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**THESIS**

**LONE ACTOR TERRORISTS:  
THE PERFORMANCE OF HEGEMONIC  
MASCULINITY THROUGH ACTS OF VIOLENCE**

by

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September 2020

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**LONE ACTOR TERRORISTS: THE PERFORMANCE OF HEGEMONIC  
MASCULINITY THROUGH ACTS OF VIOLENCE**

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## **ABSTRACT**

As the United States faces the threat of lone actor terrorism, researchers have struggled to reach a consensus on how to profile these actors and fully understand causation and motivation. The media frequently report attackers' histories of gender-based violence; however, there is a lack of gendered analysis of lone actor terrorism. This thesis explores the role of gender-based violence and hegemonic masculinity in the radicalization and attacks carried out in the United States by post-9/11 lone actor terrorists. It finds that a majority of the attackers experienced stressors related to the performance of hegemonic masculinity, a culturally constructed set of norms that values dominance and accomplishment in terms of wealth, heterosexual romantic partners, and control. This thesis explores these stressors as identity threats in the context of social identity theory. In the absence of group dynamics, it connects referent informational influence to social identity theory concepts and radicalization models for lone actor terrorists. This thesis presents a thematic diagram that coalesces social identity theory with lone actor terrorism, radicalization, and studies of hegemonic masculinity. Furthermore, this thesis finds that collecting data on gender-based violence will be critical to understanding lone actor terrorism and violence prevention strategies.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ALWT	<i>Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism</i> (modified dataset)
GTD	Global Terrorism Database
JTIC	Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Centre events database
LWTA	Lone Wolf Terrorism in America (database)
LWTA+	Lone Wolf Terrorism in America (adapted database)
NTAC	National Threat Assessment Center
SIT	social identity theory
USSS	United States Secret Service

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Pulse nightclub. Mandalay Bay. Fort Hood. Emmanuel AME Church. Each time a terrorist attack occurs, the media interview those who knew the attacker, trying to identify a red flag or a warning sign that could have prevented another tragedy. Understanding the motives of a lone actor terrorist, a perpetrator who is not directly affiliated with or supported by an extremist group, is particularly challenging. Often, the history of these attackers contains reports of domestic violence, as in the case of Omar Mateen or Tamerlan Tsarnaev, but the connection between lone actor terrorists and gender-based violence has not been previously evaluated in a systematic, dedicated analysis.<sup>1</sup> This thesis addresses this omission by examining the role of gender-based violence and hegemonic masculinity in the radicalization and attacks of post-9/11 lone actor terrorists.

Previous studies of lone actor terrorism have not reached a consensus on a profile of these terrorists but have identified some commonalities. For instance, studies continually show that the majority of lone actor terrorists are male, unemployed, and single and have previous criminal histories.<sup>2</sup> These attributes make it difficult for these individuals to meet standards of hegemonic masculinity—a culturally constructed set of norms that places value on dominance and accomplishment in terms of wealth, heterosexual romantic partners, and control.

This research builds on the work of Mark Hamm and Ramon Spaaij, authors of *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, leveraging their dataset of lone actor terrorists in the United

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<sup>1</sup> Leslie Turk and Liam Stack, “3 Fatally Shot and 7 Injured at a Theater in Louisiana,” *New York Times*, July 24, 2015, ProQuest; Anderson Cooper et al., “Gunman Opened Fire in a Crowded Movie Theater in Lafayette, Louisiana: Continuing Lafayette Shooting Coverage,” *Anderson Cooper 360*, CNN, July 24, 2015; Alexa Vaughn, “Idaho Man Arrested over White House Shooting,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 17, 2011, ProQuest; Mark Hamm and Ramón Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 128.

<sup>2</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, viii; National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime, *Lone Offender: A Study of Lone Offender Terrorism in the United States (1972-2015)* (Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2019), 12–18, <https://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/fbi-releases-lone-offender-terrorism-report-111319>.

States from 2001 to 2016.<sup>3</sup> This thesis expands on their research by examining indicators related to gender-based violence and stressors related to hegemonic masculinity and augments these areas through additional open-source research.<sup>4</sup> Of the 68 lone actor terrorists examined, 28 (41%) of the lone actor terrorists were reported as perpetrators or alleged perpetrators of gender-based violence. An additional four lone actor terrorists reportedly witnessed domestic violence in their homes, committed by the attackers' fathers. In an examination of stressors related to the performance of hegemonic masculinity, 56 (82%) experienced at least one recent stressor, with 29 (42%) experiencing a stressor related to work or school, 29 (42%) experiencing a stressor related to law-enforcement contact, 26 (38%) experiencing a stressor related to family or romantic relationships, and 19 (27%) experiencing a stressor related to financial stability. Therefore, gender-based violence factors significantly into lone actor terrorism, and combined with the stressors related to hegemonic masculinity, these findings serve as a foundation to improve the understanding of lone actor terrorist radicalization.

