) and it started the battle in 1985 (Alison, 2003). In 1985, the first group of women trained for combat in Tamil Nadu (India) and they participated in their first battle in July 1986 against the Sri Lankan military. When it comes to 1987, in Jaffna, the first all-women training camp was established and this unit founded its own leadership structure in 1989 (Alison, 2003).

Until 1990, women's participation in the LTTE was small; however, it increased significantly in the women's military wing which was well-organized and highly disciplined. The LTTE's naval force, the Sea Tigers, and the suicide squad, the Black Tigers, were the primarily female fraction of the LTTE by constituting the high number of women in it (Alison, 2003). One of the most significant suicide attacks of the LTTE was the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, India's former prime minister, was committed by a female terrorist in 1991. Whereas the total number of women in the LTTE was a military secret, the estimation of women terrorists in the LTTE varies between 15 and 20 per cent by constituting one-third of the core combat group (Alison, 2003). Following 26 years of the conflict, in 2009, the LTTE was defeated.

When the question of why women participated in terrorism in Sri Lanka is asked, firstly, it needs to be noted that the participation in the organization was not always up to the willingness of the people that the LTTE coerced the families to give at least one militant to their struggle for liberation (Terpstra & Frerks, 2017). In addition to coercion, Alison (2003) points out the national sentiments as one of the determining factors for women and men to join terrorism. According to Sumantra Bose (1994), for LTTE female terrorists, as LTTE men, the primary reason to join the organization was nationalist eagerness. For him, in the mid-1980s, the phenomenon of Tamil nationalism had been experienced at a mass level, Tamil's younger women were estranged from the state and impressed by the perception of liberated Eelam, as men were (Bose, 1994). Barathy, a soldier in the LTTE, emphasized her grievances about the Sri Lankan government and said that it did not respect their rights (Alison, 2003). This is why she wanted a homeland for them, a separate one by having rights as Sinhalese and other Western countries have (Alison, 2003).

Secondly, combined with nationalism, the common perception among women about repression, suffering and injustice became important. For example, four of the fourteen women terrorists Alison interviewed stated that losing a family member was a crucial factor in their participation in the terrorism (Alison, 2003). Many others were displaced from their hometowns following the occupation of Jaffna. Intertwined with the oppression, sexual violence against Tamil women could be pointed out as another factor which affected the decision of women to join the LTTE. According to Adele Ann Balasingham, the leader of the LTTE's women wing, women's recruitment to the LTTE was highly related to the Indian Peace Keeping Force that the Indian army was so "brutal and male chauvinist" (Ann, 1993). Bose (1994) also states that the Indian army's existence in the eastern north led to hundreds of rapes and assaults on Tamil women.

The desire to escape from the traditional norms of Tamil society also affected the young women's preferences. Thiranagama (2011) refers to the desire of young people to change the expectations of household and family in the issues of marriage and dowry. Both unmarried young women and men joined the militant movements as a kind of escape from these duties. Tamil society can be described as a very closed and traditional society where women were expected to fulfil traditional family roles like being good wives, taking care of their family and children by not being involved in public places (Jordan & Denov, 2007). As in many other traditional societies, in Tamil, women's status came from being wives and mothers of sons (Hellmann-Rajanayagam, 2008). Before LTTE recruited women fighters, females were typically confined to the domestic areas. In the society, they were respected, however; this respect depended on several constraints. For example, in traditional Tamil society, women were expected to fulfil the social expectations of modesty, silence, poise and restraint especially in public settings (Alexander, 2014). Thus, the desire for emancipation from the constraints of gender norms in Tamil society comes as a possible answer to the question that the thesis primarily focuses on.

In such a conservative society in which women's place is determined as the domestic sphere, being a member of the LTTE means rejecting established social norms on multiple fronts. In that sense, for many women, the aim of founding an independent Tamil country became synonymous with gaining personal liberation and empowerment by breaking the chains of socio-cultural suppression (Dissanayake, 2017). According to Bose (1994), combined with the objectives of the independent Tamil Eelam, in the minds of women, the independence was connected with another objective which was the equality for women. By joining the combats and taking similar roles with men, in the LTTE, women were elevated to the same status as their male counterparts. They learnt how to use weapons and explosives by getting specialization in different combat and combat-support branches (Dissanayake,

2017). Like their male counterparts, women also engaged in laying and clearing mines, operating heavy machines and digging bunkers (Dissanayake, 2017). By giving several examples, many scholars argue that participation in the LTTE led women to deny traditional gender norms of Tamil and gain the opportunity to stand on equal footing with men in operational facets of the terrorist organization (Alison, 2003; Dissanayake, 2017). In addition to other factors like nationalism, suppression of the Sinhalese and violence against women, the pursuit of emancipation and sharing equal roles with men seems to be one of the most important factors motivating women to join the LTTE.

