



**A Woman's Place: U.S. Counterterrorism Since 9/11 (2/10/20)**

00:00:25 Ruth Dewa Ayu: Good evening and welcome. My name is Ruth Dewa Ayu, and I'm the assistant director of public programs at the 9/11 Memorial & Museum. It's my pleasure to welcome all of you to tonight's first evening program of the winter-spring season. I'd like to extend a special welcome to our museum members and those tuning in to our live web broadcast at [911memorial.org/live](http://911memorial.org/live).

Before we get started, I wanted to let you know about the eighth annual 9/11 Memorial & Museum 5K Run or Walk and Community Day, which will take place on Sunday, April 26. It's a wonderful day, and I encourage you all to go online and sign up.

00:01:05 The 9/11 attacks fundamentally transformed how the United States approached terrorism and led to the unprecedented expansion of counterterrorism strategies, policies, and practices. While the analysis of these developments is abundant, there remains a significant void. The diverse actors contributing to counterterrorism increasingly consider and engage women as agents, partners, and targets of their work. Yet, flawed assumptions and stereotypes remain prevalent, and it remains undocumented and unclear how and why counterterrorism efforts evolved as they did in relation to women.

00:01:42 Tonight, we are here to discuss "A Woman's Place: U.S. Counterterrorism Since 9/11." This new publication traces the evolution of women's place in U.S. counterterrorism efforts through the administrations of presidents Bush, Obama, and Trump, examining key agencies like the U.S. Department of Defense, the Department of State, and U.S.A.I.D., and

interrogating U.S. counterterrorism practices in countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan, and Yemen.

00:02:11 We are fortunate to be joined by author of "A Woman's Place," Dr. Joana Cook. Dr. Cook is a senior research fellow at the International Center for the Study of Radicalisation at King's College, London; an adjunct lecturer at Johns Hopkins University; and a senior research affiliate with the Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security, and Society.

00:02:31 And she has recently been announced as a non-resident fellow at George Washington University's Program on Extremism. She holds a PhD in war studies and an M.A. in conflict, security, and development. We'd like to thank Dr. Cook for sharing her time and insights with us. Without further ado, please join me in welcoming Dr. Joana Cook in conversation with executive vice president and deputy director for museum programs Clifford Chanin.

(applause)

00:03:04 Clifford Chanin: Thank you very much, Ruth. Welcome back to our new season, everybody. I see many familiar faces and many unfamiliar faces. And for those unfamiliar faces, let me... urge you to consider becoming members of the museum and supporting this program. There's a table outside where you can do that. Thanking our members who are here, many of them I see, because this is how the programs do get supported.

00:03:27 So thank you for considering that, and I'm thrilled to be able to start our winter-spring-- spring seems a long way away. (chuckling): It's theoretical at this point. Our winter-spring season with Joana Cook, who really has taken on, in her very interesting and comprehensive book, a critical question about how the counterterrorism fight-- which is now coming on 20 years, incredibly enough-- how it has changed because of 9/11, and the role, the understanding of women's roles, and place, if you will, in that fight on all sides, various sides of that conflict. So, let me ask to start, can you give us a summary statement that describes overall what

the change has been from pre-9/11 to post-9/11, knowing, of course, that even post-9/11, things have evolved.

00:04:28 Joana Cook: Of course, and first of all, a big thank you to you and the 9/11 Museum for having me tonight. It's such a great opportunity to be here. But, you know, counterterrorism did not begin at 9/11. It's been-- it has been a key part of U.S. foreign policy for many, many years. It's also been a domestic focus for many, many years prior, too. And I think one of the... one of the very interesting things in relation to women and counterterrorism is that they very often have been just generally neglected from this space.

00:04:57 In the book, I look at women as agents, partners, and targets of counterterrorism, and whether it was women within the actual practices of counterterrorism, whether it was women and partner communities or countries that were being engaged in counterterrorism relations-- like in foreign policy work or U.S. efforts abroad-- or whether it was really understanding women's roles in terrorist organizations themselves.

There's been such a lack of analysis and understanding of the very diverse roles that women can and do play in this space, and just how to shape those counterterrorism policies appropriately for such audiences. What happened after 9/11? We did see a lot of that start to shift, and there are, I think, a number of reasons-- a couple of kind of key turning points for that.

00:05:41 So whether it was the... 2006, there was an effort to start focusing more on training and equipping foreign partners. Well, all of a sudden, how women were getting trained and equipped in foreign military forces and foreign security forces took on a little bit more recognition. We also saw a lot more focus on preventative efforts-- CVE efforts, countering violent extremism-- start coming up over the years, particularly after 2007.

00:06:06 And there was... there's also been a big increase in trying to think more about how you could engage women in these communities to counter extremism in their own backyards, in their own families, in some cases.

But simultaneously, we saw a shift in women's roles in terrorist groups themselves, we saw-- and this really, really came to the forefront under ISIS. 2014, we saw thousands of women from around the world going from countries like Canada, from the U.S., from the U.K., from South Africa, from China. And women's roles within jihadist groups themselves started to take on a lot of—a lot more recognition.

00:06:40

So I think these are really some of the key kind of turning points that we've seen where a recognition of women's diverse roles in this space has really gained a lot more attention, as well.

Clifford Chanin: Now, this—this happens in the context of pre-9/11, particularly this sort of global focus on women as actors in development, women as actors in political democratization. I mean, there's a period of time, probably tracked most likely from the fall of the Berlin Wall, when there is the opportunity and the room, let's say, to focus on this issue.

Joana Cook: Mm-hmm.

00:07:18

Clifford Chanin: But it really is very different to take that approach and move it into a counterterrorism context. Then, you now have the possibility, anyway, that women-- perhaps not alone, but talking here about women-- are now sort of instrumentalized in some way towards the greater goal of defeating this terrorist threat. Is that-- it's a factor you talk about in your book. But, you know, how does that change what the focus on women had been previously?

00:07:50

Joana Cook: Yeah, and I think it's, it's important here to also take a step back and look at the wider kind of global environment at this time. In the year 2000, the U.N. established U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325, so its landmark resolution on women, peace, and security. And there had been a momentum to really increasingly recognize and emphasize women as agents in all aspects of international peace and security.

00:08:13 And so there already was a broader, kind of global recognition that women's roles in relation to peace and security mattered, and it needed more international recognition, more support. And we did see it start-- we did see this start to kind of trickle down to the national level. 9/11 happens, and when you start looking at what international peace and security looks like following, some of these narratives start merging in unique ways.

