



ECONOMIC ANNALS-XXI

ISSN 1728-6239 (Online)
ISSN 1728-6220 (Print)
<https://doi.org/10.21003/ea>
<http://www.soskin.info/ea/>

Volume 177 Issue (5-6) 2019

Citation information:

Lehka, O., Myroniuk, R., Myroniuk, S., & Lukács, E. (2019). Terrorism with a «woman's appearance»: economic background and legal tools for forming a counteracting strategy. *Economic Annals-XXI*, 177(5-6), 34-43. doi: <https://doi.org/10.21003/ea.V177-03>

UDC: 339.9:341:343.4



Oksana Lehka

D.Sc. (Law), Associate Professor,
Head of Department of Criminal Law,
Dnipro Humanitarian University
1-B Orlovska Ave., Dnipro, 49064, Ukraine
legkaoksana@ukr.net
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4775-3742>



Stanislava Myroniuk

PhD (Law), Assistant Professor,
Department of Tactical and Special Training,
Dnipropetrovsk State University of Internal Affairs
26 Gagarin Ave., Dnipro, 49005, Ukraine
slava_M1979@ukr.net
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6462-2173>



Roman Myroniuk

D.Sc. (Law), Professor,
Department of Administrative Law,
Process and Administrative Activity,
Dnipropetrovsk State University of Internal Affairs
26 Gagarin Ave., Dnipro, 49005, Ukraine
mironyk1311@gmail.com
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9620-5451>



Eszter Lukács

PhD (Economics), Associate Professor,
Szechenyi Istvan University
1 Egyetem tér Str., Győr, H-9026, Hungary
lukacs.eszter@sze.hu
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6066-6881>

Terrorism with a «woman's appearance»: economic background and legal tools for forming a counteracting strategy

Abstract. The authors have researched the phenomenon of female terrorism in the area of rational choice and economic benefit. Popular quotations «qui prodesse» and «cherchez la femme» are combined from these positions in the non-standard authors' approach to understanding the motivational factors underlying extremist movements. It has been proved that the increase in the number of women in the ranks of terrorists is largely due to the so-called economic benefit factor for the terrorist acts organisers. The actions of a suicide bomber, in the broad sense, are predominantly based on a rational basis: the achievement of the last personal good - identity. The article presents the transformation of female terrorism in the historical perspective; actual conflicts and contradictions in international law and national legal systems, as well as false social attitudes and stereotypes complicating the fight against this dangerous social phenomenon.

Data obtained from the social networks allows concluding that hundreds of women are now fighting in the ranks of militants in the East of Ukraine. At the beginning of the conflict, many of them hid their faces on personal pages on the Internet, hiding from their relatives a fact that they are hired killers. At the moment, most of them are proud of their participation in extremist groups, post their photos with weapons. Suicide terrorism of Muslim women and crimes committed by female militants in the East of Ukraine have one thing in common - the preparation and use of women as a living «weapon» by the extremist groups is cheaper either in terms of financial investments and costs for psychological brainwashing and military training.

Based on the analytical data and identified patterns, we have argued the strategic directions of counteraction to female terrorism and have proved the following: mankind will be able to break this danger on the condition of a new, free of stereotypes way of thinking and coordinated efforts of the world community in all spheres of social life including economic, legal, socio- and cultural ones.

Keywords: Female Terrorism; Economic Background; Rational Choice; Legal Conflicts; Strategy of Eradicating Female Terrorism

JEL Classification: D74; F29; F42; H56; K33; K42

Acknowledgements and Funding: The authors received no direct funding for this research.

Contribution: The authors contributed equally to this work.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21003/ea.V177-03>

Легка О. В.

доктор юридичних наук, доцент, завідувач,
кафедра кримінально-правових дисциплін,
Дніпровський гуманітарний університет, Дніпро, Україна

Миронюк Р. В.

доктор юридичних наук, професор,
кафедра адміністративного права, процесу та адміністративної діяльності,
Дніпропетровський державний університет внутрішніх справ, Дніпро, Україна

Миронюк С. А.

кандидат юридичних наук, старший викладач, кафедра тактико-спеціальної підготовки,
Дніпропетровський державний університет внутрішніх справ, Дніпро, Україна

Лукач Е.

кандидат економічних наук, доцент,
Університет Іштвана Сечені, Дьйор, Угорщина

Тероризм із «жіночим обличчям»:**економічні передумови та правовий інструментарій формування стратегії протидії****Анотація**

Дослідження феномену жіночого тероризму автори здійснили в площині раціонального вибору й економічного зиску. Крилаті вислови «qui prodesse» і «cherchez la femme» поєднуються з цих позицій у нестандартному авторському підході до розуміння мотиваційних факторів, що лежать в основі екстремістських рухів. У статті доведено, що збільшення кількості жінок у рядах терористів значною мірою зумовлене фактором «економічної вигоди» для організаторів терористичних актів. Дії терористки-смертниці, у широкому розумінні, також переважно мають раціональну основу: досягнення останнього особистого блага – ідентичності.

