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I Have a Story, Too: Suicide Bombers, Borders, and Peripheral Narratives[*]

Introduction

The narrative presented about a suicide bombing in the wake of the attack often follows a similar narrative: a devout male Muslim straps on a bomb, wears clothing that disguises the device, travels to a crowded area, and detonates a bomb, immediately killing himself, and injuring or killing those around them.[1] The motivations for male attackers vary, but many times the news media suggests that the actor's goal was to reach the coveted position of martyrdom in Islam while ignoring that Islam prohibits suicide. This narrative template is repeatedly used for male suicide bombers, but how can the same template be reused when each actor has individual motivations for their attack? Furthermore, what happens when the suicide bomber is female? How do news media narratives about motivations for the use of violence change when the protagonist is female? What happens when narratives about the rationales for suicide bombers are re-interpreted through artistic means?

In this paper, I argue that narratives regarding women's motivations for using violence are reframed within preexisting cultural constructions about gender in order to make women's violence more comprehensible to a general audience. Reframing narratives about women's use of violence offers a way to learn about a woman's character in order to understand how she came to utilize violence.[2] Someone may not understand how or why a woman became a suicide

bomber, but one may understand a woman being a bad mother. This paper explores how narratives about motivations for suicide bombers change both based on gender and across news and artistic media; both male and female suicide bombers have distinctly personal motivations, often related to the actor's own biography, but these motivations are discussed differently across multiple media. To make my argument, I utilize news media sources from the United States in English, and works of art exhibited globally post-9/11 during the era known as the Global War on Terror.[3] The point of this comparison is not to consider how violence is represented, or what the purpose of art is, but to analyze how motivations for violence are represented, narrated, and reconstructed. My argument is also not meant to imply that male motivations for using violence are not reframed by the news media because men are inherently violent, but instead aims to analyze how gender frames stories about the use of violence.

Critical Interlocutors

In this literature review, I will cover two main topics: the literature on artistic representations of suicide bombers, and the social science literature on motivations of both male and female suicide bombers.[4] I include the social science literature on suicide bombing as a way to offer a framework for how and why people choose to become suicide bombers, especially since motivations for attacks can be left unknown, or can go undiscussed by reporters. Since the advent of female suicide bombers is more recent, it is important to use the social science literature to understand the lineage of female suicide bombers and their rationales. I do not discuss the literature on representations of violence because the scope is too vast, and because this paper is concerned with representations of motivations for violence, not representations of violence itself. I am concerned with the way that most motivations for suicide bombing are

personal and related to an actor's biography, but yet news media reports about attacks include only extensive personal biographies and motivations when women are the violent protagonists.

There is little scholarship on artistic representations of suicide bombers. Most of the literature focuses on two ideas: the aesthetics of filmed martyrdom testimonies; or why an artist chose to make work about suicide bombers (for example, the artist's own political affiliations). Ross Birrell's "The Gift of Terror: Suicide-Bombing as Potlatch" (2005) considers the economy of suicide terrorism, which challenges the capitalist logic of accumulation and growth, and sees "revolutionary martyrdom as an anti-capitalist strategy in that suicide-bombing follows the sacrificial logic of the gift," as well as a ritual obligation more so than an individual choice.[5] The relationship between art and suicide bombing in Birrell's essay builds on the ritual ceremony of potlatch to allow Birrell to see the "general economy of the obligation to give, to receive and to repay the gift of terror."[6]

Khaled Ramadan's "Suicide-Bombers/Martyrs' Videos and Site-Specific Art" (2005) analyzes the aesthetics of martyrdom testimonies, which are filmed in private spaces, and serve as an actor's last chance to address the masses. Ramadan describes Middle Eastern martyrdom videos as taking place in private homes with carpet or fabric backgrounds with images of spiritual leaders and guns nearby; these videos serve as a way for an actor to state the justification for their attack in order to gain attention.[7] Finally, Joshua Simon's "The Aesthetics of Terror in General and Suicide Bomber Videos in Particular" (2011) examines the formal aspects of images of Palestinian suicide bombers in relation to contemporary video works, photography, and painting in order to see these images as a part of an apparatus of terror.[8] While all three essays consider the martyrdom testimonies of suicide bombers, their appearance, and their purpose, none of these authors consider how an actor's motivations factor into the making

of these testimonies, and how their testimonies are presented in the news versus through artistic means. Furthermore, these essays do not consider the cultural frameworks through which suicide bombers are depicted or interpreted posthumously.

Although this paper does not make an argument about how or why one chooses to become a suicide bomber, it is important to review the scholarly thought regarding the goals of suicide bombing, and why one might become a suicide bomber. Most reasons for becoming a suicide bomber are deeply personal, even though these motivations are not always conveyed. In *Dying to Kill* (2005)*,* Mia Bloom looks at violence, political motivations, the deliberate nature of suicide bombing, as well as the target audience of an attack in order to define suicide bombing as "a violent, politically motivated attack, carried out in a deliberate state of awareness by a person who blows himself or herself up together with a chosen target. The premeditated certain death of the perpetrator is the precondition for the success of the attack."[9] Unlike terrorism where success is defined by achieving a certain goal, suicide bombing depends on the death of the actor for its success, which is then quantified and qualified by the number of victims and the attention gained. The death of the actor is important because it disrupts the power balance in asymmetric conflict (which relies on the differential between one strong actor and one weak actor) and annihilates "the entire logic of power," since there is no way to retaliate "against someone who has no desire to survive."[10]

What causes someone to want to use his or her life as a weapon? Not only do motivations vary, but prior to an attack, a suicide bomber's mental state or motivations can be left unknown. Attackers sometimes leave written or recorded messages, but those messages are sometimes questioned, as it can be unclear if the actor was given a script, or if the actor was under duress when writing or filming said message. Farhad Khosrokhavar's *Suicide Bombers: Allah's New*

Martyrs (2005) discusses how each instance of suicide bombing is individualistic in nature, making it difficult to generalize why someone would use their life as a weapon. Khosrokhavar suggests that martyrs are not "Allah's madmen," nor do they suffer from dementia, personality disorders, nor are they out of step with the West.[11] His research is important for working against the stereotype that suicide bombers are uneducated, impoverished, and mentally ill. Opposing Khosrokhavar's assertions, Barbara Victor argues that the fatal cocktail for suicide bombers is the religious doctrine of eternal life, economic and social deprivation, nationalistic fervor, and the hardships of an occupying force.[12] The ingredients of Victor's list may seem like a generalization, but the individual pieces of this fatal cocktail vary from person to person.

Scholars across sociology, political science, journalism, and more have worked to understand motivations for suicide bombing. There is significantly more scholarship analyzing the motivations of male suicide bombers because they have a much longer history. Bloom analyzes social, cultural, religious, and material incentives, suggesting that there is no one profile for suicide bombers; however, she notes there are often a few common denominators: the suicide bombers are likely young, impressionable, and driven by humiliation or injustice; they may suffer from PTSD, or have anger towards the state; they desire remembrance as a hero or a martyr, and look to give their lives significance; and they may also adhere to religious ideologies featuring a subculture of martyrdom.[13] Robert Pape argues that motivations for males can include economic helplessness, social conflict, religious indoctrination, feeling like a social misfit in an otherwise normal life, and foreign occupation.[14] Scott Atran adds to Pape's work that the majority of male suicide bombers are generally educated, but are in a transitional state, causing them to seek suicide bombing as an alternative to an uncertain future.[15] Victor describes how male suicide bombers tend to be under 30, religious (but notably, only a small subset of suicide

bombers align themselves with Islam), unmarried, politicized, and unemployed, also finding a lack of prospects available to them.[16] Given the longer history of male suicide bombing, and the amount of research about their motivations, there is a detailed list of potential triggers, although no one profile encompasses all male suicide bombers.[17] Furthermore, each of these factors is deeply personal.

