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Hell Hath No Fury:
A Mixed-Methods Analysis of Women's Grievances, Durations of Involvement, and
Lethality in Terrorism

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Sue Lane Robinson and Hannah Victoria Szakacsy, my angels. Also to Mike Wetzel, your sweet, fun legacy lives on.



If love could have saved you, you would have lived forever.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Hell Hath No Fury:
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Lethality in Terrorism

by

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Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Sociology
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Using 280 case files of women involved in terrorism between 1970 and 2018, this dissertation proposes an operationalized definition of a grievance and then employs this definition to analyze the direct and indirect effects of grievance presence, quantity, and type of women's durations of involvement and lethality in terrorism. In the first empirical chapter, I (1) develop a conceptualization and operational schema that takes into account the theoretical variation identified above, as well as any additional variation that exists in my data; (2) describe the variation in types of grievances that exist in my sample and (3) identify any clustering of grievance types in my data. In the second chapter, this study quantitatively assesses if grievance quantity, grievance type, and biographical availability influence women's durations of involvement in violent extremism. Findings indicated that while the type or quantity of grievances are not significant influences on the duration of involvement in VE, having at least one grievance *increases* women's persistence in terrorism. Moreover, matrimony and motherhood were not found to significantly influence this relationship; however, having less than a high school education increased the effect

that having a grievance had on duration of involvement in VE. Employment was found to be a barrier to women's persistence in VE. Chapter 3 examines the roles grievances play in women's lethality during VE involvement. Informed by the political approach to Collective Violence Theory (Aya 1979), by using logistic regressions with robust standard errors to evaluate the direct relationships between the presence of any grievance on lethality, the number of grievances and lethality, and PCVT grievances on lethality as well as the moderating influence of PCVT grievances and the relationship between VE ideology and lethality. Results indicate that the presence of any grievance and the quantity of grievances each subject has do not influence lethality. However, PCVT grievances both directly and indirectly increase lethality. The fourth chapter provides concluding thoughts, limitations, areas of future research, and public policy implications of this work.

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INTRODUCTION

“Heaven has no rage like love to hatred turned, nor hell a fury like a woman scorned”
- William Congreve (1697)

Terrorism scholars frequently employ the term “grievance” in explaining violent extremist behavior; however, they rarely clearly define this term. Accordingly, understandings of “grievances” have become so convoluted that almost any complaint can be considered a grievance, rendering the term almost completely useless. In instances of terrorist attacks committed by women, we are often left wondering if her violence is the warped permutation of poetic justice of a woman raging against an immoral travesty... or simply unjustifiable careless violence. Perhaps our greatest fear of violent extremism is that these horrendous acts are violent *and* somewhat justified. We will only be able to improve our detection and prevention counterterrorism efforts if we pursue this possibility. The subsequent dissertation is an exploration of the notion of grievances as they relate to women’s involvement in terrorism.

This dissertation speaks to several aspects of the literature on violent extremism (VE). First, the denotations and operationalizations of the term ‘grievance’ are inconsistent among scholars. For example, McCauley and Moskaleiko (2011: 19-20) define ‘grievances’ as both individual and collective in nature, but the authors do not operationalize them. Instead, the authors call for an Attribution Theory (McCauley and Moskaleiko 2011), to determine the circumstances under which people blame their grievances on individuals or generalize their blame onto groups. Thus, although McCauley and Moskaleiko (2011) explain that for grievances to inform terrorism involvement, the personal objection must become political, this process is opaque.

Meloy and Gill (2016: 7) combine personal grievances and moral outrage to define the former as “a major loss in love or work, feelings of anger and humiliation, and the blaming of others” and the latter as “a vicarious identification with a group which has suffered, even though the lone-actor terrorist has usually not experienced the same suffering if any at all.” The authors operationalize personal grievances as degradation, prejudice, unfairness, being lied to or disrespected, or being treated poorly or ignored. These operationalizations do not have well-defined parameters and are not sufficiently distinct from one another. This in effect, makes grievances difficult to empirically evaluate. Moreover, Ghatak, Gold, and Prins (2019) define grievances as discrimination and operationalize them as minority exclusion from political institutions and economic discrimination. However, these categories neglect the possibility that non-racial minorities (e.g., white supremacists in the United States) have grievances of their own. As scholars have noted, terrorists do not typically have backgrounds of poverty and child abuse (Gould 2021; Warren et al. 2018; Monahan 2015) although, despite the common belief that these factors fuel grievances and VE engagement.

Table 1 shows the overlap and disparate conceptualizations of grievances in the literature, especially when considering real-world examples of grievances.

Table 1. Lack of Conceptual Clarity of Grievances

Example Grievance	Individual (McCauley and Moskalenko 2011)	Group (McCauley and Moskalenko 2011)	Moral Outrage (Meloy and Gill 2016)	(Threat of) Status Loss (Kruglanski et al. 2014)	Potential Status Gain (Kruglanski et al. 2014)	Political & Economic Discrimination (Ghatak et al. 2019)
Military Occupation	Depends	✓	✓	Depends	Depends	Depends
Racism	Depends	Depends	✓	Depends	Depends	✓
Loved one murdered	✓	Depends	✓	Depends	Depends	Depends
Sexual Assault	✓	No	Depends	Depends	No	Depends
Financial Hardship	Depends	Depends	Depends	Depends	No	Depends
Family Conflict	✓	No	Depends	Depends	Depends	No
Religious Enemy	Depends	✓	✓	Depends	Depends	Depends

✓ Indicates yes.

Thus, this study seeks to streamline the definition of a grievance and outline variables by which it can be uniformly operationalized. The qualitative analysis in Chapter 1 will produce a working definition of grievances.

Second, terrorism scholarship has been criticized for focusing on terrorist men and disregarding their women counterparts' supportive, if not direct, actions (Blee 2002; Fink 2013). While there is a growing movement of scholars focusing on violent extremist (VE) women (e.g., Blee 2002; Bloom 2012; Warren et al. 2018), very little is understood about the underlying factors which contribute to women's participation in terrorism. There is little doubt that terrorism is highly gendered, and that women are less likely than men to kill, but there is a lacuna in understanding women's lethality within violent extremism. Instead, the literature on women's lethality largely focuses on the homicide of intimate partners (Peterson 1999), suicidality (Kushner 1995), and lethality assessments of women who have experienced domestic violence (Johnson 2010; Weisberg 2019). In other words, a substantial portion of the scholarship on women's lethality focuses on interpersonal romantic relationships and focuses on physical and sexual abuse histories of the women. There is a need to better understand why some VE women are lethal to prevent these killings, especially knowing that women that engage in terrorism often do not have abuse or poverty personal histories (Monahan 2015).

Using inductive and thematic coding, I will examine 280 open-source case files of women terrorists to identify patterns of grievances to inform an operationalized definition of the term. This work contributes to the existing literature by focusing on how violent extremist women's grievances inform their persistence and lethality in

terrorism. I draw on insights from qualitative analysis to inform the parameters of what constitutes a grievance. This dissertation streamlines the definition and operationalization of grievances in VE scholarship, better understand the experiences and motivations of VE women, and evaluates the utility of Attribution Theory (McCauley and Moskaleiko 2011) as it pertains to VE women's grievances and lethality in terrorism. This research aims to better inform public policy and law enforcement about the temporal component involvement of VE by women as well as the patterns in grievances as they relate to group ideology and lethality. In addition, this research identifies common grievance categories which may serve as points of prevention and intervention (e.g., developing counter-narratives) that dissuade women from VE participation.

To make these contributions, this research operated according to the following aims:

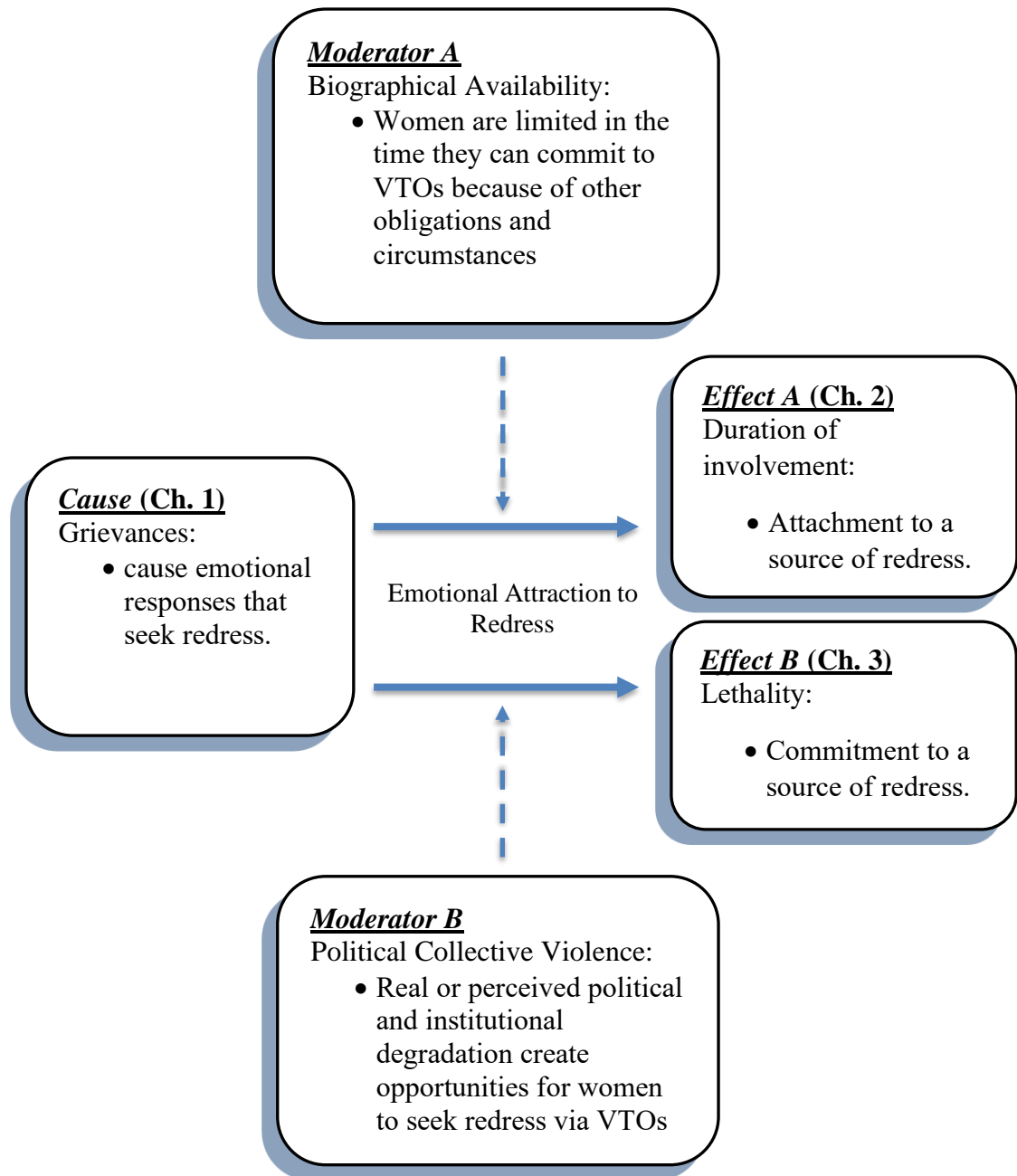
1. Utilize qualitative analysis to identify VE women's adherence to known grievances and discern patterns of grievances within this sample.
2. Create a dataset that enumerates types of grievances, the amount of VE women in the sample who had grievances, and the degree to which women engage in lethality (or attempt it),
3. Derive and test hypotheses about the direct, moderating, and mediating effects of grievances on lethality.

As such, this research offers contributions to two areas of academic literature. First, this work contributes to social movement scholarship by closely examining the

importance of grievances on women's participation in VE. Moreover, this study contributes to a better understanding of women's lethality and persistence in terrorist organizations. Second, this work speaks to the criminological literature by moving away from characterizing women as only victims and focusing squarely on women as offenders with agentic capabilities. In that vein, most literature focuses on women's offending as it occurs due to their relationships with men/male offenders. This study will control for women's relationships with other radicalized individuals (including friends, family, and romantic partners) to determine if grievances motivate VE involvement net of peer pressure. This research is primarily interested in the dynamic between women's grievances and their decisions to engage in VE and lethality.

Figure 1 provides a broad conceptual overview of the entire study.

Figure 1. Conceptual Overview of the Entire Study



As demonstrated in Figure 1, this dissertation aims to understand what grievances are through qualitative coding (Ch.1) and how they may affect women's durations of involvement (Ch.2) and lethality (Ch. 3) in terrorism. In exploring grievances and duration of involvement, biographical availability variables will be controlled for. Political Collective Violence Theory informs the analysis of the potential relationships between grievances and lethality.

The first chapter of this dissertation describes the theoretical understandings and inconsistencies of grievances. It describes the qualitative analysis of women terrorists' case files to inform the multifaceted nature of grievances if they are distinct from ad-hoc justifications of VE participation, and are distinct from VE ideologies in any meaningful way. The second chapter explores the relationships between grievance presence, grievance types, and duration of involvement in terrorism. The third chapter explores the direct and indirect effects of grievance presence and quantity on lethality. Chapter 4 offers insights learned from this endeavor, as well as study limitations, aims of future research, and concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 1: QUALITATIVE CODING OF GRIEVANCES

Abstract

In this first empirical chapter, I (1) develop a conceptualization and operational schema that takes into account the theoretical variation identified above, as well as any additional variation that exists in my data; (2) describe the variation in types of grievances that exist in my sample and (3) identify any clustering of grievance types in my data. Using 280 open-source case files of women involved in terrorism between 1970 and 2018, this study qualitatively analyzes the utility of McCauley and Moskalkenko's (2011) Attribution Theory of grievances; identifies 35 distinct grievances and four grievance categorizations; and presents a revised definition and operationalization of 'grievances' as they relate to women's involvement in terrorism.

Introduction

Grievances as Motivational Factors for Social Movement Entry

This research focuses on understanding how grievances inform VE involvement. I am informed by McCauley and Moskalkenko's definitions of individual and group grievances: "Harm to self or loved ones" and "threat or harm to a group or cause the individual care about" respectively (2011: 13; 21). These operationalizations have been supported in the literature (Atran 2003; Monahan 2015). With that being said, these definitions are so broad that it is likely that they are not specific enough for statistical analyses. Therefore, through my qualitative analysis and inductive means, I aim to craft a definition of grievances with more specificity—with special attention being paid to the severity and political outcomes.

At the group level, these VE groups can be considered social movement organizations because they fit McCarthy and Zald's (1977: 1218) definition, "A *social movement organization* (SMO) is a complex or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals." Social movement scholars have unearthed numerous factors that

motivate people to join and remain engaged in social movements generally, which include community context, leadership, organizational hierarchy, collective identities, biographical availability, personal diligence, and history with the movement (Barkan, Cohn, and Whitaker 1995; Corrigan-Brown 2012; Klandermans 1997; Oselin 2015; Rogne 1999).

Prior studies contend that grievances are useful tools for organizing social movements and can spur mobilization. Oselin and Weitzer (2013: 448) explain that “social movements engage in grievance construction by using framing” to define issues the group wants to address as unjust and intolerable (Snow and Benford 1992). What differentiates grievances from other misfortunes or woes is that they are encompassed with heightened emotions because they are perceived to be insufferable injustices. For example, instead of trying to create religious harmony through tolerance and acceptance, Daesh (ISIS) famously indoctrinates members to adopt the grievance that “Sunni Muslims are victimized as part of a perceived global war on Islam... This narrative is often used as part of the propaganda to unite the binary opposites of victimhood and retributive violence” (Winter 2015: 214-215). While few would disagree that Islamophobia—Sunni or otherwise—is unjust and should be addressed, it only can be considered a grievance when it is magnified into an intolerable, unfair war being inflicted on Sunni by an enemy force.

McCauley and Moskaleiko (2011) maintain that in order to be relevant to terrorism, grievances must be attributed to groups as opposed to individuals. To that end, the distinction between individual and group grievances becomes moot, and difficult to differentiate. Grievance attribution is not always clear, nor consistent. In my study of VE, a central component of this research is to clarify the parameters of what constitutes a

grievance, and if the attribution of blame to individuals and groups is a worthwhile distinction for better understanding it.

In terms of understanding women's involvement in violent extremism, research demonstrates that the population involved in VE is overwhelmingly young men (Monahan 2015), yet recent scholarship indicates that women are more involved than previously thought. Rather than being passive romantic partners of VE men, studies reveal that women have led VE groups, planned and carried out mass violence, effectively propagandized and recruited new members, and more (see Alexander 2016; Blee 2002; Bloom 2012; Saltman and Smith 2015; Warren et al. 2018). This speaks to the criminological literature as well, which is shifting from seeing women's participation in crime as only a product of victimization and is slowly looking at other pathways of women's involvement in crime (Miller 2002; Daly 1992; Chesney-Lind and Sheldon 2004; Gueta and Chen 2016). Importantly, the scholarship on gender and VE indicates that women's grievances are pivotal to their VE involvement.

Moreover, biographical availability also speaks to women's involvement in violent extremism. According to McAdam (1986: 70), biographical availability is an "absence of personal constraints that may increase the costs and risks of [social] movement participation." Scholars have found that those who are more likely to participate in social movements are those who are young, unmarried, unemployed, and non-parents, as the risks and costs of engaging in a social movement, are lower for those with this biographical availability than those with other obligations (Beyerlein and Hipp 2006; Rochford 1985; Snow, Zurcher, and Eklund-Olson 1980). when their perceptions of alternative actions are

less appealing or more costly. As such, biographical availability will be controlled for in the quantitative analysis described in chapter 2.

Finally, this research is also interested in the temporality of women's involvement in VE. In my previous research, I found that former white supremacists ranged in their involvement in the white power movement from 3.5 to 27.5 years, with the average duration being 12 years (Gould 2021). While numerous scholars emphasize that people become involved in VE through a variety of processes, with the salience of certain factors varying over the life course (Borum 2011; Laqueur 2004; Bokhari, Hegghammer, Lia, Nesser, and Tønnessen 2006), I could not find a study that attempted to measure the duration of involvement in VE. By exploring the patterns in the duration of women's involvement in violent extremism, I hope that the proposed research can help inform prevention and intervention attempts.

Grievance Mechanisms for VE Entry

One theory informed this study before open coding: Attribution Theory (McCauley and Moskaleiko 2011). McCauley and Moskaleiko (2011) are perhaps the most highly regarded scholars in understanding the relationship between grievances and radicalization into violent extremism. However, to the best of my knowledge, their contention that grievance attribution is key to understanding involvement in violent organizations has not been empirically supported in the contexts of women, persistence, and lethality within terrorism. Accordingly, this dissertation specifies the extent to which the theory accounts for the relationship between grievances and women's involvement in violent extremism.

Attribution Theory.

Attribution Theory, according to Weiner (2010: 558), “refers to a field of inquiry rather than to a specific scientific conception.” The basic premise of Attribution Theory is that how we perceive responsibility for any given outcome is meaningful in understanding our motivations for taking certain actions. Attribution Theory stems from social psychology and “is concerned with attempts to understand the factors involved in perceived causation. Also, the foci of attribution conceptions have included a variety of perceptions, including the perception of responsibility and freedom” (Harvey and Weary 1984: 428). Weiner (2010) explains that there are four casual dimensions within Attribution Theory: locus of control regarding the cause of the outcome that is being attributed (e.g., internal or external to the actor), perceived control over the cause of the outcome, stability over time of the cause of the outcome, and the generalizability of the cause of the outcome to different situations.

An exploratory approach was taken in the initial coding of the data. Preliminarily, any complaint or negative life event that could have been considered a grievance was coded as a grievance. As the analysis progressed, distinctions were made between negative life events that did not motivate terrorism involvement and those that did. Negative life events that motivated terrorism were considered grievances. In the coding of the 300 VE women’s case files, when grievances were identified they were classified as being either individual or group-based (Warren et al. 2018). The goal of the proposed analysis is to determine if the attribution of a grievance (e.g., to an individual versus a group) significantly impacts the relationships between VE ideologies and women’s VE duration and lethality. To be

clear, a grievance is individual if the blame is placed on one person, whereas group grievances are blamed on entire groups of people. An example of a group grievance from the data is an attempted suicide bomber who told the media she volunteered because several of her siblings were killed by the United States military. Thus, she joined an Islamist group as a suicide bomber to avenge her siblings' deaths and 'attack the West'. In this example, the VE woman attributes her siblings' death to 'the West' as opposed to the individuals who did the killing. This dissertation also argues that a key factor in understanding the relevance of grievances on VE among women is ideological congruence. If a terrorist group's ideology convinces the actor that their grievance can be avenged with specific actions, that will motivate involvement, regardless of if the woman attributes that grievance to an individual or a group.

DATA AND METHODS

Data

This research draws on a data source, which is only available to my former mentor, my colleagues at UVA and the FBI, and myself (Warren et al. 2018; Heidarysafa et al. 2019) to better understand patterns of grievances among VE women. This data was part of a larger research agenda that received IRB approval from both UVA and the FBI. This study will use a unique dataset composed of case files on 300 violent extremist women. To be included in the database, women had to be reportedly involved in a violent extremist group between 1970 and 2018. Over 1,400 women were identified during data collection. The 300 cases were selected from the larger dataset based on the availability and quality of information about each subject and the level of involvement of the subject. These case

files include a theoretically informed risk assessment using the Moral-Situational Action Violence Risk Model of Extremist Violence (MSA-EV), a recently published risk assessment tool that has been found to be approximately 90% accurate in determining low-versus high-violence risk women, and open-source materials including court documents, news articles, books, journals, social media posts, etc. (Warren et al. 2020).

Of note, 20 cases were removed from the original 300 for several reasons. One case was removed for being a duplicate and another lacked data. In six instances, the women held extremist views but were not members of groups that engaged in violence. As Borum (2011) has explained, not all extremists engage in terrorist violence, and not all terrorists that engage in violence have been radicalized to hold extremist views. Thus, to be included in my study, each case needed to show adherence to an extremist doctrine and connection to a non-governmental group that has used violence in an attempt to create social or political change. In our previous scholarship, we were interested in understanding allegations of coercion, deception, and abduction during childhood that led to VE involvement. However, because this dissertation is examining the relationship between a woman's grievances and involvement in terrorism, I decided to exclude twelve cases because coercive control, child abduction, and elaborate deception are separate phenomena that could cloud my analyses because they are clear limitations on each subject's agency.

Thus, the sample for this inquiry consists of 280 case files of women that chose to get commit terrorism. This sample size is large within terrorism scholarship generally as well as female violent extremism research. While the Global Terrorism Database can often produce large sample sizes, that database consists of a majority male sample and lacks

contextual information necessary to perform qualitative analysis and violence risk assessment. To the best of my knowledge, this dataset is the largest, most in-depth data of women involved in terrorism in existence (Warren et al. 2018; 2020).

While this dataset has not been validated by other scholars, there are several reasons why I am confident in its validity and reliability. First, the case files draw from a robust and varied set of data sources (often primary) as opposed to a single data source. Second, this data was collected as part of a larger research agenda which was in collaboration with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The women in this dataset were often investigated by our FBI collaborators, who reassured us that we were not missing any vital information. I can recall at least two occasions when we presented case files to FBI agents who were surprised to find that certain pieces of information could be located from the open-source inquiry. At least once, one such piece of information has since been redacted from as many open-source documents on the internet that the Bureau could identify. Third, I have interviewed several women who are in the dataset for a different research project. In these interviews, I took life histories and was able to ascertain that our dataset was accurate. Fourth, we conducted an inter-rater reliability analysis of the risk assessments we conducted. Our inter-rater reliability was 71.8% (Warren et al. 2018), a value that is considered moderately reliable (McHugh 2012). Fifth, the different sources in our case files often reported the same information.

