



CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE
DEFENCE AGAINST TERRORISM



GENDER IN TERRORISM AND COUNTER-TERRORISM: DATA, ANALYSIS AND RESPONSES

Workshop Report by the NATO
Centre of Excellence Defence Against Terrorism

Gender in Terrorism and Counter-terrorism: Data, Analysis and Responses

15-17 June 2021

COE-DAT, Ankara, Turkey

Dr. Zeynep Sütalan

Workshop Academic Advisor & Editor

Col. Daniel W. Stone

Workshop Director

Ms. Demet Uzunoğlu

Workshop Co-Director

Mrs. Nebahat Tanrıverdi Yaşar

Workshop Rapporteur

Ms. Alice Löhmus

Workshop Rapporteur

Cite as: Centre of Excellence Defence Against Terrorism (COE-DAT). *Gender in Terrorism and Counter-terrorism: Data, Analysis and Responses. Workshop Report. Ankara, 2021.*

DISCLAIMER

This workshop report is a product of the Centre of Excellence Defence Against Terrorism (COE-DAT), and is produced for NATO, NATO member countries, NATO partners and related private and public institutions. The information and views expressed in this report are solely those of the authors and may not represent the opinions and policies of NATO, COE-DAT, NATO member countries or the institutions with which the authors are affiliated.

GENDER IN TERRORISM AND COUNTER-TERRORISM: DATA, ANALYSIS AND RESPONSES

Workshop Report by the NATO
Centre of Excellence Defence Against Terrorism

Intentionally left blank

CONTENTS

Executive Summary.....	4
<i>Col. Daniel Stone</i>	
Acknowledgements	8
<i>Dr. Zeynep Sütalan</i>	
Acronyms and Abbreviations	9
Introduction.....	10
<i>Dr. Zeynep Sütalan</i>	
Welcome Address	12
<i>Col. Barbaros Dağlı</i>	
Presentation Summaries	14
Conducting A Gender Analysis in Counter-Terrorism Contexts: What, Why, How	14
<i>Dr. Phoebe Donnelly</i>	
Gender Analysis in the Military: Implications for the Counter-terrorism Context	17
<i>Maj. Linda Johansson</i>	
Integrating a Gender Perspective into Counter-terrorism: Focusing on Security and Justice Sectors	20
<i>Dr. Amrita Kapur</i>	
Prosecution of Women Associated with Terrorism: Reflections Based on Sex-Disaggregated Data	24
<i>Dr. Omi Hodwitz</i>	
Gender Dimensions in The Criminal Justice Response To Terrorism: Investigation And Prosecution	27
<i>Kate Fitzpatrick</i>	
Female Foreign Terrorist Fighters: Data and Analysis	30
<i>Stephanie Baroud</i>	
Gender-responsive Approach to Disengagement: The Case of PKK	32
<i>Tugay Zehir</i>	
Including ‘Experience’ in Age and Gender-Sensitive Reintegration Programs	36
<i>Shannon Foley Martinez</i>	
Gender-Responsive Rehabilitation and Reintegration of Women in Boko Haram	38
<i>Dr. Fatima Akilu</i>	
Key Findings	39
Recommendations	43
Annex-A: Workshop Program	45
Annex-B: Biographies of the Speakers.....	46
Annex-C: Suggested Bibliography.....	56

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Why does gender matter in counter-terrorism (CT)? Gender matters because it is directly linked to the analysis and response to the terrorist threat that represents a security threat to NATO and nations around the world. If gender is not accounted for in threat assessments, it could lead to deficient understanding of the threat and insufficient responses to the threat. A failure of imagination to “understand the ways in which women [and men] radicalize, support, and perpetrate violence cedes the benefit of their involvement to extremist groups.”¹

COE-DAT conducted its third workshop to address three gendered CT topics of importance to NATO and the wider CT policy makers. The first topic addresses the requirement to include gender in plans by addressing “how to” conduct a gender analysis into the strategic and operational planning process. The second topic examines the disparity in criminal prosecutions of terrorists based on their male or female characteristics. The third topic analyses how current Prosecution, Rehabilitation, and Reintegration (PRR) programs do not account for gender, which could lead to the failure of female terrorists to de-radicalize and commit future terror acts as well as raise a second generation of terrorists.

To put into context, “ ‘Gender’ refers to the socially constructed and conditioned roles, attributes, opportunities and norms that a given society at a given time considers appropriate based on biological sex. Gender affects the relations and power dynamics between people, which are reflected in access to and control over resources, responsibilities assigned and decision-making opportunities. Gender relates not only to women and structural gender inequality, but also to men and concepts of masculinity”.² Incorporating a gender perspective to CT includes incorporating other “identity markers” such as sex, race, ethnicity, religion, age, social class, and so on. By including a diverse cross section of society, governments are better able to address the complexity of violent extremism and terrorism.³

Perceptions of the gender roles women play in society create a “blind spot” for counter-terrorism practitioners and policy makers. One can observe three simplified and misleading assumptions concerning women and their gendered roles. The first assumption is that women join terrorist organizations not because of belief in a cause, but because of personal reasons such as being “brides” of a terrorist in which women are viewed through their affiliation with men. The second assumption is that women are mothers and nurturers by nature and therefore are non-violent and are not considered likely perpetrators of terrorist violence. The third assumption is that women are victims, forced into terrorism against their will, and have no agency.⁴ All three of these assumptions are based on widely held gendered roles of men and women and are wrong.

It is imperative to understand that terrorism affects men and women differently.⁵ All aspects of terrorism affect men, women, boys, and girls differently and are often gender-specific from the triggers and recruitment pathways,⁶ to the unequal ability to recover after terrorist attacks, to the different ways responses and CT policies differently impact men, women, boys, and girls.⁷

Since most practitioners and policy makers on CT are male and most violent terrorists are male, it is too easy for the focus to be on males. By doing so, CT efforts are only focusing on half the population.⁸ When gender is addressed in PVE and CT, typically women are seen in a binary manner; as victims or as perpetrators. This view reinforces societies' views on women's gender roles as either submissive victim or as a broken woman acting outside of gender roles; all of which completely dismisses women's agency and ability to fulfill all the same roles as men in terrorism: victims, perpetrators, preventers of terrorism, facilitators, and supporters of terrorism.⁹

¹ Jamille Bigio and Rachel Vogelstein, “Women and Terrorism: Hidden Threats, Forgotten Partners” (New York: Council on Foreign Affairs, May 2019), 1.

² DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR and UN Women, “Gender, Preventing Violent Extremism and Countering Terrorism” in Gender and Security Toolkit (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, 2019), 2.

³ Phoebe Donnelly, Demystifying Gender Analysis for Research on Violent Extremism (Washington, D.C.: RESOLVE Network, 2021), 9, <https://doi.org/10.37805/rve2021.2>.

⁴ COE-DAT, Women in Terrorism and Counterterrorism Workshop Report (Ankara: COE-DAT, 2019), 14, http://www.coedat.nato.int/publication/workshop_reports/08-WomenInTerrorismAndCounterterrorism.pdf.

⁵ “Counter-terrorism”, Council of Europe, accessed 1 June 2021, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/genderequality/counter-terrorism>.

⁶ Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Understanding the Role of Gender in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization That Lead to Terrorism: Good Practices for Law Enforcement, (Vienna: OSCE, 2019), 29.

⁷ “Counter-terrorism”, Council of Europe.

⁸ United States Institute of Peace (USIP), Charting a New Course: Women Preventing Violent Extremism (Washington: USIP, 2015), 8, <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/files/Women-Preventing-Violent-Extremism-Charting-New-Course.pdf>.

⁹ Ibid, 12.

NATO recognizes the need to mainstream gender and the many different roles women and men play in terrorist organizations in order to better combat terrorism. NATO as a political and military alliance fully supports the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. Fundamental to the WPS agenda is the fact that women and girls are affected disproportionately by conflicts, and the fact that women can and should play a critical role in conflict-resolution and prevention. The WPS mandate at its core is about protecting and advocating women's rights in conflict and post-conflict contexts and is essential to NATO's common values of individual liberty, democracy, and human rights as well as obligations stemming from the United Nations Charter. NATO has extended its commitment to the WPS mandate from the first NATO/Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council Policy and Action Plan on WPS in 2007 to its current Action Plan endorsed by the NATO Heads of State in 2018. Through the principles of integration, inclusiveness, and integrity adopted in the Action Plan; NATO and its Allies and Partners recognize the vitality of integrating gender perspectives throughout the Alliance's core tasks of collective defence, crisis management, and cooperative security, which includes countering terrorism. Additionally, terrorism is a complicated threat, which is affected by gender dynamics, and terrorism also affects gender dynamics. Integrating gender perspectives into all counterterrorism efforts by NATO Allies and Partners is vital for success.

A frequently asked question is "how do I integrate a gender perspective in planning and execution of policies and operations?" During the first session of the workshop this very question was addressed with the desire to develop a practical strategic/operational level "how to" guide to include the gender dimension in CT planning. At its core, a gender analysis is about asking questions to identify the power structure and relationships between men and women and between men, women, boys, and girls. It is important to incorporate gender into all aspects and phases of military planning. Potential questions based on military planning phases to incorporate gender into CT planning derived from this workshop include:

Phase 0 Shape / Phase 1 Deter Questions:

- What is the aim of the overall mission? How does gender fit into the overall mission/commander's intent? What is the gender relevance to the mission/commanders intent?
- What are the accepted norms in regards to gender in the target society?
- What is the relationship between genders?
- What is the power relationship between the genders?
- What roles do women fulfill in the terror organization?
- What roles do men fulfill in the terror organization?
- What roles do boys play? What roles do girls play?
- What are the needs of different groups (men, women, boys, girls (MWBG))?
- What is the access to services for MWBG? Is there a difference between them?
- How are resources distributed among MWBG?
- What are the impacts to MWBG? Are the impacts different?
- What are the gender roles in your organization? How do these gender roles affect power dynamics in your organization? Security risks? Are there groups you are unable to interact with?
- How does gender power dynamics affect own organization?
- How does the plan affect MWBG and between men and men?
- Why must the military/coalition influence gender issues? What can be changed? What are the unintended consequences of change? How long would this change take? What can the military actually do?
- What views on gender do we bring to the mission in the target population? How do we view the gender roles of MWBG? Compare and contrast with target population.
- What is the criteria of success?

Phase II Seize the Initiative / Phase III Dominate Questions:

- If women engage in combat, how does this affect other women's roles and the balance of power?
- How do gender roles affect own organization? Security risks? Groups unable to interact with?
- What views on gender do we bring to the mission in the target population? How do we view the gender roles of MWBG? Compare and contrast with target population.
- What roles do women fulfill in the terror organization?
- What roles do men fulfill in the terror organization?
- What roles do boys play? What roles to girls play?
- Plan dangerous to who? Who is at high risk?

Phase IV Stabilize / Phase V Enable Civil Authority Questions:

- How does DRR/PRR affect women? How does DRR/PRR affect their economic situation? How does DRR/PRR affect their social position?
- If women were leaders and engaged in combat, does DRR/PRR return them to normal women's roles? What is the effect on power relationships held in the terror organization to peaceful society? Good or bad for the women's roles?
- What are the needs of different groups (men, women, boys, girls)?
- What is the access to services for MWBG? Is there a difference between them?
- How are resources distributed among MWBG?
- What is the impacts to MWBG? Are the impacts different?
- Plan dangerous to who? Who is at high risk?
- What is the criteria of success?

6

The second session focused on how criminal justice systems' disparate treatment of terrorists, or suspected terrorists, due to gender biases may have unintended consequences for the future. The numbers of women arrested for terrorism offenses is on the rise. In Europe, 26% of those arrested on terrorism charges in 2016 were women, which is up from 18% in 2015. Of the Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTF) who travelled to Syria, 13% were women. There were 20,000 reported FTFs from the OSCE region of which 3,400 (17%) were women. When looking at national statistics women comprised 36% of French FTFs, 40% of Netherlands FTFs, 20% of German FTFs, and 20% of Finnish FTFs.¹⁰ Europe has also seen an increase in women's participation in far-right organizations and the increase in far-right women's groups.¹¹ It should be noted that women have historically helped found terror groups such as the Baader-Meinhof Gang and the Japanese Red Army and will most likely form new groups in the future.¹²

While men remain the largest number of perpetrators of terrorism and receive the greatest scrutiny, this causes the role of women as perpetrators neither to be recognized nor addressed, even as the numbers of female perpetrators are increasing.¹³ Women "have been active participants in 60% of armed groups" since the 1950s. In the 1950s women in Algeria transported and deployed bombs at strategic targets, in the 1990s all female battalions gained reputations as fearsome fighters in Sri Lanka, and in Columbia almost 40% of the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces Columbia) were female and served in all operational roles including as combat leaders.¹⁴

The rising numbers of women participating in terrorism underscores the need to research and develop sex-disaggregated data in the context of terrorism and counter-terrorism. Often women are viewed as unsuspecting or unwitting parties to terrorist organizations. This view denies women's agency and leads to disparate treatment of male and female terrorists.

¹⁰ OSCE, *Understanding the Role of Gender*, 24.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 27-29

¹² Bigio and Vogelstein, "Women and Terrorism", 3.

¹³ C. de Jonge Oudraat and M. E. Brown, "Women, Gender, and Terrorism: The Missing Links", *WIIS Policy Brief* (Washington, DC: Women in International Security 1 August 2016), <https://www.wiisglobal.org/publication/women-gender-and-terrorism-the-missing-links/>

¹⁴ Bigio and Vogelstein, "Women and Terrorism", 3.

Women are prosecuted at lower rates and if sentenced for a similar non-violent crime as a man, women receive on average 2.5 years lower sentence (USA data). When women violate gender norms and commit violent acts, they receive similar prison sentences compared to men (USA data). Differences in prosecution rates, severity of sentences, if convicted, and opportunities for rehabilitation services for men and women is important to understand in order to design policies that justly punish terrorists, provides rehabilitation, and adequately reduces recidivism. By paying attention to gender power dynamics, including historical oppression of women and marginalized men, criminal justice systems should recognize there might be control, coercion, or duress while at the same time recognizing women's agency and ensure "support roles", which includes conduct other than direct engagement in violence and perpetration of terrorist acts, are criminalized.

Linked to disparate criminal prosecutions by gender is the disparate demobilization processes by gender. The manner in which gender affects terrorists voluntarily leaving terrorist organizations and their subsequent rehabilitation is not understood sufficiently. The Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration (DDR) processes that the international community has witnessed so far may offer critical insights into developing terrorism demobilization processes that incorporates gender. What is known is that the lack of women in the design of CT plans has harmful outcomes for women. Often the CT programs do not include women nor consider gender and focus heavily on the security and prosecution. While many programs include Prosecution, Rehabilitation, and Reintegration (PRR), predominately PRR only benefits male terrorists, as women are often not included. Even when women are included in PRR, they have far less access to services since they receive far less prison sentences where most PRR is conducted and the job training they receive are based on gendered norms for women often in the domestic and tailor industries. This leads women who experienced greater social "power" outside of their typical gendered roles while part of a terror group to either return to terrorism to regain social status or return to previous gender roles. This also means women are less likely to de-radicalize as part of the PRR process. If not analysed and addressed, another generation of terrorists may be indoctrinated by women who joined terrorist organizations and were provided fewer deradicalization treatments, fewer rehabilitation services, and fewer job skills training opportunities; thus continuing the cycle of grievances and potentially create a follow-on generation of terrorists through their children. PRR programs should be gender-responsive, taking into account the needs of different gender groups like women, girls, men and boys and ensuring the access of different gender groups to services and support provided by these programs. PRR programs also should provide victims of gender based sexual violence (men and women) adequate rehabilitation resources to help them recover.

NATO, as a key security actor, must engage with Allies, Partner Nations, Nations of Interest, the International Community, Non-Governmental Organizations, and Civil Society through a Whole of Government and Whole of Society approach to address the grievances and root causes of terrorism through the application of diplomacy and soft power by, with, and through nations.

By addressing the gender aspect of and including gender perspectives in counter-terrorism strategies, effective policies designed to build cooperation and coordination across government and civil society are possible. Policies must include a gender analysis because it represents a security risk as terrorist organizations are far more skilful at manipulating gender differences, discrimination, and inequality in their recruitment and actions. If nations fail to take gender into consideration, terrorist organizations will continue to exploit gaps in policies and potentially set the conditions for future waves of terrorism.

In light of the vitality of integrating gender perspectives into each and every stage of our counter-terrorism policies and missions, this workshop is both timely and critical. The workshop enhanced our understanding of "how to" conduct a gender analysis, gender perspectives, gender dimensions of terrorist crimes and prosecution, as well as gender-responsive reintegration and rehabilitation efforts.

The results of this workshop report provides policy makers with recommendations concerning gender and counter-terrorism. Furthermore, conclusions and key findings of this workshop report are intended to initiate further discussions by enhancing links between academia and NATO military, in order to identify the best methods, strategies, and national responses on CT.

Ankara, 20 August 2021.
Col. Daniel W. Stone (USAF)
Deputy Director of COE-DAT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is an honour for me as the Academic Advisor of the COE-DAT workshop series on Gender in Terrorism and Counter-terrorism since the year 2019 to see the increasing attention to the event and the expanding community of interest. Without doubt, the achievement of such success requires the acknowledgement of the support by particular individuals in addition to the concerted backing of COE-DAT as an organization.

To begin with, I would like to express my deep gratitude to the Director of COE-DAT Col. Barbaros Dađlı for his commitment and support to the workshop team. I also would like to thank him for providing me with a comfortable workplace and the best of all conditions in the dire straits of the pandemic.

Since the very first workshop in 2019, the mastermind behind these events has been the COE-DAT Deputy Director Col. Daniel Wayne Stone. I would like to express my sincere thanks to Col. Stone for his leadership, encouragement, and enlightening discussions at each and every stage of the workshop.

Ms. Demet Uzunođlu as the Workshop Co-Director who has been a dedicated member of the workshop team deserves my gratitude for her work during the organization of the workshop.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to COE-DAT CIS Branch and particularly to the devoted CIS Specialist Mrs. Selvi Kahraman for the technical professionalism provided to the steady flow of the event.