00:08:35 Simultaneously, the U.S. was starting to emphasize a democracy... the role of democracy promotion in its own work. And again, many of these narratives, things like women's rights, women empowerment, things that kind of fell under that democratization sphere previously, start becoming pulled under that umbrella of countering terrorism in ways that we really hadn't seen before.

00:08:58 And so in the book, whether it's things like women's health care programs, women's education, empowerment work that was being done, or training women as security practitioners, all of these initiatives in some of these countries where terrorism was a growing concern really became seen in new ways. And you saw a lot of the programs-- again, to do with things like, with everything from health to education to empowerment, political participation-- become framed in relation to how it contributed to countering extremism in that community and ultimately help, help prevent terrorism, as well.

00:09:31 Clifford Chanin: And how did the programs change as a result of that different perspective post-9/11?

Joana Cook: Yeah, let me, let me give you an example to kind of outline this. So in the book, Yemen is one of the countries I looked at quite extensively, and I had a chance to speak to a number of U.S. ambassadors to Yemen along the way, and the U.S. has been doing programming in Yemen for decades, and a lot of that really had to do with things like women's development, education, even things like healthcare.

- 00:09:58           And what was quite interesting following 9/11 was that, all of a sudden, Yemen became framed in terms of its potential threat from terrorism. We know there's many links to Yemen from, from some of the 9/11 hijackers themselves. Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula is from Yemen. And we've seen a number of plots originate from there. And so Yemen has really been viewed through a counterterrorism lens since 9/11.
- 00:10:21           A lot of the programming that was being conducted in the country then started taking on a new kind of... A new little bail. So all of a sudden, if you were an ambassador in Yemen, if you wanted to get funding for a program, if, if you were trying to get funding for something like a development project, healthcare, you had to be able to demonstrate that that helped counter extremism in the country. And actually-- so we saw programs that very much were in the sphere of development, humanitarian aid, or just broader positive kind of political relations and diplomatic relations being framed in these new ways that I think we really are still struggling to fully comprehend.
- 00:11:01           So many programs and so many areas of work in this field have really started to be emphasized in terms of now countering violent extremism, or how it addresses things like the underlying drivers of the extremism in that community.
- Clifford Chanin: Mm-hmm. You know, one of the things that is very striking-- even before 9/11, but after, as well-- in the American intelligence community is the role of women, particularly in the hunt for bin Laden and the fight against Al Qaeda and so on.
- 00:11:29           Some of you may know, some of you will not know, we have an exhibition downstairs, a special exhibition, on the hunt for bin Laden, and many of the interviews that we did with some of the key analysts going back pre-9/11, but continuing up to this day, very senior people who had critical roles at various stages of the hunt, and continue in the fight against Al Qaeda and ISIS, are women, and promoted and in positions of responsibility and so on and so forth.

00:11:57 Is it unusual, do you think? I mean, why did that happen anyway, even if there wasn't at any point a particular focus on that?

Joana Cook: Yeah, I think if you look at the field of security and defense more broadly, it has generally been a fairly unfriendly place to women working in there. That's starting to change over the years. But intelligence strikes me as one of these areas where it's been viewed as almost like a softer area of security, and one that's been much more welcoming and open to women.

00:12:20 And the intelligence-- the field of intelligence is actually, I think, one of the areas where you can even see women disproportionately represented. Sometimes over half the workers in, in an intelligence unit are women. The bin Laden... the bin Laden exhibit really, really captured that well, I think. When it comes to actually kind of feet on the ground, boots on the ground, more physical security roles that can be taken up, this is where you see a lot more resistance, I think.

And we still see a very disproportionate number of women in everything from police, military, and certainly frontline combat roles have been the most limited.

00:12:57 Clifford Chanin: Mm-hmm, mm-hmm. I do want to play-- we have... For this exhibition, we did an interview with Letitia Long, who for the hunt, on the day the raid happens, is the director of the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency, which is one of the key component agencies in the American intelligence community, which has the responsibility essentially for the interpretation of overhead imagery, whether from satellites or drones or planes or whatever it is.

00:13:23 It's, so it's not cameras on the ground, it's eyes in the sky. And, as she says, you'll hear from the first clip we're gonna play, your number one, she was given really this extraordinary opportunity, both as the first woman to run an intelligence agency, but also the first civilian to run an intelligence agency. So I will let you listen to her speak here.

00:13:54 (clip begins)

Letitia Long: First of all, what an honor to be asked to lead the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency. And while many made a lot out of the fact that I was the first woman to run a major intelligence agency, I thought it was equally if not more important that I was the first civilian to run a combat support agency. And while General Clapper ran this agency when he was a civilian, he was a retired three-star Air Force officer, Lieutenant General retired Clapper. So the first civilian to run an agency was as much an honor.

00:14:36 (clip ends)

Clifford Chanin: I'll ask you after-- the second clip then gives her response to this issue of being a woman in this role. So, please.

00:14:49 (clip begins)

Letitia Long: I was very cognizant of the fact that I was a role model and continue to be a role model for our young women in the community. And I'm very proud of that and do all that I can to mentor young women in the community, and actually to bring young women and men into the intelligence community to serve our nation. Women played a key role in the UBL operation from an analytic perspective.

00:15:18 (clip ends)

Clifford Chanin: So there you have, you know, the first in this extremely important role in an agency that had a huge piece of the bin Laden hunt. And she's talking about that mentoring role and, of course, being a role model herself.



Joana Cook: Mm-hmm. And I think her case is a really useful one for reflecting a little bit, too, because we are still breaking those barriers in many, many fields. We are still seeing a lot of women taking up very senior roles for the first time ever. Many have still never seen a woman. We've never seen a female secretary of defense in the U.S., for example.

00:15:55

We do see that in other countries, but, you know, even being based in the U.K. right now, for the first time, all of the top policing positions in the entire country are being held by women. And so this is something we have seen kind of evolve over time. But it really does also speak to just how far we still have to go.

Clifford Chanin: Mm-hmm.

Joana Cook: We've come a long way, but there's still so far to go, and I think the significant benefits from really having women integrated into our security and defense forces, full stop, there are so many benefits to be had, and I only look forward to, to seeing more women kind of take up these new roles.

00:16:30

Clifford Chanin: The current director of the C.I.A. is a woman, and many of the senior leadership around her are women, as well. Coming more specifically, and, you know, the case she makes-- and we'll play the third clip in a minute-- is that by its very nature, intelligence work is well-served by having diverse perspectives looking at a particular set of facts or intelligence materials. Let's hear the third clip.