Female suicide bombers are a more recent phenomenon. The use of female suicide bombers is on the rise, but it is still harder to create a typology of female suicide bombers. Jessica Davis' study "Evolution of the Global Jihad: Female Suicide Bombers in Iraq" (2013) analyzes the global use of suicide bombers. She suggests that between 1978 and 2003, there were less than thirty suicide bombers across the world; in 2003 alone, there were over twenty female suicide bombers globally; in 2008, there were roughly forty; by 2012, it dipped below five.[18] More recently, a 2018 study from the Institute for National Security Studies suggests that while there were 348 suicide attacks carried out in twenty-three countries in 2017, which was the lowest number of attacks since 2013, 137 of the 348 suicide bombers were women and girls.[19] This is a large difference from the Institute's 2017 study suggesting that out of the 469 suicide bombers in twenty-eight countries in 2016, women carried out only forty-four.[20] There were 124 women attackers in 2015, fifteen in 2014, and five in 2013.[21]

While it is harder to create a typology of female suicide bombers, several authors argue that there are common factors regarding how women come to utilize violence. In *Female Suicide Bombers* (2006)*, Rosemary Skaine offers a comparison of secular versus religious female suicide bombers, but offers no conclusive results for why women become suicide bombers.[22] Bloom suggests that women's motives vary from "revenge for a personal loss, the desire to redeem the family name, to escape a life of sheltered monotony and achieve fame, and to level the

patriarchal societies in which they live," adding that many of these women may have been raped or sexually abused in their life.[23] Anat Berko approaches the issue of female suicide bombers from the perspective of Palestinian hatred towards Israeli Jews. Berko suggests that even if a group sponsors a female suicide bomber, the female's actions are still voluntary; motivations still vary and can be left unknown because of women's oppression in Arab society. Berko adds the caveat that there are a few exceptions where women are "volunteered" in order to right a wrong.[24] In Berko's second book, *The Smarter Bomb* (2012), she categorizes female suicide bombers based on those who act in the name of religious fervor as compared to those who have lived hard lives and are looking to find honor or redemption.[25] Davis more recently analyzed women terrorists based on group participation, suggesting that women's involvement in terrorism changes based on group ideology.[26] There are some general characteristics regarding female suicide bombers, but there is no one universal profile. However, like male suicide bombers, their motivations are also personal.

I agree with the consensus offered by the scholars presented here that while there are many shared motivations showing a broad typology for male and female suicide bombers, there is no one profile for all suicide bombers, or a checklist for why people become suicide bombers based on gender.[27] Each case is individualistic in nature, and is complicated by social, personal, political, religious, and economic factors, as well as group affiliation. When the news media portrays male suicide bombers through the same general narrative mentioned in this introduction, it neglects the nuanced aspects of the situation, and the complex history that led them to make the decision to utilize violence. Furthermore, when the news media portrays female suicide bombers based on the idea of "mythical archetypes," a concept I will discuss later in this paper, it groups women into certain classifications that generalizes their histories in order to understand

how a woman came to utilize violence. While elaborating upon an actor's use of violence is problematic because one does not want to glorify violence, it is important to understand the dynamics of the situation in order to prevent future attacks, meaning that generalizations and cookie-cutter narratives are problematic. Since there is no one universal checklist for the motivations of suicide bombers, there should not be one universal way of telling their stories or reporting on attacks. Thus, my analysis considers how gender shapes narratives about the motivations of suicide bombers; all motivations for becoming a suicide bomber are deeply personal, but in the news media, only women are given extensive, personal biographies. I move beyond the existing literature on art and suicide bombing to consider how narratives regarding how representations of suicide bombers' rationales change when they move from the documentary to the artistic realm. I also consider how audiences react when artists represent suicide bombers in ways that break away from traditional news media representations.

Theoretical Framework

As a theoretical framework for my analysis, I utilize Dan Berkowitz's concept of "mythical archetypes" for two reasons: one, it allows me to discuss how motivations of female suicide bombers are represented differently than those of male suicide bombers in the news media; and second, it offers a method for comparing how the motivations of female suicide bombers are represented across different media. Berkowitz proposes the idea of the "mythical archetype" in order to critically assess the difference in news media coverage of male and female suicide bombers, and the motivations for their attacks. After systematically reviewing news media coverage of female suicide bombers from the United States and the United Kingdom, Berkowitz argues that we can understand the difference between representations of suicide bombers and

their motivations based on the "mythical archetype," which suggests that the media adapts the narrative of a female suicide bomber to fit into preexisting cultural notions about the societal boundaries that women operate in as a way to understand their actions.[28] In other words, because the audience does not understand why a woman would do something like become a suicide bomber, the news media invokes a mythical archetype to adapt her story to fit an idea the audience may already have about women in order to make the suicide bomber's actions comprehensible. The audience may not understand the motivations of a female suicide bomber, but they understand how a woman could be a bad mother. While the idea of "mythical archetypes" suggests that there are certain patterns of reporting, it also suggests that there are societal constructions about the limits of femininity and violence.

Berkowitz lays out the various "mythical archetypes" in two different articles. First, in "Suicide Bombers as Women Warriors: Making News through Mythical Archetypes" (2005), Berkowitz considers how journalists needed a new framework for reporting about female suicide bombers. This leads to the advent of the "Woman Warrior" archetype, an idea present in contemporary society with Xena or Charlie's Angels, to tell the story of female Palestinian suicide bombers.[29] Male suicide bombers were previously cast as the Trickster, but this model was not sufficient for female suicide bombers.[30] To support his argument, Berkowitz explains the importance of myth for journalists because it allows them to frame their stories through "narrative conventions that are culturally resonant."[31] The myth of the "Woman Warrior" as an archetype relies on toughness, smartness, beauty, sexuality, and defiance, and fighting a "Just Fight" to save society. When Wafa Idris became the first female suicide bomber for the Palestinian cause, she and the four other females who followed her were portrayed as "Women Warriors" because their lives and their actions bore some resemblance to the archetype of the

"Woman Warrior."[32] These women were considered warriors because they were not afraid to give up their lives for the Palestinian cause, and to fight for what they believed in.

When Reem Riyashi became the seventh female Palestinian suicide bomber, the idea of the "Woman Warrior" was no longer sufficient. Unlike Idris and the first four women who followed her, Riyashi was not a single woman that acted alone. Dan Berkowitz and Qi Ling wrote "From Woman Warrior to Innocent Child: Telling Gendered News Stories of Women Terrorists" (2016) in order to explore a larger variety of mythical archetypes available. Berkowitz and Ling state that there are many "culturally resonant gender-specific myths to help both journalist and audiences make sense of social life and maintain gender order."[33] They add three new archetypes to that of the "Woman Warrior": "Terrible Mother," "Female Monster," and "Innocent Child." The "Innocent Child" refers to teenage girls and young women living in the West who travel to join terrorist groups because they were too young, innocent, or immature to know better. "Terrible Mother" applies to women like Reem Riyashi who left her children behind to enact a suicide operation; this also applies to women like Faduma Jama, or Mama Shabab, who married the leader of Al-Shabab and used her maternal instincts to become a recruiter. Finally, "Female Monster" refers to divorced or widowed women who also use their maternal instincts to work for terrorist organizations as "recruiters, propagandists, trainers, fundraisers, attackers or even commanders within terror groups."[34] Berkowitz and Ling's "mythical archetypes" are important to understand how the news media frames women's violence to make it comprehensible for a more general audience. Furthermore, "mythical archetypes" also offer insight into social constructions of femininity that seem necessary for explaining women's violence.

I would like to offer two case studies to make the argument that narratives about motivations of suicide bombers change not only based on gender, but also as they move from news to artistic media. The framework of "mythical archetypes" offers a way to compare the use of women's biographies across different media, and as a comparison for the lack of biography used to explain a man's actions, despite both actors having personal motivations. Although this paper focuses on gender, biography, and representations of biography, there are many other layers to this comparison that are relevant for future scholarship, including: male versus female suicide bomber, Lebanese versus Palestinian suicide bomber, male artist representing male suicide bomber versus a husband-wife-artist-duo representing a female suicide bomber, reception after public presentation (such as in a gallery or a museum), whether or not a mythical archetype is invoked, and more. My first case study considers how the news media represents Jamal al-Sati, a Lebanese male suicide bomber, and the absence of his biography. I will compare it to how Rabih Mroué, a male Lebanese artist, represents al-Sati through the use of al-Sati's biography. My second case study will consider how the news media represents female suicide bombers, such as Reem Riyashi, and the prominence of her biography. I will compare this to how Swedish-Israeli husband-wife-artist-duo Dror and Gunilla Sköld Feiler represent Hanadi Jaradat and her biography. Not only does this comparison show that narratives about motivations for the use of violence vary based on gender, but it also shows the ability of different media to create a more nuanced view of a situation. By changing the media, and reframing the narrative, the works themselves become the controversy more so than the suicide bombers and their motivations, which ends up pushing the narrative regarding motivations for violence back towards the original framework used by news media.