Last, but not the least, I would like to express my deepest appreciations to the distinguished speakers and participants of the workshop for the vision they brought in and the fruitful discussions.

Dr. Zeynep Sütalan
Workshop Academic Advisor

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CAF	: Crime Analysis File
CJR	: Criminal Justice Responses
CSO	: Civil Society Organisation
CT	: Counter-terrorism
CVE	: Countering Violent Extremism
DCAF	: Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance
DDR	: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DDRR	: Disengagement, Deradicalization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration
DRR	: Disengagement, Rehabilitation and Reintegration
FTF	: Foreign Terrorist Fighter
IDP	: Internally Displaced Person
LRA	: Lord's Resistance Army
MCs	: Member Countries
MGAT	: Military Gender Analysis Tool
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCGM	: Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations
NGO	: Non-governmental Organizations
PMESII	: Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, Infrastructure
PRR	: Prosecution, Rehabilitation and Reintegration
PVE	: Preventing Violent Extremism
SGBV	: Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
TRS	: Terrorism Recidivism Study
UK	: United Kingdom
UN	: United Nations
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UNODC	: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNSC	: United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	: United Nations Security Council Resolution
UN Women	: United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
US	: United States
WPS	: Women, Peace and Security

INTRODUCTION

COE-DAT conducted its third workshop on gender in terrorism and counter-terrorism between 15 and 17 June 2021. Since 2019, COE-DAT organized annual workshops to support NATO's Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) commitments to increasing awareness on different aspects of gender dimension of terrorism and counter-terrorism. Scrutinizing 'gender' in terrorism and counter-terrorism enables us to come up with a nuanced analysis of the terrorist threat for better identifying potential victims and perpetrators, conducting operations, implementing policies which are effective and international law compliant, and devoid of adverse gendered consequences.

COE-DAT's first workshop mainly intended to raise awareness towards women's agency in terrorism, and additionally tried to address what role women can play in counter-terrorism. Based upon the findings of the first workshop, the centre chose to focus more on women's roles in counter-terrorism by giving voice to the practitioners and looking at empirical evidence from the fieldwork and case studies. Therefore, the main question was how women can be empowered to find better solutions in counter-terrorism. Against this backdrop, the third workshop explored three themes: gender analysis; gender dimension of criminal justice responses to terrorism; and gender-responsive disengagement, rehabilitation, and reintegration.

Despite the frequent reference to the term 'gender analysis', little is known about how to conduct a 'gender analysis'. By discussing gender analysis in the context of counter-terrorism, COE-DAT tried to shed light on how gender analysis as a tool can be used to integrate gender perspectives into organizations, operations, policies, and programs. Complicated though it is, gender analysis can be used by everyone, for the military, even at the soldier level, was one of the points underlined by different speakers in the workshop. Therefore, the first and foremost thing to understand when doing a gender analysis is that it is not only about women and girls, but also includes men, boys, and masculinities to be able to differentiate between different socially constructed associations related to each gender and how these different social roles, relations, attributes, and opportunities translate into power dynamics and how they operate in a given society. Second, gender analysis is about revealing the unseen and hidden dynamics in a given society through asking questions and therefore, it is essential to avoid gender stereotyping which rests on assumptions that either disregards the agency of women and girls or the victimhood of men and boys. Third, context matters in doing gender analysis as well as intersectional identities.¹ Under the light of these basic principles, a gender analysis should be applied from the beginning to each and every stage of counter-terrorism whether defensive or offensive including strategic prevention. When the military is concerned, gender analysis should be done for different phases of operations, from planning to stabilization.

The need to develop and implement gender-responsive Prosecution, Rehabilitation and Reintegration, widely referred as PRR² processes, was mandated by the United Nations for the returning Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTFs). No doubt, gender-sensitive counter-terrorism policies should not be limited to, but extend beyond the FTF challenge, but this is kind of how it started. Global attention to the challenge developed because it concerned wide-ranging nations in the world and required timely and effective response. Then there appeared the questions on how we are going to deal with the women associated with DAESH, what kind of roles these women played in the terrorist organization, which of these roles should be criminalized, and what type of sentence these women should receive. Reports published based on available data told us that the number of women being arrested for terrorism-related offences are increasing. Then came the claims that women are getting softer sentences compared to their male counter-parts.³

Existing data, analysis, and research indicate gender disparity in the criminal justice sector. Such disparity exists at different pillars of the criminal justice system and different stages of the criminal justice processes. It starts with the criminalization of terrorist offences. Raising awareness on the different roles played by women in different terrorist organizations has been what COE-DAT underlines taking each opportunity in addressing the gender aspect of terrorism. Thinking of this reality together with the trend that women are predominantly performing support roles in transnational terrorist networks and organizations, there is obviously a need for the criminalization of 'support roles', meaning functional

¹ For more, please see Phoebe Donnelly, *Demystifying Gender Analysis for Research on Violent Extremism* (Washington, D.C.: RESOLVE Network, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.37805/rve2021.2>

² Also referred as Prosecution, Repatriation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (PRRR).

³ For more, see Jill K. Doerner, Stephen Demuth, "Gender and Sentencing in the Federal Courts: Are Women Treated More Leniently?," *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 25, no.2 (2014): 242-269; Audrey Alexander and Rebecca Turkington, "Treatment of Terrorist: How does Gender Affect Justice?," *CTC Sentinel* 11, no.8 (September 2018): 24-29.

roles performed to help planning, preparation or perpetration of terrorist acts like providing logistical support, financing, and recruitment. Additionally, current reported data as well as research show that women convicted of terrorism-related offenses are more likely to receive more lenient sentences due to the fact that their criminal intent is considered to be tempered by emotional drivers or by misguided beliefs.⁴ Yet, potential criminals should be treated as individuals rather than men and women and this should apply to each type of offence including terrorist offences where gender biases might be more prevalent. Revealing gender biases should be supported by definitive conclusions stemming from empirical research based on quantitative analysis and qualitative case studies.

Apart from the problems prevailing about the prosecution of women associated with terrorism, either because of the gender stereotypes or lack of criminalization of the support roles, difficulties in obtaining evidence and investigations, gender-responsiveness in Disengagement, Rehabilitation, and Reintegration (DRR)⁵ is no better. What is meant by gender-responsive DRR is gender-specific disengagement, rehabilitation and reintegration measures which are tailored according to the needs of women, girls, men, and boys, and guarantee equal access of these different groups to the support and services provided. While these measures should take into account the different sexes, femininities and masculinities, they should also ensure the protection of the rights of these different groups. Protection of rights issue is an international legal obligation, but it is additionally critical for the counter-terrorism context for the elimination of the terrorist threat including the prevention of further recruitment and/or what is often mentioned as the prevention of future generation of terrorists. One of the critical points to be kept in mind about the efforts that focus on reintegration together with rehabilitation is that effectiveness of reintegration policies is dependent on the elimination of any type of discrimination and disparity including socio-economic and political ones that are conducive to breeding violent extremism that leads to terrorism. Within this framework, what COE-DAT values since its first workshop are the lessons learned from the past and ongoing DDR processes, meaning disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration. DDR is recognized as the key component of post-conflict reconstruction strategy and is usually followed by a peace process and a peace agreement, and this is not the case with the terrorist groups. Still, DDR can provide us with insights in terms of what should we do and what should not do. As mentioned in the report of the first workshop⁶, present DDR measures often attempt to return women to the positions they held before the conflict without taking into account the changing gender norms in the society or the perceived empowerment of these women before and after the conflict. Regarding terrorism, for women in the terrorist organization, the benefits of leaving the organization must outweigh the benefits of staying. For those women terrorists, leaving the terrorist organization should mean they will not lose the power they attained, they will not face social stigmatization, and be offered programs that will meet their needs, and for these, we need well-developed gender-responsive DRR.

Against this background, with this report, COE-DAT, hopes to raise awareness and contribute to the individual and collective efforts to struggle against gender stereotypes and disparities as well as achieving gender equality and gender mainstreaming particularly in the context of countering terrorism.

Dr. Zeynep Sütalan
Workshop Academic Advisor

⁴ For the detailed analysis on the gender dimension of criminal justice responses to terrorism including gender dimension of terrorism offences, investigation and prosecution of terrorism cases, imprisonment, criminal investigations and prosecutions of SGBV by the terrorist groups, and access to justice and remedies for victims, see United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), *Handbook on Gender Dimensions of Criminal Justice Responses to Terrorism* (Vienna: United Nations, 2019).

⁵ It is also sometimes referred as DDRR- Disengagement, Deradicalization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration

⁶ See COE-DAT, *Women in Terrorism and Counterterrorism Workshop Report*, (Ankara, 2019).

WELCOME ADDRESS

Col. Barbaros Dağlı
Director
COE-DAT

Ladies and Gentlemen, Distinguished Speakers, and Distinguished Participants,

I would like to give you a warm virtual welcome to our third workshop concerning women and gender in terrorism.

The importance of women and gender in terrorism and counter-terrorism is reflected in the continued interest this workshop receives year to year. This year we have more than 47 participants from 17 different nations, and 24 organizations ranging from academia, regional organizations, the United Nations, national war colleges, combatant commands, to NATO headquarters.

The Center of Excellence Defence Against Terrorism as the department head for NATO CT education and training includes gender perspectives in our courses and conducts research into gender and women in terms of terrorism and counter-terrorism. Research has included projects concerning gender and women in terrorism as part of COE-DAT's "Good Practices in CT" book projects as well as a series of workshops bringing international experts to discuss women and gender in terrorism.

COE-DAT conducted its first highly successful "Women in Terrorism and Counterterrorism" workshop in May of 2019. The first WS addressed women's agency and the gender aspects of terrorism. The workshop programme was designed to cover two modules: "The Role of Women in Terrorism" on the first day and "The Role of Women in Counterterrorism" on the second day of the workshop.

12 The second workshop "Gender and Counter-Terrorism: Enhancing Women's Role and Empowering Women" was held in September 2020 and examined the gender aspect of preventing/countering violent extremism (P/CVE). The workshop consisted of three sessions: "Gender-sensitive P/CVE Policy and Counter-Terrorism Programming"; "Gender and Counter-Terrorism- Views from Practitioners"; and "Children, Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism". Understanding these themes are of great importance to develop effective counter-terrorism strategies and tailoring of counter-terrorism policies according to the different roles played by women in terrorism.

This workshop, "Gender in Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism: Data, Analysis and Responses" is the third workshop in support of the global Women, Peace, and Security agenda and NATO's CT Action Plan. This year's workshop is designed around three separate sessions each exploring different issues concerning gender and women in terrorism and counter-terrorism. Sessions one and two are in direct support of NATO HQ IS' request for information as articulated in the Women Peace and Security food for thought paper while the third session is a direct result of the two previous workshops.

Session 1 on Gender Analysis and Gender Perspectives in Countering Terrorism: Theory and Practice has a desired outcome to develop a practical "how to" guide for including gender dimension in CT planning. The session is intended to answer how Gender Analysis is done. How should it be done in CT? The session will also focus on What does adopting Gender Perspectives to CT mean? And how is it integrated to CT policy-making and implementing? (We can think of this part in relation to NATO's often underlined priorities like "gender perspectives being a routine and being a part of daily work" and/or its being an "operational tool")

Session 2 on Gender Dimension of Criminal Justice Responses (CJR) to Terrorism is to explore the prosecution of Women associated with Terrorism and the disparity with men. How this disparity affects recidivism, prison sentences, access to deradicalization programs, job training, and so on are critical elements to be explored.

Session 3 on Gender-Sensitive Disengagement, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DRR) is an important issue both as an alternate to and also as a complementary process to prosecution. This issue was hinted at in COE-DAT's first workshop where it was pointed out lessons learned from the DDR process that can be transferred to the CT domain.

“Further discussions and evaluations are needed to transfer the lessons learned and best practices from the DDR processes to the construction of the rehabilitation and reintegration processes for former women terrorists.” To explore this theme, COE-DAT intends to answer: How can gender-sensitive DRR be adopted in the case of returnees (in the FTF phenomenon)? And what case studies or lessons learned from DDR that can be integrated into DRR exist?

I would like to thank our distinguished speakers from academia, civil society, international organizations, as well as the military for your involvement, your knowledge, and your ideas. Your efforts raise all of our awareness and lead us to finding solutions to what can be done in the domain of gender and women in terrorism and counter-terrorism.

Gaining greater insight into how terrorism affects and is affected by gender and women will aid in the development of better policy. The results from this and our previous workshops on this topic, offer policy makers the context to understand the situation and recommendations to implement effective solutions.

Lastly, I would like to thank Col. Daniel Stone, my Deputy Director here at COE-DAT and this workshop’s Director and Ms. Demet Uzunoğlu the workshop Co-Director for their hard work in bringing not only this workshop together, but for leading and championing gender and women’s perspectives in terrorism and counter-terrorism. I would also especially like to thank Dr. Zeynep Sütalan for conceptualizing and bringing to life all three of our workshops to raise awareness and develop policy recommendations. I would be remiss if I did not also thank her for authoring research on the roles of women in terrorism and counter-terrorism in both of COE-DAT’s Good Practices in Counter Terrorism books, the first of which will be published within the month.

I wish you all a productive workshop!

CONDUCTING A GENDER ANALYSIS IN COUNTER-TERRORISM CONTEXTS: WHAT, WHY, HOW

Dr. Phoebe Donnelly¹

International Peace Institute

I want to use this presentation to set-up the rest of the speakers at this workshop and provide approachable guidelines on what a gender analysis is, why you should use a gender analysis in your work, and how to do a gender analysis. There are three central themes of my remarks: 1) gender analysis is a tool to trace power dynamics, 2) gender analysis is about asking questions and seeing what has been *made invisible* and 3) a gender analysis is not just about women and girls.

Part 1: What is a Gender Analysis?

Gender is a way to describe socially constructed ideas or associations related to being a man, boy, girls, or woman. There is nothing inherent about these labels, but instead they are interpreted by social dynamics and cultural contexts. Most importantly, gender is a way to structure power.²

Security and counter-terrorism experts, as well as gender experts, are concerned about who has power and how power operates. Gender is one way to structure power. There are not only power dynamics between men and women, but also there are important power dynamics occurring within groups of men, boys, women, and girls.

Gender is not the only aspect of one's identity that determines one's access to power. To understand the organization of power in society it is important to recognize the ways in which a person's gender intersects with and influences/is influenced by other aspects of one's identity (i.e. race, ethnicity, class, education, religion).

Finally, an important component of a gender analysis involves understanding masculinity and femininity. Masculinity is a "set of attributes that socially define the normal or acceptable behavior for those of the male sex."³ I adapt the definition of masculinity and define femininity as a set of attributes that socially define the normal or acceptable behavior for those of the female sex.

To conclude, I define a gender analysis as: a way to view how power operates in a given context or community that focuses on ideas about men, women, boys, girls, non-binary gender identities, masculinities, and femininities.

Part 2: Why Use a Gender Analysis?

International laws, treaties, and organizational guidelines have codified requirements to use a gender analysis. This includes UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 (2000) the formal start of the women, peace and security (WPS) agenda requiring member states to the UN incorporate or adopt a "gender perspective." UN Security Council Resolution 2242 (2015) integrates the WPS agenda with the UN's engagement on counter-terrorism and countering violent extremism. Finally, NATO has its own policies on WPS and calls for the incorporation of gender across its three core tasks (collective defense, crisis management, and cooperative security).

A more practical motivation to use a gender analysis is to recognize that armed groups understand gender dynamics and use them to their advantage, therefore it is key for actors seeking to understand armed groups to understand gender dynamics as well. I highlight three areas where a gender analysis illuminates key dynamics in armed groups: 1) recruitment and membership, 2) organizational structure and cohesion, and 3) violence against civilians.

The first area highlighted, recruitment and membership, is the clearest because some armed groups include women in combat roles or in visible roles and others do not. These different patterns indicate that these groups are making decisions based on gender ideas in the society they operate or the communities they are seeking support from. Groups also use ideas about masculinity in their recruitment. The group al-Shabaab in Somalia uses the idea of youth (which is the translation of the group's name in English), but more specifically empowering male youth, to recruit young men.

¹ Head of the Women, Peace and Security Program; Research Fellow International Peace Institute

² Carol Cohn, "Women and Wars: Toward A Conceptual Framework," in *Women & War*, ed. Carol Cohn (Cambridge: Polity, 2013).

³ David Durie-Smith, "Is Manhood a Causal Factor in the Shifting Nature of War?: The Case of Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United Front," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 16, no. 2 (April 3, 2014): 236–54, 241.

Women who play key non-combat roles in the group are made invisible and are generally not featured in group imagery or communications.⁴

Second, a gender analysis can help outsiders understand the organization of an armed group. For example, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), used forced marriage to create extensive family units that were useful for operational purposes by structuring fighting contingents, retaining members, and moving as a group.⁵ Forced wives were also distributed to male members of the group as a reward.⁶

Finally, a gender analysis can help one understand patterns around the use of violence against civilians and the variation in that violence. The treatment of different populations by the DAESH in regard to the use of sexual violence is an illustrative example. DAESH enslaved Yazidi women and girls, forcibly married Sunni women and girls, and used sexual violence against men and boys in certain areas.⁷ Gender analysis can also help reveal why certain groups refrain from sexual violence despite other actors in the conflict perpetrating it.⁸

Part 3: How to do a Gender Analysis

I focus on five components of a gender analysis as part of the introduction to the tool. These components include 1) asking questions, 2) tracing different forms of power, 3) recognizing intersectional identities, 4) understanding the context, and 5) challenging existing knowledge and conventions.

A gender analysis is a thought exercise and while I highlight five components of it, there is no checklist to provide to simplify the process. In conducting a gender analysis, one will be asking many questions, and not all of them will be answerable immediately. Finally, a gender analysis involves making patterns that have been made invisible, visible to outsiders. While a gender analysis can be nuanced and detailed, it is a skill everyone can build.