00:17:00

(clip begins)

Letitia Long: We all bring our backgrounds. We all break our experiences to anything that we do, and having women and men from very different backgrounds is what makes for good intelligence. When you get those different perspectives, when you get someone who says, "What about

this?", and no one else on the team has thought about it, that's what women bring.

00:17:31

(clip ends)

Clifford Chanin: So, um, I'm curious how your sense of how this appreciation of what different perspectives bring to a particular problem set...

Joana Cook: Mm-hmm.

Clifford Chanin: How difficult was that to penetrate into the intelligence community, do you think?

Joana Cook: Well, you know, one of the things I did with the book, I reviewed about 500 documents and did about 40 interviews with senior folks, and a lot of the things that she's just said, justification for why women should be included, were ones that really resonated throughout the wider community. So, for example, there was the idea that, you know, the inclusion of women really increased things like your operational capabilities, it gave you more effective... more effective teams.

00:18:12

And alongside this... You know, women's roles in society, men's roles in society, their gender, their... your lived experience as a man or a woman in a society is going to be very different based on the country, context, time, and period. And what that means when you have women, who are half the population, also represented within your own forces, within your own intelligence services, means that you see that, you get those perspectives from all corners of that community.

00:18:43

The way that I, you know, have grown up in Canada, for example, in my lived experience as a woman is gonna be very different than somebody

who might have grown up in Toronto. But that means that we also, if we're brought into the same intelligence agency, we can see the world from, from different perspectives.

We can bring diverse viewpoints, and again, as she says, the more perspectives, more skills, the more diversity you have within that, I think the better you see the world in its, in its very complex and nuanced ways.

00:19:11 Clifford Chanin: You know, we do programs here for different agencies in the intelligence community. They bring some of their people here to tour the museum and have a special program. And I will say, in the years that we've been doing it, it is noticeable to see the diversity of the faces in the audience. And so it's really quite striking, and it seems obvious that this now-- I mean, I don't know the numbers, but just from the visual impression, there's a real expansion.

00:19:38 Now, the final clip from Letitia Long actually cites a specific example of how a particularly-- particular perspective provided by women, as she describes it, made an important contribution to assessing some of the intelligence about the Abbottabad compound when they still were not sure who was in there. They're trying to figure out, "Is this bin Laden? Is this the, the group that we're thinking it is?" So you can play the fourth clip, please.

00:20:12 (clip begins)

Letitia Long: So, a good example is the laundry. We knew from the amount, or we figured out from the amount of laundry being done that there were more than two families. There were more than just the two brothers who owned that land that were living in that compound. Because they knew how much laundry was being hung out to dry on a continuing basis. Not that a man couldn't have figured that out, but a woman figured that out right off the bat.

00:20:46

(clip ends)

(audience laughing)

Clifford Chanin: So we're laughing, and it's funny, but it's also true.

Joana Cook: Yeah. But I think that really goes to, to speaking again about the kind of gender... the construct roles that men and women have had in society. And so if it's traditionally been women that have been tasked with things like household chores, doing things like laundry, then that means that they are more likely to be able to perceive that thing.

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And as she said, it doesn't mean that a man can't also pick up those things and think, "Oh, we see more men doing laundry these days," but...

(laughter)

Joana Cook: I'm kidding.

Clifford Chanin: I actually like doing laundry. I want to...

(laughter)

Clifford Chanin: I'm not trying to make a statement here, but it's just that it relaxes me. Go ahead.

00:21:23

Joana Cook (laughing): No, no... I'm kidding. But... But I think what that really shows is that, again, that very lived experience as a man or a woman can bring very diverse perspectives, and that those are things that are consistently changing and evolving in our societies. And again,

when, when those diverse perspectives are represented in the security community, the intelligence community, in the defense community, I think there's nothing but positive... positive aspects that can come out of that.

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Clifford Chanin: It also seems that, you know, as U.S. forces are in Afghanistan, are in Iraq, with strong Muslim cultural traditions, that, you know, male soldiers, foreign soldiers, whether American or Allied, interacting with women is essentially taboo. And so not only does the role of women in the American and Allied militaries take on a greater importance, but as you write, now these local forces, whether police or military, are, very unusually for these circumstances, creating women units of police and military because in their context, it's also only women who can interact in certain ways with civilian women.

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Joana Cook: Mm-hmm. I don't think this is very different than what we'd see even, you know, in a place like New York or, again, Canada or London. You know, in some sensitive circumstances or where culturally appropriate, sometimes it's just easier to have women engaging with women.

Sometimes women are more likely to engage with women on, on sensitive topics. If you're doing something like a body search, you know, I don't care if you're in New York or in Yemen. It's still more appropriate or more comfortable to have a woman doing that, right?

00:23:02

And so when you don't have that, that capability, it means that you can't access intelligence from that community. If there's concerns that they have, if there's things they're seeing that you you might not... note otherwise, you don't have access to those perspectives. You don't understand the needs, the concerns, and the, the abilities of that full population. How you could even work together to counter some of these in a more cohesive and effective fashion.

00:23:28 Clifford Chanin: It's, it really—and these, these female units in these foreign forces actually did have very active and important roles at various points along the way.

Joana Cook: Yeah, and there's so many that I ended up covering in the book. But to give you an example, in 2009, there was an all-female elite counterterrorism unit set up in Yemen, and it was so interesting to hear about why this unit was established. But essentially, because Al Qaeda had started kidnapping foreigners in the country, a lot of the house raids that were being conducted to deal with this concern meant that when they were going in, if there were women in the house, they couldn't talk to them, they couldn't search them, they couldn't do anything.

00:24:05 And these-- this women's unit was essentially set up to follow, after they'd gone into the house, and deal with that population. We saw this with the—in Afghanistan, with the family support platoons, as well, that were new units of Afghan women that were going in with special operations forces on these house raids, as well. Daughters of Iraq program that was set up. It was kind of shaped off the more famous Sons of Iraq program, and again, a very kind of similar role, where having women engage with other women was so much more culturally appropriate.

00:24:39 But it meant that you didn't have that gap in security you would have had otherwise. It meant that you could ask and gain intelligence and get a better understanding of what was going that's based on... In fact, in some of the cases where women themselves might be perpetrators or moving goods or other problematic roles that they played, women could then also engage with women who were potential security concerns, as well.

Clifford Chanin: Mm-hmm.