Case Study 1: Jamal al-Sati

When reporting on male suicide bombers, the bomber's actions stand alone in news media reports and are not accompanied by a framework for understanding a man's use of violence, or his biography. Narratives may include a man's association with a religious or political group, but this does not always explain how a man came to utilize violence. In the case of Jamal al-Sati, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that "A suicide bomber riding a mule detonated saddle baskets full of explosives Tuesday in the south Lebanon border town of Hasbayya, killing himself and the animal and wounding at least one person."[35] The article presented context about Lebanon, and added that the Syrian Social National Party claimed Jamal al-Sati as the bomber, describing him as a 23-year-old Sunni Muslim student and Communist party military chief.[36] The *New York Times* wrote a very similar piece about Jamal al-Sati's attack, stating that "A man riding a mule detonated saddle baskets full of explosives in South Lebanon today," adding that the National Resistance Front claimed the attack by Lebanese Communist Party military chief Jamal al-Sati.[37] The case of Jamal al-Sati's suicide bombing is metonymic of representations by the news media regarding male motivations for the use of violence: the same overarching narrative is used, which is one that presents the anonymous, violent male as a national security threat, and describes the event in terms of international conflict, or a national security situation. The story contains rather general language, sometimes not even naming the male actor, and offering little explanation for why he decided to become a suicide bomber. The actor's biography is largely ignored, and the political or cultural context for violence becomes more important than why the actor came to the personal decision to utilize violence. This template can change though when there are abnormal events, such as when an American citizen becomes a suicide bomber.[38]

The story of suicide bomber Jamal al-Sati inspired Rabih Mroué to create *Three Posters* in 2000.[39] Lebanese artist Rabih Mroué is known for his many works that focus on violence as well the history of Lebanon.[40] *Three Posters* is a seventeen-minute performance turned video that was a part of the exhibit *The Anxious: Five Artists Under the Pressure of War* at Espace 315 at the Centre Pompidou in Paris.[41] Before al-Sati's suicide operation, he created three takes of a testimony that explained his biography and broadly outlined his inspiration for the attack; he ended the video by saying goodbye to the world as if the operation had already occurred.[42] Al-Sati was not a religious actor, but a secular resistance fighter.[43] While al-Sati made three takes, only the final take was broadcast on Tele-Liban.[44] The content of al-Sati's films, mainly the parts of his biography he discussed, did not factor into news media coverage in the United States regarding his attack. Mroué obtained the original copies of al-Sati's three takes from the Lebanese Communist Party and was inspired by the way al-Sati attempted to create an idealized image of himself before his death, and how in the process of making himself a hero and a martyr, al-Sati revealed himself as human.[45] Anna Hiddleston elaborates on Mroué's idea of personhood by explaining that in al-Sati's three takes of his farewell video he stutters and struggles with language and piecing his thoughts together about his martyrdom, thereby showing his humanity.[46] Birrell also notes that al-Sati's gaze gets lost, suggesting his struggle with the human condition and his upcoming actions.[47]

Mroué's *Three Posters* is a transforms al-Sati's original three takes into three new narratives. Throughout the three takes, Mroué pays great attention to detail, mimicking not only the stutter of al-Sati's original testimony, but also the way al-Sati spoke in past tense as if the act was over before the camera went on.[48] In take one, actor one, played by Mroué, is framed by the Lebanese Communist Party flag. Take one tells the story of Khaled Rahhal, or Ahmad Rahhal,

who declares his "last call" before his martyrdom operation. Actor one (Mroué) explains

Rahhal's biography, highlighting his inability to obtain the education he wanted, and discussing

how his old chemistry teacher was also a martyr. Take two shows the actor (Mroué) following

the same script as take one with only minor variations in language. Take three continues in the

same manner as the first two takes until the end when the actor (Mroué) apologizes to his

parents, whom he says may not understand his actions, and goes on to list great martyrs. Actor

one (Mroué) then breaks character, and reveals himself as the artist, who is also a member of the

Lebanese Communist Party, just like al-Sati was. Mroué clarifies that he was telling the story of

Khaled or Ahmad Rahhal, a martyr who died in the 1987 clashes in West Beirut. Mroué explains

to the audience that his work is an homage to all the martyrs, and proceeds to present the videos

of al-Sati's original testimony.[49] In the original performance, Mroué would perform the three

takes live and then join the audience to watch al-Sati's original testimonials.[50]

Unlike the way the news media portrayed al-Sati's attack as just another act of violence,

Mroué uses his performance/video as a way to contemplate al-Sati's motivations and intentions

in a way that humanizes someone who had been demonized by society. Mroué does this by

telling Rahhal's story as if Mroué were al-Sati, in turn showing how many people may identify

with the same general biography and suggesting that al-Sati's life experiences may be more of

the norm than the outlier. In doing so, Mroué does not advocate for violence, but shows the

conditions in society that can lead to violence. By allowing al-Sati to speak for himself when his

voice had otherwise been silenced, Mroué shows how al-Sati was formerly a person who

operated within the margins of what is deemed normal in society today. By analyzing al-Sati's

language, and performing the biography of the martyr Rahhal before showing al-Sati's

martyrdom testimonies, Mroué uses biography to offer the viewer an explanation that the news

media did not give, which is one that recognizes the humanity of an individual despite his violent actions, and shows that individuals may come to use violence even though they are not inherently violent.

Mroué's decision to portray one person's journey to martyrdom was not well received. *Three Posters* incited a sense of rage regarding the way that the martyr, who is seen as a menace in society, came alive. As a result, showings stopped in Lebanon because viewers thought the work promoted suicide bombers as heroes. Mroué's motivations and intentions were irrelevant to the enraged audience.[51] In light of the attacks of 9/11, the press interpreted the performance as too close to contemporary events and not as a biographic interpretation of al-Sati's life.[52] The press also missed the "radically different political context": al-Sati was a secular fighter.[53] In an interview with Maria Hlavajova, Jill Winder, and Cosmin Costinas, Mroué said that he and Elias Khoury (who was Mroué's partner in the creation and performance of *Three Posters)* would never perform *Three Posters* again because "it became readily appropriated by the media for their own questionable purposes and agendas."[54] Mroué vowed to never create a work like this again. In Mroué's attempts to break away from generalized narratives by including al-Sati's biography, the audience pushed his video/performance back into the framework of the news media that the audience was familiar with.

Case Study 2: Hanadi Jaradat

While it became the artist's job to understand the biography and motivations of a male suicide bomber when the news media ignored a man's personal motivations for utilizing violence, for female suicide bombers, biography is heavily emphasized. News reports about female suicide bombers vary greatly from their male counterparts. Instead of emphasizing the radicalized male

as a security crisis, the issue is the beleaguered female, and how she violently acts upon her emotions. Stories about females more often name the actors explicitly, and then continue on to a very specific "deep-dive" discussing the actor's family (including parents, siblings, extended family, as well as whether or not the suicide bomber had a spouse and children), education, religious background, and political affiliations; information about the female actor may come from interviews with family and friends when asking for their reactions to the events. Furthermore, the language used to write these stories is incredibly descriptive and filled with floral adjectives, sometimes even with colorful headlines emphasizing the sly and deceptive nature of violent women.[55] When the names of the female suicide bombers are unknown, the narrative shifts to emphasize the deceptiveness of women and how they were able to enact their suicide operation despite security mechanisms in place.

A woman's biography becomes relevant in these news stories to understand how a woman came to use violence when violence is supposedly not in a woman's nature. In the case of Palestinian female suicide bombers, it is important to note that Palestinian women's activism did not begin with suicide bombing, but was relevant earlier, such as during the 1987 Intifada when women created informational materials and helped organize protests. During the second Intifada in 2000, the nature of the uprisings changed, and suicide bombing became the newest weapon of terror deemed the "smart bomb" of the poor. Suicide bombings had strategic advantages: they were efficient. The perpetrator could not be caught or interrogated. Actors became infamous for their efforts, making it easier to use one person's story as a way to recruit more actors. One person who recognized the strategic uses of suicide bombing was Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. On January 27th, 2002, Arafat called Palestinian women to come listen to him speak in Ramallah. In his speech, he stressed the importance of women in the Intifada,

arguing that "women and men are equal." He proclaimed that women were his "army of roses" who would aid in the fight to liberate their people.[56]

Later in the day on January 27th, 2002, Wafa Idris became the first female suicide bomber in the name of the Palestinian struggle. Both Victor and Berko similarly describe the events of the day: Idris was supposedly going to work at the Red Crescent, but instead, she went through a checkpoint in an ambulance before carrying out her attack.[57] Whereas the news media reported on Jamal al-Sati by noting the date and location of his attack, and al-Sati's political and religious affiliations, the news media spent significantly more time looking into Idris' biography. A woman's political or religious affiliations were not enough; there was a search for a larger backstory or biography that explained how a woman came to use violence. The quest to understand Idris' actions led to the creation of a framework that could be used to report on the use of female suicide bombers. In a *New York Times* article from January 31st, 2002, titled "Arab Woman's Path to Unlikely 'Martyrdom'", James Bennet immediately presents the details of Idris' life. In the first paragraph, he says:

> Here are a few details from the abbreviated life of Wafa Idris: She was born in a refugee camp, conditioned to militancy by the first Palestinian uprising against Israel, divorced by a husband disappointed over their failure to have children, enraged as she picked up and patched the Palestinian wounded of the current conflict. (New York Times, "Arab Woman's Path to Unlikely 'Martyrdom'," January 31st, 2002)

Bennet's article goes on to discuss the events of the day; whether or not the attack was intentional; the presence of nationalist fervor; pieces of interviews with family and friends; and most importantly, a discussion of Idris' recent divorce after a miscarriage.[58] The report done by Inigo Gilmore at *The Telegraph* is similar to Bennet's, discussing how Idris lived through the Israel/Palestine Conflict for many years, and how she also suffered many personal failures, such as failing at school, and divorce after infertility.[59] In their books, both Skaine and Berko

elaborate on Idris' past in different ways. Skaine and Berko also write about how Idris married her cousin when she was 16; seven years later, she delivered a premature stillborn infant and then fell into a great depression. Her husband then divorced her because she was not fertile, and Idris could not marry again because she was divorced.[60] By contrast, the *BBC* focused on Idris' joy when earlier martyrdom attacks were carried out against Israelis during her lifetime and her desire to help the people of Palestine.[61] The variety of approaches to reports about Idris can be attributed to the fact that Idris was the first female suicide bomber in the Israel/Palestine Conflict, meaning there was no framework for how to report on a situation like this. Thus, reporters turned to her complicated biography to understand her sudden turn to violence.