Since questions are a key part of a gender analysis, I provide some sample questions that may be specifically relevant for this audience:

- How might this plan/policy affect men, women, boys, and girls differently? Will it affect *certain* men, women, boys, and girls in different ways?
- Is the work/influence/power of women/girls in this situation visible to me or do I need to examine their role in this dynamic further?
- How could this plan be strengthened with input or information from actors usually left out of the conversation (frequently women)?

I want to also highlight some common mistakes that can occur when conducting a gender analysis. The first, and most common mistake, even among gender experts, relates to gender essentialism or biological determinism. This is the idea that beings or things have *innate* characteristics that are largely unchanging and explain their behavior. Joshua Goldstein explains biological determinism as the idea that, "our biology determines our destiny as genes simply play out their programs."⁹ A common example of gender essentialism is the assumption that all women are *natural* peacemakers. This assumption erases the diversity across women and across contexts and limits potential findings from a gender analysis.

There are also terms that can stop questioning or lead to invisibility of gendered patterns. For example, the words traditional, natural, oldest, or always¹⁰ are warning signs because they can lead to unquestioned assumptions like, "it is

⁴ Orly Stern, "The Invisible Women of al-Shabaab: Understanding the role of women in, and their influence on sons, husbands and brothers in, the process of joining al-Shabaab, defecting from al-Shabaab, rehabilitation, and reintegration," Adam Smith International, September 2019, available at <http://www.orlystern.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/The-Invisible-Women-of-al-Shabaab-pdf>.

⁵ Jeannie Annan et al., "The State of Female Youth in Northern Uganda: Findings from the Survey of War-Affected Youth (SWAY) Phase II," April 2008, <http://fic.tufts.edu/publication-item/the-state-of-female-youth-in-northern-uganda/>; Erin Baines, "Forced Marriage as a Political Project: Sexual Rules and Relations in the Lord's Resistance Army," *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 3 (May 1, 2014): 405–17; Erin Baines, *Buried in the Heart: Women, Complex Victimhood and the War in Northern Uganda* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). Khristopher Carlson and Dyan Mazurana, "Forced Marriage within the Lord's Resistance Army, Uganda" (Medford, MA: Feinstein International Center, May 2008).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ariel I. Ahrām, "Sexual Violence, Competitive State Building, and Islamic State in Iraq and Syria," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 13, no. 2 (March 15, 2019): 180–96; Ariel I. Ahrām, "Sexual Violence and the Making of ISIS," *Survival* 57, no. 3 (May 4, 2015): 57–78, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2015.1047251>.

⁸ Elisabeth Jean Wood, "Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When Is Wartime Rape Rare?," *Politics and Society* 37, no. 31 (2009): 131–62.

⁹ Joshua Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁰ Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches & Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989). See also, Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

traditional for women to not play a role in combat so that is why this armed group does not use them in key combat roles.” While it may be true that the group does not use women in combat roles there is more questioning that can occur around this pattern such as why the group chooses to uphold this image of women as non-combatants? Could that pattern change if the group loses many fighters? Are women playing roles that aren’t necessarily combat but that are just as essential to the group?

A final pattern to avoid is the common assumption that gender analysis is only about women and girls. While women and girls are a key component of a gender analysis, especially because of the ways they have traditionally been ignored in security analyses, adding women and girls is only one component of a gender analysis and ignoring men and boys leaves certain patterns undiscovered.

While gender experts commonly repeat that a gender analysis is not only about women and girls, there are few examples of a gender analysis focused only on men and boys. Recently, a report by Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism, uses a gender analysis to focus on boys in detention camps in northeast Syria.¹¹ The report explains that boys are seen as potential terrorism threats and not treated like children or victims, as girls in the camps are. Only boys are separate from their mothers. These patterns of treatment for boys exemplifies stereotypes of masculinity (young men as threats) that are defining state responses to terrorism.

¹¹ Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, “Position of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms While Countering Terrorism on the Human Rights of Adolescents/juveniles Being Detained in North-East Syria,” May 2021, available at https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Terrorism/SR/UNSRCT_Position_human-rights-of-boys-adolescents-2021_final.pdf

GENDER ANALYSIS IN THE MILITARY: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE COUNTER-TERRORISM CONTEXT

Maj. Linda Johansson

Swedish Armed Forces

Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations (NCGM)

“Gender Analysis is a critical method for integrating gender perspective into military operations and organizations at all level.”¹ Unless we know who is affected, men, women, boys or girls, and who among them are at the most risk at what time and place the protection and security we provide maybe of target. It has become increasingly apparent that there are gender aspects which play a substantial role in terrorist actors’ agendas and strategies. Hence, it should be considered in the development of appropriate counter measures. To apply a gender perspective in the military operation is to detect if and when men or women, boys or girls are being affected differently due to their gender in that specific military context. The counter-terrorism (CT) approaches or defensive measures, and offensive prevention would both benefit from the application of gender perspectives. Military operations planning activities should consider the different security concerns of men, women, boys and girls, and how they are differently affected by an operation and mission, but also how gender roles can affect operations and missions. Therefore, it is critical to look at men and women both in regards of victims and actors. We tend to miss the fact that men can be victims while we tend to miss women as actors.

In NATO, there are three core documents for integrating gender perspectives into operations, such as Strategic Command Directive 40-1, Comprehensive Operation Planning Directive and Allied Command Operations Gender Functional Planning Guide. Where does gender analysis fit in the planning process? Gender analysis must be conducted throughout all six phases of an operation planning process from indicators to warning to transition. Gender Analysis is not a standalone process. It looks for inputs from and provide outputs for specialists and the planning group. For gender advisors, the core tool would be gender analysis. There are existing tools for gender analysis, and also NCGM is currently working on developing a new one in order to support gender analysis in a broader context used by military planners, but also experts such as gender advisors and gender focal points within NATO operations and organizations.

There are different frameworks undertaking gender analysis. Doing a gender analysis entails looking at specific factors and indicators related to gender norms, roles and relations, and asking questions. The aim of gender analysis orientates the whole analysis work. It is important to be clear about the aims with this specific analysis work in order to dictate the factors that needs to be brought into the analysis process. At the core is always the relevance for the planning, or ongoing mission. There have been several lessons observed within the discipline where the method for gender analysis that are brought from the civilian sector, or especially from the development agencies. Trying to translate analysis tools has been specifically developed to fit crisis response with a civilian mandate has really not worked well in terms of translating it to our military planning process. This requires collecting vast amounts of data and information. Data should be both quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative data is the sex-disaggregated data, and sex-disaggregated reporting is key in terms of accessing the right information from the group. While doing analysis, we both need to know the biological sex of the individuals we are measuring and also which role they hold in the society. We also should ensure to include analysis work from other actors operating in the same area of operation, and if possible there should be actors from both governmental or non-governmental organizations. This is key in determining what military’s role is and what host nations’ role and responsibility should and must be. When collecting and analysing data, it is also valuable to use an intersectional approach.

In NATO, all analysis on the operational area and engagement space is based on a structured process and according to the PMESII module. It represents six domains, political, military, economic, social, information and infrastructure, but it can be expanded due to the specific mandate or questions we are bringing into the analysis tool. Gender analysis could be applied externally to an operational environment as well as internally on the military organization. Both are equally important depending on where you are located within your headquarters or staff functions in a peacetime establishment

¹ NATO Bi-SC Directive, 40-1. For the public version, see Bi-Strategic Command Directive 040-001 (Public Version): Integrating UNSCR 1325 and Gender Perspective into NATO Command Structure, 17 October 2017. <https://www.act.nato.int/images/stories/structure/genderadvisor/nu0761.pdf>

or a crisis establishment. Your focus will be different depending on that responsibility. We have seen quite frequently contradicting questions displaying misunderstandings about using an external gender analysis, and internal gender analysis which are two different things.

Figure 1 displays the use of PMESSII module utilized for exploring if there is an ongoing radicalization in the area of operation. Gender specific factors in each domain could be an indicator of radicalization. This underlines the role women can play to detect and prevent radicalization and child recruitment to terrorist organizations as well as facilitate reintegration and rehabilitation of child returnees.

	Factor – for men, women, boys and girls	Deduction	Conclusion
Political	Women as political candidates in electoral process targeted for not being a good “care-taker” or “real woman” of high status.	Threats of violence or acts of violence targeting women participating in public elections	Support establishment of response mechanism for gender-based violence
Military	Terrorist organizations using abduction or other forms of forced recruitment of children	Increases likelihood of using radicalization as mechanism to increase group bonding through the use of violence	Encourage adoption of a Code of Conduct to deter and discipline acts of disproportional violence
Economic	Inflation and food insecurity	Lack of supplies and other grievances	Increase presence of uniformed personnel in the area
Social	Change in gender norms and roles	Boys targeted through radicalization for recruitment	Task engagement teams to engage with mothers’ groups in the AOO to identify early warning signs
Infrastructure	Acts of violence destroying infrastructure	Violent attacks as a strategy to dominate the terrain	Undertake fuel-, market- and water-routes field patrols and/or escorts
Information	Gender-based propaganda printed in newspaper	To attract boys by appealing ideas of masculinity, such as men being the “protector of the community” while promoting girls in their role as “future wives or mothers” to “become women”	Initiate targeted public information campaigns to counter propaganda and incitement to violence Secure public campaigns to support host nations educational policy

Figure 1: Exemplary use of PMESII Model on Radicalization

NCGM has done thematic analysis of gender implications to NATO CT in a broad study. And here are some considerations to be included in Gender Analysis. All three types of CT- defensive, offensive and strategic prevention- would benefit from gender perspective and analysis. The fact that terrorist networks are highly advanced and sophisticated in their explanation of gender in their activities stresses the importance of NATO being able to keep up with these actors involving use of gender as it applies to different activities. This requires mainstreaming and interaction of gender perspective throughout the intelligence cycle from the collection of information through processing and in the analysis part. Especially in regard to human intelligence, it requires access to all parts of society. Consequently, deployed foreign troops as well as host nation security forces need to have a composition that enables this. And this is something most nations need to look at internally in terms of both the quantity and the quality. NATO counter measures need to include gender updates on profile of attackers and gender updates on different modus operandi.

NCGM together with a collective subject matter expert group have developed a military gender analysis tool and are still in the final process of using an online application for this type of data collection. In the tool, there is an abstract of the Military Gender Analysis Tool (MGAT) and the PMESII domain. Each domain has five columns, which are factors, indicators, indicator questions, deductions and outputs. The aim with this tool is to help the user applying a gender perspective and to collect information and data to assess within the specific operation or mandate.

A	B	C
Factor	Indicator	Indicator questions
4.1 Conflict Dynamics	4.1.1 Drivers and Root causes	<p>How has the broad historical, demographic, social, economic and cultural context shaped gender norms? Are gender norms enabling acts of violence? How have gender norms motivated or contributed to the drivers of the conflict affected men and women</p>
	4.1.2 Consequences	<p>Are there any socially excluded groups? How are they being treated? Has their treatment been worsened because of the conflict? How have women's and men's needs and interests changed following the conflict? What are women's and men's capacities to cope with the negative consequences of the conflict? What (negative) coping strategies can be observed among women, men, girls and boys i.e child marriage, child soldier recruitment, FGM?</p>
	4.1.3 Violence	<p>Who is subjected to violence? Has the level of domestic violence increased? Is there a taboo to use violence against some people? Are some groups considered as accepted targets of violence? What is the role of gender? Are women or men subject to gender-based violence?</p>

Factor
A significant factual statement of information known to be true that has operational implication.
What is the current state of affairs or trends?

C	D	E
4. Social	Deduction	Output
<p>Indicator questions</p> <p>How has the broad historical, demographic, social, economic and cultural context shaped gender norms? Are gender norms enabling acts of violence? How have gender norms motivated or contributed to the drivers of the conflict? Have the root causes of the conflict affected men and women differently?</p>		
<p>Are there any socially excluded groups? How are they being treated? Has their treatment been worsened because of the conflict? How have women's and men's needs and interests changed following the conflict? What are women's and men's capacities to cope with the negative consequences of the conflict? What (negative) coping strategies can be observed among women, men, girls and boys i.e child marriage, child soldier recruitment, FGM?</p>	<p>Deduction</p> <p>The implications, issues or considerations, derived from fact(s) that have operational significance.</p> <p>So what is the significance of the factor?</p>	<p>Conclusion</p> <p>The outcome or result reached that requires action in planning or further analysis.</p> <p>So, what can or should be done?</p>
<p>Who is subjected to violence? Has the level of domestic violence increased? Is there a taboo to use violence against some people? Are some groups considered as accepted targets of violence? What is the role of gender? Are women or men subject to gender-based violence?</p>		

Figure 2: NCGM Military Gender Analysis Tool (MGAT)

The first three columns -A to C- are to help guide the user in what information to look for and how to collect them. For each domain, there was a set of factors indicators and indicator questions that could be used, or relevant looking from a gender perspective, these are just suggested set of questions from the template, which definitely could be adjusted to a specific CT context. The work should always be orientated towards the mission, mandate and commander's intent. There has to be a clear connection to what are the priorities of this specific headquarters or operation and if that could be connected to the mission mandate, and if available, a commander's intent, that is a great support for the work. Column D and E are intended for the analysis of the information and corresponds to the deduction and conclusion in the factor analysis. The gender advisor is the primary user for this product, but staff officers and gender focal points will be able to use the tool with some support and assistance from subject matter experts. And I do think most staff members will recognize the structure that has been developed and used for these templates.

INTEGRATING A GENDER PERSPECTIVE INTO COUNTER-TERRORISM: FOCUSING ON SECURITY AND JUSTICE SECTORS

Dr. Amrita Kapur

Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance (DCAF)

Introduction

Military, police, judicial, penitentiary and other security and justice sector institutions have a legal obligation to protect and promote human rights, including gender equality. Derived from international human rights law, this obligation applies even when addressing and preventing violent extremism and terrorism. Security and justice institutions also have a practical imperative to focus on gender roles and gender equality. The drivers to perpetrate violent extremist acts (whether within or outside terrorist groups), the roles performed within terrorist groups, the impacts of violent extremism and terrorism, and state responses to them vary between men, women, boys and girls and across time, region and ideology.

Accordingly, integrating a gender perspective is a prerequisite for successfully preventing violent extremism and countering violent extremism (PVE and CVE respectively) and for counter-terrorism (CT) measures that do not violate fundamental human rights. Moreover, these efforts can be designed and implemented to reinforce the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda: to amplify women's voices, participation and leadership and strengthen their protection, to better prevent conflict.

- explains how integrating a gender perspective enhances understanding of violent extremism and terrorism
- identifies why states need to integrate a gender perspective to ensure that their PVE and CT initiatives are effective, do not violate human rights and do not have unintended adverse consequences
- outlines a range of strategies to integrate a gender perspective in approaches to PVE and CT, with particular emphasis on the security and justice sector.

In discussing these three topics, it should be noted that CVE and PVE are contested concepts with no internationally agreed definitions. Broadly speaking, PVE involves taking preventive steps based on an understanding of underlying drivers that incentivize engagement in violent extremism. PVE complements CT measures, which are primarily driven by law enforcement, intelligence agencies and, sometimes, the military. In contrast, CVE is, like CT, a response to violent extremism that may or may not lead to acts of terrorism. Radicalization to violence describes the process through which an individual adopts an increasingly violent extremist set of beliefs and aspirations. PVE seeks to enhance individual and community resilience to violent extremism and its recruitment tactics.

A gender perspective enhances our understanding of violent extremism and terrorism

Gender mediates violent extremism's push and pull factors and influences the specific characteristics of individuals who are particularly susceptible to extremism. For instance, young men who are alienated and marginalized within a given society may struggle to meet traditional expectations of masculinity, such as being the breadwinner, attaining wealth and status, and enjoying access to sexual partners of choice. Research demonstrates that this may incentivize them to pursue violent paths to "validate" their masculinity.¹ This is why violent extremist groups often use hyper-masculine stereotypes to exploit dissatisfaction and grievances when recruiting men.

The majority of acts of extremist violence have been and continue to be committed by men. Women and girls are understood as more likely to be enablers or supporters of extremist violence, or else preventers, dissuaders and/or victims. However, women and girls are increasingly also perpetrators of extremist violence.² For example, in the Lake Chad region three-quarters of all child suicide bombers are girls. A gender analysis attributes this to the exploitation of deeply entrenched structural gender inequality that both deprives girls of any prospect of autonomy or independence and renders them particularly vulnerable to coercion. A gender perspective, moreover, encompasses people of diverse

¹ Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, "The complexity and challenges of addressing conditions conducive to terrorism," in *Using Human Rights to Counter Terrorism*, ed. M. Nowak and A. Charbord (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2018), 187.

² Chantal de Jonge Oudraat and Micheal E. Brown, "Women, Gender, and Terrorism: The Missing Links", *WIIS Report* (Washington, DC: Women in International Security, August 2016).

sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, including persons who are LGBTI.³ LGBTI people have been targets of extremist violence – a recent example being the murders by DAESH of men and women suspected of engaging in homosexual acts.⁴

Understanding why and how gender norms affect decisions and behaviour can be critical to neutralizing influences leading to violent radicalization and creating communities resilient to such influences.

Why should security and justice actors integrate a gender perspective into CT efforts

To comply with international and national legal obligations

States are legally obliged to respect human rights when responding to violent extremism and terrorism, even when using emergency or temporary legislation. If states derogate from and limit fundamental rights in the name of CT, they might violate both domestic legislation and international human rights obligations.⁵ Moreover, doing so risks compounding discrimination and abuses perpetrated against already marginalized communities.

