

The Drive Behind the Veil: The Motivation Behind Female Suicide Bombers' Narrative of Violence in the Novel *Bride of ISIS*

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ABSTRACT

Female suicide bombing is complicated, comprising of multifaceted aspects that defy simple explanation. Female suicide bombers who become involved in jihad have a myriad of inner conflicts fuelled by their psychopathology and demands of a shame-honour culture. This research aims to demystify female suicide bombers' behaviour from a psychoanalytic perspective called death drive. It sheds light on

the volatile amalgamation of factors inherent in being raised in a shame-honour culture and religion. It intends to help readers understand female suicide bombers' behaviour using the tools and insights drawn from psychoanalysis. Death drive is not like the Buddhist belief of striving for annihilation for eternal peace. According to Lacan, in death drive, there is a struggle within the psyche between the conscious mind that is supposed to control the body and the body itself. For female suicide bombers, the reality is how they are programmed with ideology and filial piety, that leads them to an imaginary eagerness that drives them to sacrifice their lives for eternal glory and honour and the symbolic structure that puts the programming in their heads. Through the selected novel, this research seeks to shed light on how transparent, stark and revealing their unconscious behaviour is. To understand where this aberrant behaviour arises and what its "drivers" are – externalised and projected through repression and senseless murderous rage.

Keywords: *death drive, violence, female, suicide, bombers*

1.0 INTRODUCTION

"If we die, we win."

- Chechen saying

They are women who kills, and they are called female suicide bombers. These women do not only aim to kill themselves but rather to use their bodies as a weapon of mass destruction. Their bodies and that of their victims are deeply intimate in that it blends in death, making it difficult if not impossible to identify and separate the body parts of different individuals and, by extension, permeating the boundaries between distinct bodies and identities [1], [2], [3].

Carl Jung introduced the concept of the shadow and the collective unconscious, which explains how cultures throughout time repeat the same behaviours. Freud referred to this as repetition compulsion. Copycat behaviour is considered to be primitive and not well mentalized, meaning thought that is experienced emotionally and connected to language [4].

The female suicide bombers' search for identity puts them in a position

where their mind cannot differentiate the act of fantasy from the act of doing [4 p195]. Many of these unconscious enactments are an unmentalised experience, that is, as Bion would say, “thoughts without a thinker, like idle whistling” [5], meaning that the person remains disconnected from thoughts and experiences, emotional life and reality. Most often than not, these women were not able to explore and discover themselves before they were thrown in this mayhem of war, they somehow, lost their identities along the way. The copycat effect is the essence of imitative behaviour, suicide, in particular, is prone to imitation in this copycat existence [5 p197].

“Death by the text” is a controversial case between Mitchell Carter and Conrad Roy who committed suicide by the encouragement of Mitchell. Though they were miles apart, she was able to convince him to kill himself [6]. With the advancement of technology, we do not need to be there physically to instigate harm. The development in technology is like a double-edged sword; it has its benefits like secure communication and convenience of a face-to-face conversation through Skype; however, they may also cause irremediable damages. Radical groups seek brides through the internet; this is the kind of relationship that has nothing to do with love, but instead, recruitment for suicide bombers. Women fall prey to this due to issues of identity or the lack of it and feeling of not- belonging. The use of social media is also beneficial to women who are in a restrictive society, in cyberspace, they are free to interact with men and develop relationships, which eventually would lead them to become radicalised members of the organisations.

In some strategic places in the world, the ‘nebulous part’ of women’s various operational assistance to activities by terrorist organisation has consistently emanate. Women usually bring weapons beyond enemy’s domain and dispense supplies including medication to their soldiers. Besides, women have been densely engaged in pursuits like internet promulgation and recruitment campaigns. Presumably, they have also undoubtedly helped the men by contributing emotional and psychological support in their terrorist activities [7].

These people who commit suicide have one thing in common;

they carried a significant amount of personal “baggage” [8]. They were denied of their human agency, and vilification allows displacement of the offender from their society. They need a void to be filled, and by recreating themselves in the form of an afterlife or rebirth will lead them to believe that they must sacrifice their lives for the sake of redemption for themselves and their loved ones, and the pain and hopelessness helped fuel that desire. Pain and hopelessness are the best-accepted factor that would push someone to commit suicide, specifically, “emotional misery or pain” and “feelings of hopelessness about the future” [9]. Furthermore, the sense of non-belonging and not being validated, losing one’s sense of identity are all ingredients for someone to give up on life.