У статті представлено трансформацію жіночого тероризму в історичному зрізі; здійснено аналіз наявних у міжнародному праві та в національних правових системах колізій і суперечностей, а також хибних суспільних установок і стереотипів, що ускладнюють боротьбу з цим небезпечним суспільним явищем. На основі аналітичних даних і виявлених закономірностей ми обґрунтували стратегічні напрями протидії жіночому тероризму й довели: позбутися цієї небезпеки людство зможе за умови нового, позбавленого стереотипів, способу мислення й узгоджених зусиль світової спільноти в усіх вимірах суспільного життя – економічному, правовому, соціокультурному.

Ключові слова: жіночий тероризм; економічні передумови; раціональний вибір; правові колізії; стратегія подолання жіночого тероризму.

Легкая О. В.

доктор юридических наук, доцент, заведующая,
кафедра криминально-правовых дисциплин,
Днепропетровский гуманитарный университет, Днепр, Украина

Миронюк Р. В.

доктор юридических наук, профессор,
кафедра административного права, процесса и административной деятельности,
Днепропетровский государственный университет внутренних дел, Днепр, Украина

Миронюк С. А.

кандидат юридических наук, старший преподаватель, кафедра тактико-специальной подготовки,
Днепропетровский государственный университет внутренних дел, Днепр, Украина

Лукач Э.

кандидат экономических наук, доцент,
Университет Иштвана Сечени, Дьёр, Венгрия

Тероризм с «женским лицом»:**экономические предпосылки и правовой инструментарий противодействия****Аннотация**

Исследование феномена женского терроризма авторы осуществили в плоскости рационального выбора и экономической выгоды. Крылатые выражения «qui prodesse» и «cherchez la femme» сочетаются с этих позиций в нестандартном авторском подходе к пониманию мотивационных факторов, лежащих в основе экстремистских движений. В статье доказано, что увеличение количества женщин в рядах террористов в значительной мере обусловлено фактором «экономической выгоды» для организаторов террористических актов. Действия террористки-смертницы, в широком смысле, также имеют преимущественно рациональную основу: достижение последнего личного блага – идентичности.

В статье представлена трансформация женского терроризма в историческом срезе; осуществлен анализ имеющихся в международном праве и в национальных правовых системах коллизий и противоречий, а также ложных общественных установок и стереотипов, которые усложняют борьбу с этим опасным общественным явлением. На основе аналитических данных и выявленных закономерностей обоснованы стратегические направления противодействия женскому терроризму. Акцентируется внимание на том, что в современном глобальном мире сложно идентифицировать

и однозначно трактовать проявления агрессии как конкретный вид национального или транс-национального насилия. Терроризм стремительно развивается, приобретает новые, доселе неизвестные, гибридные формы. В этих условиях актуализируется новый способ мышления и новые подходы к борьбе с этим явлением, при этом профильные специалисты убеждаются в необходимости учитывать специфику женского терроризма. Сегодня безопасность государства уже не гарантирована военной мощью или значительными финансовыми вложениями в средства (материального или нематериального характера) защиты от потенциального врага. И то, что «портрет» врага все отчетливее приобретает женские черты, – сигнал обществу о недостаточной эффективности действий мирового сообщества для обеспечения как региональной, так и глобальной безопасности.

Ключевые слова: женский терроризм; экономические предпосылки; рациональный выбор; правовые коллизии; стратегия искоренения женского терроризма.

1. Introduction

The problem field of female terrorism is quite broad and concentrates on many aspects: geographical (at the place of terrorist groups deployment), operational (by the way of committing a terrorist attack), targeted (based on the target of terrorists), subjective (when personal qualities, motives, aspirations, social and economic and other living conditions of the woman who resorts to terrorist acts are under the research), legal (when attention is focused on the legal regulation of relations related to both bringing to responsibility for committing a terrorist act and prevention of women involvement to terrorist organisations and their protection and, if necessary, rehabilitation). We can highlight some other aspects in this regard, which are still understudied, although their topicality is out of the question and eventually becoming more acute. Thus, the following questions need to be answered:

- What motives are preferential for a woman in choosing a terrorist activity and how are these motives connected with ethnic and religious factors?
- Is a female terrorism a demonstration of activity, in particular due to feminist movement or passivity and helplessness of a woman who is only a weapon in the hands of an extremist organisation?
- Which strategy to counterterrorism with a «woman's appearance» is the most effective: conservative or progressive?
- Insufficient attention has been paid, in particular, to the phenomenon of suicidal women's terrorism. Each of these issues can be the subject of research of a separate scientific work.

The article researches female terrorism in the following aspects: evolution and transformation of female terrorism, types of women's terrorist activity, economic factors of actualisation and widespread use of a woman as a «living weapon» under conditions of Oriental and Occidental cultures, feminisation of the armed conflict in the East of Ukraine, the legal component of counterterrorism with the analysis of gaps and pitfalls available in international law.

2. Brief Literature Review

Terrorism has become the subject of many researches in different subject areas in recent decades. Thus, researches by K. N. Trapp (2011, 2015, 2016), T. Dannenbaum (2017), and I. A. Orlova & M. Pacek (2018) are of interest from the perspective of the necessity of criminalising aggression, in particular on the part of terrorist groups, as well as improvement of definite international rules. Economic components of counter-terrorist issues have been highlighted by M. Harrison (2003), D. Linnot (2007); B. J. Lutz & J. M. Lutz (2017), and K. Zucchi (2018), while the role of media in symbolic discourse of terrorism has been thoroughly analysed by D. L. Altheide (2006).

