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VEILED THREAT: EXPLORING THE MOTIVES OF HOMEGROWN WOMEN TERRORISTS IN THE WEST

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Veiled Threat: Exploring the Motives of Homegrown Women Terrorists in the West

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Veiled Threat: Exploring the Motives of Homegrown Women Terrorists in the West

“Women are becoming more lethal ... They can be difficult to detect ... as women step up their participation, terrorist-watchers need to keep pace. Terrorism’s “invisible women” need to be counted and countered not only by the U.S., but by all countries that harbor them.”

Karla Cunningham¹

Introduction

The threat of terrorism in Canada has been an increasing concern for Canadians, particularly since the 2001 terrorist attack in New York and Washington. It is a preoccupation that is shared by all Canadians and is a threat to national security. Paraphrased, the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs describes the terrorist threat to Canada in this way:

“Canada is not immune to terrorism. A number of international and domestic terrorist groups are present in Canada. Some are engaged in terrorist activity here, while others are active beyond Canada’s borders. In the past few decades, several hundred Canadian civilians have been killed or injured in terrorist attacks, from New York City to Bali to Mumbai. The global terrorist threat is becoming more diverse and complex. Canada’s approach to addressing these threats must be adaptable and forward-looking, so that we can react to emerging threats but also identify and understand emerging trends.”²

The phenomenon of Western homegrown women who turn to terrorism is a new and unexplored threat to Canadian national security and the safety of Canadians. It is a phenomenon which has not been addressed in the public domain, and about which few are conversant. Yet Canadians have witnessed terrorist activity within its borders, and the presence of potential or the demonstrated actions of women homegrown terrorists.

This is an issue with which Canadians need be concerned. This problem exists, and it impacts the safety and security of citizens. It is a matter that the public will want to be reassured that government, law, security, and intelligence professionals are abreast of and taking strident actions to mitigate.

At first glance, it seems completely illogical and abhorrent that anyone who was born in Canada, immigrated, or has residence in Canada would consider violent action and terrorism either in Canada or abroad given Canada’s tolerance and acceptance of other cultures, and its educational, social, and economic benefits.

Considerable work has been done by experts to understand the motivations of women terrorists however those have been focused on other non-Western populations. We have no expert or scholarly

¹ Karla Cunningham, “Terror’s invisible women’,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 4, 2012.
<http://articles.latimes.com/2012/apr/04/opinion/la-oe-cunningham-women-jihadists-20120404>

² *Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development Canada*, accessed August 19, 2013,
<http://www.international.gc.ca/crime/terrorism-terrorisme.aspx>

consideration, however, of the motivations of Western homegrown women who turn to terrorism in order that we may better understand and meet the threat effectively.

Though a large proportion of terrorists are men, there is a small but steady percentage of women that are similarly embracing the terrorist cause. This paper focuses on Western women who have been inspired by religious radical elements of militant Islam and have been motivated to support or enable terrorist activities. Those women were born, raised, or have residence in the West: effectively, homegrown terrorists. Moreover, they all have a religious element in common. They were born into Muslim families or have converted to Islam as adults. Experts who have studied women terrorists extensively have advanced persuasive motivation theories, however their studies focused on populations of non-Western women.

This paper seeks to understand whether those motivation theories developed to understand women terrorists from non-Western populations also apply to homegrown women terrorists from Western countries.

Media reports and scholarly articles have cited the involvement of women in terror groups internationally in recent decades. Terrorists have been involved in major terror groups touching many parts of the globe. Those include al-Qaeda and its affiliates, groups acting for Chechen independence, groups acting to end the occupations of Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Syria, and Sri Lanka. Terror groups preoccupied with Middle-East concerns – Hamas and Hezbollah – and al-Qaeda remain threats to international peace, stability, and security. Al-Qaeda in particular, remains a direct and dangerous threat to Western interests, both in Western countries and to their citizens abroad. While it is anathema that women are seeking, accepting, or being recruited to terrorist groups, it is becoming progressively more apparent that a small number of women in the West are joining the cause of terrorist groups; this will be demonstrated through discussion and analysis in this paper.

Western countries have suffered from homegrown acts of terrorism in the past decade, one infamous case being the 7/7 London bombings in 2005³. Four young men who were either British-born or raised in the country undertook a coordinated suicide attack on London's transportation system. The attack targeted morning rush-hour commuters, killing 52 and injuring more than 750 people. While there is debate about whether al-Qaeda was instrumental in the planning and execution of this act of terrorism, the suspects were thought to have had contact with members of the al-Qaeda network, and the opportunity existed to receive training from al-Qaeda operatives. It was also strongly believed that the suspects were motivated by the notion of martyrdom, and Islamic religious ideology.⁴

³ All four suspects were British residents and three were British-born. The remaining suspect moved to Britain while only a year old. *Mail on line*, February 4, 2011. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1353577/Britain-facing-wave-homegrown-suicide-bombers-warns-MI6.html>. "July 7 bombings," *BBC news*, accessed 28 August 2013, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/uk/05/london_blasts/investigation/html/introduction.stm

⁴ The discussion of contemporary terrorism inspired by al-Qaeda would not be complete without mention of the Madrid commuter train attacks of 2004. The perpetrators of this attack belonged to multiple different groups and organizations, but linked by ideology and had a possible loose affiliation with al-Qaeda. Debate has continued about whether this is a case of homegrown terrorism: convicted terrorists were comprised of Moroccan, Spanish, Syrian, Egyptian, and Algerian Muslims, the majority being Moroccan. Spain has a sizable population of Muslims of Moroccan descent. The blasts killed 191 people and wounded 1,841. This story is important and adds to the context of contemporary terrorism and the similar motivations for selecting Western targets. "Madrid train

To place the issue of homegrown terrorism in context closer to Canada, young adults in this country and the United States have attracted attention in the media for acts of terrorism that have been planned and executed in Western countries. “The Toronto 18” 2006 terrorist plot in Canada⁵ and the 2013 Boston Marathon attackers in the US⁶, are among the best known examples of young adults whose homes, lives, and communities were in the West, but they undertook terrorist activities linked to, or inspired by terrorist organizations.

Globally, women have made significant contributions and have advanced the cause of terrorist organizations. They have gained notoriety in the media spotlight. By appearance, culture, and habit, Western women fit into and have a comfort level in Western society. Recent scholarly literature has informed us about women’s engagement in terrorist activities in other global regions and has provided thoughtful analysis of their motivations.

Less information is available about Western homegrown women terrorists; what exists is limited to media reports. No scholarly literature exists about whether the theories of motivation towards terrorism developed that has been based on behaviours of other populations may similarly be applied to homegrown women terrorists from Western countries. Prominent authors have described terror organizations and women participants in Asia, the Middle East, and Eurasia; the women terrorists by and large are or were native to the countries in which the terror is taking or took place.

In Canada, the United States, and Britain collectively, there have been over a dozen instances of women who were born or resident in those countries, and have gone on to engage in terrorist activities either at home or abroad. Twelve cases were selected for examination in this paper. The specific cases selected were also chosen because they are among the most widely known in each country and the most fully reported in the media. Dominant credible Canadian, US, and British news outlets of each woman’s (or women’s) story (or stories) based on media reports is presented in this paper.

The case studies selected required the subjects to have been born in or to have been a permanent resident in one of the three countries selected. That is, subjects who were familiar with the culture, customs, and traditions of their country. Moreover, the subjects would have had the opportunity to benefit from the social, educational, and economic benefits and opportunities of their country, and have lived in an environment in which law, order, stability, and good governance are prevalent.

Two of the four cases cited from Canada are based on cases where no charges were laid, but remain significant to the chronicle of homegrown women terrorists and terrorist activity in Canada. One of those cases is the story of four women who were wives of members of the “Toronto 18” while the other is the story of two Toronto women who remain unnamed by the media and are thought to have been

attacks,” *BBC News*, accessed 28 August 2013,

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/guides/457000/457031/html/nn4page1.stm>

⁵ The Toronto 18 were a group of men intent on inflicting violence and harm at key Canadian locations. Their aim was to pressure the Canadian government to withdraw the military from Afghanistan. They were arrested in the early summer of 2006. “Toronto 18: Key events in the case,” *CBC News*, March 4, 2011, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto-18-key-events-in-the-case-1.715266#timeline>

⁶ Boston Marathon Bombers were identified as Tamerlan Tsarnaev, 26, and Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, 19, two young men who immigrated to the US in 2002. Trip Gabriel, “Bombing Suspects’ Immigration Story Adds Layer to Debate on Overhaul,” *The New York Times*, April 20, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/21/us/bombing-suspects-immigration-story-adds-layer-to-debate-on-overhaul.html>

lured to Somalia, possibly by elements of al-Shebaab. Of the remaining cases, one is the case of Amanda Korody who was arrested on Canada Day 2013 on allegations of terrorist activity. The other is a case involving a Montreal woman, whose name is Mouna Diab, still before the courts (at the time this paper was written), and where charges were upgraded in 2012 to include terrorism, for allegedly sending weapons to Hezbollah in Lebanon.

Of the four cases cited from the United States, three represent stories that Western readers may intuitively find the most perplexing: they are cases involving Western women who grew up in Anglo-American families, in unremarkable urban environments. They are accounts in which the American-born and raised women were introduced to, embraced, and eventually adopted extremist terrorist views. Those women are Nicole Lynn Mansfield, Colleen Larose (also known as “Jihad Jane”) and Jamie Paulin-Ramirez (dubbed “Jihad Jamie”). A fourth story represents a case in which two women, Hawo Hassan and Amina Ali, who had lived in the Northern US for a number of years and who were found to be fund-raising for al-Shebaab.

Britain provides us with four well-known cases each representing a slightly different aspect of characteristics and circumstances of homegrown female terrorists. One is a woman who was born into and grew up in an unexceptional White Anglo-Saxon Protestant family and community, and since 2005, has eluded authorities and is thought to be a driver behind terrorist activity in the Horn of Africa: Samantha Lewthwaite (also known as “The White Widow”). Another, Shasta Khan, had planned an attack in the midst of a Jewish community in Manchester. A third, Ayan Hadi, was charged with having knowledge of, but did not disclose or report to authorities her husband’s terrorist plans. The fourth British case, Roshonara Choudhry, was a self-radicalized young woman who attempted to assassinate a British Member of Parliament (MP).

The question arises about whether the theories of motivation of women terrorists of non-western populations also apply to women who were born or reside in the West and who engage in terrorist activities. That is, homegrown Western women. This is an important question because the potential for risk to national security is heightened if Western homegrown women who turn to terrorist acts are able to efficiently achieve success in their endeavours. This is not well understood, but will be valuable knowledge that could contribute to mitigating national security risks to Canada and her allies.

In order to delve more deeply on this topic, it is useful to define many of the terms that are used in this thesis.

In his 1993 article, Samuel P. Huntington explained that Western civilization is comprised of countries such as the United States, Canada, Western and Central Europe, Australia, and Oceania. Other dominant world civilizations include “Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin-American, and possibly African.”⁷ A civilization was further described as a cultural identity, defined by common elements such as language, history, religion, customs, as well as by self-identification. Samuel Huntington went on to observe that military interaction between the West and Islam has been ongoing for 1,300 years and predicted that it was unlikely to decline, but rather that it could become increasingly violent.

⁷ Samuel P. Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs*, (Summer 1993).

The Canadian Department of Public Safety informs us that terrorists are those who support, offer assistance to, or carry out violent and illegal acts in order to achieve an eventual goal of forcing an action by others, for example a government or an industry. Terrorism is an act undertaken for a political, religious or ideological purpose that is intended to intimidate the public with respect to its security, including its economic security, or to compel a person, government or organization from doing or refraining from doing any act, and that intentionally causes harm.⁸

The term “homegrown terrorist” is being used increasingly in the media to mean people who undertake terrorist acts and who were born, raised, or enjoyed residency in a Western country, and are intimately familiar and are at ease with the customs, traditions, and behaviours of the West. Homegrown terrorists may target their acts of violence within their own, sometimes other Western countries, or other areas of global conflict. In addition, homegrown terrorists are thought to have undergone radicalization in the West. Of particular interest to this paper is the relevance of the phenomenon of homegrown women terrorists to Canada and two of her closest allies, the United States and Britain.

Kaisa Hinkkainen astutely distinguished between different types of terrorism. Hinkkainen suggested that homegrown terrorism is a new phenomenon that is a different strain than the old domestic terrorist characteristics “due to [the] ideological character of political Islam, yet, differing from international (or transnational) terrorism in targeting patterns.”⁹ Little other literature, however, has been produced to address Western homegrown terrorism versus other terrorism in other regions.

This paper will explore motivation theories in a manner that has not been previously used in order to draw conclusions that lend a new perspective to women terrorists, and specifically homegrown women terrorists from Western countries.

Motivation is a personal force that compels an individual to action; that is to say, why a person does something. Motivation is what drives a person to begin and sustain a process that leads to an objective. Motivation describes *why* a person does what he or she does. Motivation is an important concept in this investigation because it provides the background and illuminates the reasons for the acts of terrorism that will be discussed. As the nature of terrorism has evolved, so too has the complexity and roles of women engaged in terrorist activity.

Chapter one of this paper will explain the background and historical overview to establish a context to the issue of women terrorists. The historical overview will briefly cover modern history since the late 19th century. This is necessary to understand that the phenomenon of women as terrorists has been present in small numbers over the years. From this basis, women’s roles in terrorism globally may be viewed in the greater context.

Chapter two will offer a literature review, covering current theories relevant to the motivations of women terrorists. The method and process of literature review of include identifying theories that have

⁸ Canada, *Department of Public Safety*, accessed August 19, 2013, <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/rslnrc-gnst-trrrsm/index-eng.aspx>

⁹ Kaisa Hinkkainen, “Homegrown Terrorism: The Known Unknown,” *Peace Economics, Peace Science, & Public Policy*, (August 1, 2013), <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=f0c512d7-a034-4b01-9186-f085ef24d441%40sessionmgr198&vid=8&hid=121>

been developed to describe women terrorists and their motivations. Prominent theories of motivation from respected experts will be considered and summarized.

Chapter three will provide specific cases collected from open sources in the media to carry out case studies. The cases cited were selected for their relevance in a Canadian context. These three countries have the greatest Western impact on Canadian culture and Canadian interests. Media reports and other open source information in the public domain have provided the basis of the current landscape of homegrown terrorism, and specifically how homegrown Western women are part of this phenomenon. Links will be drawn between each case and the theories of motivation described in the previous chapter, and analysis of the theories of motivations will be applied to each case study.

Chapter four provides meta-analysis in order to view the results more broadly from the theories developed, observe relevant relationships that emerge, and consider the cross-disciplinary theories against the case studies. Conclusions will be drawn to determine if those theories developed with other populations apply to Western women who turn to terrorism. Findings will be made regarding whether the theories developed can be applied to the case studies of Western homegrown women terrorists, and draw attention to the findings that are particularly significant.

Chapter five will offer policy implications, current strategies pursued by the Canadian federal government, and additional proposals for Canadian national security.

This paper deals with women terrorists and the links that exist to Islam. An important qualification to this discussion is offered here. There are over one and a half billion Muslims worldwide. It stands to reason that not all Muslims are terrorists or fundamental religious ideologists, and in fact most are seeking to live in a world where they may pursue peaceful and harmonious life goals. Globally, there are increasing numbers converting to Islam for a variety of reasons.¹⁰ The basic tenets of Islam, like other major world religions, encourage honourable behaviour and respect to others. This paper is not intended to disparage Islam or adherents to the faith.

