

A QUALITATIVE PATTERN ANALYSIS OF SUICIDE TERRORISM: FROM PAST
TO FUTURE TRENDS

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TO FUTURE TRENDS

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ABSTRACT

A QUALITATIVE PATTERN ANALYSIS OF SUICIDE TERRORISM: FROM PAST TO FUTURE TRENDS

by

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Continuous effort has been made to profile the suicide bomber. News about suicide attacks in Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and recently Somalia are covered in the news weekly, however, it rarely makes the front page anymore as they have become regular incidents across the world. Research suggests that there is no clear profile or single formula for a suicide bomber, and an individual engages in such practices because of mixed motivations. The typical suicide bomber is not mentally ill, desperate, poor, or uneducated, but usually healthy, well-educated, in his late teens/early twenties, but most importantly, anyone can become a suicide bomber provided the right condition. Future trends suggest that suicide terrorists use far more advanced methods compared to a decade ago, and they are more difficult to spot. There has been a change in target selection, and at present the main targets are civilians. The purpose of this study is to identify the suicide bomber and to provide a plentiful description of motivational factors in addition to detecting patterns from past behavior to future trends. This study concentrates primarily on Palestinian suicide bombers (Israel, the West Bank and Gaza).

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Between 1983 and 2006, more than 1,450 individuals have participated in suicide attacks in more than 31 countries (Schweitzer, 2008). Assaf Moghadam, Senior Researcher at the International Institute for Counterterrorism (ICT) in Israel, conducted significant research on suicide terrorism. He examined a database of 1,944 suicide attacks and found that 51 organizations were responsible for all attacks between 1981 and 2008 (Moghadam, 2009). In all, there were 21,167 dead and 49,717 wounded; on average every attack claimed the lives of 11 individuals and 25-26 wounded. Since 2008, there has been an increase in suicide attacks globally. According to Moghadam (2009), from 2000 to 2008 there were 1779 suicide attacks – more than ten times the amount during the period between 1980 and 1990. The year before the attack on the Twin Towers on 9/11/2001 only 20 suicide attacks occurred including one against an American target (the attack on *USS Cole*). Ten years later, the number has increased to more than 200 suicide terrorism attacks in 2010 alone, and most of those attacks (about 90 percent) were anti American (Pape, 2011). Suicide terrorism is no longer a unique event; it has become a regular occurrence in the international arena.

In the beginning of the 21st century, Israel had the highest death toll in the world due to suicide attacks (Brym & Araj, 2006). In Israel alone, 140 suicide bombings killed

542 people from 2000 to 2007. The year of 2002 was one of the worst in Israel with 220 deaths caused by suicide bombings. Since, the attacks have steadily declined. The year of 2007 recorded an all-time low of suicide bombing deaths with only three individuals killed. Nonetheless, these numbers show only deaths, and leave out the numerous innocent victims that have been wounded in those same attacks (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008).

Even though suicide bombings have declined in Israel, the threat worldwide is as serious as ever. Suicide bombings have become a common occurrence across the world, and such attacks rarely makes the front page anymore. Suicide terrorism is, without a doubt, one of the most effective ways to bring forth deadly violence and terror.

Organizations are constantly finding ways to recruit new suicide bombers—men, women, and even small children.

Changes in the Study of Suicide Terrorism

Not much emphasis was given to the study of suicide terrorism prior to 9/11/2001. Before 9/11/2001, suicide bombings were relatively rare events and not many scholars studied this phenomenon. Then, after 9/11/2001, more people have become fascinated with the issue, and suicide terrorism became increasingly popular as a subject to research. An increased interest in trying to make sense of it all arose. Avishag Gordon (2005), a scholar from the University of Haifa in Israel, explains this trend as evolving from people's desire to "return order into their lives and thoughts" (p. 48), and further explains that people are afraid of the unknown. Accordingly, people wanted to gain knowledge and understanding of roots and consequences of terrorism and suicide terrorism. New courses sprung up in schools and universities and a great number were dealing with Islam

and root causes of terrorism. However, despite the heightened interest in studying terrorism, a unified discipline failed to be created (Gordon, 2005; Laqueur, 2003).

Even so, several conferences have been held in several countries including the United States, Israel, and Turkey. One such conference was the Suicide Terrorism Research Conference in 2004 dedicated to the study of this phenomenon where presenters exchanged ideas (Hronick, 2006). The North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) Advanced Research Workshop on Motivation for Suicide Bombers was held in Ankara, Turkey in 2007 (Centre of Excellence, 2007). Israel has been plagued by suicide terrorism even before 9/11/2001 and the International Policy Institute for Counter Terrorism (ICT) held a conference in 2000 in Israel (International Policy Institute, 2000).

Different methods are now utilized in research including: (1) expert analysis, (2) interviews, (3) literature reviews, (4) analysis of event datasets, (5) data from secondary sources, and (6) surveys (Hronick, 2006). Researchers, such as R. A. Pape (2005) and A. Merari (2010) have compiled thorough databases of suicide attacks. Pape's database is said to be one of the most comprehensive and it includes 462 attacks from 1980 through 2003. In all, there are only a few extensive databases in the world on suicide terrorism. Some of the most noticeable are: Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism (CPOST), Suicide Terrorism Database in Flinders University in Australia, Suicide Terrorism Database in Israel, National Counterterrorism Center's (NCTC) Worldwide Incidents Tracking System in the United States, Global Terrorism Database (GTD), and International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorism Events (ITERATE) (Moghadam, 2009).

Purpose and Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is that suicide terrorism has changed radically over the last decade and has now become a truly global threat. The objective of this thesis is to review and explore extensive literature and synthesize information in order to conduct a qualitative pattern analysis and identify main findings from the sources pertaining to suicide terrorism. This study examines numerous articles and thirty-three books on the topic. The idea is to investigate how suicide bombers have evolved and identify a pattern in order to foresee any future trends.

This study concentrates on and attempts to answer the following questions:

1. Who are the suicide terrorists and how have they evolved throughout time?
2. What are the involving factors in becoming a suicide bomber?
3. What are the patterns in existing literature and do those patterns lead to an understanding of future trends?

This study focuses on identifying traits and characteristics of individuals who choose to become suicide bombers including: demographics, what motivational factors contribute to the individual's decision to engage in suicide terrorism, how they become recruited, their choice of weapons and tactics, and what aspects have changed over time.

Understanding what factors contribute to suicide bombing, we can better understand and predict future trends.

This thesis examines a diverse selection of literature in order to sense possible changes in suicide terrorism. It is important to look at multiple factors of suicide bombers, including what motivates the bomber, where does he/she operate, how he/she

operates, what is the recruitment processes, who are the recruiters, and how do they contribute to the making of a suicide bomber. Such knowledge will be helpful in developing a better understanding of this fast growing threat to peace. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been a catalyst for extensive suicide terrorism in the region, and this research has been narrowed to mainly focus on Palestinian suicide bombers. The intended audience of this research is anyone interested in the field of suicide terrorism and counter-terrorism. The intended outcome of this research is to provide a synthesis of existing literature and extrapolate the trends concerning suicide terrorism. This information can be a tool to aid in the fight against terrorism and further provide knowledge for countering suicide terrorism. Currently, the empirical research database on suicide bombers is relatively small. In order to prevent and diminish the growing threat it is important to increase our understanding of the suicide bombers: who the potential bomber is, what to look for, where the critical elements lie, how suicide terrorism has changed over time, and what the future trends look like.

Definition of terms

Terrorism

In order to understand suicide terrorism, it is important first and foremost to understand the meaning of the word terrorism and how the connotation changes from positive to negative. The word “terror” comes from *regime de la terreur* under the reign of Maximilien Robespierre during the French Revolution at the end of the 1700s. The purpose of the Reign of Terror was to intimidate anyone who opposed the new state by arrests and public guillotine executions (Hoffman, 2006). At that time, terrorism had a positive connotation referring to the justifiable means and methods to destroy the enemy

of the revolution. After Robespierre himself was executed, the word “terrorism” gained a negative connotation in association with “abuse of office and power” (Hoffman, 2006, p. 4). Today, terrorism has a negative connotation everywhere (Laqueur, 2003, p. 232). The character of terrorism has changed over time and therefore it has been difficult to come up with a clear definition (Laqueur, 2003).

There is no single definition of terrorism but over a hundred different ones. In TRADOC DCSINT Handbook No. 1 (2005) the Department of Defense defines terrorism as: “the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological” (p. 5). Both Hoffman (2006) and Laqueur (2003) have dedicated a whole chapter each on defining terrorism. Hoffman (2006) presents a definition of terrorism which is presumably the closest we will get to a working definition. He defines terrorism as “the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change” (p. 40). Terrorism has political motivations, threat of violence, and instilment of fear in a target audience. It is always political and always violent and designed to have psychological effects (Hoffman, 2006).

In the *Code of Federal Regulation* terrorism is defined as “the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005). This definition has been adopted for the purpose of this study.

Suicide Terrorism

Researchers differentiate between suicide terrorists and suicide bombers (Grier, 2005). Suicide terrorists often operate in groups; they draw out their operation and make it as dramatic and traumatic as possible with the intention of drawing attention. The take-over of the Moscow Theater in 2002 and the school incident in Beslan in 2004 were conducted by suicide terrorists. In such incidents authorities have a chance to act and prevent numerous deaths. On the other hand, suicide bombers act alone at the time they actually carry out the mission. They carry explosives to a desired target; they detonate and blow themselves up with the target. Despite the differences between a suicide terrorist and a suicide bomber they have the same motive – they choose to die violently while destroying their target. A suicide terrorist is not to be confused with an individual on a suicide mission where the success of the mission is not dependent on the death of the individual. A suicide terrorist, on the other hand, accomplishes his mission through his death (Horowitz, 2008).

Other research differentiates between suicide attacks and attack involving self-sacrifice (Shay, 2004). Suicide attacks include an attacker who detonates some sort of explosive device on his/her body and blows himself/herself up, and the mission is thereby deemed successful. Attacks involving self-sacrifice do not necessarily mean that the attacker blows himself/herself up; he/she might carry out an attack by shooting, throwing hand grenades, or ramming a car into an army post. These attacks are not the focus of this study (Shay, 2004).

At present, several definitions of suicide terrorism or suicide attack exist. Shay (2004) explains a suicide attack as “a violent, politically motivated action executed

consciously, actively, and with prior intent by a single individual (or individuals) who kills himself in the course of the operation together with his chosen target” (p. 1). The Department of Defense describes suicide terrorism in the TRADOC DCSINT Handbook No. 1 (2005) as “the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological” (p. 1). For the purpose of this research a similar definition, by Yoram Schweitzer, has been chosen. He explains a suicide terror attack as:

A politically motivated violent operation carried out consciously, actively, and with the premeditated intention of an individual (or number of individuals) to kill himself or herself during the operation, along with a chosen target. The planned and certain death of the perpetrator by such an act is a necessary precondition for the success of the operation. (Schweitzer & Shay as cited in Schweitzer, 2008, p. 114)

Suicide attacks will be addressed as terrorism that is aimed at both armed combatants and civilians. The primary use is typically “as a weapon of psychological warfare intended to affect a larger public audience” (Atran, 2003, p. 1534). Brooks (2002) explains suicide bombings as:

The crack cocaine of warfare. It doesn't just inflict death and terror on its victims; it intoxicates the people who sponsor it. It unleashes the deepest and most addictive human passions—the thirst for vengeance, the desire for religious purity, the longing for earthly glory and eternal salvation. (p. 1)

Organization of the Thesis

This paper includes five chapters. Chapter I is an introduction including a section on how the study of suicide terrorism have changed, definitions of relevant terms and terminology following a description of how the thesis is organized. Chapter II is a review of relevant literature and looks into basic categories of suicide, the background and history of suicide terrorism, and further explores who are today's suicide terrorists, and what their tactics are. This chapter also explores the benefits of suicide terrorism, demographic factors, root causes, motivations, altruism, female bombers, recruitment, martyrdom, indoctrination, and technology. Chapter III explains the research design, data collection, credibility and trustworthiness of sources, reliability and validity issues, and data analysis. Chapter IV reports the findings. Last, Chapter V includes a discussion and conclusion.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter examines relevant literature on suicide terrorism. The first section provides an explanation of basic categories of suicide, background, history, and modern-day suicide terrorism, and follows by modus operandi, benefits and demographic factors of suicide terrorism. The second section provides proposed root causes and motivational factor for becoming a suicide terrorist. The third section addresses altruism, female suicide bombers, recruitment, martyrdom, and the influence of technology.

Basic Categories of Suicide

Several categories of suicide exist as postulated by Emilie Durkheim. He differentiates between three basic categories: egoistic suicide, anomic suicide, and altruistic suicide. The egoistic suicide explains an unhappy, depressed individual who finds it difficult to find his/her place in this world. The anomic suicide refers to a person who possibly has suffered a personal loss, has remained unmarried or alone, or can no longer work or practice their religion. Altruistic suicide refers to a person who has become so integrated in a group that he/she is willing to sacrifice himself/herself for that group or a greater cause (Pedahzur, 2005; Charny, 2007). However, Durkheim's typology does not explain the principle goal of the suicide bomber—the physical injury of others.