When the first research question of the thesis is visited, desires to improve lives and escape from violence were emphasized by the women LTTE terrorists as reasons for terrorist participation. Besides materialistic gains, ideological and emotional factors like nationalism or the loss of a family member are crucial factors combined with escaping from patriarchal society through the aims of emancipation. Participating in terrorism became a way of being able to do actions which women were not permitted before in the traditional Tamil society. Even though it is hard to say which factors were more effective for the terrorist involvement of women, many women highlighted private gains of terrorism brought them that women did a rational calculation as agents and decided to join terrorism as the greed theory suggested. However, not only material reasons like escaping from violence but also non-material reasons, primarily emotional factors of loss of a relative and the desire for emancipation were effective in their decision-making process.

So the women terrorists participated in terrorism with several aims including emancipation, then, the second question comes whether the terrorism brought emancipation to women or not. Depending on the interviews conducted, Alison (2003) comes with an answer to the question in the context of the LTTE. She argues that women gained empowerment

through terrorist participation. By constructing the chapter on her interviews, the thesis takes a different stance from her by arguing against her account.

4.1.1. Micro (Individual) Level of Emancipation

The interviews conducted by Alison with female fighters showed that participation in the LTTE opened up awareness about women's social problems in Tamil (Alison, 2003). From a micro foundational perspective, in close Tamil society, women were not allowed to ride bicycles, go out alone or swim in the sea. This is why they felt happy and empowered in the LTTE by gaining the opportunity to do these actions which were seen as inappropriate and dangerous for women in Tamil (Alison, 2003). For example, Krishna and Banuka stated that they were not allowed in their childhood even ride bikes whereas in the LTTE now they were driving even motorbikes and armoured vehicles (Alison, 2003). Moreover, Krishna was prevented from swimming in the sea but in the LTTE she could swim even long distances. Another women terrorist Thamilini pointed out the gender construction of Tamil society:

In our society, they have separated the work for the men and the women, so from childhood, the girl is brought up - that you can't do certain things. The girl feels that she can't make some decision on behalf of herself, so she needs others to do that on behalf of her. Because she doesn't know herself. You know, we have been brought up in this LTTE movement that we have to make decisions for ourselves. (Alison, 2003, p. 49-50).

With the participation in the LTTE, Thamilini states that she has gained her self-confidence and now she does not need anybody and does not permit anyone to make decisions. She realized that women should be respected by others. To achieve respect, women should develop their own skills and force others to respect them (Alison, 2003). Other women also share the ideas of Thamilini, they emphasize the importance of independence, especially being economically independent, for women (Alison, 2003). For instance, Sailajah stated that the problem of being a woman in Tamil is being always dependent on others (Alison, 2003).

Krishma also said that women have to be free (Alison, 2003). When Alison asked her what she meant by freedom, she said that women in their society always are expected to be quiet and do the house chores (Alison, 2003). However, she wanted the young generations not to be like that and to share equal rights with men by being economically and socially free (Alison, 2003).

Compared to Tamil where the opportunities for women's employment were very low, the LTTE brought women more employment opportunities. According to Thamilmvily, in the Vanni, a place controlled by the LTTE, many projects were offered for women, particularly to the ones who were affected by the war (Alison, 2003). For example, an organization established a project in which women are taken as trainees in auto-mechanics (a sector which is highly dominated by men). In the end, the women started an auto-repair shop themselves and they did it well (Alison, 2003).

4.1.2. Meso (Group) Level of Emancipation

Considering the other side of the coin, it seems that the issue actually is more complicated. When the meso (group) level analyzed, according to Kamala Liyanage (1999), the patterns of women's involvement in the LTTE resemble women's involvement in other liberation struggles of Algeria, China, Nicaragua, Palestine and Zimbabwe. Even though they gave importance to mobilization of the women and formed a women's front, they considered women's rights issues as secondary. They assume that the emancipation of women would be gained automatically through the victory of the combat. In most of these struggles after the cessation of war, mostly women returned to their traditional gender roles and continued to be restricted occupying politically supportive positions. This is why Liyanage argues that the LTTE movement was defined by men, accomplished by men and women fought to meet men's nationalistic aspirations (Liyanage, 1999).

Although women included in main decision-making bodies increased over time (Alison, 2003), in the LTTE, women occupying leadership roles of the organization were always the exception (Chandra de Silva, 1999). Furthermore, the LTTE had a very disciplined and obedient form. Some previous LTTE members argue that even Tamil society which has many rules could be seen as softer compared to the LTTE (Jordan & Denov, 2007). All terrorist fighters had to obey the strict rules of smoking, alcohol and pre-marriage sex bans (Jamaha, 2004). The hierarchy of the leadership cadres was rigid and no tolerance was shown for disobedience (Jamaha, 2004). Adele Ann Balasingham stated that starting from the basic training, the rules and regulations were given with the possible punishment for the disobedience and these rules were continued actively by all the leader cadres of the LTTE (Ann, 1993). This is why complying with the rules was a kind of obligation for being in the army. One of the interviewees stated that the rules of women's camps were even harsher than male camps (Jordan & Denov, 2007). While the LTTE emphasized its progressive features, some rules and requirements of the organizations were continuing the traditional gender aspects of Tamil. For example, the LTTE was supporting intermarriage within the organization and condemning pre-marital sex (Jordan & Denov, 2007). For any member of the organization, having pre-marital sexual relations with any group member was absolutely prohibited (Jayamaha, 2004).