00:25:02 Joana Cook: So it really made for a much richer operation. But again, there were many, many problems with some of these units, including a lack of sustained support. Uh... you know, a lot of these units are no longer standing or were only stood up for, for a short number of years.

But many of the programs that had been set up specifically to support women in these roles or to try and bring them in no longer exist.

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Clifford Chanin: So that raises the question of the other side of the coin, of course. Women associated with Al Qaeda or, later, ISIS, the security threat that they pose.

Joana Cook: Mm-hmm.

Clifford Chanin: How did that aspect of the problem evolve over the course of time? So, in those early days post-9/11, I don't really think there were a lot of women involved on the front lines with the Al Qaeda fighters and so on and so forth. But over the time, over time, things do evolve. And then, with the emergence of ISIS, it really is a very different picture, as well.

00:25:57

Joana Cook: Absolutely. And, you know, serving these, these 19 years, there were a couple instances where women really stood out. The first was under Zarqawi in Al Qaeda in Iraq, kind of 2005 to 2007, that was the only branch of Al Qaeda that actively utilized women as female suicide bombers and insurgents. He was-- the way that they would recruit some of these female suicide bombers, and this is something that's covered by, by Mia Bloom quite a bit, is looking at the use of things like rape, and shaming these women into then, you know, "volunteering" to go be-- to go become suicide bombers.

00:26:31

So it was a really kind of horrific case of where you saw women actually utilized more in a combat role. I wouldn't even say combat, but as a suicide bomber. Islamic State was such a game-changer in this field. We know that women have played roles in political violence throughout history, whether the Tamil Tigers, the FARC in Colombia, some of the leftist groups, the German Red Army Faction, the Italian Red Brigades, women have played roles in political violence throughout history.

00:26:56 In jihadist groups, this has tended to be more limited. But ISIS was very unique in many ways. ISIS was beyond just a terrorist organization. It was an insurgency. It was a state-building project. And I think that state-building component really impacted how and why women's roles became as expansive as they did.

When you're building a state, you need women to become mothers, wives. You need women to interact with women in public settings, such as healthcare, education, and policing. And all of a sudden you saw thousands of women from around the world being mobilized and attracted to this group for very, very diverse reasons, some of which did take up policing roles.

00:27:31 For example, the Al Khansaa policing unit that was set up in Raqqa of women to police other women. But, for example, when Raqqa-- or when the city of Mosul was being taken back, as well, there were a number of female suicide bombers that were deployed. I think it was about 38 of them in a period of a couple of weeks, some of which were going and doing these carrying their children.

Clifford Chanin: Mm.

00:27:52 Joana Cook: And so while those were more limited roles for women, they were a case of women themselves actually conducting violence within these groups. A lot of them had very limited or complex roles within the organization in other, in other capacities. But it doesn't mean that they couldn't as well themselves be violent actors conducting some pretty horrific violence.

Clifford Chanin: And ISIS in particular, it seems, used women as marketers or publicists for the state...

Joana Cook: Yeah.



Clifford Chanin: Targeting women overseas and painting a very positive picture of life in the caliphate so that they would come and add their numbers to the group.

00:28:29 Joana Cook: Absolutely. Women played everything from propagandists, they were recruiting, they were disseminating propaganda. They were playing roles throughout the entire caliphate. And, you know, I think one of the most frustrating things about looking at women in this sense is, I've been looking at this since about 2014 now, and, you know, even in 2014, we saw small numbers of women going, and I was, like, "So what roles are they playing?"

00:28:53 And I started to look into this more, and there was a consistent line that one, it didn't really matter that women were going. And two, they're probably just going as wives and mothers, or, you know, they're being duped into going or grooming. And there's been such a neglect of understanding that women play very complex roles in these organizations, as well, and in fact, they might make the willing choice to go and support an organization like this for very diverse reasons.

And that lack of analysis of women's diverse roles in ISIS meant that up until 2018, before me and my colleague Gina Vale put together the first global data set to look at the numbers that actually went...

Clifford Chanin: Mm-hmm.

00:29:27 Joana Cook: We didn't even have a clear idea of how many ended up going. And what we were able to determine from our data set, we looked at over 80 countries, and only half of them had even reported numbers for women. Doesn't mean that women were not going from them, but only half of them had even bothered to pull up figures for that.

Clifford Chanin: How do you explain that? Is that-- is that a blind spot? I mean, it's obviously important to know who's going and count them.

Joana Cook: Mm-hmm.

Clifford Chanin: But you're saying many of the countries that were sources of origin for some of these people in general, I assume, women included, they weren't even counting those numbers?

00:30:01 Joana Cook: Because they weren't on the front lines, conducting some of the worst atrocities, it didn't matter. There was a, a focus on those who were on the front lines, and a lot of focus on those male figures, and up until this day, we still do not have a clear figure of how many women actually went and joined ISIS. We were able to demonstrate at least 13% to 16% of those that went were women. But again, that's only accounting for half of the countries, because many of those just didn't even bother looking at those numbers.

00:30:27 Clifford Chanin: And I would imagine your numbers, if they, if they were tending in one direction, they tended to underestimate the problem rather than overestimate it.

Joana Cook: We believe that that is probably a vast underestimation still. But we can prove at least 13% to 16%.

Clifford Chanin: So let me... you and Gina Vale had this very interesting article from the "CTC Sentinel" from West Point last summer. It's entitled "From Daesh to 'Diaspora' II: "The Challenges Posed by Women and Minors After the Fall of the Caliphate."

00:30:56 And you document this very extensive problem, which I think has been in the news, which is to say, the political structure the territory held has collapsed, and leaving behind tens of thousands of people, most of them women and children. So I'm gonna-- you describe three trends here, and I'm gonna-- we'll go one by one and ask you to talk about them.

Joana Cook: Mm-hmm.

00:31:20

Clifford Chanin: So you say, "Beyond the fall of the caliphate, three trends have prompted a reexamination of the status of Islamic State-affiliated women and minors. First, due to the group's duration of occupation, an increasing number of Islamic State-affiliated women have borne children." So this is, the Islamic State is their homeland, so to speak.

Joana Cook: Yeah. I think... The case of Shamima Begum from London really captures this well. She went over as a 16-year-old girl. She subsequently had three children, she lost three children. She had a husband while over there, you know, she was over there for a period of about-- well, she remains over there, but she traveled over there in 2014.

00:31:57

But many of the women we saw go over had... maybe-- some of them had taken children over, but had then borne multiple children over there, as well. And what we saw when, as, when we're looking at even countries like Belgium, up to 81% of the minors that they were accounting for in Iraq and Syria were now born over there, right? So we accounted for, uh, I think it was around... I'd have to double-check our data set there, but I believe that it's about 12% or 13% of those that were taken originally were, were minors.