Although media accounts may report on each other's reporting, it is unlikely that primary and secondary sources would provide the same information if it was inaccurate. Although this is possible, this is true of almost all social science research which relies on

understanding human experience which may be exaggerated, misconstrued, underreported, or misremembered. While there are reasons to be concerned about this data, they are also the most robust data we have on female terrorists. Terrorism has been critiqued for only using retrospective samples; however, prospective studies of terrorism are ethically compromised. Perhaps the most well-known terrorism database is the Global Terrorism Database (GTD); however, this database does not have the same amount of detail about the subjects as the FTD and this database does not include 300 VE women.

The subjects in our sample were included if they identified as women during their involvement in violent extremism and were involved in violent extremism between 1970 and 2018. Originally, our sample only involved women from Five Eyes countries (FVEY) (i.e., an intelligence alliance between the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand); however, as the project progressed, we expanded our sample to include women from 48 countries across the globe. Alakoc et al. (2021) classify VE ideologies as being primarily leftist, ethnic-nationalist (including rightist), or religious. Table 2 shows the breakdown of the sample according to Alakoc et al.'s categories, as well as further specificity which I added. Of note, each group was categorized by its *primary* focus, as opposed to encompassing all of each group's ideological views.

Table 2: Violent Extremist Ideologies in the Sample

Category	Descriptions	Sample (n)
Leftist (n = 49):	Animal rights/environmentalism	5
	Communist/anti-Capitalism	41
	Anti-war	2
	Misandry	1
Ethnic-Nationalist (n = 85):	Palestinian liberation	11
	Kurdish autonomy	3
	Chechnyan independence	9
	Tamil liberation	3
	White supremacy	37
	Black supremacy	4
	Irish Independence	11
	Basque nationalism	3
	Puerto Rican liberation	1
	Anarchist/anti-government	3
Religious (n = 147):	Jihadist/Islamist	137
	Anti-abortion	1
	Armageddon	8
Total:		280

The majority of the sample, (n = 163; 58.0%) became involved with VE before their 25th birthdays, followed by (n = 81; 30.0%) those who joined before their 35th birthdays, and (n = 30; 10.7%) who joined at or after the age of 35. The sample was comprised of 92 (32.9%) women that were ethnic or racial minorities in their countries of origin, 179 (63.9%) women that were not ethnic or racial minorities, and 9 (3.20%) women whose racial and ethnic backgrounds were not specified. Our sample is likely overly representative of white VE women because our data collection began with cases from Five Eyes countries. Almost exactly 50 percent of the sample had at least one child (n = 139; 49.6%). In total, there were 327 known children of these women at the time of risk assessment.

The MSA-EV risk assessments (i.e., a 41-page coding protocol informed by Wikström's (2004) Situational Action Theory) assessed if 496 variables were present/not present and operated as risk factors/protective factors/both in the 300 case files of VE women from the FTD (Warren et al. 2018). To be clear, variables were coded as 99 if there was no information about the variable. Variables were coded as not present if there was evidence indicating that the variable was not part of the woman's life. For example, if there was no information about a subject's criminal history, that variable was left blank; whereas if the file stated that the subject had no criminal history, that variable was coded as not present. Each file was reviewed and recoded to qualitatively analyze grievances as they pertain to women's lethality and duration of involvement in terrorism. The data and analyses were saved in Microsoft Excel. In total, 16,706 pages of case material were analyzed, with an average file size of 60 pages and the largest case file being 136 pages.

Qualitative Analysis.

Conceptualization and Operational Schema

There is conceptual confusion about the nominal definition of “grievance” and the overlap across theories in how they conceptualize and operationalize grievances. For example, the notion of violent extremism being used to redeem oneself is evident in McCauley and Moskaleiko’s (2011) individual grievances, group grievances, risk and status, and unfreezing; and Kruglanski et al.’s (2009) potential significance gain and significance restoration. Thus, this chapter will proceed by detailing the qualitative analyses and findings of coding 280 female terrorists’ grievances, which in turn, provides conceptual clarity concerning the current disparate approaches to grievances (described in Table 1). Ultimately, the qualitative analysis addresses the following: 1) the scope and variation of grievances among terrorist women, 2) patterns in which grievances are attributed to individuals and groups (McCauley and Moskaleiko 2011), and 3) generating a definition and operationalizations of the concept of a “grievance.”

Describing Variation in VE Women’s Grievances

The data were analyzed via two methods: open coding and thematic coding. Open coding is inductive and detailed pattern identification with as few preconceived notions as possible. This method was selected first because of the lack of consensus among scholars about what constitutes a grievance. Therefore, I approached each case by classifying every complaint, tragedy, injustice, etc. described in each file. As the coding proceeded, the temporal aspect of grievances appeared to be deeply relevant to VE involvement. For each grievance, I coded if it was present before the woman became involved in terrorism if it

was present during the woman's engagement in terrorism, and if the file indicated that the grievance was relevant to the woman's VE involvement. The goal of classifying grievances in this manner was to identify the differences – if any – between negative aspects of women's lives that did not drive them into VE versus negative aspects of women's lives that were catalysts in their terrorism participation. To be clear, there were several circumstances that I suspected would be grievances, that were present in the data, but were excluded because they did not create large negative emotional reactions in the subjects, were not relevant to the subjects' involvements in terrorism, and/or the subject was able to cope with the event in a prosocial way. Examples of situations that were ultimately excluded from being considered grievances include social networks disapproving of a romantic partner, deportation, custody loss of children, and language barriers. Of particular interest was deciphering if there were any differences between grievances and VE ideologies; as terrorist groups are notorious for using grievances to recruit, radicalize, and maintain their members.

Next, thematic coding was used to assess the applicability of McCauley and Moskaleiko's (2011) individual- and group-attributed grievances as well as Kruglanski et al.'s (2014) loss of, threats to, and opportunities for significance. Thematic coding is a deductive approach in which the data are assessed concerning existing tenets of theories. Taken together, the two qualitative analytic methods allowed for an in-depth understanding of grievances, which ultimately culminated in a proposed definition and operationalization of the term.

FINDINGS

Results from Open-Coding.

The open coding resulted in 35 types of grievances.

The codes were not distributed evenly across the sample. During open coding, it became overwhelmingly evident that cohort effects, regions of origin and involvement, and VE ideologies influenced the clustering of grievances. Table 3 provides the representations of grievances in the sample.

Table 3. Grievance Representation in the Sample

Grievance	Presence in the Sample N:	Fits Grievance Criteria N:	% of the Sample With Grievance:
Abuse	22	14	7.9
Neglect	12	5	2.8
Sexual assault	12	7	2.5
Sex work	6	3	1.1
Childhood pregnancy	8	6	2.1
Overprotective upbringing	9	4	1.4
Custody loss	8	5	2.8
Homelessness	11	8	2.9
Humanitarian concerns**	76	66	23.6
Financial hardship*	46	30	10.7
Natural disaster	2	1	0.4
Refugee	13	8	2.9
War/military occupation**	85	80	28.6
A loved one was murdered*	60	58	20.7
Loved one suicide	22	18	6.4
Loved one dead - other	39	13	4.6
Homophobia	6	5	2.8
Islamophobia	21	18	7.9
Racism*	57	53	18.9
Sexism	9	8	2.9
Xenophobia	5	5	2.8
Divorce**	79	41	28.2
Family conflict**	78	63	28.2
Infidelity	15	10	3.6
Disability	15	15	5.4
Lonely	20	18	6.4
Loved one ill	25	10	3.6
Low self-esteem	33	28	10
Miscarriage/infertility/abortion	8	2	2.8
Anti-capitalist	35	35	12.5
Anti-west**	71	70	25
Animal rights	5	5	1.8
Environmentalism	6	4	1.4
Legal cynicism**	114	113	40.4
Religious enemies**	114	112	40.0

** indicates at least 25% of the sample held this grievance; * indicates at least 20% of the sample held this grievance

In total, there were 1,147 major negative incidents identified in the data. Of those, 941 were grievances. That means on average, each subject had approximately 3 grievances. Only 13 (4.69%) of the women in the sample did not have at least one grievance coded.

Abuse

Abuse was defined as any allegations of mental, physical, or sexual abuse regardless of the woman's age of onset (e.g., childhood versus adulthood), if the abuse had been reported to law enforcement, and if any legal action had been taken. An example of abuse that was relevant to the subject's involvement in terrorism is:

When the subject was a teenager, she was in an abusive relationship with a man ten years her senior who she described as 'very, very violent, very abusive. He would hit me.' The subject remembers witnessing this man beat someone with a crowbar and subsequently lying to the police afterward when they questioned her about it. Years later, she became involved with a new partner who was also abusive with whom she recruited people into white supremacy as well as 'all kinds of trouble, drinking and getting into fights.' Together, they committed an attack inspired by 'The Turner Diaries,' a neo-Nazi novel that glorifies an imminent race war. After they both were arrested, the subject alleges that he bruised and threatened her during a car ride on the way to court.

Neglect

Neglect was defined according to the definition of the United States Children's Bureau which states, "Neglect is frequently defined as the failure of a parent or other person for the child to provide needed food, clothing, shelter, medical care, or supervision to the degree that the child's health, safety, and well-being are threatened with harm." An example of neglect that was relevant to the subject's involvement in terrorism is:

As a young child, the subject was found in a wooden shed with her siblings and legal guardian. They were described as being in a severely neglected state. The subject and her siblings were removed from their legal guardian's custody and placed into a foster home. The subject described the foster home as being heavily influenced by Nazism and alleged that she was raped while in the foster care system.

Sexual assault

This study employed the United States Department of Justice's definition of sexual assault which is, "any nonconsensual sexual act proscribed by Federal, tribal, or State law, including when the victim lacks [the] capacity to consent" (United States Department of Justice 2022). An example of sexual assault that was relevant to the subject's involvement in terrorism is:

The subject reportedly wanted to take revenge on her instructor who made sexual advances on her. She also wanted to avenge the suffering of women and children during the Vietnam War.

Sex work

This research considers sex work to be any exchange of sexual favors for financial compensation. Sex work includes prostitution, stripping/exotic dancing, pornography, et cetera. An example of sex work that was relevant to the subject's involvement in terrorism is:

The subject met a man while on the set of a soft porn movie. She began an affair with the man and his wife while living with them. The man was friends with a VE group leader and a future mass murderer. The subject fell in love with the group leader, moved into the VE group's compound, and claimed that he was the "best thing that ever happened" to her.

Childhood pregnancy

I defined childhood pregnancy as any reported pregnancy before the subject's 18th birthday. An example of childhood pregnancy that was relevant to the subject's involvement in terrorism is:

When the subject was not yet 15, she married (although the legality is questionable) a jihadi soldier who was over 10 years her senior. The subject became pregnant with the militant's child and gave birth several months after the soldier had been killed. The subject supported her husband's involvement and was known to post content online in favor of the VE group and threatening to film herself killing her slaves with edged weapons.

Overprotective upbringing

This study considered overprotective upbringings to encompass any complaint made by the subject that their upbringing was excessively restrictive or strict. An example of an overprotective upbringing that was relevant to the subject's involvement in terrorism is:

The subject's family was described as "strictly traditional," and the subject indicated that she felt restricted by curfews, etc. The fact that her family was strict and traditional increased her motivation to leave, and she stated that, at first, she was happy and "felt like an adult." In this way, her departure from the family home to join a terrorist group showed some signs of being an act of teenage rebellion.

Custody loss

Custody loss refers to the forfeiture of guardianship over the subject's child(ren) regardless of if the loss of custody is legally sanctioned. An example of a loss of child custody that was relevant to the subject's involvement in terrorism is:

The subject explained that during her involvement with a white supremacist group, she was intensely angry and suicidal. She stated that she gave up several children for adoption, “during that time [VE involvement] because I didn’t want to poison them with my worthlessness.”

Homelessness

I employed the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)’s definition of homelessness which is an “Individual or family who lacks a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence, meaning: (i) Has a primary nighttime residence that is a public or private place not meant for human habitation; (ii) Is living in a publicly or privately operated shelter designated to provide temporary living arrangements (including congregate shelters, transitional housing, and hotels and motels paid for by charitable organizations or by federal, state, and local government programs); or (iii) Is exiting an institution where (s)he has resided for 90 or less and who resided in an emergency shelter or place not meant for human habitation immediately before entering that institution” (Criteria for Defining Homelessness n.d.). An example of homelessness that was relevant to the subject’s involvement in terrorism is:

The file indicates that the subject was likely motivated to remain in the terrorist group because of the sense of belonging she received from other group members when she was living as a squatter and a fugitive.

Humanitarian concern

The Humanitarian Coalition of Canada defines a humanitarian crisis as “an event or series of events that represents a critical threat to the health, safety, security or wellbeing of a community or other large group of people, usually over a wide area” (Humanitarian

Coalition 2021). An example of a humanitarian concern that was relevant to the subject's involvement in terrorism is:

The file indicates that at the time of her involvement, the subject was primarily motivated in her actions by her allegiance to her war-torn home country and to her friends who had gone to fight for it. At sentencing, she insisted that she was not a terrorist and that her contributions were motivated by a desire to provide food and medical care for those in need, and that her contributions to the violent extremist group were a "product of friendship rather than support (for) activities of the terrorist organization," and that the money she sent was to help friends with living expenses and debt relief.

Financial hardship

Financial hardship was defined as monetary insecurity including but not limited to an inability to pay bills or purchase necessities, large debts, repossession, et cetera. An example of a financial hardship that was relevant to the subject's involvement in terrorism is:

The subject would later tell authorities that she was radicalized by a terrorist cell via social networks. She stated that she was left vulnerable after her separation from her husband and was searching for a better life for herself and her son. During this time, the subject maintained constant contact with prominent terrorist leaders and was eventually contacted by one on a social media platform. This person would give her advice and promise her a better future if she joined the jihadist terror group in another country. The person also promised her monetary compensation if she were to join the "defense of Islam" and those who fought against the group's enemies.

Natural disaster

The United States Department of Homeland Security (2021) defines natural disasters as "all types of weather, which have the potential to pose a significant threat to

human health and safety, property, critical infrastructure, and homeland security ... [these include] winter storms, floods, tornados, hurricanes, wildfires, earthquakes, or any combination thereof.” An example of a natural disaster that was relevant to the subject’s involvement in terrorism is:

Court documents revealed that the subject was concerned about the two groups’ abilities to manage given the circumstances, so she sent money to both terrorist groups for “flood relief.”

Refugee

The United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (2019) define refugees as, “any person who is outside any country of such person’s nationality or, in the case of a person having no nationality, is outside any country in which such person last habitually resided, and who is unable or unwilling to return to, and is unable or unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of, that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.” I only coded women as refugees if the term was explicitly used in their case file or if they were reported as living/having lived in a refugee camp. An example of an experience as a refugee that was relevant to the subject’s involvement in terrorism is:

The subject was born and raised in a refugee camp in a war-torn area. She carried out a suicide attack on behalf of her terrorist group. The earliest indication of her radicalization seems to be related to her experience of the conflict between two countries, impacting her directly as a resident of a refugee camp. According to the information provided, the subject is the one who contacted members of the terrorist organization as a volunteer for a suicide mission, “to avenge” the deaths of those killed recently by the opposing country’s troops in her residential area and that if refused, she would attack an army post of the opposing country.

War/military occupation

This variable was coded anytime the subject expressed being impacted—directly or indirectly—by war, military occupation, political uprising, et cetera. An example of an experience of war/military occupation that was relevant to the subject’s involvement in terrorism is:

The subject witnessed 20 years of civil war that had plagued her country since she was a teenager. By providing financial support to the terrorist organization, she felt that she was helping her people with what she perceived to be an invasion. After the verdict, she stated through a translator, "I am very happy. I'm going to the heaven no matter. ... Also, you guys go to the hell," about those whom she believes are against Muslims. She continued, “We know God. We know justice...”

Loved one murdered

Any reference to a person the subject deeply caring about being killed by another person, including by enemy forces during an armed conflict, was coded as a loved one murdered. An example of a loved one’s murder that was relevant to the subject’s involvement in VE is:

The subject was described as devoutly religious and an active campus supporter of the terror group. Her husband and brother had been killed in the conflict that was occurring at the time, and other extended family had died as a result as well. In the months leading up to her attack, she would visit the homes of those killed in the conflict. A week before she carried out her attack, the subject visited a location where six enemy soldiers killed several of her country's policemen. While there, DAA dipped a napkin in the blood of one of the policemen and wrote "I will be crying, and I will keep this blood so that no one will ever forget." She would watch television images of death and destruction in the raging conflict with "mounting anger." Her sibling recalled that she believed that she and her family would be "killed for nothing," in a roadblock search or something similar. She advised that "it is better to die for a reason." The subject eventually contacted a VE group and asked them to enlist her in a suicide mission. When they refused, she turned to another terrorist group. DAA made a video statement before carrying out the attack stating that she belonged to the second group she contacted, as the group had recently announced that it was setting up a unit of women to serve as suicide bombers.

Loved one suicide

This variable was coded for both attempted and successful suicides committed by a person whom the subject cared deeply for. An example of a loved one's suicide that relates to the subject's terrorism participation is:

The subject's teenage brother committed a lethal shooting outside of a police headquarters building before he was shot dead by police. The subject is the one who allegedly drafted her brother's suicide note beforehand, which was found on his body after he was killed in the shootout. Additionally, surveillance footage revealed that her brother had given her a suitcase to take with her to join the terrorist group in another country.

Loved one dead – other

This variable was coded for all deaths of people the subject cared about that could not be categorized as murder or suicide. An example of a loved one's death (other) that relates to the subject's VE participation is:

One experience that likely prompted the subject's radicalization and involvement was her father's death in the early 2000s. He was Muslim, and after he died, she learned more about the religion. After several years, she and her siblings converted from Christianity to Islam. Online, the subject taught herself about ISIS and later became an ISIS recruiter, propagandist, and supporter.

Homophobia

Homophobia was coded as any discrimination based upon perceived or actual homosexuality. This variable was coded for subjects that had experienced this discrimination as well as subjects doing the discrimination. An example of homophobia that is relevant to a subject's involvement in terrorism is:

The subject is documented stating that the reason the world believes ISIS are terrorists is due to "Zionist propaganda." The subject also wrote to her co-conspirator that gays and Zionists "should all die."

Islamophobia

Islamophobia was coded as any discrimination based upon perceived or actual adherence to the Islamic faith or identity as Muslim. This variable was coded for subjects that had experienced this discrimination, subjects doing the discrimination, and/or subjects who felt so strongly that they wanted to counter Islamophobia, that they joined a VE

organization. An example of islamophobia that is relevant to a subject's involvement in terrorism is:

Enemy troops raided the family home, an act that HAD regarded as a violation. While they were raiding her home, the troops destroyed her textbooks and her Koran. A week later, a curfew was imposed on her hometown, and the only exempt people were students going to their exams. The subject was once stopped by an opposing soldier on her way to class and she was forced to remove her veil, after which she broke down in the street crying. The subject's grandmother explained that the subject began to foster hatred, stating "She was very angry. She was full of hatred against [the enemy troops]."

Racism

Racism was coded according to the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's (U.S. EEOC) definition of race/color discrimination which reads: "Race discrimination involves treating someone (an applicant or employee) unfavorably because he/she is of a certain race or because of personal characteristics associated with race (such as hair texture, skin color, or certain facial features). Color discrimination involves treating someone unfavorably because of skin color complexion. Race/color discrimination also can involve treating someone unfavorably because the person is married to (or associated with) a person of a certain race or color" (<https://www.eeoc.gov/racecolor-discrimination>). This variable was coded for subjects that had experienced this discrimination, subjects doing the discrimination, and/or subjects who felt so strongly that they wanted to counter racism, that they joined a VE organization. To be clear, if the subject indicated that she felt members of other races were her enemies and/or if she was treated as a racial enemy, racism was coded. Discrimination on the basis of race had to seriously negatively impact a subject's life whether that be through being the victim of racial discrimination, or fearing

others as racial enemies. For subjects involved in white supremacist or black supremacist terrorism, there was a clear pattern of fearing racial cleansing of their race, while condoning racial segregation and/or cleansing of members of other racial backgrounds. An example of racism that is relevant to a subject's involvement in terrorism is:

The subject described educating herself about the white supremacist ideology during her teen years. After being released from prison, she met the founder of a white supremacist prison gang, through mutual friends, following his release from prison. The leader told the subject about his desire to start a "revolution" with a mass killing spree targeting Jewish leaders and "Zionists," to preserve what he perceived as dying American culture and the white race. Subsequently, the subject decided to quit her job, skip check-ins with her parole officer, and abandon her son to pursue the revolution with the white supremacist leader.

Sexism

I utilized the American Psychological Association's (APA) (2022) definition of sexism which is: "discriminatory and prejudicial beliefs and practices directed against one of the two sexes, usually women. Sexism is associated with [the] acceptance of sex-role stereotypes and can occur at multiple levels: individual, organizational, institutional, and cultural. It may be overt, involving the open endorsement of sexist beliefs or attitudes; covert, involving the tendency to hide sexist beliefs or attitudes and reveal them only when it is believed that one will not suffer publicly for them; or subtle, involving unequal treatment that may not be noticed because it is part of everyday behavior or perceived to be unimportance". As with other discriminatory grievances, sexism was coded both as an experience of the subject, as discrimination that the subject was perpetuating, and/or as a

meaningful cause worth dismantling via violent extremism. An example of sexism as a grievance that contributed to terrorism involvement is:

The subject stated that her sexuality was and is an influence on her political and VE activities, stating “Being a lesbian has always been an important part of the reasons why I am a revolutionary- even before I was self-conscious about how important this is to me” and because “I experience real oppression as a lesbian and as a woman, I am personally committed from the very core of being to winning liberation for women, lesbians, and all oppressed people.”

Xenophobia

Xenophobia was defined as discrimination against people from foreign countries.

The data exemplifies xenophobia as a grievance that informs terrorism with the following excerpt:

The subject denounces immigrants and refugees and has referred to them as “lazy bums” and “incoming invaders.” She claimed to believe in a Marxist secret agenda to enact “white genocide” by allowing the entry of refugees and immigrants. She has advised white women to prepare for a race war, stating, “These people risk their lives trying to come to the countries that white men built for us. We must be ready to go to battle.” The subject states that she wants to be “left alone with her fellow white Europeans,” and spoke with several other female white nationalists publicly about her “ideal” European society where they would focus on high culture and “making beautiful art and beautiful architecture.” The subject argues that immigration has made white men feel like “strangers in our own backyard.” She expressed concern about her child’s development in a world where they are a minority and the “last in line” for school acceptance, employment, loans, and grants. The subject advises that to “red-pill” (convert) someone to the VE cause, you should have them live in a diverse neighborhood for a while.

Divorce

There were several circumstances in the data that were coded as divorces. The first scenario was the subject being the child of divorce. The second instance was when the subject experienced divorce herself. Of note, I did count separations of couples that were legally married or married via common law, as divorces. An example of a divorce influencing a subject's participation in VE is:

During her teenage years, the subject was struggling with her parent's divorce. Her mother described her as "lost" after her parent's divorce claiming that the subject "didn't know what to do" and was "looking for a reason to live." These hardships were extenuated by the poverty that she was living in. Her mother believes that her daughters were "vulnerable" to extremists because they were "young, uneducated, poor, and forgotten."

Family conflict

In this study, the term family conflict encompassed two scenarios. The first is family estrangement in which members of a family do not communicate for extended periods due to some form of disagreement. The second scenario consists of family separations in which one or more family members leave the family unit because they are incarcerated, moved to another country, etc. An example of a family conflict that contributed to a subject's involvement in terrorism is:

The subject advised that her romantic partner radicalized after seeing "atrocities committed by the regime in Syria." Shortly after radicalizing, the subject's partner traveled to Syria to join ISIS. After months of separation, the subject traveled to Syria with her five young children, who were all under the age of 9 at the time. In a letter she wrote to her relatives, she stated, "All I keep thinking was I don't want the kids never to see their father again and I don't want the baby to never had [sic] met his dad."