Furthermore, it was not that easy to exit the group, even though some respondents stated that they could leave the organizations at their will, the process was not that straightforward. The members were required to get permission to leave by providing a valid reason for their wish (Jordan & Denov, 2007). That is to say, leaving the group was not solely in the hands of the members but also rested with the leader cadre of the LTTE (Jordan & Denov, 2007). Kanchana explained Jamaha (2004) the process of leaving the group. One woman told her not to leave because she had nowhere to go. The war had spread to many

places making the best option to stay and join the rebellion. In her first days, she was under surveillance and one woman was always with her even in the bathroom. After she refused to go to the training, she was assaulted by other women and because of the beatings, she lost her deaf partially. Besides beating, Kanchana underwent several punishments being obliged to do cleaning, cooking and serving to other members of the LTTE. After a while, she managed to exit thanks to her cousin who convinced one of the leaders of the LTTE (Jamaha, 2004).

Despite being strict in many ways including exit the group, some independent reports showed that in the areas which the LTTE gained control, the LTTE altered the traditional law, prohibited the dowry system, put severe punishments for rape and confined in terms of domestic violence by trying to change the gender roles in the traditional Tamil society (Frerks, 2019). According to one of the female respondents, the LTTE gave severe penalties to the criminals so that people were afraid (Frerks, 2019).

So the LTTE tried to change the women's lifestyles; however, it could not be that successful in its aim. Coomaraswamy (1996) accepts the transition in the daily lives and the routines of Tamil women after the participation in fighting and the LTTE strategy; however, she is doubtful about the permanence of the change in the lifestyle of the women after the war. Whereas women respondents indicated their effect on Tamil society by breaking the existing gender norms, there was not a big change in the traditional lifestyles of society (Jamaha, 2004). Considering the ex-terrorist women's lives after the defeat of the LTTE, it is surprising to see that they returned to their old lives in Tamil by obeying the traditional gender norms. Most of them wore shalwar (loose pants) and stayed at home to care for the children (Jamaha, 2004). When one questioned their transition from military clothing to traditional one, women still insisted that they were demonstrating the Tamil solidarity by keeping the cultural norms (Jamaha, 2004). Even though they stated that they gained self-

confidence and empowered in the LTTE, after their return to Tamil, they still had to convince their husbands to go to work. Nila explained how she tried to impress her husband for letting her work. She stated that her work was also crucial for their family and shouldn't be seen as a threat to her husband's own status (Jamaha, 2004). She said "I told him I would continue to treat him with love and respect." (Jamaha, 2004, p.21).

4.1.3. Discussion

Overall, from micro foundational perspective, it is quite certain that the LTTE opened up a space for women where they can position themselves differently from the Tamil society. As Alison argues, in the LTTE, the women could do many activities like swimming, cycling, and fighting which would not be allowed in traditional societies like Tamil, a society that lacks gender equality. Many previous members of the LTTE clearly stated that the actions they could perform in the LTTE were seen as inappropriate behaviours in Tamil and they gained self-confidence and awareness through their involvement in the organization. So it should be accepted that they gained some kind of freedom. This is why Alison argues that women gained empowerment through terrorism by specifically focusing on the expressions of women terrorists. However, by doing so she fails to distinguish the desire for emancipation with the outcome of it. Since having relative freedom does not mean emancipation even though the desire of it exists. So how above evidence can be interpreted from the perspective of the emancipation theory?

Let's revisit the emancipation theory and Booth's words which define emancipation as following 'freeing people from those constraints that stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do'. (Booth, 1999, pp. 43–6; 2005, pp. 181–2).

Through Booth's definition and from the liberal perspective, one can argue that women are emancipated in the LTTE because they can perform many actions they choose to do by

breaking the constraints of traditional gender norms. However, were they emancipated? It seems that even from the liberal perspective, it is not the case because of the many restrictions on the LTTE members' actions. As such, leaving the organization was strictly prohibited and if a member did not have any "valid" reason for leaving, s/he was not allowed to leave. Deriving from the obedience culture in the LTTE, many other restrictions to the action were common. For example, members had to act according to the commands of the LTTE leaders with no means of questioning (Jamaha, 2004). Moreover, considering the sexual practices of the organization, sexual activities were prohibited before marriage as in many traditional societies (Jordan & Denov, 2007) by reproducing the female sexual guilt. This is why the thesis could not see LTTE's culture and hierarchical structure as an area for the emancipation of women while it opens up more space for women's action.