2.0 THE DEATH DRIVE THEORY

Lacan’s gesture of “subjectivization” states that the subject is deemed to undertake her role fully which is complicated as her role is “not validated” in her daily existence [10 pp.210-214]. According to Freud [11], “subjectivization” is internalising one’s contingent fate due to the guilt press upon him. The purely formal gesture of symbolic conversion is what subjectivization consists of, employing the integration of the subject of his symbolic world and turns it into part of his narrative of existence where he gives meaning to the nonsensical predicament of his future. A mere robot programmed to abide to what seems to be his basic function of existence, yet, made to believe that it is his sole duty to execute the order. This is basically what Lacan and Zizek is talking about death drive, and the drive behind the narrative of violence by female suicide bombers.

The “Nirvana-principle” is not what death drive stands for. While Nirvana follows the principle of yearning to break away from the loop of life’s circle of discontent and hardship and achieve the ultimate balance and release from the circle of hopelessness. What death drive seeks to eradicate is not life’s revolution of hopelessness and hardship, but instead the symbolic order, the order of the symbolic covenant which controls communal network and assists in their daily narrative [10]. Death drive

was further explained by Brecht [12], through his play *Jasager*. In this play, the young boy was questioned about his will to accept his destiny to be hurled towards the gorge, whether he is willing to be thrown. However, his teacher emphasises that it is customary to say yes to the question asked. This example is not an exception, as everyone within a society is engaged in a double-edged period whereby the subject is commanded to accept freedom. The outcome of what he chose, which was forced on him is the pretence of freedom of choice.

The symbolic web, to willingly accept an established norm means merely to assimilate this circumstance into one's symbolic existence. In this actual thought, the action of voluntarily accepting one's death also indicates the willingness to come to terms with one's death on the symbolic level, to relinquish the illusion of symbolic immortality, but still accepting the imaginary rebirth of redemption. This double-edged of choosing freely, of sustaining the image that there is freedom or the power to select, but, there is none. This has something to do with the partition of the law between the Ego-ideal (the public-written law) and superego (the obscene-unwritten-secret law) [13]. The subject wants the feeling that it was his free choice, Ego-ideal, the superego instruction must be sent "between the lines". The superego integrates the perplexing instruction of what the subject must choose willingly; in essence, this instruction must not be revealed in public if the Power is to prevail its operations. In other words, what the subject wants is the power to select in the pretence of freedom and free choice. He wants to obey, but simultaneously to maintain the semblance of freedom. To put it in Lacanian terminology, he explains that in reality, the mechanism of society enslaves a soldier, a mere robot programmed with ideology. The soldier's eagerness is imaginary, and it is what drives him, how he imagines himself as a hero and it hides the real meaning of his action by presenting it as something that is needed to be done and he is the person to do it, but the truth is they were forced to do it, or rather they were programmed in doing it. The symbolic is the structure, the matrix that puts the programming in their heads.

Everything that Zizek means in explaining death drive is that it is a clash amidst the mind and the body, whereby the mind is supposed to regulate the body. Sigmund Freud's Theory is all about the conflict between the ego (consciousness) believing that it is in control, but the truth is, it is the body with its urges (libido), and its unawareness (death drive) that leads. Based on death drive theory, this paper would analyse the "symbolic" behind the drive that pushed a female suicide bomber in her narrative of violence based on the novel *Bride of ISIS* by Anne Speckhard. Shannon Conely was the inspiration behind this novel, a Colorado teenager who converted to Islam, started wearing the niqab, and who eventually wound up in the grip of ISIS. Something to ponder upon is the question on how these terrorists ensnared women through the web and enticed them into giving up everything to become their wives. How were they able to control and convince these women to give up their faith, their family and freedom and make them give up their life as well.

3.0 UNDER THE CLUTCHES OF ISIS

ISIS is a movement and an organisation that sits at the nexus of a rapidly changing region and world. While it is rooted in history, ISIS has also introduced new elements to our understanding of radical Islamism, terrorism, and extremism writ large. It is best defined as a hybrid terrorist and insurgent organisation.