¹⁰ The phenomenon of increasing numbers of citizens of Western countries converting to Islam has been observed in recent media items. This may change the dynamics of how Westerners see their national religious traditions as Islam gradually becomes an integral part of the Western cultural fabric rather than a religion brought from foreign global regions. "How many people convert to Islam?" *The Economist*, September 29, 2013, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2013/09/economist-explains-17>. Maïa de la Baume, "More in France are Turning to Islam, Challenging a Nation's Idea of Itself," *The New York Times*, February 3, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/04/world/europe/rise-of-islamic-converts-challenges-france.html>. Jerome Taylor and Sarah Morrison, "The Islamification of Britain: record numbers embrace Muslim faith," *The Independent*, January 4, 2011, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/the-islamification-of-britain-record-numbers-embrace-muslim-faith-2175178.html>

Chapter 1. Background

A review of the prominent roles women terrorists have played in recent years is useful to understanding where and how they have contributed to global insecurity and provides a context to this investigation of Western women homegrown terrorists. Weinberg and Eubank proposed that there have been four waves, or periods, of violence in modern history and in each of these waves of terrorism women have played a role.

The first wave of revolutionary anarchism began in the last decade of the 19th century and continued throughout the first decades of the 20th century. This wave occurred primarily in Russia but was also evidenced in Europe and the United States. It was manifested by several high profile assassinations in those countries. In 1918, Russian political revolutionary Fanny Yefimovna Kaplan almost succeeded in an attempt to assassinate Vladimir Lenin. Kaplan was considered a “lone wolf” and was executed shortly afterwards. Another woman of this period, Emma Goldman promoted the anarchist cause of the Russian Soviet Revolutionary Party in the United States in her numerous articles, books, and lectures on the subject.¹¹

A second wave of limited violence and terrorism took place at a time when many countries were seeking independence from their European colonial masters, or in the case of Israel, taking possession of territory whose ownership has been politically and religiously argued for millennia.¹² Weinberger and Eubank suggested that the terrorism during this period was not intense, and the participation of women was therefore less significant. Although few in numbers the women of note in this period included an Israeli woman whose clandestine radio broadcasts spread the message of a violent revolutionist organization in the 1940’s, as well as women who delivered bombs to locations in Algiers on behalf of the National Liberation Front (FLN).¹³

The third wave was dominated by the appeal of revolution. This began in the late 1960s at a time called ‘the age of terrorism’ by some: this included American involvement in the Vietnam War, the Six Day War, the emergence of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and violence manifested in Italy, West Germany, and Latin America. Women’s roles in Europe expanded from serving in operational capacities – such as skyjacking and carrying out attacks on business and governments – to taking leadership of groups.¹⁴ Other women acted in support of terror groups, and in particular their husbands or companions. Also at this time, a number of American women were active with the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), a terrorist group in the United States committed to bank robberies and acts of

¹¹ Leonard Weinberg and William Eubank, “Women’s Involvement in Terrorism,” *Gender Issues* 28, no 1-2 (June 2011), 25. It is worth noting that Emma Goldman also supported birth control, women’s rights, free love, and homosexual rights in the late 1800’s and early 1900’s. Goldman acted against the law by distributing literature about birth control. Startling and controversial in their day, one might consider how far these issues have advanced 100 years later.

¹² Weinberg and Eubank pointed to specific conflicts between Britain and Kenya, France and Algeria, and the struggle in Palestine.

¹³ Weinberg and Eubank, “Women’s Involvement in Terrorism,” 26.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

violence committed to seize media attention. Other than their leader, the members of this group were women.¹⁵

The fourth and current wave of new terrorism is based on religion and nationalism, which seeks attention on the world stage, has resulted in large numbers of fatalities. Areas of conflict over the past decades have arisen in Afghanistan, Iran, Sri Lanka, Chechnya, and Palestine/Israel. Western countries have not been immune to violence and terrorism in modern times; the most notable example being the troubles of Northern Ireland.¹⁶

Women have been a part of terror activities and organizations in modern times, and involved in a variety of terrorist organizations across the globe. Weinberg and Eubank provide a comprehensive analysis of the 12,800 terror events between 1968 and 2005 which were examined using a variety of variables. According to this analysis about 10% of the overall number of incidents involved either women, or women with men. Among these incidents, women were involved in armed attacks that included suicide bombings, non-suicide bombings, attacks, and kidnapping. Weinberg and Eubank moreover suggested that between 1985 and 2006, the proportion of women *suicide bombers* accounted for 15% of the total number of successful suicide bombings of those intercepted in the final stages before the attack.

Other authors suggest a different percentage of women have participated in violent acts, but in essence, the message remains the same: the proportion of women is far smaller than their male counterparts. For example, in the introduction to his 2006 monograph “Female Suicide Bombers: Dying for Equality?”, Yoram Schweitzer suggests that between 1985 and 2006, the proportion of women suicide bombers globally represents 15% of the total number of successful suicide bombings or those intercepted in the final stages before the attack.

Figure 1 depicts Yoram Schweitzer’s data on female suicide bombers by conflict area.¹⁷ This table provides a good indication of why Sri Lanka, Israel and the Palestinian territories, Russia, and Chechnya are of particular interest to experts studying the issue of women terrorists.

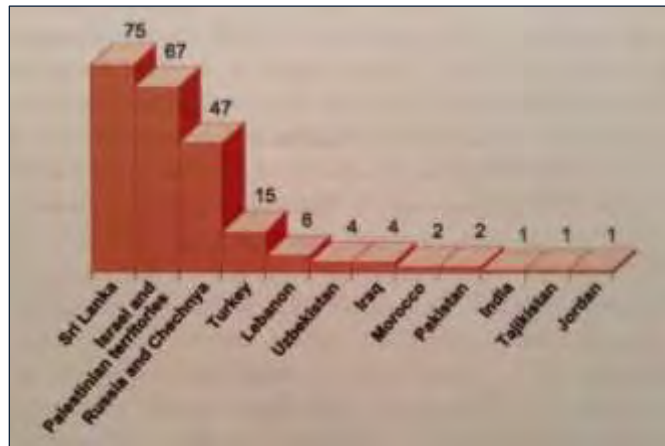


Figure 1: Female suicide bombers by targeted areas, 1985-2006.

In recent years, there have been several well-known examples of terrorist groups that have employed women not only in supportive roles, but also in active (enabling, combative, fighting, or violent) terrorist roles. Among the more significant groups are the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) groups formed as early as 1959, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) formed in 1976, al-Qaeda formed in the late 1980’s, and the Chechnya Black Widow bombers who were active as early as 1998. These

¹⁵ The SLA was the terror group that kidnapped and radicalized Patty Hearst, newspaper heiress. She was later assessed to have suffered from ‘Stockholm Syndrome’.

¹⁶ Weinberg and Eubank, “Women’s Involvement in Terrorism,” 34.

¹⁷ Yoram Schweitzer, "Female Suicide Bombers: Dying for Equality?" *Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies*, Tel Aviv University, (2006), 8.

groups are described in greater detail to provide a more detailed current context and a better picture of modern terrorism and the role women have played.

The groups that were formed under the umbrella of the PLO grew to represent the interests of the Palestinians expelled from their homes by the new state of Israel. Palestinian-Israeli conflicts have ranged from uneasy tension to bitter violence for much of the past forty-plus years. This struggle which for many years featured men acting in violent roles saw one of the first women suicide bombers, Wafa Idris, a twenty-eight year old divorced Red Crescent paramedic who discharged a twenty-two pound bomb in the center of Jerusalem in 2002. Another was Zainab Abu Salem who came from the Askar refugee camp near the West Bank city of Nablus. These are but two of the better-known examples which illustrate the conflicts and terrorist struggles that were underway. Even today, the Palestinian-Israeli difficulties continue. The reasons and motivations for this violence are numerous and complex. While some terrorists may be motivated by purely personal reasons, many – both men and women - are incited by politics or religion.

Previously known as Ceylon, Sri Lanka saw a civil war waged on its shores for twenty-six years, from 1983 to 2009. The LTTE was a separatist militant organization which sought an independent Tamil state known as Tamil Eelam. Women terrorists, known as “Birds of Paradise,” figured prominently among the LTTE, and gained international notoriety for participating in suicide bombings. Women are thought to have accounted for up to 40% of LTTE suicide activities. A well-known and often-cited example of an LTTE female suicide terrorist is “Dhanu”, a young woman who detonated explosives under her *salwar kameez* (traditional long tunic and loose-fitting trousers) killing then-Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India in 1991, as she took his hand and kneeled before him in the usual custom of respect.¹⁸ Author Arjuna Gunawardena argued that the recruitment of women was due to operational needs of the LTTE and the need to expand the potential pool of recruits to the cause. The LTTE was successful in attracting the participation of women by claiming that it was an opportunity for greater freedom from “economic, political, and social bondage.”¹⁹ The Sri Lankan military defeated the LTTE in 2009, bringing the war to an end.

The Chechen Black Widows were well-known female suicide terrorists, and were prominent during the First and Second Chechen Wars, 1994-1996, and 1999-2009. Conflict and violence arose as militant Chechen separatists sought independence from Russia. The Black Widows were female suicide bombers with Chechen separatists, many of whom had lost husbands in the Chechen wars. These widows had been convinced by the separatists that they had become burdens and that the loss of their husband was a punishment for their sins, leaving suicide bombing as their last resort for redemption. There were also claims that the women who became Chechen Black Widows had been brainwashed, coerced and drugged in order to become compliant and participants in terrorist activity. Since 2009, Russia has largely stabilized the area, although intermittent attacks have occurred sporadically, and these have been attributed to Chechen separatists.

Today, al-Qaeda terrorist threats continue to loom large internationally. Al-Qaeda was formed by Osama bin Laden in the late 1980's. It was formed at the defeat of the Soviet military which had

¹⁸ Mia Bloom, “Mother. Daughter. Sister. Bomber.” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, (November / December 2005), 54.

¹⁹ Arjuna Gunawardena, “Female Black Tigers: A different Breed of Cat?” *Female Suicide Bombers: Dying for Equality?* ed. Yoram Schweitzer (Jerusalem: Jaffee Centre for Strategic Studies, 2006), 83

invaded and occupied Afghanistan. In the late 1990s, bin Laden declared war, or “jihad,” against Americans, outraged that American forces were occupying the “Land of Two Holy Mosques,” i.e., Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia. Al-Qaeda seeks to establish a strict interpretation of Sharia law in historically Muslim countries such as Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and parts of North Africa. This organization alleges that Islam is surrounded by hostile neighbours, under attack, and thus they must use any means necessary to fend off those who would undermine their goal of a united community of believers. Al-Qaeda’s signature techniques include suicide bombings, car bombing, roadside bombing, and simultaneous attacks of various military and civilian targets. Al-Qaeda bombed embassies in the Horn of Africa, the USS Cole in Yemen, and eventually the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington. Al-Qaeda is broadly situated in a number of countries in Eurasia, South Asia, the Middle East, and Northern Africa, and is based in Afghanistan and Northern Pakistan. It has officially recognized six main areas of activity in Yemen, Somalia and Northern Kenya, Iraq, Syria, the Maghreb, and the Russian Caucasus. In addition, al-Qaeda has over a dozen affiliations globally.

The adjacent map at Figure 2 illustrates al-Qaeda’s “regional branches” and others areas where its affiliates are active.



Figure 2: Al-Qaeda around the world. Source: BBC News August 5, 2013

Al-Qaeda has been using women as active participants in terror activities and suicide bombings since approximately the mid-2000s. Weinberger and Eubank suggested that women are

latecomers to the path towards Islamist martyrdom and that they began to participate only after religious scholars overcame their initial objections to female involvement and came to welcome women’s participation to the cause of terrorism.²⁰ However, many others including Major Marne Suttan of the US Army have submitted that Islamic faith does not believe women should be involved in extremist activities. Major Suttan suggested that by employing women, the men are shamed into participating in these activities. That is, men will feel compelled to step up to the plate when they see women are performing the tasks that the “brothers” should be undertaking. Moreover, Major Suttan argued that quite simply, terrorist organizations are struggling with a shortage of ready, willing, and able men to support the cause.²¹

In her 2010 article, Houriya Ahmed observed that in 1996, Osama bin Laden suggested that women should be limited to support roles in al-Qaeda’s battle with the West and encouraged their men to continue the fight. Early in the 2000’s, though, this attitude shifted to accepting encouraging women

²⁰ Weinberg and Eubank, “Women’s Involvement in Terrorism,” 39.

²¹ Marne L. Suttan, “The Rising Importance of Women in Terrorism and the need to Reform Counterterrorism Strategy”, School of Advanced Military Studies paper, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 2009.

participants to “fight alongside the men.” By 2009, Umaymah Hasan – wife of Ayman al-Zawahiri²² – famously posted a letter on a forum openly calling on women to participate in the jihad with the West. She further exhorted women to encourage one another, and “not abstain from this religious obligation”, while at the same time reminding women that they were obliged to have a male guardian during combat activities.²³ Ahmed concluded that “the legitimization of female terrorism as an individual duty by militant [extremist] groups shows that they believe [the belligerents] are facing a growing existential threat from the West and ‘occupying’ powers.”

As suggested in an article from journalist Murad Batal al-Shishani of the BBC, the role of women and al-Qaeda remains a threat to Western countries today. Al-Shishani cites the first-known al-Qaeda suicide bomber in Iraq in 2005, whose actions strongly influenced the then Iraqi al-Qaeda leader Abu Musab al-Zarqawi to seriously consider a strengthened role for female suicide attackers.²⁴

A final word here on the modern history of terrorism as it applies to Canada. Terrorism is not the exclusive domain of countries far removed from Canada: terrorists have conceived and planned violent terrorist acts within Canada’s borders. Viewing the issue of women terrorists from a contemporary Canadian perspective, the RCMP offers the following insight:

“Historically, a great deal of ambiguity has surrounded the role of women in the overall Islamist extremist narrative. Portrayal of women as fighters in extremist propaganda is often intended less to encourage women than it is to shame Muslim men who remain on the sidelines of the struggle. Nevertheless, Islamist extremist groups seem increasingly willing to embrace and include women. Hamas, Hezbollah and a number of other organizations increasingly portray women as both fierce and articulate, belying Western stereotypes of Muslim women.”²⁵

Thus, terrorists have been active through modern history, and women have joined their ranks. The global locations and targets have varied, but the violence has consistently contributed to instability and fear among populations.

²² Ayman al-Zawahiri occupied a very senior leadership position in al-Qaeda, and become its new leader following the death of Osama bin Laden in 2011. “Al-Qaeda’s remaining leaders,” *BBC News*, August 6, 2012,

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-11489337>

²³ Houriya Ahmed, “The Growing Threat of Female Suicide Attacks in Western Countries,” *Combating Terrorism Center at West Point*, (July 3, 2010), <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-growing-threat-of-female-suicide-attacks-in-western-countries>

²⁴ Murad Batal al-Shishani, “Is the role of women in al-Qaeda increasing?” *BBC News*, October 7, 2010, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-11484672>

²⁵ Angus Smith, “Radicalization – A Guide for the Perplexed – June 2009,” *Royal Canadian Mounted Police*, June 2009, <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/pubs/nsoci-ecrsn/radical-eng.htm#i>

Chapter 2. Motivation theories

The previous chapter demonstrated how terrorism has been manifested over the last century and a half, and how women have fit into that narrative. However, the history of terrorism and the role women have played does not explain what motivates women to become inculcated and participants in terrorist causes.

A great deal of current literature is focused, for the most part, on male terrorists. As a result, there are fewer experts in the narrower field of study regarding women terrorists. The experts whose scholarly works bear relevance to the topic of this thesis will be reviewed in this chapter.

Theories of motivations of women terrorists were generally developed in the study of populations from non-Western global regions in conflict. The next chapters will examine how those motivations developed for other populations aligned with the accounts of Western women terrorists. It will be argued that while not all motivation theories apply to Western homegrown women terrorists, some similarities and parallels exist and it is useful to learn from these in developing Canadian national security policy.

To answer the research question about whether the theories of motivation of women terrorists of non-western populations also apply to women who were born or reside in the West and who engage in terrorist activities, three fundamental steps will be followed. First, relevant theories will be identified and explained, which will form the basis for later analysis. Then, significant cases in each of the three countries selected will be described. Those case studies are ones that had received prominence in respected national media outlets. The case studies will be individually examined against the motivation theories. Finally, meta-analysis will be conducted to offer a more comprehensive perspective of motivations, and demonstrate if some motivations are more or less significant when viewed aggregately.