One more step can be taken in the emancipation discussion by assuming that the LTTE led to the emancipation of women through their actions by letting them swim, climb, fight or run. However, when Sen's notion of adaptive preferences counted, only focusing on the actions one chooses to do cannot be regarded as emancipation. For Sen, depending on the position one occupies in society, the preferences of that person also evolve. In that sense, a woman living in an unjust society may feel emancipated if she moves less unjust one which allows her to do some actions she could not do before. However, because the preferences are shaped in the unjust environment, it could not be said that this person is truly emancipated and living in a gender-just society. Regarding relational equality, emancipation does not only derive from the freedom of action rather it needs the absence of the hierarchy and domination between women and men. This is why even though the LTTE female terrorists could do anything they wanted to do, they needed the mercy and acceptance of their leader cadres (which are mostly men) and fulfil the expectations of the group. In that hierarchical environment, the preferences of the women are shaped depending on the

hierarchy. This is why many women classified themselves as emancipated by comparing their lives in Tamil with the LTTE. However, both from the liberal and the relational egalitarian perspectives, women could not be classified as emancipated in the LTTE while their initial aim of participation in the LTTE was that.

4.2. Army of Roses ²(Palestinian Female Terrorists)

Israeli and Palestinian conflict goes back to the United Nations' adoption of Resolution 181 in 1947, according to the Partition Plan, the British Mandate of Palestine divided into Arab and Jewish states. Following the creation of Israel in 1948, the War of Independence erupted between Israel and its Arab neighbours. Following the war and Israel's victory, 750,000 Palestinians were expelled and the territory was divided into three parts: Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. However, the sovereignty problem in the region could not be solved by leading Palestinian uprisings (intifada). The Palestinians have aimed to devastate Israel by applying terrorist activities.

In the first (1987-93) and second Intifada (2000-present) (uprising), Palestinian women engaged in demonstrations, served as active members of the popular committees and contributed to the execution of the terrorist attacks. According to Tzoreff (2006) besides being active participants in the demonstrations, until 2002, women's participation in military conflict was mostly restricted to giving birth to sons who would fight with Israel. However, when it came to the second intifada, women's role in the national struggle evolved significantly. With the intensification of Palestinian resistance and the accompaniment of Israeli security procedures, the organizations realized the value of women for the sake of successful operations and changed their rhetoric about the recruitment of women in terrorism

² A reference to the book by Barbara Victor published in 2004 named *Army of Roses: Inside the World of Palestinian Suicide Bombers*

(Erez & Berko, 2008). Following the change in the rhetoric, one of the Palestinian female leaders honoured the female suicide bombers by stating that the Palestinian woman “is the mother of the martyr, sister of the martyr, daughter of the martyr – and now she is the martyr herself” (Hasso, 2005, p. 34). Following the changing rhetoric, women's involvement in terrorist actions increased starting from the 2000s. Starting from Wafa Idris, the first suicide bomber who killed one Israeli and injured more than a hundred people in Jerusalem, many other female suicide bombers emerged like Dareen Abu and Ayat Akhras. Increasing Palestinian women's participation in terrorism and their active roles in it opens up the question of what motivated women for terrorist involvement and whether the involvement of Palestinian women in terrorism brings up emancipation.

To bring up answers to these two questions first the Palestinian society and women's position in it should be investigated. Sharabi (1975) defines Palestinian society as a society depending on the tribalism and social homogeneity principles. Palestinian society's social order is similar to other collectivist societies which is hierarchical and fixed. The social scale is determined by age and sex; and individuals are expected to behave according to the directions given by the status (Barakat, 1985; Ahmed, 1992). Palestinian society is a patriarchal one in which males seize the higher position in the social hierarchy while women and children are placed on the lower tiers. So young women should obey older women and males of all ages (Sharabi, 1975). Because of the patriarchal structure of Arab society, Palestinians highlight the significance of preserving customs and traditions as the continuation of the hierarchy in societal relations (Barakat, 1985). As one of the remarkable characteristics, Palestinian society has the family as the central unit in many spheres of economic, social and religious life. In that sense, all women should behave in a particular way not to defame the family's reputation and honour which is especially connected with women's sexual activity (Al-Khayyat, 1990). This is why women's “chastity, modesty, and sexuality” hold significant

sensitivity in the Arab world with the Palestinian society (Berko & Erez, 2007a, p. 497). If a woman behaves inappropriately, she brings shame not only to herself but also to all her family and relatives. Due to the social restrictions of the patriarchal society, women are mostly segregated from the public spheres and confined to the domestic one with the predominant morality which underlines traditional ideals of femininity: being mothers and wives (Berko & Erez, 2007a). Survey results also confirm the conservative nature of the society. According to the World Value Survey conducted in 2013, the Palestinian people answered several questions including the ones about the importance of family and equality between women and men. 95% of participants stated that family is very important to them. Religion was also a crucial feature in people's lives, and 87% of people stated it was very important to them, followed by 9% who said rather important. Regarding the statement made about whether children suffer when women work, 80% of people agreed. When the question asked whether men are better political leaders than women, 79% of the participants agreed.

In that conservative society, as being confined to the domestic sphere and traditional gender roles, occupying a place in a terrorist organization, a male-dominated space, can be seen as a norm-breaking phenomenon. However, being a female terrorist drags the woman into a paradox. On the one hand, women are called to occupy active resistance roles; on the other hand, they are still expected to behave as a "woman" and in a feminine way as the traditional Palestinian society wants (Ali, 2006). So the women are expected to deliberate between their desire to take part in the national struggle of Palestine and the maintaining stress on preserving their Arab/Islamic feminine constructions (Berko & Erez, 2008).