Al Qaeda disavowed ISIS because it is a jihadist army so brutal and out of control [14]. ISIS became well known due to its barbaric practice of beheading their victims, sending the message of a new kind of utopianism that is achieved through brutality which is carefully documented for its military campaigns [15].

What ISIS has started will have long-term consequences for other terrorists. A new breed of terrorism and insurgency, with its excessive brutality, is rewriting the playbook for extremism. It has completely overturned the acts used in violent extremism for decades or longer and

altered the rules of engagement on multiple fronts. A risky attempt in tapping on people's fear, but a strong potion in the marketing of utopia. Most would consider the state that ISIS built as a state of dystopia. However, at least as interpreted by ISIS, they claim that due to the impurities of the world they exist to have a refuge for believers, to know that they are truly living in accordance to Islam.

Today's terrorism, particularly ISIS-related terrorism builds on the teachings of Anwar al-Awlaki, who features prominently in this book as a real character. Al-Awlaki amazingly continues to inspire terrorism worldwide from beyond the grave, living on and inspiring lost individuals via the internet into the militant jihadi ideology and then on to virulent acts of terrorism. Another area where definition might be confusing is the term "terrorism". In this research I will characterise terrorism as a threat of violence or act against civilians, with the purpose of extracting retaliation, threatening, or alternatively prompting spectators [14]. While terrorist are non-state actors who engage in violence against civilians to attain a political goal or intensify a message [16].

ISIS's appeal as a terrorist organization depends in part on the military successes, but also on its ability to seduce young people aiming to reinvent themselves as ruthless fighters for a dark, new interpretation of violent Salafi Islam. The long-term goal must be to find a way to defeat, not only the organisation but also the appeal of its twisted ideology.

For all these reasons, and more, the problem of ISIS is likely to be with us for a long time to come, whether in its current form or in some future mutation, baring an extraordinary act of self-destruction, which still lies within the realm of possibility. Much of ISIS's messaging is based on distortion, but its slogan and promise, *baqiyyah* (to remain), continues to be tragically credible.

4.0 ANALYSIS OF BRIDE OF ISIS

In the novel *Bride of ISIS* [17], Anne Speckhard tackles the issue of why women are attracted to leave everything behind and be a part of a conflict that they were not even aware of in the first place. Nothing in common socioeconomically, not even a common religious belief and yet are willing to sacrifice their lives for “the cause” as suicide bombers. Many researches and academic studies, using varied concepts and frameworks, delve in the question of why these women are lured to join these violent extremist groups. Many of these boils down to a distinction between external and internal motives. The external factor is usually the jihadist propaganda stating that joining the group will be the revenge that they were seeking for. These so-called jihadists play on the violent background of these women, and by using that narrative of violence behind them, it will then be the driving force for them to participate as it is a reasonable choice, and an obligation to equal the odds against the oppressors. Surely, the extremist ideologues frequently target on the obligation of each Muslim to defend their ummah or nation that is under threat. On the other hand, an internal motive arises from an individual’s personal needs, that would also be beneficial for both the member and the organisation. The individual’s feeling of belongingness, an escape from the old self and having a new identity. By joining the organisation, the personal needs of these women are met, their search for a meaningful existence might be found, and part of that search is the search for redemption.

Sophie, the protagonist from *Bride of ISIS*, explored Al-Awlaki’s power to inspire even after his death and she finds and begins to follow him into death. She is a victim of rape. However, she decided to remain silent about it and carried the trauma that slowly consumed her entire being.

“she entered this barren space where she became emotionally numb, resolutely banishing memory from consciousness, ‘that did not happen to me’, Sophie felt a new cold-edged steeliness arise inside her, in which she was once again back in charge, at least in her mind. She finished her way home in this determined mindset, amidst a cold inner haze” [17 p42]

She became paranoid, thinking people could see how dirty she was after that incident and thus spent most of her time surfing the internet at home. According to Bloom [18], the trauma caused by rape may turn a person from an extrovert into an introvert. She was fundamentally radicalised through the internet by the sweet talks from Anwar al-Awlaki, though he is already dead from a military air strike, he is kept very much alive on the internet through his videos. According to Bloom's Trauma theory, the repercussion of an agonising experience changes the entire person, the way they feel about other people, the way they feel about themselves, the way they remember things, the way they learn, and the way they make sense of the world are all profoundly altered by traumatic experience [18].