Merari argues that ordinary suicide includes a willingness to die whereas suicide terrorism includes a willingness to kill (as cited in Moghadam, 2008, p. 6). On the other hand, Grimland, Apter and Kerkhof (2006) claim that suicide bombings should be understood as a weapon of war instead as an act of suicide (as cited in Moghadam, 2008).

This study focuses on individuals who intentionally harm others in the process of taking their own lives. The different types of suicide will not be measured in this study; however, it should provide some background in order to enhance the understanding of motivational factors.

Background

Terrorists, in earlier days, did not target innocent civilians as modern-day terrorists do (Hoffman, 2006). Terrorism in the nineteenth-century was more so considered “propaganda by deed” (Laqueur, 2003, p. 25). Hoffman (2006) points out that “unlike many terrorist groups today, the Irgun’s (a Jewish terrorist organization) strategy was not deliberately to target or wantonly harm civilians” (p. 49) during the British mandate of Palestine. Before Irgun’s bombing of King David Hotel in 1946 they warned people to get out in order not to kill the innocent. Likewise, the early Russian revolutionaries did everything in their power not to hurt civilians (Hoffman, 2006).

History of Suicide Terrorism

Perhaps Samson, from Biblical times, can be categorized as the first suicide militant. He did sacrifice his own life and took as many soldiers with him in death as he possibly could (Hafez, 2006). Samson’s great enemy was the Philistines who ruled the area around Gaza. Delilah, a woman he fell in love with, betrayed him to the Philistines who captured Samson, gorged out his eyes, and sent him to prison. Later, they brought

him out and forced him to entertain the Philistine rulers, the crowd inside the temple, and about three thousand people who had gathered on the roof. Samson leaned against the central pillars of the temple and said “Let me die with the Philistines” (Judges 16:29 New International Version). He pushed the pillars and the temple came down on all the people, and “thus he killed many more when he died than when he lived” (Judges 16:31).

Islamic history shows willingness to sacrifice oneself for a cause since early times. During the Crusades (1095-1291), the *hashishiyun*, where the name assassin originates, practiced suicide killings (Charny, 2007). They are often referred to as the hashish users. According to stories, this Persian sect, led by Hassan-I Sabbah, would drug young men in order to make them join the army of assassins. The recruitment was somewhat similar to recruitment of suicide bombers today with the promise of entrance to Paradise for their sacrifice (Hafez, 2006; Charny, 2007).

Also, widely known suicide mission practitioners were the Japanese Kamikaze (divine wind) pilots who would crash their planes into U.S. Naval ships during World War II. Thousands of Kamikaze pilots killed about 5,000 Americans when they flew their fully fuelled fighter planes into more than 300 ships at Pearl Harbor. Most of the Kamikaze pilots were non-commissioned or navy petty officers and many were university and college students as well (Tanaka, 2005; Hill, 2005). Yuki Tanaka (2005), from Hiroshima Peace Institute writing for *Japan Focus*, suggests following five psychological themes explaining why Kamikaze pilots would accept a suicide mission: (1) the Kamikaze pilot would rationalize his own death, (2) to die for country proved devotion to parents, (3) solidarity with flight-mates, (4) responsibility and bravery, and (5) they had no image of the enemy (Tanaka, 2005).

Also, during World War II, Russians would sacrifice themselves by carrying Molotov cocktails and throwing themselves underneath German tanks. In the 1950s, during the French occupation of Vietnam, insurgents would send suicide bombers on bicycles to ram places where the French would gather (Gere, as cited in Speckhard, 2008).

Beginning of Modern Suicide Terrorism

During the Iran-Iraq war, Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini encouraged suicide missions (Acosta, 2008). He referenced the war to the Islamic historic battle in 680 where Mohammad's (the founder of the Islamic religion) grandson, Shi'a Hussein ibn Ali, was slain by a member of the Umayyad Caliphate. Hussein ibn Ali is considered a great martyr in Shi'a Muslim tradition. Many Iranians chose to die "on the modern battlefield, so they too might reap the benefits of martyrdom as articulated in Shi'a tradition" (Acosta, 2008, Shahid Fashions section, para. 4). Hussein Fahmideh, a 13-year-old Iranian boy, would be a role model for others when he threw himself under a tank and blew himself up—disabling the tank and killing himself (Acosta, 2008). He was portrayed as a hero and his self-sacrifice inspired many more to follow in his footsteps.

In Southern Lebanon, in the early 1980's, a new Shi'a militant party emerged; Hezbollah was founded by revolutionaries mainly sponsored by Syria and Iran (Norton, 2007; Horowitz, 2008). Suicide truck bombs became popular. In 1982, they carried out their first suicide attack and the target was an Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) command post. Hezbollah accomplished their mission killing a large number of IDF soldiers and the success fueled their next attack (Horowitz, 2008). In April 1983, Hezbollah was responsible for killing 63, including 17 Americans, when a suicide bomber drove a truck

into the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, Lebanon (Karam, 2008). In October that same year, Hezbollah sent a suicide terrorist on a mission crashing his truck loaded with 12,000 pounds of explosives into the U.S. Marine barracks killing 241 Americans (Hampson, 2008).

Yet another notorious terrorist group utilizing suicide terrorism was the separatist Tamil Tigers Eelam (LTTE) from Sri Lanka. They conducted 168 attacks, between 1987 and 2000, mainly targeting government officials and military personnel. Both men and women carried out these attacks and they managed to assassinate former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 and Sri Lanka's President Prendesa in 1993 (Schweitzer, 2000).

In 1987, the first Palestinian *intifadah* (uprising) broke out as a rebellion against Israeli occupying forces. The founder of the terrorist group Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) embraced the notion of martyrdom operations, but it would be a few years later that suicide missions took off. In the 1990s, in Israel, a series of suicide missions were carried out and the most prevalent method was strapping a vest loaded with explosives to the body and detonating it at the desired location. Terrorist groups, such as Harkat el-Mukawma el Islamiya (Hamas) and PIJ were the leading entities carrying out suicide missions that are ongoing in Israel today. In 2006, Hamas won the parliamentary elections and presently governs the Gaza Strip.

Just as the LTTE, Hamas and PIJ were inspired by Hezbollah and their successful campaign. In the beginning, Hamas would mainly target military personnel; however, their tactics soon changed to target civilians as well (Schweitzer, 2000). Also, in the 1990s, the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) carried out several suicide attacks between

1996 and 1999 as a means of retaliation against Turkey. In 1998, Al Qaeda carried out suicide attacks against the American embassies in Nairobi and Dar-e-salaam that killed hundreds and wounded thousands (Schweitzer, 2000).

Modern Suicide Terrorism

Suicide bombers have been active in, but not limited to, Israel, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Indonesia, Chechnya and Sri Lanka, and everyday new countries are added to the list. At present, suicide attacks also occur in Afghanistan, Somalia, Yemen, and more. Table 1 lists several more countries that have been affected. Since the American military presence in Iraq, beginning in 2003, this country has experienced more suicide operations than other groups have been responsible for combined (Hezbollah, LTTE, etc.). They had a total of 651 attacks as of 2008. According to another researcher, Iraq had about 514 suicide attacks between March 2003 and August, 2006 alone (Hafez, 2006).

Table 1. Suicide Attacks by Country, 1981-2006

<i>Country</i>	<i>Number of attacks</i>	<i>Number killed</i>
Iraq	651	5,766-6,714
Israel/Palestinian Territories	217	1,016-1,143
Sri Lanka	93	1,172-1,647
Pakistan	49	680-708
Lebanon	48	802- 912
Afghanistan	35	198- 205
Russia/Chechnya	28	660- 798
Turkey	19	73- 76
India/Kashmir	13	68- 80
Saudi Arabia	8	101
Indonesia	4	349
Egypt	4	8
Algeria	4	79
United Kingdom	4	55- 57
United States	1	2,988
China	1	3
Kuwait	1	7- 14
Kenya	1	231
Argentina	1	115- 127
Morocco	1	47

Table 1--Continued

<i>Country</i>	<i>Number of attacks</i>	<i>Number killed</i>
Panama	1	42
Tanzania	1	12- 251
Yemen	1	18- 28
Tunisia	1	20
Qatar	1	1
Somalia	1	11
Jordan	1	63
Uzbekistan	1	12- 20
Croatia	1	2
Total	1,200	14,599-16,725

Source: Flinders University Suicide Terrorism Database (FUSTD); Hassan (2008).

Israel is one of the worst affected countries in the world by suicide missions. Hundreds of attacks by different terrorist groups (See Table 3, p. 17) have been carried out in a short period of time. According to Intelligence and Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center, in the period between 2000 and 2006, 151 suicide attacks were successfully carried out. However, in the same timeframe, 521 suicide attacks were prevented. For every attack carried out five were prevented. Table 2 summarizes suicide bomber attacks against Israel for the years 2000-2006.

Table 2. Realized and Prevented Suicide Bombing Attacks in Israel, 2000-2006

<i>Year</i>	<i>Realized suicide attacks</i>	<i>Prevented suicide attacks</i>
2000	4	0
2001	35	20
2002	60	112
2003	26	184
2004	15	119
2005	7	15
2006	4	71
Total	151	521

Source: "Anti-Israeli Terrorism (2006): Data, Analysis and Trends," *Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC)*, (2007). Sources vary slightly on the actual number of suicide attacks per year.

The aim of modern suicide terrorism is to cause “devastating physical damage, through which it inflicts profound fear and anxiety” (Schweitzer, 2000, p. 75) and the main goal is “to produce a negative psychological effect on an entire population, rather than just the victims of the actual attack” (Schweitzer, 2000, p. 75).

Table 3. Groups Using Suicide Attacks

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Al-Qaeda (Worldwide) • Chechen Rebels • Hezbollah (Lebanon, West Bank, Gaza Strip) • Hamas (Middle East) • Tamil Tigers (LTTE, Sri Lanka) • Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ, Middle East) • Fatah • Al Aqsar Martyrs Brigade (Middle East) • Al Ansar Mujahidin in (Chechnya) • Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party • Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK, Turkey) • Revolutionary People’s Party Front (DHKP-C, Turkey) • TIKKO (Marxist) • Gama’ a al-Islamiya (Egypt) • Egyptian Islamic Jihad <p>Source: Collected from various sources used in this study</p>

Modus Operandi

There are several ways in which a suicide attacker can carry out a mission. The most common tactic is the use of an explosive belt strapped around the body of the attacker (Pedahazur, 2005; Rakhra, 2008; Pape, 2010). Only small amounts of explosives are needed. Most often, nails, screws, metal balls, ball bearings, broken pieces of metal, and any other material that can cause damage to a human body, are added for additional damage. The attacker tapes the belt to his body and conceals it with an outer layer of clothes in order to move about without being spotted. In many cases, the dispatcher who sends the suicide bomber on his mission will have a remote controlled trigger so that he

can detonate the explosives from afar in case the suicide bomber changes his mind, or his timing is wrong (Hoffman, 2003).

Not all suicide terrorists strap a belt around their waist and blow themselves up together with the target. The attacker can carry the explosives in a back pack or suitcase or any other casing that will enable the attacker to move about unsuspected. Suicide terrorism can take many forms. The majority prefers an explosive belt, followed by a vehicle loaded with explosives, and finally booby-trapped devices (See Table 4). Booby-trap devices are now the least preferred technique. Potentially, a car bomb holds more explosives and thereby kills more people, but such an operation is also more complicated and with a smaller success rate, since it is often difficult to reach the target (Pedahzur, 2005). In Israel, the main weapon of choice is the explosive vest/belt, but in places like Iraq the preferred weapon is the vehicle-borne improvised explosive device (VBIED) (Hassan, 2011).

Table 4. Ranking Methods of Operation

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Explosive belt 2. Car bomb 3. Handbag with explosives 4. Explosive boats 5. Hand grenades 6. Booby-trapped devices <p>Source: Pedahzur, 2005</p>

Suicide attacks in Israel have also been conducted by ramming a vehicle into a target. The most recent incident occurred August 29, 2011, when a West Bank resident hijacked an Israeli taxi cab and tried to ram it into a youth center filled with teenagers. On his way, he ran over police officers and stabbed bystanders. The lone wolf (an individual operating alone without affiliation with a specific group) with a deadly weapon was

clearly on a mission he did not expect to survive; he did live, though (“News of terrorism,” 2011). Some advantages of a car bomb are: one vehicle can hold an extensive amount of explosives, explosives are more difficult to detect in a vehicle than on a person, the attacker has increased mobility, targets that are difficult to reach on foot can be easier to reach in a vehicle, and the vehicle in itself can be turned into shrapnel through the explosion (Shay, 2004). Gas balloons can be loaded into the vehicle as well in order to enhance the blast. Other ways to carry out a suicide attack have included explosives carried on motorcycles, bicycles, donkeys, horses, mules, animal-drawn carts, dogs, boats, and airplanes. The method for a suicide attack is only restricted by the imagination.