Women's involvement in terrorism takes different forms and pathways. Some women explained their involvement in terrorism as a response to the losses of their relatives or friends who were killed by the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) (Berko & Erez, 2007a). In other cases,

involvement was seen as a kind of opportunity to dissolve a personal or family trouble, clean a stain, regain the reputation or obtain the respect of others (Berko & Erez, 2007a). Religion was also a crucial motive for women to participate in terrorism. Some women emphasized religious reasons as the fundamental motive for the terrorist actions. “Naima” was one of them. After 20 years of her terrorist act when she is asked about her motivation to participate in terrorism, she expressed that she wanted to free her birthplace with “blazing religious faith” (Schweitzer, 2008, p.10). Some others stated the desire to harm the Israeli forces as a consequence of nationalistic motives (Schweitzer, 2008).

Other interviewees mentioned the gender restrictions in Palestinian society that involvement in a terrorist organization ensured them an opportunity to have unsupervised romantic relationships with young men by bringing the excitement the Palestinian women are deprived of (Berko & Erez, 2007a). For example, one of the interviewees explained the opportunities terrorism opened for her: “I want to have peace; I want to be able to go wherever I want and do whatever I want.”(Berko & Erez, 2007b, p.155). Laster and Erez (2020) categorized young women terrorists’ involvement under the umbrella of “Rebellion” encompassing thrill-seeking and relief from boredom. Additionally, by being less common, deliberate defiance or disruption of gender norms also are reasons for young women’s terrorist participation (Laster & Erez, 2020). Some of the interviewees were young women who were searching for relief from boredom and looking for excitement (Laster & Erez, 2020). They were bored with the controlling atmosphere of the home and wanted to interact with men outside without the supervision of their families (Laster & Erez, 2020). This is why being in a terrorist group in which male counterparts prepare them for the mission was very “seductive” for them, especially regarding their hugely restrictive social environment (Erez & Laster, 2020). Training how to use guns by the guys and covertly travelling to the targeted sites were expressed by some Palestinian women as attractive characteristics of doing military

missions (Erez & Laster, 2020). Some of the women who were imprisoned after their terrorist actions commented on how freer they felt in prison. One of the interviewees said: “Here in prison I have more freedom than home; I can wear whatever I want. I listen to whatever music I like, as loudly as I want, and I speak on the phone with whoever I want.” (Erez & Laster, 2020 p. 451)

By participating in terrorism, women also feel pride and self-importance and believe that they did something important (Berko & Erez, 2008). The pride experience cannot be examined without a gendered context, the female status in Palestinian society led female terrorists to see their terrorist involvement as a much more special case (Berko & Erez, 2008). The perception of uniqueness relies on the differences between men and women in Palestinian society that women are mostly expected to be in the domestic sphere by taking care of children. However, female terrorists do not fall into these definitions and feel themselves different from other women in society. Women find themselves in a difficult situation in their involvement in terrorism: “A woman cannot go out as she pleases whereas a man can.” (Berko & Erez, 2008, p.92). So by doing something manly, the specific activities in terrorist operations allowed women to defy gender norms and enjoy social freedoms that Palestinian women typically cannot access without facing the consequences. In that sense, escaping from a gendered and hierarchical society and being able to do certain actions which were not allowed in the traditional Palestinian society – the pursuit of emancipation - seem as a crucial factor in the involvement of terrorism besides other factors.

4.2.1. Micro (Individual) Level of Emancipation

Then the second question comes whether these women can reach their aim of emancipation through terrorism. From a micro (individual) perspective, involvement in terrorism has consequences in terms of appearance and social interactions. Participation

requires women to adopt Western-looking clothes and behaviours to blend into the target population without creating suspicion (Berko & Erez, 2008). This is why terrorism granted them the freedom to wear revealing attire and interact with the other sex. One woman said:

When you participate in a mission you can take off the veil and wear pants. It is also allowed to travel alone with a guy and even a few guys because they are the ones who drive you to the target. The goal is obvious, to implement a suicide bombing operation, therefore there is no need to worry about the [issue of] woman's honour. (Berko & Erez, 2007b, p.154).

Not only the clothes they wore but also the actions they could do in terrorism brought new experiences to the female terrorists. In some cases, female terrorists had to spend one day out before an operation which was totally a new experience for many of them (Berko & Erez, 2008). Thus, accompanied by female combatants' desire for emancipation, involvement in terrorism opened up new spaces of action for women like going to operations, wearing unrevealing clothes, and spending time with other sex. The actions which were unimaginable for women in Palestinian society became the reality for those female terrorists.