Current literature has documented many of the issues relevant to women suicide bombers in the centers of activity where the occurrences of terrorism have been most frequent which was discussed in the previous chapter. Some authors have ventured to offer commentary on other terrorist support activities, however little study has been done to enumerate and provide scholarly analysis on women from countries in the West who have been found to be engaged in terrorist activities.

Since the attacks of Sept 2001 on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, terrorism that is directed at Western nations or has had its genesis in Western nations has gripped populations with apprehension and uncertainty. Given that a majority of Western nations have had little or no conflict on their home soil in generations, the notion that an act of terror at the scale of the 9/11 attacks was inconceivable before 2001. Populations in Western countries - and the US in particular - still live with the dark spectre of that day, and of subsequent large scale acts of global terror. Not only are citizens concerned about the threat of terrorism to their national security, but in recent years, homegrown terrorism has become an increasing concern. What has caught the public attention even more than homegrown terrorists, are the women who have joined terrorist organizations. Much as the phenomenon of women suicide bombers was so unexpected and counterintuitive to the cultural expectations of many, so too is the notion that the West can produce "hometown daughters" who have seemingly turned their backs on the same nations that have provided safety, security, and economic opportunity.

In recent years, there have been knowledgeable and respected experts who have contributed and added to our understanding of women involved with extremist terrorist organizations. They have surveyed the issue from many perspectives. A relevant selection of peer-reviewed literature published over the past decade is presented here.

Counterterrorism analyst Clara Beyler in her 2003 article "*Messengers of Death - Female Suicide Bombers*" proposed that it was difficult to arrive at generalizations about women terrorists because there were not enough cases to study (at the time) and the occurrences was too recent. This was published only two years following the events of 9/11. Through Beyler's article it became apparent that scant scholarly knowledge had been gathered at the time. In the intervening years more research has been conducted and knowledge has been developed such that scholarly discussion and debate is now possible. Framing future research, Beyler provided a relevant and insightful observation which points to the importance of considering the populations from which studies are drawn:

"When dealing with female suicide bombings, specifying the terrorist organization and background society becomes important. The reasons for women's participation in deadly attacks vary greatly from one country to another, according to the factor of the background societies. It is hard to generalize among all cases, for this phenomenon is too recent and the attacks too few. Either not enough research has been conducted yet on the phenomenon or the sample size is too small to make effective generalizations."²⁶

Five leading experts provided insights that could have links to Western homegrown women terrorists, and will be explored here. Their theories of motivation are classified in this paper as political, self-identity, psychosocial, sociological, and roles motivation theories.

Robert Pape's 2005 book *Dying to Win*, used information available from 1980 to 2003 in which he surveyed over 400 suicide attackers. He found that 15% were female, and were part of groups from Palestine, Lebanese Hezbollah, Tamil Tigers, Chechnya, or the PKK (the Kurdistan Workers' Party).²⁷ A fundamental deduction made by Pape as he introduced his subject was "what nearly all suicide terrorist attacks have in common is a specific secular and strategic goal to compel modern democracies to withdraw military forces from territory that the terrorists consider to be their homeland."²⁸ Essentially, one of Pape's fundamental conclusions was that terrorists are strongly propelled by political motivations. Thus, Pape provided a political motivation theory that addresses a sense of homeland.

In her 2009 journal article "What's Special about Female Suicide terrorism?" Lindsay O'Rourke proposed that there was no standard profile for female suicide terrorists, and in fact, she theorized that the motivations for men versus women were more similar than other experts suggested. O'Rourke stressed the importance of loyalty to their community as a primary motivator for both genders, and that "the differences reside in how terrorist organizations tie political motivation to certain personal experiences when recruiting female attackers."²⁹ O'Rourke concluded that group solidarity did not account for all female suicide attackers, a number of whom joined their terrorist organization only a short time before

²⁶ Clara Beyler, "Messengers of death – Female Suicide Bombers," *International Institute for Counter-Terrorism*, (February 2003), <http://www.ict.org.il/articles/tabid/66/articlsid/94/currentpage/20/default.aspx>

²⁷ Robert Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House), 2005, 211.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁹ Lindsay O'Rourke, "What's Special about Female Suicide terrorism?" *Security Studies* 18 no. 4 (2009): 681. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09636410903369084> .

they perpetrated attacks. Further, O'Rourke suggested that "one common individual motivator for female suicide attackers is to re-embrace societal norms about the gender behaviour of women from which those women are perceived to have (or feel they themselves have) deviated." To summarize, the societal norms appear to revolve around an intact married life, marital fidelity, absence of widowhood, absence of rape, and the presence of children (that is, a demonstration of fertility). O'Rourke stated she used a "database of all known female suicide terrorist attacks and compared it to information from a database of all suicide terror attacks between 1981 and 2008."³⁰ She then presented her findings by dividing the groups across five conflicts between 1981 and 2007: "Lebanese groups vs. Israel and the South Lebanon Army, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) vs. Turkey, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) vs. Sri Lanka, Chechen separatists vs. Russia, and the Palestinian groups vs. Israel."³¹ O'Rourke's research was based on contemporaneous conflicts in Eurasia and the Middle East that actively engaged in suicide bombing, and employed a significant number of women in those suicide bombings. This self-identity motivation theory surrounded an individual's self-perception vis-à-vis the community with which they most felt a sense of belonging.

In her 2011 book *Bombshell*, Mia Bloom examined female suicide bombers and their lethal effectiveness at delivering violence and terror. She explored the motivations of women who commit acts of terror including suicide bombing, and concluded that women are not acting at the whim of terror organizations that are dominated by men. Rather, women had their own motivations that are complicated and diverse. Bloom summarized her theory regarding the motivations of women who undertake these ultimate acts as the four R's plus 1: revenge, redemption, relationships, and respect. The fifth motive, rape, was separated because Bloom felt it was a motivation driven by revenge (the first "R") and hopelessness. Bloom proposed that revenging the killing of a close family member was the most-often cited reason that drove women to terrorism. This is most applicable to the Black Widows of Chechnya, and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The second "R", redemption by way of violent acts, was offered for past sins such as illicit relationships. Bloom suggested that recruiters themselves may have in fact have seduced these women. Redemption via terrorist acts was presented as an option for women who have been caught up in "willful and scandalous" intimate circumstances, and who sought to redeem themselves. In this scenario, a woman's martyrdom would "cleanse" her sins and transform the family dishonour into a source of pride. The third "R", relationships with known insurgents or jihadi, was proposed as a reliable single predictor that a woman would engage in terrorist violence. Relationships were bonds with family and kin, and could include a marriage link into a network or organization. In some cultures men still regulate a woman's activities and could enable those men to force women towards participation terrorist activities. Respect of the community, the fourth "R", often in combination with other motives, provided further impetus to adopt a terrorist cause. Women were encouraged to demonstrate dedication to their community, and indeed as high a commitment to the terrorist goals as men. This motivation can be ascribed to men equally, although men also have other means to gain status and respect of those around them, such as professional accomplishment. The final motivation described by Bloom was rape. She explained that "there has been an increase in the sexual exploitation of women in conflicts world-wide. This is especially evident in Iraq and Chechnya, where rape has been used to coerce women to participate in combat. Rape as a source of motivation bears some similarity to redemption. However, while women who have done something of their own free will of which they are ashamed might seek redemption, women who have been raped are essentially

³⁰ Ibid., 686.

³¹ Ibid., 687.

involuntary recruits.”³² The conflicts from which Bloom drew her information and examples were the areas in which violence and terror were most predominant: Chechnya, Sri Lanka, and the Middle East. Bloom’s theory allowed her readers to consider that there are varied personal motivations for women to consider undertaking such a drastic act. Bloom neatly arrives at a psychosocial motivation theory that brings together closely-related drivers.

Nine years after Beyler published her article, Karen Jacques and Paul Taylor examined the available data on over 450 terrorists, almost half of which were female, in their 2012 paper “*Myths and Realities of Female-Perpetrated Terrorism*”. That information was exhaustively gleaned from a variety of electronically available scholarly and credible sources, either in English or translated from other languages. Jacques and Taylor measured that information against the following variables: vulnerable demographics (age, education, employment), and social isolation (marital status, immigration status, religious conversion). Their findings are persuasive, and challenge previously held stereotypes. Jacques and Taylor found that female terrorists were generally well-educated and possibly slightly better educated than male terrorists, less likely to be employed, more likely to be widowed or divorced, less likely to be immigrants, and less likely to be religious converts. They found many similarities between terrorists of both genders: they were likely to be between 18 and 35, and tended to be almost exclusively without previous criminal involvement. Most of the terrorist groups that were examined were from Eurasia, Asia, and the Middle East. Western regions examined included Europe (the Baader-Meinhof gang), Ireland (IRA), and Latin America (PLA, FARC).³³ Jacques and Taylor provide excellent research that well describes a sound sociological motivation theory.

In her r 2012 Op-Ed piece, Karla Cunningham suggested that in the past, “women seldom went beyond such activities as gun-running, harboring fugitives, fund-raising and intelligence — activities that oiled the terrorist machine and enabled it to operate smoothly but kept women at a remove from violence. Now many [women] are no longer content to sit on the sidelines.”³⁴ Cunningham’s comments are useful in deducing what other roles women have played and do play to advance terrorist causes. Cunningham observed that “part of the reason male jihadists have accepted more female participation is that terrorist organizations have lost many men through counter-terrorism. As women have volunteered to become suicide bombers, they proved to be highly successful in hiding their bombs — and their intent to use them — under [loose fitting] religious clothing. They raise fewer suspicions, and male jihadists appreciate that women can take advantage of the lack of female security personnel and gender-biased enforcement to get closer to their targets.”³⁵ In this piece, Cunningham neatly defines role motivation theory and the progress from support roles to a more recent active attack role in their participation to advance terrorist goals.

These motivation theories: political, self-identity, psychosocial, sociological, and roles provide the foundation on which the case studies will be reviewed examined.

³² Mia Bloom. *Bombshell: the Many Faces of Women Terrorists* (Toronto, Penguin books, 2011), 236.

³³ Karen Jacques and Paul Taylor, “Myths and Realities of Female-Perpetrated Terrorism”, *American Psychological Association* (2012), 4.

³⁴ Cunningham, “Terror’s invisible women”

³⁵ Ibid.

Chapter 3. Case Studies and links to motivation theories

The previous chapter introduced the theories developed by prominent experts in the field of women terrorists. This chapter will provide the case studies and describe the details that form the basis of this thesis. Moreover, motivation theories described earlier will be attributed and explained for each case study.

The case studies selected for study were instances reported in open sources found in major national daily newspapers. They focus on women who were born and/or are resident in Canada, the United States, or Britain. The total number of cases studied in this paper is twelve, although the number of individual women is seventeen. These cases are described here to better understand the degree to which women turn to the cause of terrorism in these three countries and the importance of the phenomenon to national security. Links will also be drawn between each case and highlight relevant motivation theories.

Of the cases studies selected that took place in Canada, two cases involve women who have been arrested in recent years on terrorism-related charges. Two other cases were selected in which the women were not arrested or charged with terror-related offences, however the cases are highly relevant and align with the arguments and analysis that follow.

The most recent Canadian case is that of Amanda Korody, who is accused of conspiring to carry out a terrorist attack with a pressure cooker explosive in 2013. The pressure cooker explosive was to be detonated in a populated area during Canada Day celebrations in Victoria, British Columbia, with the intent to cause injury or death to members of the public participating in celebrations. Korody raised by a respected family in St. Catherine's Ontario. She moved to Surrey, British Columbia in 2002. She and her male accomplice had no apparent connections with a terrorist organization, and could be thought of as lone wolf participants in an alleged act of terrorism. Among the possible motivations that the media reported on, Korody and her partner were thought to be concerned about Canadian military participation in Afghanistan. In converting to Islam and its practices, and by adopting very conservative dress and head covering, it is possible that Korody sought to demonstrate by her behaviour, loyalty to her new religious community and an alignment to the gender norms of that community. Korody's relationship to her partner, John Nuttall, was clearly an influencing factor to this case. Korody was educated at least to the secondary level, was not employed, and relied on social benefits. She was in an emotional relationship with her co-conspirator. Her role in the legal charges was as an active co-conspirator. While not all details have yet emerged in the media, it is likely that the issues involved in Korody's circumstances are complex, and it is possible that as more information becomes publicly available, some of the finer points of this analysis may be refined.

In 2011, two unnamed young women from Toronto abruptly and unexpectedly disappeared from their homes, and were heard from only weeks later in an e-mail to their families; the email indicated they had travelled to Somalia. The two women were both Canadians of Somali descent. This abandonment of family for Somalia shook the Toronto-Somali community and strengthened fears that al-Shebaab had enticed these young women to their terrorist cause. No further information regarding the subsequent whereabouts of these two young women were reported. Nor has follow up media investigation provided information regarding whether their families were able to maintain contact, what activities the two young women were engaged in once in Somalia, and whether the women had hopes or intentions of returning to Canada. Since there were no allegations of criminal activity, no charges against these two young women have been laid. However, the possible link to al-Shebaab is too strong to ignore. Our

understanding of their motivations relies on informed inference. The young women may have felt a need to travel to the country of their kin where one of the women in fact had family connections to the wife of the then-Prime Minister of Somalia. Given that it was strongly suspected they were radicalized online, they may have possibly travelled to give aid to the cause of al-Shebaab. This organization is known to oppose Western influences and is engaged in jihad against the West and foreign occupation.³⁶ While the women had been normal and typical youngsters and teenagers in Western dress and behaviour, they were observed to have become much more modest in their clothing choices in the months before their disappearance, a manifestation of a strengthened alignment to the gender expectations of conservative Islamic practices. It would be reasonable to infer that online radicalization may have been a vehicle for creating meaningful relationships and personal bonds and gaining the respect of al-Shebaab operatives, who provided encouragement (if not the means) to furtively travel to Somalia, although this is entirely speculative. The two young women were university students, unmarried, not immigrants, and born to their Islamic faith, although they appeared to have become more devout sometime prior to their departure from their families' homes. Information available in the public domain ends at this point. It is not known if they are indeed involved in terrorism, and if they are, whether their roles are to support or to be active in attacks.

Another recent Canadian case is of Mouna Diab, arrested in Montreal for smuggling weapons parts in 2011. Charges were later upgraded to terrorism. Although neither the French- nor English-language press provides extensive details about this case, it is clear that Diab was a central figure in shipping arms or components from Montreal to Libya. Diab is resident in Canada, although her country of birth and her citizenship is not information that is available. Although it is not known if Diab was motivated by national sympathies to Lebanon, the RCMP provided a statement that she was acting in support of Hezbollah, a terrorist group which continues its struggles against Israel and Western targets. If allegations are correct that Diab was indeed sending weapons to agents of Hezbollah, it would be reasonable to draw a substantial link to a possible motivation to support the effort to compel the withdrawal of other nations from Lebanon. Media reports reflect Diab's previous activism in the Montreal area aimed at changing stereotypes that associate Muslims with terrorism and violence, pointing to a loyalty to the Muslim community. It is unknown if Diab had significant relationships with members of Hezbollah or supporters, but it could be inferred this was the case given there had to have been recipients which she would have maintained close communication with in order to receive weapons shipments. Little other information is known about Diab, including her level of education, her status of employment, her marital status, whether she was native born to Canada or an immigrant, and whether she was born into Islam or a convert. However, from available information, it can be inferred that Diab's role was to support and provide assistance towards Hezbollah objectives.