Researchers have worked diligently to understand and diagnose why someone chooses the path of terrorism and how an individual becomes radicalized to commit this type of violence. As a result, scholars have developed models that explain an individual's radicalization through interaction with an extremist group. Lone actor terrorism poses a challenge to this framework because it lacks formal group dynamics. This gap in the research and the increase in lone actor terrorism attacks over the past 18 years speak to the urgent need to improve the understanding of radicalization to prevent future violence. To address this gap, this thesis leverages social identity theory (SIT) in the context of gendered analysis to improve the scholarly understanding of lone actor terrorist radicalization.

SIT explains group interactions through the way individuals construct their sense of self. According to SIT, how individuals construct their sense of self in relation to others explains how groups interact, both in cooperation or conflict. This thesis combines

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<sup>3</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*; Mark Hamm and Ramon Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America: Using Knowledge of Radicalization Pathways to Forge Prevention Strategies, 1940–2013" (dataset, Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR36107.v1>.

<sup>4</sup> For a complete list of sources, see Appendix A.

Moghaddam’s staircase to terrorism and Berger’s ladder of identity construction, radicalization models rooted in SIT, with Hamm and Spaaij’s model of lone wolf terrorist radicalization and studies of hegemonic masculinity from Connell and Madfis to create a thematic diagram of lone actor terrorist radicalization in the context of threats to masculinity (see Figure 1).

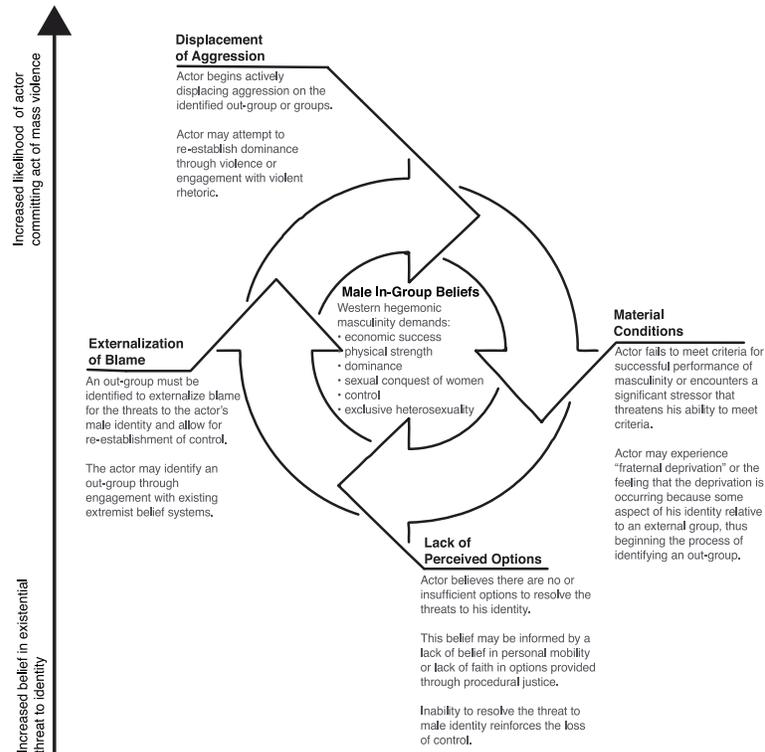


Figure 1: Lone Actor Terrorist Radicalization in the Context of Threats to Masculinity: Thematic Diagram<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Adapted from Fathali M. Moghaddam, “The Staircase to Terrorism: A Psychological Exploration,” *American Psychologist* 60, no. 2 (March 2005): 161–69, <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.60.2.161>; Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*; J. M. Berger, *Extremist Construction of Identity: How Escalating Demands for Legitimacy Shape and Define In-Group and Out-Group Dynamics* (The Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism, 2017), <https://icct.nl/publication/extremist-construction-of-identity-how-escalating-demands-for-legitimacy-shape-and-define-in-group-and-out-group-dynamics/>; E. Madfis, “Triple Entitlement and Homicidal Anger: An Exploration of the Intersectional Identities of American Mass Murderers,” *Men and Masculinities* 17, no. 1 (2014): 67–86, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X14523432>; R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Ami Lynch, “Hegemonic Masculinity,” in *Encyclopedia of Gender and Society*, ed. Jodi O’Brien (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2009), <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412964517.n206>.

This thesis maintains that gender and gender-based violence has not been adequately addressed in previous lone actor terrorism research and contributes toward filling this gap. Improved data collection related to gender-based violence may enable further improvements in terrorism research.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Is it possible that terrorism attracts so much attention today because men, as well as being its main perpetrators, are also among its victims? Not victims in the legitimate, accepted “civilized” circumstances of war, combat, and the boxing ring, the corner bar, the locker room, the boardroom, the courtroom—but victims across class, age, race, occupation, nationality? Victims of casual, anomic, spontaneous violence in a contest over their heads, a violence so ordinary as to be called politics?