Infidelity

Infidelity was coded for both the subject cheating on their partner and, inversely, the subject being cheated on. Also, there was one instance when a subject partook in a homicide because of cheating allegations that the homicide victim cheating on his partner, who was friends with the subject. Infidelity was coded for all romantic relationships, not only matrimony, and was coded regardless of if the alleged unfaithfulness had been confirmed, so long as the subject was operating under the assumption that infidelity had occurred. An example of infidelity contributing to a subject's VE participation is:

The subject converted to Islam after meeting her VE romantic partner. She was reportedly "enthralled" with him even though he was involved in multiple extra-marital sexual relationships with women other than the subject. The VE romantic partner and his wife divorced and she was granted full custody of their children; he had visitation rights. The subject became obsessed with forming a family unit with her VE romantic partner, attended the visitations, and tried to get his children to call her 'mummy.' The subject stabbed and burned her romantic partner's ex-wife and was convicted of her murder. She reportedly claimed that she carried out the murder so she could form a family unit with her romantic partner and his two children.

Disability

Disabilities were coded for any physical or mental ailment that impacted the subjects' daily lives. An example of a disability that influenced a woman's participation in violent extremism is:

The subject had a benign tumor removed from her brain which allegedly modified her behavior. The file claims that her then-husband (the pair later divorced) explained that after the surgery, she became cooler, distanced, and less interested in sex. A former friend of the subject alleged that the subject's then-husband told her that he was interested in other women (he was known to have engaged in multiple extramarital affairs) because they were less exhausting than the subject who was "a permanent challenge day and night, in everything." Years later, the subject committed suicide while incarcerated. As part of her autopsy, the subject's brain was studied and medical professionals argued that it was likely that the brain tumor removal contributed to the subject's radicalization.

Lonely

This variable was coded if the subject was described as lonesome or upset about not having many or any close relationships. An example of loneliness influencing a woman's participation in terrorism is:

Court documents indicate that the subject's, "only 'real friend' was the undercover agent, as she was one of the only people who [the subject] socialized with in-person outside of her immediate family."

Loved one ill

This variable was coded for any mention that a person the subject cared about was sick from a serious illness. An example of a loved one's illness that contributed to a subject's VE involvement is:

The file indicates that the subject was vulnerable to radicalizing following her mother's diagnosis and death from lung cancer. Following the death of her mother, the subject began to seek comfort in Islam. Sources suggest that she was radicalized at a radical mosque and was told "if she goes and dies in Syria, she will go to paradise and be with her mother," although sources close to the mosque have denied this. Reportedly, the subject told her father, "If I die here then I will go to my mother."

Miscarriage/infertility/abortion

Miscarriage, infertility, and abortion were intended to capture women's struggles with their reproductive health. In certain countries, a woman's inability to conceive, pregnancy outside of wedlock, and/or abortion procedure constitute grounds for social banishing, capital punishment, and/or honor killing. An example of a reproductive health grievance influencing a woman's participation in terrorism is:

The subject detonated a 22-lb bomb in a suicide attack on behalf of her VE group. At the time of her death, she was recently divorced from her former husband of eight years, whom she had been in a relationship with for the better part of a decade. Her husband divorced her after she delivered a stillborn baby and became aware that she would not be able to carry a child to term. After her husband divorced her, she moved back into the family home with her mother, brother, his wife, and their five children in the refugee camp. In the weeks preceding the attack, her family and friends reported behavioral changes such as her becoming morose and withdrawn, and her sister-in-law described the subject as angry and isolating herself. In addition, she made certain statements praising martyrdom attacks and even expressed a desire to die in this way.

Anti-capitalist

Anti-capitalist grievances were coded for all expressions of disdain and oppression experienced due to the bourgeoisie, capitalist economics, et cetera. Of note, few, if any, of the women in the sample claimed to be directly oppressed by capitalism – many only became members of the proletariat class by choice after growing up in upper-middle-class and wealthy households. Instead, anti-capitalist views were often intellectual and academic

endeavors that were regularly cited as causing the Vietnam War. An example of anti-capitalist views that influenced a subject's violent extremism is:

The subject is most known for her involvement in the kidnapping of a well-known businessman who was targeted by the terror group because he was the federal president of several capitalist organizations. He was held captive for six weeks in an attempted negotiation for the release of several members of the terror group from prison. The government refused to negotiate with the captors and several of the incarcerated VE members committed suicide in their cells. The business was subsequently murdered.

Anti-west

The anti-west variable was coded for any negative sentiments against the "Western World" and/or western society generally, as opposed to a specific country (coded as war/military conflict), a race of people (coded as racism), or governmental regime (coded as legal cynicism). An example of an anti-west sentiment that influenced a subject's terrorism involvement is:

The file stated that the subject joined the VE group as "a way to emancipate yourself from your parents and from the Western society that has let you down." The subject explained to her parents that left an "immoral city to search for a religious virtue and meaning." Once she joined the group, her chaperone was tasked with "purifying their Western minds" by instilling practices of the VE group's version of the law. The subject reportedly married a jihadi soldier and had been featured in several VE group propaganda videos. He is well known because of his hair color and his threatening to carry out attacks in the West.

Animal rights

This variable was coded if the subject expressed anger, guilt, or any negative emotions regarding the real or perceived maltreatment of animals. An example of animal rights as a grievance contributing to violent extremism participation is:

The subject's love of animals began at an early age. She was described as being painfully shy at times and, other than her love of animals, she had no other noteworthy passions/traits, according to her mother. She initially wanted to be a veterinarian but changed her mind when she discovered the training involved so-called "cruelty to animals." She became a vegetarian at age 16 and a vegan at age 18. In college, she became involved in environmental/animal protection groups and participated in hunger strikes for animal welfare. Later, she went on a backpacking trip through East Africa and visited a gorilla reserve, which reportedly had a profound impact on her. She participated in multiple illegal activities with the terror group, which she provided information about after her arrest (detailed below). She was living with her mother when their home was raided by police investigating the mailing of pipe bombs and razor blades to people working in the fur trade. Shortly after, the subject moved in with her coconspirators. After years of living as a fugitive, the subject turned herself into law enforcement. In court, she admitted wrongdoing, saying she had been stubborn in her 20s and now realized her mistakes. She stated that she had felt that lawful action was not helping save animals or the environment, which had driven her to work outside the law.

Environmentalism

This variable was coded if the subject expressed anger, guilt, or any negative emotions regarding the real or perceived degradation of the environment. Grievances related to environmentalism include deforestation, climate change, air pollution, et cetera. An example of environmental grievances contributing to violent extremism participation is:

The subject entered a university agricultural building and poured gasoline everywhere. The subject and her coconspirator allegedly botched the plan, accidentally igniting the gas fumes and setting the subject's hair on fire before she could paint "No GMO" on the wall. The next day, the pair set fire to logging equipment. When describing the attacks the subject said, "It was intended as an enlightenment moment that people would see what is going on beneath the surface" because the university building held records related to research on genetically modified, insect-resistant crops. The terror group claimed that GMOs were harmful to the environment.

Legal cynicism

Sampson and Bartush (1998: 783-784), define legal cynicism as viewing "injustice in the application of legal norms and the express cynicism about the legitimacy of laws and the ability of police to do their job in an effective and non-discriminatory manner." This variable was also coded for disparagement of the legal system as a whole, and the institution of the government. Legal cynicism influencing a subject's involvement in terrorism is exemplified below:

A confidential informant documented that the subject and her co-conspirators were planning an attack on behalf of their VE group because they believed themselves to be the "last line of defense against gangs and drug dealers in a world where police have been emasculated by minority rights," and they often had conversations about inflation and the high costs of ammunition.

Religious enemies

The grievance of religious enemies was coded for all instances of hatred and religious discrimination against people of other faiths or denominations of the same faith (e.g., Protestants and Catholics during the Troubles). This includes believing that another

faith is a direct affront to one's religion, the demolition of which (via murder) will be celebrated by God as martyrdom. An example of religious enemies relating to a woman's involvement in VE is as follows:

In a phone call recorded by law enforcement (undenounced to the subject), the subject was informed by a co-conspirator of a successful "martyrdom operation" carried out by their terrorist group in which peacekeeping troops of another faith were killed. The subject responded with praise for the attack saying, "Oh my God. God is great. Wonderful. I swear to God, you told me something to be happy about." The subject was convicted of providing material support to the terrorist group after sending money to fund similar operations

When examining the 11 most common grievances, a theme becomes clear that they all are related to the breakdown of social institutions and trust. These grievances speak to previous criminological scholarship, most notably, Emile Durkheim's (1893: 1897) concept of anomie and Robert Agnew's (2010) General Strain Theory of Terrorism. Anomie is a state of normlessness in which large groups of people and societies find themselves in a great state of ambiguity and unrest. Durkheim (1897) argues that without social norms regulating a society, social solidarity – both mechanical and organic – breaks down and people will become isolated and are more likely to engage in deviance and ultimately, suicide. Serpa and Ferreira (2018) maintain that to decrease anomie, efforts need to be made to increase cooperation, social integration, social control, and shared moral values in a society.

Concerns regarding humanitarian crises are anomic in that the victims of the crisis – whether it be genocide or a pandemic – lose any sense of control they have over their situation. Moreover, Serpa and Ferreira (2018: 690) explain that not only do individuals

develop a sense of hopelessness that depletes their motivations to abide by laws and other social conventions but in fact, anomic, “societies are organized in such a way that they do not have the power to impose rules on individuals to ensure social harmony.” The notion of legal cynicism exemplifies this point, as the lack of faith in law enforcement and other legal institutions makes social control much more difficult, which in turn creates more legal cynicism. As the example of legal cynicism from the data (see above) shows, legal cynicism encourages people to abandon conventional ways of handling conflicts, and instead, is justification for a person taking matters into their own hands, no matter how violent those hands may be.

In 2010, Robert Agnew proposed a general strain theory for terrorism which asserted that “terrorism is most likely when people experience ‘collective strains’” (131). To meet Agnew’s (2010) criteria to be a collective strain, the experience must be “(a) high in magnitude with civilians affected; (b) unjust; and (c) inflicted by significantly more powerful others, including ‘complicit’ civilians with whom members of the strained collectivity have weak ties” (131). When examining the most common grievances in the sample, it is difficult to ascertain any differences from ‘collective strains.’ Take, for example, war or military occupations. By definition, wars affect large numbers of civilians and must be perceived as unjust by at least one party involved, otherwise, there would be no conflict. In all of the examples of war and/or military occupations in the sample, the conflict involved a much more powerful country attacking a much less powerful country (e.g., Israel and Palestine, Russia and Chechnya/Dagestan, the United Kingdom, and Ireland).

Intuitively, Agnew's argument makes sense; societies with unjust strains placed on them by more powerful others will cope with these burdens with terrorism. However, Agnew (2010) argued that collective strains do not always predict terrorism incidents because "a range of factors condition their effect" (131). Thus, in subsequent chapters, I will test if women with the collective strains represented in the 11 most common grievances from the sample are more likely to engage in lethality than their other terrorist counterparts. If these grievances increase the likelihood of lethality, that would be a positive indication supporting Agnew's (2010) theory.

Results from Thematic Coding.

Attribution Theory

McCauley and Moskaleiko (2011) argue that in terms of terrorism, only group grievances matter as even individual grievances get attributed to groups when someone engages in terrorism. While I agree that this pathway exists and is the primary pathway of grievances influencing terrorism, there was one indication in the data of an individual grievance fueling terrorism involvement directly. In this case, the subject joined a VE group to commit a suicide bombing directly next to the man who killed her husband to avenge her husband's death. What the open coding reveals, is that regardless of if grievances were predominantly attributed to individuals (e.g., loved one murdered, family conflict, financial hardship) or to groups (e.g., humanitarian concerns, war/military hardship, legal cynicism) what was more paramount was if the grievance aligned with a VE group's ideology. I will test this hypothesis quantitatively in a subsequent chapter;

however, the open coding did make it clear that the emotional reaction to the grievance was more important than the entity that which the grievance was attributed.

Four Types of Grievances

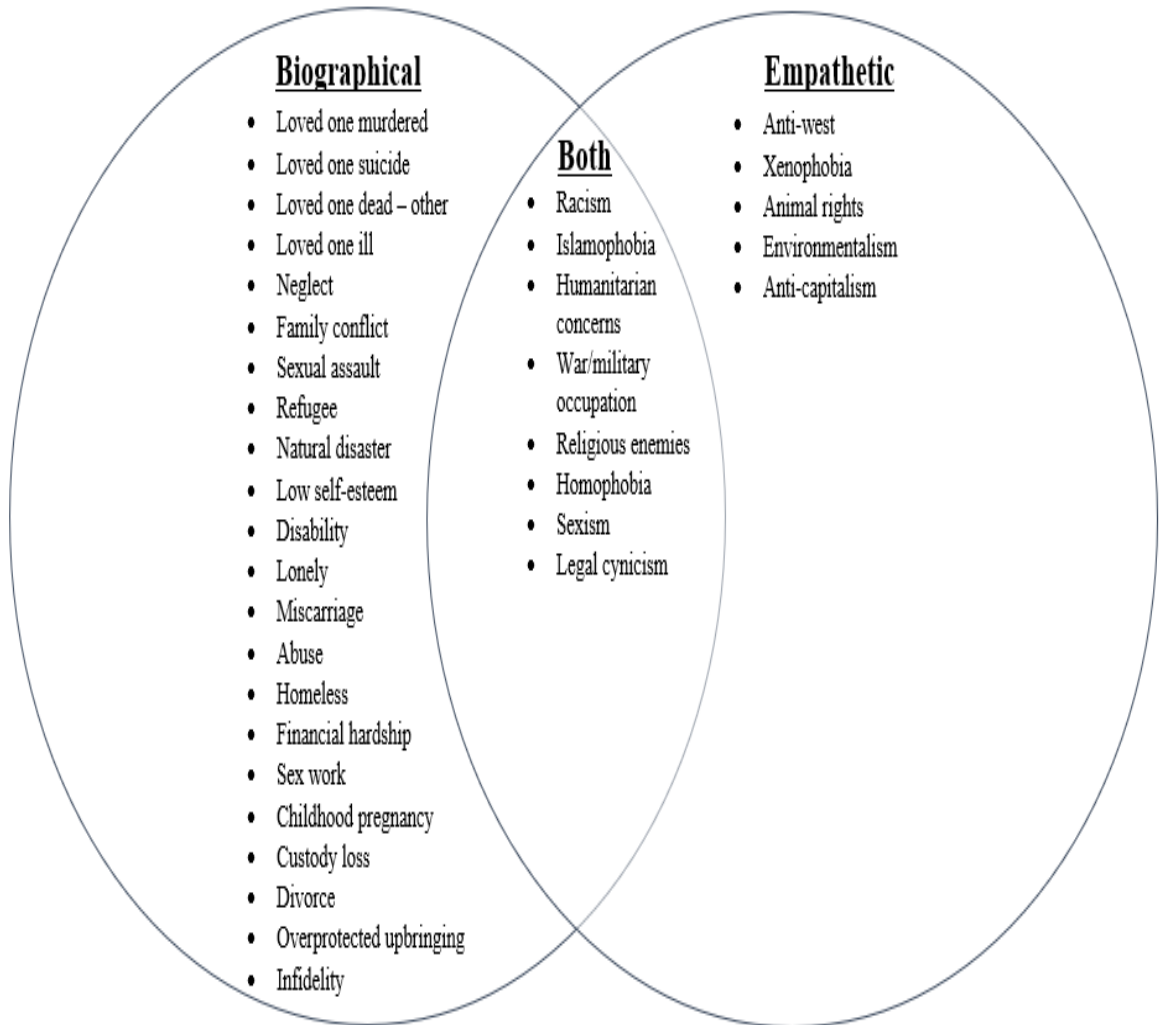
From both the open and thematic analyses, it became clear that rather than how a grievance is attributed (McCauley and Moskaleiko 2011), if it invokes moral outrage (Meloy and Gill 2016), if it threatens a person's feeling of significance (Kruglanski et al. 2014), or if it could be considered political or economic discrimination (Ghatak et al. 2019), what appears to be the most salient is if the grievance is biographical, empathetic, pre-existing, or acquired. The two former categorizations referring to the grievance type and the latter two referring to the grievance temporality. The analyses consistently revealed that the culpable party that grievances were attributed to 1. frequently changed during the subject's involvement; 2. were often attributed to both individuals and much larger groups/social institutions, and 3. were not always attributed to an individual or a group. In the latter instance, there was a general rage about a circumstance, but placing blame was not the focus, rather, expressing rage was the primary focus. Thus, the qualitative analysis did not support McCauley and Moskaleiko's (2011) attribution perspective of grievances.

I argue that biographical grievances are those which happen directly to the subject or someone very close to the subject personally. David Snow and Richard Machalek's (1984) concept of biographical reconstruction makes it possible for these events to gain paramount significance for the subject, which can motivate them to embark on terrorism. Empathetic grievances refer to injustices that happen (or are believed to happen) in the world at large, but not to the subject directly in any way. Empathetic grievances rest mostly

on the emotions a subject has from a personal experience whereas compassionate grievances play on the fear caused by the experiences of others and/or a theoretical future state that may one day be experienced by the subject. As an aside, the term, “ideological grievance” was considered in place of empathetic grievance; however, because one of the criteria of a grievance is that the subject sees a connection to a VE group’s ideology, empathetic grievances is a more precise and accurate name.

An example of a biographical grievance would be a woman’s spouse being murdered and the woman taking up terrorism to avenge their spouse’s death. An example of a compassionate grievance would be a subject engaging in extremist violence in the form of kidnapping and murdering a prominent business person because the subject experiences capitalism as oppression. In the data, some grievances could be categorized as either biographical, ideological, or both. For example, racism was coded as biographical if a subject experienced harassment, discrimination, or assault because of their skin color, perceived ethnicity, et cetera; however, racism was coded as ideological when a subject described joining a terrorist group to incite a race war in which their race would prevail and ‘heal’ humanity. Figure 1 shows the grievances that were coded as only biographical, only compassionate, and both in the data set.

Figure 1. Biographical and Empathetic Grievances in the Data



Pre-existing grievances are those that the subject held *before* becoming involved in terrorism. Whereas acquired grievances are those that only developed *during* the subject's involvement in terrorism. An example of a pre-existing grievance would be a subject's family member being killed when the subject was 10 years old, and the subject being motivated by this loss when they are 17 years old to become involved in VE. An example of an acquired grievance would be that of a subject who became friends with members of a white supremacist organization, joined the organization, and then began to hold the view that the white race is threatened by non-whites, Jews, homosexuals, etc.

Proposed Definition and Operationalization of Grievances.

Definition

Taken together, the open and thematic coding indicates that a grievance can be defined as:

A real or perceived biographical or empathetic injustice, pre-existing or acquired, that causes a significant negative emotional response.

Operationalization

This definition operationalizes grievances to have the following four components, each of which will be addressed individually.

1. The grievance must significantly upset (e.g., anger, disgust, shame, trauma) the aggrieved

Without a strong negative emotional reaction, an event cannot be characterized as a grievance because if the event causes no reaction, a neutral reaction, or negative reaction that has dissipated significantly, or a positive reaction, that indicates three possibilities that negate the denotational consistency of a grievance. First, if the event sparks no emotional reaction or a neutral reaction, that indicates that either the event was not memorable to the subject, and/or that the event did not bear much influence on the subject's life and decision-making. Second, if a negative reaction has lessened greatly over time, that indicates that the subject is coping with the negative event and has perhaps made peace with it so that it no longer is a deeply troubling source in her life. Third, if the subject has a positive emotional response to an event, then by definition, it is not a negative influence on her life.

2. The grievance must be perceived as unjust AND caused by an illegitimate or enemy source

This criterion pays homage to Agnew's (2010) collective strains and addresses the idea that a grievance is a detrimental event that the subject cannot accept or manage emotionally. For example, if a loved one is murdered by their romantic partner, and the subject views that as a senseless tragedy that they will grieve for the rest of their lives, that is a tragedy, but not a grievance because while it is perceived as unjust, it is not perceived as being caused by an enemy or illegitimate source. Whereas, if a loved one is murdered during a standard traffic stop by a police officer, for example, that is a grievance if the aggrieved view the loss as unjust and caused by an illegitimate source (e.g., legal cynicism due to police brutality).

3. The grievance must motivate the subject's involvement in terrorism.

While at first, I was apprehensive that this criterion creates a *petitio principii* issue in which the cause and the effect are not distinct entities, I resolved this hesitation by realizing two things. First, the entire sample of women was motivated by something to engage in terrorism, thus, this criterion allows for the distinction between grievances (which motivate terrorism) and other negative life experiences (which do not motivate terrorism). Second, the entire scope of this dissertation is to explore grievances as motivations for women to engage in violent extremism. Therefore, if terrorism motivation was not a requisite, I would be analyzing general adversities as opposed to grievances.

Table 4. Biographic and Empathetic Grievance Representation in the Sample

Grievance Category	Presence in the Sample N:	Fits Grievance Criteria N:	% of the Sample with Grievance:
Biographic Grievance			
A loved one was murdered*	60	58	20.7
Loved one suicide	22	18	6.4
Loved one dead - other	39	13	4.6
Loved one ill	25	10	3.6
Neglect	12	5	2.8
Family conflict**	78	63	28.2
Sexual assault	12	7	2.5
Refugee	13	8	2.9
Natural disaster	2	1	0.4
Low self-esteem	33	28	10
Disability	15	15	5.4
Lonely	20	18	6.4
Miscarriage/infertility/abortion	8	2	2.8
Abuse	22	14	7.9
Homelessness	11	8	2.9
Financial hardship*	46	30	10.7
Sex work	6	3	1.1
Childhood pregnancy	8	6	2.1
Custody loss	8	5	2.8
Divorce**	79	41	28.2
Overprotective upbringing	9	4	1.4
Infidelity	15	10	3.6
Empathetic Grievance			
Anti-west**	71	70	25
Xenophobia	5	5	2.8
Animal rights	5	5	1.8
Environmentalism	6	4	1.4
Anti-capitalist	35	35	12.5
Humanitarian concerns**	76	66	23.6
Both			
Racism* (received or given)	57	53	18.9
Islamophobia	21	18	7.9
Humanitarian concerns**	76	66	23.6
War/military occupation**	85	80	28.6
Religious enemies**	114	112	40.0
Homophobia	6	5	2.8
Sexism	9	8	2.9
Legal cynicism**	114	113	40.4

*indicates at least 20% of the sample; ** indicates at least 25% of the sample held this grievance

These data signify that this empirical assessment of grievances as they relate to women's involvement in terrorism is conservative because in order to be considered as grievances, each negative incident had to be substantiated by multiple sources all of which are available in the public domain. Thus, it is highly likely that each subject faced adversity that was not included in their case file, and yet, they still had events that fit the aforementioned criteria of a grievance, albeit a conservative estimate of their total grievances. In total, there were 1,147 major negative incidents identified in the data. Of those, 941 were grievances. That means on average, each subject had approximately 3 grievances.

DISCUSSION

This chapter defined and operationalized grievances conceptually in the context of women's involvement in terrorism. Using 280 case files of open-source material, 26,706 pages of case material were analyzed, with an average file size of 60 pages and the largest case file being 136 pages. At the onset, there was significant confusion in the literature about what constitutes a grievance, even though grievances are often cited as risk factors for terrorism involvement. Informed by McCauley and Moskaleiko's (2011) ideas of attributions and friction classifying grievances, I began my open coding. 35 grievances were identified in the sample. Of these 35, 11 were present in at least 20% of the case files.