She was mesmerised by what Anwar was saying about Muslim women. Muslim women hide from the gaze of men and thereby protect themselves, Sophie's mind wandered back to Colin, her rapist. He had burnt up all her dreams of excitement and romance. He ruined her, and she was no longer a desirable girl. *How can a leaf that's fallen from the tree ever get back up from the gutter it's fallen into?* [17 p120]. However, here was a system of purity and redemption, safety from prying hands, from unwanted male attention. *Islam, the path to purity* [17 p119]. Take on a new identity, become someone entirely new, it suddenly sounded beautiful to Sophie. Leave the past entirely behind. For her, Islam may be the way to become pure again, *all my sins forgiven*, [17 p124]. Sophie thought that becoming thoroughly cleansed, taking on a new persona, leaving her old self behind and becoming someone entirely new is her redemption. She decided to convert and took that new identity; she changed her name from Sophie to Halima [17 p126]. With the new identity comes a new wardrobe for her. A wardrobe that not only symbolises change but also symbolises security and a safe haven where she could hide from the outside gaze while taking advantage of looking from within and enjoying the reversal of status. The girl that she thought was always gazed upon is now holding the power to gaze back.

5.0 SYMBOLIC MEANING OF THE VEIL

Gazing at herself covered from head to toe with the black niqab draped over her head, neck and chest, Sophie felt suddenly safe and at peace. Sometimes she enjoyed scaring people with her wearing the niqab. It was fun to hold power for once, the ability to fascinate and terrify, all the while hiding safely inside her black robes [17 p127].

Sophies' transformation was not only physical, but it is also symbolic of a transfer of power, she makes use of her niqab as protection from outer "gaze", and she could freely "gaze" people through her veil. At one time the veil was seen primarily as a symbol of female modesty and religious virtues. However, as cultural interpretations of Islamic culture changes, the public understands the veil not just as a sign of piety. However, there are some Muslim women who do not see the wearing of the hijab to be obligatory to their faith, while other Muslim women wear the hijab as a means of visibly expressing their Muslim identity [19]. The veil is given another symbol, and that is the "boundary" that visibly separates the woman and the power she has over society. The boundary that separates the women from society because it is administered by cultural norm, and privately through the woman's agency. A "boundary" that should not be over-stepped to protect the subject from society but could also mean a "boundary" to protect the society from the subject's allure.

The veil can also be seen as simultaneously reinforcing the male domination that is perceived to occur in Islamic culture [20]. The veil assumes a particular kind of agency as it is collapsed with the woman who "hides" beneath it. She becomes the veil, and the veil becomes her. With the proliferation of the female suicide bomber, the veil develops into a much more perverse symbol, namely, that of an evil weapon of mass destruction. Sophies' transformation was not only physical but also emotional as she was ready to offer herself for "the cause."

They seemed like heroes to Sophie whose focus was on their bravery and standing up for what they believed was right, rather than the violence they chose to enact and whom they hurt doing so [17 p135].

Sophie felt their pain so much, and determination rose inside her heart to join this cause. It gave her the sense that she was not alone in what she suffered and provided the sense of belonging and usefulness she had been searching.

I now have a family who understands pain and humiliation, and I will do everything I can to show my brothers and sisters my support and love [17 p136].

Al-Awlaki's call for jihad is her mission as a new Muslim, *Al-Awlaki also helped her see that righting wrongs and correcting injustice was her mission as a new Muslim [17 p139]*. Hope danced around the edges of her mind. A new belief, new clothes, and a new name. With this new identity, she could snuff out the guilt and shame that threatened to pull her apart every single day. For the first time, Sophie felt a bit of optimism that it might be possible, after all, to achieve a new life that would not include shadows of the rape teasing daily at her sanity. She met a jihadist, Hamid, and fell in love with him considering him as her saviour because he knew about the rape and is still willing to marry her and ask her to join him in Syria. However, when Hamid got killed in an air strike, Sophie decided to join him in paradise and become a suicide bomber.