In Israel, the preferred target for a suicide bomber is large crowds of people gathering in restaurants, cafés, malls, shopping centers, transport hubs, weddings, funerals, and buses. In Israel, the primary target is the civilian population and a preferred method has been dispatching a suicide bomber to explode himself on a crowded bus (Pedahzur, 2005). Not only can the bomber detonate his explosive vest but the fuel tank may explode as well and maximize the damage (Hoffman, 2003).

Benefits of Suicide Terrorism

Suicide terrorism has several benefits. A suicide operation is relatively inexpensive to carry out. The items required to make a bomb and attach it to a belt can be purchased easily and a belt is cheap to manufacture (Alvanou, 2008). According to documents from the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade it cost about 150 dollars to manufacture an explosive charge as used for a suicide mission (Shahar, 2002). The bomb maker simply needs “nails, gunpowder, a battery, a light switch and a short cable, mercury (readily obtainable from thermometers), [and] acetone” (Hassan, 2001, para. 23) to create a bomb,

and then sew pockets on a vest to hold the explosives; the bomb is now ready for the mission. It is low cost equipment which can cause mass casualties.

Other benefits include no need for escape routes. Once an organization has sent the bomber on his/her mission, they do not need to plan for his/hers safe return. A successful bomber cannot be interrogated by the enemy. The bomber can cause mass casualties, but at the same time he/she can create a devastating negative psychological effect in the majority of the population. Other benefits include donations to the martyr's family. Sometimes the family of the dead receives thousands of dollars (Hassan, 2001; Goldenberg, 2002), and Ridley (2007) reports that Hamas makes monthly payments to the family of the martyr. The former dictator of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, has been said to donate 20,000 dollars to each family of Palestinian martyrs as well (Ridley, 2007).

Several other benefits are listed in Table 5.

Table 5. Benefits of Suicide Terrorism

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cause mass casualties • Convey a message • A suicide bomber is the ultimate smart bomb—low cost, easy to make, target precision, low technology • Financial incentives • No post-interrogation of suicide bomber • No need for escape routes • Difficult to prevent • Psychological effect on the enemy • Media attention • More bang for the buck (low cost/high casualty) • High success rate • Negative psychological effect in target population • Encourage donations to the group • Gain supporters • Coerce opponents
<p>Source: DCSINT Handbook No. 1 1.03; Pape, 2003, "The strategic logic"; Eren, 2007; Borum, 2004; Ridley, 2007</p>

The desired effect of a suicide mission can vary but are usually one of the following listed in Table 6.

Table 6. Effect of Suicide Terrorism

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Draw attention to demands • Create atmosphere of fear • Bring about political change • Wear down the opposition • Withdrawal from territories <p>Source: Alvanou, 2008.</p>

Demographic Factors

The most common age group for Palestinian suicide bombers is 17-24 and most are male and single (Dagan, n.d.; Shuman, 2001; “Profile of suicide bombings,” 2003; Shay, 2004; Pape, 2005; Merari, 2010). Research, conducted by Pape (2005), on suicide terrorism found that of 381 cases studied between 1980 and 2003 only 15% of bombings were conducted by female bombers, and Palestinians use females least frequent. Merari (2010), an Israeli psychology professor, found that male suicide attackers carried out 95 percent of the attacks between 1974 and 2008. The most common age group of female suicide bombers is in their mid-twenties and older (Pape, 2005).

Several researchers agree that suicide bombers are relatively well-educated, with most having at least high school or university educations (Dagan, n.d.; Shuman, 2001; “Profile of suicide bombings,” 2003; Stern, 2003; Shay, 2004; Pape, 2005; Bloom, 2005; Wilson, 2008; Merari, 2010). Most comes from the middle-class (Wilson, 2008; Merari, 2010) and most are religious (Hassan, 2001; Merari, 2010). Mia Bloom (2005) states that explanations for motivations such as low social status, few economic opportunities, or personal disorders, “are not consistent with each other or with reality” (p. 35) and further

explains that these individuals mainly are well educated and come from middle or upper class background. In addition, Soibelman (2004) claims that recent studies show that the leaders (such as recruiters) are usually well-educated in contrast to the suicide bombers who are less educated.

Proposed Root Causes for Becoming a Suicide Terrorist

There have been many motivational factors explaining why some individuals strap a belt loaded with explosives to their body and commit terrorism. Most explanations include root causes and motivations as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Root Causes and Motivational Factors for Suicide Terrorism

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religion/Fanaticism/Islamic Militancy • Strategic choice/Rational actors • Psychological factors • Poverty • Political objectives • Vengeance/Humiliation • Personal Traumatization/Deprivation/Victimization • Foreign Occupation/Nationalist Goals • Alienation/Search for meaningfulness • Violence • Martyrdom

Source: Compiled from sources used in this study.

Religion and Fanaticism

Religion and fanaticism are considered to be major root causes of terrorism (Laqueur, 2003; Hafez, 2006). It has been a common thought that suicide bombers are religious fanatics and Islamic extremists. Not surprisingly, it seems to make sense that “the greater the fanaticism and the madness, the greater the urge to destroy as many enemies as possible” (Laqueur, 2003, p. 25). Olson (2007) suggests that a “Manichean

worldview makes [fanatics] incapable of empathy, obsessed with purity, and driven by a hatred that leads one to not just rebuke the Other but also to want to destroy it” (p. 5).

This deep faith and intense devotion to a cause can repress any rational thinking. During the course of time “terrorism adapted itself and was motivated by a fanaticism that manifested itself in...indiscriminate mass killings and suicide bombings” (Laqueur, 2003, p. 25) and Islamic terrorism became one of the most important factors of international terrorism. Laqueur (2003) concludes that both religious fanaticism and nationalist fanaticism are dominating factors of terrorism. However, Hafez (2006) also recognizes that there is no direct link between religion and suicide terrorism but it is an underlying factor.

Jihad is a term used extensively in present literature. However, there are different interpretations of the word. Charles Allen (2006) translates it to “the struggle against forces opposed to Islam” (p. 3). Reuter (2002) explains that jihad in essence means to follow the path of God “for one’s own salvation and for Islam” (p. 17). However, jihad is most often referred to as “holy war”. Allen (2006) focuses on explaining global jihad through historical events instead of looking at modern events like most authors and researchers. He traces modern jihad back to the Wahhabi cult, which is a type of Sunni fundamentalism with main focus on purification of Islam and returning to the fundamental beliefs of Islam (Allen, 2006). Yet, according to Merari (1990), most of suicide attacks until 1987 were carried out by non-Shiite groups. He concludes that “this brand of terrorism is not the exclusive domain of fanaticism in general, nor is it a characteristic of Shiite self-sacrificial zealots in particular” (Merari, 1990, p. 205).

Strategic Choice and Rational Actors

A terrorist organization resorts to political violence because of a strategic choice (Crenshaw, 1990; Hafez, 2006). In answering why terrorists participate in terrorist activities, Crenshaw (1990) gives two reasons. First of all, she agrees with authors such as Jerrold M. Post (1990), a professor of psychiatry, political psychology and international affairs, that psychological factors are a reason for participation; however, she focuses on a strategic analysis where terrorism is the collective means to desired ends – for example political influence. Hafez (2006) suggests that militant organizations use suicide bombings as a strategic choice in order for the counterpart to make concessions. It is a rational method adopted by those groups who seek to achieve certain goals (Hafez, 2006).

Psychological Factors

Post (1990) emphasizes psychological factors as a root cause for terrorist activity and political violence. He states that “political terrorists are driven to commit acts of violence as a consequence of psychological forces” (Post, 1990, p. 25) or rather, as he suggests, individuals become terrorists in order to join terrorist groups and commit acts of terrorism. It is all about their minds. If they achieve their goals, they no longer have the opportunity to be in the group and possibly blow someone up. It all lies in the action itself; “the cause is not the cause” (Post, 1990, p. 35) and without the cause it is assumed that they will still fight.

Post (1990) argues that terrorists become terrorists simply because of their psychological make-up. He mentions the “injured self” which stem from psychological damage from childhood and that these people are “split” into “me” and “not me” (Post,

1990, p. 27). The terrorist “idealizes his grandiose self and *splits* out and *projects* onto others all the hated and devalued weakness within” (Post, 1990, p. 27). Such people need someone to blame for their inadequacies. This does not mean that terrorists necessarily are psychologically disturbed or tend to have psychopathology traits (Post, 1990).

Another assumed root cause of terrorism is mental disorders. However, most agree that suicide terrorists are not mentally ill as it was earlier believed (Crenshaw, 1990; Wilson, 2008), and Crenshaw (1990) explains that “the outstanding common characteristic of terrorists is their normality” (as cited in Post, 1990, p. 26). Also, during an interview with an Abu Nidal terrorist, Omar Rezaq, Post (1990) found no signs of mental illness. Abu Nidal had carried out several missions, killing and injuring important people. Wilson (2008) states, that “you do not accomplish these things by relying on psychotics” (para. 28). He suggests that because people mostly cannot imagine what motivates terrorists and how they can carry out such heinous acts, many think that they are mentally disturbed (Wilson, 2008).

Poverty

Yet another assumed motivational factor of suicide bombing is poverty. However, Wilson (2008) argues that terrorists do not participate in terrorist activity because of poverty and economic deprivation. According to Wilson (2008), there is evidence to the contrary and studies show that “terror did not spread as the economy got worse but as it got better” (p. 3). An analysis of deceased Hezbollah fighters showed that they were “relatively well-to-do and well-educated young males” (Wilson, 2008, p. 3). Laqueur (2003) further explains that “terrorism, like revolutions, occurs not when the situation is disastrously bad but when various political, economic, and social trends coincide” (p. 18).

Also, Laqueur (2003) and Hassan (2011) do not consider poverty a significant cause of suicide terrorism. On the other hand, Laquer (2003) mentions that in earlier days causes of terrorism were believed to be a reaction to injustice and horrible conditions such as “poverty, hopelessness, or political or social oppression” (p. 11). They justified terrorism as they saw that legal actions failed to work. Terrorists are not poor victims according to most.

Motivations for Becoming a Suicide Bomber

Political Objectives

Political objectives play a major role concerning the purpose of terrorist acts (Crenshaw, 1990; Hoffman 2006; Olson, 2007). Martha Crenshaw (1990) states the importance of political objectives and explains that “extremists seek either a radical change in the status quo... or the defense of privileges they perceive to be threatened” (p. 10) and that the extremist organizations’ “dissatisfaction with the policies of the government is extreme, and their demands usually involve the displacement of existing political elites” (p. 10). Often, terrorists seek to change the political environment.

Terrorism has been associated with “the weapon of the weak” (Crenshaw, 1990, p. 11; Laqueur, 2003, p. 139). The terrorist group cannot mobilize enough support and cannot therefore enhance their political position and therefore, it is used as a weapon of war. Also, a group might choose terrorism as an only option within a repressive society. Terrorists often believe that they have no other choice since other methods have failed, or they might want instant results (Crenshaw, 1990). They do not get involved in traditional organizations as this requires extensive effort and time. They neither have time, interest, nor patience.

Vengeance

Revenge (including individual retaliation) is one acclaimed reason for someone to become a suicide bomber (Brooks, 2002; Pedahzur, 2005; Brym & Araj, 2006; Hassan, 2009). In a study conducted on 180 suicide bombers, the researchers found that approximately half of individuals who went on suicide missions had recently lost a friend or family member or other important persons in their lives (Pedahzur, 2005).

Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, the former leader of Hamas, explains that revenge is deeply embedded in the Muslim culture, and he stated that in response to any action by the Israelis, “I take my revenge...I pay you back, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth...Allah said, if someone does something to hurt you, respond in the same way and hurt him” (Berko, 2007, p. 56). In that way, murdering civilian population is justified. On the contrary, Merari (2010) conducted a study of 34 Palestinian suicide attacks and suggests, based on interviews with the suicide attacker’s family, that the organizations claimed the attacks as revenge for Israeli retaliation; it was not based on the attacker’s personal revenge.

Humiliation

Also, many scholars use humiliation as an explanation to why some individuals choose to become suicide bombers (Volkan, n.d.; Goldemberg, 2002; Stern, 2003; Asad, 2007; Alvanou, 2008; Hassan, 2009). Vamik D. Volkan (n.d.) explains that those who feel humiliated can have “cracked” identities and are therefore easily manipulated by those who seek out potential suicide bombers. A cracked identity means that those individuals have a disturbed personal identity (Volkan, n.d.). Jessica Stern interviewed several Palestinians in Gaza, both civilians and terrorists. One Hamas leader explained to

her that “hopelessness, deprivation, envy, and humiliation make death, and paradise, seem more appealing” (Stern, 2003, p. 38). However, Mia Bloom (2005) states that humiliation is not sufficient as a motive explaining that most Palestinians have experienced some form of humiliation during the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Personal Traumatization and Deprivation

Some believe that suicide bombers are motivated based on personal trauma (Speckhard, 2005). Speckhard (2005) explains that “deep personal traumatization and bereavement” (p. 4) can be a trigger for a potential suicide bomber. Not only can such traumatization come from the condition under which most Palestinians live (unemployment, Israeli checkpoints, incarceration), they also witness “vivid images of injustices” (Speckhard, 2005, p. 4) enacted on their fellow Palestinians through the media (Speckhard, 2005; Pape, 2005). Hafez (2006) on the other hand, contends that traumatization does not explain why some chose to become suicide bombers. He states that even though traumatic events can cause people to become violent; this violence could manifest itself in other ways instead. Other authors agree that explanations such as low social status, few economic opportunities, or mental disorders, have no base in reality (Bloom, 2005; Pape, 2005). Brym and Araj (2006) report that no evidence exist to support a “deprivation theory” (p. 1971).