Not until we understand the connections between society’s crisis and our own individual lives, not until we expose this continuum of the sexuality of violence . . . can we truly reclaim our rightful place on this sweet, imperiled landscape we call home.<sup>1</sup>

The last 18 years have seen an increase in the number of lone actor terrorist attacks in the United States—all committed by men.<sup>2</sup> Many lone actor terrorists—but most notably Tamerlan Tsarnaev, Man Huron Monis, and Omar Mateen—engaged in violence toward women before committing attacks.<sup>3</sup> In two additional cases, attacks on police officers began when law enforcement responded to domestic violence incidents.<sup>4</sup> Violent misogyny extends beyond domestic violence to include harassment, lewd conduct, rape, and sexual assault. For example, Bruce Ivins, the anthrax terrorist, harassed a Kappa Kappa Gamma sorority member for years before mailing letters laced with anthrax to two U.S. senators and media outlets.<sup>5</sup> Keith Luke raped a woman and shot her to begin his killing spree,

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<sup>1</sup> Robin Morgan, *The Demon Lover: The Roots of Terrorism* (London: Piatkus, 2001), 50.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Hamm and Ramón Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 53.

<sup>3</sup> Leslie Turk and Liam Stack, “3 Fatally Shot and 7 Injured at a Theater in Louisiana,” *New York Times*, July 24, 2015, ProQuest; Anderson Cooper et al., “Gunman Opened Fire in a Crowded Movie Theater in Lafayette, Louisiana: Continuing Lafayette Shooting Coverage,” *Anderson Cooper 360*, CNN, July 24, 2015; Alexa Vaughn, “Idaho Man Arrested over White House Shooting,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 17, 2011, ProQuest; Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 128.

<sup>4</sup> Travis Griggs, “Deputies Gunned Down,” *Pensacola News Journal*, April 26, 2009; Matthew Santoni, “Thousands Sign Online Petition Backing Death Penalty for Poplawski,” *Pittsburgh Tribune Review*, April 8, 2009, ProQuest.

<sup>5</sup> Rex Dalton, “Q&A: Too Close for Comfort,” *Nature* 454, no. 7208 (August 2008): 1039, <https://doi.org/10.1038/4541039a>; David Willman, *The Mirage Man: Bruce Ivins, the Anthrax Attacks, and America’s Rush to War* (New York: Bantam Books, 2011), 21.

which left two people dead.<sup>6</sup> Elliott Roger, who killed six and injured 14 people near a college campus, and Scott Beierle, who killed two women and injured five other people at a yoga studio, both posted misogynistic videos online before committing their crimes.<sup>7</sup> These examples reveal that misogynistic hate speech or gender-based violence may be indicators of continued violent behavior. Indeed, “an analysis of thousands of offenders in Washington State showed that a felony domestic violence conviction is the single greatest predictor of future violent crime among men.”<sup>8</sup> Identifying behavior patterns of potential future lone wolf terrorists and achieving a better understanding of potential radicalization require a close analysis of the relationship between gender-based violence and lone actor terrorism.

Although no in-depth gendered analysis of lone actor terrorism exists, scholars and commentators have posited that elements of gender may be significant in understanding this phenomenon. Julie Bosman, Kate Taylor, and Tim Arango summed up this sentiment in an August 2019 *New York Times* article:

The motivations of men who commit mass shootings are often muddled, complex or unknown. But one common thread that connects many of them—other than access to powerful firearms—is a history of hating women, assaulting wives, girlfriends and female family members, or sharing misogynistic views online.<sup>9</sup>

News profiles of lone actor terrorists describe problems with relationships and histories of domestic violence, but this information has not been systematically evaluated. Also, because the definitional criteria for a lone actor terrorist has been, to date, narrower than a

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<sup>6</sup> Brian Ballou, “Closing Words in Brockton Murder Trial: Luke Accused of Killing 2, Rape,” *Boston Globe*, May 30, 2013, ProQuest.

<sup>7</sup> Mihir Zaveri, Julia Jacobs, and Sarah Mervosh, “Gunman in Yoga Studio Shooting Recorded Misogynistic Videos and Faced Battery Charges,” *New York Times*, November 3, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/us/yoga-studio-shooting-florida.html>.