Female terrorists also shared the ideas of equality between women and men. Some expressed their pride in taking actions which narrow the gender differences in their society. One of them said: "I see myself as a Palestinian woman fighting for my rights; equality between men and women is the thing I fight about the most." (Berko & Erez, 2007a, p. 501). Another one emphasized the environment the women in Palestine and said that everyone sees women as weak and ones who are incapable of doing certain things (Berko & Erez, 2007a). This is why every woman desires to be strong and take special actions herself. Another one explained: "Whatever a man can do, a woman can also do. [Women can do] things that are very special. For instance, they can raise children and work at the same time." (Berko & Erez, 2007a, p. 501) So by taking certain actions in terrorism, women find a space to see that women can accomplish things and show that they are not weaker than their male counterparts. They stated that one of the aims of their terrorist action was to bring equality between men

and women which could be interpreted as a feminist action. However, the question of whether it brings up emancipation and women empowerment is still an open question and needs more elaboration on the organizational structures and the roles of women within the organization.

4.2.2. Meso (Group) Level Emancipation

By having a very hierarchical and patriarchal nature, the Palestinian terrorist organizations were not open to use women terrorists in the beginning; however, the willingness for operational success trumped hierarchy (Cunningham, 2007, p. 117). In group (meso) level, considering the way they recruited and the roles they fulfilled in terrorism, Palestinian women had limited access to leadership roles. Even though some women were recruited as suicide bombers, the majority of the women served in supporting roles (Erez & Laster, 2020). For example, most of the women served by looking out, scouting or gathering intelligence for organizations (Erez & Laster, 2020). They took roles in the enabling functions of the organizations in material support provision like cooking or covering during the operations. Women also assisted in manufacturing explosives and recruited other women through their familial or social networks (Berko & Erez, 2007b; Erez & Berko, 2008). So women mostly have not taken decision making roles or been part in the plans rather supporting roles of men. Out of sixteen of the interviewees Berko and Erez (2008) talked to, half of them were suicide bombers. Some of the suicide bombers were forced to take part in specific missions (Berko & Erez, 2008) showing that women were not in control of the specific decisions in the organization even though the decisions were about their own lives.

Besides hierarchical structure and not having leadership positions within the organization, the decision to leave the organization is not very easy. Regardless of being recruited or volunteering for terrorist activity, it is not an easy decision to for women to return to their former lives because of having taken actions violating the cultural and moral codes of

the family (Berko & Erez, 2006). For instance, the clothing of terrorist women is seen as a kind of stain on the family. At the family level, turning to terrorism is seen as an unacceptable failure to meet the traditional requirements of womanhood like keeping a house, looking after children, taking care of a husband etc. One of the Islamic clerics shared the opinions of the families by stating that: “Such a woman was not properly brought up...Even if people say she is heroic, I wouldn’t let my son or brother marry such a woman.” (Berko & Erez, 2006, p. 10) Cleric is not the only one who thinks like that. One of the Palestinian leaders also explained the status of women among the public after a terrorist action as follows:

A woman who winds up in prison, regardless, of her status is inferior. She is not an ideal woman... I don’t think anyone would want to marry such a woman. She is not normative; she is deviant, atypical and crosses all the lines. In a macho society, she is a woman who has taken the direction of being a man, a woman who lost her femininity in a society ruled by men. (Erez & Laster, 2020, p. 459)

This is why women involved in terrorism find themselves in a difficult situation when they want to leave the organization if they change their minds afterwards. They were unable to find any help from their family because of their “deviant” actions from the fundamental roles expected from a woman. Involvement in terrorism could be seen as a door which has only one gate without exit. Considering the hierarchal structure of the Palestinian terrorist organizations, the difficulty to leave the organization opens up additional constraints on the free decision-making of female terrorists. For instance, even though a woman does not want to commit suicide action, she can be easily forced to do this because female terrorists socially shunned by making difficult to leave the organization when she wants.

Lastly, most of the female terrorists still share conservative patriarchal ideas which show that involving in a terrorist activity does not primarily change the traditional thinking of some female terrorists. It proposes an opposite argument to the scholars who equate terrorism participation with feminism. During the interviews, when female terrorists are asked about

their dreams, they mostly aspire to get married and start a new life at home with children (Berko & Erez, 2006), which can be categorized as a very traditional female life. One of the interviewees even said that she wants someone with muscles who is strong and rules her by not letting her rule him (Berko & Erez, 2006, p. 11). It is rare to find female terrorists who challenge the patriarchal gender norms that one of the interviewees told about the nature of men and women. For her, the normality of men is to rule the world because of better physical ability (Berko & Erez, 2007a). Another continued by saying that women are more sensitive than men and the religion says having a woman leader is not a good thing (Berko & Erez, 2007a). The lifestyles of women after terrorism are also a supporting point. When the actions after terrorist participation of women considered, they mostly returned to their old traditional lives. Some women were “born-again Muslims” during their sentences in prison (Erez & Laster, 2020, p. 453). They quit wearing their Western-looking clothes, wore traditional religious dresses, started to pray regularly and wanted to participate in religious study meetings (Erez & Laster, 2020). So they did not continue taking actions which could be seen norm-breaking rather they went in the opposite direction after terrorist participation.

4.2.3. Discussion

How could the interviews and the empirical evidence be interpreted regarding the debate of motives for terrorism participation and the consequences of women's terrorist involvement? Regarding the first question on the motives for the terrorist participation, as seen in the LTTE example, for Palestinian female terrorists, many reasons are discussed ranging from the loss of a family member to nationalist aims. It is hard to say and generalize which one was the primary goal of the female terrorists; however, the interviews with the women terrorists have shown that the boredom in the house and the traditional life were stated as reasons for some, especially young, women. The restrictions within the patriarchal

society were seen as obstacles and the excitement coming from the relative freedom in the terrorist organizations seduced women.