The final case from Canada involves four women who have not been charged with terrorism-related activities, although their on-line activities are similar to other case studies in this paper. Mariya Fahim, Nada Farooq, and Rana Farooq are three young Mississauga women who were close friends and wives of members of the Toronto 18 arrested in 2006, and who were drawn to one another by their strict interpretation of Islam. A fourth Mississauga woman, Cheryfa Jamal, also a wife of a Toronto 18 member and somewhat older, was also a part of the group and equally dedicated to their shared ideological and political beliefs, and conservative social behaviours. Jamal is the only woman of this group born to a Western family from Cape Breton; she adopted Islam later in life. This group of women

³⁶ Daniel E. Agbioa, "Al-Shabab, the global jihad, and terrorism without borders," *Aljazeera*, 24 September, 2013, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/09/al-shabab-global-jihad-terroris-201392484238627603.html>

came to the attention of journalists as a result of their extreme religious and ideological views, jihad, and their dislike of Canada which were frequently evidenced via posted online blogs. All four women, and Nada Farooq in particular, praised and encouraged violent jihad in language driven with contempt. Media reports suggested that the women were highly supportive of the Afghanistan Taliban and repeated hateful invectives for nations whose militaries occupy countries in which Islam is a dominant religion. It was also implied by the media that at least three of the women grew up in less restrictive families and chose to adopt a stricter manner of dress, behaviour, and habits of modesty pointing to their demonstration of loyalty to the Muslim community. That, and the adoption of the gender norms of their immediate circle implied a need to gain acceptance and respect. All four women were engaged in relationships with like-minded husbands. Of the information provided in the media, the women appeared to have at least a secondary school education, but no indication of any interest in continuing toward post-secondary education at the time; they were not employed, they were married, and two or three of them had immigrated to Canada. Jamal who is Canadian-born, was the single convert to Islam. The Farooq sisters were not brought up in a strictly religious home, and appeared to have adopted a stricter and religiously observant lifestyle. While they supported and inspired their husbands towards a path of violence, and provided encouragement to one other as well, there is no evidence they participated in, or planned violent acts themselves.

The four cases from the United States involve women who were charged with terrorism-related offences. Two of the cases are in fact linked, however they are dealt with separately in this paper as they were in legal and court proceedings.

Michigan-born Nicole Lynn Mansfield was not charged with an offence, but was killed in Syria in 2013 while actively fighting with rebel forces in that country. She was a convert to Islam and was thought to have been radicalized by her husband. Media reports suggest that Mansfield had sympathies with the Syrian rebels and sought to help the Syrian people, although little is known about how she developed those leanings to the extent that she was willing to become actively engaged in a theatre of war and violence. The manner in which Mansfield adopted conservative Islamic dress suggests she embraced gender norms, and her willingness to put herself at risk to life and limb indicates a loyalty to her adopted community. Media reports infer that her relationship was a significant motivating factor. Of the sociological factors that might be present, it can only be said that Mansfield was US-born, likely still in a marriage, and a religious convert; there were no indications of what level of education she may have obtained, and whether she was employed.

Known by her online moniker “Jihad Jane,” Colleen LaRose was arrested in 2010 and later found guilty of plotting to murder Swedish cartoonist Lars Vilks, who drew an image considered exceptionally distasteful and sinful to adherents of Islam. Media accounts of Larose’s story do not appear strongly linked to compelling foreign militaries to withdraw from “Muslim soil”, but rather to gain retribution for defiling the honour of Islam. Nevertheless, other media accounts suggest she was also moved by online accounts, images, and videos of violence against Muslims. Larose’s willingness to participate in a plot to murder, suggested a strong loyalty to her adopted Muslim community. Her espousal of a conservative appearance indicated an outward manifestation of her interest in embracing the gender norms of Muslim society. Media reports implied a deeply troubling childhood and home life; however it is unclear what influence that might have had in LaRose’s enticement towards terrorism as an adult. Larose’s relationships with a Muslim man and then a Muslim mentor provided ample opportunity for conversion and radicalization. Little is known about LaRose’s level of education or her employment history. However, she had been in more than one marriage, was US-born, and was a religious convert. LaRose was alleged to have raised funds for terrorism, and her role in plotting a murder indicates she performed support roles and seriously contemplated assassination.

In a related case, US-born Jamie Paulin-Ramirez, known as “Jihad Jamie,” was charged in 2010 and later convicted for plotting the murder of the same Swedish artist as Colleen LaRose. It is thought that LaRose may have recruited Paulin-Ramirez, and it is evident that the two women were associated. Little is reported in the media, though, about Paulin-Ramirez’s motives for participating in a plot to murder. Only by association could it be inferred that Paulin-Ramirez was possibly moved by violence against Muslims as LaRose was. That Paulin-Ramirez converted to Islam and travelled to Ireland to marry and support jihadist leader, Ali Charaf Damache (known as the Black Flag), whom she had only previously known online indicates a loyalty to the community of which she had become a part. She was also known to wear head coverings following her conversion. Little is provided by the media of Paulin-Ramirez’s background that would point to psycho-social motivations other than her relationship to her husband in Ireland. It was reported that Paulin-Ramirez was a 31 year-old nursing student, indicating a desire towards higher education and greater employability to create a better life prior to becoming involved with an extremist organization. Little is known about Paulin-Ramirez’s previous relationships other than the fact she had a young son. Like LaRose, Paulin-Ramirez participated in a support role and was contemplating and preparing to complete an assassination.

From Rochester, Minnesota, US citizens of Somali descent Hawo Hassan and Amina Ali were arrested in 2010 for raising funds that would be sent to support the activities of al-Shebaab in Somalia. Little has been reported about these women, although some reasonable inferences may be drawn. Given that the funds raised were destined for use by al-Shebaab, it is likely that these women were supportive of the efforts of al-Shebaab³⁷. Their actions also imply a loyalty to their community. Although there are few hints about their psycho-social motivations, it could be inferred that there must have been established relationships for the pair to be able to send solicited funds to a destination in Somalia. Hassan and Ali were immigrants and became citizens in the US, and they were likely born into their faith, however little other sociological information was reported in the media. Their activities, limited to fundraising, indicate a support role only.

The final four cases are from Britain, and provide an array of circumstances and terrorist acts. Although discreet and unconnected, the case studies provide a more complete picture of Western women and their draw to terrorist activities.

Having gained notoriety through intense media speculation about her possible (but not proven) involvement in the Nairobi Westgate Mall tragedy in September 2013, Samantha Lewthwaite dubbed “the White Widow” by the media, became a more recognizable figure in the domain of women terrorists on the global stage. Born in Northern Ireland and raised in England, Lewthwaite converted to Islam as a teenager, reportedly because she saw greater support and family stability with Islam than in her own family experience. She was known or speculated in the media to have had two to three significant relationships with terrorists, and has been linked to a variety of terrorist activities focused mainly in Northeast Africa. It is difficult to attribute political motivations to Lewthwaite: it is not known if she had sympathies to the cause of compelling foreign militaries to withdraw from Muslim soil, and the media provides no clues in this regard. From media photos and reports, however, it is clear that Lewthwaite embraced head coverings, and a conservative manner of dress, and her actions provide evidence that she sought to conform to the gender and cultural expectations of Islam. Of her psychosocial motivations, there are no family or background triggers that suggest exceptional circumstances; however Lewthwaite’s relationships have had a palpable impact on her life choices and actions. Of the

³⁷ One of Al-Shebaab’s main objectives is to fight non-Muslim influences and presence in Somalia.

possible sociological motivations, Lewthwaite was at least educated to the secondary level, not employed for long periods, and was widowed at least once. She moved from her home country to ones with which she had sympathies, and is a religious convert to Islam. There is strong indication Lewthwaite played supportive roles in terrorist acts however evidence of active participation in acts of violence is not yet conclusive.

Shasta Khan, a British-born woman together with her husband, planned to detonate explosive devices in a Jewish-populated area in Prestwich, Manchester, England in 2011. Khan and her husband were self-radicalized online, and were able to build homemade di-it-yourself bombs by accessing instructions via the internet and using common commercially available products. Media reports were unambiguous in pointing to Jews as the target of Khan's activities, although there was no suggestion in the media that there were political motivations or a desire to compel Israelis to withdraw from territory held by Muslims. Rather, Khan was motivated by strongly anti-Semitic beliefs. Similarly, there was no hint in media reports regarding Khan's connection to her community or network; as a result, no inferences may be drawn regarding her loyalty to her community. One media report suggested Kahn adopted an Islamic style of dress, although that detail appeared more directly linked by the media to the self-radicalization process, rather than a desire to align with gender norms. Of the possible psycho-social motivations, only her relationship with her husband can be truly attributed to Khan. From a sociological perspective, Kahn's level of education was not disclosed in the media. Kahn had a trade as a hairdresser although her employment status at the time was not commented on in the media, she was twice divorced and remarried a third time, not an immigrant, and likely not a convert to Islam. Finally, Kahn apparently supported all the activities related to the act of terror she and her husband planned, although her level of active engagement in committing an act of violence is uncertain.

Ayan Hadi of West London was found guilty of neglecting to notify authorities in Britain when she had knowledge that her husband, a white Muslim convert, planned to travel to Pakistan for terrorist training and possible "martyrdom" in a later act of terrorism in 2011. As with the two previous case studies, no indication in the media was provided to indicate if there was a possible political motivation that could be attributed to Hadi. Neither did the news media provide suggestions regarding Hadi's community or loyalties. She was pictured wearing full covering Islamic dress, although it was not reported whether Hadi had always worn this style of dress or if this was a recently adopted habit as a result of a desire to demonstrate greater leaning towards behaviour in keeping with gender expectations. The media provided no information about Hadi's background, other than her strong relationship with her husband. Of the possible sociological motivations, it is possible that Hadi was not an immigrant and not a religious convert. Kahn's level of education and employment status are not revealed. Hadi's offence is limited to having knowledge of her husband's plans, and not divulging those plans to police.

British-born Roshonara Choudhry attempted to assassinate a British Member of Parliament in 2010 in an act of revenge for the latter's vote in favour of the Iraq war. Prior to that time, Choudhry grew up the eldest of five children, was in her final year of university, and was reputed to be an excellent student. The media provided no further information other than to indicate Choudhry was entirely self-radicalized online. Her friends and family suggest Choudhry was persuaded by the online sermons of an Islamic cleric that were found downloaded on her computer. The nature of Choudhry's action and her target leave no doubt this was a politically motivated deed in order to protest British involvement in Iraq. While the media stated that Choudhry had no known ties or affiliation to Islamist groups or attended meetings, her family and friends felt she was directly influenced to act on the teachings of the Islamic cleric whose sermons she downloaded. This influence, although not in person, might have been strong enough to consider asserting that a bond of loyalty may have been created between the cleric and Choudhry. The media did not provide sufficient clues about Choudhry to conclude that she also sought

to embrace or re-embrace the gender norms of her community; it is known that while in prison, she does not accept visitors because she would be required to submit to an immodest strip search. It was not reported if Choudhry demonstrated this modesty in earlier years, or only since becoming radicalized. Of the possible psycho-social motivations, no information was offered in the press and thus no conclusion may be drawn other than that she had come to strongly share the beliefs of the sermons of an Islamic cleric. Choudhry's sociological background was not provided by media. Choudhry was clearly educated, and close to obtaining a degree, and although there is no employment information, it appears she had aspirations of becoming a teacher. She was not married, not an immigrant, and likely not a religious convert. Her role in the assassination attempt was as a lone attacker.

In very recent years, we have witnessed terror plots that were not planned, conceived and carried out by foreigners from other countries, but by individuals living in the same countries in which they would commit their acts of terror. They have been dubbed "homegrown terrorists". Paraphrasing a definition from Michael Rozeff in the *Global Research* news, we may consider "homegrown terrorism" as the use or threatened use of violence by a group or individual born, raised, or based and operating in the country in which the act of terror is planned or committed, and directed at the nation's government or civilian population.³⁸

Homegrown terrorists are also thought to be inspired by international terror organizations, although they may act as lone wolves. They are also thought to be a part of, or have at one point joined, a larger group whose beliefs they share or have come to share: that is, they have become radicalized. Since the attack on the World Trade Center in New York in 2011, the term homegrown terrorism has come to be closely associated with terrorism carried out by Western-born individuals or who have resided for some time in the country in which they carry out their terrorist activities.

The Department of Public Safety provides further comments about homegrown terrorists:

"While al Qaida affiliates may pose a threat of terrorist attacks from abroad, violent 'homegrown' extremists are posing a threat of violence within Canada. Homegrown extremists are those individuals who have become radicalized by extremist ideology and who support the use of violence against their countries of residence, and sometimes birth, in order to further their goals. A number of individual extremists from Western countries have attempted terrorist attacks, inspired by, but not directly connected to extremists abroad. Like Canada, many countries have identified the challenges posed by homegrown extremism. In particular, the increased availability of Internet propaganda and sophisticated networking tools connect extremists with supporters around the world. Extremist leaders have sought to encourage homegrown extremism by using English-language material, reaching out to vulnerable individuals in Western countries and encouraging "do-it-yourself" terrorism"³⁹

Indeed, homegrown terrorism has become a credible threat to national security in Western countries and is a deep concern to Western intelligence agencies and leaders. Canadian Security Intelligence Service Director Richard Fadden appeared before a Senate Standing Committee on National Security and Defence hearing in early 2013, reporting that:

³⁸ Michael Rozeff, "Homegrown Terrorism and Terrorism by Association," *Global Research News*, (October 2012), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/homegrown-terrorism-and-terrorism-by-association/5309035>

³⁹ Canada, *Department of Public Safety*, accessed August 19, 2013, <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/rslnlc-gnst-trrrsm/index-eng.aspx>

“Five years ago we weren’t as worried about domestic terrorism as we are now ... Dispersed al-Qaeda-affiliated terrorists have set up shop in many grimmer countries, where they call for recruits from the West. In every single case there are Canadians who have joined them. CSIS, which does the vast majority of its spying within Canada, is following a number of cases where they think people might be inclined to acts of terrorism”⁴⁰

Similarly, former CIA Director Michael Hayden, two years earlier, had expressed grave concerns about the danger of domestic (homegrown) terrorism, saying that it would be “much more difficult to defend against those kinds of attacks.”⁴¹ In the same vein, former head of counter-terrorism in MI5 recently acknowledged that it is enormously difficult to detect and stop homegrown acts of violence, speaking specifically about the 2013 murder of a British soldier in a southeast London street while onlookers watched on. The former Chief of MI6 was in agreement, stating that “Britain’s foreign spying apparatus do not have the capability to prevent atrocities like the Woolwich murder.”⁴²

⁴⁰ Colin Freeze, “Domestic Terrorism becoming a greater concern for Canadian Spy Agency,” *The Globe and Mail*, February 2013, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/domestic-terrorism-becoming-a-greater-concern-for-canadian-spy-agency/article8478299/>

⁴¹ Bridget Johnson, “Former CIA Director calls homegrown terror threat ‘a witch’s brew’,” *The Hill*, (December 2010), <http://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/news/135121-former-cia-director-calls-homegrown-terror-threat-a-witchs-brew>

⁴² “UK is incapable of stopping homegrown terror,” *PressTV*, (May 2013), <http://www.presstv.com/detail/2013/05/25/305405/mi6/>

Chapter 4. Behind the veil: understanding the threat

Current literature of the past decade or so has provided robust information regarding motivation theories that view and attempt to understand the motives of women terrorists from a variety of perspectives. This thesis classifies the existing theories of terrorism in five categories: political motivation, self-identity motivation, psychosocial motivation, sociological motivation, and role motivation.

As noted earlier the current literature relevant to the modern era, focuses on non-Western global regions. Thus, from a Canadian context, it is useful to analyze and arrive at conclusions regarding how expert theories can be applied to “homegrown” Western women who turn to terrorism. The size of the sample group studied by each of the experts includes hundreds of subjects over a period of several years to decades. It is acknowledged that the case studies presented of Western women here were limited to three countries most relevant to Canadian interests. The case studies were also limited to availability of information through credible media sources in the public domain, numbering twelve in total. Although the number of cases is not large, it is nevertheless enough to begin to recognize emerging patterns.

This chapter will explain if the case studies are aggregately aligned or not with each motivation theory. Conclusions will be drawn, then, on whether the motivation theory is applicable or not to Western women who become homegrown terrorists. An understanding of the threat and the motivations of Western women is important in order to begin to study this phenomenon further and formulate meaningful Canadian national security policies that address this threat.