<sup>8</sup> Debra Srebnik, “Reentry Programs/Behavior Modification Classes for Community Center for Alternative Program (CCAP) Clients,” MIDD Existing Strategy Briefing Paper, ES 12d (King County, WA: Department of Community and Health Services, 2016), 4, [https://www.kingcounty.gov/~media/depts/community-human-services/MIDD/MIDDBriefingPapers/RecoveryReentry/ES\\_12d\\_Behavior\\_Modification\\_Classes\\_at\\_CCAP.ashx?la=en](https://www.kingcounty.gov/~media/depts/community-human-services/MIDD/MIDDBriefingPapers/RecoveryReentry/ES_12d_Behavior_Modification_Classes_at_CCAP.ashx?la=en).

<sup>9</sup> Julie Bosman, Kate Taylor, and Tim Arango, “A Common Trait among Mass Killers: Hatred toward Women,” *New York Times*, August 10, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/10/us/mass-shootings-misogyny-dayton.html>.

mass shooter, statistics regarding these groups are often conflated in media coverage. For example, the finding from Everytown for Gun Safety that “in at least 54% of mass shootings, the perpetrator shot an intimate partner or family member” is widely reported, but can be misunderstood without a full understanding of gender-based violence. Additionally, not all mass shootings meet the current scholarly criteria of what constitutes lone actor terrorism.<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, despite significant research on lone actor terrorists—with goals such as creating profiles or positing models of radicalization—studies on lone actor terrorism incorporating gender have been rather scarce. Lone actor terrorist scholars Mark Hamm and Ramon Spaaij found that “interpersonal conflicts between male loners and women matter a great deal” as triggering events to radicalization; however, the portrayal of violence against women as a trigger is troublesome.<sup>11</sup> As McCulloch et al. explain, “The term ‘trigger’ as encapsulating a ‘turning point’ for this kind of violence . . . implicitly repositions male violence against women as something mutual between perpetrator and victim.”<sup>12</sup> In this way, violence against women has arguably been categorized as a different, less meaningful type of violence, and this assumption pervades in-depth studies of lone actor terrorism.<sup>13</sup> As a result, existing literature may mischaracterize the problem and exclude potentially relevant cases from datasets. Violence prevention efforts demand accurate data. This thesis aspires to fill this gap in the literature by providing a gendered analysis of lone actor terrorism to inform a better understanding of such terrorism and contribute toward tools to prevent attacks.

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<sup>10</sup> “Ten Years of Mass Shootings in the United States,” Everytown for Gun Safety, November 21, 2019, <https://everytownresearch.org/massshootingsreports/mass-shootings-in-america-2009-2019/>.

<sup>11</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 128.

<sup>12</sup> Jude McCulloch et al., “Lone Wolf Terrorism through a Gendered Lens: Men Turning Violent or Violent Men Behaving Violently?,” *Critical Criminology* 27, no. 3 (September 2019): 437–450, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10612-019-09457-5>.

<sup>13</sup> McCulloch et al.

## A. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What roles do gender-based violence and hegemonic masculinity play in the radicalization and/or attacks of American, post-9/11 lone actor terrorists?
2. How can gendered analysis in the context of social identity theory improve scholarly understanding of lone actor terrorist radicalization?

## B. RESEARCH DESIGN SUMMARY

In *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, Hamm and Spaaij present a foundational, evidence-based study of 123 lone actor terrorists from 1940 to 2016 and a model of radicalization based on their analysis. To answer the research questions, this thesis examines the 68 post-9/11 lone actor terrorists identified by Hamm and Spaaij as well as their data on 44 of those terrorists in the Lone Wolf Terrorism in America database.<sup>14</sup> Hamm and Spaaij's efforts do not explicitly study gender, and by their own admission, "the gendered nature of lone wolf terrorism is often noted, but rarely treated in a satisfactory manner."<sup>15</sup> Therefore, this thesis builds on Hamm and Spaaij's work with qualitative data analysis to improve the understanding of lone actor terrorism.

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<sup>14</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 268; Mark Hamm and Ramon Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America: Using Knowledge of Radicalization Pathways to Forge Prevention Strategies, 1940-2013" (dataset, Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR36107.v1>.

<sup>15</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 53.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Multiple disciplines contribute to the dialogue surrounding terrorism research and the issue of lone actor terrorism. This literature review explores existing research on lone actor terrorism, gendered analysis, and social identity theory. These concepts and frameworks establish the context for analysis of lone actors in relation to gender and identity.

### A. LONE ACTOR TERRORISM

A corpus of literature attempts to improve our knowledge of lone actor terrorists. Danzell and Montañez separate the dominant research approaches into three camps—definitional, behavioral, and radicalization—which, in their view, analyze lone actor terrorists based on traits, psychology, or environment to explain violence.<sup>16</sup> These three camps help in approaching the scholarly work on lone actor terrorism to date. This section explores the definitional and behavioral camps and lone wolf radicalization.