After Idris' attack, female suicide bombers became a more prominent phenomenon, and as such, reporters soon developed scripts for how to report on these events. These scripts are Berkowitz and Ling's "mythical archetypes." Additionally, the language used around female suicide bombers became more colorful and exaggerated. Take Reem Riyashi for example: she was not just a female Palestinian suicide bomber, but a mother of two young children. On January 14th, 2004, Riyashi enacted a suicide operation at Erez Crossing by claiming that she had an implant in her leg in order to bypass the security checkpoint. [62] News media reports focused on the story of the mother turned extremist, which follows Berkowitz and Ling's archetype of the "Terrible Mother." In a *Guardian* article entitled "Human-bomb mother kills four Israelis at Gaza checkpoint", Chris McGreal writes about Riyashi's joint attack by Hamas and the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade as the first instance of Hamas using a female suicide bomber, which fulfilled Riyashi's dreams of turning her "body into deadly shrapnel against the Zionists" and being "the first woman to carry out a martyrdom operation."[63]

Due to the shocking nature of a mother leaving her children behind, Chris McGreal wrote a follow up article titled "Palestinians shocked at use of suicide mother" to clarify Hamas denied reports that they coerced Riyashi into being a suicide bomber.[64] In the *Chicago Tribune,* Joel Greenberg wrote a similar piece about Riyashi's dreams of martyrdom, again emphasizing the general confusion about why a mother would leave her children.[65] In reality, Riyashi's attack was not about the dreams the news media discussed, but about her family's honor, as they recently discovered her ongoing adultery. Riyashi's lover gave her the vest with a bomb, and her husband delivered her to her target where she killed eleven people.[66] The rumors of her extramarital affair (with a man who may have been involved with Hamas) were no secret, so the attack was what her husband saw as a way to "erase the shame."[67]

The sixth female Palestinian suicide bomber, Hanadi Jaradat, served as the inspiration for Swedish-Israeli artist and musician Dror Feiler, and his wife, Gunilla Sköld Feiler, to create *Snow White and the Madness of Truth* in 2004 (figure 1). On October 4th, 2003, Hanadi Jaradat, a lawyer-in-training from Jenin, said she was going to work when she went to the Maxim Restaurant in Haifa, ate a full meal, and detonated her bomb, killing 21 patrons.[68] As Berko notes in an interview with Jaradat's handler, Jaradat was an "anomaly" amongst suicide bombers: she was educated and attractive.[69] Skaine interviewed a friend of Jaradat's who described Jaradat as a "very determined woman, self-confident, and stubborn in her pursuit of success and personal achievements."[70] There are two different ideas about why Jaradat became a suicide bomber. On one hand, Berko explains that in the days before her attack, Jaradat "devoted a great deal of time to memorizing Qur'an verses."[71] On the other hand, it is more likely Jaradat's trigger was the loss of both her brother and her fiancé, rendering her angry at the Israeli forces who killed her fiancé (who was also her cousin), leaving her alone. Her fiancé was also considered a hero,

meaning that should Jaradat have chosen to remarry, she may not have found someone as "outstanding" as him.[72] Her attack is considered one of the worst in Israel's history.[73]

When the news media reported on Jaradat's attack, they took her family, religion, education, and beauty into account in order to understand how a woman like Jaradat came to use violence. David Blair wrote in *The Telegraph* that Jaradat's attack "did not fit the usual profile of an unemployed young man throwing in his lot with the terror groups", instead attributing her attack to revenge for the loss of her brother and her cousin.[74] John Ward Anderson and Molly Moore of *The Washington Post* focused on how the night before the attack, Jaradat spent much of her time reading the Qur'an with her family, and on the day of the attack, raised no suspicion with "her thick black hair pulled back in a ponytail. Dark, wide-set eyes peered out from a striking, heart-shaped face."[75] In an article titled "The Mideast Turmoil: The Attacker; Suicide Bomber Left her Family with a Smile and a Lie", John Burns discussed how Jaradat "changed from a traditional black Arab cloak and headdress into jeans and a ponytail that made her indistinguishable from the casual weekenders of Israel before walking into a seaside restaurant to detonate a body-belt bomb." Burns also discusses how Jaradat's family had no idea of her involvement with the Islamic Jihad movement in Palestine, but spoke of the attack as "God's will", with her mother adding that "'She has done what she has done, thank God, and I am sure that what she has done is not a shameful thing. She has done it for the sake of her people."[76] Peter Hermann attributes part of her success to her appearance because it allowed her to pass through the checkpoints inconspicuously.[77]

While the media portrayed Jaradat through the "mythical archetype" of the "Female Monster", Dror and Gunilla Sköld Feiler approached Jaradat and her biography differently in *Snow White and the Madness of Truth* (figure 1) by comparing Jaradat to a cultural figure that

would offer the viewer the opportunity to understand how and why a woman came to use violence. In January 2004, the Feilers installed *Snow White and the Madness of Truth* (2004) at the Swedish History Museum in Stockholm, Sweden. The installation was at the same time as The Stockholm International Forum 2004: "Preventing Genocide; Threats and Responsibilities" in Sweden. On January 13th, 2004, the press office at the museum sent invitations to view the installation; the invitation featured a photo of Jaradat with text from von Hausswolff's "God Made Me Do It."[78]

Snow White and the Madness of Truth (2004) features a beautiful woman in a seemingly monstrous environment. At the center of the outdoor courtyard where the installation is set is a small pool that is dyed red to look like blood. Floating in the pool is a small boat featuring a photo of Hanadi Jaradat on the mast. The image that the Feilers used is her passport photo, which highlights her beauty and innocence. On a nearby wall, there is text written in black and red that retells the story of Snow White in a disorganized fashion with words changed to include keywords referencing Jaradat's biography.[79] The text reads as follows:

Once upon a time in the middle of winter
For the June 12 deaths of her brother, and her cousin
and three drops of blood fell
She was also a woman
as white as snow, as red as blood, and her hair
was as black as ebony
Seemingly innocent with universal non-violent
Character, less suspicious of intentions
And the red looked beautiful upon the white
The murderer will yet pay the price and
we will not be the only ones who are crying
like a weed in her heart until she had no peace
day and night
Hanadi Jaradat was a 29-year-old lawyer
I will run away into the wild forest, and never
come home again
Before the engagement took place, he was killed
in an encounter with the Israeli security forces
and she ran over sharp stones
and through thorns
She said: Your blood will not have been shed in vain
and was about to pierce Snow White's innocent heart
	She was hospitalized, prostrate with grief, after
	    witnessing the shootings
	    The wild beasts will soon have devoured you
	    After his death, she became the breadwinner
	    and she devoted herself solely to that goal
	    "Yes", said Snow White, "with all my heart"
	    Weeping bitterly, she added: "If our nation cannot
	realize
	    its dream and the goals of the victims, and live in
	freedom
	    and dignity, then let the whole world be erased"
	    Run away, then, you poor child
	    She secretly crossed into Israel, charged into a
	    Haifa restaurant, shot a security guard, blew herself
	up
	    and murdered 19 innocent civilians
	    as white as snow, as red as blood, and her hair
	    was as black as ebony
	    And many people are indeed crying: the Zer Aviv
	family,
	    the Almog family, and all the relatives and friends of
	the
	    dead and the wounded
	    and the red looked beautiful upon the white

	(Gunilla Sköld Feiler, "Who Was Snow White?")

In the background of the installation, the viewer hears Bach's eighteenth-century cantata "My Heart is Swimming in Blood", which laments a tortured soul who finds peace in god through martyrdom."[80]

My heart is bathed in blood,
For now my sins' great brood
Within God's holy vision
A monster makes of me.
And now my conscience feels the
pain:
 	
For me, my sins can nought
But hell's own hangmen be.
O hated night of sin!
Thou, thou alone
Hast brought me into such distress;
	And thou, thou wicked seed of Adam,
	    Dost rob my soul of all its peace
	    And shuts to it the heav'nly gate!
	    Ah! What unheard-of pain!
	    My dried and wasted heart
	    Will after this no comfort moisten
	    And I must hide myself before him
	    Before whom very angels must conceal their faces.
	