The position of S. G. Jones & M. C. Libicki (2008) is also worth mentioning. They prove the necessity for al-Qaeda to confront the United States by means of police and intelligence and rejecting traditional understanding of «war on terror». Interdisciplinary researches by M. Wilson & J. Piazza (2013), C. M. Clarke (2014), B. San-Akca (2016), G. Griffiths, Sh. D Johnson & K. Chetty (2017), as well as V. A. Ponomarev (2017) are also dedicated to the issue of counter-terrorism at the international level. At the same time, it should be noted that the issue of attracting women to terrorist activity has not been put enough attention to. The psychological and social factors contributing to the development of women's predisposition to extremism have been predominantly studied. The monograph by Bulgarian researcher T. Dronsina (2011), which gives profound theoretical analysis of female terrorism issue and provides different approaches to its solution, is of much interest among a limited number of works on this issue.

3. The purpose of the article is to research the phenomenon of suicidal women's terrorism from the point of view of rational choice of organisers of a terrorist act and its performers; to substantiate the strategy of counteracting terrorism with a «woman's appearance».

4. Results

4.1. Transformation of terrorism in the historical development context.

Types of terrorist activity of women

The transformation of terrorism in the 19th and 20th centuries is well illustrated by the concept of D. C. Rapoport (2004), a professor of California University, representing its development in the form of four successive «waves» that differ in purpose, motive and basic concepts. The first wave is anarchic (the 1880s - the 1920s), the second is anti-colonial (the 1920s - the end of the 1960s), the third wave belongs to the so-called «new left» (the 1970s - 1990s of the twentieth century), the fourth wave is religious (since 1979 until today). At the end of the 1980s, the researchers of terrorism were forced to state its gradual «feminisation». In many Western European countries, in the last decades of the 20th century, women constituted from one quarter to one half of the total number of terrorist groups members. New trends and directions emerged in the content of terrorism in the 1990. However, at the beginning of the 21st century jihadist terrorism or jihadism prevailed.

Modern terrorism is changing dynamically, and this fact complicates the task of forming an exhaustive list of its types. It should be noted that scholars have not formulated a common classification of criminal acts that correspond to the concept of terrorism. In some classifications, one can observe a combination of terrorism types from completely different «planes» of the research of this phenomenon, for instance, by the nature of the subject of terrorist activity and their spatial dislocation. Thus, there are different types of terrorism such as religious, state, organized and spontaneous, as well as the so-called «air» terrorism, which often intermingle. In our opinion, it is groundless to distinguish such type of terrorism as «criminal» terrorism (V. Lunieiev), as the actions of the terrorist cannot be non-criminal. Our research is focused on female terrorism and types of women's terrorist activity which are necessary to be systematised. We offer to put motivational component as a basis of female terrorism classification. This approach is based, first of all, on differences between Occidental and Oriental civilizations and, accordingly, psychosomatic and cognitive peculiarities and women's guidelines to life in mentally different societies. We proceed from the fact that the level of gender equality in society is a key indicator which determines motivation of a woman to commit a terrorist act. The reason for such statement can be the comparison of world countries indices by the degree of terrorism threat and gender equality. Under the results of the conducted researches, ten countries with the highest rates of terrorist acts threat (from 1 to 10) rank the lowest positions in the Gender Equality Index and the Social Progress Index (Table 1).

Statistics show that Muslim women often become committers of suicidal terrorist acts just within the activity of extremist organisations. The need to obey a man proclaimed by Islam, insufficient independence of a woman under Oriental culture conditions provide fertile ground for the last choice in life - the «shahid belt». Under Occidental culture conditions, where gender equality is supported, women turn to terrorism not due to hopelessness or desire to equalise their rights with those of men. Their choice, as a rule, is purely rational - monetary reward, «career» development within particular

Table 1:
Global Terrorism, Gender Equality, and Social Progress indices in 10 countries with the highest rates of terrorist acts threat

	Ranking Position		
	Global Terrorism Index	Gender Equality Index	Social Progress Index
Iraq	1	123	–*
Afghanistan	2	153	144
Nigeria	3	151	112
Syria	4	136	–*
Pakistan	5	133	116
Somali	6	–*	–*
India	7	127	100
Yemen	8	160	138
Egypt	9	101	96
the Philippines	10	97	91
Countries in total in the ranking	163	160	146

Note: * Research was not conducted in some countries due to high level of terrorist threat.

Source: Compiled by the authors based on available data from:

<https://knoema.ru/zafqchc/global-terrorism-index> (2017)

<https://gtmarket.ru/ratings/gender-equity-index-un/info> (2018)

<https://knoema.ru/atlas/topics/Мировые-рейтинги/Мировые-рейтинги/Social-progress-index> (2017)

extremist group, experiencing new emotions, etc. Representatives of the modern Occidental culture, subject to the absence of mental deviations, are less prone to suicidal acts. A special focus should be put on cases when women who are pressed, broken mentally or are under effect of drugs become «suicide bombers». Thus, we propose to distinguish *rational* female terrorism and its two vectors - to get material or non-material benefits, and *irrational* based on beliefs, feelings and emotions of a woman. Sense of choice is a key distinction between the first and the second types. We will examine in detail the motivational component of female terrorism from the perspective of rational choice of the terrorist act perpetrator and its organisers based on economic factors.