Foreign Occupation and Nationalistic Feelings

Nationalism and foreign occupation are claimed to be one of the foremost elements in explaining suicide terrorism and the main factor in most cases (Merari, 1990; Pape, 2003; Bloom, 2005; Brym & Araj, 2006). The suicide attack is a response to occupation of a homeland and is justified by national liberation. Pape (2010) insists that

foreign military occupation is the number one root cause of suicide terrorism. Other authors, such as Riaz Hassan (2011), claim that it is not a causal factor. Many Iraqi insurgents carrying out attacks are not Iraqis and many targets are not aimed at foreign occupation but against Iraqi forces and also civilians.

Alienation and Search for Meaningfulness

Potential suicide bombers are also found outside of occupied lands. Europe has been home to some of the 9/11/2001 bombers, Richard Reed (the “shoe-bomber”), the Madrid train bomber, and several individuals traveling to Afghanistan and Iraq to fight that war with their “fictive kin” (Speckhard, 2008, p. 1005). Possibly, these individuals feel alienated from their own culture. They are often immigrants and live in cultures that are very different from their original culture. Perhaps they feel a sense of lost identity and are looking to find meaningfulness, and perhaps they do not feel welcome in their host country and long to belong (Speckhard, 2008).

Violence

The desire to destroy other human beings and the joy of violence is in human nature (Charny, 2007). The goal of suicide terrorism is simply to terrorize and spread fear in the enemy and cause devastating damage (Margalit, 2003; Toronto, 2008), and nothing is quite as horrific and shocking as watching someone’s suicide in real life (Asad, 2007). Having other people watch as body parts are scattered leaves survivors and spectators with a mental picture of great devastation. As I. W. Charny (2007) explains, motivations for some suicide bombers simply comes from “a profound flaw in our human nature, which is an evident love and penchant for murder and mass murder” (p. 84), which we

might overlook when we try to rationalize, explain, and understand the motivations. He further explains that:

Violence is intoxicating and addictive; it sweeps up a person and a group in a powerful sense of drama; it fills a warrior's heart with pleasures of virility and power; it swells the ego with archaic competitive triumph; it whets the lust and pleasures of savoring the weakness and defeat of the other; it excites sadistic joys of another's suffering; it is a marvelous relief from the ennui, boredom, and somehow chronic disappointment that are frequent existential modes for many people. (Charny, 2007, p. 85)

Borum (2004) explains that terrorist violence is not impulsive but a deliberate strategic and instrumental choice that is justified by ideological, political, and/or religious objectives.

People seem fascinated with these attacks where the perpetrator chooses to die together with his victims. Humans are more fascinated with someone who blows himself up with his victims rather than someone who drops a bomb and blows up the same amount of people. Asad (2007) explains that “there are few things as shocking as a sudden suicide in one's presence” (p. 89) and goes on to say that “for most witnesses, horror—a compound of pain and delight or ...of ecstasy and unbearable pain—is generated by the unexpected image of a broken body, a shattered human identity” (p. 89).

Altruism

Modern suicide bombers have been described by some as altruists as they are willing to die for a greater cause. They value themselves less than the community in which they live (Hassan, 2009). On the contrary, Lee Harris (2002) argues that terrorists

are not altruists. They simply engage in terrorist activity because of personal aspirations. He dismisses root causes of terrorism and states that it all comes down to a fantasy ideology where the act itself is "used not for political purposes, but entirely for the benefit of furthering a specific personal or collective fantasy" (Harris, 2002, p. 3). The value lies in the symbol of the act. The essence lies not in hurting the enemy but in being part of something greater than oneself – being part of history. Harris explains that the events of 9/11/2001 was not for political change but was "crafted for the effects on the terrorists themselves" (p. 6) because it was "good for [their] souls" (p. 3). It provided them with a fantasy outlet.

Female Suicide Bombers

Suicide bombings conducted by females is on the rise. Female suicide bombers account for about 15 percent of suicide attacks worldwide (Schweitzer, as quoted in Speckhard, 2008). Many terrorist groups realized that females are just as willing to strap on explosives as their male counterparts. There are many advantages to use Palestinian females: guards are more reluctant to search females at checkpoints, they create less suspicion, and their mission creates increased media attention. Using female bombers creates increased sympathy for the terrorist's cause. It is more shocking and has a more horrific effect when a female use such act of violence. The common belief is that something terrible must have happened in her life as opposed to simply look at her as violent as a male. It is difficult to understand how females can engage in such militant behavior and become so violent, however statistics (concerning domestic violence and child abuse in the United States) show that females are often as violent as men

(Speckhard, 2008). Studies show that little Palestinian school girls were just as likely as Palestinian boys to show interest and identify with suicide bombers (Victor, 2003).

Females are not equal in life, but they are equal in death (Victor, 2003; Bokhari, 2007). In Palestinian society their traditional role is to give birth and provide offspring, be a mother, wife, and homemaker. They are not expected to be free and independent; on the contrary, they are strongly controlled by family members. Many of the Palestinian female suicide bombers had personal problems prior to their mission (Victor, 2003; Haddad, 2009). Suicide terrorism is their form of resistance. Some of the terrorist groups who have employed female suicide bombers are listed in Table 8.

Table 8. Terrorist Groups Using Female Suicide Bombers

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party (SSNP) • the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) • the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) • Chechen rebel groups • Palestinian terrorist organizations <p>Source: Zedalis, 2004, Speckhard, 2008</p>

Recruitment and the Organization

Suicide attacks are usually not carried out by a lone wolf terrorist but by an individual recruited by a group such as Hamas, PIJ, Al-Aqsa's Martyrs Brigade, and Al-Qaeda. One crucial aspect involved in organizing a suicide attack is recruitment of potential suicide bombers. Recruiters from Hamas, PIJ, and other terrorist groups are known to recruit from local mosques (Goldenberg, 2002) and universities (Chosak & Sawyer, 2005). These sites tend to attract young, idealistic, challenging persons who are looking to improve or change the status quo.

Suicide terrorists operate best in an environment where such activity is encouraged. Wilson (2004) suggests that the environment influence how people think and terrorists have plenty of opportunity to get caught up in a terrorist group activity. The importance lies in the group environment which means belonging for many (Post, 1990). People often adjust their belief to fit the group, and the more they associate with others who have same ideas, the more confident they become—and the more extreme (Sunstein, 2007). It is noteworthy, that “terrorists live in a hospitable river” (Wilson, 2004, p. 7) where it is easy to get caught up in the current.

In the 1960s, Yale University psychologist Stanley Milgram conducted his *Obedience to Authority* experiment and recruited individuals through a newspaper promising money for their participation. He wanted to see how far people would go obeying orders if obeying those orders meant going against their morals. The experiment included one individual who would be told words he was supposed to remember afterwards (this person was an actor playing along with Milgram). The recruit was placed in the role of teacher and was instructed to punish the individual if his answers were wrong. He was told to administer electric shocks starting with 15 volts and ending with 450 volts which clearly warned: “Danger—Severe Shock” (Wilson, 2004, p. 5). Fifteen volts was given for the first wrong answer increasing with 15 additional volts for each wrong answer. However, there weren’t any real electric shocks administered. As the electric shocks increased, the “actor” would complain and even scream. More than 50 percent administered the maximum of 450 volts (Wilson, 2004). Milgram (1974), an American social psychologist, explains that:

Ordinary people, simply doing their jobs, and without any particular hostility on their part, can become agents in a terrible destructive process. Moreover, even when the destructive effects of their work become patently clear, and they are asked to carry out actions incompatible with fundamental standards of morality, relatively few people have the resources needed to resist authority. (p. 6)

He continues claiming that people who normally would be unwilling to kill might simply perform that act easily when ordered by authority. Wilson (2004) refers this study to present terrorist groups with authoritative leaders recruiting individuals who would normally not go on a suicide mission but can be persuaded to kill as many as possible—including himself. It is not uncommon that the recruiter is a friend or family member of the recruited (Post as cited in Reich, 1990; Post, Sprinzak & Denny, 2003).

Merari (2010) found that those individuals who are recruited to suicide missions have certain shared personality characteristics. During interviews it became clear that most would-be bombers had a dependent-avoidant personality. Dependent personality disorder is characterized by an over-reliance on others leading to submissive and clinging behavior and fears of separation. These individuals are unable to cope without relying on others (Long, 2011). Avoidant personality disorder is characterized by patterns of feeling very shy, inadequate, and sensitive to rejection (“Avoidant personality disorder,” 2011). The remainders were emotionally unstable and impulsive (Dagan, n.d.; Merari, 2010). Pedahzur (2005) clarifies that both types of individuals are easier to recruit when there exist a communal support for suicide terrorism.

Dispatchers

One of the most crucial elements of recruitment of suicide bombers is the dispatcher. This person is highly respected in the community (Berko, 2007). The dispatcher's job is to look for, and recruit a potential suicide bomber, and make sure that he reaches his target. His role is crucial (Berko, 2007; Charny, 2007; Post, Ali, Henderson, Shanfield, Victoroff, & Weine, 2009). Without the influence of the dispatcher, the potential suicide bomber might never reach his target—the random civilian. Presumably, the majority performs the act voluntarily; however, it is not without persuasion of the dispatcher.

According to Andrew Silke (2003), the age group committing the majority of suicide attacks correlates with the age group (17-24) that commits most crimes not only in the countries that are infected with suicide attacks but throughout the world. It is not a coincidence that this is the period of the person's life where: "Muslim adolescents [seek] to consolidate their identity [and they] are especially vulnerable to the siren song of hate-mongering leaders" (Post et al., 2009, p. 21) such as a radical imam or a persuasive dispatcher. Dagan (n.d.) explains that "martyrs are not heroes but weak and disturbed individuals [who] are abused by the terror organization" (PowerPoint slide # 35). Anat Berko (2007) interviewed many dispatchers and one such dispatcher, Mahmoud, who is responsible for many deaths of innocent Israelis, explained: "I didn't tell him [the suicide bomber] to kill himself. He wanted to and I helped him...I asked them to find me guys who were desperate and sad" (p. 1). When talking about sad guys Mahmoud meant:

Those who were social nonentities and had no status but who might get recognition by dying, those with low self-esteem who are usually not involved in

social affairs...men and women who have trouble finding themselves, sometime influenced by anger and bitterness...and who are willing to try anything to feel they have worth and to win the approval of society and their families. (Berko, 2007, p. 7)

It is not uncommon that suicide bombers have been blackmailed or violently forced into going on a suicide mission, or they have been lied to and told that the explosive device will not go off until they are no longer on the scene (Wilson, 2004). However, most importantly, the dispatchers make sure that it is almost impossible for the suicide bomber to back out and they create points of no return by turning them into “living martyrs”(Merari as quoted in Stern, 2003, p. 51) by making videotapes, taking photos for martyr posters, and writing final farewells letters to family members. The video tapes serve as a control mechanism over the suicide bomber to secure further commitment (Pedahzur, 2005; Lewis, 2007).

Martyrdom, a Culture of Death and a Cult of Heroes

Young Palestinians are taught the value of death and they learn from an early age how the *shuhada* (plural for martyrs) are celebrated. *Shahids* (martyrs) are portrayed as heroes (Margalit, 2003; Stern, 2003; Soibelman, 2004; Bloom, 2005; Hafez, 2006; Crenshaw, 2007; Kruglanski et al., 2009). Dagan (n.d.) clarifies that “martyrdom has become a Palestinian ethos” (PowerPoint slide # 5). Terrorist organizations (among others Hamas and Islamic Jihad) reject the notion of suicide missions, and instead they call it martyrdom in order to justify the bombings (Margalit, 2003; Stern, 2003; Hafez, 2006). The Mufti of Jerusalem, among others, justifies suicide terrorism by claiming it to be a religious duty where the shahids get the opportunity to ascend directly to paradise

(Laqueur, 2003). *Istishhad* (martyrdom for Allah's sake) is a privilege. Suicide is seen as shameful and prohibited by Islamic law whereas ending one's life to become a martyr brings prestige, status (Crenshaw, 2007), respect (Stern, 2003; Crenshaw, 2007), honor (Soibelman, 2004; Bloom, 2005; Crenshaw, 2007), fame (Margalit, 2003), and immortality (Kruglanski et al., 2009). Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, the former spiritual leader of Hamas told Anat Berko in an interview that:

In the eyes of the faithful, this world is nothing, and the prophet says it is like a traveler who sits under a tree and rests and does not rise. That sort of person [the suicide bomber] is not interested in this world...He is waiting for Allah who is good...and death for him is enjoyment, and the *shahadah* is not a burden for him, it is good, preferable. Let me use a parable: you live in a house with two or three rooms and a yard, and someone comes and tells you, I will give you 100 dunams [about 25 acres] and villas and gardens...would you be happy or angry? (Berko, 2007, p. 54)

In Palestinians society there is a collective support of suicide terrorism (Ridley, 2007). According to Pew Global Attitude database 2011, 68 percent of Palestinians often supported suicide bombings. According to Ridley (2007), the number is 76.1 percent. They believe that their rewards will come in the afterlife where they will receive endless pleasures in the form of many virgins, flowing rivers of honey, lush gardens, and much more.