Being a newcomer to Islam, Sophie completely missed the fact that al-Awlaki was twisting the sacred scriptures in ways most Muslim authorities would never condone. His words were dripping with hatred and were not even preaching Islam according to most, but Sophie had no idea. For her, now steeped in radical thought, they were the words of a devoted Muslim imam who dearly loved and worried for his people. Somehow, he had reached down into the deep recess of her soul touching the place where she had locked inside her memory vault, the unspoken, shame-filled and numbed memories of being assaulted. Collecting all of that anger she held hidden inside, he deftly redirected it into a fiery rage as powerful as a hellfire missile, to be sent back to her country, fired back to its senders as an act of revenge for his death. He had taken all her pain and turned it into hate for her country and made it ready to strike out for the Muslims that he directed her to help defend. He had redirected her anger over what

had been done to her toward a much broader sense of Muslim victimhood. The West, al-Awlaki had convinced her, was the biggest rapist of all, and it needed to be brought to its knees.

Sophie realised that hating was not that hard for her. The traumatic memories she could suppress; but it took a lot of energy and effort to keep the emotions that went with them locked up, buried beneath the surface while she pretends to be normal. Pretended that she was still the same girl, the one she no longer was, the one who had not been seen again since Colin had taken her innocence. Her memories pushed down under the surface, became like a trafficked girl who gets lost in a maze of handlers. Lost in the maze of avoidance and misinformation she fed herself daily. *It did not happen* [17 p41], she told herself as she slipped deeper into extremism and distanced herself from inaction and pacifism, things that made her vulnerable to being used and thrown to the wolves. The ecstasy of leaving this dirty world behind and becoming entirely pure was filling her with exultation she did not fully understand. This feeling that Sophie has is just like what Zizek said in his elaboration of the death drive theory, the subject is less than nothing, which stands for the subject who is, in reality, an empty signifier.

Sophie's transformation by using the veil and the abaya, gave her a new sense of power and she might have found the redemption that she was looking for after her traumatic experience of being raped by Colin. However, some scholars would seem to disagree in the way Muslim women dress up. The Westerners would still consider the using of the veil and abaya as a part of patriarchal dominance. The gendering of the veiled suicide bomber, the apparel whereby one cannot see through the veils except the women's Smokey eyes [21]. Giving the Muslim women an invisibility as one media reporter notes that *no one can notice a thing on a woman's body, particularly when she is wearing an abaya or long dress* [22]. Muslim women would defend their attire as an expression of their right, they have the right to show only what they want to show to the public.

The way the media describes the attire of a female suicide bomber would put the focus more on her attire rather than the purpose of her

detonating herself. Statements used to Words used to characterise the abaya in articles concerning the female suicide bombers include: “black-clad,” “long cloak,” “covered dress,” “black garments,” “flowing black robes,” “heavy black abaya,” “billowing robes,” and, employing elaborate exaggeration, “a voluminous, floor-length black abaya, made of folds of flowing fabric” [23, 24, 25, 26]. Perhaps it is undeniable that the veil gives female suicide bombers an advantage as compared to their male counterpart. However, a media discourse study shows more than a straightforward narration on the study of the female suicide bomber’s wardrobe. The “boundary” and the women within it, once outside the “gaze” is suddenly and blatantly obvious. It is as if a relevant switch has disclosed the adversary to be ubiquitous.

Thus, the veil becomes more than a garment that allows the woman to hide her weapon strategically. Instead, the veil assumes a particular kind of agency as it is collapsed with the woman who “hides” beneath it. She becomes the veil, and the veil becomes her. The mass destruction caused by the bombing is over-shadowed by how reporters describe the portrait of a female suicide bomber. The media intermittently give detailed comments on how the female suicide bomber looked like, that is not the same upon the description of a male suicide bomber. Statements like “flowing” and “billowing” provide an impression of manoeuvre virtually as though the clothing itself was aware, perverse and captivating. The description is adding a certain allure of disquiet that would give a certain impression on the readers about these female suicide bombers and their intension through a lens that blocks their political or ideological motives and imply, a rather, senseless evil. Considering that most of the conversations about the women and their motivations are absent, the only concrete thing an audience is left with is an image of her billowing, seductive robe: a mythical person looming and threatening the public.