Table 1 at the end of this chapter provides a useful summary in table form of the case studies and how the circumstances of each case are assessed against each motivation theory.

Political motivation theory

In the context of this paper, Pape’s theory of political motivation dealt specifically with the use of intimidation, fear, and violence for the political purpose of causing foreign occupying militaries to depart from soil considered homelands to terrorists. Pape was clear that he interpreted this to be a political motivation and not a religious ideology.

Political motivation here is the desire for Western militaries that are present in or occupying “homelands” to leave those locations: currently, the most notable are Iraq and Afghanistan. The US and Britain have been operationally deployed in these areas for several years, and Canada has participated in operations for over a decade in the latter country only. Political motivation appears irrefutable in two case studies based on media reports where details describe clear and cogent desire to rid foreign militaries from a “homeland” (Choudhry) or activities that clearly aid in that effort (Diab). In three other case studies (Toronto 18 wives, Mansfield, and Hassan/Ali) it is very likely that political motivation was a factor in terror activities, given the nature of their activities. In two further cases, (Korody and two unnamed Toronto women), there was insufficient open source information to make a meaningful deduction, although the authors of media articles inferred political motivation could have been the case. In the final three cases from Britain, there was simply insufficient information provided in media reports.

The case studies span a spectrum of possibilities from clearly stated political motivation reported by the media to no mention of political motivation whatsoever. It can be fairly concluded that political motivation provides an impetus for *some* homegrown Western women undertaking terrorist activity, but not others.

Self-identity motivation theory

O'Rourke suggested that two factors could help explain the motivation of women to undertake terrorism. First, loyalty; a sense of a feeling of allegiance toward a group or community of influences. Secondly, the need to embrace or re-embrace the expected gender roles of the group. In the case of gender roles and societal norms of the populations she studied, O'Rourke focused on the observable manifestations of lifestyle stability and modesty: an intact marriage, marital fidelity, absence of widowhood, absence of rape, and the presence of children. To O'Rourke, loyalty and gender norms are the defining characteristic of self-identity for these women.

Community loyalty may be interpreted as sensing a connection or deriving inspiration with others to whom one feels drawn or with whom one has some commonality. Based on the media accounts provided, all but one case study suggests that the women had, or very possibly had, a link and a sense of belonging to a group, organization, or community that may have helped guide and influence their actions. For the remaining case (Khan), it is difficult to state compellingly whether there was a connection to a community or not, based on media reports. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that at least 92% of the case studies point to community loyalty as a motivation to adopt a terrorist cause.

It should be acknowledged here that for the Western women in the case studies, gender identity and norms of the society with which they felt affiliated would be demonstrated by various social cues. The indicators and social cues observed and commented on by O'Rourke do not necessarily carry the same meaning in the West. For example, a divorced or widowed young woman in the West carries little or no stigma, whereas in other cultures, this may not be the case. Similarly, in the West adultery is not physically punished by law, social, or cultural norms; a rape victim is not openly stigmatized or shunned by others; and the inability to have children is not scorned. If adhering strictly to the definitions used by O'Rourke, there would be a lesser application of this part of her theory to homegrown Western women terrorists.

However, by considering and adapting the indicators in a way that is meaningful within a Western setting, there is a far greater applicability of O'Rourke's theory to Western women, in a way that honours the spirit and intent of O'Rourke's theory. I have chosen to consider appearance (style of dress: conservative versus provocative), behaviour (modest versus suggestive), and the performance of tasks associated with female gender roles which are important in the West to identify more closely with gender self-identity, while paying less attention to marital circumstances, sexual behaviour, and the presence or absence of children. This interpretation changed the results substantially.⁴³

In all cases except one (Khan), the women in the case studies either already demonstrated gender norms, or adopted the gender norms they felt were appropriate to their societal affiliation in appearance, behaviour, or gender-related tasks. In Khan's case, there is insufficient information to reach a conclusion on gender behaviour tailored to her community affiliation.

⁴³ It is worth noting here that while in other cultures the social cues of modest dress (head covering or full body covering) may not attract attention or notice, women who adopt a particularly modest style of dress in the West (at a variance to more commonly worn fashion) are more noticeable. Thus, in the West, dress that includes head and/or body covering might be considered a clear and visible social cue as belonging to a given community, whether Islamic, Mennonite, or South Asian, to name a few.

Thus, at least 83% of the case studies point convincingly to embracing or re-embracing societal gender norms if an adapted interpretation is used. This, combined with a very high percentage of women who have a strong community loyalty, suggests that self-identity motivation theories apply to Western women homegrown terrorists.

Psychosocial motivation theory

Bloom's psychosocial motivation theory, which she called the "4 R's plus one" suggested that social experiences and the social environment would impact each individual's psychological development. These experiences, Bloom proposed, were strongly linked to the resulting motivation for a woman's terrorist activity.

Bloom developed her theories studying populations and regions in the world which suffered persistent violent conflict, terrorism, and bloodshed within their own borders. In Canada, the US, and Britain, Western women are not typically driven to terrorist acts in order to avenge the death of a close family member (revenge), as a means to redeem oneself for past sins of an illicit sexual nature (redemption), or coercion into terrorism following a rape. These "2 R's plus one" have little application to case studies of Western women.

Bloom proposed another "R," respect of the community, which she felt often occurred in combination with other motives, provided further impetus towards terrorist activity. This as an argument that is closely aligned with O'Rourke's theory regarding loyalty to the community, discussed above, and thus it is fair to conclude that the same 92% of the cases (explained earlier) point to the need to gain respect of the community.

Finally, Bloom proposed that a relationship with known insurgents was the single most reliable indicator of a propensity to engage in terrorism. This was similarly a very strong predictor in the case studies here, based on media accounts in the public domain. In fact, details provided in media accounts of each case study, save one, explored this aspect extensively. The one exception to this phenomenon (Choudhry) was only due to insufficient information provided in the media. The circumstances that led Choudhry towards violence were reported as self-radicalization as a result of listening to an Islamic cleric's YouTube sermons. Whether this is an accurate account of the matter or whether it could be interpreted that listening to sermons could be considered a relationship, bond, or a connection by Choudhry will not be debated here.

It is reasonable to conclude that two R's, respect for the community and relationships both strongly apply to 92% of the case studies. The one exception in both factors is Choudhry, for whom insufficient information has been reported to definitively conclude that her case either fits or does not fit Bloom's theory.

Sociological motivation theory

Jacques and Taylor's theory attempted to explain how and why particular facts about women terrorists are related in terms of human social behavior and collective behavior. In particular, Jacques and Taylor focused on specific sociological conditions that they found common to women terrorists in global regions suffering terrorist violence. Again, the sociological factors that may be significant in regions suffering violence may not have a parallel significance in Western countries. Jacques and Taylor offered several sociological factors which will be weighed carefully against the case studies.

Jacques and Taylor proposed that women terrorists tend to be more educated, that is, attempting and/or completing a post-secondary level of education. Of the women terrorists Jacques and Taylor studied, the level of educational achievement was higher than average educational attainment levels estimated from worldwide data. Of the total number of case studies in this paper, three cases indicated strong potential for completing college or university level of education, although in all three circumstances, academic studies were ceased prematurely (two unnamed Toronto women, Paulin-Ramirez, and Choudhry). In three further cases, it was reported or implied that post-secondary education was not pursued (Korody and Toronto 18 wives). The remaining cases had no information reported in the matter of education attained at the time the women came to public and media attention.

Jacques and Taylor suggested that women terrorists were less likely to be employed, although they provided no further comment about this factor such as whether the regions studied culturally discouraged women from employment, or if instability, threat to safety or security, made employment for women outside the home difficult to impossible. In the case studies, it was clear in three cases that the women were not employed, nor were they seeking employment at the time (Korody, Toronto 18 wives, and Lewthwaite). In three cases (two unnamed Toronto women, Paulin-Ramirez, and Choudhry) the women were students. No definitive information was offered on the employment status of the remaining nine cases.

In a third factor, Jacques and Taylor submitted that women engaged in terrorism were more likely to be divorced or widowed. This was borne out in only one case (Lewthwaite). Upon closer examination of Lewthwaite's activities since 2005, though, would leave some doubt as to whether widowhood was a strong motivator to Lewthwaite's link to terrorism. In four cases, (unnamed Toronto women, Diab, Hassan/Ali, and Choudhry) there is no indication one way or another if there is an intimate or romantic relationship. In the remaining seven cases, there is strong evidence of an intimate or legal marriage. Based on the case studies of the Western women in this paper, there are no cases that bear out Jacques' and Taylor's theory that women are more likely to be divorced or widowed.

Jacques and Taylor measured the immigration status of the women terrorists based on the populations they studied, and proposed that they were less likely to be immigrants. In the context of Western women terrorists, this has been interpreted to mean that the women who turn to terrorism are less likely to have immigrated or travelled to the region of the terrorist act. In analyzing this factor, seven cases (58%) involve women who carried out acts on behalf of terrorism in their cultural home region (Korody, Diab, Toronto 18 wives, Hassan/Ali, Kahn, Hadi, and Choudhry).⁴⁴ The remaining five cases (42%) involved women who travelled elsewhere to pursue their activities. Therefore, just over half of the case studies involved women who were not, for all intents and purposes "immigrants" to the place in which terrorism would be carried out.

Finally, Jacques and Taylor suggested that the women terrorists they studied were less likely to have undergone religious conversion, but did not stipulate from or to a specific religious faith. In only five case studies did women convert religion (Korody, Mansfield, LaRose, Paulin-Ramirez, and Lewthwaite); the remainder were not reported to have converted to a different religion. Therefore, according to

⁴⁴ Recall that in selecting the case studies for this paper, the subjects were either born in the Western country (Canada, US, or Britain), naturalized citizens, or permanent residents.

Jacques and Taylor's theory, the results would bear out in the case studies, in that less than half of the cases saw a religious conversion.

However, a person can be a religious zealot without being a convert, and the issue of religious conversion has many shades of gray that were not examined or discussed by Jacques and Taylor, and yet have contemporary relevance to global issues of terrorism. In every case study presented of Western women who have turned to terrorism, there was a component of religion to the story: either the subject women converted to Islam, embraced more fully their existing Islamic faith, worked on behalf of a terrorist organization that has roots in or a connection to religion, or specifically targeted another faith group. Media reports were consistent in the absence of any suggestion that religion ignited terrorist sentiments, but rather an implication was present to suggest that the influence of religious zealots incited women and their co-conspirators or accomplices to action. Thus, there is a greater majority of case studies in this paper where women did not convert to another religion, (66%) bearing out Jacques and Taylor's theory that women were less likely to have undergone religious conversion.

To conclude on the point of Jacques' and Taylor's sociological motivation theory, it is reasonable to determine that their theory based on women of other cultures only partially applies to Western women who turn to violence and terrorism.

Role motivation theory

Cunningham explained that women were previously limited to support or passive roles in contributing to terrorism (such as recruiting), but were now increasingly engaging in active or attack roles (such as suicide bombing). Role motivation theory attempts to explain the role requirements for the key performers of an organization for motivating effective performance; in this case, a terrorist organization which allows or encourages skilled women to take a larger, more responsible, or kinetic role in terrorism.

In the context of this study, it is difficult to say if there is an increase in the number of Western homegrown women who engage in terrorist activities in an active, kinetic, attack role when compared to a decade ago, a generation ago, or a century ago. Of the case studies presented, 42% engaged or planned to engage in active terrorist roles (Korody, Mansfield, LaRose, Paulin-Ramirez, and Choudhry). Six cases involved women playing support roles, and in one case (2 unnamed Toronto women), no information is known about their activities in Somalia. It can be concluded only that for Western homegrown women who desire an active role in terrorist activity, gender does not seem to be a barrier in many cases.

Noteworthy findings

As explained in this chapter, the motivation theories - political, self-identity, psychosocial, sociological, and roles motivation - at least some elements of each are applicable to the Western women who become homegrown terrorists. Some are more significant and applicable than others. Of the analysis and results presented above, there are findings that merit mention and discussion. The motivation theories most applicable to Western women who become homegrown terrorists are self-identity (community loyalty and gender roles), and psychosocial (respect of community and relationships) motivation theories. Community loyalty and respect of the community are so closely related that although proposed by different experts, they are treated and interpreted in the same way, offering the same result. O'Rourke's self-identity motivation theory in terms of loyalty to a community and an embracing or re-embracing of gender norms as it has been proposed this latter factor be interpreted, provide strong motivation for Western women to become inclined towards terrorist activity. Bloom's

theories also bore a correlation with the case studies. Relationships with known insurgents provided a very strong draw towards violence, as the most robust factor of psychosocial motivation theory. The need to gain respect of the community was also significant. These are important findings, and when viewed as a composite, points to the notion of these Western women homegrown terrorists as socially and personally connected with others to a high degree. They rely on others, and seek to belong with others, and as a result, may be vulnerable to being influenced by others.

Motivation theory	POLITICAL Pape: motivated to compel democracies to withdraw from "homeland"	SELF-IDENTITY, O'Rourke: loyalty to community (group solidarity), re-embrace societal gender norms	PSYCHOSOCIAL Bloom: "4 R's + 1" Revenge (N/A) Redemption (N/A) Relationships Respect Rape	SOCIOLOGICAL Jacques & Taylor: women generally more educated, less employed, more widowed or divorced, not immigrants, not religious converts	ROLES Cunningham: formerly performed support roles, now active in attack roles.	
Case studies						
Canada						
1.	Amanda Korody	Possible	Possible	Relationship	PS education: no Employed: no Wid/Divorced: no Immigrant: no Converted: yes	Attack role
2.	2 unnamed Toronto women	Possible	Possible	Possible via on-line radicalization	PS education: yes Employed: students Wid/Divorced: no Immigrant: Y (Somalia) Converted: no	Unknown
3.	Mouna Diab	Yes	Possible	Possible through Hezbollah contact	PS education: unknown Employed: unknown Wid/Divorced: unknown Immigrant: no Converted: no?	Support role
4.	Mariya Fahim Nada Farooq Rana Farooq Cheryfa Jamal	Possible Possible Possible Possible	Yes Yes Yes Yes	Relationship Relationship Relationship Relationship	PS education (all): no Employed (all): no Wid/Divorced (all): M Immigrant (all): no Converted: 3 x N, 1 x Y	Support role Support role Support role Support role
United States						
5.	Nicole Lynn Mansfield	Likely yes	Yes	Relationship	PS education: unknown Employed: unknown Wid/Divorced: D & M Immigrant: yes (Syria) Converted: yes	Attack role
6.	Colleen LaRose	Uncertain	Yes	Relationship	PS education: unknown Employed: unknown Wid/Divorced: D & M Immigrant: yes (UK) Converted: yes	Attack role
7.	Jamie Paulin-Ramirez	Uncertain	Yes	Relationship	PS education: student Employed: student Wid/Divorced: M Immigrant: yes (UK) Converted: yes	Attack role
8.	Hawo Hassan Amina Ali	Likely yes Likely yes	Yes Yes	Relationship Relationship	PS education: unknown Employed: unknown Wid/Divorced: unknown Immigrant: no Converted: no	Support role Support role
Britain						
9.	Samantha Lewthwaite	Unknown	Yes	Relationship	PS education: unknown Employed: no Wid/Divorced: W & M Immigrant: yes (Africa) Converted: yes	Support role
10.	Shasta Khan	Unknown	Unknown	Relationship	PS education: unknown Employed: unknown Wid/Divorced: D & M Immigrant: no Converted: no	Support role
11.	Ayan Hadi	Unknown	Possible	Relationship	PS education: unknown Employed: unknown Wid/Divorced: M Immigrant: no Converted: no	Support role
12.	Roshonara Choudhry	Yes	Possible	Unknown	PS education: yes Employed: student Wid/Divorced: no Immigrant: no Converted: no	Attack role

Table 1: Summary of case studies, listed vertically, aligned with motivation theories, listed horizontally.