4.2. Legal aspects of countering terrorism: conceptual collisions and prospects for improving legal guidance

Countering terrorism begins with its identification and comprehension of the essential features. The answer to the question how to act requires a categorical definition of the concepts of terrorism in jurisprudence, as well as labelling process as criminal. In 1992, UN experts suggested that all attacks on non-military objects and targets be considered as acts of terrorism. At the same time, it was proposed to include into the grade of terrorist acts not only the taking of hostages and the capture of aircraft, but also the killing of prisoners. Terrorism was suggested to be considered equivalent to war crimes committed in times of peace.

In the opinion of Henner Hess (2003, p. 345), modern interpretations should take into account the changeability of historical situation and especially that «modern terrorism is the result of globalization and empires construction», which determines its transformation from «provincial to global», from the form of political crime to the form of criminalised war. Crime and war are different categories and every act of violence should be referred either to one or to the other category. This distinction is enshrined in Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 relating to the protection of victims of non-international armed conflicts (Protocol I), of 8 June 1977. It is worth mentioning that four Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols form the basis of international humanitarian law in terms of countering violence in various dimensions of armed conflict. At the same time, there is no unified and agreed definition of terrorism, which is absolutely necessary, first of all, for the proper qualification of extremist groups' criminal activity and the choice of appropriate ways of national or international legal protection. The lack of a clear definition of terrorism made it impossible to include it in the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court: in accordance with the Rome Statute; the court is empowered to use its jurisdiction to genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes.

Certain groups of researchers of terrorism propose to identify it as a form of violence, in regard to which none of the existing categories can be acceptable. Thus, G. P. Fletcher (2006) argues that terrorists are not to be regarded as ordinary criminals, despite the fact that their violent actions are identical in nature to those of a criminal offender. Terrorists are criminals (the concept of criminal law), yet they are also enemies (the notion of lexical-semantic series, in which the original concept is war). Accordingly, there are proposals to treat terrorism as a more dangerous version of crime or as a crime of the highest level, which incorporates some characteristics of the war as a kind of hybrid of war and crime. In the framework of jurisprudence, this point of view is inspired by R. Nosik, who delimits the offense against which an individual is sued, and a crime that harms society as a whole. Legal challenges related to the ambiguity of referring terrorism to one or another category create a series of difficulties in combating it. We agree with the opinion of Mark Juergensmeyer (2017) that the definition of terrorism should be separated from politics and updated in the sphere of criminal law. It should focus on the components of the crime and the facts that are uncontroversial and constitute its spirit and parameters. The author considers that the indisputable facts are as follows. Firstly, terrorism is violence against defenceless victims. Secondly, this violence cannot be justified by any legitimate authority. A similar view is at the heart of the approach used by international organisations in the development of documents aimed at countering and preventing terrorism. At the same time, democratic states are still insufficiently equipped with the necessary legal tools for effective cooperation in their fight against terrorism at the international level in particular. As a summary of our thoughts on the prospects for improving the legal guidance for combating terrorism, one can refer to the viewpoint expressed by Kimberley N. Trapp (2016): «If states fail to comply with their obligations to apply universal jurisdiction to terrorist organisers, their extradition or prosecution, we will never win transnational terrorism».

It should be emphasised that female terrorism, in its most various manifestations, has its own specificity and the fight against it will be successful under the condition of proper legal support. We agree with scholar R. Perelyhina (2015) who offers to introduce the concept of «international criminology

of female terrorism» for scientific use. This will make it possible to actualise a separate specialised branch of modern criminological science that will study a female terrorism as a phenomenon of contemporary international political processes, historic and political reasons for its origin as well as to develop efficient instrument to counteract this negative phenomenon in modern world.

4.3. Economic fundamentals of the phenomenon of female terrorism: motivation for choosing executors and organisers of terrorist acts

4.3.1. The rational component of the suicide-attackers' motivation

We will consider a motivational component of female terrorism from the perspective of a rational choice of a terrorist act perpetrator and its organisers, which is based on economic factors.

Most typically suicidal terrorist acts are considered in the context of serving the idea. In case of Islamist jihadism, religion gives leaders of terrorist structures not only ideology, but also motivation and organisational structure. At the same time, terrorism has no religious but political prerequisites, whereas belief, religious institutions and rituals only constitute a mechanism that simplifies the process of achieving the goal. Religion becomes an instrument for moral justification of a terrorist act. It guarantees the martyr reward in the afterlife, and the use of symbols, myths and rituals allows one to mobilise a large number of people in the name of the common cause. Religion is far ahead of any other public institution as to its opportunities of mobilising and uniting masses, and the usage of religion as a ground for terrorist attacks against people of other beliefs in combination with nationalism leads to terrible consequences. Thus, the key factor that incites members of a terrorist group to destroy others at the cost of their lives is an objective of the organisation, enshrined in religious postulates, such as national emancipation claim to control the territory, liberation from foreign «occupiers», success in political competition, economic benefits and so on.