Hamas' Indoctrination of Children

Hamas teaches the young about martyrdom and suicide terrorism from an early age (Lewitt, 2006). Hamas is the de facto government controlling the Gaza Strip and also

runs several charitable organizations and finance welfare programs. Hamas intentionally targets children in order to shape their minds at an early age so that they will adhere to the Islamic ideology of Jew-hatred (Levitt, 2006; “Hamas,” 2009). Through the educational system, Hamas conveys a message of hatred, revenge, violence against the state of Israel, and the importance of suicide bombings are emphasized even in kindergartens.

Hamas has also established summer camps and uses those camps to indoctrinate the youth and secure future Hamas supporters (Levitt, 2006). These camps are run like military boot camps where Hamas operatives preach, the walls are covered with martyr posters, and the children participate in Hamas political activities. In the Hamas- run kindergartens signs on the walls state: “The children of the kindergarten are the *shuhada* of tomorrow” (Kelley as quoted in Post et al., 2009, p. 19). Children’s programs, summer camps, and websites are continuously used to indoctrinate the young, and they are constantly being exposed to posters of martyrs and Islamic slogans (“Hamas,” 2009; Post et al., 2009). Wurmser explains that:

In the Palestinian case, what we see is the cynical use of children, who are exposed to a state-run ideology that pushes them to their death, in the name of Palestinian nationalism, "...,"children are taught to idealize death, to view it as a positive. In many cases, they are told that death is not death at all, but rather the beginning of a new life. (as quoted in Dougherty & Kupelian, 2000, para. 12)

In 2001, based on a survey conducted by the Islamic University in Gaza, 73 percent of children ages nine to sixteen hope to become martyrs (Levitt, 2006).

Indoctrination and radicalization of Palestinians continues in mosques and places of higher education as well. Several mosques are run by Hamas and Universities are filled with Hamas propaganda. Numerous suicide bombers can be traced back to Al-Najah University, located in Nablus in the West Bank (Levitt, 2006).

Technology

With the advances in technology, terrorists have a new and very powerful weapon and “like the Internet 2.0, we now have Jihad 2.0” (Kulick, 2009, p. 56). Through the internet, terrorist organizations post hate propaganda mainly against Israel and the Western World and even moderate Arab countries. They often praise terrorist attacks and encourages resistance.

Several website encourages violent jihad such as the Muslim Brotherhood (www.ikhwanpress.com), and the internet holds vast bomb-making material. It has become increasingly easy to organize, plan, finance, and execute attacks through the internet (Moghadam, 2008; Morgenstern, 2009). The Harakat Shabaab al-Mujahidin (Shabaab), a terrorist group with ties to Al-Qaeda and Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), recruits Americans via the internet and several Muslim Americans (mainly from Minnesota) have travelled to Somalia where they carried out suicide bombing attacks. In 2008, American Shirwa Ahmed from Minneapolis went to Somalia where he blew himself up in a suicide attack (King, 2011).

Out of all Islamic websites about 300 have some connection to Al-Qaeda (Schweitzer & Ferber, 2005). Many of these radical websites are “exiting and intoxicating” (Grier, 2005, p. 16) and it is easy to see why individuals can be sucked into these extremist ideas. Al Jazeera television, an Arabic language news channel which is

being strongly censored, is a channel for terrorist propaganda (Grier, 2005; Schweitzer & Ferber, 2005). Grier (2005) explains that when there are a lot of suicide attacks taking place and the media attention is high, the effect can be what he calls a “suicide epidemic” (p. 20) where potential bombers feel inspired, and so the numbers can grow drastically.

Summary Remarks

Authors struggle to find common explanations for suicide terrorism as there are so many different factors involved. A single explanation is insufficient. This study aims to detect changes in the study of suicide terrorism, and find patterns in motivations, targets and methods. Chapter III described the methodology used and the research design of the study.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study was based on a qualitative method analyzing patterns within existing literature focusing on suicide terrorism. The objective was to explore and detect patterns in the literature pertaining to motivational factors and other factors that can help better understand suicide terrorism. This chapter includes sections explaining the research design, data collection, criteria for judging credibility and trustworthiness, reliability and validity, and data analysis and study sample.

Research Design

Qualitative Research

This study is qualitative in nature. Qualitative analytical techniques were employed to address the research questions: Who are the suicide terrorists and how have they evolved throughout time? What are the involving factors in becoming a suicide bomber? What are the future trends of suicide terrorism?

Qualitative research is an approach that is used when findings do not have numerical value. Qualitative research involves “an interpretative, naturalistic approach to its subject matter” (Brennan, 2011, PowerPoint slide # 4) and requires of the researcher to “gain insight into people's attitudes, behaviors, value systems, concerns, motivations, aspirations, culture or lifestyles” (QSR International, 2011). Qualitative researchers use

an “inductive mode of inquiry” (Hale, 2011, para. 6) which means that the researcher does not begin their research with well-established hypothesis in mind. Instead, they will have a set of general questions and only have basic idea about the chosen topic. As the research and analysis advances those question may change as themes and patterns emerges as the data is collected. The ultimate goal is “the emergence of a comprehensive, accurate description of the phenomena being investigated from the perspective of those who experience it” (Hale, 2011, para. 6). The goal of the researcher is to piece together the parts that will help understand the total picture of the subject matter. The reason for using a qualitative method, as opposed to a quantitative method, was based on the fact that a qualitative method allows for the study of human behavior which is difficult to measure through a quantitative study. Human behavior is difficult to quantify. The aim was to provide a rich description of suicide bombers which is possible through a qualitative design.

Pattern Analysis

Qualitative research is a tool for “organizing data into categories and identifying patterns (relationships) among categories.” (McMillan and Schumacher as quoted in Hale, 2011, para. 3). Further, a pattern is explained as “a discernible coherent system based on the intended interrelationship of component parts” (Merriam-Webster online dictionary, 2011). In qualitative research, a pattern consists of recurring elements or themes that can be detected from a large collection of sources.

Pattern analysis was used in this study to make sense of large amounts of information and find similarities and common themes in the research literature. Recognizing like phenomena throughout the articles and books made it possible to recognize trends. Recognizing trends and patterns help predict and make inferences about

the future. Data and information on suicide bombers' motives were judged based on how notably these precursors of suicide terrorism were stated in the sources.

A pattern analysis was applied, detecting themes and concepts throughout the existing literature, in order to make sense of changes in the emphasis on motivational factors as well as changes in weapons and tactics.

Data Collection

Qualitative research draws from various empirical sources and data for this study were collected from multiple sources including case studies, secondary data, and historical data. All relevant data in this study were taken from main organizations that collect data on suicide terrorist attacks. Official government sites provided statistical data on specific target countries, and news media, law enforcement, intelligence agencies (mainly from the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center in Israel), U.S. Customs and Border Protection and Homeland Security, books written by experts, and scholarly journals provided useful sources of information.

The data for this study were mainly derived from open source internet searches, scholarly articles, and books available at Texas State University-San Marcos library. The intention with the open-source internet search was literally to see what information would come up when doing a simple Google search on "suicide terrorism", "suicide attacks", and "suicide bomber". Another keyword strategy was applied by searching for keywords used in other author's articles and books and then searching for those terms and phrases. Texas State University-San Marcos data bases was a useful tool for finding peer reviewed literature. Other literature was selected through the references cited in the peer reviewed articles. The books used in this study were a collection of nine privately owned books and

the rest were mainly from Texas State and a few from other university libraries. One book used in this study was written in 1990, otherwise, the books were relatively new and span from 2000 to 2011. Most of the books have been written by scholars and experts who have researched terrorism and especially suicide terrorism extensively.

Criteria for Judging Credibility and Trustworthiness

In order to ensure credibility and trustworthiness of sources they were screened thoroughly. To ensure that the data reflect the element of interest, only sources that are either scholarly or well-known entities such as government agencies, acclaimed authors, professors and experts in the field of terrorism have been included. The credentials of those individuals cited in the reference as scholarly articles have been verified and only individuals that are well-established in research in the field of terrorism and suicide terrorism have been included. In addition, only statistics from well-known agencies were used and those were compared to statistics from other sites to ensure that the data are as correct as possible and not merely reported in one single source. Also, relevant information was collected from well-known news agencies such as American Fox News, CNN, Washington Post, Israeli Ha'aretz and Jerusalem Post. To enhance the reliability (dependability, consistency, predictability and stability) of the data multiple sources of information were used to support each source.

Reliability and Validity

The subjectivity of observers can be questioned. Failed suicide bombers can be unreliable and the validity of their statements questioned. They could have changed their minds about suicide missions or given false testimonials. They might be reluctant to tell the truth in fear for retaliation. Interpretive validity can occur in interviews with would-be

suicide bombers. The interviewer could misinterpret the information or information could be lost in translation. Another validity issue can occur when the researcher, after reading all sources, makes inferences and conclusions. Those inferences and conclusions might not accurately represent the opinions and intentions of the author of those same sources. The researcher could misinterpret information and the judgment might not be legitimate.

Data Analysis and Study Sample

The books and articles used in this study were selected for the specific purpose of understanding and explaining the phenomenon of suicide terrorism. A theoretical sampling has been used in this study. This sampling allows for the collection of data from sources that best describe the aspects related to suicide terrorism, and it allows for new sources to be added as the analysis progresses. The sources were not collected randomly but based on a purposive sample to acquire much diverse information related to suicide terrorism. Sources were specifically selected for their ability to contribute insight to study of suicide terrorism.

The analysis focused on trends in the study of suicide terrorism as a function of time. Among the study sample were 32 books specifically written on suicide terrorism and terrorism in general. In addition, numerous articles were examined. A list of the 32 books was created examining each author's main focus and the origin of their information (See Table 11, p. 53). In addition, all the books and articles used in this thesis were examined in order to determine the authors main focus; whether it was certain motivational factors or other information they mention as crucial in understanding suicide terrorism. Also, based on those motivational factors, a figure was created as a visual aid

showing the different factors importance in relation to the suicide bomber (See Figure 1, p. 60). The figure presents findings based on the literature analysis.

This thesis relies heavily on sources which provided evidence based on interviews with potential suicide bombers and those that failed to carry out their mission. The motivational factors used in this research are the reason suicide bombers gave for their actions and factors that caused that person to act. Following are some definitions for the motivational factors that are included in the analysis: (1) Vengeance: “punishment inflicted in retaliation for an injury or offense” (Merriam-Webster online dictionary, 2011), (2) Humiliation: “to reduce to a lower position in one's own eyes or others' eye” (Merriam-Webster online dictionary, 2011), (3) Personal traumatization refers to an individual being subjected to personal trauma, (4) Nationalistic feelings refer to the aspirations for national independence in a country under foreign domination, (5) Martyr: a person “who sacrifices something of great value and especially life itself for the sake of principle” (Merriam-Webster online dictionary, 2011), (6) Violence: “exertion of physical force so as to injure or abuse” (Merriam-Webster online dictionary, 2011), (7) Dispatcher: the individual who recruits a suicide bomber and send him or her to a specific destination in order to conduct the suicide mission, (8) Indoctrination: “to imbue with a usually partisan or sectarian opinion, point of view” (Merriam-Webster online dictionary, 2011), and (9) Religion: “a cause, principle, or system of beliefs held to with ardor and faith” (Merriam-Webster online dictionary, 2011).

In summary, a qualitative research design was better suited for this study as the main research questions relates to human behavior. The focus of this study was detecting patterns in the literature with heavy focus on motivational factors pertaining to suicide

bombers. These above-mentioned motivational factors were applied to the list of 32 books and the created figure. The list was created to detect a possible pattern and changes in focus on suicide terrorism. This was done by counting the number of references to the motivational factors within the selection of books. Their importance was determined by their frequency.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Through the reading of the selected material used in this study, several patterns within the existing literature were identified. In order to provide a rich picture of the qualitative findings, results are presented here as well as charts constructed to clarify those findings. The collected material for this study only span over a decade and a diverse selection was included in order to explore many aspects of suicide terrorism. Included in the findings section is only information that was deemed essential for the pattern analysis of suicide bombers from past to present.