Chapter 5. Policy Implications

In Canada, the *Anti-Terrorism Act* was passed in December 2001, in the wake of the 9/11 bombings. It gave the Canadian government and security organizations extended powers to find and arrest those suspected of engaging in terrorist activity. It is similar to the *USA Patriot Act* passed in the US at about the same time. More recently, Bill S-7, the *Combating Terrorism Act*, came into force in May 2013 and restored some previous legislation that had expired, and created new crimes for leaving Canada to join or train with a terror group. Some portions run counter to the provisions in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which has resulted in considerable concern for the impact on the civil rights and liberties of Canadians. To wit:

“[the bill] would allow courts to compel a witness to disclose information about a possible act of terrorism, even if that person has not been charged. The hearings could be held in secret and those who don’t comply could be subject to arrest. Preventative arrest provisions will allow an individual suspected of engaging in terrorist activity to be brought before a judge who can impose conditions on their freedom, such as barring them from communicating with a particular person. An individual who refuses to abide by the conditions could be jailed for up to one year.”⁴⁵

As further reported by the CBC, the new provisions are aimed at investigating and apprehending terrorism very early on in the planning stages.⁴⁶

In addition, The Globe and Mail commented on legislation passed in “to curb the exodus of Canadian *jihadists* to foreign conflicts. The Combating Terrorism Act was approved by Parliament ... in the aftermath of a deadly terrorist strike on an Algerian natural plant where homegrown Canadian radicals were believed to have played a major role.”⁴⁷

Canada cooperates and coordinates with other nations on counter-terrorism, developing legal instruments, and establishing best practices and international standards in approximately a dozen fora. This ensures that Canadian values and interests are reflected internationally, and the security of Canada and Canadians is better assured.⁴⁸

More, however, needs to be accomplished. A thought-provoking commentary by authors David Carment and Stewart Prest offered food for thought. In an April 2013 Globe and Mail article, Carment and Prest suggested that by understanding the roots causes of why some people resort to terrorism, the

⁴⁵ Tobi Cohen, “Controversial anti-terror bill passes, allowing preventative arrests, secret hearings,” *The National Post*, April 13, 2013, <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/04/25/controversial-anti-terror-bill-passes-allowing-preventative-arrests-secret-hearings/>

⁴⁶ Leslie MacKinnon, “8 things to know about the new anti-terrorism bill,” *CBC News*, April 26, 2013, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2013/04/25/pol-eight-things-to-know-anti-terrorism-bill.html>

⁴⁷ Murray Brewster and Ben Makuch, “Ottawa investigates reports Canadian man killed fighting in Syria,” *The Globe and Mail*, January 15, 2014. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/ottawa-investigates-reports-canadian-man-killed-fighting-in-syria/article16347645/>

⁴⁸ *Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development Canada*, accessed August 19, 2013, <http://www.international.gc.ca/crime/terrorism-terrorisme.aspx>

government can diminish its consequences by using that insight to create carefully considered and robust security policies. The authors pointed out that:

“The so called “Global War on Terror” was partly focused on fixing failed states whose ungoverned spaces provided the right conditions for terrorism to flourish. John Baird’s efforts to restore democracy to Mali are a more recent example. Former U.S. secretary of state Hillary Clinton was a strong proponent of a “root causes” strategy recognizing that military force was insufficient in fixing the complex problems fundamental to states that served as safe havens for terrorist activity ... Studies on those Canadians involved in international terrorism show that a sense of exclusion, marginalization and political grievance are often key facets of “home grown” terrorist behaviour. Typically, the integration of Canadians socially, economically and politically increases their capacity to participate positively in society. But that is not always the case, as one recently released study from CSIS shows a more complex set of issues are at play. Even well-integrated Canadian citizens are susceptible to extremism.”⁴⁹

One of the issues that is absent from the motivation theories presented earlier is the recent phenomenon that has been reported in the media involving the increased interest by al-Qaeda in recruiting and radicalizing Western women. That is, “women who have a 'non-Arab' appearance and traveling on Western passports,”⁵⁰ in order to carry out missions. Recruiting women who have a valid passport and are able to travel without undue scrutiny was reported to offer an added benefit, however, the current trends of recruitment of Western women to terrorism don’t suggest this offers a genuine competitive advantage. First, of the Western women considered in this paper, 58% of the cases planned or acted within their own borders. Added to this, there is evidence that the leading terrorist organization al-Qaeda is encouraging ‘lone-wolf’ attacks on Western countries.⁵¹ This scheme is a business model of efficiency that proposes the lowest possible cost for the highest return on investment. Citizens of Western countries may be recruited, inspired, and radicalized on-line (as was the case for Korody, the 2 unnamed Toronto women, possibly the wives of the Toronto 18, and Choudhry). Only two women in the case studies (Larose and Paulin-Ramirez) made use of the strategic advantage a Western appearance and yet remained unsuccessful. A final note: Western homegrown women terrorists who commit violent acts on their native or home soil attract heightened media attention to the terrorist cause.

In Canada, appearance based on fair colouring is less of an advantage in Canada’s largest cities where ethnicity and cultural diversity are celebrated: familiarity with the culture and language offer a far greater strategic advantage. Nevertheless Western security, intelligence, and law enforcement agencies should remain heedful and alert to this possibility and the potential high return on investment to terrorist organizations represented by increased recruitment of non-Arabic appearing women. Given

⁴⁹ David Carment and Stewart Prest, “Finding ‘root causes’ of terrorism is the core of Canadian Policy,” *The Globe and Mail*, April 23, 2013, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/commentary/finding-root-causes-of-terrorism-is-the-core-of-canadian-policy/article11494674/>

⁵⁰ Phil Sherwell and Sean Rayment, “Al-Qaeda has trained female suicide bombers to attack West, US officials warn,” *The Telegraph*, January 2010, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/7062745/Al-Qaeda-has-trained-female-suicide-bombers-to-attack-West-US-officials-warn.html>

⁵¹ Gordon Corera, “Al-Qaeda chief Zawahiri urges ‘lone-wolf’ attacks on US,” *BBC News*, September 13, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-24083314>.

that this possibility has been reported in the media, it would be reasonable to assume that this strategy has been well-considered by operatives of terrorist organizations.

From a Canadian safety and security point of view, twelve cases, only four of which were from Canada, does not appear to be a significant threat, however the potential for effective terrorist acts to be carried out within Canada's borders is real and ever present. The potential that these acts could be successfully planned undetected by a Western woman or women is entirely within the reach of those who would wish Canada and her citizens harm.

There are no current policies or strategies at the federal government level to specifically mitigate the potential lure that terrorist organizations or operatives might have on Canadian women. Given the low numbers of Canadian women who were or are known to be involved in terrorist activities in Canada, this seems entirely within reason. However, consider the following premises:

- The aggregate total of women terrorists among Western countries creates a much larger threat than counted by individual country alone.
- Terrorism and terrorists transcend national boundaries.

If these premises are accepted, then the argument for considering policies and strategies aimed towards greater education and assistance for women to resist the draw towards terror-related activities becomes all the more compelling.

Terrorist organizations and the activities they embrace are sustained by the popular support they have amassed among their community members. Canada can help change that by extending anti-terrorist messaging and a culture of peaceful interaction and tolerance based on shared human values and, where appropriate, common religious teachings among the major world faiths. Popular support for terrorist organizations emanates from a government's inability or unwillingness to meet their citizen's needs or concerns. Those governments can be encouraged through effective diplomacy and economic incentives to introduce and adopt policies and structural reforms that would benefit the nation and its people who might otherwise become dissatisfied and disillusioned, and thus vulnerable to suggestion by terrorist organizations. More to the point, economic networks and social support can be created and extended to women and the children they care for, who might otherwise become prey to terrorist recruiters. Education, financial support, and political empowerment will help to change both women now and the next generation being nurtured.⁵²

That should begin, as proposed by Messrs. Carmen and Prest,⁵³ by understanding the root causes and aiming strategy to address the foundational issues. Then, at the federal level, to assure national security and contribute to international stability, the resources of diplomacy, economy, and information can be leveraged to better assist women – and men – to remain responsible contributors to a progressive Canadian society.

⁵² Amal al-Ashtal, "Army of Roses: The Rise of Female Terrorism." *Policy Focus* (2009), www.shebacss.com/docs/PolicyFoucs/scssep09-09.pdf

⁵³ David Carment and Stewart Prest, "Finding 'root causes' of terrorism is the core of Canadian Policy," *The Globe and Mail*, April 23, 2013, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/commentary/finding-root-causes-of-terrorism-is-the-core-of-canadian-policy/article11494674/>

Diplomacy may be directed towards ever-improved information sharing between allies, and diminishing terrorist financing by freezing assets. Economically, Canada should broaden assistance programs nationally and internationally, for example maternal and child care, education for girls and boys equally, medical care, and trades training for employment. Such aid would provide psychological, material, and economic support to members of societies through genuine and recognized agencies, reducing the attractiveness of “support” misleadingly promised by terrorist organizations.

Aggressive information programs may be aimed retrieving alienated youth in particular and members of society in general in order to mitigate their urge to accept terrorist overtures. Strategies may also be developed to discredit terrorist groups, and reduce or eliminate interest in these organizations, thus denying terrorist groups a source for new recruitment.

Conclusion

This paper has contributed toward an academic conversation on national security in Canada and avenues of policy that may be pursued. This has been accomplished by exploring relevant issues about motivation theories of women who become terrorists, or contribute to the goals of extremist terrorist organizations, and how those theories apply to Western women who become homegrown terrorists.

The means by which this paper set about to explore and better understand the phenomenon of Western homegrown women who turn to terrorism in a way that has not previously been done, and is entirely new. Through a literature review, salient information was provided to establish the baseline of information held in the current body of knowledge. Motivations were categorized in a way that has not been previously considered, and measured against each of the case studies. This paper has contributed to further clarity on this issue by classifying relevant motivations theories and linking current motivation theories and current case studies, which has helped to advance our understanding of the threat. The resulting analysis produced results that have offered a new perspective on Western homegrown women terrorists.

Due to the very recent manifestation of this phenomenon and absence of reliable scholarly study on this issue, this paper drew from media articles for its case studies. This revealed that while the issue seems relatively new to Canada, it is not completely unheard of. Canada is not alone in counting among her daughters, homegrown women who have been drawn to terrorism.

An extensive background placed the issue in context. An explanation of the terrorist organizations of significant concern to Western governments and security agencies offered a context to view the development of the threat of contemporary terrorism.

A literature review of contemporary theories about women who engage in terrorism provided a perspective based on categories which formed the foundation and framework from which to view the case studies. The literature was drawn from respected authors and experts in the field, who examined hundreds of cases in global regions where conflict, terrorism and violence were most prevalent: specifically, Sri Lanka, Israel and the Palestinian territories, and Russia and Chechnya to name a few.

The fundamental issue that was explored was do the theories of motivations of women terrorists developed in the study of populations from other global regions similarly apply to the motivations of Western homegrown women who engage in terrorist activities?

In order to answer this question, data was used in twelve cases studies, four each from Canada, the United States, and Britain. These countries were selected as the three countries that are the most relevant to the safety and security of Canada's citizens at home and abroad. There has been no scholarly study from this perspective, and therefore in order to examine this issue, case studies were drawn from the open source articles of reputable media outlets.

The methodology of drawing from expert theories and using media articles in the public domain for case studies was explained in order to understand the sources from which the cases were taken. Thus, each individual case was studied and analyzed using five motivation theories.

The examination of meta-analysis was described and conducted to compare the theories against the case studies. By examining the meta-analysis, trends became apparent.

While not all the theories of motivations of women terrorists could be applied to the Western homegrown model, three did in fact apply. Of those three, some of the criteria were interpreted in a slightly different manner that was appropriate and suitable to fully understand the case studies of Western women. The motivation theories of self-identity and psychosocial (relationships) were most applicable to the cases of Western women.

Finally, Canadian policy was proposed to provide greater education and assistance to women to mitigate the potential for Canadian women to become targets for recruitment by terrorist organizations. Recruitment of a target demographic of Western women is reduced when populations are less vulnerable and have strong economic opportunities and social support networks.

In a similar vein to proposed Canadian policies that may better support and provide advantage vulnerable segments of the population, it is worth noting here that a CBC media article of interest informed the public that the RCMP has been reaching out to Canadian Muslim communities in order to encourage dialogue and establish "an early warning system" for terror plots.⁵⁴ This points to Canadian federal efforts to reach out to groups at risk of being targeted and providing a safe means for individuals to assist security and law enforcement agencies better protect all Canadians.

This study was only drawn from a limited set of prominent case studies and material was drawn primarily from the public domain. Further research is obviously warranted. An area of future study and research to more fully inform us on Western women who become homegrown terrorists is the influence of religion and faith groups *specifically* on Western women. Another compelling topic is whether recruiting Western women to al-Qaeda is a myth or an untapped resource. A final area of further study is whether Western women may be attractive recruits to terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda because of their non-Arabic appearance, or rather because of their familiarity and ease with Western culture and may more easily travel and blend in with Western environments: that is, an argument of colour versus culture. The subject of women terrorists, specifically Western homegrown women terrorists, bears far more scholarly research and educated discussion, which will lead to greater and more meaningful conclusions, which in turn can influence Canada and other countries towards developing more robust policies and strategies.

⁵⁴ "RCMP foster Muslim ties to thwart attacks," *CBC News*, Mar 31, 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/rcmp-foster-muslim-ties-to-thwart-attacks-1.2501160>

As a final note, it is worth observing that as global events unfold at the time this paper was written, terrorism is currently gaining ascendancy in Syria. One of the case studies of this paper included an American woman who had turned towards violent activities and was killed in 2013 while fighting with rebel forces in Syria. This trend has become a concern closer to home. In early 2014, CSIS spokeswoman commented: "...the phenomenon of Canadians participating in extremist activities abroad is a serious one, and Syria has become a significant destination for such individuals. Dozens of Canadians are believed to have travelled, or are planning to travel, to parts of the world where they can engage in terrorist activities."⁵⁵ This is a manifestation of Western homegrown terrorists increasingly traveling to other global regions.

Media reports indicate that Canadian men in Syria have been killed that have similar backgrounds to the pattern of women that have been studied in this paper: homegrown Canadians, strong interest in religion, radicalization, and embracing violent activity in support of a terrorist organization.⁵⁶ These include Abu Muslim (formerly Andre Poulin) of Timmins ON, killed in 2012, Mustafa al-Gharib, a.k.a. Abu Talha al-Canadi (formerly Damian Clairmont) aged 22 of Calgary whose death was confirmed in the media in January 2014. In September 2013, it was reported that a convicted member of the "Toronto 18" Ali Mohamed Dirie, 30, joined an extremist group and died fighting in Syria.⁵⁷ It follows, then, that Canadian homegrown women may also be lured towards terrorism.