The open coding largely supported McCauley and Moskaleiko's (2011) assertion that group grievances inform terrorism involvement much more often than personal grievances. However, the data indicate that the magnitude of the emotional response of the subject to a perceived grievance is more important than if they attribute that grievance to a

group or an individual. For adversity to be considered a grievance, the grievance holder must view the adversity as contributing to a larger societal decline in interdependence, shared morals, and social integration, regardless of if the adversity was attributed to an individual or a group.

Accordingly, the proposed definition and operationalization of a grievance has 3 components and is: (1) a real or perceived biographical or compassionate injustice that causes the aggrieved to be deeply upset, (2) is caused by an enemy or illegitimate source, and (3) motivates the subject to engage in violent extremism. This denotation allows for the examination of grievances as they may or may not relate to terrorism involvement, violent extremist ideologies, and, in future research, other types of crime and deviance.

Moreover, by having a consistent framework by which to determine if negative life events are grievances, I was able to identify two categories of grievances among women terrorists. Biographical grievances meet all of the aforementioned criteria and are negative events that directly impacted the subject's life. Biographical grievances are injustices that are experienced first-hand. Empathetic grievances, in contrast, are injustices that the subject does not experience, but has immense compassion for. These grievances can be completely untrue or affect someone directly who the subject does not know. In subsequent chapters, the definition, categorizations, and temporal considerations of VE women's grievances will be tested quantitatively.

CHAPTER 2: GRIEVANCES AND VE WOMEN'S DURATIONS OF INVOLVEMENT

Abstract

Using open-source case files of 172 women from around the world that were involved in terrorism between 1970 and 2018, this study quantitatively assesses if grievance quantity, grievance type, and biographical availability influence women's durations of involvement in violent extremism. Using McAdam's (1986) biographical availability hypothesis and direct and indirect logistic regressions with robust standard errors, six hypotheses were evaluated. Findings indicated that while the type or quantity of grievances as well as pre-existing versus acquired grievances are not significant influences on duration of involvement in VE, having at least one grievance *increases* women's persistence in terrorism. Moreover, matrimony and motherhood were not found to significantly influence this relationship; however, having less than a high school education increased the effect that having a grievance had on duration of involvement in VE. Employment was found to be a barrier to women's persistence in VE. There were significant differences in durations of involvement of women based upon their years of birth, age of entry, and surviving their involvement; while their countries of origin (excluding Belgium, Canada, and Spain) and terrorist groups' ideologies did not significantly influence involvement duration.

Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation chapter is to understand nuances in grievances' relevance to women's durations of involvement in violent extremism. This research does so by estimating both unconditional and conditional relationships between various types of grievances, the temporal nature of grievances, VE ideologies, and duration, in years, of their involvements. Figure 2 provides a conceptual overview of the proposed relationships this chapter's research will undertake. Each hypothesis (denoted in the figure as "H") will be described in detail in this chapter. The chapter will conclude with the results of the direct, moderating, and mediating analyses between grievance quantities, and grievance types (e.g., biographical vs. empathetic) on durations of involvement.

This chapter examines temporality as it relates to grievances and involvement in VE. In my previous research, I found that former white supremacists ranged in their involvement

in the white power movement from 3.5 to 27.5 years, with the average duration being 12 years (Gould 2021). Why do some terrorists stay involved for decades, whereas others are only involved for several months? Do grievances increase the amount of time women stay involved in VE? Do VE group ideologies and participation motivations mediate and/or moderate this relationship? While social movement persistence has been attributed to community context, leadership, organizational factors, long-term relationships with a movement, and collective identities (Oselin 2015), it is unknown how much grievances inform women's persistence in VE. Crenshaw (1985) and Horgan and Talyor (2001) have emphasized the need for better understanding patterns of persistence and attrition among terrorist groups. These questions are the central guiding foci of this research.

As previously stated, VE groups can be considered social movement organizations because they fit McCarthy and Zald's (1977: 1218) definition, "A social movement organization (SMO) is a complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals." My view is consistent with Tilly's (2004) that VE groups are social movements that use terrorism as a political strategy.

Passy (2001) argues that three aspects of social movements influence duration of involvement: socialization, structural connection, and influencing individual perceptions. She argues that the strength of one's participation is influenced by the "relationship between recruiters and recruits [that] define different structures of meanings" (Passy 2001: 186-187). In violent extremism, these 'structures of meanings' are distinct VE ideologies which determine priorities, goals, and means of achieving those goals. Borum (2004: 3)

echoes the significance of the relationships between recruiters, recruits, and meaning-making by explaining, “Recruitment efforts do appear concentrated in areas where people feel most deprived and dissatisfied. Relationships are critical. Effective recruiters create and exploit a sense of urgency and imminence.” This is consistent with the literature that has found, intuitively, that a person is more likely to engage in VE if they have a friend, family member, or romantic partner who has radicalized (Jasko, LaFree, and Kruglanski 2017; Horgan and Taylor 2001; Monahan 2011).

Another factor that contributes to VE duration of involvement is motivation (Borum et al. 2004). Crenshaw (1985) argued that there are four terrorist motivators: action, belonging, social status, and material reward. This is consistent with my previous work that found social support is a key factor in people’s engagement, involvement, and desistance from white supremacy. This raises the question: are these motivators significant in differentiating duration of involvement for women in VE? Similarly, there is reason to believe that grievances are significant in understanding VE involvement. Borum (2004) found that the literature often converges on injustice, abuse, and humiliation in understanding why some people choose to engage in terrorism. From my vantage point, these are types of grievances, which, according to McCauley and Moskaleiko (2011) are attributed to either individuals or groups. Similarly, Hacker (1976) argued that injustice perceived to be reconciled is the central motivation for participating in VE.

Theory and Hypotheses

Social Movement scholars have long found empirical support for the Biographical Availability hypothesis (Wiltfang and McAdam 1991; Petrie 2004; Reed 2022; Nepstad

and Smith 1999; Beyerlein and Hipp 2006; Gillham 2008) including within terrorism (Simi and Windich 2020; Perliger and Pedahzur 2016; Kavanagh 2011). McAdam (1986: 70) conceptualizes biographical availability as “the absence of personal constraints that may increase the costs and risks of movement participation, such as full-time employment, marriage, and family responsibilities.” Overall, the biographical availability hypothesis argues that those with fewer personal obligations - which become the focus of their time, energy, and money - are more likely to join social movements, including high risk activism (Wiltfang and McAdam 1991).

Scholars that have studied biographical availability and involvement in terrorism, have found that employment, marriage, and children serve as barriers to mass-casualty violence (Simi and Windich 2020); that pursuing education (instead of full-time employment) increases the likelihood of engaging in terrorism (Perliger and Pedahzur 2016); and that having at least a high school education increases terrorism participation among the impoverished (Kavanagh 2011). While the contributions of these studies are many, this work utilizes majority-male populations. As such, the question remains, *does the biographical availability hypothesis pertain to women’s grievances and persistence in violent extremism?*

Preliminary analyses in which the four grievance types identified in Chapter 1 were interacted with the presence of any grievance variable and regressed (logistic) while controlling for biographical availability factors showed that there are no meaningful nor significant relationships between different grievance types and duration of involvement in VE (i.e., biographical grievances $P > |z| = 0.544$, empathetic grievances $P > |z| = 0.888$,

preexisting grievances $P > |z| = 0.519$, and acquired grievances $P > |z| = 0.787$). As such, no further analyses were conducted regarding grievance type and duration of involvement.

The following hypotheses assess the direct effects between various grievance quantities and women's durations of involvement in VE.

H1: The presence of any grievance will significantly increase duration of involvement, net of other factors.

H2: The number of grievances will significantly increase duration of involvement, net of other factors.

According to the aforementioned scholarship on biographical availability, married, employed, less-than-high-school-educated, women with children will be less likely to persist in violent extremism. To assess these core biographical availability variables, the following hypotheses will be tested:

H3: Matrimony will significantly moderate the relationship between the presence of any grievance and durations of involvement in terrorism, net of other factors.

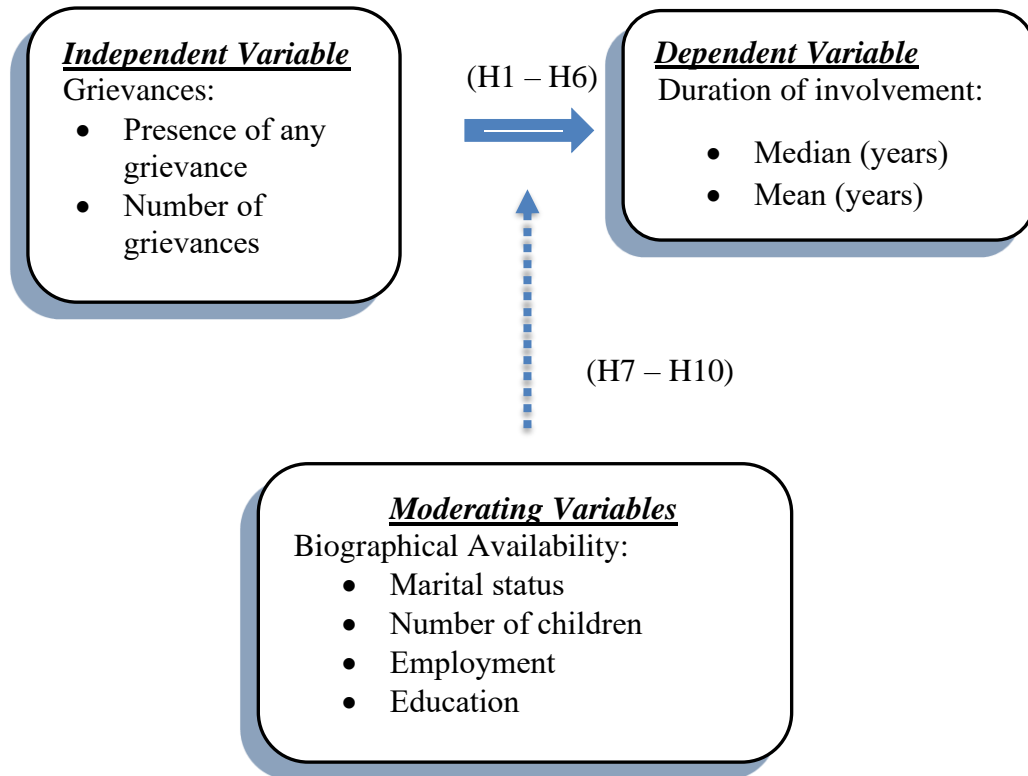
H4: Employment will significantly moderate the relationship between the presence of any grievance and durations of involvement in terrorism, net of other factors.

H5: Less-than-high-school educational attainment will significantly moderate the relationship between the presence of any grievance and durations of involvement in terrorism, net of other factors.

H6: The number of children of each subject will significantly moderate the relationship between the presence of any grievance and durations of involvement in terrorism, net of other factors.

By testing these hypotheses, findings will indicate, which, if any, key grievance quantities influence women's durations of involvement in VE when controlling for biographical availability as well as the moderating role of biographical availability on the relationship between biographic grievances and duration of involvement in terrorism. Accordingly, these findings will help inform the understanding of why or why not certain women persist in VE while others do not. Figure 2 provides a conceptual overview of the hypotheses tested in this chapter.

Figure 2. Conceptual Overview of Grievances on Durations of Involvement



Data

This research uses the Female Terrorism Database (FTB), the same dataset described in the previous chapter. The original data collection was approved by the University of Virginia's Institutional Review Board. To recap, this dataset consists of open-source case files of 300 women who were involved in violent extremism at any point between 1970 and 2018. Of the 300 case files, 280 were selected because they did not lack key information or indicated that the subject participated in terrorism because of coercion.

Measurement

The following measures will be used in all subsequent quantitative analyses.

Dependent variable.

Duration of Involvement. This continuous variable was coded according to each subject's year of confirmed entry into VE subtracted from the year of the subject's last known involvement. For women who were presumed to still be active, 2018 was used as the last year of involvement as it was the last year of data collection. When women were presumed, but not confirmed to be deceased, the date of the alleged death was used as the last date of their involvement. Women who were incarcerated for their actions were considered to no longer be involved as of the date of their arrest unless there was information in the file that they remained active in VE from behind bars. Women who were were coded as 0 years of involvement for less than 5 months and 1 year for 5 or more months of involvement. Fortunately, there was no missing data regarding the duration of involvement in the sample. This variable was dichotomized in two ways: by the median (4 years) duration of involvement and the mean (8 years) duration of involvement.

Key independent variable.

Grievances. As Chapter 1 details, 35 grievances were identified in the sample. To be considered a grievance, a detrimental life event also had to meet the following criteria: (1) a real or perceived biographical or empathetic injustice that causes the aggrieved to be deeply upset, (2) is caused by an enemy or illegitimate source, (3) contributes to the holder's society becoming anomic, and (4) motivates the subject to engage in violent extremism. To be clear, negative experiences that did not relate to women's involvement in terrorism were not considered grievances, as there is a distinction between negative events that a woman experiences and negative experiences that encourage them to engage in violent extremism. Also, as Borum (2011) has explained, there are those who commit violent acts as part of a terrorist group, but do not harbor the group's ideology (i.e., not all terrorists are radicalized), thus the distinction between grievances and other negative life events is likely salient. If a suspected grievance had no indication of relevance to any subject's involvement in terrorism, it was not ultimately included in the list of 35 grievances in Chapter 1.

In assessing a negative life event's relevance to terrorism involvement, multiple sources in the case file had to indicate it as such. Thus, this is another reason why this study employs a conservative estimate of grievances, as it is possible that negative events in the subjects' lives were not coded as grievances because there were not at least two indications from two different sources that the negative experience related to the subject's involvement. In many instances, the case files contained primary sources in which the subject explained how her involvement in VE was related to her grievances. Often, subjects

left videos, notes, diaries, or gave testimony on this subject. In other instances, friends and family members spoke with law enforcement and/or media sources and indicated if certain life events motivated the subject's involvement in VE. In this chapter, grievances are operationalized in two ways: presence of any grievance and number of grievances.

Any grievance. A dummy variable was created to indicate the presence or absence of at least one grievance held by each subject. In other words, if a subject held one or more grievances, this was coded as 1 and if they did not hold any grievances, this was coded as zero. This variable allows me to analyze if the presence of a grievance, in comparison to the quantity of grievances, is more relevant for understanding women's VE lethality.

Number of grievances. This is a count variable that lists the total number of grievances each subject has. In the sample, the number of grievances per subject ranges from zero to ten, with a mean of 3.30 and a standard deviation of 1.98.

Control variables.

Year of birth. This variable was coded numerically and included in the analyses to control for cohort differences between women of different generations.

Age of entry. This variable was coded numerically and included to account for differences in the biographical availability of women joining terrorism when they were adolescents, young women, middle-aged, et cetera.

Country of origin. This variable was coded categorically according to each subject's geographic origin to control for the differences in biographical availability of growing up in different countries around the world. If the subject was born and raised in different countries, the country she was raised in was used as her country of origin. In total,

subjects in the sample represented 47 countries of origin. After accounting for missing data, women from the following countries were included in the sample: the United Kingdom, Pakistan, Somalia, Germany, Belgium, Bosnia, Jordan, Palestine, Australia, Dagestan, Canada, and Spain. A one-way another was conducted to determine if there were meaningful differences between countries of origin in terms of VE lethality. From the results, the United States was selected to be the exclusion variable for comparison.

Died during involvement. This dummy variable was coded as 0 for those who did not die nor were presumed dead during their VE involvement, and 1 for those who died or were presumed dead during their VE involvement, regardless of if their death was related to their involvement in terrorism. This variable was included because deceased women are not biographically available to persist in VE.

Marital status. This variable will be coded as “0” not legally married during VE involvement or “1” legally married during VE involvement. This variable was included because it is a key determinant of biographical availability in the literature.

Educational Attainment. This variable will be coded with “0” indicating less than high school, “1” indicating high school graduate, “2” indicating some college, “3” indicating 4-year college graduate, “4” indicating some graduate work, and “5” indicating completed post-graduate work. This variable was included because it is a key determinant of biographical availability in the literature.

Employment. This variable will be coded as “0” if the subject did not have a job immediately before engaging in violent extremism and “1” if the subject was actively

employed immediately before engaging in VE. This variable was included because it is a key determinant of biographical availability in the literature.

Number of Children. This variable will be a count variable with “0” indicating never a parent, “1” indicating 1 child, “2” indicating 2 children, and so forth. Of note, children will be counted if they passed away after they were born, but not if they were miscarried or stillborn. This variable was included because it is a key determinant of biographical availability in the literature.

VE group(s) ideology. There are ideological patterns across VE groups. For example, Aryan Nations, the Ku Klux Klan, and the National Socialist Movement are all well-known white supremacist groups. Similarly, Daesh, Al Qaeda, Boko Haram, and the Taliban are all jihadist VE groups. Moreover, the Red Army Faction, the Weathermen, and the Irish Republican Army are all far-left, extremist groups. While these categories are not perfect, they permit the assessment of patterns of grievances and collective identities across groups. Alakoc et al. (2021) classify VE ideologies as being primarily leftist, ethnic-nationalist, or religious. Table 2 in the previous chapter shows the breakdown of the sample according to Alakoc et al.’s categories, as well as further specificity which I added. Of note, each group was categorized by its *primary* focus, as opposed to encompassing all of each group’s ideological views. While women may become involved in VE across ideologies; for example, members of the IRA received training from jihadist extremists in Pakistan (Warren et al. 2018), I used only the group they were involved with the longest to determine their primary VE ideology. A one-way ANOVA analysis was conducted to determine if there were meaningful differences between VE group ideologies for women’s

durations of involvement in terrorism. The results did not indicate significant differences; thus, white supremacy was selected at random as the comparison VE group ideology.

In total, 6 ideological bends were identified in the data. White supremacist ideologies (coded as 1) maintained that the white race was superior to all other racial groups- regardless of if the group was separatist, nationalist, eugenic, etc. Jihadist groups (coded as 2) were those that adhered to a contorted version of radical Islam to justify their violence. Examples include Boko Haram, Al Qaeda, ISIS, etc. Apocalyptic groups (coded as 3) held ideologies that the world was actively ending or would end if they did not take specific violent actions. Often, these groups were led by charismatic leaders that claimed to be deities and promised salvation in exchange for loyalty. Examples include the Branch Davidians, the Rajneesh movement, and the Manson Family. Nationalist groups (coded as 4) were primarily concerned with protecting their country's autonomy and/or territorial control. Examples include the Provisional Irish Republican Army, those involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Basque nationalists, and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. Far Left groups (coded as 5) held extremist views about common leftist issues including communism, environmentalism, animal rights, and police brutality. Examples include the Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Peace Thunder. Other ideologies (coded as 6) served as a catch-all for all the groups whose primary ideological focus was not addressed by any of the aforementioned groupings. Examples include misandry groups, black supremacy groups, and radical anti-abortion groups. This variable was included in the analyses to control for group differences in duration of involvement.

For each of the aforementioned variables, missing or not applicable data were excluded accordingly. Table 5 shows de-identified information about the 280 terrorist women, and the percent of missing data for each variable excluded from the analysis. In total, the sample size for these analyses was 172.

Table 5. Demographic Information of the Sample

Variable	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD	Percent Missing
Year of Birth	1919	2001	1971	20.4	1.4% (n = 4)
Marital Status	0	1	0.52	0.50	0.3% (n = 1)
Children	0	9	0.91	1.29	0.3% (n = 1)
Education	0	5	2.11	1.47	24% (n = 67)
Employment	0	1	0.65	0.48	16% (n = 45)
Age of Entry (Years)	0 (birth)	61	22.6	8.05	1.4% (n = 4)
Died during involvement	0	1	0.20	0.40	5.4% (n = 15)
Duration of Involvement (Years)	1	50	8.45	9.82	0.0% (n = 0)

*Education: This variable will be coded with “0” indicating less than high school, “1” indicating high school graduate or GED, “2” indicating some college, “3” indicating 4-year college graduate, and “4” indicating some graduate work, and “5” indicating completed post-graduate work.

As the table shows, the average profile of a subject in the sample is a woman born in 1971, who is legally married, has one child, has completed some college, is employed (or was immediately before VE involvement), did not die during her involvement, and was involved for eight and a half years. This data counters both the anomie (Durkheim 1897) and biographical availability (McAdam 1986) hypotheses of terrorism involvement. With regard to anomie, we would expect that women with fewer social ties to others (e.g., marriage and children) or with less social integration with social institutions (e.g., employment and education) would be more likely to be terrorists. However, the data indicate that women persist in terrorism nonetheless. The same argument can be made for biographical availability in which the assumption is that women with fewer obligations to others would be more vulnerable to violent extremist involvement.

Table 6 shows the presence of each grievance in the sample of 172.

Table 6. Grievance Representation in the Sample

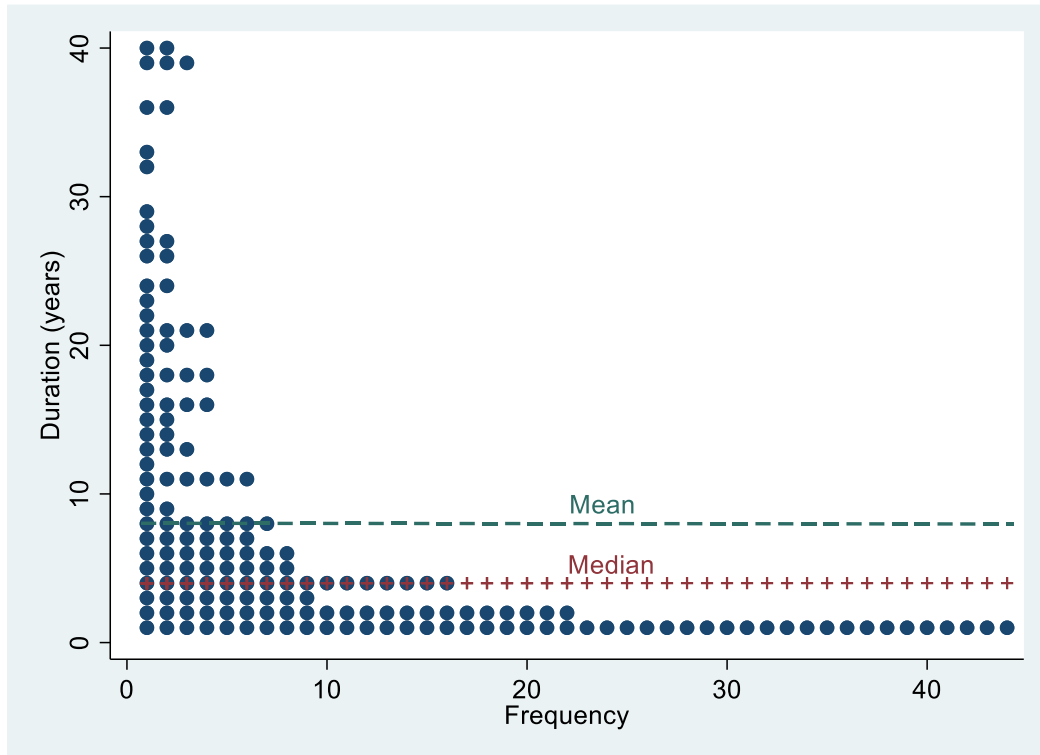
Grievance	Presence in the Sample N:	Fits Grievance Criteria N:	% of the Sample With Grievance:
Abuse	16	10	5.8%
Neglect	9	5	2.9%
Sexual assault	9	5	2.9%
Sex work	5	3	1.7%
Childhood pregnancy	6	4	2.3%
Overprotective upbringing	9	5	2.9%
Custody loss	6	3	1.7%
Homelessness	11	8	4.7%
Humanitarian concerns**	55	50	29.1%
Financial hardship*	30	18	10.5%
Natural disaster	1	1	0.6%
Refugee	10	6	3.5%
War/military occupation**	64	60	34.9%
A loved one was murdered	30	11	6.4%
Loved one suicide	17	14	8.1%
Loved one dead - other	30	11	6.4%
Homophobia	4	3	1.7%
Islamophobia	2	11	6.4%
Racism	34	32	18.6%
Sexism	5	5	2.9%
Xenophobia	3	3	1.7%
Divorce**	52	24	46.2%
Family conflict**	54	43	25.0%
Infidelity	7	2	1.2%
Disability	6	2	1.2%
Lonely	16	15	8.7%
Loved one ill	18	8	4.7%
Low self-esteem	24	20	11.6%
Miscarriage/infertility/abortion	7	1	0.6%
Anti-capitalist	30	30	17.4%
Anti-west**	44	44	25.6%
Animal rights	3	3	1.7%
Environmentalism	5	3	1.7%
Legal cynicism**	82	80	46.5%
Religious enemies**	63	60	34.9%

** indicates at least 25% of the sample held this grievance; * indicates at least 20% of the sample held this grievance

Statistical Analyses

The Female Terrorism Database (FTD) is cross-sectional and my dependent variable, duration of involvement, is dichotomous. I examined the distribution of my dependent variable, duration of involvement in years (which was originally continuous), and found that it skewed towards lower durations of involvement. Figure 3. Shows the duration of involvement in the sample.