So as the greed theory argues for the movement participation, private gains were crucial in the decision-making of the women terrorists and only a few of them mentioned the national struggle as the primary goal as opposed to the expectations of the grievances theory. Religious faith, the loss of a family member and the pursuit of emancipation are all private motives mentioned in most of the interviews. On the other hand, as the thesis adopts, the non-material gain of emancipation is mentioned by many participants which is a kind of contribution to the greed theory. Whereas the pursuit of emancipation is the main reason which the thesis focuses on, other crucial reasons of family loss or religious faith are also non-material indicators which support the position of the thesis.

Considering the second question, in the case of the Palestinian terrorists, it opens up a debate on how to interpret the existing empirical evidence in terms of emancipation discussion. For example, Barbara Victor, in her book *Army of Roses* (2004) in which she gave references to the biographical stories of Palestinian female suicide bombers, sees suicide attacks as a kind of act that brings women empowerment. More specifically, for Victor, following the personal trauma which was a consequence of gender roles, female suicide bombers were displeased with those gender norms. Thus Victor states: “The idea of equality touches upon the very core of what they long for.” On the other side of the debate, according to the interviews they carried out, Berko and Erez (2006) argue the opposite of what Victor says and claim that the women who were involved in terrorism were neither progressive nor liberated. On the contrary, they were extremely conservative by being rigidly tight to the patriarchal norms and taking secondary and marginal roles within the terrorist organizations (Berko & Erez, 2006).

To take a side in the emancipation debate, what is understood from emancipation seems the most crucial aspect and the main gap in the debate. According to critical terrorism studies and Booth's definition, as long as the actions an actor wants to take are not prevented, the actor is emancipated. Whereas the thesis adopts the definition, it enlarges the definition by counting how the preferences and the desired actions are constructed by the society in which a person lives by referring to the adaptive preferences notion of Sen. In the traditional Palestinian society, women are confined to the domestic sphere and because of the communal lifestyle, the actions of women do not depend on themselves but on the obligations to the society. This is the reason why some women escape from the constraints of their family norms. In that sense, Palestinian society is an unjust society from the gender perspective where women are repressed under hierarchal rules. Thus the question is in what way women managed to break those unjust chains by participating in terrorism. At first sight, as it is discussed in the case of the LTTE, it should be accepted that women gained some kind of freedom in their actions that they can spend time with the other sex, wear Western kind of clothes, spend time out of their home and learn how to fight. Thus, a space of action which was not accessible in Palestinian society opened up for those female terrorists after their involvement. This is why some liberal thinkers argue that terrorism involvement brought emancipation. However, when the structural and organizational hierarchy within terrorism is counted, the answer is more complicated.

Most of the scholars who argue that women are emancipated in terrorist organizations mix the aim of involvement with the consequences of it. Participation in terrorism with an emancipation aim does not bring direct emancipation in the organization. Even though women who were participated in terrorism with a mission of emancipation, in those terrorist organizations, women did not take primary roles and were not in the decision-making bodies. Although the terrorist organizations' structures were different from the Palestinian society,

those terrorist organizations also have hierarchical structures which are dominated by men who occupy the top of the decision-making mechanisms. In that hierarchical environment, women fulfil the roles of caring, serving, and covering which would not be seen as emancipating from the gender lens. Moreover, because of the conservative perspectives of Palestinian families, leaving the organization is not an easy decision for those women by bringing more constraints on the freedom of action.

Whereas some women believe the equality between men and women by proposing gender equality as the main reason for their terrorist acts, it is crucial to underline how the preferences are shaped in different circumstances by revisiting Sen's adaptive preferences notion. Escaping from one hierarchical society to a different hierarchical one could be considered emancipation by subjects. However, the preferences also are adjusted to the society one lives. So the emancipation in both the LTTE and the Palestinian case could be classified as relative freedom but not a true emancipation. A gender-just society, as Anderson argues, needs non-domination and non-existence of any hierarchy between sexes. So even though some women aim to emancipate themselves through terrorism, by considering the empirical findings, the thesis argues that emancipation is not possible to reach by participating in gender-unjust organizations of Palestinian terrorism.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

By applying the case studies of Sri Lanka's Tamil Tigers and Palestinian women in terrorist groups, the thesis takes a different position from the earlier research in the discussion of emancipation. The study argues that those previous researchers who directly linked women's desire for emancipation to the outcome of emancipation, did so without a deep theoretical approach. To bring a new angle to the debate, two important questions were asked in the women and terrorism topic following the increasing roles and numbers of women in terrorism. The first one was considering the reasons for the terrorist involvement of women. The thesis applied the greed theory to come up with an answer by arguing that women did individualistic rational calculation in their involvement in terrorism rather than having communal goals. Besides many factors pointed out by other researchers like loss of family member, escaping from violence or religious/nationalistic reasons; the thesis focused on the non-material aim of emancipation.