#### 1. Defining Lone Wolf or Lone Actor Terrorism

Academics find it challenging to pinpoint the meaning of what exactly constitutes a lone actor or lone wolf terrorist. Even the terminology surrounding lone actor terrorists continues to be debated. Randy Borum, Robert Fein, and Bryan Vossekuil “suggest avoiding the term ‘lone wolf’ because it carries the potential to glorify or to imbue an image of power to attackers who are otherwise powerless and often ineffectual.”<sup>17</sup> Likewise, Paul Gill breaks away from the pack with his use of the term *lone actor* as opposed to the more commonly used *lone wolf*.<sup>18</sup> Evidence-based studies by scholars such as Hamm and Spaaij and Paul Gill, along with studies by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, have all looked

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<sup>16</sup> Orlandrew E. Danzell and Lisandra M. Maisonet Montañez, “Understanding the Lone Wolf Terror Phenomena: Assessing Current Profiles,” *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 8, no. 2 (2016): 136, <https://doi.org/10.1080/19434472.2015.1070189>.

<sup>17</sup> Randy Borum, Robert Fein, and Bryan Vossekuil, “A Dimensional Approach to Analyzing Lone Offender Terrorism,” *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 17, no. 5 (September 2012): 390, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2012.04.003>.

<sup>18</sup> Paul Gill, *Lone-Actor Terrorists: A Behavioural Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 11.

for patterns, trends, and commonalities in the individuals who commit these attacks; however, the datasets for these studies vary as the definitional debate continues to cloud who should be included in analysis. Definitional issues center around delimiting the concept of “lone” and whether an act of violence constitutes terrorism.

One distinct group of scholars argues that it is challenging to pinpoint the true meaning of “lone.” Political scientist Petter Nesser states, “Terrorism is usually defined or understood as a group phenomenon,” so “group dynamics” provide the lens through which scholars examine radicalization and differentiate “political terrorists from lunatic killers.”<sup>19</sup> As a result, defining and understanding the lone actor terrorist have been difficult. Nesser explains that varying opinions on defining these concepts pose challenges in the field.<sup>20</sup> Some scholars question whether the focus on individuals misses the broader problem of lone actors or autonomous cells conducting violent attacks absent any direct interaction with extremist groups.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, no consistent approach guides the inclusion or exclusion of well-known dyads such as Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols or the Tsarnaev brothers in analysis of lone actor terrorism.

In addition to the particular definitional challenges that lone actors bring, the criteria for defining a lone actor terrorist suffer from the same definitional angst that the broader field of terrorism has experienced. Prolific terrorism scholar Bruce Hoffman, for example, draws a line in the sand, stating that while a “lunatic assassin” may use similar tactics and seek similar results, he is only a terrorist if his goal is to use violence to achieve a political aim.<sup>22</sup> Mark Hamm and Ramon Spaaij define lone wolf terrorism more specifically:

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<sup>19</sup> Petter Nesser, “Research Note: Single Actor Terrorism: Scope, Characteristics and Explanations,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 6, no. 6 (December 2012): 61.

<sup>20</sup> Nesser, 61.

<sup>21</sup> Jeffrey Kaplan, Heléne Lööw, and Leena Malkki, eds., *Lone Wolf and Autonomous Cell Terrorism* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 8.

<sup>22</sup> Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 39, <https://doi.org/10.7312/hoff17476>.

political violence perpetrated by individuals who act alone; who do not belong to an organized terrorist group or network; who act without the direct influence of a leader or hierarchy; and whose tactics and methods are directed by the individual without any direct outside command or direction.<sup>23</sup>

Because lone actor terrorists fit under the umbrella of terrorism, the motivation of the attacker takes a central place in determining whether he qualifies as a terrorist. However, the determination of a political motive is made more difficult in the case of a lone actor because with little or no information to corroborate the intent of an attack, the justification may be fungible or unknown. Gill provides the example of Rashid Baz to illustrate that sometimes offenders change their stories.<sup>24</sup> In 1994, Baz attacked a van on the Brooklyn Bridge, firing 20 shots, killing one teenage rabbinical student, and wounding three other passengers.<sup>25</sup> Gill further stresses that Baz initially claimed that his attack was the result of road rage following a traffic incident, and the trial yielded no definitive motive.<sup>26</sup> However, in 2007, as Gill notes, Baz changed his story, stating that he targeted passengers because they were Jewish.<sup>27</sup> Scholars also debate the point of motivation when examining the case of Stephen Paddock. Paddock murdered 58 people and injured more than 500 others attending a 2017 outdoor concert during his shooting rampage from the Mandalay Bay Resort and Casino in Las Vegas. To this date, authorities have “no credible evidence that the massacre had any geopolitical, religious, or cultural motive

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<sup>23</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, viii.

<sup>24</sup> Gill, *Lone-Actor Terrorists*, 41.