Figure 3. Distribution of Duration of Involvement in Terrorism



The mean duration of involvement was 8.4 years and the median was 4 years. I used the median duration to create a dichotomous variable to separate the sample into women who had been involved in terrorism for less than 4 years and those who were involved for 4 or more years. My reasoning for using the median as the cutoff of my dummy

variable was that women in this sample typically became involved in terrorism in their late adolescence and early adulthood. Therefore, it follows that those who were involved for fewer than four years could be experiencing adolescent-limited antisocial tendencies, identity crises, or other temporary circumstances contributing to their deviant behavior. Whereas those who were involved for four or more years were more likely to have life-course persistent antisocial tendencies or lifelong commitments to their VE. To examine these differences, I tested each hypothesis with both the median duration dependent variable and the mean duration dependent variable. I used logistic regressions with robust standard errors with bias corrections of $\frac{1}{(1-h)^2}$ to best address the heteroskedasticity in my model. All of the missing data were removed from the analyses. The regressions were run in Stata/SE 16.0. All findings are discussed in the next section, with only significant findings reported in the tables.

Findings

Quantity of Grievances and Duration of Involvement.

Direct Effects.

Hypothesis 1 asked if the presence of any grievance would positively influence a subject's duration of involvement in violent extremism while controlling for biographical availability factors. As Table 7 shows, the model revealed support for this hypothesis with a coefficient 2.60 and a p-value of 0.009. This finding indicates that if a subject holds a grievance, she will likely have a median involvement duration that is over two and a half years longer than her non-aggrieved counterpart. Hypothesis 1 was not significant for mean duration of involvement ($P > |z| = 0.924$). Hypothesis 2 posited that those with larger

quantities of grievances would persist in VE for longer durations. The model failed to support this hypothesis. Therefore, this analysis did not indicate that the quantity of grievances influenced women's durations of involvement in VE.

Table 7. Hypothesis 1: Presence of a Grievance (Median Duration)

Variable	Z	Robust Standard Error
Presence of a Grievance	2.60**	13.4
Marital Status	1.07	1.84
Year of Birth	-2.97****	0.03
Number of Children	1.43	0.54
Age of Entry	-2.99*	0.05
Employment	1.42	1.63
Died During Involvement	-2.21*	0.09
Education		
High School/GED	-2.61****	0.09
Some College	0.27	0.90
4yr. College Grad.	-0.29	0.77
Some Graduate Work	-0.35	0.80
Completed Graduate Work	-0.40	0.70
Country of Origin		
United Kingdom	0.89	1.34
Pakistan	1.26	6.62
Somalia	0.23	1.87
Germany	1.43	3.30
Belgium	2.15*	91.2
Bosnia	-1.25	0.22
Jordan	-1.20	0.27
Palestine	-0.05	1.08
Australia	0.17	1.43
Dagestan	0.48	2.64
Canada	0.79	3.92
Spain	0.23	1.42
VE Ideology		
Jihadist	0.17	1.42
Apocalyptic	-1.33	0.16
Nationalist	0.85	4.11
Far Left	-1.45	0.21
Other	0.38	2.07
Constant	2.97****	1.90e+71

Note: * $\rho < 0.05$, ** $\rho < 0.005$, *** $\rho < 0.005$.

Of note, several control variables were significant in the model (Table 7). The later the birth year and age of entry into VE of the subject, the less likely they were to persist in terrorism. The model also revealed that women who died during their involvement in VE were involved for over two years less than those who survived their terrorism experiences. In other words, the models indicated that death cut involvement short by a year and a half or so for those who died during their VE participation. The model further demonstrated that having an educational attainment of a high school diploma or a GED decreased women's durations of involvement by over two and a half years. The only country that significantly influenced median duration of involvement in comparison to the United States was Belgium, and none of the VE ideologies were significantly different from white supremacy in terms of women's duration of involvement in terrorism. Taken together, women with earlier birth years, who entered terrorism at an early age, held at least one grievance, whose highest educational achievement was not a high school diploma/GED, and were not killed in action persisted in terrorism longer than women with different biographical traits.

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Hypothesis 3 – that marital status moderates the relationship between presence of a grievance and median/mean durations of involvement – was not supported in the analysis ($P > |z| = 0.815$; $P > |z| = 0.953$, respectively). Hypothesis 4 examined if the number of children each woman has moderates the relationship between presence of a grievance and median/mean duration of involvement. This hypothesis was also not supported ($P > |z| = 0.816$; $P > |z| = 0.549$, respectively). The potential moderating effect of employment on

presence of a grievance and median/mean duration of involvement was assessed in Hypothesis 5 and Hypothesis 6, that having less than a high school education moderates the relationship between the presence of at least one grievance and median/mean duration of involvement were both supported, and the models are presented in Table 8.

As demonstrated in the table, having completed less than a high school education significantly increased the relationship between the presence of a grievance and the duration of involvement in VE ($z = 5.61$, $P > |z| = 0.000$ [median]; $z = 3.93$, $P > |z| = 0.000$ [mean]). Employment significantly decreased this relationship ($z = -8.69$, $P > |z| = 0.000$ [median]; $z = -7.65$, $P > |z| = 0.000$ [mean]). Together, these findings lend empirical support to the biographical availability hypotheses because they indicate that employment is a barrier for women's persistence in VE and that women with less than high school educations have more availability to persist in terrorism. Among the control variables, marital status, number of children, educational attainment of at least high school/GED completion and above, VE ideology (in comparison to white supremacy), and country of origin excluding Belgium, Canada, and Spain were not significantly different from the US. In other words, these control variables do not influence the relationship between the presence of a grievance and the duration of involvement in VE. Year of birth, age of entry, and death during involvement were significant moderators. Consistent with Table 7, these variables all decreased the relationship between the presence of a grievance and duration of involvement in terrorism. Once again, these findings support the biographical availability hypotheses, that women born more recently and who join terrorism later in life

have less biographical availability to persist in terrorism than women from earlier generations whom joined at younger ages.

Table 8. Hypotheses 5 and 6: Moderating Effects of Employment and Less than High School Educational Attainment

Variable	Hypoth. 5 (median)	Hypoth. 5 (mean)	Hypoth. 6 (median)	Hypoth. 6 (mean)
Presence of a Grievance	2.44* (13.32322)	0.09 (0.9422302)	15.26*** (3127428)	9.45*** (255201.9)
Employment Interaction	-----	-----	-8.69*** (5.14e-06)	-7.65*** (7.72e-06)
Less than HS Interaction	5.61*** (13.32322)	3.93*** (13623.36)	-----	-----
Marital Status	1.07 (1.831479)	0.16 (0.82964)	1.08 (1.856913)	0.18 (0.8540373)
Year of Birth	-2.97** (0.0250022)	-3.63*** (0.0171785)	-2.95*** (0.0250408)	-3.60*** (0.0171882)
Number of Children	1.43 (0.5331562)	0.89 (0.8065397)	0.87 (0.7966908)	0.87 (0.7966908)
Age of Entry	-2.99** (0.484463)	-2.67* (0.472082)	-2.66** (0.0471854)	-2.66** (0.0471854)
Employment	1.41 (1.623901)	0.97 (1.038315)	8.05*** (576635.9)	8.04*** (577532)
Died During Involvement	-2.16* (0.0956547)	-2.71* (0.0690985)	-2.68*** (0.0707158)	-2.68*** (0.0707158)
Education				
Less than High School	-4.77*** (0.0000407)	-5.11*** (0.0000429)	-1.73 (0.1510765)	-1.73 (0.1510765)
High School/GED	-1.21 (0.2728069)	-1.29 (0.2536977)	-1.28 (0.2557868)	-1.28 (0.2557868)
Some College	0.67 (3.159494)	0.14 (1.026464)	0.16 (1.047487)	0.16 (1.047487)
4yr. College Grad.	0.27 (2.075336)	-0.93 (0.3927339)	-0.92 (0.3974676)	-0.92 (0.3974676)
Some Graduate Work	0.15 (1.943196)	0.89 (4.116379)	0.90 (4.254543)	0.90 (4.254543)

Table continued on the next page.

Country of Origin				
United Kingdom	0.90 (1.350172)	0.39 (1.034328)	0.37 (1.011891)	0.37 (1.011891)
Somalia	0.24 (1.901354)	-0.58 (0.6344035)	-0.59 (0.6250353)	-0.59 (0.6250353)
Germany	1.42 (3.280784)	0.79 (1.646911)	0.78 (1.621995)	0.78 (1.621995)
Belgium	2.15* (90.40077)	3.29*** (605.8522)	3.25*** (579.0515)	3.25*** (579.0515)
Jordan	-1.19 (0.2729578)	-0.43 (0.7515413)	-0.44 (0.7369423)	-0.44 (0.7369423)
Palestine	-0.05 (1.073364)	0.79 (7.091554)	0.76 (6.880016)	0.76 (6.880016)
Canada	0.79 (3.925598)	2.32* (47.75246)	2.31* (46.52032)	2.31* (46.52032)
Spain	0.23 (1.413255)	2.64* (16.70901)	2.63** (16.39018)	2.63** (16.39018)
VE Ideology				
Jihadist	0.17 (1.414488)	-1.41 (0.2600234)	-1.39 (0.2633462)	-1.39 (0.2633462)
Apocalyptic	-1.32 (0.1574589)	-1.52 (0.18599)	-1.51 (0.1881395)	-1.51 (0.1881395)
Nationalist	0.85 (4.100899)	1.15 (3.328057)	1.14 (3.3144)	1.14 (3.3144)
Far Left	-1.45 (0.2074018)	-1.02 (0.3592682)	-1.01 (0.3632845)	-1.01 (0.3632845)
Other	0.37 (2.058187)	-1.04 (0.3335847)	-1.08 (0.3173518)	-1.08 (0.3173518)
Constant	2.98** (8.37e+70)	3.64** (6.26e+59)	3.26** (1.00e+54)	3.26** (1.00e+54)

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. * $\rho < 0.05$, ** $\rho < 0.005$, *** $\rho < 0.005$

DISCUSSION

This chapter sought to understand the relationships between grievance quantity and biographical availability on women's duration of involvement in terrorism. Using logistic regression models, the analyses lent support for hypotheses 1, 5, and 6. In other words, the regressions found that the presence of any grievance significantly increased women's involvement in terrorism (H1) whereas, the quantity of grievances did not influence duration of participation (H2). This suggests that aggrieved women participate longer in terrorism than those not motivated by grievances, but that having more than one grievance does not significantly influence the amount of time spent in terrorism. There are several possibilities that this could be attributed to, that future research should examine.

First, it could be that once a woman develops a grievance, she is sufficiently motivated to persist in terrorism from that single grievance, and that subsequent grievances do not have additive effects in terms of duration of involvement. Second, it could be that those with one grievance are more focused and committed to the cause of the VE group than those that are aggrieved by multiple things. Third, it is possible that the quantity of grievances each woman possesses is irrelevant, but the depth of emotional pain or intellectual occupation (e.g., rumination) is salient. Unfortunately, quantifying the impact each grievance had on its subject was beyond the scope of this study and not available consistently across case files.

Hypotheses 3 and 4 supposed that marital status and the number of children would moderate the relationship between the presence of any grievance and women's durations of involvement in VE. Both of these hypotheses were not significant, meaning that for

women in this sample, matrimony and motherhood did not keep women from persisting in terrorism. Counter to the findings of Perliger and Pedahzur 2016 and Kavanagh 2011, which assert that university students, and having at least a high school education increases terrorism participation, Hypotheses 5 and 6 found that having less than a high school education increases women's duration of involvement in VE indirectly by moderating the relationship between having at least one grievance and duration of involvement in terrorism.

Throughout the analyses, year of birth, age of entry, and death during involvement significantly decreased women's durations of involvement in terrorism; while, the country of origin in comparison to the United States (with the exceptions of Canada, Belgium, and Spain) and VE ideology (in comparison to white supremacy) did not. This indicates that there are not meaningful differences in women's durations of involvement in VE due to the countries they were raised in or the ideological bends of their terrorist organizations, but due to cohort effects, entering terrorism as an adolescent or young adult, and not being killed during involvement. It is possible that women that were born in earlier generations were able to partake in terrorism for longer periods of time because women's levels of education and participation in the workforce significantly increased between 1970 and 2018. Moreover, it is also possible that these women were able to persist longer in VE because they were able to go undetected by law enforcement for longer, as the image of a woman being a terrorist became more prevalent after these women became involved, and was not common when they joined. In particular, younger women persisting longer in VE

than those who join when they are old also lends support to the biographical availability hypothesis, as women take on more obligations as they age.

As a whole, the findings from this research lend nuance to the biographical availability hypothesis in the context of women's persistence in terrorism. While the type or temporality of the grievance was not influential in the subjects' durations of involvement, having at least one grievance significantly *increased* women's persistence in terrorism. Although matrimony and parenthood are often cited as key factors in the biographical availability hypothesis (Wiltfang and McAdam 1991), I did not find support for these. That said, employment and low educational attainments do moderate women's time participating in terrorism, by decreasing and increasing, respectively, the relationship between the presence of any grievance, and the duration of involvement in terrorism. In sum, women that hold at least one grievance, that are unemployed, and have less than high school educations are more likely to persist in terrorism longer than women with more educational attainment and employment.

CHAPTER 3: QUANTITY AND TYPE OF GRIEVANCES ON WOMEN'S LETHALITY IN TERRORISM

Abstract

Using 172 case files of women involved in terrorism between 1970 and 2018, this chapter examines the roles grievances play in women's lethality during VE involvement. Informed by the political approach to Collective Violence Theory (Aya 1979), this study uses logistic regressions with robust standard errors to evaluate the direct relationships between the presence of any grievance on lethality, grievance type and lethality, grievance temporality and lethality, the number of grievances and lethality, and PCVT grievances on lethality as well as the moderating influence of PCVT grievances and the relationship between VE ideology and lethality. Results indicate that the presence of any grievance and the quantity of grievances each subject has do not influence lethality. However, PCVT grievances both directly and indirectly increase lethality. Taken together, these findings lend support to the Political Collective Violence Theory approach for women's lethality in terrorism.

Introduction

Lethality generally refers to the number of people killed by a person, group, or in a specific incident. However, in this study, expressing a desire and/or willingness to kill also classifies a subject as lethal. For example, the data include instances of women who attempt but fail to kill themselves and others. I maintain that these women are lethal, nonetheless. Terrorist groups use lethality to demonstrate the urgency of their demands, the threat of future attacks, and the capacity of their group to orchestrate mass harm and to increase their notoriety (Atran 2004; Horowitz and Potter 2014; Pape 2005; Pedahzur 2005). Terrorist organizations are willing to share information on lethality and form strategic alliances with other VE groups to increase it (Horowitz and Potter 2014). Social movement scholars refer to these alliances as coalitions (Beamish and Leubbers 2009; Mizrahi and Rothenthal 2001; Van Dyke and McCammon 2010). In the literature, lethality is often analyzed at the group

level (e.g., Levy 2021; Horowitz and Potter 2014; Yang, Pah, and Uzzi 2019; Alamillo 2018) as opposed to the individual level.

Scholars increasingly study VE lethality in terms of organizational factors. Organizational factors include the ideology of the group (Levy 2021; Alamillo 2018; Asal and Rethemeyer 2008), the number of members in the group, capabilities (e.g., bomb-making, tactical training, etc.), resources (e.g., leadership and funding), age of the organization, state sponsorship, control of a territory, and alliances with other VE groups (Asal and Rethemeyer 2008; Alakoc, Werner, and Widmeier 2021; Clauset and Gleditsch 2012; Orlandrew and Zidek 2013; Nilsson 2015). All in all, the literature indicates that territorial control, religious or ethnonational ideology and alliances with other VE groups have positive, significant relationships with VE lethality (Asal and Rethemeyer 2008). Whereas there is mixed support for polity (Asal and Rethemeyer 2008; Yang et al. 2019) as well as organizational size (Clauset and Gleditsch 2012; Rethemeyer 2008). For many of the VE groups in the sample, data were not available regarding membership, capabilities, alliances, et cetera. However, the ideology of each group was coded and included in subsequent analyses. Therefore, I predict that some VE groups will have the capacity and desire to be more lethal than other VE groups, and thus I expect to see a positive significant relationship between VE ideology and lethality. To be clear, while this dissertation largely focuses on individual characteristics and durations of involvement in terrorism, VE group ideology will be included in the subsequent analyses to examine and control for differences in selection effects and ideological motivations for violence between various ideological types.

Social Contextual Factors.

Beyond organizational factors, scholars also consider the social contexts in which these organizations operate. VE lethality has been examined in terms of the geographic region in which VE groups are located (i.e., this is usually determined by continent), country wealth (GDP), country population, and percentage of military expenditure by country. Of these factors, none have positive significant relationships with VE lethality (Alakoc et al. 2021; Yang et al. 2019; Clauset and Gleditsch 2012; Orlandrew and Zidek 2013; Asal and Rethemeyer 2008; Gill and Young 2011). The log of national GDP and the national polity score significantly decreased VE lethality (Alakoc et al. 2021). Also, the amount of public order and safety spending by country does significantly decrease terrorism lethality, at least in 34 countries (Danzell and Zidek 2013). It is not remarkable that social contextual factors do not have positive significant relationships with lethality in terrorism, because all members of any given society are dealing with these same influences and the vast majority do not go on to become terrorists or murderers. Taken together, I do not foresee that social contextual factors will have positive significant relationships with lethality in my models.

The third strand of VE lethality research focuses on the attacks themselves. Attack factors include suicide versus non-suicide attack, pre-, or post-1990 (i.e., because international counterterrorism efforts increased significantly after the Cold War ended), and weapon(s) used (Alakoc et al. 2021; Nilsson 2018; Mroszczyk 2019). With that being said, pre-and post-Cold War did not have a significant impact on decreasing VE lethality (Alakoc et al. 2021). I hypothesize that more democratic countries will have more lethality

because women can move through society more freely, acquire weapons more easily, and obtain educations that can allow for more successful attack planning. I also suspect that developed countries will have more lethal VE women because they have more resources and populated places to attack. Accordingly, democracy and development were included in my statistical models.

Demographic Factors.

This dissertation is interested in individual VE lethality. Some individual attributes have been substantiated in the literature: age, gender, education, racial/ethnic minority, immigrant, military background, employment, mental illness, history of abuse, radicalized peers/family members/romantic partners, and marital status (Jasko, LaFree, and Kruglanski 2017). Overall, the literature has found that VE attacks are most likely to be committed by young adult men with lower educational attainment, with a VE member in their social network, and with a criminal history (Jasko et al. 2017). Jasko et al. (2017) did not find significant relationships between gender, racial/ethnic minority, immigrant, or military experience, and VE attacks. Thus, it will be important to control for these individual attributes. While organizational and social contextual factors are undoubtedly significant in VE women's lethality, this study will control for demographic factors, as I am analyzing grievances primarily at the individual level. These factors and my hypotheses are discussed in detail in the subsequent Data, and Hypotheses and Statistical Analysis sections of this chapter.

Psychological Motivations

Grievances. In this chapter, I propose that grievance type and presence also matter for lethality, net of known organizational and individual factors and social context. In terrorism, grievances are psychosocial motivations that can prompt VE lethality. Borum (2015) argues that grievances serve as push factors toward terrorism involvement and that there are pull factors that incentivize engagement. This view is similar to Wikström's (2014) situational action theory, in that terrorism becomes an attractive choice, in comparison to prosocial alternatives, given the circumstances. In other words, both Borum (2015) and Wikström (2014) contend that grievances are one of many important factors that can create the contexts in which violent extremism becomes a reasonable choice. Borum (2015) enumerated six main motives of violent extremism found in the literature, these pull factors that complement grievances are status, identity, thrill, revenge, material, and affiliation; however, he underscores that these incentives are not mutually exclusive, exhaustive, nor equally salient over time.

Borum (2015: 76-77) calls for scholars to focus on patterns of the grievance-incentive terrorism dynamic as, "Often the idea of becoming involved in terrorism is quite different from its actualized reality. That discrepancy may be a key source of leverage for risk reduction interventions." Thus, a woman may be motivated to join a terrorist organization because she is harboring a fantasy about how that involvement will lead to some sort of revenge, celebrity, or material gain. Identifying this dynamic is crucial as it may serve as the perfect starting point for developing effective counternarratives which dissuade the woman from taking part in VE. All of this is to say that by better understanding

VE women's grievances, especially in terms of lethality, this study will inform effective intervention efforts.

I argue that grievances matter for lethality and may amplify the effect of demographic factors. Thus, the proposed research seeks to determine if the presence of grievances has positive, statistically significant impacts on VE lethality. Individual demographics (e.g., age, gender, employment, number of children, education, racial/ethnic minority, immigrant, history of abuse, and marital status) are controlled.

Other Motivations. There are, of course, numerous motivations that may prompt an individual to become involved in violent extremism. Outside of grievances, the literature has established and focused on the following other motivations: to achieve or maintain a relationship, for a purpose or sense of identity, for social support or a sense of belonging, for notoriety and status, for material incentives (e.g., large sums paid to family members), and for the thrill of it (Borum 2015; Kruglanski et al. 2014; Gould 2021; Crenshaw 1985). It is important to note that these motivations are not comprehensive, nor are they mutually exclusive. Also, motivations are context-specific and may become more or less salient at different points in a person's involvement in VE.

Theory and Hypotheses

Conceptually, collective violence is a group's effort (or an individual on behalf of a group they are a member of) to use harmful and destructive means to obtain social power (Aya 1979). For example, if a member of a communist group detonates a bomb in a federal reserve, this is considered collective violence even though one individual was directly involved because: 1) the individual acted with or on behalf of a group, 2) violent means

were used, and 3) the goal was to strengthen the group's social power against their perceived enemy. Aya (1979) argues that there are two approaches to understanding Collective Violence Theory (CVT): volcanic and political. In the volcanic approach, individuals' grievances lead to mass upset, the breakdown of societal norms and social control, and ultimately, collective violence erupts as a result (Aya 1979). In this view, grievances multiply and compound on one another until a societal breaking point is reached and collective violence occurs. Aya (1979) takes issue with this approach, as grievance fueled rage is neither necessary nor sufficient for violence. Most people will experience righteous indignation in their lives and never become violent, despite how livid they may be with their circumstances. In other words, there may be a correlation between mass anger and violence, but this is not necessarily causal. Paraphrasing Shorter and Tilly (1974), the author explains that the "unhappy [will] merely brood passively on the sidelines" (Aya 1979:77) if their group is too disenfranchised or oppressed to act on their grievances.