Taking one step further, the second question asked about the consequences of the terrorist involvement of women in terms of emancipation. The logic was as the following, women have participated in terrorism with the aim of emancipation and escaping from their patriarchal societies; however, has terrorism brought them the emancipation they desired? For the scholars who support the argument of women emancipation through terrorism, the answer is yes. However, the thesis revisits the debate and challenges this argument. By counting both sides of the debate, the organizational structures of terrorist groups and the expressions of women, the thesis showed that terrorism has brought women a larger space of action and a relative freedom. However, this relative freedom was not classified as emancipation because of the hierarchal structures of the terrorist organizations lacking a gender-just environment and non-domination between sexes. The

study used Amartya Sen's notion of adaptive preferences to strengthen its position. Even though some women expressed their feelings of emancipation, their preferences were also shaped by the society they lived in. Thus, only applying to the expressions of female terrorists would be misleading to decide on emancipation by terrorism. Thus through positioning against the liberal scholars who saw the relative freedom of action as emancipation, the thesis differentiated itself from its antecedents.

The conclusions of the thesis also have limits. Firstly, the trajectory for participating in terrorism can be explained by multiple factors- material, non-material, individualistic or communal- and it is hard to assess whose relative influence is more crucial. That being said, the thesis avoided claiming that emancipation is the more influential factor than others and accepted the relative influence of other factors proposed by scholars earlier. However, it argued that emancipation is particularly influential among women coming from patriarchal societies, as shown through case studies.

Secondly, the thesis applied to the interviews conducted by scholars before for similar or different debates. It brought the limitation in terms of the scope of the questions asked to the female terrorists in the emancipation discussion. For example, in the process of writing the thesis, accessing questions about the organizational structure of the terrorist groups was hard; however, because of time and material constraints, it was not possible to conduct new interviews with a broader scope of questions.

Thirdly, the limited sample size of two case studies hindered the generalizability of the thesis findings. Most of the interviews applied for the analyses conducted their interviews with few women making it difficult to represent the entire population of female terrorists in the organizations. To strengthen the generalizability of the research, further studies could involve in-depth interviews with a larger number of terrorist women. Applying the theory of

the thesis to other terrorist groups which are known for recruiting women in large numbers, such as Chechen Black Widows or Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) will extend the empirical findings and generalizability of the research. These two terrorist organizations meet the criteria and the scope of the research by being organized within patriarchal societies and having a large number of female combatants.

Not only applying to the groups with nationalistic aims but also looking at the diversity between terrorist organizations may open up more space for discussion. Liyanage (1999) argued in the context of the LTTE that women in the LTTE primarily used to fulfil nationalistic aims by men for manly purposes. Parallel to Liyanage's argument, the thesis also showed that women could neither be emancipated nor find a gender-just environment through the men-led groups of terrorism. However, is it the case for all terrorist organizations or could one witness any variation between different terrorist groups depending on ideology or aim? What about the terrorist organizations with more leftist purposes or relatively new terrorist groups like eco-terrorism; can they bring emancipation to women? Or can one argue that terrorism as a strategy is a hierarchal and manly tactic that by terrorism is impossible to be emancipated? To answer the question by broadening the discussion, not only selecting terrorist groups with parallel strategies, aims and women roles but also focusing on terrorist groups recruiting women members with different aims, ideologies and coming from different waves (Anarchist, New Left, Religious, Nationalistic; see Rapoport, 2004) will shed light on the complex determinants influencing women emancipation through terrorism.

To see the variance in women's emancipation through different terrorist groups in terms of ideology, time and aims, focusing on different waves would be a good indicator. However, it brings up the problem of controlling other independent variables which may influence women's emancipation. For example, a woman's position in a

terrorist organization which originates from a society where gender equality is more prevalent would be different from the one that originated from a more patriarchic society. Thus, looking at one country which hosted different waves also will be fruitful in controlling other factors which can affect women's empowerment in terrorism. In case of selection, coming up with a country which has all different terrorist organizations would be beneficial for that purpose. In that sense, Turkey would be a good choice for the research by hosting a branch of ISIS (Hizbullah) (Religious organization), DHKP-C (Anarchist organization) and PKK (Nationalist organization). All these organizations have different aims and ideologies that by applying a comparative case study, it would create a ground for the question of which wave and type of ideology of terrorist organization are best for women emancipation. In doing so applying qualitative measures and in-depth interviews with terrorist women and men about the structure of the organization and women's role in the leader cadres will be the strategy.

Lastly, the thesis focused on the group dynamics and women's position in terrorist organizations; however, terrorism has broader effects than terrorists. Whereas the thesis discussed the emancipation from a micro (individual) and meso (group) level, the macro (society) level evaluation of women emancipation through terrorism has not much discussed. However, terrorism not only affects the terrorist participants but also the whole society psychologically which needs further intention. Thus, not only focusing on the individual and group level but also looking at the survey results about the change of values of society at the macro level following women terrorist depictions in the media will show how the society reflects on the women's new roles in terrorism.

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