To mitigate the possibility that Canadian homegrown daughters and sons may be swept into the vortex of violence, Canadian federal agencies work tirelessly and "recommit ... to do more to combat this real challenge as many countries in the West have."⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Murray Brewster and Ben Makuch, "Ottawa investigates reports Canadian man killed fighting in Syria," *The Globe and Mail*, January 15, 2014, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/ottawa-investigates-reports-canadian-man-killed-fighting-in-syria/article16347645/>

⁵⁶ "Another Canadian reported to have been killed while fighting in Syria," *The Globe and Mail*, January 17, 2014, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/canadian-man-killed-last-august-while-fighting-in-syria-report/article16383890/>

⁵⁷ "Exclusive | 'Toronto 18' member Ali Mohamed Dirie reportedly died in Syria," *CBC News*, Sep 25, 2013, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/toronto-18-member-ali-mohamed-dirie-reportedly-died-in-syria-1.1868119>

⁵⁸ "Kenney says Canada isn't losing the homegrown terror battle," *CBC News*, April 02, 2013, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/kenney-says-canada-isn-t-losing-homegrown-terror-battle-1.1325946>

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Appendix A: Summary of Case Studies

The following table provides a summary of the cases studies used. Appendix B provides a narrative and further details of each case. Cases are listed in reverse chronological order by date of media reports.

case studies	Description of Events	Age	Date of alleged or actual terrorist act and description.	Residence at the time of the terror activity.	Co-conspirator(s) or accomplice(s)?
Canada					
Amanda Korody		30	2013, conspiring to carry out a terrorist attack with "pressure cooker" explosive	Born and raised in St. Catherine's ON, moved to Surrey BC in 2002.	Male accomplice, but without apparent connections with terrorist organization
2 unnamed young women		19 19	2011, NO known terrorist activity to date	Toronto	Unknown: online self-radicalization suspected and possible links to persons in Somalia.
Mouna Diab		26	2011, smuggling weapons parts, terrorism	Montreal, Québec	Unknown, but likely had recipients for weapons in Libya
Mariya Fahim		19	2006, NOT charged with a crime, but did inspire terrorist ideals and behaviour online. Husbands: charged as members of the "Toronto 18."	Mississauga (m. Fahim Ahmad)	Part of a tightly-knit social group with similar political and ideological beliefs.
Nada Farooq		20		Mississauga (m. Zakaria Amara)	
Rana Farooq		19		Mississauga (m. Amhad Ghany)	
Cheryfa Jamal		44		Mississauga & originally Cape Breton (m. Qayyum Jamal)	
United States					
Nicole Lynn Mansfield		33	2013, NOT charged with a crime, but killed in Syria while fighting with rebel forces	Flint, Michigan	Possibly working with an al-Qaeda operative
Colleen LaRose		46	2010, Plotting to murder, recruited others with passports and easy travel access through Europe, and soliciting funds	Raised in Texas, and moved to Philadelphia as an adult.	Known to have a co-conspirator for murder plot
Jamie Paulin Ramirez		31	2010, Plotting to murder, aided and conspired with foreign terrorists to receive military training	Colorado	Was a co-conspirator for murder plot with Ms. LaRose, attempted to receive military training
Hawo Hassan		66	2010, fund-raising / financing for al-Shebaab	Rochester, Minnesota	Unknown, but likely had recipients for funds
Amina Ali		36			
Britain					
Samantha Lewthwaite		21	2005 to present, planned attacks in the Horn of Africa, stored guns and bomb-making materials, channeled money to Somalia, built up terror networks. Suspected of assisting in the 2013 Nairobi Westgate Mall massacre, but no credible evidence has yet emerged.	Born in Northern Ireland, raised in England, was in hiding in South Africa in 2011, and afterwards thought to be in hiding in Kenya, Tanzania, or Somalia. Continues to evade authorities.	1 st husband Jamaican-born Germaine Lindsay one of the perpetrators of the 7-7 London bombings. A subsequent associate was UK-born Habib Ghani, to a Pakistani father and British mother; a bomb-maker who died in a suicide bombing. 2 nd husband was former Kenyan naval officer Abdi Wahid who defected to al-Shebaab. ⁵⁹
Shasta Khan		38	2011, planned to attack a Jewish community with home-made bombs	British-born, sent to Pakistan as teenager, lived most recently in Manchester	Radicalized in 2010 by her 3 rd husband, a Muslim extremist, inspired by al-Qaeda propaganda
Ayan Hadi		31	2011, knowingly failed to give police information about husband's terrorist plot	London	Husband a "white Muslim convert"
Roshonara Choudhry		21	2010, assassination attempt on British MP	London	Unknown: online self-radicalization suspected, no apparent accomplice

Table 2: Summary of case studies and brief details of each case.

⁵⁹ Since the submission of this paper, Lewthwaite's marriage to a third husband was featured in the media to suspected Somali warlord and senior commander in al-Shebaab Hassan Maalim Ibrahim, aka Sheikh Hassan. Source: Tara Brady, "White Widow Samantha Lewthwaite marries ruthless Somali warlord while on the run after ditching her 'Suicide Brigade' bodyguards," *Mail On-Line*, 27 May, 2014, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2640354/White-Widow-Samantha-Lewthwaite-marries-ruthless-Somali-warlord-run-ditching-Suicide-Brigade-bodyguards.html#ixzz35Pmc6EzR>

Appendix B: Description and Details of Individual Case Studies

Amanda Korody

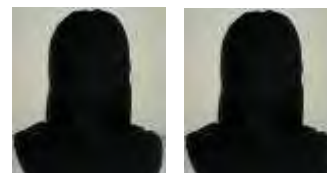


Amanda Korody. Photograph by: HANDOUT Source: Victoria Time Colonist

A Canadian woman was the subject of intense media scrutiny in Canada: Amanda Korody⁶⁰ who, with a male companion, is accused of the 2013 Canada Day plot to place pressure cooker bombs (similar to the one used at the Boston Marathon) in a crowd at that Victoria BC provincial Legislature. Korody is a Canadian-born citizen. Initial reports also suggest this act was “inspired by al-Qaeda ideology, but was a domestic threat without international linkages.” While Korody and her male companion are reported to have recently converted to Islam and had been inspired by al-Qaeda ideology, they had no apparent contact with al-Qaeda operatives, acting instead on their own initiative. The couple also learned how to construct improvised explosive devices on their own. Korody was a native of St. Catherine’s Ontario where she grew up, and moved to BC at about 19 years of age.⁶¹ Simply put, Korody is charged with “conspiring to carry out a terrorist attack.”⁶² While more is known about Korody’s companion and accomplice, little is known about the background this woman herself, other than she struggled with mental health in her teenage years, and had substance abuse issues.

Two unnamed Toronto women

This story is included because of the contemporaneous nature of the incident; it should be noted that no terrorist or criminal acts have been linked to this story. Nonetheless, it is compelling and unsettling, and has direct links between young Canadian women and al-Shebaab, an al-Qaeda affiliate in Somalia. Two unnamed 19-yr-old Somali-Canadian women, best friends, disappeared from their Toronto family homes in January 2011 to travel to Somalia, apparently lured by al-Shebaab, the al-Qaeda affiliate in that country. This is significant because media reports have indicated that in recent years, al-Shebaab, an affiliate of al-Qaeda, has been recruiting young men – and now possibly women – from Somali communities in Ottawa, Toronto, and Minneapolis.⁶³ Both these young women were born in Canada and were students,



⁶⁰ Bruce Hutchinson, “How ‘self-radicalized’ John Nutall and Amanda Korody plotted their act of domestic terrorism for months,” *National Post*, July 2, 2013, <http://www.timescolonist.com/cmlink/gmg-glacier-media-group/canadian-press/news/bc/accused-terror-suspect-amanda-korody-struggled-with-mental-health-former-friends-say-1.343503/>

⁶¹ “Accused terror suspect Amanda Korody struggled with mental health, former friends say,” *Victoria Times Colonist*, July 5, 2013, <http://www.timescolonist.com/cmlink/gmg-glacier-media-group/canadian-press/news/bc/accused-terror-suspect-amanda-korody-struggled-with-mental-health-former-friends-say-1.343503/>

⁶² RCMP press release dated July 2, 2013 <http://bc.cb.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/ViewPage.action?siteNodId=50&languageId=1&contentId=30838>

⁶³ Ian MacLeod, “Somali-Canadian women recruited by terror group, U.S. politicians told,” *The Ottawa Citizen*, July 27, 2011

one at York University and the other at the University of Toronto. The latter was also said to be a niece of Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed, then the prime minister of Somalia.⁶⁴ At the time this story became public, shock and alarm spread through the Somali community in Toronto, especially because it was the first known case in North America in which al-Shebaab had recruited young women. It is thought by some that the young women were radicalized or brainwashed in the months preceding their abrupt and unannounced departure. Once in Somalia, the two young women e-mailed their families to advise them of their destination, and warned their parents not to look for them. In recent years, the Somali diaspora have witnessed at least 10 young men who have departed to fight with al-Shebaab from Canada, most from Toronto. While these two unnamed Canadian women have not committed any known crimes, they are included here as a contemporary Canadian event that has a clear link to a terrorist organization.

Mouna Diab



Mouna Diab. Source: La

Mouna Diab, 26, was arrested in 2011 in Montreal and charged with terrorism and smuggling arms to Hezbollah in Lebanon. Diab is the first woman in Canada to face charges related to a foreign terrorist organization. Police alleged, at the time of her arrest, that Diab “bought firearms in the Montreal area to send to Lebanon and they could be reassembled to build two complete AR-15-type rifles.”⁶⁵ Diab was also alleged to have “shipped firearms parts through people in her community travelling to Lebanon. The victims were unaware of the contents of the packages they were carrying for Diab.”⁶⁶

Mariya Fahim, Nada Farooq, Rana Farooq, and Cheryfa MacAulay Jamal

Mariya Fahim, sisters Nada Farooq and Rana Farooq, and Canadian-born Cheryfa MacAulay Jamal are the wives of four prominent members of the “Toronto 18” arrested in 2006.⁶⁷ These women were conjoined by their radical religious and ideological beliefs which they frequently published on line, and preference for social behaviour acceptable to Islam. Journalists Omar el Akkad and Greg McArthur adeptly described them as:

“tightly knit group of women who chatted with each other: Mariya (the wife of alleged leader Fahim Ahmad), Nada (the wife of Zakaria Amara, the alleged right-

<http://www.ottawacitizen.com/news/Somali+Canadian+women+recruited+terror+group+politicians+told/5169114/story.html>

⁶⁴ Ravenna Aukakh, “Somali Canadians grapple with terrorism’s appeal to youth,” The Toronto Star, April 2011, http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2011/04/08/somali_canadians_grapple_with_terrorisms_appeal_to_youth.html also:

http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2011/04/04/toronto_woman_suspected_of_being_lured_by_terror_group_has_link_to_somali_pm.html

⁶⁵ Stewart Bell, “Quebec Muslim Woman activist becomes first woman charged under 9/11 terror laws over Hezbollah gun-running plot,” National Post, (July 2012), <http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/07/13/quebec-woman-who-fought-against-muslim-stereotypes-charged-with-terrorism-in-alleged-hezbollah-weapons-smuggling-plot/>

⁶⁶ “Terrorism Charge Laid for Exporting Firearms Parts,” RCMP News Release, (July 2012), <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/qc/nouv-news/com-rel/2012/07/120713-eng.htm>

⁶⁷ Amongst the group of 18, Ahmad was found guilty of offenses under the *Anti-Terrorism Act* and sentenced to 16 years in prison. Amara was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. Two years after their arrest, charges were dropped against Ghany and Jamal.

hand man) Nada's sister Rana (wife of suspect Ahmad Ghany), as well as Cheryfa MacAulay Jamal (the Muslim convert from Cape Breton, N.S. who married the oldest suspect, 43-year-old Qayyum Abdul Jamal). The women's husbands are part of a core group of seven charged with the most severe crimes ... [these friends were] active on the [internet], sharing, among other things, their passion for holy war, disgust at virtually every aspect of non-Muslim society and a hatred of Canada. The posts were made on personal blogs belonging to both Amara and Farooq, as well as a semi-private forum founded by Farooq where dozens of teens in the Meadowvale Secondary School area chatted."⁶⁸



Source:

<http://www.google.ca/url?sa=i&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&rm=1&source=images&cd=&cad=rja&docid=-pMR->

Of Mariya Fahim, journalists el Akkad and McArthur say little other than she initiated internet discussion that marked the death of a Hamas leader, and on another occasion warned other women via internet post "not to go watch the brothers (their husbands) play soccer because it makes them uncomfortable".

The Farooq sisters, 19 and 20 years old at the time their husbands were arrested in 2006, were Karachi-born, and emigrated from Saudi Arabia to Canada as children. By 2006, their father had been working as a pharmacist at the Canadian Forces Base in Wainwright Alberta since 2001. While the parents were nominally observant Muslims, their daughter Nada was extremely religious and observant. Her thousands of internet comments were replete with violence and vitriol against those who opposed Islam and "the laws of Allah". She expressed vociferous and consistent hatred for her country of residence, Canada, and repeatedly encouraged Muslims to undertake violent jihad. So strong was her extremist conviction in jihad that Nada wrote in an internet posting, that she would contemplate divorce if her husband refused the opportunity to take part in such a cause.⁶⁹ Few details were offered in the media item about younger sister Rana.

Cheryfa MacAuley Jamal, at 44, was about twice the age of the group of women she associated with at the time of her husband's arrest. Born to Nova Scotia parents, Jamal adopted Islam as a young adult. In the time prior to her husband's arrest, she expressed zealous disdain for anything but Muslim causes and encouraged spirited resistance to the oppression of Muslims.

It should be emphasized that although these women encouraged jihad as evidenced by their public internet communications, none were charged with offences.

⁶⁸ Omar el Akkad and Greg MacArthur, "Hateful chatter behind the veil," *The Globe and Mail*, June 29, 2006, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/hateful-chatter-behind-the-veil/article1203257/?page=all>

⁶⁹ In 2010, at a sentencing hearing for Amara, a letter was presented to the court from Nada Farooq. She wrote "I believe my husband regrets with all his heart what he's put me and my daughter through." She also said "I can't make excuses for what my husband has done." Source: Colin Freeze, "'Toronto 18' ringleader apologizes to Canadians," *The Globe and Mail*, January 14, 2010, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/toronto-18-ringleader-apologizes-to-canadians/article4301824/>

Nicole Lynn Mansfield



Nicole Mansfield Source:
CBS Detroit

In the United States, Nicole Lynn Mansfield, 33, was persuaded towards a life of violence and was killed in May 2013 while fighting rebel forces in Syria. Mansfield was not arrested or found guilty of a terrorist crimes by the US legal system, however media reports suggests she was radicalized to extremist views and hard-line beliefs by her ex-husband, a Saudi Arabian. Moreover, she travelled to Syria to take a combative role in that country's civil war, and was caught in an ambush while throwing grenades at government soldiers. At the time Mansfield had met her husband she became interested in Islam and converted."⁷⁰ Mansfield's daughter's claimed in media reports that her mother "traveled to Syria 'to help free Syrians from the Syrian Government and all the problems they're having over there.'"⁷¹ The Guardian further reported that "Mansfield was the only American known to have been killed in [that particular] Syrian conflict. State media reported that she, along with two others – believed to be a British man and a Canadian – were killed fighting for the opposition. Some reports further implied that all three were with the group al-Nusra, an affiliate of al-Qaida."⁷²

Colleen LaRose a.k.a. "Jihad Jane"

Colleen LaRose, known by her on line name as "Jihad Jane" is arguably one of the most infamous "homegrown" US women who adopted the cause of terrorism. At 46 years old, LaRose was arrested in 2010 for plotting to kill Lars Vilks, the Swedish cartoonist who drew an image of the prophet Muhammad with the body of a dog. The Guardian reported that "LaRose was radicalized through on-line chats with an al-Qaeda operative." LaRose converted to Islam although prior to her conversion to Islam, she had not been religious.⁷³ In a related article, journalist Ed Pilkington notes that in the wake of LaRose's arrest, "US national security



Colleen LaRose, also known as Jihad Jane.
Photograph: AFP/Getty Images

⁷⁰ Daniel Bates, "American woman killed in Syria 'was converted to Islam by her Saudi Arabian husband who hated the West'," *The Daily Mail*, June 3, 2013, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2334767/Nicole-Lynn-Mansfield-American-woman-killed-Syria-converted-Islam-Saudi-Arabian-husband.html>

⁷¹ James Nye, Rachel Quigley, and Daniel Bates, "Exclusive: American woman killed in Syria married Muslim man in a sham ceremony and never even lived with him, family members claim," *The Daily Mail*, June 1, 2013, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2334272/US-woman-Nicole-Lynn-Mansfield-killed-Syria-married-Muslim-man-sham-ceremony-family-claim.html>

⁷² Matt Williams, "Nicole Mansfield 'just a regular American', says daughter," *The Guardian*, May 31 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/may/31/nicole-lynn-mansfield-syria-killed-brainwashed>

⁷³ Ed Pilkington, "'Jihad Jane' explains her strange journey from victim to radical Muslim," *The Guardian*, December 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/dec/08/jihad-jane-journey-victim-radical>

officials [warned] that terrorist groups want to recruit white Americans to circumvent tight travel controls.⁷⁴ The same article alleges that LaRose stated in an e-mail that “her physical appearance would allow her to ‘blend in with many people’”. LaRose was “also alleged to have used the internet to recruit women with passports and easy travel access around Europe in support of violent jihad,”⁷⁵ of having solicited funds for terrorism.⁷⁶

Jamie Paulin-Ramirez

In a related media item, Jamie Paulin-Ramirez was arrested in 2010 for plotting the same murder of Swedish cartoonist Lars Vilks. LaRose was believed to have recruited Paulin-Ramirez online, and the latter was found guilty of attempting to recruit others and to receive training in the Islamic Maghreb. Paulin-Ramirez had also met her fourth husband, an Algerian Muslim, and converted to Islam about a year prior to the arrest.⁷⁷ Paulin-Ramirez moreover, had further on-line links to another homegrown (US) terrorist who was found guilty for plotting to bomb the NY subway system.