Derogating from and limiting fundamental rights in the context of violent extremism and terrorism may also violate international human rights obligations to promote gender equality, as well as commitments to women's advancement, participation and empowerment under the WPS Agenda. For example, a range of measures to "combat religious extremism" in the Maldives, which included outlawing women being covered from head to toe, significantly infringed women's religious and cultural rights.⁶

To accurately identify potential perpetrators

Traditionally assumed to be the primary perpetrators of terrorism, men and boys have been targeted, detained without evidence and, in certain cases, tortured and killed by security forces. Conversely, women are often characterized as passive victims, without agency, but guilty through their association with males.⁶ PVE and CT efforts founded merely on assumptions such as these are deficient. In all cases gender stereotypes should be examined and questioned, to understand how women, men, girls and boys are actually involved with violent extremism and terrorism. Moreover, assumptions about women's passivity have been exploited by terrorist groups. For example, in Afghanistan male suicide bombers gained access to restricted areas by dressing as women (partly because there were insufficient female body searchers in the Afghan security forces to stop them).

To accurately identify potential victims

Women and girls may be targeted as victims, and in other ways experience violent extremism and terrorism differently than do men and boys. For example, alt-right⁷ violent extremist groups that strictly adhere to "traditional" gender roles are likely to target non-conforming women and girls, as well as to advocate and use sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) to oppress and punish them. In Mali, Ansar Dine's creation of an "Islamic court" and an "Islamic police" to punish women for violations of its ideological code has been characterized by the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court as gender-based persecution.⁸ Indeed, violent extremist ideologies often target women's rights and physical integrity first.

To avoid adverse gendered consequences

Efforts to target marginalized communities as the most "at risk" of radicalization to terrorism/violence risk validating violent extremist narratives instead. CVE and CT activities that reinforce stereotypes and discrimination and fail to respect human rights may "push" groups and individuals towards violent extremism – inadvertently aiding violent extremist recruitment. PVE efforts that instead engage diverse members of varied communities are more likely to reach marginalized and vulnerable populations effectively, and to address root causes of violent extremist influences and threats. An inclusive

³ LGBTI stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex. This terminology is discussed in more detail in DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, "Security Sector Governance, Security Sector Reform and Gender" in *Gender and Security Toolkit* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, 2019).

⁴ Lisa Davis, "Reimagining justice for gender-based crimes at the margins: New legal strategies for prosecuting ISIS crimes against women and LGBTIQ persons," *William & Mary Journal of Women and the Law* 24, no.3 (2018): 513–558.

⁵ See, for example, European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights and Council of Europe, "Handbook on European Non-Discrimination Law," (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018); "Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism", United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/issues/terrorism/pages/srterrorismindex.aspx>.

⁶ See "A gender perspective in countering terrorism", *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism*, UN Doc. A/64/211 Section III (3 August 2009).

⁷ "Alt-right", or "alternative right" is a contemporary description of white supremacism and white nationalism, which is connected to the notion of preserving and protecting the so-called white race in Europe and North America. See Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), *Understanding the Role of Gender in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization that Lead to Terrorism: Good Practices for Law Enforcement*, (Vienna, 2019), 9.

⁸ Rosemary Grey, "Gender-based crimes: A monumental day for the ICC", INTLAWGRRLS, 8 July 2019, <https://ilg2.org/2019/07/08/gender-based-crimes-a-monumentalday-for-the-icc>.

approach is also necessary to identify and collaborate with gender experts in communities and academia – those who have gender-based insights, experience and evidence upon which to draw when designing effective PVE programmes.

To achieve evidence-based and effective CT approaches

Efforts to engage individual women, women's organizations and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in PVE and CT carry risks of essentializing and instrumentalizing women, and of compromising individuals' and organizations' reputation and, critically, their safety. In communities that have been subjected to state abuses during CT operations, perceived alliances with the state may be viewed as a betrayal of the local community. Women may be at a higher risk of retaliation if they are perceived to be challenging gender expectations by taking on more public roles. The risk is higher still when CSOs are caught between repressive governments and violent extremist groups in a shrinking civil society space.⁹

To guard against such "adverse gendered consequences" of PVE and CT, women must be free to engage in PVE efforts in diverse and self-determined ways. Moreover, female members of the community or women's CSOs should be part of the design and implementation of PVE policies and programmes, and their perspectives, experiences and community knowledge should be incorporated at every level.

Strategies that security and justice actors can use to integrate a gender perspective

The strategies below draw upon relatively new and rapidly developing practices. They should be continually monitored and adapted in a context-specific manner to improve their relevance and efficacy. Gender-responsive monitoring of projects and programmes is outlined in Tool 15, "Integrating Gender in Project Design and Monitoring for the Security and Justice Sector".¹⁰ Readers with a broader interest in strategies to integrate a gender perspective in policing, justice, places of deprivation of liberty, intelligence, defence, border management and parliamentary oversight can find more detailed guidance in the related Tools in the *Gender and Security Toolkit*.¹¹

Integrate a gender perspective in criminal law and processes concerning violent extremist and terrorist offences

- Criminal laws defining violent extremist and terrorist offences are attentive to gendered power dynamics, including structures of domination and oppression of women and marginalized men. They recognize that proscribed acts, particularly by family members, might be done without intent to support terrorist or violent extremist organizations, and/or because of control, coercion or duress,¹² and should not be guilty merely by association.
- Access to criminal and civil justice as well as victim and witness support services and protection measures are attentive to the different needs of women, girls, men and boys. They are available in relation to proceedings against CT and violent extremist activities, regardless of a person's citizenship status.
- Security sector actors who violate the law, in CT activities and more generally, are effectively held to account.
- Steps are taken to address any problems in the institutional culture within security sector institutions as concerns investigation or handling of cases related to violent extremist acts and terrorist organizations.

Embed collaboration with and respect for civil society in national PVE policies and strategies

- National policies, strategies and action plans concerning PVE are developed in consultation and collaboration with a diverse range of CSOs. Such processes are designed – again, in consultation – to avoid increasing the risks to individuals' and CSOs' safety, and to respect their work and position within their communities.¹³
- Participation of diverse civil society actors in PVE is facilitated by a legal and regulatory environment that respects the independence of NGOs from government and the security sector, and facilitates their access to local and foreign funding.

⁹ "A gender perspective", para. 35; Women's Alliance for Security Leadership (WASL), "Uncomfortable Truths, Unconventional Wisdoms: Women's Perspectives on Violent Extremism & Security Interventions", *WASL Security Brief* (March 2016): 17; S. Giscard d'Estaing, "Engaging Women in Countering Violent Extremism: Avoiding Instrumentalization and Furthering Agency," *Gender & Development* 25, no.1 (2017): 103–118.

¹⁰ DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, "Integrating Gender in Project Design and Monitoring for the Security and Justice Sector" in *Gender and Security Toolkit* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, 2019).

¹¹ See "Gender and Security Toolkit", Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance-DCAF, <https://www.dcaf.ch/gender-and-security-toolkit>

¹² UNODC, *Handbook on Gender Dimensions of Criminal Justice Responses to Terrorism* (Vienna: UNODC, 2019), 40–42.

¹³ Consultation with civil society is discussed in more detail in DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, "Security Sector Governance" and DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, "Justice and Gender" in *Gender and Security Toolkit* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, 2019).

- Policies, strategies and action plans are attentive to seeing women as equal citizens and potential political actors – not merely as wives and mothers of males.
- Diverse civil society actors are involved in shaping PVE communications. Attention is given to challenging stereotypes of femininity and masculinity that feed violent narratives.

Increase the capacity of security sector actors working on PVE and CT to apply a gender perspective

- Comprehensive gender analysis underpins identification of drivers and impact of violent extremist acts, as well as programme design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation in PVE and CT. Data collected in relation to PVE and CT are disaggregated by sex, age and other diversity markers.¹⁴
- Comprehensive measures exist to strengthen staff capacity to do these analysis tasks, and more holistically to integrate a gender perspective in PVE and CT. Capacity building addresses both values (including gender equality, freedom of religion and the rights of LGBTI persons) and skills (including gender analysis and skills for community engagement). Women's groups, other CSOs and academic experts can be invited to offer community perspectives and technical expertise.¹⁵
- Teams working on PVE and CT within the security sector are diverse. They include, for example, female and male police officers, officers who are LGBTI and officers from ethnic and religious minorities, with a view to being representative of the communities they serve.
- There is a clear and visible commitment by security sector leadership to protecting and promoting human rights, including gender equality, in PVE and CT. Leaders promote an ethos wherein institutions recognize their duty to serve the communities in their full diversity, to build trust and foster dialogue.

Initiate and maintain gender-sensitive engagement with local communities on PVE

- Community policing approaches are applied to ensure that PVE is grounded in partnership and trust between police and communities.
- Active and trusted mechanisms are in place to ensure a constant exchange and feedback loop between policymakers, security sector actors, CSOs and other community members at all stages of PVE design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.
- Independent mechanisms to monitor and oversee PVE engage closely with communities targeted for PVE and listen to the voices of diverse representatives.¹⁶

Conclusion

This report, which refers to evidence-based research, has highlighted the legal and practical reasons for security and justice sector actors to incorporate a gender perspective at all stages of PVE and CT. The broadening approach to terrorism and violent extremism over the last decade has brought greater risk of human rights violations: a gender perspective is required to understand and forestall certain of such violations. At the same time, in recent years it has been recognized that gender is important both to understand and to prevent violent extremism and terrorism.

By suggesting strategies to integrate a gender perspective into criminal law and processes, policy-making, collaboration with civil society, capacity building for the security sector and community engagement, this report sets out a range of concrete steps that state actors can take to prevent violent extremism and counter terrorism more effectively.

¹⁴ Doing gender analysis and disaggregating data by sex and age are explained in DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, "Integrating Gender in Project Design".

¹⁵ Good practices in gender training is also discussed in DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, "Security Sector Governance"; DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, "Policing and Gender" in *Gender and Security Toolkit* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, 2019); DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, "Defence and Gender" in *Gender and Security Toolkit* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, 2019) and DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, "Border Management and Gender" in *Gender and Security Toolkit* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, 2019).

¹⁶ Integrating a gender perspective in external oversight is discussed in more depth in DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, "Policing and Gender"; DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, "Defence and Gender"; DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, "Places of Deprivation of Liberty and Gender" in *Gender and Security Toolkit* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, 2019) and DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, "Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector and Gender" in *Gender and Security Toolkit* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN Women, 2019).

PROSECUTION OF WOMEN ASSOCIATED WITH TERRORISM: REFLECTIONS BASED ON SEX-DISAGGREGATED DATA

Dr. Omi Hodwitz

University of Idaho

Overview

Academics and practitioners alike recognize that there are notable disparities in criminal justice procedures and outcomes for select populations. This is particularly apparent when examining issues relating to race, class, and gender. While these disparities are recorded in countries around the world, the focus has been placed almost exclusively on apolitical offenders. Despite a deficit in supporting research, scholars have adopted the assumption that disparities with apolitical populations can be applied to extremist political populations. This paper attempts to address this oversight by examining whether gender-specific disparities evident in apolitical samples can be replicated in an extremist group of offenders.

Gender Disparity in Criminal Justice Response: Theories and Findings

Do women receive deferential or disparate treatment when involved in criminal justice proceedings? How do criminal justice responses differ between males and females? There are several criminological perspectives that provide guidance in response to these questions, including chivalry/paternalism and conflict theories. The chivalry/paternalism perspective suggests that women are traditionally perceived as being inherently weak and in need of protection. As a consequence, they will be treated with leniency by representatives of the criminal justice system, receiving fewer and lighter sentences than their male counterparts. In contrast, the conflict perspective suggests that those in positions of power seek to retain their position by creating institutions, including a criminal justice system, that replicate a favorable power hierarchy. As such, women will be coddled only to the extent that they perpetuate gendered power relations. If women violate gendered expectations, such as engaging in crimes that are unseemly for the weaker sex or threaten the dominant male force (e.g., violent crimes), they will be sanctioned or sentenced more severely.

Much of the research examining gender disparities in criminal justice response to apolitical samples finds support for chivalry/paternalism and conflict theories. The following studies are just a fraction of the current findings but do provide a sample of general trends. Doerner and Demuth, for example, identified and examined a gender gap in sentencing in federal courts in the United States, concluding that although legal characteristics were a significant contributor to the gap, disparities remained even when these factors were considered.¹ In the United Kingdom, Bindler and Hjalmarsson produced comparable results, noting a significant relationship between gender convictions and sentences across two centuries of legal proceedings in London.² Along similar lines, Phillippe identified gender disparities in sentence severity in France, as did Chatsverykova in Russia.³ The trend in the literature is not isolated to the western world. Using qualitative methods, Aborisade and Adedayo determined that gender-based extralegal characteristics impacted sentencing in federal courts in Nigeria.⁴ In summary, the literature supports the chivalry/paternalism supposition that female offenders are treated more leniently than males; this is evident at different stages in criminal justice proceedings and across multiple offense types. However, in keeping with conflict assumptions, leniency is muted for offenses that are considered gender atypical or threaten male dominance, such as violent offenses.⁵

Although the chivalry/paternalism and conflict assumptions have found empirical support in apolitical samples, the support is more tenuous among political or extremist groups. First, the empirical research on gender disparities

¹ Jill K. Doerner, Stephen Demuth, "Gender and Sentencing in the Federal Courts: Are Women Treated More Leniently?," *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 25, no.2 (2014): 242-269.

² Anna Bindler, Randi Hjalmarsson, "The Persistence of the Criminal Justice Gender Gap: Evidence from 200 years of Judicial Decisions," *The Journal of Law and Economics* 63, no.2 (May 2020): 297-339.

³ Arnaud Phillippe, "Gender Disparities in Sentencing," *Economica*, 87, no.348 (2020): 1037-1077. Iryna Chatsverykova, "Severity and leniency in criminal sentencing in Russia: The effects of gender and family ties," *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* 41, no.3 (2017): 185-209.

⁴ Richard A. Aborisade, Sunday S. Adedayo, "Gender and sentencing in the Nigerian justice system: Are women given preferential treatments?," *Gender and Behaviour* 18, no.2 (2020): 15581-15590.

⁵ See, for example, Jose Pina-Sanchez, Lydon Harris, "Sentencing Gender? Investigating the Presence of Gender Disparities in Crown Court sentences," *Criminal Law Review* 1, no.1 (2020): 3-28.

in criminal justice proceedings and outcomes for extremist samples is very limited; there are only a handful of peer-reviewed studies that examine this relationship and the majority of it is qualitative. Second, some of these studies have adopted the position that gender disparities found in the apolitical literature can be applied to political samples, making little effort to confirm or challenge this assumption. Strommen, for example, examined foreign fighters returning home. Operating under the assumption that female fighters would face differential punitive treatment, Strommen focused on case study and narrative analysis designed to identify elements of the chivalry/paternalism perspective in criminal justice responses.⁶ Lastly, those studies that do test for a gender gap may suffer from empirical shortcomings. Galica, for example, employed narrative analysis with the goal of identifying elements of chivalry. She took measures to confirm a gender gap in her sample before engaging in qualitative analysis; however, her sample was too small to warrant any generalizable conclusions.⁷

In simple terms, the extremist research does not refute the existence of a gender gap in criminal justice response, *per se*, but is limited in scope consisting in large part of qualitative case studies or interviews that do not confirm the presence or absence of disparities. While these studies are informative and revealing, they lack in robustness and scope and thus undermine the ability to draw definitive conclusions.

The Current Study

This paper seeks to address this deficit in the literature by examining potential gender disparities in criminal justice proceedings with a sample of terrorism-related offenders. Specifically, the research presented here tests two theoretically derived assumptions: 1) women receive leniency in criminal justice decisions (chivalry/paternalism) and 2) leniency is minimized for violent offenses (conflict). To test these assumptions or hypotheses, this paper uses data from the Terrorism Recidivism Study (TRS), a database that tracks individuals charged and convicted of terrorism-related offenses in the United States following the events of 9/11 through to the end of 2020. The TRS relies on police, court, and prison documents and media reports to identify and record information on justice-involved individuals in the United States. The data consist of 731 offenders, including 673 males and 58 females, and provides information on demographics, offense characteristics, criminal justice responses, and recidivism following release.

Descriptive statistics of the TRS indicate that the male and female samples have similar demographic profiles. The average male is in his mid-30s and of Middle Eastern or African origin. He has been convicted of a non-violent financial offense and is affiliated with a known terrorist organization. The average female is similar in all respects, other than ethnicity/race. She is more likely to be European White or Middle Eastern than to be of African or other origins. Superficial comparisons of sentencing outcomes suggest a gender disparity. Approximately 87% of males are imprisoned, compared to 74% of females, with the former receiving an average length of 11.7 years and the latter receiving 7.2 years. In addition, although both receive supervised release at a comparable rate, males will be supervised for 7 years on average while females will receive an average of less than five years. Approximately one-fifth of each sample face financial repercussions, but males are fined amounts that are approximately four times that of females. In summary, descriptive statistics suggest support for the chivalry/paternalism hypothesis: women face leniency in imprisonment, length of sentence, length of supervised release, and financial repercussions.

Although these results are suggestive, they are not conclusive. The male and female samples are not equitable on several legitimate legal factors that can influence results. For example, violent offenses are more prevalent among the male sample. In addition, the TRS males had more prior convictions and were more likely to receive multiple convictions than the TRS females. These factors could (and arguably should) influence punitive criminal justice responses and, therefore, gender disparities may be rooted in legitimate legal considerations. To address this consideration, the next step of analysis entailed running a set of regression models (OLS and logit) that controlled for a variety of legal and extralegal considerations. The former includes race and age, while the latter included the number of offenses, offense type, organizational affiliation, prior criminal convictions, year of arrest, and disposition.

⁶ Esther E.J. Strommen, "Jihadi brides or female foreign fighters? Women in Da'esh – from recruitment to sentencing," *GPS Policy Brief* (Oslo: PRIO Centre on Gender, Peace, and Security, 2017).

⁷ Natalia Galica, "Lifting the Veil: The Impact of Framing on Sentencing Disparities between Males and Females Convicted of Terrorism since the Rise of ISIS," *UIC John Marshall Law Review* 53, no.1 (2020): 114-162.