	(Bach, "My Heart is Swimming in Blood," between 1711-1714)

What is the viewer to make of the title, "Snow White"? In light of the material presented in this paper, the point of naming the piece "Snow White" is to give the viewer a myth, or a framework, that they can connect with in order for the audience to understand how and why a woman came to use violence. Jaradat, like Snow White, used violence in order to be seen as a servant. "Snow White" was originally a tale by the Grimm Brothers that was later adapted into a Disney fairytale.[81] A key overlap between Snow White and Jaradat is that of the life of the servant, and how one becomes a humble servant in order to achieve a better quality of life for themselves and those around them. In the story, after the huntsman frees Snow White, she goes to a cabin in the woods where she meets the seven dwarves. Snow White agrees to take care of the dwarves in exchange for food and shelter. In this way, Jaradat also thought of herself as a humble servant who would not only achieve a better life for herself in paradise (heaven), but who would also create a better life for her fellow Palestinians by acting against the invading Israelis. By titling the piece *Snow White and the Madness of Truth* (2004)*,* Feiler combines the

original Grimm Brothers' tale with Jaradat's biography to give the viewer the opportunity to compare the life of Jaradat to the life of Snow White, a figure readily known, to understand how a woman came to use violence in the name of servanthood. Visually, Jaradat's pale skin, red lips, and jet-black headscarf also bear a striking resemblance to the Disney caricature of Snow White.

However, not everyone understood *Snow White and the Madness of Truth* (2004) because they did not understand why a violent woman was depicted in such a beautiful manner. Without context, the audience perceived the work as glorifying suicide bombers. The Feilers' stated intention for *Snow White and the Madness of Truth* (2004) was that it was not a celebration of Jaradat, but a criticism of her actions, and how they "resulted in bloodshed."[82] Gunilla Sköld Fieler added that she "wanted to show how incomprehensible it is that a mother of two – who is a lawyer no less – can do such a thing."[83] On January 16th, 2004, Israel's ambassador to Sweden, Zvi Mazel, attacked *Snow White and the Madness of Truth* (2004). Mazel said the work of art depicted the terrorist too perfectly, adding that "There was the terrorist, wearing her perfect makeup and floating on the blood of my people", arguing that the work was "an expression of hatred for the Israeli people. This has glorified suicide bombers."[84] There is video footage of Mazel's attack available on YouTube, which shows Mazel unplugging the lights that spotlighted Feiler's installation, and in the darkness, the viewer can hear a splash, which was presumably Mazel pushing the lights into the water.[85] Ariel Sharon supported Mazel's act, adding that the Israeli government thought that the work should be dismantled.[86] Dror Feiler responded by saying that "I think he did Israel a bad disservice", adding that *Snow White and the Madness of Truth* (2004) could be interpreted in many, many ways.[87] Beyond *Snow White and the Madness of Truth* (2004) inciting an emotional response, the situation was further aggravated by the fact that the Israel-Palestine conflict was not supposed to be a part of the conference.[88] Reviewers

like Roger Kimball, and many more, who may not have liked *Snow White and the Madness of Truth* (2004), still agreed that defacing the installation was not appropriate. Politicians like Marita Ulvskog, Sweden's culture minister, echoed these sentiments by saying that "we cannot accept that you meet anger with violence."[89]

Comparison & Conclusion

Both Mroué and the Feilers take different approaches towards a similar ending: an artistic representation that explores how two individuals came to utilize violence through an analysis and re-interpretation of biography. Mroué brings attention to al-Sati's words and represents the biography and personal motivations that news media reports ignored. The Feilers took a much more elaborate approach towards Jaradat's biography by comparing her to a Western cultural figure (Snow White) in order to understand how and why Jaradat came to use violence. While the Feilers do not portray Jaradat through a "mythical archetype" like the news media did, both the Feilers and the news media delve extensively into Jaradat's biography in order to understand her actions. Jaradat's motivations are represented parallel to Snow White in order to make her rationale comprehensible to a wider audience.

Furthermore, the two works of art tell us about the ability of the art "to touch political nerves."[90] When Mroué and the Feilers depicted their respective suicide bombers, they did so in a way that imagines these actors as people who operated within the boundaries of society prior to their acts of violence. For Mroué, al-Sati was not just a suicide bomber, but someone who struggled with his position in life and his actions, as seen by the way he stuttered through his testimonies. For the Feilers, Jaradat was also more than just a suicide bomber: she was a woman who grew up during the Israel/Palestine conflict. In both cases, the stories presented by the artists

about the suicide bombers are more complex than what the news media discussed. However, when these artists presented these suicide bombers in such a radical way, it touched "political nerves": both pieces were received rather negatively in their respective political climates because the artists brought something that was culturally removed into the real world. When a story goes from the news media to artistic media, and transcends gendered boundaries, opening a door for a new discussion that looks to understand motivations for violence in different ways to prevent it from happening in the future.

In this paper, I highlighted two instances of how gender shapes narratives regarding motivations for the use of violence, as well as considered how narratives about these motivations are translated across news and artistic media.[91] The point of this comparison is not to criticize the artists or the news media for their approaches to representing suicide bombers, but to consider how approaches vary. This paper also emphasizes how only including biographies when women are the violent protagonists, even though both men and women have personal motivations, is deeply problematic because it affects our understanding of the motivations for violence. Understanding the varied approaches for representing suicide bombers helps to understand the impetuses for such acts of violence as a part of larger efforts to stop violence before it starts. Beyond the realm of art and terrorism, this comparison promotes larger questions about how women are depicted in society. Women are generally thought of as docile and nurturing, so how and why does the nurturer come to use violence? Is it always a personal circumstance that provokes women's use of violence, or does society falsely assume the inherent nature of women is docile? How does a woman change her behavior when she feels that one of her own is threatened? Is she violent or a protector? Why do we limit our understanding of women of color to white, Western frameworks? What are ways to move beyond the problematic frameworks that

constrain comprehension of complex situations in order to bring to light the stories that are lost

beyond the borders and hidden in the peripheries?

Figure 1
Dror Feiler, and Gunilla Sköld Feiler
Snow White and the Madness of Truth
2004
Image used with permission of Dror and Gunilla Sköld Feiler

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[1] One example of this template is: Pir Zubair Shah, "Suicide Bombers Strike Refugees in Pakistan," April 17, 2010, https://www.nytimes.com/2010/04/18/world/asia/18pstan.html?searchResultPosition=16&mtrref=undefined.

[2] Throughout this paper, I strictly maintain a distinction between a woman's use of violence, and a violent woman. I prefer to utilize the idea of a woman's (or a man's) use of violence because this wording then specifically refers to a woman's (or a man's) actions, and a chain of events. I do not use the idea of a violent woman because this paper is not interested in speculating on a woman's character, or making essentialist assumptions about women as being inherently docile or violent. Thus, the idea of an actor using violence is maintained throughout this paper rather than an individual him or herself as being violent.

[3] In this paper, news media refers to stories presented by news sources, such as the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, CNN, and more. Largely, I look to written editorials that are now widely available online. I do not include news sources from the MENA region, or news sources in Arabic, Farsi/Persian, or Turkish, because it would make the scope of this paper far too broad. This should be the subject of a later research project. Furthermore, I select the artists that I do because of the amount of literature available about the artists and their works, and because the suicide bombers within the works are identified. The only other work I considered including but did not for the sake of clarity was Galina Bleich's *Untitled* from 2009. See: https://abcnews.go.com/International/israeli-art-show-depicts-female-suicide-bombers-madonnas/story?id=8480743.

[4] I will not discuss the literature on representations of violence (which could be done across many different media). I also do not discuss the literature on art and violence, feminist theory, or gender and violence. While I recognize that all three of these fields are related to the argument that I am making, it is outside of the realm of this paper.

[5] Ross Birrell, "The Gift of Terror: Suicide-Terrorism and Potlatch," in *Art in the Age of Terrorism,* ed. Graham Coulter-Smith and Maurice Owen (London: Paul Hobert Publishing, 2005), 98–100. This argument is closely related to that of Baudrillard. See: Jean Baudrillard, *The Spirit of Terrorism* (London: Verso, 2012).

[6] Ibid. 100. Potlach is a Native American gift giving ceremony that utilizes art objects in the exchange.

[7] Khaled Ramadan, "Suicide-Bombers/Martyrs' Videos and Site-Specific Art," in *Art in the Age of Terrorism,* ed. Graham Coulter-Smith and Maurice Owen (London: Paul Hobert Publishing, 2005), 170–74. Ramadan also argues that for these videos to be powerful, they require elaborate staging and planning.