Jamie Paulin-Ramirez, undated photo,
Source: Associated Press

Hawo Mohamed Hassan and Amina Farah Ali



Hawo Mohamed Hassan, left, and Amina Farah Ali, , 2010. Photo: AP, Craig Lassig

In 2010, Hawo Mohamed Hassan and Amina Farah Ali were found guilty of fund-raising in Minnesota and sending the proceeds to al-Shebaab in Somalia for terrorist activities. Media reports stated “the women conspired to funnel more than \$8,600 to al-Shebaab from September 2008 through July 2009 ... Ali and Hassan went door-to-door in the name of charity and held religious teleconferences to solicit donations, which they then routed to [al-Shebaab] fighters.”⁷⁸ Ali was also convicted for being the founder of a network of donors across North America who funneled money to al-Shebaab.

⁷⁴ Ed Pilkington, “Coleen LaRose: all –American neighbour or terrorist Jihad Jane?” *The Guardian*, March 2010, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/mar/10/colleen-la-rose-jihad-jane-terrorism-arrest>

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Corky Siemaszko, “Paulin-Ramirez’s family feels ‘pity’ for ‘jihad Jamie’: say she was likely egged on to join plot,” *NY Daily News*, March 15, 2010, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/paulin-ramirez-family-feels-pity-jihad-jamie-egged-join-plot-article-1.174766> ,

“American Linked to Terror Plot Brainwashed 6-Year-Old Son, Family Says,” *Fox News*, March 10, 2010, <http://www.foxnews.com/story/2010/03/14/american-linked-to-terror-plot-brainwashed-6-year-old-son-family-says/>

⁷⁸ “2 Minnesota women sentenced in Somali terror case,” *CBS News*, May 16, 2013, http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-201_162-57584972/2-minnesota-women-sentenced-in-somali-terror-case/

Samantha Lewthwaite



Samantha Lewthwaite in an undated photo. Source: The Daily Mail

The case of British-born Samantha Lewthwaite, a mother of four, provides a chilling narrative of a homegrown terrorist who has made significant contributions to the cause of terrorism. Lewthwaite is believed to have been a key player in a 2012 grenade attack on a club packed with tourists in Mombasa, Kenya. A convert to Islam in her teens, Lewthwaite had been the wife of Jermaine Lindsay, one of the July 7, 2005 Piccadilly Line Tube train attackers. Dubbed the “white widow”, she is

reported by the British media as “the world’s most wanted woman” and is being aggressively hunted by specialist terror police. Lewthwaite is also thought to

be behind the threat to Western embassies in Yemen in mid-August 2013: British diplomatic staff in Yemen were ordered back to the UK,⁷⁹ US Embassy staff shut down many embassies for several days, and Canadian staff similarly issued travel advisories to Canadians. British authorities allege that Lewthwaite “is a vital conduit between al-Qaeda groups in Pakistan and East Africa (and possibly as far as South Africa), and has channeled funds raised in the UK and elsewhere to groups in Somalia.”⁸⁰ Attesting to Lewthwaite’s superior organizational skills, she is suspected of masterminding an attempt to free another terrorist, Jermaine Grant, from court custody in Kenya in the spring of 2013. Media reports speculated that Lewthwaite was working to gain support for an all-female suicide squad in East Africa. The Daily Mail states that “she is known as ‘*dada mzungu*’ – Swahili for white sister – and is described as serving ‘Allah as his female soldier’ and who commands her all-female mujahid terror squad and conducts operations against *kuffar* [non-Muslims].”⁸¹ More recently, Lewthwaite was linked again in yet-unproven allegations to terrorism in Kenya, this time at the Westgate Mall terrorist attack in September 2013.⁸² Since the completion of this paper, Lewthwaite was reported in the British media to have married a third husband and suspected warlord, Hassan Maalim Ibrahim.⁸³

⁷⁹ “Hunt for 7-7 White Widow: Samantha Lewthwaite believed to be involved in Yemen terror plot,” *The Mirror*, August 11, 2013, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/hunt-77-white-widow-samantha-2149925>

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Rebecca Evans and Duncan Gardham, “Now White Widow is connected to British-born Al Qaeda bomb maker: Fugitive wife of 7/7 terrorist was key link between Pakistan and East African extremists,” *Mail Online*, May 13, 2013, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2323983/Now-White-Widow-connected-British-born-Al-Qaeda-bomb-maker.html>

⁸² Nic Robertson, “Did ‘White Widow’ Samantha Lewthwaite spy on Kenya mall?” *CNN*, Oct 25, 2013, <http://www.cnn.com/2013/10/24/world/africa/kenya-white-widow-landlord/> also, Mike Pflanz, “Samantha Lewthwaite fled flat overlooking Nairobi mall ‘in tears,’” *The Telegraph*, October 23, 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/kenya/10400422/Samantha-Lewthwaite-fled-flat-overlooking-Nairobi-mall-in-tears.html>

⁸³ Source: Daily Mail Online, Tara Brady, “White Widow Samantha Lewthwaite marries ruthless Somali warlord while on the run after ditching her ‘Suicide Brigade’ bodyguards,” *Daily Mail Online*, June 2. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2640354/White-Widow-Samantha-Lewthwaite-marries-ruthless-Somali-warlord-run-ditching-Suicide-Brigade-bodyguards.html>

Shasta Khan

In 2011, Shasta Khan's third husband was identified to police by her brother as a suspected "homegrown terrorist". When police spoke to Khan, she readily admitted her husband's activities; she was also later discovered to be involved in terrorist activities.⁸⁴ Following an assault by Khan's husband on her father, police were called to deal with the domestic dispute, resulting in the involvement by police. "Police discovered a cache of terror-related material at the couple's home ... that could have been used to make an improvised explosive device." Also found in the home was "an article from an al-Qaeda magazine entitled 'Make a bomb in the kitchen of your mom,' and offered a step-by-step guide on how to get ingredients without raising suspicion, to building a bomb." There was strong evidence that the couple had reconnoitred Jewish areas together in which to explode their device – pointing to their intention to commit an act of terror in a Jewish-populated area."⁸⁵ The media reports did not offer information about possible links to operatives of any specific terror organizations, but suggested that the pair "had become radicalized by material found on the Internet."⁸⁶ Kahn abandoned her Western style of dress in favour of Islamic dress and followed terrorist propaganda on the internet after her marriage to her third husband.



Shasta Khan, 2011.
Source: The Daily Mail

Ayan Hadi

In 2011, Ayan Hadi, 31, was charged with a terror offence, specifically that she failed to alert the authorities in Britain "when her husband Richard Dart, a white Muslim convert, had planned to fly to Pakistan for combat training which could then be followed by violent acts of terrorism."⁸⁷ Moreover, Hadi's husband counseled her to say that he had gone to Pakistan for a wedding if the police contacted her.⁸⁸ At her sentencing, the judge trying her case observed that Hadi "was of good character and that neither she nor any member of her family had shown any jihadist sympathies."⁸⁹ Very little other information about Hadi or her background is available from credible media sources.



Ayan Hadi, Source: The Daily Mail

⁸⁴ "Homegrown' British terrorist bride jailed over Jewish plot," *The Telegraph*, July 20, 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/9415695/Homegrown-British-terrorist-bride-jailed-over-Jewish-plot.html>

⁸⁵ "Oldham wife Shasta Khan guilty of Jewish Jihad plan," *BBC News*, July 19, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-manchester-18882619>

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Steve Rob, "'Weak-willed' wife of Muslim convert terrorist is spared prison after failing to provide information which could have led to his arrest," *The Daily Mail*, 17 August, 2013, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2395758/Richard-Darts-wife-Ayan-Hadi-spared-prison-admits-failing-provide-information-led-arrest.html>

⁸⁸ "Terrorist Richard Dart's wife gets suspended jail term," *BBC News*, August 16, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-23728654>

⁸⁹ Matthew Taylor, "Wife of convicted terrorist Richard Dart gets 12-month suspended sentence," *The Guardian*, August 16, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/aug/16/wife-convicted-terrorist-suspended-sentence>.

Roshonara Choudhry



Roshonara Choudhry. Source: [The Daily Mail](#)

In 2010, 21-year-old British-born Roshonara Choudhry made an assassination attempt on British MP Stephen Timms in retribution for voting for the Iraq war. A gifted and committed student and model young woman, *The Guardian* reported that “The police investigation found that in the last quarter of 2009 Choudhry began downloading from the internet sermons and material [given by an influential and high-ranking Islamic cleric advocating] the need for violent action to combat the atrocities of the west against Muslims around the world. [The sermons] urged followers to do what they could, when they could, no matter how small.”⁹⁰ The astonishing aspect of this case is that a well-educated young British woman with no apparent background that might point to a motivation towards violence, and solely on the basis of listening to a cleric’s YouTube sermons, led her to believe that “[Muslims] shouldn’t allow the people who oppress [them] to get away with it.” The article went on to say that “The effect of listening to and viewing the cleric’s video was such that, despite the fact that Choudhry never met or had any contact with him, she chose to withdraw from contact with her friends and ended her studies, quitting as the top student in her course at King’s College London in April 2010 before carrying out her attack a month later.”⁹¹ Another strategic question that might well be asked: how persuasive was this radical of unknown scholarly Islamic achievement or qualification, that he moved a rational and educated young woman to attempt to assassinate a political figure? How sophisticated and slick were these sermons?⁹²

⁹⁰ Vickram Dodd, “Profile: Roshonara Choudhry,” *The Guardian*, November 2, 2010, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2010/nov/02/profile-roshonara-choudhry-stephen-timms> *The Daily Mail*,

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Michael Seamark, “Curse the judge, shout fanatics as the Muslim girl who knifed MP smiles as she gets life,” *The Daily Mail*, November 5, 2010, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1326208/Roshonara-Choudhry-knifed-MP-Stephen-Timms-smiles-gets-life.html>

⁹² Ironically, the same cleric that is reported to have influenced Choudhry is also credited with influencing a member of the Toronto 18, Saad Khalid, towards his involvement with that group’s plans, although not one of the husbands of the wives cited earlier in this paper. Source: Janet Davison and Janet Thomson, “Homegrown terrorist: Toronto 18 bomb plotter Saad Khalid recalls his radicalization,” *CBC News*, April 16, 2014. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/homegrown-terrorist-toronto-18-bomb-plotter-saad-khalid-recalls-his-radicalization-1.2532671>

Appendix C: Other Prominent Western Women Terrorists Outside of the Thesis Scope

Name of accused or offender	Age	Date of alleged or actual terrorist act and description.	Residence at the time of the terror activity.	Co-conspirator(s) or accomplice(s)?
Muriel Degauque	38	2005, died in suicide bombing	Brussels	Husband Issam Goris
Louise Lanctôt	23	1969, convicted of kidnapping of James Cross during FLQ crisis	Montreal, Québec	FLQ "Liberation cell," and more specifically a husband and a brother also in that cell.

The accounts and analysis of these two women were not included in this paper; however they are well worth noting. Muriel Degauque was not included because she hailed from Belgium, and not one of the countries identified for study in this paper. However, her story is one that is known among the experts who study the phenomenon of women terrorists and the details of her background and motivations fit with other Western homegrown women terrorists. Louise Lanctôt was also excluded, but only because the October crisis brought about by the FLQ in Montreal took place 45 years ago in 1969. The case studies presented in this paper were more contemporaneous and more applicable to the national security concerns of Canada in this, the second decade of the 21st century. However, the October crisis serves to illustrate that Canada is not invulnerable to producing a woman terrorist who is truly a "*pur laine*," ("dyed in the wool") national daughter. Had Lanctôt's case been included in this paper, her case would have been the only one in which religion was not explicitly linked in media reports to the act of terrorism that she was convicted of.⁹³

Muriel Degauque



Muriel Degauque. Source: Multicultural Netherlands

Muriel Degauque died in a suicide bombing in November 2005 in Baghdad under the veil of Islam, literally and figuratively. Degauque, 38, grew up in a Belgian town near Charleroi, Roman Catholic daughter of a factory worker and a medical secretary. It was thought that Degauque had a troubled childhood, rebellious and known to use drugs and often ran away from home. Nevertheless, she graduated from the best high school in the area and went on to work in restaurants and cafés. Degauque married, and then divorced a first husband while living in Charleroi. It is not clear when Degauque converted to Islam, but at some point, there was a conversion,

and Degauque adopted a head scarf. While married to her second husband Issam Goris, Degauque adopted Islamic practices including wearing a full robe and exhibiting conservative behaviour.⁹⁴ During the three years they were married, the couple lived in Gare de Midi, an area of Brussels where many Muslims similarly lived. Degauque's parents spoke of a cultural rift, and distancing that arose between the couple and her parents on their rare visits

⁹³ It should be noted, though, the Quebec "Quiet Revolution" of the 1960's was *implicitly* linked to the cultural reaction against the suffocating and powerful yet obsolete influence of the Roman Catholic church, and move towards a more secular government and society in that province.

⁹⁴ "Journey of Belgian female 'bomber.'" *BBC News*, December 2, 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4491334.stm>

to the Degauque parents' home.⁹⁵ Lilianne Degauque, Degauque's mother later commented to journalists that her daughter was vulnerable and had been brainwashed by M. Goris. What gripped many about this news story is that Degauque was thought to be the first known Western woman suicide bomber. Until that point, suicide terrorism and particularly female suicide terrorism had not touched Western nations in this way; now, native daughters were becoming involved.

Louise Lanctôt



Louise Lanctôt Cossette
Trudel Source: TruTV



Book cover, *Une Sorcière
Comme Les Autres*, 1981

Louise Lanctôt was a significant Canadian woman terrorist, as a member of the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ).⁹⁶ Lanctôt, born in Montreal, (sister and wife of two other FLQ members) and was one of 5 people called the "Liberation Cell" of the FLQ, and convicted kidnapper of James Cross, Senior British Trade Commissioner in Montreal in the 1969 October Crisis. She was 23 when she contributed to holding Cross hostage, participated in creating demands for the release of Cross, and threatened the execution of Cross if the

demands were not met. Eventually, Lanctôt was provided with safe passage to Cuba together with her husband, brother, and two other members of their cell as part of the negotiated conditions for the release of Cross. The group eventually travelled to France and later returned to Canada where they were tried and sentenced to prison terms.⁹⁷ This event is embedded in the Canadian psyche with shock as images of armed soldiers on the streets of Ottawa and Montreal gripped the nation with fear as never before in its history. In more recent years, Lanctôt has been employed in a number of provincial government-funded institutions in Quebec, and she has authored several books.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Nicholas Watt, "From Belgian cul-de-sac to suicide bomber in Iraq," *The Guardian*, December 2, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/dec/02/iraq.islam>

⁹⁶ Between 1961 and October 1969, the FLQ had been responsible for well over 100 violent incidents in Québec. The FLQ sought Québec independence (from Canada) and "a workers' society."

⁹⁷ Claude Bélanger, "Chronology of the October Crisis, 1970, and its Aftermath," *Chronologies of Quebec History*, August 2000, <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/chronos/october.htm>

⁹⁸ It is an interesting observation that Mme. Lanctôt never made excuses for her acts of terrorism, and has never publicly renounced terrorism as have some other high profile FLQ separatists.