Results from these quantitative measures are revealing. First, due to the scarcity of fines among the female sample, financial repercussions had to be dropped from the analysis, shifting focus to incarceration and supervised release only. Second, any disparity between males and females regarding supervised release was influenced by factors other than gender (legal considerations and age). In other words, there were no notable gender-driven disparities in supervised release. However, there were significant and noteworthy gender differences in sentencing; both in the judicial decision to incarcerate and in the length of sentence. Controlling for other factors, women were half as likely to be sentenced to prison and, when they were sentenced, they received approximately two and a half years less than men convicted of the same offenses. These differences, although informed by other relevant legal considerations, were not fully explained by them, pointing to the importance of gender in these decisions. In simple terms, results provide support for the chivalry/paternalism perspective; gender has a significant impact on select criminal justice outcomes.

The last set of analyses explored the conflict assumption that sentencing disparities would lessen for gender-atypical crimes. Once again, results were revealing and supportive of theoretical assumptions. When the analysis was limited to males and females that committed non-violent offenses only, there was significant disparities in the decision to incarcerate and the length of incarceration. Women were less than half as likely to receive incarceration and their sentence was typically three years less than their male counterparts. In contrast, this relationship disappeared for violent offenses; males and females received comparable sentencing decisions in these instances.

In summary, the results reported in this paper lead to the following conclusions. There are gender disparities in sentencing decisions; women receive more leniency in decisions relating to incarceration. However, this relationship applies to atypical gendered crimes only; violent female offenders are treated similarly to male offenders. Therefore, the gender gap that has been identified in apolitical samples is evident in political sample, although with some qualifying stipulations. First, these results do not extend to fines or supervised release; the former is too infrequent to analyze and the latter is explained by other characteristics. In addition, the study reported here focused exclusively on sentencing. It is possible that examination of earlier stages of legal process, particularly in the arrest stage, will illustrate additional disparities. Lastly, these results should be generalized with caution. The United States has a long history of institutional disparities and contemporary legal dynamics stemming from that history are likely unique in relevant ways. Therefore, criminal justice response in the United States may not be a valid representation of outcomes in other countries.

An Addendum: The curious reader may be wondering if leniency lends itself to recidivism. In other words, what is the trickle-down effect of disparities in sentencing? If female offenders face less punitive repercussions, does that translate into an increased likelihood of recidivism? Fortunately, recidivism rates are so low among terrorism-related offenders that substantive analysis is impossible. Of the 731 offenders included in the TRS, only 23 recidivated: 21 males and two females, or approximately three percent from each gender group. These low numbers eliminate the option of assessing a trickle-down effect, but they do bode well for discussions addressing the effectiveness of the criminal justice system in influencing reoffending.

GENDER DIMENSIONS IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESPONSE TO TERRORISM: INVESTIGATION AND PROSECUTION

Ms. Kate Fitzpatrick
Terrorism Prevention Branch
United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)

For two decades, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has been helping make the world safer from drugs, organized crime, corruption and terrorism. We are committed to achieving health, security and justice for all by tackling these threats and promoting peace and sustainable well-being as deterrents to them.

UNODC, through its Terrorism Prevention Branch, has been working to support Member States to address terrorism and to mainstream gender considerations into criminal justice responses to terrorism. As part of this work, UNODC produced the first United Nations module on this issue, the *UNODC Handbook on Gender Dimensions in Criminal Justice Response to Terrorism* which was launched in 2019. The module lays out a number of policy, legislative and procedural issues to consider when addressing the distinct ways in which women can be involved with and affected by terrorism.

When discussing the role of women in terrorist groups, it is important for criminal justice actors to avoid stereotypes regarding their involvement in the groups, such as that they only perform support roles or that they are associated with terrorist groups due to coercion. Nevertheless, women's roles traditionally differ from those of men and those differences can often be dictated by gender norms in the society from which the terrorist group is formed. The role of women in terrorist groups can include leadership and combat roles, female suicide bombers, female recruiters and women in support roles such as messengers and spies, domestic labor, as wives and mother or handling logistics tasks like smuggling weapons and food.

When focusing on the legislative and criminal justice response, it is important to take a number of measures to take into account these differences.

The law must comply with the principle of legality, which is to give fair notice of criminal conduct. However, the laws may not take into account the ways in which women are involved in terrorism so taking gender roles into account when defining acts in legislation is crucial. In this regard, it is important to clearly criminalize preparatory and support roles.

When prosecuting a terrorism case and deciding the appropriate charge, it is important to take into account *Mens Rea* (or intent). In some circumstances, support can be provided unwittingly by a family member who is not aware of the purpose of the support and did not have information to fully evaluate.

It is also essential to consider that in some societies women may not have full personal agency to decide their involvement in terrorism acts or they could be victims of coercion. It is, therefore, important to have the discretion not to prosecute or to take into account any mitigating circumstances in determining the sentence.

When focusing on Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV) offences, the 19 international conventions and protocols against terrorism define terrorism-related offences and oblige States parties to incorporate offences into domestic law but they do not criminalize SGBV offences. As a result, very few domestic counter-terrorism laws explicitly criminalize offences relating to SGBV or SGBV offences may be included in other parts of the criminal code not related to terrorism but these provisions may not fully capture the gravity of the crime. This creates challenges when trying to effectively prosecute these crimes.

When investigating terrorism cases, it is also important to mainstream gender considerations into those processes, following a number of good practices which I will detail below.

When considering search powers of investigation, the stop and search procedures in public tend to affect men more, thus terrorist groups can use females to circumvent searches and maintain freedom of movement. It is therefore important for police authorities to not assume default gender norms when conducting stop and search operations. However, at the

same time, in cultures where women have difficulties in accessing land and water as well as girls attending school, the stop and search procedure can exacerbate already limited access and freedom of movement. It is, therefore, important to limit any impact these operations may have on these vulnerable populations.

Home searches which, by their nature, breach the private domestic domain and can, therefore, cause feelings of intimidation have been found to be more acute for women. All searches should be carried out with courtesy and respect without limiting rights of movement and all bodily searches should be carried out by someone of the same sex and cultural and religious factors should be taken into considerations, especially when searching portions of the home in which only women may be present.

Special investigative techniques can be a useful provide useful tools for detecting and disrupting terrorist groups. However, in addition to human rights considerations which should be taken into account, a gender analysis should inform the design and application of special investigative techniques in order to assess their impact not only on the primary target but also on anyone else who could be affected. Further considerations include avoiding gender stereotypes when considering potential surveillance targets and considering the impacts of utilizing women to induce male family members to become informants.

Profiling practices based on broad stereotypes, including on gender, run the risk of violating principle of non-discrimination, compounded with generalizations of religion or ethnic group. Not every differentiation of treatment constitutes discrimination, the criteria used should be reasonable, objective and have legitimate purpose. Profiling should be based on behavioral characteristics and not characteristics such as gender, ethnic origin or religion.

When focused specifically on the issue of investigating SGBV crimes committed by terrorism groups, there can be a number of challenges including the limited evidence found due to the time elapsed between the crime and the investigation and the difficulties in accessing forensic examinations owing to the scarcity of medical facilities capable of collecting such evidence. Moreover, forensic evidence related to SGBV might be overlooked or contaminated while focusing on other offences committed by terrorist groups. Other challenges encountered during an investigation and prosecution of SGBV by terrorist groups are that specialized CT units are not focused nor have expertise on SGBV, especially if not criminalized in CT legislation. Furthermore, international cooperation may be challenging as definitions of SGBV vary significantly between jurisdictions.

Given the limitations on female access to education, financial and legal resources in some societies, female interviewees are more likely to be intimidated by an interview or lack confidence to be open. Therefore, the threshold for an interview to become aggressive, meaning constituting cruel, inhumane, or degrading treatment may be lower.

When interviewing female suspects, it is important to avoid gender stereotypes, such as that they commit terrorist acts for more emotional reasons than men. In fact, women are often driven by similar factors - ideology, desire for radical change, sociopolitical conditions, grief, or perceived humiliation. However, it can also be difficult to determine if women are forced or are voluntarily involved with terrorist groups. For instance, they could be victims of sexual or gender-based violence or be accompanying a male family member. Hence, it is necessary to avoid secondary victimization. Interviewers should be aware as well that women associated with terrorist groups are more likely to face social stigma for themselves and children and so they may not want to cooperate unless assured of measures to protect against stigmatization.

Some good practices for interviewing female victims, witnesses and suspects is to assure them of their safety prior to the interview or testimony. Female interviewees can often be more open when being interviewed by a female official. At a minimum it can be helpful to have a person of the same gender present during the interview. Additionally, the presence of a psychologist or mental health professional can be conducive to a healthy and effective questioning if the interviewee has experienced trauma. When interviewing female witnesses or victims, one should also avoid secondary victimization by limiting the number of required interviews through careful preparation by ensuring officer continuity and recording the interview, which will then help reduce the likelihood that the witness will have to be interviewed a second time. Furthermore, the interviews should not be conducted in public areas where privacy cannot be guaranteed. The interviewer should ask the victim or witness their preferences regarding the sex of the interviewer, which should be accommodated when possible and they should obtain the informed consent of the interviewees. The interpreters used should also be familiar with working with victims.

Prosecutors may explore legal means to obtain the testimony from witnesses during an investigation and pretrial to make appearance at trial unnecessary, while respecting the defendant's right to examine witnesses against him or her. Investigators and prosecutors should also ensure adequate witness protection measures, including safeguarding the identity of witnesses at an early stage of the investigation and exploring measures to avoid in-person testimony. They should also conduct gender-sensitive assessment of vulnerability of witness. Female role in house-hold decision-making may mean that the husband has final decision on testimony and involvement in criminal justice process. It should be taken into consideration that women are often primary caregivers and may not be in a position to be moved to a safe house. Compared with men, women in some societies are rarely in contact with the justice system. In such cases, the need for information and support for female witnesses may be greater. The ability of women to testify in relation to crimes involving SGBV might be impaired, due to family or societal pressure not to testify due to the stigma.

I would like to close by noting the benefits of having a female representation in criminal justice, including law enforcement and counter-terrorism fields. It is essential to bring both male and female expertise, skill sets and perspectives, including their respective abilities to build trust with local communities. In addition, the female officer would be able to perform stop and search procedures and house searches involving women, intelligence-gathering functions, investigations involving gender and sexual based violence and interviewing female suspects, witnesses and victims.

NOTE: For more information, please refer to the *UNODC Training Manual on Gender Dimensions of Criminal Justice Responses to Terrorism* https://www.unodc.org/documents/terrorism/Publications/GENDER/17-08887_HB_Gender_Criminal_Justice_E_ebook.pdf

FEMALE FOREIGN TERRORIST FIGHTERS: DATA AND ANALYSIS

Stephanie BAROUD

INTERPOL¹

This presentation summary intends to provide a brief overview of some of the data on female Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTFs) that INTERPOL currently holds in its Counter-terrorism (CT) Crime Analysis File (CAF). It gives a general idea of the stance of some of INTERPOL Member Countries (MCs) concerning the threat of female FTFs.

Based on MCs contributions to the CT CAF, as of June 2021, 13% of female entities are designated as having an FTF role and 87% of male entities are designated as having an FTF role.

Based on CT CAF data, the number of Returnees reported appears to be small, considering the number of women who have already returned. Countries are likely not reporting the return of their nationals for many reasons, including security.

MCs tend to report much more on male FTFs than on female FTFs. This could be the result of many factors. One of which is likely because in many cases, females who joined conflict zones were perceived as followers of male companions who were militants of the DAESH and not as individuals who wanted to belong to the DAESH and live its ideology. In this sense, they were not necessarily regarded as dangerous subjects. As a result, not enough information was/is shared on these entities, information that could help in the identification process and arrest at a later stage.

The largest number of female FTFs recorded in the CT CAF are currently aged between 26 and 35 years old. Considering the year 2014, which witnessed a noted increase in FTFs joining DAESH in Syria and Iraq compared to other years, these FTFs would have been between 19 and 28 years old, which is consistent with existing findings on FTFs age overall.

30 Less than 1% of all recorded female entities in the CT CAF are currently aged between 6 and 17 years old. Some of these girls were likely born in conflict zones and others have likely travelled with their parents to Syria/Iraq. In this context, it should be noted, that many of the minors that accompanied their parents to conflict zones were not reported by MCs, when reporting their parents or companions. These minors, which by now would be 6 to 7 years older than at the time of travel, were likely married off to FTFs whether for the convenience of their parents or for survival. The idea that these women/FTF brides/militants could constitute a real threat is highly considered as they were raised on the DAESH ideology, with some of them not knowing any other believes/reality.

The main type of links found between female FTFs and other suspects are family links, as anticipated. This is most likely the result of the high number of females who joined their husbands or family members in conflict zones and were reported as such. However, there is a need to consider the eventual evolvement of these links and the repercussions entailed. For example;

- Women who first joined their husbands and then incited other family or non-family members to join;
- Women who first joined associates/friends and later incited other family or non-family members to join;
- Women who gave birth to children in conflict zones and who believe in grooming the future generation (i.e. in refugee camps).

Taking such considerations when examining the relationships female FTFs had with other suspects in conflict zones, could widen the scope of possible future analysis into the links they have formed and which could still be maintained in refugee camps and/or outside the conflict zones where these links were first formed. If maintained, these links could further develop into networks of relationships, such as networks based on family links, roles or hierarchy.

In total, female FTFs recorded in the CT CAF represent 118 nationalities. These numbers mostly corroborate what is found in open sources, however and as mentioned before, the different levels of reporting by MCs from across the world should be considered. Some MCs have, overall, higher levels of reporting than others, and this inconsistency in reporting rates affects the accuracy of the data in INTERPOL holdings.

¹ Criminal Intelligence Analyst

In terms of conflict zones, the main conflict zone noted as destination for female FTFs in the CT CAF is Syria/Iraq. Other conflict zones include Afghanistan/Pakistan, Libya, North Caucasus, Yemen, Somalia/Horn of Africa and Sahel/Maghreb. Few entities have reportedly travelled to two different conflict zones, which could highlight the movement of FTFs between conflict zones, a trend largely seen in male FTFs. Currently, no further information is available on this trend for female FTFs.

The main terrorist organization to which female FTFs are linked is the DAESH in Syria and Iraq. Links to other terrorist groups have been reported as well but to a much lesser extent. These results are not only dependent on the levels of reporting by MCs but also on events highlighted in the media. More light has been shed on conflict zones in Syria and Iraq. However, when looking at the numbers of attacks in other regions between 2015 and 2020, a higher level of female participation in attacks and attempted attacks is noted, in particular in African countries.

When reported by MCs, the roles of female FTFs are divided as follows: 34% are recruiters, 24% are facilitators, 21% are financiers and 21% were involved in propaganda. This data is consistent with existing findings on FTFs and the roles they occupied and still occupy within criminal organizations. However, as is evident, there is a lack of data on the roles of female FTFs. There is very limited information on the women who had active roles in conflict zones, or those who initially did not occupy active field roles but later evolved in the conflict zones and/or in Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and refugee camps (i.e. Al-Hol camp). The lack of such information could hinder the analysis of the status of female FTFs, which could contribute to preventing further radicalization of other women as well as preventing future attacks.

Aside from their home addresses and countries, the locations of interest visited or likely visited by female FTFs include:

- Border crossing points identified as transit points to conflict zones;
- IDP and refugee camps: including Al-Hasaka camp, Roj camp, Ayn Issa IDP camp and Al-Malikiya (Dayrik) camp.

Some MCs report on the movement of FTFs in a more detailed manner than other MCs, and this should be considered when examining this data. However, present information does represent some of the patterns of female FTFs' movement between their home countries and conflict zones between 2013 and 2018 and the movement noted in more recent years from the refugee camps in particular to their home countries or other conflict zones.

Based on the limited recorded information on the travel routes of female FTFs, it appears that the journeys of female FTFs are very similar to the journeys of male FTFs into conflict zones, likely indicating the use of the same support systems in terms of logistics. As such, and similarly to male FTFs, there is a high chance that female FTFs who are still in conflict zones and who succeed in escaping from IDP and refugee camps, take the same journey to their home countries, likely through less official channels, or to other conflict zones in Asia and Africa. The multiple cases of arrest of female FTFs in Turkey coming from Syria and the online campaigns which mention funding escape plans of women from camps such as Al-Hol, could be seen as contributing to this hypothesis.

In conclusion, the information on female FTFs available in the CT CAF is not comprehensive. The data is highly dependent on the level of information sharing by MCs, which in turn could be influenced by many factors, including security and assessment of the threat by national authorities. Based on the limited available information, the movement patterns of female FTFs are similar to those of male FTFs. This leads to the possibility that women who succeed in escaping from conflict zones will follow similar but less official routes to return to their home countries or travel to other conflict zones. As shown, MCs tend to under-report female FTFs compared to male FTFs, leading to less chances of identification as well as arrest.

The relevant hypothesis suggested in this presentation summary: the low levels of detailed reporting on female FTFs is linked to the fact that many of the women who joined are not necessarily regarded as dangerous subjects, is particularly alarming. It suggests a level of sidelining by authorities of the real role that these women might have played or are still playing in contributing to the terrorism threat, whether they are repatriated or still retained in IDP and refugee camps, mainly located in Syria and Iraq. In addition, this hypothesis does not take into account the development of these women as dangerous subjects and their respective roles since being reported initially or since first joining conflict zones.

It is most likely true that some were indeed victims of their companions. However, at this stage, and with the limited information available on the real activity or motives of these women, there is a high possibility that females in refugee camps are attempting or will attempt to revive the DAESH ideology in any way they can in their current or future locations. This possibility should be taken into account when developing policies regarding the repatriation of returnees.

The main recommendation is to raise the awareness of decision makers on the influential role female FTFs had and are currently having in conflict zones. Underestimating this role could lead to dire results. Better awareness could prompt more information sharing on their end, which could lead to more identification and in some cases arrest.

GENDER RESPONSIVE APPROACH TO DISENGAGEMENT: THE CASE OF PKK

Tugay Zehir
Ministry of Interior
Republic of Turkey

Turkey has been struggling with PKK terrorism for 40 years. During this period, many studies have been conducted on the PKK terrorist organization. Among these studies, limited though they might be, some focused on the gender issue. In regard to the gender aspect of the instruments that are utilized in the fight against PKK terrorism, one of the prominent policies to be mentioned should be the "Persuasion Policy and Effects of Women".