Pattern Identification

Targets, Weapons, and Globalization

Samson was mentioned earlier as the first individual to carry out a suicide attack (Judges 16:29-31). There was a difference between his suicide attack and current campaigns. Samson acted solely on his own, whereas most suicide bombings today are being organized by groups (Merari, 2010). The attacks are not carried out by lone wolf avengers, but are usually recruited by terrorists groups.

Also, the Kamikaze pilots differed from current suicide bombers in target selection. The Kamikaze pilots did not target innocent bystanders on purpose, but aimed to destroy American military personnel. The Kamikaze pilots destroyed hundreds of U.S.

ships and killed thousands of allied soldiers (Hassan, 2011). The Japanese desperately needed a tool to beat the United States in war and most Kamikaze pilots were honored to sacrifice their lives for their country. Admiral Onishi helped form the Special Attack Corps in 1944. Terrorists no longer aim to avoid killing innocent, and the whole enemy society is a target and killing innocent, including women, children, and elderly, is an effective way to instill fear (Laqueur, 2003). Terrorists today have evolved with a different attitude than previously; today, a civilian target is acceptable. Terrorism is no longer “propaganda by deed” – but mass destruction (Laqueur, 2003). Kidnappings, decapitations, and mass murder are on the rise and innocent civilians are deliberately targeted.

Killing non-combatants and civilians, including women and children, can be justified by terror organizations. No Israelis are considered innocent because they all join the military (Moghadam, 2008). In Israel, military service is mandatory for both male and females. A Hamas official stated that “this [Israel] is not a country of humans. These are animals and a group of gangs, and this country must be wiped off the face of the earth” (Waked, 2006, para. 5). It is no longer simply a method to gain media attention, to gain a political goal, or to have the enemy make concessions. The aim is mass murder of both military personnel and the civilian population, and to annihilate the enemy. Contemporary terrorists are much more indiscriminate and the aim is mass casualty (Laqueur, 2003; Ridley, 2007).

There is no universal pattern of suicide bombers preferred target or weapons of choice. Table 9 (p. 50) lists many different countries that have experienced suicide terrorism, the preferred target and weapon of choice. Table 9 was created to give a visual

presentation of changes in targets and weapons by groups in the selected countries and includes the countries that have experienced the most attacks and the most casualties.

Table 9. Preferred Target and Weapons of Choice in Selected Countries

<i>Region/country (number of attacks)</i>	<i>Preferred Target</i>	<i>Weapon of Choice</i>
Japan (numerous) 1945	Military	Plane bomb
Israel (numerous) 1994-present	Civilian	Belt bomb
United States (single) 2001	Civilian	Plane bomb
Afghanistan (numerous) 2001-present	Military and police	Car bomb/belt bomb
Iraq (numerous) 2003-present	Civilian	Car bomb
Pakistan (numerous) 2002-2005	Shiite civilian	Car bomb/belt bomb
2006-present	Military and political	Car bomb
Chechnya (numerous) 2000-2003	Military and political	Female/belt bomb
2004	Civilian	Female/belt bomb
2005-2009	Military and political	Female/belt bomb
Sri Lanka (numerous) 1983-87	Military	Car bomb
1987-90	None	None
1990-94	Military	Car bomb
1995-2001	Military	Belt bomb
2002-2005	Military	Belt bomb
2006-2009	Military	Boat bomb
Somalia (few) 2011	Civilian	Truck bomb
Global (Al –Qaeda)	Civilian	Variety

Source: Pape, 2010; CPOST database; Hassan, 2011, FUSTD, and numerous articles reviewed in this study

Table 9 is primarily based on findings from Pape's book, published in 2010, *The explosion of global suicide terrorism & how to stop it: Cutting the fuse*. Pape has been researching suicide terrorism over decades and have collected extensive data and created one of the world's most inclusive databases on the topic. Suicide terrorism has changed significantly after the attack on the Twin Towers in 2001. Prior to 9/11/2001, there were very few incidents worldwide as opposed to now where it is a much more frequent

occurrence in more and more countries. Since 2001, many more countries have been added to the list where suicide attacks have occurred.

Target and weapon selection differs by country. Suicide bombers from Japan, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, and Chechnya mainly target hard targets (military and police) whereas Palestinian and Iraqi suicide bombers mainly aim at soft targets (restaurants, markets, buses, etc.). The preferred target of the Pakistani suicide bombers shifted from a civilian to a military target. Suicide bombers from Israel, Chechnya, and Sri Lanka prefer belt bombs, whereas Pakistani suicide bombers prefer car bombs. Authors disagree on the preferred method used in Afghanistan. In most countries civilians have been the main target, except for Sri Lanka where the primary target throughout their campaign has remained a military target. Al-Qaeda is presented as a network operating on many continents. Their preferred target varies but their specialty is the spectacular attack with a large number of civilian casualties (Pape, 2010).

The use of female suicide bombers have certainly not been the norm throughout the history of suicide terrorism. However, Chechnya has preferred using female suicide bombers throughout their campaign and more Palestinian terrorist groups increasingly use females for suicide missions. In 2010, female suicide bombers carried out attacks also in Russia and Pakistan. At present, female suicide bombers are not rare occurrences. They are being used by many more terrorist groups than ever before.

Also, there is a difference in target selection according to which method is used to carry out the attack (See Table 10, p. 52). Pedahzur (2005) found that the bombers who strap on an explosive belt usually target primarily civilians, whereas, those terrorists who use car or truck bombs usually target military personnel.

Table 10. Methods and Targets

<i>Methods</i>	<i>Main target</i>
Suicide vest	Civilian/soft target
Truck bomb	Military/hard target
Car bomb	Military/hard target

Source: Pedahzur, 2005 and other sources from the referenced literature.

Factors Involved in Becoming a Suicide Terrorist

The root causes and motivations listed and explained in this thesis are compiled from the many articles and books. There are numerous explanations and motivational factors stated for why suicide terrorists act the way they do. Finding common motivational factors and root causes of terrorism is not an easy task as seen throughout the readings; however, it is a quest for many authors. There is no agreement on the meaning, purpose, nature, and causes of suicide terrorism and even definitions vary greatly. Authors often disagree on what the primary motivational factors for becoming a suicide bomber are. Even a definition they cannot agree upon. Hoffman (2006) claims that the most commonly used elements in various definitions are violence, force, political, fear/terror.

From past to present, researchers have studied psychological aspects of the suicide bombers. It has been a common assumption that suicide bombers are uneducated and crazy; however, studies show that usually an individual becomes a suicide bomber because of mixed motivations, and that there is no single formula for individuals engaging in such practices. The typical suicide bomber is not mentally ill, desperate, poor, or uneducated, but usually healthy, well-educated, in his late teens/early twenties. Most importantly, prior research shows that anyone can become a suicide bomber provided the right conditions (Dagan, n.d.; Hassan, 2001).

A recent psychological examination of would-be suicide bombers and organizers of suicide attacks was conducted in Israel by psychology professors. They did not find the suicide terrorists to be mentally ill. Rather, they pin-pointed differences in personality styles between the bomber and the organizer. Their coping skills differed significantly and the bombers seemed to have constricted coping mechanisms. It is more difficult for them to deal with everyday living. The bombers in most of the cases also seem more dependent on others; they needed reassurance from others and had less self-esteem (Merari, Diamant, Bibi, Broshi & Zakin, 2010).

In order to examine each author's main focus and from where they have retrieved their information, a list of thirty-three books used in this study was compiled analyzing the presence of key words from the books (See Table 11). It becomes apparent that there is no universal focus. Some authors focus entirely on martyrdom, others focus on multiple motivational factors; and some focus on single issues. Early studies on suicide terrorism focused mainly on psychological factors and explanations (Borum, 2004).

Table 11. Books Used in This Study

<i>Year</i>	<i>Author/Title</i>	<i>Main Focus/key words</i>	<i>Where authors retrieved information from</i>
1990	Reich/ <i>Origins of terrorism: Psychologies, ideologies, theologies, states of mind.</i>	Terrorism	Collection of research essays by scholars Project on psychological dimensions of terrorism
2000	<i>Countering suicide terrorism: An International conference.</i>	Internationalization Religion Psychology Sociology Root causes	International conference with academic experts and counter-terrorism professionals Multidisciplinary
2002	Reuter/ <i>My life is a weapon: A modern history of suicide bombing.</i>	History Martyrdom A culture of death	Not specified by author
2003	Laqueur/ <i>No End to War in the Twenty-First Century.</i>	Terrorism Religion Jihad Martyrdom	Not specified by author

Year	Table 11. –Continued Author/title	Main Focus/key words	Where authors retrieved information from
2003	Stern/ <i>Terror in the name of God: Why religious militants kill.</i>	Alienation Humiliation Jihad	Conversations/interviews with government officials and terrorists, religious leaders Questionnaires Visited Madrassas Scholarly articles Books
2003	Victor/ <i>Army of roses: Inside the world of Palestinian women suicide bombers.</i>	Palestinian female suicide bombers.	Interviews with family members of suicide bombers/psychologists
2004	Shay/ <i>The Shahids: Islam and suicide attacks.</i>	Martyrdom	Mainly news articles
2005	Pedahzur/ <i>Suicide terrorism.</i>	Motivations Recruitment Socialization	Not specified by author
2005	Pape/ <i>Dying to win: The strategic logic of suicide terrorism.</i>	Strategic Sociology Psychology	Compiled own database (1980-2003). Information taken from terrorist groups, main organizations that collect data, news media
2005	Bloom/ <i>Dying to Kill: The allure of suicide terrorism.</i>	Palestinian suicide terrorism Motivations	Not specified by author
2005	Oliver and Steinberg/ <i>The road to martyr's square: A journey into the world of the suicide bomber.</i>	Martyrdom	Memoir Travelogue
2005	Khosrokhavar/ <i>Suicide bombers: Allah's new martyr.</i>	Martyrdom	Not specified by author
2005	Gambetta/ <i>Making sense of suicide missions</i>	Motivations Case history	Scholarly articles News articles Books
2006	Hoffman/ <i>Inside terrorism</i>	Terrorism Internationalization Religion	Not specified by author
2006	Hafez/ <i>Manufacturing human bombs: The making of Palestinian suicide bombers.</i>	Palestinian suicide terrorism Organizational motives Individual motives Societal motives Martyrdom	Middle East Journal News sources: the Associated Press, the the BBC, New York Times, the Washington Post, CNN, etc. Data from International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) LexisNexis searches Ha'aretz Jerusalem Post Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Year	Table 11. –Continued Author/title	Main Focus/key words	Where authors retrieved information from
2006	Levitt/ <i>Hamas: Politics, charity, and terrorism in the service of jihad.</i>	Specific terrorist group: Hamas	Seized Hamas documents Interviews with experts, officials, and imprisoned Hamas operatives Intelligence from analysts Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center for Special Studies (Israel)
2006	Allen/ <i>God's terrorists: The Wahhabi cult and the hidden roots of modern jihad.</i>	Historical explanation Ideology behind modern Islamist terrorism Religion Jihad	Not specified by author
2007	Norton/ <i>Hezbollah: A short history.</i>	Specific terrorist group: Hezbollah	Not specified by author
2007	Asad/ <i>On suicide bombing</i>	Terrorism Suicide terrorism Horror at suicide terrorism	Not specified by author
2007	Berko/ <i>The path to paradise: The inner world of suicide bombers and their dispatchers.</i>	Palestinian suicide terrorism Dispatchers Martyrdom	Interviews with failed suicide bombers and their dispatchers
2007	Hafez/ <i>Suicide bombers in Iraq: The strategy and ideology of martyrdom.</i>	Martyrdom	Arabic texts Fort Leavenworth, Kansas U.S. servicemen who has been in Iraq Open Source Center (OSC) New York Times Washington Post LexisNexis Academic search engine Brookings Institution Documents/videos by insurgents (from their Web sites) Biographies of martyrs
2007	Center of Excellence Defence Against Terrorism, Ankara, Turkey/ <i>Suicide as a weapon.</i>	Religion/Jihad Psychology Recruitment Political Financing Women Impact on America Intelligence Prevention	Workshop on suicide terrorism Presenters from different countries

Year	Table 11. –Continued Author/title	Main Focus/key words	Where authors retrieved information from
2008	Marvasti/ <i>Psycho-political aspects of suicide warriors, terrorism and martyrdom: A critical view from “both sides” in regard to cause and cure.</i>	Motivations Psychology Psycho-social Psycho-political Trauma Women Violence Martyrdom	Not specified by author
2008	Moghadam/ <i>The globalization of martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the diffusion of suicide attacks.</i>	Martyrdom Al Qaeda Salafi Jihad	The SITE Institute provided biographies and jihadists videos Datasets from other authors
2008	Razzaque/ <i>Human being to human bomb: Inside the mind of a terrorist.</i>	Motivations Psychology	Not specified by author
2009	Abufarha/ <i>The making of a human bomb: An ethnography of Palestinian resistance.</i>	Violence Martyrdom Culture	Interviews with family members/participants in suicide operations/cultural performers
2009	Falk and Morgenstern/ <i>Suicide terror: Understanding and confronting the threat.</i>	Global jihad Palestinian suicide terrorism American experience Internationalization	Interviews with military officials and terrorism experts Compilation of articles by professors and researchers
2010	Merari/ <i>Driven to death: Psychological and social aspects of suicide terrorism.</i>	Psychology Sociology	Interviews with would-be suicide bombers Conversations with Israeli military officials
2011	Hassan/ <i>Life as a weapon: The global rise of suicide bombings</i>	Motivations	Flinders University Suicide Terrorism Database (FUSTD)

Still many authors include psychological factors in their research, but more importantly, most seem to realize that suicide terrorism is a multi-causation phenomenon. The keywords listed throughout Table 11 are as diverse as the factors listed in the literature review.