[8] Joshua Simon, "The Aesthetics of Terror in General and Suicide Bomber Videos in Particular," in *Medium Religion: Faith, Geopolitics, Art,* ed. Boris Groys, and Peter Weibel (Koln: W. Konig, 2011), 59–60. Simon also notes that the plural for *shahid* is more likely a broken plural, or *shahuda.* In the text, Simon refers to Palestinian suicide bombers as *shahids*. Translation is Simon's, not mine.

[9] Mia Bloom, *Dying to Kill*: *The Allure of Suicide Terror* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 76. For the sake of brevity, I do not elaborate on definitions of terrorism, which many scholars have previously debated. For example, see: Hoffman, Bruce. *Inside Terrorism.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2006; Nacos, Brigitte. *Mass-Mediated Terrorism: Mainstream and Digital Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism.* Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016; and Tabarani, Gabriel. *Jihad's New Heartlands: Why the West has Failed to Contain Islamic Fundamentalism.* Central Milton Keynes.: AuthorHouse, 2011.

[10] Christoph Reuter, *My Life is a Weapon: A Modern History of Suicide Bombing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 2–3.

[11] Farhad Khosrokhavar, *Suicide Bombers: Allah's New Martyrs* (London: Pluto Press, 2005), 2–3. For a history of the first uses of suicide bombing, see: Azam Tamimi, "The Islamic Debate over Self-inflicted Martyrdom," in *Dying for Faith: Religiously Motivated Violence in the Contemporary World,* ed. Madawi Al-Rasheed & Marat Shterin (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 91-104. For a history of women's involvement in suicide bombing, see: Mia Bloom, *Dying to Kill*: *The Allure of Suicide Terror* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 142–65, and Mia Bloom, *Bombshell: Women and Terrorism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 68–97. One could make the argument that suicide bombing is a subset of terrorism, or a facet of terrorism, or a terrorist tactic.

[12] Barbara Victor, *Army of Roses: Inside the World of Palestinian Women Suicide Bombers* (Emmaus: Rodale, 2003)*,* 115. The difference in results could be related to the difference in research approach, given that Khosrokhavar is a sociologist, and Victor is a journalist. Related to the economics of suicide bombing: in Brahimi's *Jihad and the Just War on Terror* (page 35)*,* he writes about rewards for the living families of martyrs. Families of male martyrs receive $400 a month from the group who sponsored the attack, and families of female martyrs only receive $200 a month. This dollar amount does not reflect the "cut" that the sponsoring group takes prior to giving it to the families. Simply put, women can do the exact same thing as men, and die doing it, but they are still unequal.

[13] Mia Bloom, "Dying to Kill: Motivations for Suicide Terrorism," in *Root Causes of Suicide Terrorism: The Globalization of Martyrdom,* ed. Ami Pedahzur (London: Routledge, 2006), 35–40. It is also important to note that terrorist organizations that utilize suicide bombing refer to these attacks as martyrdom operations and not suicide bombings or suicide operations because suicide is prohibited in the Qur'an.

[14] Robert Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005), 21–23. Pape's argument is similar to Bloom's.

[15] Scott Atran, *Talking to the Enemy: Faith, Brotherhood, and the (un)Making of Terrorists* (New York: ECCO Press, 2010), 167. Atran and Pape are typically paired in the literature as related but different points of view.

[16] Victor, *Army of Roses,* 70. Victor uses an ethnographic, interview like approach to gather her data.

[17] Recently, there has been discussion on social media (like Twitter) that male violence in the public sphere is related to male violence in the domestic sphere. From the case studies I offered here, I am not particularly sure that this line of thought follows through from the United States to the MENASA region.

[18] Jessica Davis, "Evolution of the Global Jihad: Female Suicide Bombers in Iraq," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 36, no. 4 (2013): 281. Female suicide bombers, importantly, are not just an Israel/Palestine specific issue.

[19] Aviad Mendelboim, and Yoram Schweitzer, "Report on Suicide Attacks in 2017: Fewer Attacks, More Women Bombers," *The Institute for National Security Studies,* January 7, 2018, http://www.inss.org.il/publication/report-suicide-attacks-2017-fewer-attacks-women/. Of note is that the authors of this study say that suicide bombings are "one of the most effective tools available to terrorist organizations."

[20] Yoram Schweitzer, Aviad Mendelboim, and Yotam Rosner, "Suicide Attacks in 2016: The Highest Number of Fatalities," *The Institute for National Security Studies,* January 5, 2017, http://www.inss.org.il/publication/suicide-attacks-2016-highest-number-fatalities/. 2016 was considered the deadliest year for suicide attacks, causing roughly 5,600 deaths.

[21] Einav Yogev, and Yoram Schweitzer, "Suicide Attacks in 2015," *The Institute for National Security Studies,* January 26, 2016, http://www.inss.org.il/publication/suicide-attacks-in-2015/; Yoram Schweitzer, Ariel Levin, and Einav Yogev, "Suicide Attacks in 2014: The Global Picture," *The Institute for National Security Studies,* January 6, 2015, http://www.inss.org.il/publication/suicide-attacks-in-2014-the-global-picture/. It is interesting to note that the earlier studies explore the rising prominence of suicide attacks, as where the later studies see suicide bombings as the most efficient tactic used by an organization.

[22] Rosemarie Skaine, *Female Suicide Bombers* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2006), 25-57. Although Skaine's conclusion seems a bit inconclusive, her lack of a conclusion actually more appropriately reflects the diverse range of reasons people partake in these operations.

[23] Bloom, *Dying to Kill*: *The Allure of Suicide Terror,* 143. Bloom interestingly gets to the point that women's motivations can be more personal than men, although that is not always true.

[24] Anat Berko, *The Path to Paradise: The Inner World of Suicide Bombers and Their Dispatchers* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 1–13. This would apply to cases like Reem Riyashi, who is discussed later in this paper.

[25] Anat Berko, *The Smarter Bomb* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012), 1-12. This would apply to cases like Hanadi Jaradat, who is also discussed later in this paper.

[26] Jessica Davis, *Women in Modern Terrorism: From Liberation Wars to Global Jihad and the Islamic State* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2017), 1–2. A more recent female participant in a terrorist organization is Mama Shabab, or Faduma Jama. Davis also points out that terrorist groups do recruit women for specific reasons.

[27] While many might critique the social science literature for various reason, I do not take the time here to do that because it is not pertinent to the development of this argument. Because this argument is only mentioning the social science literature as a way to provide a framework for the varying motivations of suicide bombers, it is not necessary to critique them and argue which of the opinions is right. There are many opinions and approaches, and that is the point of this argument is to show that suicide bombing and its motivations are complex and nuanced, and representations of these motivations must be treated as such. Furthermore, this literature review also proves a secondary argument I hope to make, which is that all motivations for suicide bombing are deeply personal, even though notions of religion and nationalism are not seen as personal.

[28] Dan Berkowitz, "Suicide Bombers as Women Warriors: Making News Through Mythical Archetypes," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 82 no. 3 (2005): 608. The method for his study is textual analysis of newspapers that he gathered online.

[29] Ibid., 607. It is interesting to think about how a white woman is used to understand violence by a woman of color.

[30] Ibid., 612. One can also further interrogate the idea that only one archetype, "The Trickster," is necessary or appropriate for all male actors.

[31] Ibid., 608. To make this argument about the use of myth, Berkowitz explains that in his work, journalists are understood as storytellers for cultures.

[32] Ibid., 609–10. The four other females who followed her were: Darin Aisheh, Ayat Akhras, Andaleeb Taqatwa, Hiba Daraghmeh. Of note is that there is significantly more reporting on Wafa Idris, Reem Riyashi, and Hanadi Jaradat than on the other female Palestinian suicide bombers.

[33] Dan Berkowitz, and Qi Ling, "From Woman Warrior to Innocent Child: Telling Gendered News Stories of Women and Terrorists," in *Handbook on Gender and War,* ed. Simona Sharoni et. al. (Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2016), 290. Although the idea of myth remains the same across the papers, what the mythical archetypes are varies.

[34] Ibid., 293–302. There is an interesting overlap between the archetypes of the "Terrible Mother" and "Female Monster" that deserves further analysis.

[35] "Lebanon Suicide Bomber Kills Self, Mule He Rode; 1 Wounded," *LA Times,* August 7, 1985, http://articles.latimes.com/1985-08-07/news/mn-3757_1_south-lebanon. This attack is in the midst of the Lebanese Civil War, which did not end until 1990.

[36] Ibid. The Syrian Social National Party is a faction of the National Resistance Front.

[37] "In South Lebanon, Man Riding a Mule Sets Off Explosion," *New York Times,* August 1985, https://www.nytimes.com/1985/08/07/world/in-south-lebanon-man-riding-a-mule-sets-off-explosion.html. The case of the *LA Times* and the *New York Times* exemplify how certain tropes are repeated across headlines.