Accordingly, Aya (1979) endorses the political approach to CVT. In this model, collective violence occurs when political and economic societal structures produce the opportunities to act upon grievances (Aya 1979). Aya (1979) explicates three considerations of Political CVT (PCVT) that inform the subsequent hypotheses in this chapter. First, mass irritation is not necessarily the accumulation of individual grievances (as volcanic CVT would suggest), but can be the result of failing political and economic institutions on which people rely. Second, in order for collective violence to occur, a group must have sufficient socioeconomic resources to mobilize. Third, there must be a degradation of political and/or economic institutions which create the opportunities for

groups to seize control over their society. This is operationalized several ways in the literature including Gini coefficients, perceived government corruption, level of democracy, and level of development (Oberschall 2004; Aya 1979; Tilly 2003; Mansley 2013; Varshney 2008; Conteh-Morgan 2006). Put differently, PCVT argues that terrorism or other forms of collective violence occur when means (socioeconomic capability and group organization), motive (grievances), and opportunity (sociopolitical institutional degradation) align.

While PCVT operates at a societal or nation-state level, the subsequent analysis focuses on lethality at the individual level. There are several reasons that this analysis controls for PCVT variables (e.g., country of involvement, level of democracy, and developing country). PCVT argues that there have to be institutional declines that create political opportunities for collective violence. While this may very well often be the case, I maintain that in the context of terrorism, perception matters. To explain, in my reading of the open-source case files, some of the grievances were due to actual realities, whereas others were perceptions. For example, some women in the sample experienced military occupation while living in Gaza, Dagestan, Spain, and other locations. These occupations were literal. In contrast, other women perceived they were in a metaphorical war (i.e., East vs. West, racial power being under attack, anti-Semitic conspiracy theories). Thus, the analyses are informed by PCVT, but also allow for the possibility that the perception of institutional weakening may be just as criminogenic as actual institutional weakening.

This analysis draws upon PCVT by examining the relationships between women's grievances and lethality in terrorism while controlling for the following factors: first year

of involvement in VE, primary country of VE involvement, level of democracy, and developing country. These variables were selected to control for cohort effects of engaging in terrorism in a particular country and time in history, the relative resources of different groups to engage in collective violence, and the sociopolitical opportunities to engage in violence for political control. PCVT argues that grievances will not increase violence without external organizational and political factors. As such, I hypothesize:

H1: the presence of any grievance will not significantly increase lethality, net of other factors.

Aya (1979) also argued that political opportunities lead to collective violence, as opposed to the additive rage of grievances. To test this, I hypothesize the following:

H2: the number of grievances will not significantly increase lethality, net of other factors.

It has yet to be determined if grievance types and temporality have more or less salience in PCVT for terrorist lethality. To explore these potential relationships, the following hypotheses will be evaluated:

H3: biographic grievances will significantly increase lethality, net of other factors.

H4: empathetic grievances will significantly increase lethality, net of other factors.

H5: pre-existing grievances will significantly increase lethality, net of other factors.

H6: acquired grievances will significantly increase lethality, net of other factors.

According to PCVT, grievances will only matter in generating collective violence if they are accompanied by socioeconomic and political institutional weakening. From this perspective, the only grievances from Chapter 1 which should increase lethality should be

war/military occupation, legal cynicism, anti-capitalism, and humanitarian crises. To examine this, I hypothesize the following:

H7: Of the grievances described in Chapter 1, only war/military occupation, anti-capitalism, legal cynicism and humanitarian crises grievances will significantly increase lethality net of other factors.

H8: non-PCVT grievances will not significantly increase lethality, net of other factors.

PCVT argues that the interaction between grievances, social standing, and political opportunity lead to collective violence. It stands that VE ideologies influence all three of these factors. To test this interaction effect, I hypothesize:

H9: PCVT grievances will moderate the relationship between VE ideology and lethality, net of other factors.

These eight hypotheses are poised to either lend empirical support or discredit Aya's (1979) contention that collective violence is the by-product of sociopolitical conditions and grievances. If there is no support for H1, that will indicate that grievances alone increase lethality, and that political and organizational factors are not necessary for collective violence. If there is not support for H2, that will indicate that perhaps the volcanic approach of CVT is more appropriate for understanding women's lethality in terrorism than PCVT is. If there is no support for H7, that indicates that war/military occupation and/or humanitarian crises are not more important for women's VE lethality than any of the other grievances from the first chapter. In that case, a lack of support for H7 would indicate the possibility that grievance type does not matter in terms of women's lethality in terrorism and/or that PCVT is not an empirically supported theory in the context

of women's VE lethality. Finally, hypothesis 8 is an examination of the three core components of PCVT itself, thus, if there is not empirical support for it, that discredits the theory and/or its applicability for violent extremism.

Data

This research uses the Female Terrorism Database (FTB), the same dataset described in the previous chapter. The original data collection was approved by the University of Virginia's Institutional Review Board. To recap, this dataset consists of open-source case files of 300 women who were involved in violent extremism at any point between 1970 and 2018. Data collection began in late 2016 and continued through 2017. Of the 300 case files, 280 were selected because they did not lack key information or indicated that the subject participated in terrorism because of coercion.

For all variables, missing data were coded as such to not skew the data towards an overly conservative estimate. For example, if all the missing data was coded as zero, that would show fewer instances of that variable overall in the data. Thus, missing data were coded as "99" and then excluded from the analyses to capture an accurate representation of variables in the data. Table 5. shows de-identified = information about the 280 terrorist women, and the percent of missing data for each variable included in the analyses.

As described in the first chapter, I used these data to identify the extent and types of grievances that women perceive. These data also allowed me to distinguish between women that do and do not engage in lethality. To be clear, there are roles in VE groups that indirectly support violence (e.g., propagandists, recruiters, fundraisers) and roles in which people actively engage or attempt violence. This research is interested in understanding the

significance grievances may have in determining which VE women are lethal, and which VE women are not. These data have information on all of the aforementioned demographic variables, group ideology grievances, number of regions, temporal information, and narratives of attacks. Over 16,000 pages of risk assessments were analyzed from which 35 grievances were identified, 10 of which were relevant in at least 20% of the sample. Appendix A shows the summary statistics of the variables in the study.

The average profile of a subject in the sample is a woman born in 1971, who is legally married, has one child, has completed some college, is employed (or was immediately before VE involvement), is not a racial/ethnic minority, is not an immigrant, and is not known to have experienced abuse. This data counters both the anomie (Durkheim 1897) and biographical availability (McAdam 1986) hypotheses of terrorism involvement. With regard to anomie, we would expect that women with fewer social ties to others (e.g., marriage and children) or with less social integration with social institutions (e.g., employment and education) would be more likely to be terrorists. However, the data indicate that women persist in terrorism nonetheless. The same argument can be made for biographical availability in which the assumption is that women with fewer obligations to others would be more vulnerable to violent extremist involvement. That said, these descriptive data do not indicate any correlations or causal relationships between anomie/biographical availability with lethality and duration of involvement in terrorism. The average involvement in VE in the sample consisted of becoming involved in the late 1990s at the age of 22, staying involved in terrorism for 7.5 years, killing 4-5 people, and attempting to kill 19-20 people. On average, each woman had 23 victims and there was a

total of 5,142 victims of the 280 terrorist women. Of those, 3,726 were attempted to be killed and 975 were murdered. These estimates are conservative, as missing data was excluded from the analysis. Table 9 shows the grievance prevalence for the sample (n = 172).

Table 9. Grievance Representation in the Sample

Grievance	Presence in the Sample N:	Fits Grievance Criteria N:	% of the Sample With Grievance:
Abuse	16	10	5.8%
Neglect	9	5	2.9%
Sexual assault	9	5	2.9%
Sex work	5	3	1.7%
Childhood pregnancy	6	4	2.3%
Overprotective upbringing	9	5	2.9%
Custody loss	6	3	1.7%
Homelessness	11	8	4.7%
Humanitarian concerns**	55	50	29.1%
Financial hardship*	30	18	10.5%
Natural disaster	1	1	0.6%
Refugee	10	6	3.5%
War/military occupation**	64	60	34.9%
A loved one was murdered	30	11	6.4%
Loved one suicide	17	14	8.1%
Loved one dead - other	30	11	6.4%
Homophobia	4	3	1.7%
Islamophobia	2	11	6.4%
Racism	34	32	18.6%
Sexism	5	5	2.9%
Xenophobia	3	3	1.7%
Divorce**	52	24	46.2%
Family conflict**	54	43	25.0%
Infidelity	7	2	1.2%
Disability	6	2	1.2%
Lonely	16	15	8.7%
Loved one ill	18	8	4.7%
Low self-esteem	24	20	11.6%
Miscarriage/infertility/abortion	7	1	0.6%
Anti-capitalist	30	30	17.4%
Anti-west**	44	44	25.6%
Animal rights	3	3	1.7%
Environmentalism	5	3	1.7%
Legal cynicism**	82	80	46.5%
Religious enemies**	63	60	34.9%

** indicates at least 25% of the sample held this grievance; * indicates at least 20% of the sample held this grievance

Table 10. Demographic Information of the Sample

Variable	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD	Percent Missing
Year of Birth	1919	2001	1971	20.44	1.4% (n = 4)
Died During Involvement	0	1	0.20	0.40	5.4% (n = 15)
Lethality Killed (People)	0	385	4.44	30.28	0.7% (n = 2)
Lethality Attempted (People)	0	750	19.3	86.3	1.8% (n = 5)
Lethality Combined (Attempted + Successful Kills)	0	1090	23.6	107.94	2.1% (n = 6)
Lethal Dummy Variable	0	1	0.57	0.50	0.0% (n = 0)

Measurement

The following measures will be used in all subsequent quantitative analyses.

Dependent variable.

Lethality. Lethality was measured in two ways. First, it was measured as a continuous variable where lethality is defined as successfully killing someone, including if the subject commits suicide. Second, lethality was measured as a count variable of the total number of people that each woman attempted to kill, but lived. Attempted lethality was coded because a terrorist that is attempting to kill is absolutely a threat to society and may become successful in killing if they are not successful or do not desist. To be clear, if a woman participates in killing with others unless the number of people she killed is specified, the total number of people killed in the attack will be attributed to her. For example, Tashfeen Malik and her husband killed 14 people in their VE mass shooting before she and her partner were killed by the police. Evidence in her open-source case file suggests that she was planning for the attack to be suicidal; however, it is unknown in her open-source case file how many of the 14 were killed by her or her husband. Thus, in my database, I coded her successful lethality as 16 because she was directly involved in the killing of 14 people, plus herself and her partner.

Using the successful and attempted lethality measures, I created a dummy variable for lethality in which 0 indicates that no one was killed or attempted to be killed and 1 indicates that one or more people were killed or attempted to be killed by the subject during her VE involvement. The dummy variable was used as the dependent variable in the subsequent analyses for several reasons. First, by using a dichotomous variable, the noise

was eliminated from prolific outliers who were lethal to hundreds of people. Second, the dichotomous variable allowed for both attempted and successful killings. This enablement is important because ultimately, lethality is a metric of dangerousness to society. By capturing both attempted and successful killings, the lethality dummy variable distinguishes two groups of women in the sample – those who are willing to kill and those who are not. Thus, the phenomenon of lethality is more accurately captured, whereas continuous variables would neglect those who tried to murder and failed.

Third, this dummy variable distinguishes between those who are willing to physically harm and those who are willing to end life. In the case files, there were women who would engage in fist fights but would stop once injury was achieved whereas others were committed to killing the greatest number of people possible. Those who were willing to injure but not kill are demonstrating support for a moral obligation (e.g., not to kill), the influence of social controls (e.g., fear of incarceration, stigma, civil litigation), and/or potentially less commitment to their VE cause than those who are willing to give their lives to it. From a public safety perspective, a person attempting to kill needs to be stopped before anyone is hurt regardless of if their attempt may be futile. In other words, a person who is taking actions that threaten the lives of others is lethal, even if they are unsuccessful in their attempted execution(s).

Key independent variables.

Grievances. As Chapter 1 details, 35 grievances were identified in the sample. To be considered a grievance, a detrimental life event also had to meet the following criteria: (1) a real or perceived biographical or empathetic injustice, pre-existing or acquired during

involvement, that causes the aggrieved to be deeply upset, (2) is caused by an enemy or illegitimate source, and (3) motivates the subject to engage in violent extremism. To be clear, negative experiences that did not relate to women's involvement in terrorism were not considered grievances, as there is a distinction between negative events that a woman experiences and negative experiences that encourage them to engage in violent extremism. Also, as Borum (2011) has explained, there are those who commit violent acts as part of a terrorist group, but do not harbor the group's ideology (i.e., not all terrorists are radicalized), thus the distinction between grievances and other negative life events is likely salient. In this chapter, grievances are operationally defined in three ways: any grievance, number of grievances, and PCVT grievance.

Each grievance was coded as present "1" or not present "0" for each subject's case file and temporal information was collected to determine if the grievance was present before the subject became involved in VE, during the subject's VE involvement, and if the grievance was relevant to the subject's involvement. In order to determine this, it was essential to know the years in which the subject was involved and when they became aggrieved. For example, if a woman's father was killed by an enemy army in 1971, and they joined a VE group in the hopes of avenging his death in 1972, the grievance of "loved one murdered" was coded as pre-existing rather than acquired. Whereas, in contrast, if a woman was involved in VE during the event of her father's murder, an event the file indicated that she sought to avenge with her involvement, that grievance was considered acquired.

If a suspected grievance had no indication of relevance to any subject's involvement in terrorism, it was not ultimately included in the list of 35 grievances. In assessing a grievance's relevance to terrorism involvement, multiple sources in the case file had to indicate it as such. Thus, this is another reason why this study employs a conservative estimate of grievances, as it is possible that negative events in the subjects' lives were not coded as grievances because there were not at least two indications from two different sources that the negative experience related to the subject's involvement. In many instances, the case files contained primary sources in which the subject explained how her involvement in VE was related to her grievances. Often, subjects left videos, notes, diaries, or gave testimony on this subject. In other instances, friends and family members spoke with law enforcement and/or media sources and indicated if certain life events motivated the subject's involvement in VE.

Any grievance. A dummy variable was created to indicate the presence or absence of at least one grievance held by each subject. In other words, if a subject held one or more grievances, this was coded as 1 and if they did not hold any grievances, this was coded as zero. This variable allows me to analyze if the presence of a grievance, in comparison to the quantity of grievances, is more relevant for understanding women's VE lethality.

Number of grievances. This is a count variable that lists the total number of grievances each subject has. In the sample, the number of grievances per subject ranges from zero to ten, with a mean of 3.30 and a standard deviation of 1.98.

PCVT grievances. This is a dummy variable that indicates if each subject held either a war/military occupation grievance, anti-capitalism, legal cynicism, and/or a humanitarian

crisis grievance, or neither. In other words, if a subject had at least one war/military grievance, at least one humanitarian crisis grievance, or both, that was coded as 1. If the subject did not have either type of grievance, that was coded as zero.

Non-PCVT grievances. This is a dummy variable for the presence of grievances other than war/military occupation, anti-capitalism, legal cynicism, and humanitarian crises. 1 indicates that a subject has at least one non-PCVT grievance and zero indicates that the subject does not have at least one non-PCVT grievance.

VE group(s) ideology (for the moderation model). There are ideological patterns across VE groups. For example, Aryan Nations, PEN1, the Ku Klux Klan, and the National Socialist Movement are all well-known white supremacist groups. Similarly, Daesh, Al Qaeda, Boko Haram, and the Taliban are all jihadist VE groups. Moreover, the Red Army Faction, the Weathermen, and the Irish Republican Army are all far-left, extremist groups. While these categories are not perfect, they permit the assessment of patterns of grievances and collective identities across groups. Alakoc et al. (2021) classify VE ideologies as being primarily leftist, ethnic-nationalist, or religious. Table 2 in the previous chapter shows the breakdown of the sample according to Alakoc et al.'s categories, as well as further specificity which I added. Of note, each group was categorized by its *primary* focus, as opposed to encompassing all of each group's ideological views. While women may become involved in VE across ideologies; for example, members of the IRA received training from jihadist extremists in Pakistan (Warren et al. 2018), I used only the group they were involved with the longest to determine their primary VE ideology.

In total, 6 ideological bends were identified in the data. White supremacist ideologies (coded as 1) maintained that the white race was superior to all other racial groups- regardless of if the group was separatist, nationalist, eugenic, etc. Jihadist groups (coded as 2) were those that adhered to a contorted version of radical Islam to justify their violence. Examples include Boko Haram, Al Qaeda, ISIS, etc. Apocalyptic groups (coded as 3) held ideologies that the world was actively ending or would end if they did not take specific violent actions. Often, these groups were led by charismatic leaders that claimed to be deities and promised salvation in exchange for loyalty. Examples include the Branch Davidians, Rajneesh movement, and the Manson Family.

Nationalist groups (coded as 4) were primarily concerned with protecting their country's autonomy and/or territorial control. Examples include the Provisional Irish Republican Army, those involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Basque nationalists, and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. Far left groups (coded as 5) held extremist views about common leftist issues including communism, environmentalism, animal rights, and police brutality. Examples include the Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Peace Thunder. Other ideologies (coded as 6) served as a catch-all for all the groups whose primary ideological focus was not addressed by any of the aforementioned groupings. Examples include misandry groups, black supremacy groups, and radical anti-abortion groups. A one-way ANOVA test was run to determine if there were meaningful differences between VE ideologies on lethality. The test revealed no meaningful differences, and thus, white supremacy was selected at random as the excluded comparison ideology.

Control variables.

First year of involvement. This is the year that each subject first became involved in violent extremism.

Country of origin. This variable was coded categorically according to each subject's geographic origin to control for the differences in biographical availability of growing up in different countries around the world. If the subject was born and raised in different countries, the country she was raised in was used as her country of origin. In total, subjects in the sample represented 47 countries of origin. After accounting for missing data, women from the following countries were included in the sample: the United Kingdom, Pakistan, Somalia, Germany, Belgium, Bosnia, Jordan, Palestine, Australia, Dagestan, Canada, and Spain. A one-way another was conducted to determine if there were meaningful differences between countries of origin in terms of VE lethality. From the results, the United States was selected to be the exclusion variable for comparison.

Level of democracy. I relied on the Center for Systemic Peace's (CSP) Integrated Network for Societal Conflict Research (INSCR) database, the Polity5 Annual Time-Series from 1946 to 2018. I will use the POLITY2 variable which ranks countries each year on a scale of -10 (strongly autocratic) to +10 (strongly democratic) while correcting for incidents of "foreign interruption," anarchy, and transition)

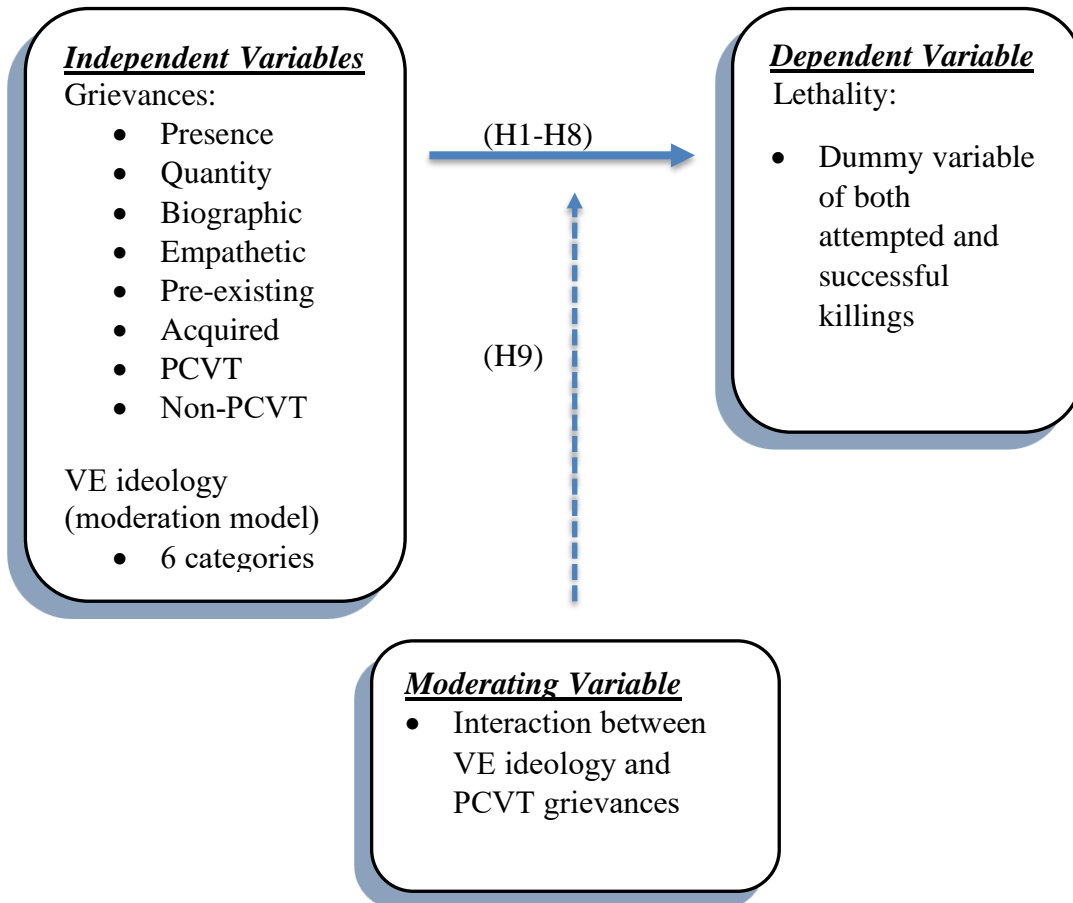
Developing country. I created a dummy variable for the county of VE involvement for each woman. The variable will be 1 for a developing country and 0 for a developed country during the year each subject entered terrorism. I will use World Development Indicators (WDI) from the World Bank to make this determination.

For each of the aforementioned variables, missing or not applicable data were coded as “99” and addressed accordingly.

Statistical Analyses

Each hypothesis was tested in Stata/SE 16.0 using logistic regressions with robust standard errors. For the moderation hypotheses, interaction terms were created and regressed. All of the missing data were removed from the analyses.

Figure 4. Conceptual Overview of Grievances on Lethality



Findings

Both Hypotheses 1 ($z = -0.20$; $P > |z| = 0.845$) and 2 ($z = -0.81$; $P > |z| = 0.418$) were supported by the models, meaning that neither the presence of a grievance nor the number of grievances influenced lethality. Although this is a null finding, it is incredibly important as there is a prevalent notion in terrorism research and in counter-violent extremism expert witness testimony that *more grievances mean more lethality*. At least for women involved in VE between 1970 and 2018, this research fails to support that notion. Thus, it is likely appropriate that law enforcement agents and academic researchers place less of their attention and base fewer of their assumptions on female terrorists on this misconception. Hypothesis 3 was supported in the model ($z = 3.26$; $P > |z| = 0.001$) whereas Hypothesis 4 was not ($z = 0.18$; $P > |z| = 0.856$). This indicates that biographical grievances increase women's lethality in terrorism, whereas empathetic grievances do not. Both temporal hypotheses, Hypotheses 5 and 6, were significant in the models ($z = 3.48$; $P > |z| = 0.001$; $z = 2.57$; $P > |z| = 0.010$, respectively). These findings support the notion that both acquired and pre-existing grievances increase women's lethality in VE, with pre-existing grievances having a slightly stronger effect.