Persuasion policy is about persuading the terrorists to leave the terrorist organization. Although it is about disengagement from the terrorist organization, the first and foremost thing to be underlined is the recruitment activities of the terrorist organization. Because none of the solutions which does not take into account the process of radicalization and joining to a terrorist group, would not offer any route maps for counter strategies.

In the first phase, there are some useful narratives and propaganda tools used by the terrorist organization against vulnerable people or newcomers. This phase can be called the "so-called utopia", because terrorist organizations usually offer some kind of utopia in the recruitment process. However, it does not take too long for the recruited terrorists to understand the reality due to the pressure, abuses and executions by the terrorist organization. After a while, some of the terrorists realize that the reality is a dystopia rather than a utopia. Then they start evaluating the situation and understanding the contradictions. This is followed by mental distancing from the doctrine and narratives of the terrorist organization. At this point, some factors appear and initiate and/or facilitate this mental distancing. Later on starts the disengagement of some terrorists from the terrorist organization, and for the surrenders, there usually takes place judicial process and rehabilitation programs.

The So-Called Utopia: Action and Discourse Contradiction

Narratives of the PKK Terrorist Organization

Since the emergence of the PKK terrorist organization, narratives about women constituted a fundamental but inconsistent part of PKK's so-called doctrine. From 1987 onwards, PKK has established so many women's organizations like "Free Women's Units" or "Free Women's Party". Today, we can say that about 15 % of PKK terrorists are women. And this terrorist group is still trying to improve its image at the international level using its women terrorists.

PKK terrorist organization is using some idealist narratives since 1980s to attract new recruits. The main PKK narratives about women in the recruitment process focus on;

- Criticism of the patriarchal order
- Equality of women and men
- Democratic ecologic gender
- Libertarian society paradigm
- Jailed PKK head Öcalan's claims about a new perspective on gender

Reasons and Motivational Factors for Women to Join PKK Terrorist Organization

Studies indicate that there are some reasons and motivational factors for women to join the PKK terrorist organization. These are;

- Ideology of equality
- Leadership opportunities
- Struggle for so-called Kurdistan

- Wish to die
- Romantic relationships

The root cause for all is “escaping from imposed social roles”.

Pressure, Abuses and Contradiction Examples

When they witness lots of pressure, sexual abuses or executions in PKK camps, most of the terrorists realize that the real life in the organization is different from what is narrated and realize the contradictions in the discourse and reality. Soon after the idealistic image drawn by the terrorist organization changes into a pragmatic approach against women terrorists. These are the most common pressure or abuse examples in PKK terrorist organization:

- Women are forced to become a suicide bomber or forced to self-immolation.
- Women are seen as an encouragement tool for male terrorists.
- Women are accused of incompetence.
- There are double standards between men and women.
- Relationships between men and women in the organization are forbidden and when occurs, relationship executions take place.
- There are so many rape cases that take place in the organization and women terrorists killed after being raped are shown as being killed in counter-terrorism operations.

According to research and statements of the convicted terrorists, “women shouldn’t resist to the desire of Abdullah Öcalan in order to gain a position within the party; there was a group of women known to be ‘the Central Women’, ‘Öcalan’s Women’ or ‘Öcalan’s Goddesses’, who mainly stayed at the headquarters and weren’t engaged in the conflicts”.¹ There are also many statements of jailed PKK head A. Öcalan like “It’s not easy to become a girl of Apo[...]”.

Records about women terrorists in PKK reveal that there are many rape cases which have been covered by the terrorist group. PKK tries to hide these pressure and executions by showing executed women like killed in counter-terrorism operations. For example, “Rabia Kaya, Code Name Zozan Tolhildan, a member of the terrorist organization who was reported to be dead as a result of the bombardment at the terrorist organization-oriented news channel, was actually executed after being raped, which was established as a result of the judicial examination and autopsy.”²

According to the former women terrorists’ statements, they had been forced to become a suicide bomber or forced to self-immolation. And there are many examples of suicide because of the pressure in the organization. These acts result in disidentification of women.

Thus, PKK tried to create a “so-called utopia” which is useful for recruiting women. However, it is just one side of the coin, we know that there has been pressure on women in the terrorist organization. After realizing this contradiction by women terrorists, they started thinking about leaving.

A New Modus Operandi: Persuasion Policy and Women

Turkey has been fighting against PKK terrorism via a holistic approach, which contains military, social or economic tools. There has been studies on the surrendered and convicted terrorists in Turkey. In the mid-2010, new studies have been conducted in prisons on the surrendered PKK terrorists. Law enforcement agencies evaluated the surveys, interviews, and testimonies. These studies disclosed following as the most common reasons for women terrorists to leave the terrorist organization:

- Regret
- Hard conditions
- Pressure in the terrorist organization
- Being kidnapped by terrorist organization

¹ Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Interior, *Exploitation of Children and Women by PKK/KCK Terrorist Organization* (FEBRUARY 2017).

² Ibid.

- Nostalgia for family or home
- Romantic relationships
- Fear of death

Additionally, studies also revealed that the main factor which leads to the disengagement from the terrorist organization is the family relationships and among them, the most prominent has been the impact of mothers. Within this framework, in the late 2016, new policy about persuasion has begun to be used as a supporting and complementary tool for counter-terrorism efforts of Turkey. However, this time mothers occupied a central place in the implementation of the policy, because mother meant a lot for the terrorists like past normal life, family, nostalgia, etc.

Purposes of the Persuasion Policy

The objectives of the Persuasion Policy can be summarized as follows:

- Support the counter-terrorism efforts of Turkey
- Accelerate the dissolution in the terrorist organization
- Deprive of human resources of terrorist organization
- Create an awareness in families
- Reintegration of the surrendered terrorists

Within the scope of this policy, Turkish law enforcement agencies prepared a detailed plan and trained experts for persuasion activities. This unique policy has taken into consideration the regional cultural norms, beliefs and traditions. Therefore, some of these experts are women and they were specially trained for getting into contact with the families of the women terrorists. Women terrorists' leaving processes are the most difficult cases. In that cultural environment, women terrorists tend to avoid leaving the terrorist organization due to the fear of not being accepted by their families. They have concerns that their family will not forgive them. Thus, women experts are working on these problems and trying to persuade women terrorists' families and talking especially to mothers.

We know that most of the terrorists especially who live in camps and somehow are trying to contact with their families via familiar person or phone. So experts started to communicate with terrorists' mothers and prepare them for contact with their son or daughter.

In the implementation process, authorities do not make any commitment about anything after terrorists leave the terrorist organization. When he or she surrenders to the authorities, they know that they are going to face with judicial process. In a word, judicial process continue as it should be and in addition to that, the humanitarian assistance and rehabilitation programs continue in the best manner.

We can see the results of this model by years. Since the last months of the year 2016, the number of the total surrendered terrorists is 944, and this is the result of the implementation of the persuasion policy. Approximately, a quarter of them are women and most of them joined the terrorist organization when they were under 25. One of the recent and significant example of this case happened last year in Bitlis province, which is located in the south-eastern part of Turkey. In August 2020, a drone located an alone terrorist in Bitlis province. Law enforcement agencies identified him. They knew that he had a relationship with a woman terrorist who was executed by PKK because of this relationship.

Experts contacted with the terrorist's mother and brought her from another province to Bitlis. Authorities took security measures and assured his mother that nothing bad will happen if he surrenders and accept the judicial process. Because PKK terrorist organization makes an anti-propaganda about persuasion policy and saying to terrorists that if they surrender, Turkish soldiers and officials will beat, torture and kill them, it is critical to persuade the terrorists that they will be treated in a decent manner. Then, his mother and little brother were taken to a close point to the terrorist. After half an hour of talk, his mother convinced the terrorist to surrender. He surrendered and then started his judicial and deradicalization process. The persuasion policy also has an effect on decreasing the numbers of new recruits to the PKK terrorist organization. Therefore, terrorist organization has begun to recruit and force much younger people and especially children abroad to join the terrorist organization.

“Diyarbakır Mothers”

Within the context of the persuasion policy, official agencies contact with terrorists mothers to convince their children to leave the terrorist organization, but there is another example that mothers has initiated a new movement which is called “Diyarbakır Mothers”.

Families whose children were abducted or forcibly recruited by the PKK terrorist organization are calling their children to give up their weapons and surrender to Turkish authorities. In August 22, 2019, a mother -Hacire Akar- started the sit-in protest in Diyarbakır for the purpose of getting her son back. And after two days, his son came back. She has appealed to other mothers not to give up on their children. Just after that in September 3, 2019, three more mothers started to a new sit-in protest in the same place.

That protest has been continuing for more than 650 days, and 227 mothers has joined the protests. Until today, 25 family reunited with their children. Sit-in protests have began in August 2019 in Diyarbakır but spread to other provinces as well. There is a mother even in Berlin who has been protesting PKK for 95 weeks. Thanks to the role played by women as mothers, this new modus operandi as the persuasion policy became an effective tool for encouraging terrorists to leave the terrorist organization and surrender. Turkey hopes to see more positive results of the persuasion policy in the future both as a tool for encouraging disengagement from the terrorist organization and a deterrent tool to prevent further recruitment, and also Turkey hopes to see soon that PKK terrorism issue becomes an issue of past.

INCLUDING 'EXPERIENCE' IN AGE AND GENDER-SENSITIVE REINTEGRATION PROGRAMS

Shannon Foley Martinez

Polarization and Extremism Research and Innovation Lab

Having been a former neo-Nazi white supremacist, I left the White Power Movement over 20 years ago. Now I work as a consultant with many different government agencies, schools, universities, and I also work as a mentor, helping people who leave violence and hate based movements. I have so far mentored around 100 people together with their families. Since I am a woman, almost all of my mentees have been women. Therefore, my view on Disengagement, Deradicalization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DDRR) is very much based on my own lived experience and the experience of mentoring those who have left violent and hate based movements.

The first and foremost important thing in helping people who are willing to leave violent extremist movements is to make them think of their goals in life. In this respect, we should also ask ourselves what we are trying to achieve in the rehabilitation and reintegration of those people. Are we just trying to get them to shift their beliefs and stop particular behaviours or are we trying to help these people to thrive? The whole person approaches to rehabilitation and reintegration, those that focus on thrive in your life are way more successful and valuable to generating pro-social good compared to approaches dealing only with transforming their belief systems or ideologies.

In my case, I have seven kids, and became a mother when I was 23 years old, it was about three years after I had left the White Power Movement. At that point, I asked myself how I can cultivate human beings who will never look to hate or violence as a viable expression of anything going on in their lives. That represents a turning point which motivated me to change and transform my new life for a healthy whole and thriving human being.

36 One of the things that is incredibly important is to view those with marginalized identities like women as having agency, and being active agents in their radicalization, who derive benefit from their participation in violence based ideologies, communities and movements. People who end up in these groups and movements and networks feel disempowered in the rest of their lives. So their participation in these groups and in violence allows them to experience, if not actual power, adjacency to power which they have never experienced in the rest of their lives. It is so crucial to take this understanding of women in particular having active roles in their radicalization process, and apply that to the disengagement and rehabilitative process. Only by this way, we will be saved from the victim tropes that I have found are endemic in the Preventing /Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) space.

Speaking of my own experience, I felt empowered when I entered the white supremacist movement when I was 15. I grew up in an incredibly dysfunctional family. At the age of 14, I endured sexual assault. Being inside the violent space allowed me to feel adjacency to the power of the men in that group. Even though there was gender-based violence in the group, it also gave me the added benefit of validation and protection.

When I left the movement, I had been in the movement for about four and a half years, and I did not really have anywhere to go. I had moved all over the country to go live with different cells of far right groups. I was taken in by a mother and her three younger sons. I was in a relationship with her oldest son, who was a member of the White Power Movement. He was in the military undergoing his training. His mother was unaware of my beliefs and ideology and she invited me to live with her family. Soon after, living in that family environment had changed my life in a positive way. First of all, the echo chamber that I had been living in was broken up. For the US and British context, most of these violent groups are online based and therefore, the echo chambers are online. However, in my case, it was a physical echo chamber. I was associated with people who share the belief system I had and everything I thought was normalized within this echo chamber. After I started living with that family, I was physically detached from and no more well connected with the White Power movement. Secondly, I was in a stable environment which enabled me to find a job. Being able to generate a liveable income enabled me to think of my personal future. When I was in the movement, I did not think of a personal future at all. The only future I thought of was the sacrifices I had to give to further the ideology of the group. The safety and

stability provided to me within the new household allowed me to think of my personal future. Therefore, in addition to my experience within and out of the violence based group, my experience in mentoring people who are trying to leave violence and hate based groups made me realize that the first and foremost thing to do is to create safety and stability for them. Before anything else, they should have safe housing, free from threat, liveable wage or at least some economic stability and reliable access to health care, particularly mental health care.

There is an endemic nature of gender based violence in violent extremist movements. Particularly women, having been subjected to gender based violence before they joined violent based groups, they are also enduring such violence within the group. There are studies that display that the greater the number of childhood traumas, the more likely people to engage in violence. Anecdotally 100% of the women that I have mentored have endured gender based violence before they entered into violent extremist spaces and a very large percentage also have suffered gender based violence while were in the group.

As I mentioned, having a safe place and at least some economic stability that enables reliable access to health care including mental health care is vital. Equally essential is building a robust identity independent from relationships. For women, this means helping them to build their identity independently from their relationships with men, helping them to get to a place where they understand that they have power and agency in their own lives, independent of the relationships that they have. Upon leaving violent extremist groups, men often require greater assistance in building healthy networks and developing healthy relationships that are not toxic and are not based on toxic masculine views of the world, and women require a greater assistance in generating economic opportunities. Very often women will hang on to destructive and dysfunctional relationships simply for financial security. Financial independence decreases women's dependency on toxic relationships.

After stability and safety, next key component is transforming all this trauma that people have. In my case, I had developmental trauma from my family, trauma from sexual assault, trauma from very violent relationships while I was in the movement. There is also perpetrator-induced trauma which is needs to be addressed. It is different from victim trauma and it is a trauma that people who inflict violence struggle through. It is important to grapple with the shame that people often feel as they begin to gain stability and distance from the violence in their lives and their violent acts. These people should not shy away from understanding the hurt and harm that their beliefs and actions have caused both to their victims and targets, but also to their families and their communities, amongst which they live. Helping these people to accept that and process through that shame in a complex and holistic manner is a very crucial step. Actually, this is mostly missing from the deradicalization and reintegration processes.

Young people have problems in identifying their traumas as traumas, because it is still too close to them to recognize. We should be cognizant of the fact that there are multiple layers of trauma, and in most cases people endure multiple layers of trauma rather than a single one. When it comes to older people, they often have much more difficulty in transforming learned behaviors and finding new ways of being integrated into the world. This is mainly due to the neural plasticity. It is harder to train older brains, to develop new ways of being in the world. But I think knowing those two things, and adjusting our approaches and expectations in terms of the help that we are offering can be incredibly helpful and healing. One of the challenges that I have felt is accessing mental health care for those who are leaving, which is actually informed about the dynamics of radicalization and deradicalization and reintegration. I think this is an area where we can do much better in terms of trying to get some of this information out into the greater world of mental health care. Another vital thing we need to think about is providing the right mental health care which address what I have been talking so far.

The next stage is to learning non-violent communication. At the first place, what drives many people to join these violent based organizations is their inability to navigate the complexity of the society. By embracing dogmatic belief system people can interact with the world in a simplistic way. This is also a side effect of trauma. People who experience trauma look to the simplistic binary explanations of world. It helps to identify easily a group of others to blame for a reason why this person feels all the time under threat in the world all. Developing interpersonal communication and emotional skills is crucial. Especially for the younger generation that socialize in internet, it is crucial to get them out of these digital communities and help them socialize in new environments to break their eco chambers and develop new skills.

GENDER RESPONSIVE REHABILITATION AND REINTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN BOKO HARAM

Dr. Fatima Akilu¹

Neem Foundation

In the two decades since the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 was passed, few can doubt the progress that has been made for women, especially in the peace and security space globally. Yet, when the gender responsive approaches are concerned, we are still in many ways a long way from where we need to be. Over the case of Boko Haram, I would like to illustrate Nigeria's journey in attempting to address gender responsive rehabilitation and reintegration of women associated with the terrorist organization.

In 2002, the *Jama'atu ahlus sunna lid da'awati Wal Jihad* (movement for the propagation of the prophet's message and jihad) nick named *Boko Haram* by the locals in Maiduguri, reared its ugly head. It soon rose to become the world's second deadliest terror group, taking territory, kidnapping women and girls, forcefully recruiting youth, using suicide bombers to inflict sheer terror, killing and displacing thousands across the region. Since its inception, it has grown to operate in territories across almost all states in northern Nigeria, the Lake Chad, the Sahel and as far afield as Mali and Mozambique.

While Boko Haram is inherently a creature of its culture, history and circumstance, headquartered within a very patriarchal society, where the community rights of women and girls are often nonexistent, they have proved to be far more adaptive and responsive in acknowledging women's agency as a force to advance their movement.

In the early days of the movement, women who joined Boko Haram were wives or relatives of the members, however around 2013, in response to the incarceration of their leaders' wives, they began to abduct women initially as an act of revenge. Women then served in auxiliary supportive roles, they were wives, cooks, and camp organizers. As the movement grew so did the roles of the women. They began to use them as incentives for their fighters, thus women and girls were forcibly married off, and sexual violence became a weapon of war. Additionally, to elude checkpoints that then had more stringent checks for men, Boko Haram started using women as suicide bombers. While this was strategic, it was also promoted due to its shock value within the movement. Women were either forced to carry explosives or were brain washed into believing that there were specially singled out for a very important mission. Prior to that men were recruited for suicide missions and led to believe that they were very important martyrs for the movement, the inclusion of the women who volunteered for this, then placed them on a level of equal value to the movement.