Clifford Chanin: Hmm.

00:32:29

Joana Cook: But what we've seen over this period of time is that many of these women had multiple children, and all of a sudden, we're dealing with a... now an influx of very innocent victims. These children have had no say in the circumstances in which they're put in, but it also means that their identity with... with their home country of Canada or Belgium or the U.S. is starting to really spread thin.

00:32:51 They might not even have that identity. And the only identity they may have is that affiliated with this organization ISIS. Very, very problematic. And when we look at the... Syria and Iraq right now, we can look at Northeast Syria, at the Al Hawl camp. This is where a majority of these foreign women and minors are still being held. You know, the camp itself holds over 60,000 individuals still. Many of those are Iraqi or Syrians. There's just about 10,000 third-country nationals there, and those are women and minors, and again, those are women and minors that have been over there now for, in some cases, up... over six years.

Clifford Chanin: Mm-hmm.

00:33:24 Joana Cook: Um, and it's... It's a very dangerous place for these children. It's not dealing with any of the long-term consequences of potential radicalization or other kind of traumas that they've suffered. And we're really not doing anything to provide justice, you know, in the cases of adults over there. We're really doing very little to provide justice to the victims of ISIS, who have really suffered the most under this duration.

Clifford Chanin: The second factor you talk about is, "A significant number of women remained with the Islamic State until its final stand in Baghuz, and now require varied responses—some are devout, battle-hardened members, while others may seek to leave this chapter of their life behind them."

00:34:01 Joana Cook: Yeah.

Clifford Chanin: How do you sort them out?

Joana Cook: I think we still have a very difficult time recognizing that women with... associated with ISIS are very diverse, they're very complex. Not all of them are... As I mentioned, some of them have conducted violence. Some of them certainly have... They should be tried and

prosecuted to the full extent of the law once repatriated back to their home countries.

00:34:24

But... some of them, as well, have played more limited roles, more passive roles, and perhaps in a way to most effectively deal with, again, this very diverse and complex population, we have to also account for things like, how can they be deradicalized? Are... in some cases, is it better to try and deradicalize them and reintegrate them back into societies in ways that, again, are very conscious of what those who have lived under ISIS have suffered and providing justice to them?

00:34:52

But also thinking about the long-term implications of what happens to these populations and how we best recover from this period, as well. So it's a balancing act between really making sure that those who have conducted wrongs over there are tried and prosecuted to the full extent that we're able to, while recognizing that in some of these cases, alternative approaches might be better suited for some.

Clifford Chanin: You know, you make clear that the home countries are quite confused about what to do with this, have very different approaches.

Joana Cook: Yeah.

00:35:23

Clifford Chanin: I want to talk about deradicalization efforts next, but, um, you know... Describe the range of home country responses to the reality of hundreds or thousands of its citizens, young women with children in many cases, are at loose in the world and somehow have a claim still, if they wish, to go back home.

Joana Cook: Yeah, so there's been two countries that immediately jump to mind who have been a lot more proactive in this space. And, you know, out of all of the very well-funded and able-bodied, uh, countries

that are out there, very well-functioning democracies, the two that have really jumped out have been Kazakhstan and Kosovo, so...

00:36:05 But Kazakhstan has, uh, you know, in three separate operations, removed the women and minors from these camps in Syria, taking them back to Kazakhstan, done a deradicalization and program, they've prosecuted some of the women, but they are looking a little bit more at how to reintegrate them or deal with these populations long-term, and particularly bearing in mind the needs of these children, which, I cannot overstate enough the importance of doing this. Kosovo has also done something similar in the way that they have brought their populations back, they're conducting trials for some of these individuals, but again, thinking a little bit more about things like deradicalization and reintegration.

00:36:44 But when, you know, I do this in the book and I do this in my work consistently. When I look at women within these organizations, I... I continuously, consistently look at this in relation to them, and counterterrorism efforts, as well. For example, looking at things like deradicalization programs, how do we understand women in how we construct deradicalization programs? If we're looking at programs that can lend to disengagement of women from terrorist groups or individuals from terrorist groups, how are the needs or concerns or unique gendered aspects related to women accounted for in those programmings?

00:37:15 And we're still falling so short of that. That means that we might have a deradicalization program, for example, where you might think that somebody's, uh, you know, becoming less of a radical because they wear makeup again or something, you know, very, very simplistic and limited understandings of how we can think about those gender dynamics and the roles of women, and also this kind of deradicalization and disengaging space.

Clifford Chanin: Your sense of these deradicalization programs...

Joana Cook: Mm-hmm.

00:37:43 Clifford Chanin: Are they effective? Is one approach doing better than another approach? Is it entirely dependent on the country of origin and its, its cultural context? I mean, how are these things working? Are they effective?

Joana Cook: The difficulty with, with deradicalization programs, in particular relation to individuals with ISIS now, is that we're really being quite responsive with these. And so, for example, if you look at a country like Germany, they've been doing deradicalization or exit programs for... For example, from neo-Nazis, for, for decades. And we do have, like, a longer history of-- in some countries, including the U.K.-- of how we deradicalize individuals.

00:38:21 But, and this is something that I talk about in my classes at Hopkins, but there's, there's a big debate in this field, whether, when you leave one of these groups behind, do you change their entire way of thinking? Do you cognitively deradicalize them, change their entire worldview? Or do you focus on behavioral disengagement? Make sure they don't conduct violence? They can still have some of the views that they hold, but as long as those views do not drive them to actually conduct violence in a society, is that acceptable?

00:38:49 Um, and so this is something you see slightly tailored in each of these programs, right? Um, but again, I think one of the challenges that we also have is, when we look at deradicalization programs, if you look at, if you look at criminals and prisons more broadly, recidivism rates, whether you go in for murder, whether you go in for robbery, fraud, there is always consistently a, a level of recidivism.

00:39:14 There's always going to be a component of people who go back and conduct that again. And we have to recognize that no program is perfect. You will never have 100% success. It's a very difficult thing if you're a government and you can't guarantee 100% success of these for very clear reasons. But there are programs that have been demonstrated to be effective in having people find more constructive ways of addressing

their concerns or in fact, really, re-orienting their lives and away from what was this, this group, this ideology, this belief system, and really kind of shaping their lives in new and more constructive ways.