Hypotheses 7 and 8 were both supported by the analyses. Thus, the findings indicate that PCVT grievances significantly increase women's lethality in terrorism ($z = 4.00$; $P > |z| = 0.000$), whereas non-PCVT grievances do not ($z = -1.08$; $P > |z| = 0.282$). Table 11 summarizes the findings from the models that tested Hypotheses 7- 9. Hypothesis 9 was partially supported; as the interaction between PCVT grievances and VE ideologies significantly decreased women's VE lethality ($z = -7.35$; $P > |z| = 0.000$).

Table 11. Direct and Moderating Effects of PCVT Grievances on Lethality

Variables	<u>Hypothesis 7</u> PCVT Grievances Direct Effect	<u>Hypothesis 8</u> Non-PCVT Grievances Direct Effect	<u>Hypothesis 9</u> PCVT Grievances Moderating Effect
PCVT Grievances	4.00*** (1.5607)	_____	8.04*** (8.72e+07)
Non-PCVT Grievances	_____	-1.08 (0.2928435)	-0.75 (0.3435078)
PCVT*VE Ideology (minus comparison)	_____	_____	-7.35*** (2.06e-07)
Year of Entry	0.79 (0.0096635)	0.62 (0.0090301)	0.82 (0.0096985)
Democracy	-2.01 (0.0552008)	-1.69 (0.0595515)	-1.71 (0.0831328)
Developing Country Country of Origin	0.36 (0.5436265)	0.54 (0.57871136)	0.08 (0.5463193)
USA (comparison)	_____	_____	_____
Not USA	-0.22 (0.3630517)	-0.12 (0.3571735)	-0.18 (0.3742424)
VE Ideology			
WST (comparison)	_____	_____	_____
Not WST	1.52 (1.597544)	0.97 (1.24855)	8.02*** (4.14e+07)
Constant	-0.81 (3.14 e-06)	-0.56 (0.0007342)	-1.62 (4.66e-13)

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. * $\rho < 0.01$, ** $\rho < 0.001$, *** $\rho < 0.001$.

Discussion

All of the hypotheses tested in this chapter were supported by the findings. According to PCVT, the presence and the quantity of grievances only matter within a certain political context which creates the opportunity for violence to be used as a means for taking social power (Hypotheses 1 and 2). Findings indicated that neither the presence of at least one grievance nor the number of grievances matters when controlling for sociopolitical factors (e.g., level of democracy, developing country, country of origin). Results indicate that biographical grievances increase women's lethality in terrorism, while empathetic grievances do not. Both pre-existing and acquired grievances increase women's lethality in terrorism, with pre-existing grievances having a stronger effect.

PCVT argues that grievances of military occupation/war, anti-capitalism, legal cynicism, or humanitarian crises should influence lethality. The evaluation of Hypothesis 3 revealed that these PCVT grievances significantly increase lethality even when controlling for other sociopolitical factors. Similarly, Hypothesis 4, maintained that the relationship between VE ideology and lethality would be moderated by PCVT grievances. The findings reveal that PCVT grievances magnify the relationship between VE group ideology and lethality.

Taken together, the results from this chapter indicate that PCVT is applicable to women's involvement in terrorism. PCVT argues that collective violence occurs when political and economic societal structures produce the opportunities to act upon their grievances (Aya 1979). Because the theory maintains that grievances only matter with

socioeconomic and political institutional weakening, only war/military occupation and humanitarian crises were considered PCVT grievances. Analyses confirmed consistently with PCVT that not only does the presence of any grievance or number of grievances not matter when controlling for other factors, but that PCVT factors both increase lethality directly and negatively moderate the relationship between VE ideology and lethality.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUDING REMARKS

Discussion

I am humbled by this opportunity to research what grievances are, and what they mean for violent extremist women's durations of involvement and lethality. This work makes several contributions to the existing literature. First, it draws on insights from qualitative analysis to inform the parameters of what constitutes a grievance. This dissertation streamlines the definition and operationalization of grievances in VE scholarship, better understands the experiences and motivations of VE women, and evaluates the utility of Attribution Theory (McCauley and Moskaleiko 2011), Biographical Availability (McAdam 1986), and Political Collective Violence Theory (Aya 1979) as they pertain to VE women's grievances, durations of involvement, and lethality in terrorism. In addition, this research identified common grievance categories (e.g., biographical, empathetic, pre-existing, acquired) which may serve as points of prevention and intervention (e.g., developing counter-narratives) that dissuade women from VE participation.

In the first chapter, I qualitatively analyzed the convoluted concept of a grievance, with respect to McCauley and Moskaleiko's (2011) call for an attribution theory of grievances. I defined a grievance as, *A real or perceived biographical or empathetic injustice, pre-existing or acquired during involvement, that causes a significant negative emotional response*. This definition allowed for all potential grievances to be evaluated by three criteria. As discussed in Chapter 1, 'grievances' were not uniformly defined or operationalized in the literature to the extent that *almost anything* could be considered a

grievance. Accordingly, there was no way to discern if grievances had any role in persistence or lethality in terrorism.

Using the definition I propose, the qualitative research ultimately identified four types of grievances – biographical, empathetic, pre-existing, and acquired. Biographical grievances are negative events or perceived injustices that directly impact the life of the subject. Empathetic grievances are those which do not directly influence the subject's life, but may exist elsewhere in the world or do not exist but promote fear in the subject. Pre-existing grievances are adopted by the subject before her involvement in terrorism, whereas acquired grievances are adopted during terrorism participation. The temporal categorizations are not necessarily mutually exclusive from biographical and empathetic grievances.

In the second chapter, I reviewed the literature on grievances and duration of involvement in VE. Informed by the Biographical Availability hypothesis (McAdam 1986) I used logistic regressions to assess the direct and moderating effects of the presence of at least one grievance and biographical availability on women's duration of involvement in VE. Overall, the biographical availability hypothesis argues that those with fewer personal obligations - which become the focus of their time, energy, and money - are more likely to join social movements, including high risk activism (Wiltfang and McAdam 1991). Results from these analyses revealed that the presence of any grievance, but not the quantity overall, increase women's time participating in VE. This suggests that aggrieved women participate longer in terrorism than those not motivated by grievances, but that having more than one grievance does not significantly influence the amount of time spent in terrorism.

There are several possibilities that this could be attributed to, that future research should examine.

Hypotheses 3 and 4 supposed that marital status and the number of children would moderate the relationship between the presence of any grievance and women's durations of involvement in VE. Both of these hypotheses were not significant, meaning that for women in this sample, matrimony and motherhood did not keep women from persisting in terrorism. Counter to the findings of Perliger and Pedahzur 2016 and Kavanagh 2011, which assert that university students, and having at least a high school education increases terrorism participation, Hypotheses 5 and 6 found that having less than a high school education increases women's duration of involvement in VE indirectly by moderating the relationship between having at least one grievance and duration of involvement in terrorism.

As a whole, the findings from this research lend nuance to the biographical availability hypothesis in the context of women's persistence in terrorism. While the type or temporality of the grievance was not influential in the subjects' durations of involvement, having at least one grievance significantly *increased* women's persistence in terrorism. Although matrimony and parenthood are often cited as key factors in the biographical availability hypothesis (Wiltfang and McAdam 1991), they do not apply to women's durations of involvement in VE. That said, employment and low educational attainments do moderate women's time participating in terrorism, by decreasing and increasing, respectively, the relationship between the presence of any grievance, and the duration of involvement in terrorism. In sum, women that hold at least one grievance, that

are unemployed, and have less than high school educations are more likely to persist in terrorism longer than women with more educational attainment and employment.

All of the hypotheses tested in this chapter were supported by the findings.

In the third chapter, the relationships between grievances and lethality were analyzed according to tenets of political collective violence theory (PCVT) (Aya 1979). According to PCVT, the presence and the quantity of grievances only matter within a certain political context which creates the opportunity for violence to be used as a means for taking social power (Hypotheses 1 and 2). Findings indicated that neither the presence of at least one grievance nor the number of grievances matters when controlling for sociopolitical factors (e.g., level of democracy, developing country, country of origin). Hypothesis 3 and 4 found that biographic grievances increase women's lethality in terrorism, whereas empathetic grievances do not. Also, both pre-existing and acquired grievances increased women's VE lethality, with pre-existing grievances having a stronger effect.

Moreover, PCVT argues that grievances of military occupation/war or humanitarian crises should influence lethality. The evaluation of Hypothesis 7 revealed that these PCVT grievances significantly increase lethality even when controlling for other sociopolitical factors. Hypothesis 8 found that non-PCVT grievances do not significantly influence women's lethality in terrorism. Hypothesis 9, maintained that the relationship between VE ideology and lethality would be moderated by PCVT grievances. The findings reveal that PCVT grievances significantly *decrease* the relationship between VE group ideology and lethality.

Taken together, the results from this chapter indicate that PCVT is applicable to women's involvement in terrorism. PCVT argues that collective violence occurs when political and economic societal structures produce the opportunities to act upon their grievances (Aya 1979). Because the theory maintains that grievances only matter with socioeconomic and political institutional weakening, only war/military occupation and humanitarian crises were considered PCVT grievances. Analyses confirmed consistently with PCVT that not only does the presence of any grievance or number of grievances not matter when controlling for other factors, but PCVT factors both increase lethality directly and positively moderate the relationship between VE ideology and lethality.

In analyzing the results from all three chapters, I propose a revised definition of grievances in the context of women's violent extremism: *A real or perceived biographical injustice that occurs before or during the subject's involvement in terrorism, which causes a significant negative emotional response.*

Limitations

This research has several limitations worth noting. First, the sample of this research consisted of women involved in violent extremism between 1975 and 2018. The findings of this research should not be generalized to women involved in other criminal or nefarious activities, women involved in terrorism outside of the 1975–2018-time frame, men in terrorism, etc. Second, this data relied on primary and secondary open-source materials which may not be entirely reliable. While the claims in each case file were overwhelmingly triangulated and verified by multiple sources, often including the subject herself, it is impossible to quantify exactly how accurate each case file was. This issue is present in

almost all terrorism research which is largely retrospective, and/or relies on secondary sources. While to my knowledge, this is the largest and most comprehensive dataset of VE women, it should be noted that an n of 280, which for the quantitative analysis became 172, may not adequately represent all women who were involved in VE in recent history.

The sample sizes in the quantitative chapters were much smaller because there was substantial missing data regarding educational attainment, employment immediately prior to involvement, the number of their children, and marital status. To err on the conservative side, those with missing data were excluded in the quantitative chapters; however, smaller sample sizes are must less powerful than larger samples. Also, unfortunately, the dataset did not always include the level of nuance necessary to refine my analyses further. For example, at various times in the sample, the files made it clear that the subject was married; however, there was little to no information about their spouse. The criminological literature has demonstrated that prosocial spouses reduce the likelihood of engaging in deviant activity whereas antisocial spouses increase the likelihood of deviance. Therefore, the finding in Chapter 2 that marriage does not significantly influence women's duration of involvement in terrorism fails to account for prosocial versus antisocial marriages. Moreover, often there was not enough prevalence of each grievance for analysis.

To address these limitations, I erred on conservative estimates whenever possible including but not limited to: defining a terrorist as a member of a non-governmental group that engages in violence and maintains extremist views, eliminating missing data from all analyses, and refusing to speculate on reasonable suspicions about motivation, et cetera.

Future Research

There are several directions of future research that can build upon this study. First, methodologically, there is a dearth of mixed-methods research in general, and especially within criminology and counter-terrorism. As a discipline, we need criminologists who have directly interacted with their subjects (e.g., focus groups, interviews, qualitative surveys) and can quantitatively analyze how their qualitative findings inform broader criminological trends. In this study, I interviewed several of the women in my dataset, and also interviewed scholars and members of law enforcement that had interacted personally with other women in the sample.

Second, while I have defined and operationalized preliminary criteria of what constitutes a grievance there is much work to be done. I would love to see other contexts in which this definition does and does not apply. For example, how do grievances influence lethality for women who engage in other types of violent crime? How do grievances relate to women's suicide and homicide? Third, my research focused exclusively on women. However, there are well-documented behavioral differences between biological sexes, especially in terrorism. Does the proposed definition of grievances inform men's involvement in VE?

Public Policy Implications

This dissertation contributes several public policy considerations. First and foremost, we should all be weary of anytime there is the assertion of a grievance. Without a clear definition and mixed-methods empirical support (as this dissertation provides) the term is useless at best and misleading or inflammatory at worst. Second, this work supports

the building notion (e.g., thank you Dr. Chesney-Lind) that women are *more often than not* agentic in their decisions to persist and engage in lethality in terrorism. While this study suggests that these decisions are often more emotional than rational, the prevalent notions of women being completely brainwashed or coerced by love to become terrorists have been largely blown out of proportion.

Moreover, the second chapter shows that instead of matrimony or parenthood, employment and low educational attainment effect women's durations of involvement in violent extremism. In this sample, employment is a protective factor and low educational attainment is a risk factor. Thus, creating opportunities for girls and women worldwide to complete a minimum of a high school education and gain employment would be both prosocial and weaken terrorism groups over time. Fourth, this research indicates that empathetic grievances do not significantly influence lethality; thus, counter-narrative, prevention, and desistance efforts ought to focus on biographical grievances.

Finally, as indicated in the third chapter, biographic and PCVT grievances both directly increase women's lethality in terrorism. As such, efforts should be made to generate counter-narratives and other prevention tactics against VE propaganda that frame their cause in terms of war, anti-capitalism, legal cynicism or humanitarian crises. Countless times in the case files, women joined and persisted in lethal terrorism because they believed they were participating in a war for religious freedom, helping orphans in their home countries, and/or rescuing humanity for the next generation. This dissertation asked if hell hath no fury like a woman scorned. While traditionally, scorned is interpreted

by infidelity, unrequited love, et cetera, this dissertation finds that hell hath no fury like a woman scorned by her society crumbling.

Conclusion

In 2015, a family friend of mine, Michael Wetzel, was killed by a female terrorist in an ISIS attack in San Bernardino, CA along with 13 others. Two years later, when I was pursuing my first graduate degree at the University of Virginia, Heather Heyer and two first responders were killed in the Unite the Right white supremacist rally. Terrorism is rare, and I am grateful for that, but we still ought to do our best to prevent it. It is a great hope of mine that this work will help inform counter-terrorism prevention and intervention efforts. Thank you for taking the time to read this dissertation.

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Appendix A. Variable Summary Statistics

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Name	0				
gnumber	172	3.273256	1.931816	0	9
anyg	172	.9534884	.2112052	0	1
deadinv	172	.2034884	.4037681	0	1
yearofbirth	172	1971.39	20.41398	1919	2001
education	172	2.116279	1.466337	0	5
employment	172	.6511628	.4779939	0	1
childnum	172	.9069767	1.294414	0	7
maritalsta~s	172	.5174419	.5011547	0	1
race_ethn_~y	172	.2848837	.4526769	0	1
immigrant	172	.255814	.4375917	0	1
abusehistory	172	.0930233	.2913131	0	1
region	172	3.424419	2.41101	1	18
countryof~n	172	9.255814	11.53605	1	48
democracy	172	7.651163	4.783665	-10	10
developing~y	172	.2209302	.4160849	0	1
lethalityk~d	172	4.639535	29.99022	0	385
lethalityf~t	172	21.05233	86.14684	0	750
lethaldummy	170	.5823529	.4946283	0	1
lethalcombo	172	25.38953	107.2745	0	1090
duration	172	8.453488	9.820205	1	40
ageofentry	172	22.57558	8.045927	0	55
Veideo	172	2.854651	1.383627	1	6
groupnames	0				
start	172	1998.099	17.73412	1937	2017
end	172	2005.314	14.67246	1954	2018
islamophobia	172	.0755814	.2650989	0	1
islamophob~e	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
islamophob~g	172	.0755814	.2650989	0	1
islamo_relev	172	.0639535	.2453844	0	1
islam_bio	172	.0348837	.184021	0	1
islam_ideo	172	.0465116	.2112052	0	1
antiwest	172	.255814	.4375917	0	1
antiwest_b~e	172	.0639535	.2453844	0	1

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
antiwest_d~g	172	.2674419	.4439171	0	1
aw_relev	172	.255814	.4375917	0	1
aw_bio172	.0116279	.107517	0	1	
aw_ideo	172	.2616279	.4408043	0	1
humanitarian	172	.3197674	.4677481	0	1
humanitari~e	172	.2209302	.4160849	0	1
humanitari~g	172	.2965116	.4580527	0	1
humanitari~v	172	.2965116	.4580527	0	1
hum_bio	172	.0755814	.2650989	0	1
hum_ideo	171	.2573099	.4384355	0	1
war	172	.372093	.4847743	0	1
war_before	172	.1918605	.3949136	0	1
war_during	172	.3313953	.4720892	0	1
war_relev	172	.3488372	.4779939	0	1
war_bio	172	.1453488	.3534813	0	1
war_ideo	172	.2151163	.4121027	0	1
religious	172	.3662791	.4831937	0	1
religious_~e	172	.127907	.3349613	0	1
religious_~g	172	.3604651	.4815373	0	1
religious_~v	172	.3546512	.4798043	0	1
relig_bio	172	.0465116	.2112052	0	1
relig_ideo	172	.3139535	.4654528	0	1
lovedonemu~d172	.1918605	.3949136	0	1	
lovedonemu~e172	.0348837	.184021	0	1	
lovedonemu~g172	.1802326	.3855033	0	1	
lovedonemu~v172	.1802326	.3855033	0	1	
murd_bio	172	.1918605	.3949136	0	1
murd_ideo	172	.005814	.0762493	0	1
lovedones~de	172	.0988372	.2993147	0	1
lovedones~re	172	.0406977	.1981658	0	1
lovedonesu~g	172	.0639535	.2453844	0	1
lovesui_re~v	172	.0813953	.2742397	0	1
sui_bio172	.0813953	.2742397	0	1	
sui_ideo	172	.0116279	.107517	0	1
lovedonede~r	0				

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
lovedonede~e	172	.1453488	.3534813	0	1
lovedonede~g	172	.0465116	.2112052	0	1
lovedeadot~v	172	.0639535	.2453844	0	1
other_bio	172	.0581395	.2346903	0	1
other_ideo	172	0	0	0	0
lovedoneill	172	.1046512	.3069971	0	1
lovedoneil~e	172	.0872093	.2829653	0	1
lovedoneil~g	172	.0348837	.184021	0	1
loveill_re~v	172	.0465116	.2112052	0	1
ill_bio	172	.0813953	.2742397	0	1
ill_ideo	172	0	0	0	0
divorce172	.3023256	.4606065	0	1	
divorce_be~e	172	.2325581	.4236963	0	1
divorce_du~g	172	.1046512	.3069971	0	1
divorce_re~v	172	.1395349	.3475155	0	1
div_bio	172	.2732558	.4469322	0	1
div_ideo	172	.005814	.0762493	0	1
familyconf~t	172	.3139535	.4654528	0	1
familyconf~e	172	.244186	.4308579	0	1
familyconf~g	172	.2034884	.4037681	0	1
famconfl_r~v	172	.25	.434277	0	1
fam_bio	172	.3023256	.4606065	0	1
fam_ideo	172	.005814	.0762493	0	1
sexualassa~t	172	.0523256	.2233329	0	1
sexualassa~e	172	.0465116	.2112052	0	1
sexualassa~g	172	.0116279	.107517	0	1
sexassault~v	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
sa_bio	172	.0465116	.2112052	0	1
sa_ideo	172	0	0	0	0
sexwork	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
sexwork_be~e	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
sexwork_du~g	172	.0116279	.107517	0	1
sexwork_re~v	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
sw_bio	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
sw_ideo	172	0	0	0	0

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
miscarriage	172	.0406977	.1981658	0	1
miscarria~re	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
miscarriag~g	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
miscar_relev	172	.005814	.0762493	0	1
mis_bio	172	.0406977	.1981658	0	1
mis_ideo	172	0	0	0	0
disab	172	.0348837	.184021	0	1
diasab_bef~e	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
disab_during	172	.0116279	.107517	0	1
disab_relev	172	.0116279	.107517	0	1
disab_bio	172	.0348837	.184021	0	1
disab_ideo	172	.0116279	.107517	0	1
lonely	172	.0930233	.2913131	0	1
lonely_bef~e	172	.0639535	.2453844	0	1
lonely_dur~g	172	.0813953	.2742397	0	1
lonely_relev	172	.0872093	.2829653	0	1
lonely_bio	172	.0697674	.2554985	0	1
lonely_ideo	172	.0116279	.107517	0	1
lowselfest~m	172	.1395349	.3475155	0	1
lowselfest~e	172	.122093	.3283491	0	1
lowselfest~g	172	.1104651	.3143839	0	1
selfest_re~v	172	.127907	.3349613	0	1
selfest_bio	172	.1395349	.3475155	0	1
selfest_ideo	172	0	0	0	0
abuse	172	.0930233	.2913131	0	1
abuse_before	172	.0639535	.2453844	0	1
abuse_during	172	.0523256	.2233329	0	1
abuse_relev	172	.0581395	.2346903	0	1
abuse_bio	172	.0930233	.2913131	0	1
abuse_ideo	172	.005814	.0762493	0	1
neglect	172	.0523256	.2233329	0	1
neglect_be~e	172	.0465116	.2112052	0	1
neglect_du~g	172	.005814	.0762493	0	1
neglect_re~v	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
neg_bio	172	.0465116	.2112052	0	1

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
neg_ideo	172	0	0	0	0
homeless	172	.0639535	.2453844	0	1
homeless_b~e	172	.0465116	.2112052	0	1
homeless_d~g	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
homeless_r~v	172	.0465116	.2112052	0	1
home_bio	172	.0639535	.2453844	0	1
home_ideo	172	.005814	.0762493	0	1
racism	172	.1976744	.399408	0	1
racism_bef~e	172	.0872093	.2829653	0	1
racism_dur~g	172	.1918605	.3949136	0	1
racism_relev	172	.1860465	.3902804	0	1
rac_bio	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
rac_ideo	172	.1802326	.3855033	0	1
legalcynic~m	172	.4767442	.5009172	0	1
legalcynic~e	172	.2674419	.4439171	0	1
legalcynic~g	172	.4883721	.5013242	0	1
legcyn_relev	172	.4709302	.5006116	0	1
cyn_bio	172	.1511628	.3592533	0	1
cyn_ideo	172	.3313953	.4720892	0	1
xenophobia	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
xeno_before	172	0	0	0	0
xeno_during	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
xeno_relev	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
xeno_bio	172	0	0	0	0
xeno_ideo	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
finances	172	.1744186	.380577	0	1
finances_b~e	172	.1337209	.341346	0	1
finances_d~g	172	.1162791	.3214952	0	1
finances_r~v	172	.1046512	.3069971	0	1
fin_bio	172	.1395349	.3475155	0	1
fin_ideo	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
refugee	172	.0581395	.2346903	0	1
refugee_be~e	172	.0523256	.2233329	0	1
refugee_du~g	172	.0465116	.2112052	0	1
refugee_re~v	172	.0348837	.184021	0	1

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
ref_bio172	172	.0523256	.2233329	0	1
ref_ideo	172	.005814	.0762493	0	1
homophobia	172	.0232558	.1511549	0	1
homopho_be~e	172	.0116279	.107517	0	1
homopho_du~g	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
homopho_re~v	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
homo_bio	172	.0116279	.107517	0	1
homo_ideo	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
natdisaster	172	.0116279	.107517	0	1
natdisaste~e	172	.005814	.0762493	0	1
natdisaste~g	172	.005814	.0762493	0	1
natdisaste~v	172	.005814	.0762493	0	1
nat_bio172	172	.005814	.0762493	0	1
nat_ideo	172	.005814	.0762493	0	1
ovprotect	172	.0523256	.2233329	0	1
ovprotect_~e	172	.0465116	.2112052	0	1
ovprotect_~g	172	.005814	.0762493	0	1
ovprotect_~v	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
ovp_bio	172	.0465116	.2112052	0	1
ovp_ideo	172	0	0	0	0
infidelity	172	.0406977	.1981658	0	1
infidelity~e	172	.0232558	.1511549	0	1
infidelity~g	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
infidelity~v	172	.0116279	.107517	0	1
inf_bio172	172	.0348837	.184021	0	1
inf_ideo	172	0	0	0	0
chpreg	172	.0348837	.184021	0	1
chpreg_bef~e	172	.0116279	.107517	0	1
chpreg_dur~g	172	.0232558	.1511549	0	1
chpreg_relev	172	.0232558	.1511549	0	1
chp_bio	172	.0348837	.184021	0	1
chp_ideo	172	0	0	0	0
custody	172	.0348837	.184021	0	1
custody_be~e	172	.0116279	.107517	0	1
custody_du~g	172	.0232558	.1511549	0	1