A rational approach to understanding the causes of the suicidal terrorism existence implies the statement that there is a demand for such «services». At the same time, the market of martyrs can hardly be called prosperous, and not because of the lack of proposals, but due to the limited demand.

The boundaries of demand depend on several factors. In particular, people who sacrifice their lives, do not act spontaneously or in isolation. The sacrifice of these people should be rewarded in a group context. It is of importance to note that only certain groups (organisations) are able to provide a large-scale «production» of social and symbolic awards necessary to encourage suicidal acts. Numerous internal and external threats also complicate the so-called «production». Moreover, profitability of terrorism, which is important for its success, is a combination of a number of social, political and economic pathologies in the chronological and territorial dimensions (Iannaccone, 2006).

Rational motivation for women being involved in suicidal terrorist attacks cannot be reduced to material consideration. Although getting money compensation by the families of «female bombers» is a fairly widespread practice.

One of the key motives for a woman who is on this path is to change her social role and the new life awaiting her in the organisation, which is fundamentally different from the life of an ordinary woman. The possibility to study side by side with men, have weapons, as well as relative freedom of movement, constant emotional stress, awareness of themselves as part of a community that shares common values and aspires to one goal - it all becomes decisive arguments for self-sacrifice in the name of the organisation and the purpose she puts.

The specialists of the state of New York University in their study «Inter-regional trends in female terrorism» (Cunningham & Karla, 2003) believe that it is the inability to participate in traditional forms of political life that is pushing women to terrorism in many countries. Women are not influential, and their role in life is insignificant. It is this obscurity that makes women a worthwhile goal for terrorists. The rejection of the usual model of female fate points to the way of gaining a sense of existence for the female terrorist. In such a way, she strives for a new identity because of her own dissatisfaction.

It is worth mentioning the interpretation of suicide attackers' actions in terms of economic theory, presented by Mark Harrison (2003). He interprets the choice of the perpetrator of the terrorist act as «payment in life for identity», arguing that the rational choice is the basis of the terrorist's actions - obtaining a certain form of well-being and recognition at the cost of death, especially if such acts are widely covered in the media. However, with the increase in the number of such terrorist acts, the «profit reduction law» inevitably enters into force, which is sure to reduce incentives for a potential suicide bomber.

4.3.2. Economic benefits for the organisers of terrorist acts from engaging women in terrorist attacks

Today, a terrorist woman is, first of all, a cheap weapon in the hands of extremist organisations, used to achieve certain political, economic and other goals. We would like to note that the leaders of extremist movements have begun to practice widespread involvement of women in terrorist attacks only in recent decades. On 27 January 2002, at a rally organised by Fatah and dedicated to the role of women in liberation struggle, Arafat called Palestinians «my army of roses» and for the first time in public approved the participation of women in suicidal terrorist acts. We must note that the slogan «black widows - to Jerusalem!», proclaimed by him, created a precedent for using the word «shashid» in the feminine genre, which is unacceptable for the Arabic language. The same day, Arafat's call came to life by the Palestinian Wafa Idris, who blew herself up, killing a civilian Israeli and wounding 90 civilians at the same time.

The analysis of the volume of expenditures, that is tangible and intangible investments made by terrorist organisations in the preparation and use of a live weapon, which is oftener a woman, lets us make a conclusion: it is a profitable «business» for the leaders of these organisations.

Firstly, recruiting women in Palestine, as well as in other areas of terrorism, has obvious tactical advantages. Women cause less suspicion; they are able to penetrate places which are not accessible to men, and carry more explosives under clothing. It is believed that women are more merciful, compassionate and weaker in «fighting spirit» than men. At the same time, this is not always the case. On the contrary, women, by virtue of their inherent features of nervous activity (higher mobility, emotionality, irritability), become aggressive and subjected to the idea of destruction quicker than men. W. Lucker, an expert on terrorism, concluded that women, members of terrorist structures, were generally more courageous and devoted to the ideals and goals of the organisation, more fanatical than men.

Secondly, the financial support of the families of «female bombers», who have committed successful terrorist actions, is half the amount paid to the families of men killed in the same way.

Thirdly, preparing a woman for a terrorist suicidal act is less costly. There are no facts that the preparation of any of the successful suicide bombers lasted long. It is necessary to note that it is easier to prepare women for the role of suicide bombers: they are better manageable than men, and are more effectively exposed to psychological influence.

Thus, we can state there exist compelling reasons for the leaders of terrorist structures that become crucial in choosing a woman as a suicide bomber.

4.4. Feminisation of terrorism in the armed conflict in the East of Ukraine

With the beginning of the armed conflict in the East of Ukraine, cases of women's involvement into terrorist activities were recorded. Thus, in 2014, in Slaviansk, Ukrainian troops detained three female snipers who tried to prove that they had only served the terrorists and had not committed any unlawful actions. According to Info Resist, a team of women snipers in the number of 18-20 people were working in Slaviansk at that time. Their main task was to destruct Ukrainian Army officers. For each killed officer they were offered USD 1,000.