00:39:51

Clifford Chanin: You can't imagine, though, the pressures on a government when a failure occurs at some catastrophic level of a bomb, or an attack of some kind...

Joana Cook Mm-hmm.

Clifford Chanin: From someone coming out of one of those programs.

Joana Cook: You know, being based in London, we've seen three in the last couple of months. Folks that have exited prison after being in there for terrorism charges and have gone on to conduct attacks. Actually, one of those was within prison, um... yeah.

Clifford Chanin: One was at a deradicalization conference, if I remember correctly.

Joana Cook: Mm-hmm.

Clifford Chanin: And he launched his attack from... from that conference site.

00:40:22

Joana Cook: That was the London Bridge attack and... I don't disagree with anything you're saying, and I think it's a very difficult thing as a politician, um, to... to allow for these individuals who have perhaps served their, their sentences, and who, for all intents and purposes, appear to be completely deradicalized, released into the public, who then go on to conduct attacks.



- 00:40:45 This is a very difficult thing to address politically. Um, but this entire field of counterterrorism is always a very delicate balance of the rights of society, the rights of the individual, how you conduct and ensure the security of your society more generally. There's always such a delicate balance of these aspects to be had, and we've not necessarily, I think, found that right balance yet.
- 00:41:11 Clifford Chanin: You mentioned before the German efforts at deradicalizing neo-Nazis, and I'm wondering... you wrote about it in other contexts and make reference to it. How would you compare the role of the use of women in these Islamist jihadi groups as compared to right-wing white identity national groups? Is there a comparability there, or is it really two different concepts of where women should fit in?
- 00:41:37 Joana Cook: I think this is such an interesting and timely, uh, question to look at. And if anything, the last 18 years have shown us that we really have to understand women's very diverse roles in things like jihadist groups much more than we, than we have. But when we look at the roles that they've been playing in the far right, you know, whether it's women's historic roles in the KKK, or whether it's some of the more contemporary terrorist, or groups that are now listed as terrorist organizations, the things like women's roles in the domestic sphere tend to be quite emphasized.
- 00:42:05 We tend to see streams of things like misogyny in these groups, debates about women's roles in actually taking up violence, or, you know, taking up arms on behalf of the group-- all of these also transfer to the far right, as well. And, you know, one of the things I find most fascinating and that is still completely underanalyzed in this field is the role that gender plays. And so when we talk about... when we talk about women, we almost consistently associate that with gender.
- 00:42:30 But things like a hyper-masculine identity or the idea of what a man's place should be in this world, as well, plays very much into how somebody like Anders Breivik can go pick up and, you know, set off bombs and pick up guns, and go conduct an attack on behalf of this ideology, right?

So, I think there's so much to be gained, again, from really better understanding things like, uh... the role of gender in this space, as well, not only for women, but for men, as well. And many of the lessons I think we've learned over the last 18 years, or lessons that have been more visible over these last 18 years, are very applicable to looking at some of the evolving concerns today, of which women in the far right are certainly one of them.

00:43:10

But some of the new issues that we have coming up, as well, like, whether it's looking at the role of artificial intelligence or cybersecurity, there's all of these new spaces where really better understanding how women can be better integrated into the, into the programming itself as actors that actually conduct those operations and get involved in that work.

But also understanding how those, um, how those aspects of security impact on women or, again, maybe how even women in violent extremist groups utilize some of these spaces and places in ways that we might not still recognize or understand fully.

00:43:43

Clifford Chanin: So you've got very close experience in three Western countries.

Joana Cook: Hmm.

Clifford Chanin: You're from Canada, you've done this study, which is principally about American policy. You're in the U.K., as well, and you've studied there. How do you compare those three countries' approaches to the issues that we've been talking about this evening?

00:44:05

Joana Cook: That's a very long... (laughs) That's a very long response. You know, it's interesting, because each has a different history with terrorism, right? And so in Canada, we've had, I think at one point, we had the

highest concentration of diverse terrorist groups present within the country. The biggest terrorist attack that we've dealt with was the Air India bombing that killed multiple hundreds of individuals.

00:44:28 Um, you know, when the U.S.... We had the FLQ in Canada, as well, that conducted a number of attacks a couple... a few decades ago now. In the U.S., there's been a lot more domestic terrorism, as well. We've seen, you know, the Oklahoma City bombing was, I think, you know, pre-9/11, the most impactful case that was seen here. Um, what domestic terrorism looks like has been very unique in each country. You go over to the U.K., uh... North... you know, the... The I.R.A. played a significant role in what counterterrorism has looked like and how that's developed domestically.

00:45:04 So each has kind of dealt... there's two levels. The first level is nationally, domestically, and each has dealt with a very diverse set of concerns within their home country. But in the kind of post-9/11 world, we've been much more interconnected with some of these global threats and some of these global concerns, and Al Qaeda and ISIS have been two of the most prominent. The rise of a kind of global far right, and particularly violent offshoots of that, is now a growing shared concern, as well.

00:45:30 Clifford Chanin: Mm-hmm, and are the countries... Given their individual approaches or backgrounds, it would appear that they're cooperating much more closely than they ever have before.

Joana Cook: I think... I think that's something that is necessitated by the interconnected and global nature of a lot of these threats. These aren't necessarily localized organizations that have no, um... no reach to the outside world. They are, in many cases, networks that are connected across multiple countries-- their online community that can be set up in the U.S. and connected to multiple countries around the world, right?

00:46:05 So by virtue of things like the increased use of technology, the global nature of a lot of these organizations and ideologies, borders don't matter in the way that they perhaps once did. And a lot of these concerns are shared global concerns, and they're interconnected in ways that they

just never have been before. We do need to ensure that we work together more closely, more cohesively, um, to address a lot of these issues.

00:46:29

Clifford Chanin: And is this sort of interactivity of national intelligence agencies, is it creating a more nuanced appreciation or approach to the varied roles of women in relation to the problem of counterterrorism? Or has that not really managed to cross this divide?

Joana Cook: I think there's been a lot of catching up and a lot of kind of hard, inward kind of soul-searching in terms of how we... how we recognize and understood women's roles in political violence. ISIS has really, I think, shifted, uh... shifted that conversation in many countries, because whether it was France, Kenya...

00:47:03

We've seen multiple families in Indonesia conduct attacks, we've seen women who have claimed an ISIS belief or associated themselves with ISIS ideology actually try and commit attacks, or have successfully carried them out. For example, three families in Indonesia who did this, uh... A group of ten women in Morocco who had an election plot... Uh, an election plot. A group of women in Paris who tried to set off a car bomb at Notre Dame. These are all women that were associated with ISIS, and there's been a hard reckoning that actually, women may be inspired by this ideology in diverse ways, and some of them may be willing to take up action on behalf of the organization.