<sup>25</sup> Uriel Heilman, “Murder on the Brooklyn Bridge,” *Middle East Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (Summer 2001), <https://www.meforum.org/77/murder-on-the-brooklyn-bridge>; Francis X. Clines, “Brooklyn Bridge Shooting; Complex Picture Is Emerging of Gunman in Van Shootings,” *New York Times*, March 4, 1994, <https://www.nytimes.com/1994/03/04/nyregion/brooklyn-bridge-shooting-complex-picture-is-emerging-of-gunman-in-van-shootings.html>; Joe Sexton, “Second Gun Traced in Shooting of 4 on Bridge,” *New York Times*, March 6, 1994, <https://www.nytimes.com/1994/03/06/nyregion/second-gun-traced-in-shooting-of-4-on-bridge.html>; Francis X. Clines and Joe Sexton, “‘What Are You, Rashid?’; Uncovering the Many Layers of a Murder Suspect,” *New York Times*, March 14, 1994, <https://www.nytimes.com/1994/03/14/nyregion/what-are-you-rashid-uncovering-the-many-layers-of-a-murder-suspect.html>.

<sup>26</sup> Heilman, “Murder on the Brooklyn Bridge”; Gill, *Lone-Actor Terrorists*, 21.

<sup>27</sup> Heilman, “Murder on the Brooklyn Bridge”; Gill, *Lone-Actor Terrorists*, 21.

whatsoever.”<sup>28</sup> While the Global Terrorism Database categorizes the shooting in Las Vegas as a terrorist attack, scholars continue to debate whether it meets the definition of terrorism.<sup>29</sup> We have long struggled to know “what evil lurks in the hearts of men,” and the definitional criteria of political violence present challenges to creating meaningful datasets that allow for further understanding of lone actor terrorists.<sup>30</sup> This research assumes that making the technical distinction of “terrorism” is much less important than identifying likely sources of mass violence and, thus, does not primarily focus on the academic issue of what is or is not terrorism.

Some academics have argued that the excessive focus of terrorism studies on Islamic terrorism has skewed the definition of a lone actor terrorist. In this context, lawyer Khaled Beydoun notes that lone wolf terrorism definitions have been “driven by War on Terror baselines that profile Muslim identity as presumptive of a terror threat.”<sup>31</sup> Criminologists Dolliver and Kearns agree, finding that the public is more likely to identify violence perpetrated by a Muslim as terrorism.<sup>32</sup> However, J. M. Berger adds that in reality, the concept of leaderless resistance and the term lone wolf have roots in the American white-supremacist movement, as articulated by Louis Beam, a leader in the Ku Klux Klan.<sup>33</sup> This bias has the potential for studies to focus on one subset of terrorism and miss the larger picture.

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<sup>28</sup> Michael Arntfield and D. J. Williams, “An Unlikely Retirement: The 2017 Las Vegas Massacre as an Exercise in Project-Based Deviant Leisure,” *Homicide Studies* 22, no. 4 (2018): 410–21, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088767918786765>.

<sup>29</sup> Matthew J. Dolliver and Erin M. Kearns, “Is It Terrorism?: Public Perceptions, Media, and Labeling the Las Vegas Shooting,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2019): 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2019.1647673>.

<sup>30</sup> “The Shadow,” Old Radio World, accessed December 19, 2019, [http://www.olderadioworld.com/shows/The\\_Shadow.php](http://www.olderadioworld.com/shows/The_Shadow.php).

<sup>31</sup> Khaled A. Beydoun, “Lone Wolf Terrorism: Types, Stripes, and Double Standards,” *Northwestern University Law Review* 112, no. 5 (2018): 1213.

<sup>32</sup> Dolliver and Kearns, “Is It Terrorism?”

<sup>33</sup> J. M. Berger, “The Strategy of Violent White Supremacy Is Evolving,” *The Atlantic*, August 7, 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/08/the-new-strategy-of-violent-white-supremacy/595648/>; Ellen Sexton, “Leaderless Resistance,” in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, ed. Gus Martin (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2011), <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412980173.n236>.

## 2. Behavioral Factors

A common scholarly approach to understanding lone actor terrorists has been to research those individuals who meet the definition to identify commonalities or traits. Because the definition of the lone actor terrorist varies, the datasets used for these studies are not the same and yield no conclusive profile. For example, Gill's study of pre-event behaviors found that 32.8 percent of lone actors in his dataset "were characterized as being under an elevated level of stress" but did not identify a single behavior that could mark a potential terrorist.<sup>34</sup> Overall, researchers have approached behavioral studies in two ways: examining the individuals who are lone actor terrorists for patterns and comparing lone actor terrorists to group-based terrorists to identify differences.