[38] See: Adam Goldman and Greg Miller, "American suicide bomber's travels in U.S., Middle East went unmonitored," *The Washington Post,* October 11, 2014, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/american-suicide-bombers-travels-in-us-middle-east-went-unmonitored/2014/10/11/38a3228e-4fe8-11e4-aa5e-7153e466a02d_story.html?utm_term=.3bfb857091be.

[39] I was not able to obtain image permissions to reproduce Rabih Mroué's work here. I apologize.

[40] Chantal Pontbriand, *The Contemporary, The Common: Art in a Globalizing World* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2013), 207. Of note is that Mroué also identifies as a member of the Communist party that al-Sati was a part of before his operation.

[41] Stephen Wright, "The Anxious: Five Artists Under the Pressures of War," *Bidoun*, Last modified unknown, http://bidoun.org/articles/the-anxious. The title of the article, and the exhibition it comments on, was originally in French: "Les Inquiets: Cinq artistes sous la pression de la guerre."

[42] Rabih Mroué, "Three Posters*,*" in *Dramaturgy of the Real on the World Stage,* ed. Carol Martin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 155–57; Pontbriand, *The Contemporary, The Common: Art in a Globalizing World,* 209-211. Furthermore, the original tapes by al-Sati that inspired Mroué are available on YouTube. See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mlsynVNS1uk.

[43] Maaike Bleeker, "Performing the Image: Rabih Mroué's Lecture-Performances," in *Rabih Mroué: A BAK Critical Reader in Artists' Practice,* ed. Maria Hlavajova, and Jill Winder (Utrecht: BAK, 2012), 193. This is important because suicide bombing is often attributed to religious fundamentalism. The Tamil Tigers are another example of a non-religious group that utilized suicide bombing.

[44] Mroué, "Three Posters*,*" 150. Tele-Liban is Lebanese Public Television.

[45] Ilyas Khuri, Rabih Mroué, and Mona Abou Rayyan, "Three Posters: A Performance/Video," *TDR: The Drama Review* 50, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 183–84; Bleeker, "Performing the Image: Rabih Mroué's Lecture-Performances," 193. He more literally reveals himself as human when he leaves the screen and joins the audience later in the performance.

[46] Anna Hiddleston, "Rabih Mroué," in *Les Inquiets: Cinq Artistes Sous la Pression de la Guerre,* ed. Yael Bartana (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 2008), 49; Wright, "The Anxious: Five Artists Under the Pressures of War." It is also interesting to note that here, we can consider the humanity of the male, but women are not afforded the same privilege.

[47] Birrell, "The Gift of Terror: Suicide-Terrorism and Potlach," 107. Birrell also uses the same tropes of male humanity, as where females are not afforded the same nuanced character.

[48] Mroué, "Three Posters*,*" 150–52. One could further analyze Mroue's video through the idea of Bhabha's mimicry and ambivalence.

[49] Khuri, Mroué, and Rayyan, "Three Posters, A Performance/Video," 185–88; Mroué, "Three Posters*,*" 150; Pontbriand, *The Contemporary, The Common: Art in a Globalizing World,* 211. Bits of the original testimony are also available on YouTube. See footnote 42 for the link.

[50] Bleeker, "Performing the Image: Rabih Mroué's Lecture-Performances," 194–96. There were very few performances though due to the public's response.

[51] Kevin Griffin, "Rabih Mroué: Finding the Humanity in a Suicide Bomber," *Vancouver Sun,* February 6, 2014, http://vancouversun.com/news/staff-blogs/rabih-mroue-finding-the-humanity-in-a-suicide-bomber. Griffin also highlights that even before the performance, the artists considered the ethics of using al-Sati's tapes in their work.

[52] Mroué, "Three Posters*,*" 153. The event was not interpreted as an homage to all the martyrs as it was intended to.

[53] Rustom Bharucha, *Terror and Performance* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 165. The press conflated the attacks of 9/11, considered to be the most elaborate suicide bombing to date, with the suicide missions of the Palestinian intifada.

[54] Maria Hlavajova, Jill Winder, and Cosmin Costinas, "In Place of a Foreword: A Conversation with Rabih Mroué," in *Rabih Mroué: A BAK Critical Reader in Artists' Practice,* ed. Maria Hlavajova, and Jill Winder (Utrecht: BAK, 2012), 14-15. This agenda is a part of the larger post-9/11 agenda where art and culture are used for political means.

[55] For more case studies of this form of narrative beyond those of Wafa Idris, Reem Riyashi, and Hanadi Jaradat offered here, see: David Rhode, "MIDEAST TURMOIL: BOMBERS; Grief Turns to Pride for the Family of a Woman Who Helped Set an Awful Precedent," April 13, 2002, https://www.nytimes.com/2002/04/13/world/mideast-turmoil-bombers-grief-turns-pride-for-family-woman-who-helped-set-awful.html?searchResultPosition=9; Joel Greenberg, "MIDEAST TURMOIL: THE DEAD; 2 Girls, Divided by War, Joined in Carnage," April 5, 2002, https://www.nytimes.com/2002/04/05/world/mideast-turmoil-the-dead-2-girls-divided-by-war-joined-in-carnage.html?searchResultPosition=12; Jason Hanna, Laura Smith-Spark, and David McKenzie, "Was 'White Widow' Samantha Lewthwaite involved in Kenya Mall Attack?" September 26, 2013, https://www.cnn.com/2013/09/24/world/africa/kenya-white-widow/index.html.

[56] Victor, *Army of Roses,* 16–20. Their people here refers to Palestinian people.

[57] Ibid., 21; Berko, *The Smarter Bomb,* 4. The Red Crescent is a humanitarian movement.

[58] James Bennet, "Arab Woman's Unlikely Path to 'Martyrdom.'" *New York Times,* January 31, 2002, https://www.nytimes.com/2002/01/31/world/arab-woman-s-path-to-unlikely-martyrdom.html. These personal details were notably absent from the reports on al-Sati.

[59] Inigo Gilmore, "Woman Suicide Bomber in Quest for Vengeance," *The Telegraph,* January 31, 2002, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/israel/1383333/Woman-suicide-bomber-in-quest-for-vengeance.html. Little is written about her educational failures.

[60] Skaine, *Female Suicide Bombers,* 138; Berko, *The Smarter Bomb,* 4, 154. The fact that she married her cousin is only occasionally mentioned.

[61] "Female Bomber's Mother Speaks Out," *BBC,* January 30, 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1791800.stm. By contrast, BBC did not report on her failed marriage or education.

[62] Berko, *The Smarter Bomb,* 39, 154; Berko, *The Path to Paradise,* 2. This is another advantage of female suicide bombers – they can often bypass checkpoints that men often cannot.

[63] Chris McGreal, "Human Bomb Mother Kills Four Israelis at Gaza Checkpoint," *The Guardian,* January 14, 2004, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/jan/15/israel. Interestingly enough, McGreal says Riyashi only killed four people, but Berkowitz's study says that she killed eleven. While Riyashi hoped to be the first female martyr, she also was not.

[64] Chris McGreal, "Palestinians shocked at use of suicide mother," *The Guardian,* January 26, 2004, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/jan/27/israel. Riyashi's motivations were personal, and if anyone forced her, it seems it was her husband and other non-martial partner, not Hamas.

[65] Joel Greenberg, "Family irate relative used as bomber," *Chicago Tribute,* January 16, 2004, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2004-01-16/news/0401160211_1_gaza-strip-four-israeli-security-personnel-al. One could also wonder how people would perceive Riyashi as a mother if her adultery was made public but she did not enact her suicide operation.

[66] Berkowitz and Ling, "From Woman Warrior to Innocent Child," 296. Citing: Washington Times News Staff, "Atoning for Adultery with "Martyrdom," *Washington Times,* January 20, 2004, http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2004/jan/20/20040120/121444/6737rr/?page=all; Berko, *The Path to Paradise,* 168. Additionally, reports vary about whether Jaradat killed 19, 21, or 22 patrons.

[67] Berko, *The Smarter Bomb,* 39, 52; Berko, *The Path to Paradise,* 139. Riyashi's husband remarried after the operation.

[68] Berko, *The Smarter Bomb,* 82; Skaine, *Female Suicide Bombers,* 27–28, 53; Nasser Abufarha, *The Making of a Human Bomb: An Ethnography of Palestinian Resistance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 160; Berkowitz, "Suicide Bombers as Women Warriors: Making News Through Mythical Archetypes," 610–15. A Google search for

Hanadi Jaradat turns up images available of the aftermath of the attack that show how her head was left almost completely intact.

[69] Berko, *The Smarter Bomb,* 118. Little is known about Jaradat's handler.