00:47:39

But I think, again, that's been very responsive as opposed to proactive. It's... it has been in response to seeing these actors come up. Again, Tashfeen Malik in the, in the San Bernardino attack is probably one of the first cases in the U.S. where a woman has associated with the jihadist ideology, conducted a mass-scale, uh, you know, mass-scale violence like this.

00:47:59

Um... but, you know, women remain the lesser actor-- they aren't the ones that are primarily carrying out this violence, but it is important to recognize that they can and do support it in certain ways, and we do have

to be cognizant of the threat that some of them may pose in certain circumstances.

Clifford Chanin: Am I right in thinking that ISIS has been much more flexible, theologically, ideologically, in allowing or, or approving of the role of women as terrorist actors, as opposed to support behind the scenes and so on?

00:48:32 Joana Cook: Yeah, so remember that ISIS is a global movement right now. And so what they were doing in Iraq and Syrian territory they held meant that women could be in the police force there, they could be in the Al Khansaa Brigade, for example, policing other women. Um, or in limited cases, again, they could go be things like suicide bombers. In all of the other plots where women have been involved, and that plot has been either inspired by ISIS or related in some way to ISIS, none of those individuals were from Iraq and Syria.

00:48:58 They had... they were all from that home country and were either, again, inspired by ISIS and the ideology, or ISIS themselves, or... You know, ISIS leadership or ISIS figures in Iraq and Syria did not necessarily direct those attacks. But these were individuals that, of their own behest, were willing to go take action on behalf of this organization. They were inspired by them and decided to go take action.

Um, in some cases, we did see, uh, family members or individuals they knew in Iraq and Syria. But again, in none of the cases that I'm aware of have women who have returned from Iraq and Syria conducted attacks. So it also speaks to the kind of ideological inspiration that ISIS, as an organization, has provided for some individuals, as well.

00:49:38 Clifford Chanin: Okay, let us see if we have some questions from our audience. I will ask you... here come the lights. Um, raise your hand and wait for a microphone. Gentleman takes the first step.

- 00:49:59 Audience Member: Good evening and thank you. I wonder, as we embark on this journey and have Middle Eastern nations by our side in the struggle, if we can now in, uh, two decades of retrospect, look back on some noteworthy female leaders who have been really deserving a special mention in this fight. Benazir Bhutto comes to mind, I think. Are there others?
- 00:50:35 Joana Cook: You know, Benazir Bhutto is, uh, she's a great example of, uh, of a woman who's really kind of taken up a leadership role in a... in a country that... from Pakistan. So in a country where female leaders are not, have not been very common. But many of the countries we look at, and I think in some cases, it doesn't necessarily have to do with singular leading figures, and in fact, whether looking at, again, Yemen or Iraq or Afghanistan, for decades, you've had women across the entire country, some of them have been in policing forces.
- 00:51:07 Some of them have been trying to move into things like the intelligence and defense areas. But we've also seen women's groups on the ground, you know, continuously over these, trying to lend to things like the development of their communities, do things like conflict negotiation communities, or, like, sustainable peace in their communities. And so a lot of these cases might be smaller, they may be more localized, but I think in many ways, they are the kind of unrecognized individuals that really deserve a lot of recognition because they have been from these communities, they have been putting in a lot of work.
- 00:51:38 And they continue to in places like Iraq, Syria, Yemen, and Afghanistan. So in some ways, it's maybe not necessarily identifying the leaders, of course, there are many, and some of the female politicians coming into Afghanistan, women who have been working in things like conflict negotiation in places like Yemen, they all deserve recognition. But perhaps what can be most effective is recognize it... What could perhaps be most efficient is when we see and understand the diverse roles they already play in their communities supporting this work, how we can perhaps better support them or give them the tools they need to really take this work forward, as well.

00:52:19 Clifford Chanin: Another question, here in the middle. Hang on for the mic. Who's going to bring the mic...

Audience Member: Thank you, again. Um, this has been really awesome. Um. (clears throat) I was wondering, in what ways do you think women are still being underestimated in these areas? Both, you know, as agents, partners, and as targets.

00:52:49 Joana Cook: Yeah, that's a great question, and I think we still have not fully recognized the roles and contributions that women can play in all aspects of security and defense. Um, and again, when you have security forces and defense forces representative of that population, including the 50% that is women, and very, very diverse women within that, it means you have a stronger understanding of the community, the needs, and the potential responses that could be most effective.

And we really have not got to the point where women are being engaged adequately in this space. And I think we're still falling short in our societies for that. Simultaneously, when we're looking at women in other countries that we're partnering with, whether it's training and equipping foreign forces... And I think training and equipping women in foreign forces is probably one of the areas that we have still fallen short in.

00:53:35 A lot of these units that were being set up, whether it was trying to train and recruit women for the Afghan National Police or the Afghan National Army, have really fallen short, and the importance of women in these security forces is just as important as it is for our society. Um, we're still playing a catch-up game from ISIS and trying to better understand the roles of women in jihadist groups, as well, and how we deal with these populations today.

00:53:59 You know, some of these women are young mothers, some of them were girls when they went. They're... they're now adults, some have committed violence, you know, they're very, very complex and diverse. And how we tailor our approaches to them, uh, on a case-by-case basis is

something we're still, again, very, very limited in. And I think there's a lot of implications that come from that.

00:54:20

But, you know, the bottom line is we still fall short kind of full-stop throughout this entire field with how women are engaged in all aspects of this... understood and supported in all aspects of this work. I see a lot of young women in this audience, and I'm really hoping that many of you will go kind of take the lead and start taking up more roles in this very excellent and worthwhile field.

Clifford Chanin: Let me ask about, um... the impact of women and their... any change in their roles with the fall of the caliphate. Does it increase the risks, because now everybody who's sympathetic needs to be mobilized and pose whatever threat they can? Or has it sort of stabilized in some way, do you think?

00:55:02

Joana Cook: I think both Syria and Iraq are in a very tricky and a very delicate place right now, and a lot of the circumstances that led to the rise of ISIS in the first place have not been adequately addressed. Um, you know, again, looking at this... the current situation through the lens of women, we saw Kurdish women in, for example, Kurdish forces in Iraq on the front lines, you know, fighting and dying alongside their male colleagues to, you know, to protect and defend their communities. We saw women going with the YPJ forces in Syria, and this is the first time, as far as I'm aware, that women were mobilized on the front line, in frontline combat to the extent they have now.