Over five years of Ukrainian military confrontation with the militants of the self-proclaimed Donetsk and Luhansk people's republics, the media repeatedly reported on the facts of female terrorist activity in these territories. Oksana Herasymova, a terrorist sniper, who had collected taxes in peaceful life and had not even held arms in her hands before the conflict in Donbas, gained doubtful popularity. In 2015, in the interview with the Daily Mail journalists she proudly told that her «account» was 24 dead Ukrainians.

Recently, there has been an increase in dissatisfaction among local militants in these temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine: terrorist financing has significantly decreased in comparison with 2015. It is significant that differences in the amount of payment on a gender basis are not observed: on the average, both men and women receive the same monetary reward. Its size depends, first of all, on qualifications and experience (Table 2). However, women are less prone to protest against low pay. In addition, a woman, rather than a man, is refused a compensation for an injury. Most women fighting in the East of Ukraine are well aware of the fact that in case of their death their family will not be able to rely on money promised by militants. For this reason, a woman with low social and economic status in the absence of relatives, who can claim for financial compensation from the leaders of the self-proclaimed republics, is the most profitable «weapon» in the hands of extremists.

In order to join the ranks of militants, the so-called «local authorities» have intensified propaganda activity among the population. Particular attention was paid to the involvement of women, in particular militants' wives, into military operations. There are numerous photos of married couples, young girls

Table 2:
Estimated monthly reward of a terrorist in the east of Ukraine

Qualification	2015*	2018**
Combat performers	\$750-800	\$235-250
Officer corps	\$1,200-1,400	\$250-300
Soldiers who have experience in military conflicts or specialty in demand	\$1,200 and more	\$300 and more

Source: Compiled by the authors based on available information from:

* - <http://iqreview.ru/economy/who-pays-for-the-war-in-urkaine/#i-7>;

** - social networks

with arms in their hands in local media and social networks. The Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation has posted a calendar for 2019 on its website, in which the month of September is «decorated» with the photo of a sniper girl and the inscription «You can go crazy for some women». Lending glamour to murder or bringing it to the notion of a demanded and well-paid «job» are all usual propaganda techniques. And both in the first and second cases young women with unstable psyches and burning aspirations for adventure and rapid enrichment are more likely to fall under their influence.

An analysis of data obtained from social networks allows concluding that hundreds of women are now fighting in the ranks of militants in the East of Ukraine. At the beginning of the conflict, many of them hid their faces on personal pages on the Internet, hiding from their relatives a fact that they are hired killers. At the moment, most of them are proud of their participation in extremist groups, post their photos with weapons in social networks and make no secret of the fact that they worked or work for the Russian army. Open appeals to women to join the so-called «Russian spring» with the conditions of entering criminal groups are quite accessible on Telegram, Facebook, VKontakte and Twitter.

The motivation of female militants and female suicide bombers of ISIL who carry out terrorist attacks in different parts of the world differs greatly. At the same time suicide terrorism of Muslim women and crimes committed by female militants in the East of Ukraine have one thing in common - the preparation and use of women as a living «weapon» by extremist groups is cheaper both in terms of financial investments and costs for psychological brainwashing and military training.

4.5. Strategy for the eradication of female terrorism

The fight against terrorism in today's globalised world requires a whole set of measures which are grouped according to two strategies. The first one is conservative which provides the use of legitimate violence against terrorists. The second one is progressive, aimed at finding humane ways to solve the problem: certain actions in political games, economic preferences for key leaders of extremist movements and so on. However, both of these strategies have serious disadvantages: violence as an instrument for countering violence leads only to an increase in its scale and acts are perceived by extremists as a weakness of the enemy and convince them of their impunity. In both cases, only the treatment of the symptoms of this terrible disease of a modern, globalised society is carried out, while its underlying causes remain out of sight. Activation of female terrorism in recent decades is a signal to society that ineffective «treatment» increases the danger to humanity in a geometric progression.

On 20 December 2015, the UN Secretary-General presented an action plan to prevent violent extremism. In this document, the Secretary-General paraphrased the connection between violent extremism and terrorism and stressed the need to go beyond mere military responses and to adopt an integrated approach in fight against this phenomenon. The plan recommends that member states should provide the extension of women's rights in their respective national plans to prevent violent extremism. In the presence of a range of documents adopted at the international and national levels, the issue of female terrorism is still not given enough attention to. Specific approaches and means are necessary to solve it. In our opinion, the strategy for female suicide terrorism eradication should include, firstly, its scientific research, secondly, breaking existing stereotypes in society and, thirdly, creating conditions (social, economic, political, legal, etc.) which would destroy or at least minimize the motivational base for potential women suicide bombers.

As to the first part of our strategy, we can note that there are currently no fundamental scientific researches on this issue and therefore we consider it necessary to clarify the scientific understanding of female terrorism by enriching the empirical basis. It is impossible to invent effective ways to eradicate this phenomenon without reliable empirical data on the number of women in extremist groups, as well as terrorist suicidal acts carried out by them (taking into account the geography and chronology of this type of terrorism), without analysing the motivational component of the actions of suicide bombers and their «employers». Unfortunately, there is no open access to the vast majority of analytical data

as to the number of female militants and their quality, the amount of payment for their so-called «services». They are usually assigned a «security label» at the state level and are not subject to disclosure.