Although researchers have yet to converge on a single profile of a lone actor terrorist, they have identified some patterns in lone actor terrorist populations. Hamm and Spaaij's study of "lone wolves" found "that typically, lone wolves are white, unemployed, single men from an urban area with a prior criminal rap-sheet."<sup>35</sup> A 2019 study by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) produced similar findings: "The only demographic trend consistently seen in studies of targeted violence is the overwhelming representation of male perpetrators," and 65 percent of offenders were white, 73 percent were single, 54 percent were unemployed, and 70 percent were arrested as adults before carrying out their attacks.<sup>36</sup> Although most of the arrests identified in the FBI study were not for violent crimes, "more than half had previously engaged in physical battery or violence, either reflected in the offender's arrest history or in accounts given by individuals who knew the offender."<sup>37</sup> Additionally, researchers have identified that about half of lone actor terrorists have a diagnosed mental illness. Crisis management researchers Zeman, Bren, and Urban

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<sup>34</sup> Paul Gill, John Horgan, and Paige Deckert, "Bombing Alone: Tracing the Motivations and Antecedent Behaviors of Lone-Actor Terrorists," *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 59, no. 2 (March 2014): 433, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1556-4029.12312>.

<sup>35</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, viii.

<sup>36</sup> National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime, *Lone Offender: A Study of Lone Offender Terrorism in the United States (1972-2015)* (Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2019), 12–18, <https://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/fbi-releases-lone-offender-terrorism-report-111319>.

<sup>37</sup> National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime, 22.

found that before committing an attack, 43 percent of lone actor terrorists had been diagnosed with a mental illness.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, Hamm and Spaaij found 42 percent of post-9/11 lone actor terrorists had a mental illness diagnosis, which is “consistent with both other research on lone wolf terrorists and with broader studies of criminals and assassins.”<sup>39</sup> Researchers also largely agree that lone actor attacks have tended to use firearms.<sup>40</sup> These findings indicate that some characteristics may warrant further exploration, especially gender, relationship status, employment status, criminal history, and the use of firearms.

Comparative studies include Gruenewald, Chermak, and Freilich’s examination of lone and group-based far-right extremists and the study by Horgan et al. of individuals in the United States with terrorism-related convictions and jihadist ideologies.<sup>41</sup> In a study of far-right extremists, Gruenewald, Chermak, and Freilich examined lone and group-based behavior, concluding that most offenders of both categories were white males with similar rates of unemployment and previous criminal activity.<sup>42</sup> The scholars observed, “Far-right loners are more likely to have a military background, less likely to be married, more likely to plan on dying at commission of the crime, live alone, use a firearm, kill multiple victims, and select government targets.”<sup>43</sup> The study also found that far-right loners tended to be

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<sup>38</sup> Tomáš Zeman, Jan Břeň, and Rudolf Urban, “Profile of a Lone Wolf Terrorist: A Crisis Management Perspective,” *Journal of Security and Sustainability Issues* 8, no. 1 (September 2018): 10, [https://doi.org/10.9770/jssi.2018.8.1\(1\)](https://doi.org/10.9770/jssi.2018.8.1(1)).

<sup>39</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 54.

<sup>40</sup> Paul Gill and Emily Corner, “Disaggregating Terrorist Offenders: Implications for Research and Practice: Loner Attacks and Domestic Extremism,” *Criminology & Public Policy* 12, no. 1 (February 2013): 93, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12015>; Bart Schuurman et al., “Lone Actor Terrorist Attack Planning and Preparation: A Data-Driven Analysis,” *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 63, no. 4 (July 2018): 1193, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1556-4029.13676>; Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 7, 43; Paul Gill et al., “Indicators of Lone Actor Violent Events: The Problems of Low Base Rates and Long Observational Periods,” *Journal of Threat Assessment and Management* 3, no. 3–4 (2016): 165, <https://doi.org/10.1037/tam0000066>.

<sup>41</sup> John Horgan et al., “Actions Speak Louder Than Words: A Behavioral Analysis of 183 Individuals Convicted for Terrorist Offenses in the United States from 1995 to 2012,” *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 61, no. 5 (September 2016): 1228, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1556-4029.13115>.

<sup>42</sup> Jeff Gruenewald, Steven Chermak, and Joshua D. Freilich, “Distinguishing ‘Loner’ Attacks from Other Domestic Extremist Violence: A Comparison of Far-Right Homicide Incident and Offender Characteristics,” *Criminology & Public Policy* 12, no. 1 (February 2013): 78–79, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12008>.

<sup>43</sup> Gruenewald, Chermak, and Freilich, 84.

older, averaging 35 years old compared to a group offender's average age of 27.<sup>44</sup> In a behavioral study of convicted jihadist terrorists, Horgan et al. found similarities and differences between lone actors and those who offended as part of a group or "terrorist cell."<sup>45</sup> Lone actors tended to be older than terrorists participating in groups, and Horgan et al. discovered that "lone actors were more likely to be single and without kids. Lone actors were also more likely to be in the military at the time of their attack."<sup>46</sup> In these two studies of different ideologies, common themes emerge related to relationship status, age, and military experience or affiliation.