00:55:40

So what does this mean for their roles going forward? Will they continue to be integrated and supported in wider security forces in the region? It's an open question. You think about women who have now suffered under ISIS. You know, some of them have been forced to live, kind of, five, six years under ISIS and are now rebuilding their communities in ways that have very limited means going forward. The idea of reconstructing and stabilizing some of these areas is, is daunting, to say the least.



00:56:07 And so also being able to recognize the needs of women who have survived this period, and what can be done to kind of support them in the work they need to do to go forward and help rebuild and sustain their communities is something that's important to recognize, as well. But also, you know, some of these ISIS-affiliated families... ISIS is now morphing into an insurgency locally, and the roles of women in insurgency is increasingly recognized. Whether it's moving goods, moving weapons, raising the next generation of kids to perhaps be recruited to this.

00:56:34 We also have to recognize that women, uh, do pose a concern going forward. And ISIS has on multiple occasions now identified the importance of these families in their own work, and... You know, you can bet that they haven't just forgotten about them in Al Hawl camp now. And the longer that these populations just sit there and you know, for all intents and purposes, stew, it is going to be a lot more problematic to deal with them in a constructive way going forward.

00:57:01 Clifford Chanin: It is amazing how the problem seems to morph, you know, from... obviously from circumstances. But it finds a new expression.

Joana Cook: Absolutely.

Clifford Chanin: Yeah. Another question? Gentleman here. Michael?

Audience Member: Hi, this has been fascinating. And earlier, you mentioned that there should be or there's potential for greater study of gender in this terrorism.

Joana Cook: Yeah.

Audience Member: What do you think we would gain? What are the possibilities there?

- 00:57:33 Joana Cook: Absolutely, and... So, I'll also preface this by saying, you know, if I was talking about gender in relation to security circa 2014, half of you, you know, half of the audience would genuinely fall asleep, kinda nod off or start, you know, fiddling around, it's... But I think there's been such an increased recognition of the importance of it because what that gender lens offers us is, you get a clearer sense of why a man or a woman in that place or space might be attracted to a certain ideology.
- 00:57:58 What kind of benefit or gain or sense of belonging they might find by joining a group like this. It means that when you're trying to create preventative work like countering violent extremism, for example, you know how to tailor your programs for men or for women. It means when you're conducting counterterrorism work, you don't just focus necessarily on the men, but you understand that women, too, might have a role play within that. It means that when you're doing community engagement work and trying to work with these communities to better counter extremism in them, it means that you can engage women in their diverse forms, as well as men.
- 00:58:32 And again, that kind of whole-of-society approach is better reflected, integrated, and considered in how you do that. Um, and I think if we've predominantly focused on men and the needs of... the needs, the drivers, the roles of men in this space, it really has neglected how we understand not only violent extremist groups full-stop, but the very, um, diverse and nuanced ways in which we can counter them more effectively.
- 00:58:57 And so I think there's operational benefits to it. It reflects the needs and concerns of that population more, and it also means that if you're looking at counterterrorism through a human rights approach, you don't unintentionally violate the rights of perhaps women on the ground in a way that you might not consider if that gender perspective's not taken into account. And Jayne Huckerby's a really excellent one who's done some work in this space and really emphasized that gender lens in relation to human rights and counterterrorism.

00:59:23 But I think those are the things that I would think more... more predominantly, and... Again, something as simple as having communities, or members of the community who might be much more willing to engage with women in security forces, provide intelligence, or highlight issues of concern in their communities that could help prevent some of the bigger problems down the road. It just means that there's a lot.... That preventative aspect becomes a lot more efficient.

Engaging with the concerns felt becomes a lot more effective and how we recover from and stabilize societies following an attack, become a lot more sustainable and reflective of that needs of the whole population. Thank you.

Clifford Chanin: One more. In the back. Go ahead.

01:00:12 Audience Member: Thank you very much for speaking to us tonight. I wanted to go back to something you were talking about earlier on the difference between CVE or terrorism prevention programs in terms of one approach being deradicalization-- change of my... change of ideology-- versus, I suppose, demobilization, change of behavior. And I just would love to know your thoughts on that, and, I guess, the realities and effectiveness of either approach, and where you're kind of leaning on that debate.

01:00:41 Joana Cook: Yeah, and it's a great question and I think that there's importance in both... in both spheres. You know, at the end of the day, if you're focused on security, if you're a police officer, if you're in the military, you want to focus on ensuring that security is maintained and preventing somebody from conducting a violent act, you know, and that's... that's of the utmost importance.

01:00:59 And when you get into the more preventative space, trying to change the way people think can become a bit more contentious, right? That becomes thought policing, that becomes the kind of Big Brother approach. And it can be a very sensitive area to get into, but I think there is also ways that you can focus on preventative work in ways that is

constructive and helps reduce the number of people that might funnel down into these groups.

And so it's about, again, kind of finding that balance between how can you do this constructive, positive, preventative work, change the way people... Perhaps not change the way people think, but influence in a way or give them other options. You know, if you've got a grievance, instead of picking up a gun, you go start a political campaign.

01:01:36 You go find a more positive outlet for taking that grievance and... doing something constructive with it, you know? And those are areas that I think are a lot less contentious. But it's always about finding that... that important balance between that kind of thought-policing, Big Brother approach, and really giving people who might have very legitimate grievances a more constructive outlet for... for dealing with them.

01:02:00 And again, that's something that's perhaps... We tend to focus a lot more on the direct security point of it. But that preventative space is a lot harder, a lot more sensitive, and one that we still don't focus on enough.

Clifford Chanin: It's really important work, and, you know, the nuances of it... And, you know, it's just the... the layer of complexity that it adds is somewhat daunting, frankly, because it's difficult enough, and now you're finding more difficulties. But it's only digging through this all that, you know, we have at least the hope...

01:02:30 Joana Cook: But I think there's...

Clifford Chanin: Of finding a solution.

Joana Cook: But there are so many solutions to be had, and there's a lot of really important lessons I think we've learned over the last 18 years, and I do have a lot of hope that we can learn from those and, again, make

more effective approaches to security that reflect the needs of the population, that reflect those populations, and that, in fact, make us safer at the end of the day.

Clifford Chanin: "A Woman's Place: U.S. Counterterrorism since 9/11,"  
Please join me in thanking Joana Cook.

(applause)

Joana Cook: Thank you very much.

01:03:00

(applause)