In addition, the identification, analysis and evaluation of female terrorism must be carried out in the context of the realities in which it occurs. All attempts to research this phenomenon focusing exceptionally on the conceptual and methodological basis of Western cultural and scientific tradition are bound to failure.

One of the components of proposed strategy to counter female terrorism is overcoming the stereotypes existing in the public consciousness. In particular, a gender stereotype, according to which, a woman may be an object rather than a subject of violence. And this requires a change of media discourse that represents suicide bombers mainly as victims and not as violators. We should note that suicide bombers have always been the object of high level of attention from the media audience. By the way, this particular stereotype is cynically used by extremists to propagate their organisation, ideology and goals: a woman who gave life for the sake of the idea, unlike a man, attracts sympathy rather than indignation from people. It should be noted that it is the mechanism of interaction «terrorism - the media - society» which determines the scale of terrorism spread. A terrorist act loses its significance and ceases to be profitable for its organisers unless it receives a powerful social resonance. Thus, «freedom of speech», ironically, acts as a «participator» of extremism.

The support (both at the country and international level) of moderate trends in Islam denying Islamist interpretations of jihad and the participation of women in it is of great importance in cases of terrorism legitimized by religion.

In the destruction of existing stereotypes, particular attention should be paid to the following two areas. Firstly, to the consolidation of understanding in the public consciousness: the feminisation of the nationalist discourse of radical organisations, for which suicide bombers are the tool of struggle, does not mean ensuring the equality of women. Secondly, to the demythologisation of extremist organisations leaders that encourages suicidal terrorism. In order to achieve these goals, it is necessary to use media resources, social networks, and all possible means of modern communication systematically and professionally.

The third component of the strategy to eradicate the phenomenon of female terrorism should be focused on economic and legal factors. The best way to avoid the transformation of women into mined mechanisms in the hands of terrorists is to improve the quality of life, to provide legal protection and respect for their right to realisation as productive members of society.

From the viewpoint of gender relations, Islam affirms patriarchal ideas characterised by discrimination of a woman against the background of a man. Primary function of a woman is to fulfil their biological task, that is, to be a wife and a mother. Accordingly, their rush to terrorist activity is conditioned, as a rule, by a kind of protest against the existing social reality, the place and role of a woman in society.

At the same time, traditional and religious beliefs are undergoing a gradual transformation in an open globalised society and, accordingly, the status of a woman in an oriental civilization culture is changing. New educational, professional, social opportunities are opening for it. The support of these positive tendencies, including legal and financial, from international organisations, as well as various interstate human rights associations is a guarantee of successful implementation in practice the strategy proposed by us to overcome such extremely dangerous for humanity phenomenon as female terrorism.

5. Conclusions

Due to the patterns of social perception established in the society, a woman, is not associated with aggression and violence. In addition, the actions of a suicide bomber are considered mainly from the point of view of irrational thinking, religious exaltation or social disorganisation. Accordingly, such studies are concentrated in the areas of psychology, sociology, political science, while economic factors pale into insignificance. The increase in the number of women in extremist structures, along with other reasons, is largely due to the so-called «economic benefit» factor for the organisers of terrorist acts. To eliminate this extremely dangerous phenomenon, it is important to study female terrorism and from the perspective of the rational choice of the perpetrator of a terrorist act. We have proved that a suicidal terrorist act, committed by a woman, may well be interpreted in the enlarged sense as rational, since it aims at achieving the last personal good - identity.

The non-standard approach to solving the problem in this case will eliminate the barriers existing on the way of combating terrorism: false social settings and stereotypes, irrational use of funds at both national and the interstate levels, conflicts and contradictions existing in the international law and in national legal systems.