Authors are still struggling to agree on what makes a suicide bomber. One of the early articles from 1997 indicates Palestinian frustration and withdrawal into radical Islam was a leading factor for suicide bombing (Andoni, 1997). Since, most authors agree that religion is not the principal motivational factor for engaging in suicide terrorism.

Reuter (2002) makes a very good point when he states that the modern suicide bomber has strayed from traditional religion and their interpretations and now they simply exploit selected parts. He explains these modern suicide bombers well stating they “are a mixture of the Battle of Karbala and cable television—old myths and new media” (Reuter, 2002, p. 16). There is a need for a wide-range empirical research and every author makes a contribution to better understand suicide terrorism.

Martyrdom and the Culture of Death

Most authors mention martyrdom in their studies at some point but at present, many researchers and authors focus entirely trying to explain the phenomenon of martyrdom in relation to suicide bombing. Recent studies focus less on motivational factors and more on the suicide bomber in relation to the specific region in which he/she operates.

Khosrokhavar, (2005) distinguishes between two forms of martyrdom. One is connected to a national agenda, as in the Palestinian case, where individuals sacrifice themselves for the national collectivity and their own country. The other one is of transnational nature where martyrs sacrifice themselves for the worldwide Islamic community with the aim of destroying whoever opposes their faith.

Martyrdom has existed throughout history and throughout the reviewed literature; the Kamikaze pilots have had the most references to martyrdom operations. There is an existing pattern of a culture of death stemming from the Kamikaze pilots which is still in existence especially in the Palestinian society. The suicide missions of the Kamikaze pilots are a significant point of reference for modern day suicide bombers. By comparing modern day suicide terrorist to the Kamikaze pilots it is possible to get a good sense of

how modern day bombers have evolved. The Japanese followed a Samurai code of ethics referred to as *bushido* (meaning the way of the warrior), and a tradition of voluntary death existed in their tradition (Powers, 2011; Moghadam, 2008). In the early 18th century, *Hagakure: the book of the Samurai* was written based on thoughts on bushido, the way of the warrior. Morris stated that “since the earliest recorded period of Japanese history a warrior’s self destruction was accepted as a release from shame, an act of honor and courage, and an ultimate proof of integrity” (As cited in Gambetta, 2005, p. 19).

Not every pilot volunteered for the missions; some felt “obliged to volunteer” (Reuter, 2002. p. 136). Through the rules of bushido they were taught the value of honor and obedience. They simply realized that it was impossible to decline as it would be considered inappropriate. It was expected of them to volunteer and die for country. Also, the Palestinians do not always volunteer but they are often persuaded to “volunteer” and later on find it is almost impossible to decline. Once the bomber has recorded his last martyrdom statement, he will be disgraced if he backs out. Both the Kamikaze pilots and the Palestinian suicide bomber are portrayed as heroes; the Kamikaze pilots were enshrined whereas the Palestinians are placed on martyrdom posters. In Palestinian society families often approve of their sons and daughters suicide missions and feel proud. Umm Nidal is a mother of a martyr and is a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council. She knew of her son’s intention to become a martyr and publicly approved their actions. She did nothing to stop him (Chehab, 2007).

Martyrs are looked upon with high esteem in their society and being selected for a mission is considered, by many, “a stamp of approval or a certificate of accomplishment” (Hafez, 2006, p. 44). Whatever sins a person has committed in life will be cancelled and

forgotten through his death as a martyr. Through the act of a martyrdom operation an individual is supposedly on the road to redemption (maybe to clear the family name or his/her own) and the individual can now be “rescued” by paying the price of suicide. For a believer to die as a martyr is the fastest road to Paradise where 72 virgins supposedly are waiting.

Figure 1 (p. 60) is designed to show the relationship between martyrdom and most other factors mentioned in the reviewed literature. Figure 1 illustrates the many motivational factors for suicide bombings given by the authors. Every individual suicide bomber claims one or several motivational factors as the reason for their actions. One person will claim revenge as a motive, while another will claim that nationalistic feelings are the reason he/she chooses such desperate actions. Initial studies focusing on psychological factors concluded that mental illness is not a critical factor in becoming a suicide bomber.

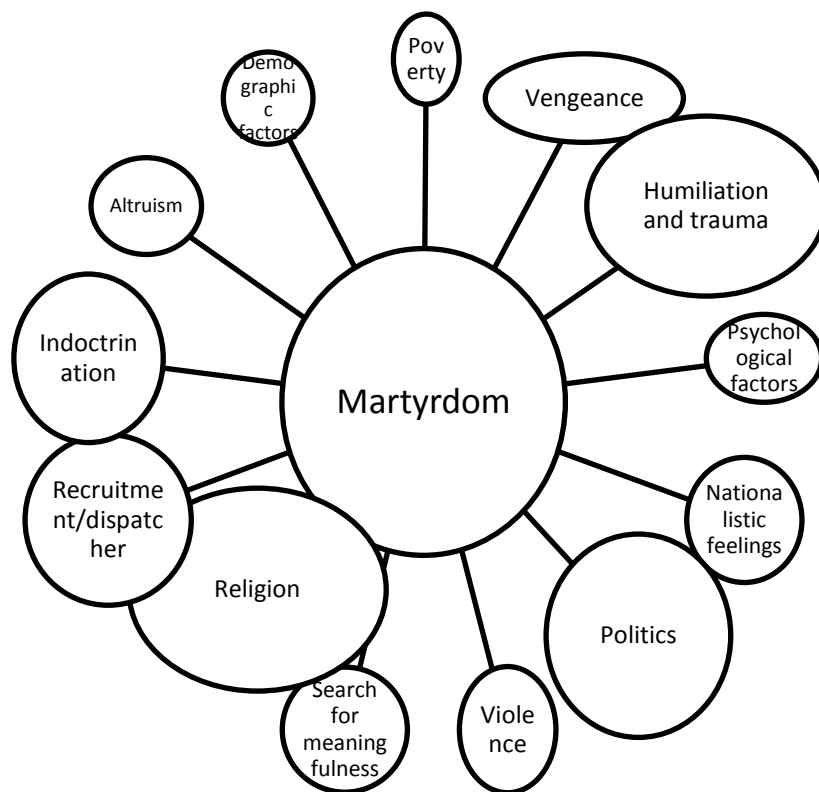


Figure 1. Motivational Factors in Relation to Suicide Terrorism

Martyrdom is portrayed as the center of the universe around which the other factors are related. As Moghadam recognizes, a “culture of martyrdom rests as a sole variable distinguishing organizations that employ suicide-homicide attacks from those that do not” (as cited in Schweitzer, 2008, para Al-Qaeda’s Adaptation). The only aspect authors do agree on is the fact that martyrdom plays an important role in suicide terrorism. Martyrdom is mentioned in most of the literature even if the researchers have mainly focused on other motivational factors. The circles have been increased or decreased in sizes according to how much weight authors placed on those contributing factors. Poverty is no longer considered a significant factor for the explanation of suicide terrorism (Laqueur, 2003; Wilson, 2004); therefore, that circle is quite small. The

“religion circle” overlaps the “martyrdom circle” because religion, by itself, is not a significant factor but it is an integrated part of martyrdom. Martyrdom is referred to in the verses of the Koran, the religious writings of Islam. Hassan (2011) further suggests that religion might also play a role in the recruitment process; therefore those two circles overlap.

Also, in the reviewed literature, vengeance and humiliation have been reported as significant contributors to suicide bombings in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Violence has been stated as a significant factor as well. Nonetheless, violence in itself is not a major factor. Authors also agree that terrorism and suicide terrorism almost always has a political agenda (Hassan, 2011). For most suicide bombers the ultimate goal is martyrdom.

Future Trends

It is no longer simply the aim of suicide bombers to make a political statement, indoctrinate an audience, and cause fear in the target population. Today’s suicide bomber strives to cause mass casualty and economic damage (Post et al., 2003; Morgenstern, 2009). It is clear that suicide attacks have been proven successful. In Afghanistan and Iraq alone suicide attacks have accounted for thousands of dead in just a short period of time. Horowitz (2008) and Bloom (2005) suggests that suicide attacks are very likely to continue because they are now “normalized”. Suicide attacks are no longer isolated special events – they have become every day-occurrences.

There is a noticeable pattern in suicide bombings in a shift from localized events to globalized events. With the worst suicide attack in history on 9/11/2001, Al Qaeda changed the suicide attack into a globalized pattern where the globe is their play ground

(See Table 12). Before, it had primarily been a localized phenomenon aimed to get rid of foreign occupation or to change the political environment. Not anymore--al Qaeda operates globally and is a leading force in suicide terrorism. They are “responsible for its globalization by turning the concept of Istishhad [martyrdom] as the organizational symbol [into] practice for the whole global Jihad camp” (Schweitzer, 2008, p. 116).

Table 12. Pattern of Suicide Bombings

<i>Timeframe</i>	<i>Predominant terror groups utilizing suicide attacks</i>	<i>Pattern</i>
Pre 9/11	LTTE Hezbollah Hamas PIJ PKK	Localized
Post 9/11	Al-Qaeda	Globalized

Source: Moghadam, 2008; Shay, 2008

Al-Qaeda is connected to the Palestinian cause, and Schweitzer (2008) suggests that Al-Qaeda imitates the Palestinian methods and applies them globally. He suggests that “Al-Qaeda recognizes that making jihad and istishhad the crux of its strategy can set the foundation for realizing a durable global movement” (Schweitzer, 2008, para. Direct Links). Al-Qaeda’s major objective after 9/11/2001 has been promoting martyrdom operations.

Globally, tactics are changing. Child bombers are being exploited and manipulated to carry out suicide missions. Children, as young as seven-years-old, have been known to be recruited by the Taliban. A price for a child bomber is estimated at 7,000 – 14,000 dollars– quite high compared to the average annual income in that region. These young suicide bombers are occasionally being exported to Pakistan .This trend is

carried on from the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan where many young boys fought as freedom fighters (Carter, 2009).

It is increasingly popular to use female suicide bombers. Research shows that female suicide bombers tend to be more lethal than their male counterparts. The total average casualties resulting from female attacks is 8.4 as opposed to 5.3 killed in male attacks (O'Rourke, 2009). Possible future trends include so-called bosom bombers; females who have explosives implanted in their breasts. This discovery came after the "underwear bomber" was caught trying to detonate explosive hidden in his underwear while on a commercial airplane. British agents supposedly discovered that some Muslim doctors have performed surgeries and implanted explosives (PETN) in the breasts of female suicide bombers as requested by Al Qaeda ("Bosom bombers," 2010). This report was posted in 2010 and it is difficult to prove if this is an ongoing practice. When a bomber detonates her explosives it will be difficult to detect whether it actually was sewn into the female body. Terrorists have become increasingly sophisticated due to advanced technology and it is likely we will see more advanced methods than explosives sewn into underwear. Explosive vests can be somewhat easy to detect on a suicide bomber on a hot summer day. The bomber will need a coat to conceal the explosives and this can cause early detection. Suicide bombers are far more creative than earlier. In 2011, a suicide bomber detonated a bomb which killing former Afghan president Burhanuddin Rabbani. The explosives were hidden in his turban (Cavendish, 2011).

A question worth asking is why individuals choose to strap their bodies with explosives and blow themselves up when they instead could use remote controlled Improvised Explosive Devices (IED) which has proven successful as well. It could be

argued that such operation takes more planning and equipment. In this incident, possibly a suicide bomber would have been unsuccessful; but a buried IED is hard to spot. This method has been proven successful in the Gaza Strip where American convoys have been targeted by terrorist groups. Since the conflict began in Iraq in 2003, insurgents have relied on remote controlled IED to blow up convoys carrying U.S. and coalition forces. An explanation why terrorists prefer to rely on suicide missions in Iraq is because they now use “jammers” which are special Electronic Counter Measures equipment used against IED’s (Grier, 2005).

Possibly, the future terrorists will possess and use Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and also use chemical weapons for suicide bombings (Post et al., 2003; Charney, 2007). A Palestinian would-be suicide bomber came close to using a suicide bomb containing cyanide and Hamas has used rat poison earlier in a bomb. It has also been revealed that Hamas planned to poison Israeli water supply (Chosak & Sawyer, 2005). However, Post et al. (2003) interviewed 35 incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists and they learned that there was low interest in attaining WMD.