Additionally, women who joined voluntarily or were married into the movement, were given positions of power and responsibility, far beyond what was afforded them in the societies they left. They found themselves, presiding over slaves, assembling weapons and in some circumstances leading raids into villages.

In 2012, the state reorganized its response to counter-terrorism including a non-kinetic approach that focused on justice with changes in the law, as well as designing many programs that focused on rehabilitation and reintegration. However, a lack of representation of women at decision making levels, or consideration of gender as well as the domiciling of state programs under the umbrella of the military establishment has ensured the process is overwhelmingly dominated by concerns around the prosecution, rehabilitation and reintegration of predominantly male suspects.

No woman has yet to be convicted of terrorist offences, despite our increasing knowledge of the complex roles that women have played in the movement. There remains an inability to distinguish between who is a victim, perpetrator, or victim who becomes a perpetrator when it comes to women. Thus there are different pathways for the reintegration of females.

¹ Psychologist and Director of Neem Foundation

KEY FINDINGS

Gender Analysis

- Gender analysis is a tool to trace power dynamics. Gender is a way to structure power. Societies construct much greater set of differences than biology dictate in terms of gender, and these socially constructed differences legitimate a social order based on the domination of men over women and men over other men. Therefore, these gender dynamics/power differentials happen between men and women, boys and girls; and also within the groups of men, women, boys and girls, because it is about power, access to power and use of power.
- Gender analysis should include an intersectional approach. A person's gender is an important aspect of her/his identity. Equally important is recognizing the intersection of gender with other aspects of identity such as race, class, ethnicity and religion. These different aspects of identity influence each other.
- Gender analysis is not just about women and girls, but a gender analysis takes men and boys into consideration as well as masculinities.
- Gender analysis as a tool to reveal the invisible power dynamics should free us from gender stereotypes, which disable us to see men and boys as victims and women and girls as actors in terrorism.
- Gender analysis is about asking questions for identifying and understanding gender differences and relations in a particular context and revealing disparities and seeing their impact on power dynamics. Gender analysis enables us to see how women, men, girls and boys are affected differently by a policy or an operation, and among these different gender groups, which are at most risk, when and where.
- Asking right questions while doing gender analysis is critical. In the context of CT, these questions might include:
 - How might this plan/policy/operation affect women, men, girls and boys differently? And will it affect 'certain' women, men, girls and boys in different ways?
 - To what extent are the needs of these differentiated (gender plus intersectional identities) groups met?
 - To what extent are women, men, girls and boys participating in the design, implementation, and monitoring of CT programs?
 - What kind of support and services are provided for women, men, girls and boys? And how is the access to the services and support are different depending on the differentiated gender group?
- Context matters in analysing gender. Therefore, women's position in one society may not map onto another. Additionally, it is crucial to bear in mind that the gender norms do change throughout time.
- Gender analysis enables us to see when and why terrorist groups manipulate or break with gender norms in the societies they are operating.
- Gender analysis should be applied from the very beginning to identify the impact of terrorism and the response to terrorism.
- While doing gender analysis, avoiding gender essentialism (i.e. women are peaceful, men are the only threat, etc.) is critical.
- Gender analysis is complicated and nuanced, but it can be done by everyone (i.e. when the military is concerned, it can be done at the soldier level.)
- Gender analysis should be used for better understanding gender dynamics within a terrorist organization and how that terrorist organizations exploit gender dynamics within the society they operate to their advantage.
- For the military, gender analysis should be an intrinsic dimension of operational planning and implementation. Military should utilize gender analysis at each and every stage of its operations, from planning to stabilization.
- Cooperation with NGOs in doing gender analysis will be beneficial for the military in collecting sex-disaggregated data, learning about gender dynamics from experienced local experts and effective use of resources.

➤ Gender analysis could be applied internally on a military organization as well as externally to an operational environment. Internal gender analysis enables us to understand gender empowerment dynamics in that specific military organization.

Research on Gender Dimension of Criminal Justice Responses to Terrorism

➤ The empirical research on violent extremism and terrorism does not deny the existence of a gender gap in criminal justice response, but limited in scope and predominantly consisted of qualitative case studies or interviews, and these studies neither confirm nor refute gender disparities. Therefore, it is hard to draw definitive conclusions.

➤ Existing research show that women convicted of terrorism-related offenses are more likely to receive lenient sentences since their criminal intent is considered to be tempered by emotional drivers or by misguided beliefs essentially.

Gender Dimension of Criminalizing Terrorist Offences

➤ States are obliged to bring perpetrators of acts of terrorism to justice and this applies equally to the conduct of men and women. 'Support roles' which includes conduct other than direct engagement in violence and perpetration of terrorist acts should be criminalized in national jurisdictions as well.

➤ There are still problems in criminalization of offences related to Sexual and Gender-based Violence (SGBV) in terrorism since there are very few domestic counter-terrorism laws explicitly criminalize offences relating to SGBV.

Gender Dimension of Investigation and Prosecution

➤ Criminal justice actors should avoid gender stereotypes which tends to view women association with terrorist groups either limited to support roles or because of coercion. The role of women in terrorist groups can include leadership and combat roles, suicide bombings, and recruitment as well as support roles such as being messengers and spies, domestic labour, as wives and mothers or handling logistics tasks like smuggling weapons and food.

40 ➤ When prosecuting a terrorism case and deciding the appropriate charge, intent (*mens rea*) should be taken into account. There might be circumstances when support can be provided unwittingly by a family member who is not aware of the purpose of the support and did not have information to fully evaluate the situation.

➤ It is also essential to consider that in some societies women may not have full personal agency to decide their involvement in terrorist acts or they could be victims of coercion. It is, therefore, important to have the discretion not to prosecute or to take into account any mitigating circumstances in determining the sentence.

➤ The stop and search procedures in public for investigation tend to affect men more compared to women. However, terrorist groups can use females to circumvent searches and maintain freedom of movement. Therefore, when conducting stop and search operations, police authorities should consider the possibility that women are used by terrorist groups. On the other hand, contextual and cultural analysis in identifying vulnerable populations should be done to avoid adverse effects of search operations for women and girls who might have limited access to resources and services and limited freedom of movement.

➤ All searches should be carried out with courtesy and respect without limiting rights of movement, and taking cultural and religious considerations into account. All bodily searches should be carried out by someone of the same sex.

➤ When investigating and prosecuting SGBV crimes committed by terrorist groups, there can be a number of challenges including the limited evidence found due to the time elapsed between the crime and the investigation. Besides, accessing forensic examinations owing to the scarcity of medical facilities capable of collecting such evidence might be difficult. In cases where SGBV is not criminalized in CT legislation, specialized CT units might not have expertise on SGBV.

➤ Avoiding secondary victimization is required when interviewing female suspects.

○ Women associated with terrorist groups are high likely to face social stigmatization for themselves and children. Therefore, measures need to be taken for protecting female suspects against social stigmatization and they need to be assured of such measures.

○ In cases where the female interviewee has experienced trauma, the presence of a psychologist or mental health professional may lead to a healthier and more effective questioning.

- It is better to interview female suspects, witnesses and victims by a female official since they might feel more comfortable and thus open to cooperate.
- Diligent preparation for the interview is necessary to avoid the likelihood for additional interviews.
- In cases where women have limited or no contact with the justice system, the need for information and support for female witnesses may be greater.
- It is critical to have female representation in criminal justice system including the fields of law-enforcement and CT. Bringing both male and female expertise, skill sets and perspectives, including their respective abilities to build trust with local communities is essential.

Female Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTFs)

- According to Interpol, the level of reporting FTFs by the member countries is much lower than the desired level and level of reporting differs among countries and eventually, this leads to less chances for possible arrests.
- States are inclined to report much more on male FTFs than on female FTFs. One of the primary reasons is that women are not considered as threat since they were perceived to be followers of men as their wives or companions. Therefore, not enough information has been shared about women that could assist in identification of the criminal acts these women have conducted that may later lead to their arrest.
- The main terrorist organization to which FTFs are linked by the reporting countries to Interpol has been DAESH. Reporting about other terrorist organization is not non-existent, but in a lesser extent. Accordingly, the main destination reported is Syria and Iraq. Other conflict zones reported as destinations include Afghanistan/Pakistan, Libya, North Caucasus, Yemen, Somalia/Horn of Africa and Sahel/Maghreb. There are also reports, few though, indicating movement of FTFs between conflict zones, a trend largely seen in male FTFs.
- Reports show female participation in attacks and attempted attacks has increased in recent years especially in African countries.
- As underlined by Interpol, there is a lack of data about the women who travelled to the conflict zones which hampers analysing the status of female FTFs. There is a need for information about what kind of roles these women played in the conflict zones in the beginning and if and how these roles transformed depending on their time of residence and experience in that particular conflict zones and /or in Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and refugee camps.
- The limited recorded information on the travel routes of female FTFs show that male FTFs and female FTFs share similar journeys into conflict zones. However, this does not reveal any link about the similarities and differences between male and female motives for travelling conflict zones. Similarly, it seems that female FTFs who are still in the conflict zone and who succeed in escaping the present conflict zone is high likely to take the same journey to their home countries as do the male FTFs or to the other conflict zones, but these journeys are more likely to occur in less official channels compared to those of male FTFs.

Gender Dimension of Terrorist Recruitment

- Understanding gender dimension of terrorist recruitment is critical for designing effective counter-terrorism measures including prosecution, deradicalization, rehabilitation, reintegration policies.
- The reason why men and women join terrorist organizations and how to address these causes necessitates looking at the gender dimension of individual pull factors as well as structural push factors. There are significant gender dimensions of structural push factors such as lack of socio-economic opportunities, marginalization, discrimination and exclusion, pro-longed unresolved conflicts, violation of human rights, and radicalization in prisons. When the individual pull factors are concerned such as prospects for stable employment, socio-economic gains and rewards, social, ideological and political appeal, individual backgrounds and motivations, collective grievances and victimization and social networks, each has differential meaning for different gender groups.
- In leftist secular terrorist organizations -including ethnic separatist terrorist organizations like PKK- the terrorist discourse and narratives attacks patriarchal order and the prevalent gender inequalities in society for radicalization and

recruitment. Terrorist organizations claim to provide an egalitarian social order based on gender equality. Therefore, such terrorist narratives are based on the women liberation and empowerment.

➤ When alt-right and religious extremist terrorist organizations are concerned, they utilize existing gender norms in favour of hyper-masculinities and reinforce them through their narratives. DAESH, for instance, exploit social grievances of unemployed, but educated young urban men without hope from future by claiming to provide them with conditions to become 'real men' with promises of a monthly income, wife and a home. Why women choose to become part of such hyper-masculine environment might have to do with their perceived liberation from immoral culture, they think is prevalent in the society and having the chance to experience validation, protection and adjacency to power, if not actual power, of the men in the group.

➤ It is crucial to see that there is a variation across terrorist groups in terms of including women and girls and the visibility of the roles women and girls play in these terrorist groups. For instance, Al-Shabaab in Somalia chooses to operate in line with the prevalent gender norms in society when making women who play key non-combat roles in the group invisible by not displaying them in group imagery or communications.

Gender Dynamics within Terrorist Organizations

➤ Forced marriage is used as a tool to organize the certain terrorist groups. Women as wives were given as a reward for men which becomes means for reinforcing masculinity.

➤ There is an endemic nature of gender based violence in violent extremist movements, and terrorist groups. Particularly women, having been subjected to gender based violence before they joined violent based groups, they are also enduring such violence within the group, and in most cases they are not conscious that they have been subjected to gender-based violence.

Changing Gender Norms and Relations

➤ Especially in conflict-torn societies, where terrorism is part of the conflict, women are increasingly leading the household and the long-term implications of this phenomenon in terms of changing gender norms and relations as well as the construction of the society as a whole need to be scrutinized.

Disengagement, Deradicalization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DDRR)

➤ Women associated with terrorist groups do not receive adequate rehabilitation and reintegration support, which increases the risk of recidivism. This is mainly because women's threat as a potential perpetrator is underestimated. Sometimes they are not convicted and even they are convicted of terrorist crimes their access to rehabilitation and reintegration support is limited.

➤ Research and experience in present cases about the people leaving show that there is a link between the feeling of disempowerment and participating in violent extremist movements and terrorist organizations. Therefore, the issue of 'empowerment' in and out of the organization requires elaboration. For instance, if women were in leading and combat roles when they are in the terrorist organizations and felt empowered by that way, DDRR programs should not force them to less empowered positions when they are back in their societies.

➤ Whole person approach to rehabilitation and reintegration of women involved in terrorist groups is critical, and far more effective than deradicalization efforts, which simply target people to leave extremist ideologies and transform belief systems.

➤ Leaving terrorist groups, women require greater assistance in generating income to pursue their living. The more financially independent women are, the less dependent they are on toxic relationships including their involvement in violent extremism and terrorism.

➤ The value of inclusive and gender responsive community engagement is essential. Therefore, security and justice actors should collaborate with gender experts who have insights, experience and evidence. Local women-led NGOs and community-based organizations all over the world have developed innovative context specific tactics to prevent recruitment to large extremist and terrorist groups. Their knowledge is often far more nuanced, and they probably have more local credibility in conceiving and implementing tailored solutions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

- More research is required on the gender dimension of terrorist recruitment and radicalization in order to enhance our knowledge about the similarities and differences of different genders in radicalization and recruitment.
- There is a need for empirical research to identify gender gaps and disparities in criminal justice responses to terrorism based on quantitative data.
- More research is needed to reveal gender dynamics in a particular society before the terrorist phenomenon and after the terrorist phenomenon to bring to the fore changing gender dynamics and norms, which is critical for developing adequate CT policies especially concerning rehabilitation.
- Gender dynamics differ between terrorist organizations. Understanding gender dynamics within terrorist organizations is important for developing effective CT policies, programs and operations. Therefore, more research is needed to identify gender dynamics for different terrorist organizations.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Increasing Participation and Representation of Women and Women's Organizations

- Women and women's organizations need to be able to engage in with security and justice actors in diverse and self-determined ways. From the very beginning of the design of CT and P/CVE programs, they should be engaged and embedded in.

Avoiding Gender Stereotyping

- When public policies, strategies, and action plans are being designed, gender stereotyping should be avoided and women should be considered as equal citizens and political actors and not only as wives and mothers of men.
- Gender analysis should avoid gender stereotyping which implies seeing women as natural peacemakers, and victims of political violence, denying their agency in political violence.
- Criminal justice actors should avoid gender stereotypes which tends to view women association with terrorist groups either limited to support roles or because of coercion.

Gender Impact Assessment

- Gender impact assessment of the CT policies and programs are critical for revision and refinement of the present strategies. However, most of the CT and/or P/CVE assessment tools are tested on male terrorists and violent extremists. Assessment tools suited for women should be developed.

Gender Dimension of Terrorist Radicalization and Recruitment

- Counter-terrorism strategies should take into account gendered radicalization and recruitment strategies of terrorist organizations.

Gender Dimension of Criminal Justice Responses to Terrorism

- A critical 'do no harm' approach needs to be adopted, increasing the capacity of security sector actors to apply gender perspective.
- The legal framework should not be implemented too broad and too wide. In implementing criminal laws, paying attention to gender power dynamics, including the historical structures of domination and oppression of women and marginalized men should recognize that there might be control, coercion or duress at play, and that family members are not culpable merely by association.

- 'Support roles' which includes conduct other than direct engagement in violence and perpetration of terrorist acts should be criminalized in national jurisdictions as well.
- Women should be represented more in the criminal justice system including the fields of law-enforcement.
- The stop and search procedures in public for investigation of terrorist crimes should take into account women as potential perpetrators or collaborators of terrorist, but at the same time should avoid adverse effects of such operations on vulnerable populations, potentially women and girls who might have limited access to resources and services and limited freedom of movement in certain contexts.
- All bodily searches should be carried out by someone of the same sex.
- To avoiding secondary victimization when interviewing female suspects, victims and witnesses, it is better having female interviewer accompanied by a psychologist, assuring the interviewee about the measures taken for protecting female suspects against social stigmatization.

Female Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTFs)

- There is a need to increase the awareness of decision makers on the influential role female FTFs had and are currently having in conflict zones, which is highly likely to lead to dire results. Raising awareness could prompt more information sharing by the states, which could lead to identification of more FTFs and in some cases arrest.

Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV)

- Increasing awareness on SGBV is essential. It should be born in mind that victims of SGBV are not only women and girls, but also men and boys.
- SGBV should be criminalized in relation to terrorist offences and be taken seriously when developing rehabilitation programs for women and men associated with terrorism.

Disengagement, Deradicalization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DDRR)

- DDRR programs should be gender-responsive, taking into account the needs of different gender groups like women, girls, men and boys and ensuring the access of different gender groups to services and support provided by these programs.
- Before developing DDRR programs, there is a need to explore the issue of 'empowerment' in regard to the gender dynamics in a given society. DDRR programs should aim at empowering disadvantaged gender groups.
- Rehabilitation programs should always consider that women and men could be the victim of in-group gender-based violence.
- Women could be the victims of violent groups and terrorist groups, and should receive adequate rehabilitation support. Moreover, they should also be rehabilitated for the shame they felt because of inflicting violence on anyone or in case of non-existent direct violence, they can be feel ashamed for being part of induced violence by the terrorist group members.

Whole Person Approach to Rehabilitation and Reintegration

- Women who leave terrorist groups should be provided with assistance to have a safe place to live, find a job to ensure some economic stability, and reliable access to health care including mental health care.

Constraints of the Covid-19 Pandemic

- Covid-19 pandemic had a negative impact on the existing P/CVE and CT programs because of the changing funding priorities. In different contexts, this led to stalling the implementation of programs. Therefore, necessary measures should be taken to protect disadvantaged gender groups associated with terrorism and violent extremism in regard to overcome the constraints of the pro-longed pandemic.