References

1. Altheide, D. L. (2006). The Mass Media, Crime and Terrorism. *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, 5(4), 982-997. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/jicj/mql061>
2. Clarke, C. M. (2014). Counter-Terrorism. In J. S. Albanese, et al. (Eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice*. New Jersey, USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
3. Cunningham, K. J. (2003). Cross-Regional Trends in Female Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 26(3), 171-195. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100390211419>
4. Dannenbaum, T. (2017). Why Have We Criminalized Aggressive War? *The Yale Law Journal*, 126(5), 1242-1318. Retrieved from https://www.yalelawjournal.org/pdf/DannenbaumFinalPDF_wfr13641.pdf
5. Dronzina, T. (2011). *Terrorism's female face (results of international research)*. Astana: Book series of the journal «International Studies. Society. Policy. Economy». Retrieved from <http://www.antiterrortoday.com/images/docs/Wooman%20obraz%20v%20ter.pdf> (in Russ.)
6. Fletcher, G. P. (2006). The Indefinable Concept of Terrorism. *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, 4(5), 894-911. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/jicj/mql060>
7. Gill, P., Horgan, J., & Deckert, P. (2014). Bombing Alone: Tracing the Motivations and Antecedent Behaviors of Lone-Actor Terrorists. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 59(2), 425-435. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1556-4029.12312>
8. Gomes, J. F. (2015). The Political Economy of the Maoist Conflict in India: An Empirical Analysis. *World Development*, 68, 96-123. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2014.11.021>
9. Griffiths, G., Johnson, Sh. D., & Chetty, K. (2017) UK-based Terrorists' Antecedent Behaviour: A Spatial and Temporal Analysis. *Applied Geography*, 86, 274-282. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apgeog.2017.06.007>
10. Harrison, M. (2003). The Economics of Martyrdom. Warwick University Research Paper.
11. Hess, H. (2003). Like zealots and Romans: Terrorism and empire in the 21st century. *Crime, Law & Social Change*, 39(4), 339-357. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1024086711511>
12. Iannaccone, L. R. (2006). The Market of Martyrs. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion*, 2(4), 1-14. Retrieved from <http://www.religjournal.com/pdf/ijrr02004.pdf>
13. Juergensmeyer, M. (2017). *Terror in the Mind of God* (4th edition). Berkeley: University of California Press. Retrieved from <https://www.amazon.com/Terror-Mind-God-Fourth-Comparative/dp/0520291352>
14. Linnot, D. (2007). Economic aspects of terrorism and the fight against it. *Regionalnaia Politika (Regional Policy)*, 51(3), 137-154. Retrieved from <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/v/ekonomicheskie-aspekty-terrorizma-i-borby-s-nim-k-istorii-voprosa-popytka-analiza-predlozheniy-obse> (in Russ.)
15. Lutz, B. J., & Lutz, J. M. (2017). *Globalization and the Economic Consequences of Terrorism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
16. Marin, M. I., & Kasperovich, Yu. G. (2012). Psychology of murder terrorists. *Psihopedagogika v pravoohranitelnyih organah (Psychopedagogy in law enforcement)*, 1(48), 6-10. Retrieved from <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/psihologiya-terroristov-smertnits> (in Russ.)
17. Morin, R. (2015, June 15). Ukrainian female sniper reveals how she went from tax worker to pro-Russian executioner who killed two prisoners as they begged for their lives after telling them: «I have to kill you for my children's sake». *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3124278/Ukrainian-female-sniper-reveals-went-tax-worker-pro-Russian-executioner-killed-two-prisoners-begged-lives.html>
18. Orlova, I. A., & Pacek, M. (2018). International Legal Aspects of Fight against the International Terrorism: Problems of Legal Regulation. *Upravlencheskoe Konsultirovanie (Management Advice)*, 4, 8-15. doi: <https://doi.org/10.22394/1726-1139-2018-4-8-15> (in Russ.)
19. Perelyhina, R. V. (2015). Female terrorism as a phenomenon of contemporary political processes. *Law Review of Kyiv University of Law*, 1, 271-274. Retrieved from http://kul.kiev.ua/images/chasop/2015_1/CHAS15_1.pdf (in Ukr.)
20. Ponomarev, V. A. (2017). Terrorism as a from and a way of a forced conflict resolution: interpreting the generic characteristics. *Logos et Praxis*, 16(2), 65-74. doi: <https://doi.org/10.15688/lp.jvolsu.2017.2.7> (in Russ.)
21. Rapoport, D. C. (2004). The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism. In Cronin, A. K., & Ludes, J. M. (Eds.). *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (pp. 46-73), Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. Retrieved from <http://international.ucla.edu/media/files/Rapoport-Four-Waves-of-Modern-Terrorism.pdf>
22. Rosenfeld, J. E. (Ed.). (2011). *Terrorism, Identity and Legitimacy: The Four Waves theory and political violence* (1st edition). Abingdon: Routledge.
23. San-Akca, B. (2016). *States in Disguise: Causes of State Support for Rebel Groups*. New York: Oxford University Press.
24. Jones, S. G., & Libicki, M. C. (2008). *How terrorist groups end: lessons for countering al Qaeda* (2nd edition). Santa Monica: Rand Corporation.
25. Trapp, K. N. (2011). *State Responsibility for International Terrorism (Oxford Monographs in International Law)* (1st edition). New York: Oxford University Press.
26. Trapp, K. N. (2015). Shared Responsibility and Non-State Terrorist Actors. *Netherlands International Law Review*, 62(1), 141-160. Retrieved from <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1466737>
27. Trapp, K. N. (2016). The Potentialities and Limitations of Reactive Law Making: A Case Study in International Terrorism Suppression. *University of New South Wales Law Journal*, 39(3), 1191-1218. Retrieved from <http://classic.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/UNSWLawJl/2016/44.html>
28. Wilson, M. C., & Piazza, J. A. (2013). Autocracies and Terrorism: Conditioning Effects of Authoritarian Regime Type on Terrorist Attacks. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(4), 941-955. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12028>
29. Zucchi, K. (2018, October 26). *What Countries Spend on Antiterrorism*. Retrieved from <https://www.investopedia.com/articles/investing/061215/what-countries-spend-antiterrorism.asp>

Received 29.04.2019

Received in revised form 27.05.2019

Accepted 10.08.2019

Available online 18.09.2019