With the global access to the World Wide Web it has become easy for would-be terrorists and potential suicide bombers to join terrorist organizations, to gather information about bomb making, and identify sources of materials for bombs. They do not even have to be on the same continent in order to become recruited or join. In earlier times, an individual had to physically meet others in an organization, and it was much harder to come in contacts with an organization. The internet is a tool for information gathering and sharing, instigation, indoctrination, planning, training, recruitment, and fundraising (Moghadam, 2008).

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study reviewed extensive literature mainly on root causes and motivational factors associated with suicide terrorism with the intention of analyzing patterns within the literature. Certain patterns were detected. Earlier terrorists predominantly targeted enemy combatants. At present, the main target is the civilian population. Suicide terrorism has evolved from a localized phenomenon into a globalized strategy where it is not limited to an individual country's struggle.

Based on the literature used in this study it becomes clear that many different aspects are worth examining when trying to make sense of this phenomenon, and it would be counter-productive to try to pinpoint a single attribute to suicide bombing. Most often people believe that suicide bombers are fanatic religious, poor, and uneducated; that is usually not the case (Hassan, 2001; Hassan, 2009). Some authors have stated that suicide bombers do have a demographic profile (Merari, 2010); however, this profile seems to change throughout time. At present, more females participate, the age group has expanded, and in all, it is becoming more difficult to predict who would become a suicide bomber. Age, gender, marital and economic status differ somewhat according to which group they are affiliated with and which country they are from and live in, and the period in which they operate.

There is no distinct profile of a suicide bomber. Researchers and scholars have tried to categorize prototypes of suicide terrorists, make profiles, and identify key factors; however, it seems impossible to place the suicide bomber into a neat box. Motivations for becoming a suicide bomber vary from person to person, and why someone decides to go on a suicide mission might not be true for the next person. People have different beliefs, come from different backgrounds, and have different morals and views. Different circumstances lead to different explanations for the individual who engages in suicide terrorism.

A generalization of suicide terrorism is not viable; however, “there is a connection between terrorism and the economic and social situation. There is a connection with the political state of affairs, and at the present time, there is a connection with Islam” (Laqueur, 2003, p. 22). The only thing that everyone agrees on is that “terrorism is a pejorative term” (Hoffman, 2006, p. 23). The same is true for suicide terrorism. If the main intention of the perpetrator is to harm others while blowing himself/herself up, perhaps a better descriptive term would be homicide bombers. On the other hand, calling the attacker a homicide bomber instead of a suicide bomber might please the bomber; their aim is homicide (killing other humans), thus, we confirm him/her. By referring to them as suicide bombers we disgrace them. In order to justify their own actions, the bombers define the attacks as martyrdom operations or sacrificial operations (Human Rights Watch [HRW], 2002).

Martyrdom is a common trend pertaining to suicide bombers. Self-sacrifice and dying as a hero in battle are recognized throughout history. Spartan law required man to fight until death. The Vikings who died in battle went to Asgard and instead of receiving

72 virgins; their reward was eating, drinking, and fighting (Laqueur, 2003). In more recent times the Japanese Kamikaze pilots and the Palestinians sacrificed themselves for a greater cause and died as heroes.

Regardless of motivational factors and root causes, martyrdom and *istishad* (self-sacrifice for the sake of God) is the ultimate goal. Understanding the historical context of the Kamikaze pilots is a great point of reference when analyzing present suicide bombings. Many aspects of the Kamikaze pilots resemble modern-day Palestinian suicide bombers. Comparing Tanaka's five explanations for the willingness of Kamikaze pilots to go on suicide missions, suggest a similarity with Palestinian suicide bombers. Tanaka's five points from Chapter I in the Historical Background section is restated: (1) the Kamikaze pilot would rationalize his own death, (2) to die for country proved devotion to parents, (3) solidarity with flight-mates, (4) responsibility and bravery, and (5) they had no image of the enemy (Tanaka, 2005). Just like the Kamikaze pilot the Palestinian suicide bomber rationalizes his own death through martyrdom, he is willing to die for his country, but instead of bravery—he wants to be a hero. The Palestinian suicide bomber does have an image of the enemy and he will walk on the American and Israeli flag to show contempt.

Many Palestinians experience a sense of hopelessness and loss of dignity due to the current conflict with Israel and “death allows martyrs to recover their spiritual virginity, to wash away their sins thanks to an enchanted martyrdom that opens the gates of Paradise, even though it does not grant them access to the outside world” (Khosrokhavar, 2005, p. 133). Death releases them from their lost dignity in life and gives them a chance of redemption. Al-Qaeda's martyrs are not only referred to as

martyrs but also as *mujaheds* (holy warriors) fighting for their faith. These martyrs are not constricted to a specific country, but operate globally. Martyrdom has no border, and it can be used as a very powerful tool to indoctrinate and persuade future recruits. Many spiritual leaders and recruiters of terrorist organizations rely on citing select verses of the Koran that can relate to jihad and the veneration of martyrs. In essence, it is far easier to convince an individual to blow himself/herself up if it gives him/her a key to Paradise and a status as a hero than for any other reason.

No matter what motivates an individual to strap on a belt loaded with explosives and blow himself up, the fact is that the suicide bomber believes that there is a personal reward waiting in the afterlife. It works out pretty well, as martyrdom allows the individual to fight injustice and at the same time punish the enemy—all in the name of Allah. Martyrs view themselves as heroes – not suicide victims. It makes more sense to take one’s own life, and kill as many as possible in the process; if the reward is your name eternalized in history and a be depicted as a hero. Then, it becomes less relevant if it was because of religious beliefs, political aspects, or personal factors. Some are willing to die for their “15 minutes of fame”. Ironically, the Palestinian martyr is glorified and his status “exceeds that of a pop star in America” (Acosta, 2008, para. The Palestinian Culture).

Even though certain patterns were detected from the literature, a conclusion was reached that a generalization of suicide terrorism is not practical. Motivations, root causes, and intentions differ from place to place, from country to country, and the reasons for carrying out those attacks are not always the same. Authors often disagree and too many contradictions exist to create a distinct profile, and it has now been established that

they are not crazy, deranged, and mentally ill lunatics. There is no single-factor explanation and suicide terrorism needs to be understood as an interaction between the suicide bomber and the environment in which he lives. Existing literature, taken as a whole, leads to the conclusion that the specific bomber needs to be understood based on several factors such as the historical, cultural, and contextual, in addition to group dynamics and strategies and immediate situational factors (Stanciu, 2007).

Limitations

This study can aid in understanding the motivations, methods, and tactics of the suicide bombers; however, it is not without limitations. Possible limitations of this study are inadequate amounts of evidence and selection bias. Some findings and conclusions may be unjustifiable because the data is not inclusive. Obviously, not all topics could be included. Also, the charts could be lacking data that was not found due to the selective method of data collection. Since it has been a selective method used to obtain information, it is possible that other important information have been left out. There are so many factors concerning suicide terrorism and it is with regret that not all and everything could be concluded.

A possible weakness of this research could be lack of primary sources. Only a small number of potential suicide bombers are available for interviews and the reliability of the source should be questioned. Obviously, most cannot be interviewed or questioned. In order to get inside information into the minds of a suicide bomber, one must trust the words of imprisoned would-be bombers. However, what he/she states as why he/she chooses to conduct a suicide mission might be different from his statement after a failed attempt. So when we are presented with the own words of a suicide bomber, his/hers

sentiments could have changed. Therefore, it is very difficult to pinpoint personality characteristics of suicide bombers. In addition, the individual life stories do sometimes provide only limited information.

Despite all limitations, this analysis has been able to present distinct factors linked to suicide terrorism that can provide a better understanding of this phenomenon and possibly aid future research.

Implications

Future Research

Even though Israel has experienced a drastic decline in suicide bombings over the last few years, this is not the end of suicide terrorism in this country. In 2011, Israeli security forces exposed thirteen Hamas terrorist cells in the process of planning several terrorist attacks. They mainly operated in Hebron (West Bank) and Jerusalem. A would-be suicide bomber was arrested when he was about to carry out a suicide attack in Jerusalem on August 2011. His explosive device was a fire extinguisher covered with metal bits and filled with six kilos of explosives. Through interrogation of the detainees they learned that (1) the cells were directed and funded by Hamas, (2) Hamas inmates recruited in Israeli prisons, (3) Hamas militants holds recruitment meetings in Saudi Arabia, and (5) Hebron operatives have been connected to operations carried out in China and Turkey (“Israeli security forces,” 2011). Because Israel’s well-established counter-terrorism efforts, they are able to prevent numerous attacks every year. Israel has lived with the threat of suicide attacks for decades and has become increasingly proficient in detecting, preventing, and deterring suicide terrorism. Other places and nations do not have the same expertise as Israel. Where the incidents have been sporadic, like Spain,

United States, Britain, less time and resources have been spent on suicide terrorism and therefore early detection of the threat is much more difficult. United States could learn a lot from their Israeli allies; they have lived with the threat for so many years and are superior when it comes to counter terrorism and detection of potential suicide bombers. To their advantage, they partner with the citizens who thwart many suicide attacks.

Looking from a criminal justice perspective, there is somewhat limited information for law enforcement and how to deal with this specific threat. No matter what motivates a suicide bomber to strap a belt with explosives around his waist, he is going to detonate that bomb and intentionally kill as many as possible. More important for law enforcement is to identify how suicide bombers operate. Law enforcement need better tools to be able to prevent and predict suicide bombings. Suicide terrorism should not be fought like ordinary crime where the investigation takes place after the crime occurs, because then it is too late. Law enforcement needs training in identifying potential suicide bombers, as well as identifying their targets and the methods used for carrying out the acts.

Confronting a suicide bomber, the International Association of Chiefs of Police issued a guideline in 2005 suggests the best tactic would be to shoot the bomber in the head (Horwitz, 2005). The U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command Handbook is also a useful tool with information regarding indicators and behaviors that might help law enforcement spot a potential suicide bomber. Also, the Department of Public Safety provides classes to law enforcement on how to respond to a suicide bomber attacks. One such class is called: Initial law enforcement response to suicide bombing attacks (www.preparingtexas.org). As with any other type of crime prevention program, law

enforcement should encourage the public's help in the reporting of suspicious activities. It has worked extremely well in Israel where the public help thwart about 80 percent of suicide attacks (Raphael Ron as cited in Tucker, 2003). Citizens can be very useful assets in fighting suicide terrorism. As Edmund Burke's famous quote reads: "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing".

A helpful tool for investigating suicide bombings might be the use of crime scripts for crime prevention measures. These so-called scripts can be explained as step-by-step explanation on how an offender commits a specific crime. There are different scripts for different crimes. Crime scripts are sometimes used in criminology to investigate how crime events unfold. There is an increased need to look at the specific modus operandi in order to best counter suicide terrorism. These scripts can be useful to further investigate the process and understand the path of a suicide bomber (Leclerc, Wortley, & Smallbone, 2011).

Studying motivational factors and root causes of suicide terrorism is helpful—but not enough. There is no clear profile (Borum, 2004) and it is hard to find common traits. Research on the role of culture, social environment, social network, group processes, and terrorist group recruitment, has become more popular as it has been recognized that those factors are important for understanding suicide terrorism (Merari, 2010). Hafez suggests that further research must address three important elements: (1) the community setting, (2) the organizational dimension, and (3) the psychological characteristics of the individuals who carry out the attacks (as cited in Merari, 2010, p. 261), and martyrdom is an important part of the whole. There is a need for a holistic approach (Stanciu, 2007) for further studying suicide terrorism.

The need for plenty more research is evident and Charny (2007) says it well when he states that:

Evil thrust of power and murder have characterized our human race from the earliest time, wherever humans are to be found—including by Jews, Christians, Muslims, and so many other ethnicities, religions, and nationalities, and including everywhere we look, in Southeast Asia, the Indian continent, Africa, wherever. Where the next biggest destruction will come from, I don't know. I do know it will be from human beings like today's suicide bombers who set no limits on their killing. (p. xxii)

Does Terrorism Work?

Not all authors agree whether or not terrorism works. Again, it all depends on how terrorism is supposed to work. If the goal is radical political change, terrorism hardly ever works. However, there are several benefits of terrorism. Crenshaw (1990) states that terrorism “has an extremely agenda-setting function” (p. 17) and refers to political change, “terrorism may be intended to create revolutionary conditions” (p. 18) and “provoking government repression” (p. 19). On the same note, Hoffman (2006) states that ethno-nationalist terrorism does work as seen in examples of Irgun's struggle in Palestine, FLN's opposition in Algeria, and Makario's campaign in Cyprus. According to Hoffman (2006), “the tactical ‘successes’ and political victories won through violence by groups like the Irgun...clearly demonstrate that...terrorism does work” (pp. 61-62). Yoram Schweitzer (2000) disagrees and contests that suicide terrorism has been little successful in winning over and changing nation states and they have not succeeded to create a change in their favor. Though, they have succeeded in improving the terrorist

group's agenda. Some could argue that terrorism does work if the intention is to create fear and paranoia in the population.

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VITA

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