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
custody_re~v	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
cust_bio	172	.0348837	.184021	0	1
cust_ideo	172	0	0	0	0
animals	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
animals_be~e	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
animals_du~g	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
animals_re~v	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
ani_bio172	0	0	0	0	
ani_ideo	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
enviro	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
enviro_bef~e	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
enviro_dur~g	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
envirorelev	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
env_bio	172	0	0	0	0
env_ideo	172	.0174419	.131293	0	1
sexism	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
sexism_bef~e	172	.0116279	.107517	0	1
sexism_dur~g	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
sexism_relev	172	.0290698	.1684926	0	1
sx_bio	172	.005814	.0762493	0	1
sx_ideo	172	.0232558	.1511549	0	1
anticap	172	.1744186	.380577	0	1
anticap_be~e	172	.0755814	.2650989	0	1
anticap_du~g	172	.1744186	.380577	0	1
anticap_re~v	172	.1744186	.380577	0	1
anticap_bio	172	0	0	0	0
anticap_ideo	169	.1775148	.3832393	0	1
IC	0				
ID	0				
IE	0				
IF	0				
allbio	174	1.747126	1.89443	0	9
allemp	174	1.798851	1.524292	0	7
allpreex	174	1.850575	1.743883	0	8
allacq	174	3.103448	1.703682	0	9

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
notmarried	174	.4770115	.5009127	0	1
lowedu174	.316092	.4662911	0	1	
notemployed	174	.3448276	.4766838	0	1
nokids	174	.5114943	.5013105	0	1
bio_availa~y	174	.5632184	.4974188	0	1
lessHS	174	.1724138	.3788299	0	1
mediandura~n	174	.5689655	.4966501	0	1
meanduration	174	.3505747	.478527	0	1
intmat	172	.494186	.501426	0	1
intemploy	172	.622093	.4862799	0	1
intedu	172	2.017442	1.476814	0	5
intlessHS	172	.1627907	.3702525	0	1
intkids	172	.872093	1.300441	0	7
intbio	172	1.72093	1.91425	0	9
intemp	172	1.732558	1.547867	0	7
intpreex	172	1.773256	1.774012	0	8
intacq	172	3.017442	1.801474	0	9
bio_obs	174	.0011813	.0012809	0	.0060852
emp_obs	174	.0012163	.0010306	0	.0047329
preex_obs	174	.0012512	.0011791	0	.0054091
acq_obs	174	.0020983	.0011519	0	.0060852
bio_obs_int	172	.0011636	.0012943	0	.0060852
emp_obs_int	172	.0011714	.0010466	0	.0047329
preex_obs~t	172	.001199	.0011995	0	.0054091
acq_obs_int	172	.0020402	.001218	0	.0060852
mar_int	172	.494186	.501426	0	1
kids_int	172	.872093	1.300441	0	7
lessHS_int	172	.1627907	.3702525	0	1
employ_int	172	.622093	.4862799	0	1
PCVTgriev	174	.5057471	.5014099	0	1
intVEpcvt	172	1.465116	1.794714	0	6
PCVTgrievs	174	.6666667	.472765	0	1
intVEpcvts	172	1.918605	1.791566	0	6
nonPCVTgri~s	174	.8505747	.3575361	0	1
WST	174	.0747126	.2636859	0	1

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Obs.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev.</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>Max</u>	
notWST	174	.9252874	.2636859	0	1	
PCVTnotWST~n	174	.6034483	.4905932	0	1	1
USA	174	.2643678	.4422687	0	1	
notUSA	174	.7356322	.4422687	0	1	

Appendix B: Stata Do-File

```
import excel "C:\Users\April\Desktop\Piled High & Deep\Dissertation\DATA\Coding  
Grievances\Grievances UPDATED 8.19.xlsx", sheet("For Stata") firstrow  
  
drop if deadinv == 99  
  
inspect deadinv  
  
drop if yearofbirth == 99  
  
drop if education == 99  
  
drop if employment == 99  
  
drop if childnum == 99  
  
drop if maritalstatus == 99  
  
drop if race_ethn_minority == 99  
  
drop if immigrant == 99  
  
drop if immigrant == 99  
  
drop if abusehistory == 99  
  
drop if democracy == 99  
  
drop if developingcountry == 99  
  
drop if lethaldummy == 99  
  
drop if duration == 99  
  
drop if ageofentry == 99  
  
drop if start == 99  
  
drop if gnumber == 99  
  
drop if anyg == 99
```

generate allbio = (islam_bio + islamo_relev ==2) + (aw_bio + aw_relev ==2) +
 (hum_bio + humanitarian_relev ==2) + (war_bio + war_relev ==2) + (relig_bio +
 religious_relev ==2) + (murd_bio + lovemurder_relev ==2) + (lovesui_relev + sui_bio
 ==2) + (other_bio + lovedeadother_relev ==2) + (ill_bio + loveill_relev ==2) + (div_bio
 + divorce_relev ==2) + (fam_bio + famconfl_relev ==2) + (sa_bio + sexassault_relev
 ==2) + (sw_bio + sexwork_relev ==2) + (mis_bio + miscar_relev ==2) + (disab_bio +
 disab_relev ==2) + (lonely_bio + lonely_relev ==2) + (selfest_bio + selfest_relev ==2) +
 (abuse_bio + abuse_relev ==2) + (neg_bio + neglect_relev ==2) + (home_bio +
 homeless_relev ==2) + (rac_bio + racism_relev ==2) + (cyn_bio + legcyn_relev ==2) +
 (xeno_bio + xeno_relev ==2) + (fin_bio + finances_relev ==2) + (ref_bio +
 refugee_relev ==2) + (homo_bio + homopho_relev ==2) + (nat_bio + natdisaster_relev
 ==2) + (ovp_bio + ovprotect_relev ==2) + (inf_bio + infidelity_relev ==2) + (chp_bio +
 chpreg_relev ==2) + (cust_bio + custody_relev ==2) + (ani_bio + animals_relev ==2) +
 (env_bio + envirorelev ==2) + (sx_bio + sexism_relev ==2) + (anticap_bio +
 anticap_relev ==2)

total allbio

generate allemp = (islam_ideo + islamo_relev ==2) + (aw_ideo + aw_relev ==2) +
 (hum_ideo + humanitarian_relev ==2) + (war_ideo + war_relev ==2) + (relig_ideo +
 religious_relev ==2) + (murd_ideo + lovemurder_relev ==2) + (lovesui_relev +
 sui_ideo==2) + (other_ideo + lovedeadother_relev ==2) + (ill_ideo + loveill_relev ==2)
 + (div_ideo + divorce_relev ==2) + (fam_ideo + famconfl_relev ==2) + (sa_ideo +
 sexassault_relev ==2) + (sw_ideo + sexwork_relev ==2) + (mis_ideo + miscar_relev

==2) + (disab_ideo+ disab_relev ==2) + (lonely_ideo + lonely_relev ==2) + (selfest_ideo
+ selfest_relev ==2) + (abuse_ideo + abuse_relev ==2) + (neg_ideo + neglect_relev ==2)
+ (home_ideo + homeless_relev ==2) + (rac_ideo + racism_relev ==2) + (cyn_ideo +
legcyn_relev ==2) + (xeno_ideo + xeno_relev ==2) + (fin_ideo + finances_relev ==2) +
(ref_ideo + refugee_relev ==2) + (homo_ideo + homopho_relev ==2) + (nat_ideo +
natdisaster_relev ==2) + (ovp_ideo + ovprotect_relev ==2) + (inf_ideo + infidelity_relev
==2) + (chp_ideo + chpreg_relev ==2) + (cust_ideo + custody_relev ==2) + (ani_ideo +
animals_relev ==2) + (env_ideo + envirorelev ==2) + (sx_ideo + sexism_relev ==2) +
(anticap_ideo + anticap_relev ==2)

total allemp

generate allpreex = (islamophob_before + islamo_relev ==2) + (antiwest_before +
aw_relev ==2) + (humanitarian_before + humanitarian_relev ==2) + (war_before +
war_relev ==2) + (religious_before + religious_relev ==2) + (lovedonemurdered_before
+ lovemurder_relev ==2) + (lovedonesuicide_before + sui_ideo==2) +
(lovedonedead_before + lovedeadother_relev ==2) + (lovedoneill_before + loveill_relev
==2) + (divorce_before + divorce_relev ==2) + (familyconflict_before + famconfl_relev
==2) + (sexualassault_before + sexassault_relev ==2) + (sexwork_before +
sexwork_relev ==2) + (miscarriage_before + miscar_relev ==2) + (diasab_before +
disab_relev ==2) + (lonely_before + lonely_relev ==2) + (lowselfesteem_before +
selfest_relev ==2) + (abuse_before + abuse_relev ==2) + (neglect_before + neglect_relev
==2) + (homeless_before + homeless_relev ==2) + (racism_before + racism_relev ==2) +
(legalcynicism_before + legcyn_relev ==2) + (xeno_before + xeno_relev ==2) +

(finances_before + finances_relev ==2) + (refugee_before + refugee_relev ==2) +
 (homopho_before + homopho_relev ==2) + (natdisaster_before + natdisaster_relev ==2)
 + (ovprotect_before + ovprotect_relev ==2) + (infidelity_before + infidelity_relev ==2) +
 (chpreg_before + chpreg_relev ==2) + (custody_before + custody_relev ==2) +
 (animals_before + animals_relev ==2) + (enviro_before + envirorelev ==2) +
 (sexism_before + sexism_relev ==2) + (anticap_before + anticap_relev ==2)

total allpreex

generate allacq = (islamophob_during+ islamo_relev ==2) + (antiwest_during + aw_relev
 ==2) + (humanitarian_during + humanitarian_relev ==2) + (war_during + war_relev
 ==2) + (religious_during + religious_relev ==2) + (lovedonemurdered_during +
 lovemurder_relev ==2) + (lovedonesuicide_during + sui_ideo==2) +
 (lovedonedeath_during + lovedeadother_relev ==2) + (lovedoneill_during + loveill_relev
 ==2) + (divorce_during + divorce_relev ==2) + (familyconflict_during + famconfl_relev
 ==2) + (sexualassault_during + sexassault_relev ==2) + (sexwork_during +
 sexwork_relev ==2) + (miscarriage_during + miscar_relev ==2) + (disab_during +
 disab_relev ==2) + (lonely_during + lonely_relev ==2) + (lowselfesteem_during +
 selfest_relev ==2) + (abuse_during + abuse_relev ==2) + (neglect_during + neglect_relev
 ==2) + (homeless_during + homeless_relev ==2) + (racism_during + racism_relev ==2)
 + (legalcynicism_during + legcyn_relev ==2) + (xenophobia_during + xenophobia_relev ==2) +
 (finances_during + finances_relev ==2) + (refugee_during + refugee_relev ==2) +
 (homopho_during + homopho_relev ==2) + (natdisaster_during + natdisaster_relev ==2)
 + (ovprotect_during + ovprotect_relev ==2) + (infidelity_during + infidelity_relev ==2)

```
+ (chpreg_during + chpreg_relev ==2) + (custody_during + custody_relev ==2) +
(animals_during + animals_relev ==2) + (enviro_during + enviro_relev ==2) +
(sexism_during + sexism_relev ==2) + (anticap_during + anticap_relev ==2)
```

```
total allacq
```

```
summarize anyg yearofbirth education employment childnum maritalstatus
```

```
countryoforigin duration allbio allemp allpreex allacq
```

```
generate notmarried = (maritalstatus == 0)
```

```
generate lowedu = (education < 2)
```

```
generate notemployed = (employment == 0)
```

```
generate nokids = (childnum == 0)
```

```
generate bio_availability = (notmarried + lowedu + notemployed + nokids >= 2)
```

```
summarize bio_availability, detail
```

```
label define country 1 "USA" 2 "UK" 3 "Pakistan" 4 "Somalia" 5 "Germany" 6
```

```
"Belgium" 7 "Bosnia" 8 "Turkey" 9 "Jordan" 10 "Palestine" 11 "Austria" 12 "Nigeria" 13
```

```
"Saudi Arabia" 14 "Australia" 15 "Pakistan" 16 "Iraq" 17 "Syria" 18 "Russia" 19
```

```
"Dagestan" 20 "New Zealand" 21 "France" 22 "Canada" 23 "Romania" 24 "Ireland" 25
```

```
"Japan" 26 "Spain" 27 "Chechnya" 28 "Morocco" 29 "Iran" 30 "Mexico" 31 "Tunisia" 32
```

```
"Kenya" 33 "Democratic Republic of Congo" 34 "Bangladesh" 35 "India" 36 "Indonesia"
```

```
37 "Sudan" 38 "Puerto Rico" 39 "Morocco" 40 "Greece" 41 "Philippines" 43 "Italy" 44
```

```
"The Netherlands" 45 "Singapore" 46 "Sri Lanka" 47 "Sweden" 48 "Chile" 49 "Israel"
```

```
label values countryoforigin country
```

```
tabulate countryoforigin
```



```

summarize yearofbirth countryoforigin education employment childnum maritalstatus
bio_availability duration deadinv allbio allemp allpreex allacq

label define Edu 0 "Less than HS" 1 "HS or GED" 2 "Some College" 3 "4yr college grad"
4 "Some Graduate Work" 5 "Completed Graduate Work"

label values education Edu

tabulate education

generate lessHS = (education == 0)

label define Ideology 1 "White supremacist" 2 "Jihadist" 3 "Apocalyptic" 4 "Nationalist"
5 "Far Left" 6 "Other"

label values Veideo Ideology

generate medianduration = (duration >= 4)

generate meanduration = (duration >= 8)

logistic medianduration anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin
deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration gnumber maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin
deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin deadinv
i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration gnumber maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin
deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration allbio maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin
deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

```

logistic meanduration allbio maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration allemp maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration allemp maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration allpre maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration allpre maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration allacq maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration allacq maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

generate intmat = (maritalstatus*anyg)

logistic medianduration intmat anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration intmat yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin deadinv i.Veideo,

vce(robust)

logistic medianduration intmat anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration intmat anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforgin
deadin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

generate intemploy = (employment*anyg)

logistic medianduration anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry employment
i.education i.countryoforgin deadin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry employment i.education
i.countryoforgin deadin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry employment
i.education i.countryoforgin childnum deadin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry employment i.education
i.countryoforgin childnum deadin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration gnumber maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry employment
i.education i.countryoforgin childnum deadin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration gnumber maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry employment
i.education i.countryoforgin childnum deadin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration allbio maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry employment i.education
i.countryoforgin childnum deadin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration allbio maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry employment
i.education i.countryoforgin childnum deadin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration allemp maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry employment
i.education i.countryoforgin childnum deadin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration allemp maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry employment
i.education i.countryoforigin childnum deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration allpre maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry employment
i.education i.countryoforigin childnum deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration allpre maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry employment i.education
i.countryoforigin childnum deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration allacq maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry employment
i.education i.countryoforigin childnum deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration allacq maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry employment i.education
i.countryoforigin childnum deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration intmat maritalstatus anyg yearofbirth ageofentry employment
i.education i.countryoforigin childnum deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration intmat maritalstatus anyg yearofbirth ageofentry employment
i.education i.countryoforigin childnum deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration intemploy employment anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry
i.education i.countryoforigin childnum deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration intemploy employment anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry
i.education i.countryoforigin childnum deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

generate intedu = (education*anyg)

generate intlessHS = (lessHS*anyg)

logistic medianduration intlessHS lessHS anyg employment maritalstatus yearofbirth
ageofentry i.education i.countryoforigin childnum deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

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logistic meanduration intlessHS lessHS anyg employment maritalstatus yearofbirth
ageofentry i.education i.countryoforigin childnum deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)
generate intkids = (childnum*anyg)

logistic medianduration intkids childnum anyg employment maritalstatus yearofbirth
ageofentry i.education i.countryoforigin childnum deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration intkids childnum anyg employment maritalstatus yearofbirth
ageofentry i.education i.countryoforigin childnum deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

graph dot (mean) duration (median) duration
dotplot duration, median

tabulate countryoforigin

tabulate Veideo

generate intbio = (anyg*allbio)

generate intemp = (anyg*allemp)

generate intpreex = (anyg*allpreex)

generate intacq = (anyg*allacq)

logistic medianduration intbio allbio anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education
i.countryoforigin deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration intemp allemp anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education
i.countryoforigin deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration intpreex allpreex anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education
i.countryoforigin deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

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logistic medianduration intacq allacq anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education
i.countryoforigin deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration intbio allbio anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education
i.countryoforigin deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration intemp allemp anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education
i.countryoforigin deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

generate bio_obs = (allbio/1479)

generate emp_obs = (allemp/1479)

generate preex_obs = (allpreex/1479)

generate acq_obs = (allacq/1479)

generate bio_obs_int = (bio_obs * anyg)

generate emp_obs_int = (emp_obs * anyg)

generate preex_obs_int = (preex_obs * anyg)

generate acq_obs_int = (acq_obs * anyg)

logistic medianduration bio_obs_int emp_obs_int preex_obs_int acq_obs_int anyg
maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration bio_obs_int emp_obs_int preex_obs_int acq_obs_int anyg
maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration emp_obs_int bio_obs_int preex_obs_int acq_obs_int anyg
maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

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```

logistic medianduration bio_obs_int emp_obs_int preex_obs_int acq_obs_int anyg
maritalstatus yearofbirth childnum employment ageofentry i.education i.countryoforigin
deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration bio_obs_int emp_obs_int preex_obs_int acq_obs_int anyg
maritalstatus yearofbirth childnum employment ageofentry i.education i.countryoforigin
deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic lethaldummy bio_obs_int emp_obs_int preex_obs_int acq_obs_int anyg
maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth childnum ageofentry employment
deadinv i.education lessHS i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

generate mar_int = (maritalstatus * anyg)

logistic medianduration mar_int anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth childnum ageofentry
employment deadinv i.education i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration mar_int anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth childnum ageofentry
employment deadinv i.education i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

generate kids_int = (childnum*anyg)

logistic medianduration kids_int childnum anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry
employment deadinv i.education i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration kids_int childnum anyg maritalstatus yearofbirth ageofentry
employment deadinv i.education i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

generate lessHS_int = (lessHS*anyg)

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logistic medianduration lessHS_int anyg lessHS childnum maritalstatus yearofbirth
ageofentry employment deadinv i.education i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration lessHS_int anyg lessHS childnum maritalstatus yearofbirth
ageofentry employment deadinv i.education i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

generate employ_int = (employment*anyg)

logistic medianduration employ_int anyg employment childnum maritalstatus yearofbirth
ageofentry deadinv i.education i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration employ_int anyg employment childnum maritalstatus yearofbirth
ageofentry deadinv i.education i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration employ_int anyg employment childnum maritalstatus yearofbirth
ageofentry deadinv lessHS i.education i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration employ_int anyg employment childnum maritalstatus yearofbirth
ageofentry deadinv lessHS i.education i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration employ_int anyg employment childnum maritalstatus yearofbirth
ageofentry deadinv lessHS i.education i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic meanduration lessHS_int anyg employment childnum maritalstatus yearofbirth
ageofentry deadinv lessHS i.education i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration lessHS_int anyg employment childnum maritalstatus yearofbirth
ageofentry deadinv lessHS i.education i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

generate PCVTgriev = (war_relev + humanitarian_relev >= 1)

logistic lethaldummy PCVTgriev start democracy developingcountry i.countryoforigin
i.Veideo, vce(robust)

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logistic lethaldummy PCVTgriev start democracy developingcountry i.countryoforgin

i.Veideo, vce(robust)

oneway lethalitykilled Veideo, tabulate

oneway lethalitykilled countryoforgin, tabulate

generate intVEpcvt = (PCVTgriev * Veideo)

logistic lethaldummy intVEpcvt PCVTgriev start democracy developingcountry

i.countryoforgin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

oneway medianduration Veideo, tabulate

oneway medianduration countryoforgin, tabulate

summarize

logistic medianduration allbio maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforgin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration allemp maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforgin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration allpreex maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforgin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic medianduration allacq maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforgin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic lethaldummy allbio maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforgin deadinv

i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic lethaldummy allemp maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforgin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic lethaldummy allpreex maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic lethaldummy allacq maritalstatus yearofbirth i.education i.countryoforigin

deadinv i.Veideo, vce(robust)

generate PCVTgrievs = (war_relev + humanitarian_relev + legcyn_relev + anticap_relev
>= 1)

logistic lethaldummy PCVTgrievs start democracy developingcountry i.countryoforigin

i.Veideo, vce(robust)

generate intVEpcvts = (PCVTgrievs * Veideo)

logistic lethaldummy intVEpcvts PCVTgrievs start democracy developingcountry

i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

generate nonPCVTgrievs = (islamo_relev + aw_relev + religious_relev +
lovemurder_relev + lovesui_relev + lovedeadother_relev + loveill_relev + divorce_relev
+ famconfl_relev + sexassault_relev + sexwork_relev + miscar_relev + disab_relev +
lonely_relev + selfest_relev + abuse_relev + neglect_relev + homeless_relev +
racism_relev + xeno_relev + finances_relev + refugee_relev + homopho_relev +
natdisaster_relev + ovprotect_relev + infidelity_relev + chpreg_relev + custody_relev +
animals_relev + envirorelev + sexism_relev >= 1)

logistic lethaldummy nonPCVTgrievs start democracy developingcountry

i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

logistic lethaldummy intVEpcvts PCVTgrievs nonPCVTgrievs start democracy

developingcountry i.countryoforigin i.Veideo, vce(robust)

```

tabulate Veideo

generate WST = (Veideo == 1)

describe WST

summarize WST

tabulate WST

generate notWST = (Veideo != 1)

summarize notWST

tabulate notWST

generate PCVTnotWSTinteraction = ( PCVTgrievs*notWST)

logistic lethaldummy PCVTnotWSTinteraction PCVTgrievs notWST WST start
democracy developingcountry i.countryoforigin, vce(robust)

generate USA = (country == 1)

tabulate USA

generate notUSA = (country != 1)

tabulate notUSA

logistic lethaldummy PCVTgrievs start democracy developingcountry USA notUSA
WST notWST, vce(robust)

logistic lethaldummy PCVTgrievs start democracy developingcountry notUSA notWST,
vce(robust)

logistic lethaldummy PCVTgrievs nonPCVTgrievs start democracy developingcountry
notUSA notWST, vce(robust)

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logistic lethaldummy nonPCVTgrievs start democracy developingcountry notUSA
notWST, vce(robust)

logistic lethaldummy PCVTgrievs start democracy developingcountry notUSA notWST,
vce(robust)

logistic lethaldummy nonPCVTgrievs start democracy developingcountry notUSA
notWST, vce(robust)

logistic lethaldummy PCVTnotWSTinteraction PCVTgrievs nonPCVTgrievs notWST
start democracy developingcountry notUSA, vce(robust)
summarize