[70] Skaine, *Female Suicide Bombers,* 129. The characteristics that Skaine is highlighting interestingly do not really connect to her choice to become a suicide bomber.

[71] Berko, *The Path to Paradise,* 9. She participated in this activity with many other women in the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

[72] Skaine, *Female Suicide Bombers,* 27-28, 129; Berko, *The Path to Paradise,* 116; Berko, *The Smarter Bomb,* 118. Whether or not a woman is also allowed to remarry is a decision that varies based on scenario.

[73] Berko, *The Smarter Bomb,* 120; Abufarha offers a different perspective, suggesting that the attack should have been at a hospital, but then it was at a restaurant. Abufarha's work also suggests that Jaradat forced the Islamic Jihad to send her on an attack. See: Nasser Abufarha, *The Making of a Human Bomb: An Ethnography of Palestinian Resistance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).

[74] David Blair, "Revenge turned woman lawyer into a suicide bomber," *The Telegraph,* October 6, 2003, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/israel/1443399/Revenge-turned-woman-lawyer-into-a-suicide-bomber.html. Her cousin was her fiancé.

[75] John Ward Anderson, and Molly Moore, "For 2 Families in Haifa, 3 Generations of Victims," *The Washington Post,* October 6, 2003, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2003/10/06/for-2-families-in-haifa-3-generations-of-victims/feb36b77-b356-42f6-852a-7ea9f04634ed/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.31cce39496c4. Anderson goes on to add that "Her lips turned up at the corners, giving her the appearance of having a perpetual smile."

[76] Berkowitz, "Suicide Bombers as Women Warriors," 615. Citing: Associated Press, "Woman's Suicide 'Like Her Wedding,'" *Calgary Sun,* October 5, 2003, page 4; Levy-Barzilai, Vered, "Ticking Bomb," *Haaretzdaily,* October 15, 2003, http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/350272.html.

[77] Peter Hermann, "More women used in suicide attacks," *Chicago Tribune,* January 28, 2004, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2004-01-28/features/0401280040_1_hanadi-jaradat-aqsa-martyr-s-brigades-suicide-bombers. This was the case for Riyashi and Jaradat.

[78] Johan Hegardt, "Snow White and the Ambassador," in *Snow White and the Madness of Truth,* ed. Dror Feiler, and Gunilla Sköld Feiler (Stockholm: Ordfront, 2014), 122. As Hegardt notes, there is no copy of the invitation in the archives, only a document that describes von Hausswollf's piece.

[79] Véronique Simon, "From *Cythera* to *Snow White:* The Banks of Memory," in *Memory, Haunting, Discourse,* ed. Maria Holmgren Troy, and Elisabeth Wennö (Karlstad: Karlstad University Press, 2005), 98–101. In some photographs, there is a statue on one end of the installation, but it is unclear what that statue is, and what it means in the context of this piece. The snow that framed the pool was circumstantial, and not an intentional part of the installation. The wall text for the work can be found in: Gunilla Sköld Feiler, "Who Was Snow White?," in *Snow White and the Madness of Truth,* ed. Dror Feiler, and Gunilla Sköld Feiler (Stockholm: Ordfront, 2014), 142–43. The formatting presented in the body of the paper is an exact replica of the book in terms of capitalization, lines, spacing, punctuation, and color. The red is intentional. The black text references Jaradat's life, as where the red text is pulled from the original tale of Snow White.

[80] Simon, "From *Cythera* to *Snow White:* The Banks of Memory," 102. This is cantata #199. Simon reproduces the lyrics to the cantata on pages 102-103.

[81] Bruno Bettleheim elaborates on a few of the key points of Snow White in *The Uses of Enchantment:* a stepmother who denies Snow White an independent existence, but who Snow White harbors no anger against; a woman (Snow White) saved by males; a woman (Snow White) whose life is spared by the servants; the Oedipal problems of the girl towards her father; a hero forced to depend on her helpers (the dwarves); parental jealousy; and a stepmother's fear that her daughter will surpass her. At the very core of this story, most importantly, is that of parental issues, and how issues within the family can prevent a person from growing and maturing. However, those elements of the story told by the Grimm Brothers do not echo the life of Jaradat, who was quite close with her family. Besides two people close to her dying in conflict, and her remarkable education, her life was otherwise unremarkable. For more information, see: Bruno Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairytales* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), 16, 72, 98, 112, 127, 147, 194–95.

[82] Dror Feiler, "Artist Responds to Israeli Envoy's Attacks," interview by Robert Siegel, NPR, January 19, 2004, transcript, https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1604975. He also saw it as a call to understand these situations in order to prevent people from turning to violence.

[83] Greg Myre, "Israel Diplomat Defends Attack on Bomber Art in Stockholm," *New York Times,* January 18, 2004, http://www.nytimes.com/2004/01/18/world/israel-diplomat-defends-attack-on-bomber-art-in-stockholm.html. Interestingly enough, Jaradat did not have kids. She was engaged, but not married. Myre also noted that Gunilla was likely confusing Jaradat with Riyashi or Idris, or perhaps combining their two biographies. One way to understand Jaradat's decision to become a suicide bomber is through the lens of maturity. While she was physically mature, she was not yet intellectually mature because she was not yet officially a lawyer. As a single woman, she could be seen as emotionally immature. Her decision to become a martyr reflected a desire for society to see her as mature, and as a servant.

[84] Ibid. In Hegardt's essay on the attack, he notes that it is possible that Mazel planned the attack. While Hegardt bases his assessment based on Mazel's route through the museum and information given to him the night before, I would agree with Hegardt's assessment based on the YouTube video of the attack. If it were spontaneous, would someone have had the time to film all of the attack (and not come in late), and post it to YouTube? See: Johan Hegardt, "Snow White and the Ambassador," in *Snow White and the Madness of Truth,* ed. Dror Feiler, and Gunilla Sköld Feiler (Stockholm: Ordfront, 2014), 123–24.

[85] The museum caught the attack on their surveillance cameras, but there is also footage of the attack on YouTube that looks like it is from a cellphone camera. See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hrWPVc2SnXc. Also see: Brian Kennedy, "Visual Arts North: The Power and the Whitewash," *Circa* 107 (2004): 18.

[86] Brian Kennedy, "Visual Arts North: The Power and the Whitewash," *Circa* 107 (2004): 18; Laura King, "Art-Loving Israelis Don't Condemn Envoy's Vandalism," *LA Times,* January 19, 2004, http://articles.latimes.com/2004/jan/19/world/fg-art19; "Sweden objects to Israeli diplomat's action over artwork," *CNN,* January 17, 2004, http://edition.cnn.com/2004/WORLD/europe/01/17/sweden.israel/. Ariel Sharon was the prime minister of Israel at the time.

[87] Laura King, "Art-Loving Israelis Don't Condemn Envoy's Vandalism." The "he" here refers to Mazel.

[88] Ernest Beck, "Rocking the Boat: Israel's ambassador to Sweden attacks an artwork, causing an international outcry," *ARTNews* 104, no. 3 (March 2004): 64. The 2004 forum was an anti-genocide conference.

[89] Roger Kimball, "Criticize, Don't Vandalize," *Wall Street Journal,* January 22, 2004, https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB107472643323208179; Ernest Beck, "Rocking the Boat: Israel's ambassador to Sweden attacks an artwork, causing an international outcry," 64. While the Feilers are not very well known, it was argued that their work might be even more well-known after the defacement of the work. See: "Art for Politics' Sake," *Wall Street Journal,* January 20, 2004, https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB107454994860605581.

[90] Dan Jönsson, "A Rip in the Contemporary Fabric," in *Snow White and the Madness of Truth,* ed. Dror Feiler, and Gunilla Sköld Feiler (Stockholm: Ordfront, 2014), 29. One need only to think of things like the Mapplethorpe controversy to realize the long history and relationship between art and politics.

[91] A future study might consider different images of suicide bombers, such as from Galina Bleich's exhibition *Ferror* from 2009, and Asad Faulwell's recent series *Les Femmes d'Alger.* For more information see: Simon McGregor Wood, "Paintings Depicting Terrorists as Virgin Mary Removed from Israeli Exhibit," *ABC News,* September 3, 2009, http://abcnews.go.com/International/israeli-art-show-depicts-female-suicide-bombers-madonnas/story?id=8480743; David Pagel, "Asad Faulwell paints the tense landscape where Middle East meets America," *LA Times,* June 13, 2018, http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/la-et-cm-asad-faulwell-20180613-htmlstory.html. I did not utilize these works in my argument because there is no scholarly literature on Faulwell or Bleich. Furthermore, there is no positive identification of the female suicide bombers represented in Bleich's work, only my supposition that one of her works represents Wafa Idris. The female suicide bombers that Faulwell represents are also very different contextually because he is working through the history of the Algerian War of Independence, and including this would have changed the trajectory of the argument.