One could not separate the veil from these female suicide bombers, the veil is not just a symbol of their religious affinity, but rather, it is part of their identity. A dichotomous identity of a pious woman and a camouflage

for a sinister vengeance from shame and rage. These veiled women, who transformed into female suicide bombers were human beings with a belief system that might seem alien to most people. Their cause and affiliation left them no choice but to become martyrs by faith.

6.0 CONCLUSION

Many taboos were broken, shattering a typical profile of a suicide bomber. Over the years we have seen the first girl suicide bomber as young as seven years old [27]. The first young mother of two small children sacrificing herself in this way (Reem Saleh Riyashi, from Gaza) [28]. The first grandmother (Fatima al-Nejar), and the first female bomber from Europe (Muriel Degauque, a Belgian convert) [29]. They drove bomb-laden vehicles, strapped heavy explosive belts to their bodies, wore explosive vests, carried grenades, and hid bombs in their purse. Female suicide bombers became unanticipated deadly agents who changed the political fate of several militant groups, disrupted military and humanitarian efforts, wrought havoc among civilian populations, ignited speculations about evolving gender power imbalance, became short-lived media celebrities, and garnered world attention for their respective causes.

Suicide bombings simultaneously represent ruthless violence and the ultimate sacrifice, a deadly weapon of killing and infinite love for one's community, a steadfast refusal to accept defeat and a profound surrender of one's will to live. Being carried out in public realm, suicide bombings are political acts of social resistance and subversives. Even though each act is carried out by an individual, it "emerges out of the collective" and is "undertaken on behalf of society as a whole" [30].

Suicide bombings represent a bodily practice; each act is predicated on the appropriation of the human body for political, military, and strategic purposes. It entails utter destruction and mutilation of the bombers' bodies, as well as of the bodies that happen to be nearby. As such, suicide bombings are a dramatic manifestation of the physical bodies serving not only on the frontlines and battlegrounds but also as the actual weapons of violence.

Suicide bombers unsettle the boundary between biology and technology, their bodies are amalgamated with bombs and are no longer just biological and cultural but become cyborg bodies [1, 31, 3].

The narrative of violence by a female suicide bomber does not end upon detonating her body. Instead, this kind of brutality gives rise to a new generation vowing to fight again in the near and distant future. Under such condition, these female bombers experience the manipulation of cultural mores to justify suicide, which might be contrary to their religious beliefs, but still, will be used as a propaganda and indoctrination to convince their population that they have more to offer when dead than alive.

The transgression of the body where she acts as a weapon is enhanced by the explosives becoming part of the material body. Suicide bombers, as Rajan [1] put it, *slip ideas of the bomb with that of the human body*, as Umm Abdullah rejoiced in the mutilation of her body as she detonated herself and killed dozens [32]. Effectively, the violence of suicide bombings dehumanises human bodies and turns them, in Cavarrero's words, into the *heaps of meat* [1].

Suicide bombing is not seen as a transgression by these female bombers, for them, the body is just a worldly possession, and by getting rid of it, they will be granted eternity in paradise as martyrs. Its essence is self-denial and self-effacement symbolically representing life-giving to the collective [33]. It embodies deeply symbolic meanings of life and death, sacrifice and birth. Individuals embarking on the path of martyrdom are profoundly transformed, they enter spiritual immortality by physical death, the moment of their physical death is also the moment of existential rebirth in a new realm. The transgression of the body is just physical, for through transgression the soul is freed. Hence, the often-encountered signature *the living martyr* in the suicide bomber's last testaments. In this move, the act of martyrdom signifies existential superiority and power over the adversary who is dominant in conventional, material terms. The moment of embracing one's death becomes a tipping point that shifts the balance of power, transforming the weak into the powerful. Death, in this case, proves spiritual superiority over adversaries.

Sophie in search for redemption was manipulated by ISIS to sacrifice herself for the cause, ironically, when she downed on her niqab she said “ I will never be a powerless victim again” but eventually she fell victim to the ruthless and manipulating ISIS members who programmed the thought in her head that she is the only answer to the betterment of Islam in her home town, and that is by destroying those who are against the principles and belief of the organisation. She detonated herself and, in the process, also killed her father who was among the crowd.

Bride of ISIS is a fictional novel; however, ISIS is not. Let no woman be driven to a narrative of violence as no one really knows what the secret behind their veils is.

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