COE-DAT ONLINE WORKSHOP

Gender in Terrorism and Counter-terrorism: Data, Analysis and Responses

15-17 June 2021

COE-DAT, Ankara, Turkey

Workshop Director: Col. Daniel W. STONE (USAF)
Workshop Co-Director: Ms. Demet UZUNOĞLU (TUR)
Workshop Academic Advisor: Dr. Zeynep SÜTALAN (TUR)
Workshop Assistant: Ms. Aslıhan SEVİM (TUR)
Rapporteur: Ms. Alice LÖHMUS (EST)
Rapporteur: Mrs. Nebahat TANRIVERDİ YAŞAR (TUR)

WORKSHOP PROGRAM

Tuesday, 15 June 2021 (1stDay)

14.10 - 14.35	COE-DAT Introduction & Admin Briefing Col. Daniel W. STONE (USAF), WS Director
14.35 - 14.45	Welcome Address , Col. Barbaros DAĞLI (TUR A), Director, COE-DAT
14.45 - 15.00	Break
15.00 - 17.00	Session – 1 Gender Analysis and Gender Perspectives in Countering Terrorism : Theory and Practice Moderator: Dr. Zeynep SÜTALAN (TUR)
15.00 - 15.20	<i>Gender Analysis in Counter-terrorism</i> – Dr. Phoebe DONNELLY (International Peace Institute, USA)
15.20 - 15.40	<i>Gender Analysis in the Military: Implications for the Counter-terrorism Context</i> – Maj. Linda JOHANSSON (NCGM, Sweden)
15.40 - 16.00	<i>Integrating a Gender Perspective into Counterterrorism: Focusing on Security and Justice Sectors</i> – Dr. Amrita KAPUR (DCAF - Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance)
16.00 - 17.00	Open Discussion
17.00 - 17.05	'Hot wash-up' of day 1 discussions

Wednesday, 16 June 2020 (2nd Day)

14.00 - 16.30	Session – 2 Gender Dimension of Criminal Justice Responses (CJR) to Terrorism Moderator: Dr. Zeynep SÜTALAN (TUR)
14.00 - 14.20	<i>Prosecution of Women associated with Terrorism: Reflections based on Sex-disaggregated Data</i> – Dr. Omi HODWITZ (University of Idaho, USA)
14.20 - 14.40	<i>Gender Dimension of Terrorism Offences and Prosecution</i> – Ms. Kate FITZPATRICK (UNODC)
14.40 - 15.00	<i>Female Foreign Terrorist Fighters: Data and Analysis</i> – Ms. Stephanie BAROUD (INTERPOL)
15.00 - 16.30	Open Discussion
16.30 - 16.35	'Hot wash-up' of day 2 discussions

Thursday, 17 June 2020 (3rd Day)

14.00 - 15.30	Session – 3 Gender-Responsive Disengagement, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DRR) Moderator: Dr. Zeynep SÜTALAN (TUR)
14.00 - 14.20	<i>Gender-responsive Approach to Disengagement: The case of PKK</i> – Mr. Tugay ZEHIR (Ministry of Interior, Turkey)
14.20 - 14.40	<i>Including 'Experience' in Age and Gender-Sensitive Reintegration Programs</i> – Ms. Shannon Foley MARTINEZ (Polarization & Extremism Research & Innovation Lab)
14.40 - 15.00	<i>Gender-Responsive Rehabilitation and Reintegration of Women in Boko Haram</i> – Dr. Fatima AKILU (Neem Foundation, Nigeria)
15.00 - 16.30	'Open Discussion
16.30 - 16.45	'Hot wash-up' of day 3 discussions and Closing Remarks

ANNEX-B

Biographies of the Speakers(in alphabetical order)

AMRITA KAPUR

Dr. Amrita Kapur is a gender thematic expert the Gender and Security Division of DCAF in Geneva, where she heads a project with PRAVO Justice in the Ukraine, partnering with the National School of Judges and Academy of Prosecutors to develop curriculum and training workshops to implement new laws targeting gender-based violence. In addition, she provides gender technical assistance and project management expertise to projects in North Macedonia, Colombia, Honduras, Yemen; and to other international organisations. She authored the DCAF/UN Women/OSCE-ODIHR Policy Brief on Gender and Preventing Violent Extremism. She has previously worked as an SGBV Analyst for the UN Fact-Finding Mission to Myanmar, and co-authored UNODC's handbook on gender dimensions of criminal justice responses to terrorism.



Prior to this, she consulted for UN Women and Control Arms while completing her PhD Thesis (UNSW, Australia) in international criminal law and conflict-related sexual violence with field research in Colombia and Guinea. She spent several years with the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) as a Senior Associate for the Gender Justice Program in New York, focusing on criminal prosecutions, truth-telling initiatives, security sector reform, and reparations programs. Over her career, Amrita has practised international and domestic criminal law, and designed and delivered gender-focused training for prosecutors, judges, police officers, parliamentarians, ministry and local government officials, truth commissioners, investigators and civil society organizations. Amrita also holds an LLM in International Law from NYU, as well as a Bachelor of Laws and Honours degree in Psychology from UNSW, Australia.

FATIMA AKILU

Dr. Fatima Akilu is the Executive Director of the Neem Foundation, a non-profit organization that addresses the root causes of radicalization and works to improve lives of people displaced by violence in Nigeria. She is a trained psychologist with over 25 years' experience in the fields of mental health, psychology, preventing violent extremism (PVE) and communications, and also pioneered Nigeria's first countering violent extremism (CVE) program. She holds a master's and a doctorate in psychology from the University of Reading and is a seasoned educator. She has overseen psychological support services to over 30,000 survivors of the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.



Dr. Fatima Akilu was appointed as Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the African Leadership Centre, King's College London, in 2020. Dr. Akilu is the Executive Director of the Neem Foundation in Nigeria. She is also a university educator and an advocate for marginalized groups and has worked in the area of psychology and health for more than two decades.

Dr. Akilu has had extensive experience working with forensic dually diagnosed mentally retarded women, violent offenders, and sex offenders. Prior to this, she was the head of communication for the Senior Special Assistant to the President on the Millennium Development Goals, and she was the Chairman of the Editorial Board Leadership Newspapers. Until recently, Dr. Akilu was the director of the Behavioural Analysis and Strategic Communication Unit at the Office of the National Security Advisor, which has developed a multi-pronged approach to countering violent extremism (CVE) that consists of prison deradicalization, counter-radicalization geared at building community resilience, and a strategic communication effort including public diplomacy and messaging. Nigeria's CVE program, which she has designed, also includes policy changes in the areas of education and mental health through the provision of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) counselling.

Dr Akilu is also a children's writer and hosted a weekly radio show, Radio Psych, which discusses social and psychological issues. She holds a bachelor's degree in English, a master's in Research Methods in Psychology and Ph.D. in Psychology from Reading University in Berkshire, U.K. Dr. Akilu has authored more than 17 children's books and has published articles on homelessness and mental health.

KATE FITZPATRICK

Ms. Kate Fitzpatrick has worked with the Terrorism Prevention Branch of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) since 2012. She serves as the Branch lead on gender and the links between transnational organized crime and terrorism and covers Nigeria and Southern Africa within the Section responsible for Sub-Saharan Africa.

From 2012 to 2013, Ms. Fitzpatrick worked in the Office of the Chief for the Terrorism Prevention Branch, focusing on counter-terrorism policy and programming globally. Previously, Ms. Fitzpatrick worked for 8 years in the United States Senate serving as a senior advisor on national security and criminal justice issues for the Appropriations Committee.

Ms. Fitzpatrick holds a Master's Degree in International Relations from the University of Cambridge in the United Kingdom and a Bachelor's Degree in Political Science from the University of Notre Dame in the United States.



LINDA JOHANSSON

Linda Johansson is the Officer in Charge of Capability and Liaison Section at the Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations (NCGM). She has been a Major at Swedish Armed Forces since 2010.

Her previous assignments include; Gender Advisor at NATO ISAF Command, Regional Command North, Operational analyst at FOI Swedish Defence Research Agency, Instructor Course Director for the Gender Field Advisor Course at Swedish Armed Forces International Center (SWEDINT), Gender Field Advisor at NATO ISAF Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT)- MES, Senior Administrator and Project Officer at Plans and Policy Department of Swedish Armed Forces (SwAF) Headquarters.



OMI HODWITZ

Dr. Omi Hodwitz is a criminologist and Assistant Professor in the Department of Culture, Society, and Justice at the University of Idaho.

Prior to becoming a professor, Dr. Hodwitz was a researcher at the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) Center at the University of Maryland. This is also where she received her Ph.D. after completing dissertation work examining the intersection between civil society and terrorist organizations.



Dr. Hodwitz specializes in quantitative research examining the influence of policies and practices on violent and extremist behavior. She is the director of the Terrorism Recidivism Study (TRS), a large-scale data project that tracks and reports incidents of terrorist recidivism in the United States and abroad. She also directs the Aviation Attack Database (AAD), which records all violent attacks directed towards the global aviation industry.

Dr. Hodwitz has delivered guest lectures and trainings on data collection, analysis, and policy assessment to academic, practitioner, and military audiences in North America, Europe, MENA, and Asia.

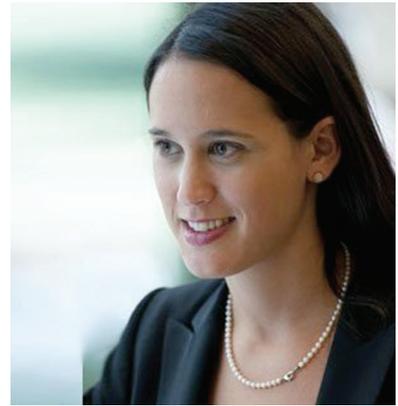
She has published an assortment of journal articles, chapters, and research reports on violence and extremism, as well as instructive guides for the counterterrorism community on conducting high quality and ethically sound research.

PHOEBE DONNELLY

Phoebe Donnelly is a Research Fellow and the Head of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Program at the International Peace Institute. Phoebe is also a Women and Public Policy Research Fellow at Harvard Kennedy School and a Visiting Fellow at Feinsein International Center.

Dr. Donnelly received her PhD in International Relations from The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. Her dissertation *Wedded to Warfare: Forced Marriage in Rebel Groups* won the Peter Ackerman Award for the outstanding doctoral dissertation at The Fletcher School in 2019. Phoebe's research has been featured in several media outlets including BBC Radio, CNN, The Guardian, and The Huffington Post. Her writing has also been published by Global Society and Small Wars and Insurgencies.

Previously, Dr. Donnelly was the Stanley Kaplan Postdoctoral Fellow at Williams College where she taught courses on gender and conflict and security in Africa. Her past experience also includes serving as the Associate Director of the Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights at the University of Massachusetts-Boston and as a Legislative Correspondent for Senator Richard Blumenthal. Phoebe earned a Master of Arts in Law in Diplomacy from The Fletcher School in 2013 and a Bachelor of Arts from The University of Wisconsin-Madison in 2008.



SHANNON FOLEY MARTINEZ

Shannon Foley Martinez has worked within at-risk communities teaching and developing dynamic resiliency skills. She has helped to build preventative models of counter-extremism, focusing on family values, the importance of individual empathy, and intersectional consciousness inclusive of race, class, gender, and sexuality. Since leaving the white supremacist movement over 25 years ago, Ms. Foley Martinez has been equal to the grueling task of educating others and building expertise within herself. She advocates the amplification and protection of Black, Indigenous, Latinx, immigrant, and LGBTQ voices; as well as using her own to advocate and educate at every opportunity how to build a better community for a better tomorrow.



She works as a consultant with American University's Polarization and Extremism Research and Innovation Lab (PERIL), as well as an independent consultant. She has worked for school systems, nonprofits, and community organizations as well as having participated in a myriad of programs over her years of education within her field, building and sharing expertise.

Ms. Foley Martinez has worked with such entities as: The UN Office of Counter-Terrorism, National Counterterrorism Center, Department of Homeland Security, State Department, Hedayah, The Center for the Prevention of Radicalization Leading to Violence, UN Women, and The National Academies of Science, Engineering, and Medicine. Her story has been featured in global media. Her voice can sometimes be heard on news outlets such as Al Jazeera, MSNBC, CNN, BBC, and NPR.

STEPHANIE BAROUD

Stephanie Baroud is a Criminal Intelligence Analyst in the Terrorist Analysis Unit at INTERPOL. Stephanie covers terrorism-related events and intelligence in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region and handles operational and strategic analysis relevant to the region. Stephanie also delivers basic criminal intelligence analysis trainings to INTERPOL member countries in Arabic, English and French.



Prior to her current role at the Counter-Terrorism Directorate, Stephanie worked on transnational organized crime in Africa with a special focus on the North Africa region. In this position, she coordinated with INTERPOL National Central Bureaus in the region, participated in field missions aimed at gathering information and was involved in multiple capacity building endeavors directed towards strengthening member countries' criminal analysis capabilities.

TUGAY ZEHİR

Tugay Zehir has served as Public Order and Security Expert for five years between 2014 - 2018 in the Undersecretariat of Public Order and Security and he is currently working as Internal Affairs Expert in the Department of Internal Security Strategies in Ministry of Interior.

He wrote an expertise thesis in 2017 by the name of *Historical Development of Suicide Attacks and Examples of PKK-DAESH*. The purposes of his study were to examine the conceptual/historical framework of suicide attacks, give an outline of methods/tools that are used in this attacks, examine the suicide attackers and especially analyze the suicide attacks of DAESH and PKK terrorist organizations in Turkey.

His main research areas are domestic security, radicalisation, counter-terrorism, suicide terrorism, foreign terrorist fighters and he has conducted a number of projects relating to these areas.

He holds a bachelor's degree in Political Science and International Relations from the Yıldız Technical University.



ANNEX-C

SUGGESTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aborisade, Richard A. and Sunday S. Adedayo. "Gender and Sentencing in the Nigerian Justice System: Are Women Given Preferential Treatments?" *Gender and Behaviour* 18, no.2 (2020): 15581-15590.
- Baines, Erin. "Forced Marriage as a Political Project: Sexual Rules and Relations in the Lord's Resistance Army." *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 3 (May 1, 2014): 405-17.
- Bindler, Anna and Randi Hjalmarsson. "The Persistence of the Criminal Justice Gender Gap: Evidence from 200 Years of Judicial Decisions." *The Journal of Law and Economics* 63, no.2 (May 2020): 297-339.
- Brown, Katherine E. "Once a Terrorist, Always a Terrorist? How to Respond to the Women of Daesh?" *RUSI Newsbrief* 39, no.1 (January/February 2019).
- Carlson, Khristopher and Dyan Mazurana, "Forced Marriage within the Lord's Resistance Army, Uganda." *Report*. Medford, MA: Feinstein International Center, May 2008.
- Chatsverykova, Iryna. "Severity and Leniency in Criminal Sentencing in Russia: The Effects of Gender and Family Ties." *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* 41, no.3 (2017): 185-209.
- Cohn, Carol, ed. *Women & War*. Cambridge: Polity, 2013.
- Doerner, Jill K. and Stephen Demuth. "Gender and Sentencing in the Federal Courts: Are Women Treated More Leniently?" *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 25, no.2 (2014): 242-269.
- Donnelly, Phoebe. *Demystifying Gender Analysis for Research on Violent Extremism*. Washington, D.C.: RESOLVE Network, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.37805/rve2021.2>.
- Durriesmith, David. "Is Manhood a Causal Factor in the Shifting Nature of War?: The Case of Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United Front." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 16, no. 2 (April 3, 2014): 236-54.
- Enloe, Cynthia. *Bananas, Beaches & Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Enloe, Cynthia. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Galica, Natalia. "Lifting the Veil: The Impact of Framing on Sentencing Disparities between Males and Females Convicted of Terrorism since the Rise of ISIS." *UIC John Marshall Law Review* 53, no.1 (2020): 114-162.
- Ní Aoláin, Fionnuala. "Position of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms While Countering Terrorism on the Human Rights of Adolescents/juveniles Being Detained in North-East Syria." May 2021, available at https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Terrorism/SR/UNSRCT_Position_human-rights-of-boys-adolescents-2021_final.pdf
- OSCE/ODHIR. *Guidelines for Addressing the Threats and Challenges of "Foreign Terrorist Fighters" within a Human Rights Framework*. Warsaw, 2018.
- Philippe, Arnaud. "Gender Disparities in Sentencing." *Economica* 87, no.348 (2020): 1037-1077.
- Pina-Sanchez, Jose and Lydon Harris. "Sentencing Gender? Investigating the Presence of Gender Disparities in Crown Court Sentences." *Criminal Law Review* 1, no.1 (2020): 3-28.
- Schmidt, Rachel. "Duped: Examining Gender Stereotypes in Disengagement and Deradicalization Practices". *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (2020), DOI: [10.1080/1057610X.2020.1711586](https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2020.1711586)
- Stern, Orly. "The Invisible Women of al-Shabaab: Understanding the role of women in, and their influence on sons, husbands and brothers in, the process of joining al-Shabaab, defecting from al-Shabaab, rehabilitation, and reintegration." *Adam Smith International* (September 2019), available at <http://www.orlystern.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/The-Invisible-Women-of-al-Shabaab-.pdf>.
- Strommen, Esther E.J. "Jihadi Brides or Female Foreign Fighters? Women in Da'esh – from Recruitment to Sentencing." *GPS Policy Brief*. Oslo: PRIO Centre on Gender, Peace, and Security, 2017.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN). *Invisible Women: Gendered Dimensions of Return, Reintegration and Rehabilitation*. Report. New York: UNDP, 2019.
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). *Handbook on Gender Dimensions of Criminal Justice Responses to Terrorism*. Vienna: United Nations, 2019.
- United Nations Security Council Counter-terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED). *CTED Analytical Brief: The Prosecution of ISIL-associated Women*. 2020, available at https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/ctc/sites/www.un.org.securitycouncil.ctc/files/files/documents/2021/Jan/cted_analytical_brief_the_prosecution_of_isil-associated_women.pdf



Terörizmle Mücadele Mükemmeliyet Merkezi
Devlet Mah. İnönü Bul. No: 65
Kırsızdere, Ankara-TURKEY
Phone : +90 312 425 82 15 PBX
Fax : +90 312 425 64 89
info@coedat.nato.int
www.coedat.nato.int