Scholars also differ on the significance of gender in understanding lone actor terrorists. Gill holds that men are more likely to commit violent acts and crime, overall.<sup>47</sup> However, McCulloch et al. explain that to fully "understand lone wolf terrorists and violence, more generally, we need to broaden our focus so we can truly see the continuities, as well as ruptures, in the behavior of men who commit violence."<sup>48</sup> In other words, by taking male perpetrators as a given in the analysis of any type of violence, one might miss the connections between behaviors and societal conditions that could help in understanding lone actor terrorism.

Although a shared, conventional model of these individuals does not yet exist, many studies recognize one commonality in post-9/11, American lone actor terrorists: gender.<sup>49</sup> The men who commit these attacks hold "complex and theoretically integrated worldviews with a strong component of other-blaming, which produce stable patterns of

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<sup>44</sup> Gruenewald, Chermak, and Freilich, 80.

<sup>45</sup> Horgan et al., "Actions Speak Louder Than Words," 1233.

<sup>46</sup> Horgan et al., 1235.

<sup>47</sup> Gill, *Lone-Actor Terrorists*, 32.

<sup>48</sup> McCulloch et al., "Lone Wolf Terrorism through a Gendered Lens."

<sup>49</sup> Joel A. Capellan, "Lone Wolf Terrorist or Deranged Shooter? A Study of Ideological Active Shooter Events in the United States, 1970–2014," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38, no. 6 (2015): 398, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2015.1008341>; Zeman, Břeň, and Urban, "Profile of a Lone Wolf Terrorist," 10; Horgan et al., "Actions Speak Louder Than Words," 1230; Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 53; Gruenewald, Chermak, and Freilich, "Distinguishing 'Loner' Attacks," 80.

appraisal that recurrently trigger extremely high levels of anger.”<sup>50</sup> Given the definitional disagreements within the field, the commonalities stand out and indicate a further need for gendered analysis.

### **3. Lone Actor Terrorist Radicalization Model**

Scholars have conducted extensive work attempting to understand how a person radicalizes and chooses to commit an act of violence. Hoffman explains, “While there is no one path that accounts for the process of radicalization . . . there are, however, some commonalities.”<sup>51</sup> In general, scholars concur that radicalization occurs when an individual comes to form an identity based on a grievance and works with others who share an extremist ideology that explains this grievance. This understanding of radicalization has an obvious shortcoming when studying lone actor terrorists—the lack of group dynamics. Terrorism scholar and psychiatrist Marc Sageman found that “loners do not require a special explanation for their violence and do not warrant a special label” because lone terrorists “[act] out on behalf of a group because they imagine themselves to be one of its members.”<sup>52</sup> An examination of radicalization models indicates that Sageman’s assertion of imagined membership may warrant exploration.

Researchers have conceived of models to explain lone actor terrorist radicalization, with Hamm and Spaaij providing the most comprehensive framework to date. Hamm and Spaaij explain their radicalization model in terms of the following commonalities of lone actor terrorists:

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<sup>50</sup> Stephane J. Baele, “Lone-Actor Terrorists’ Emotions and Cognition: An Evaluation beyond Stereotypes: Lone-Actor Terrorists’ Emotions and Cognition,” *Political Psychology* 38, no. 3 (June 2017): 464, <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12365>.

<sup>51</sup> Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 307.

<sup>52</sup> Marc Sageman, *Turning to Political Violence: The Emergence of Terrorism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 6.

They often combine personal and political grievances; they tend to suffer from psychological problems; and they are inclined to have an affinity with an extremist group. Their radicalization does not occur in a social vacuum. Instead, they often broadcast their intent to commit terrorism; others may enable them; and their violence may be preceded by a triggering event.<sup>53</sup>

Although this model offers a summary of factors common to the individuals Hamm and Spaaij studied, it does not present the psychological underpinnings to explain the movement from radical belief to action (see Figure 1). As large populations may hold radical beliefs but do not commit violence, that change of mindset is critical. Group dynamics have widely been cited as the cause for violent action—whether peer pressure, a sense of belonging, or fear from other group members—but lone actor terrorism questions that premise. Existing models may need adjustment to conceptualize how identity formation works in these instances. Pioneering social psychologist Henri Tajfel explains, “Social groups are not ‘things’; they are processes.”<sup>54</sup> Likewise, some argue that becoming a terrorist is a process. Given the current knowledge about lone actor terrorists, understanding how factors of male identity make this population vulnerable to extremist ideologies and lone acts of violence calls for further research.

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<sup>53</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 29.

<sup>54</sup> Henri Tajfel, “Instrumentality, Identity, and Social Comparisons,” in *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, ed. Henri Tajfel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 485.

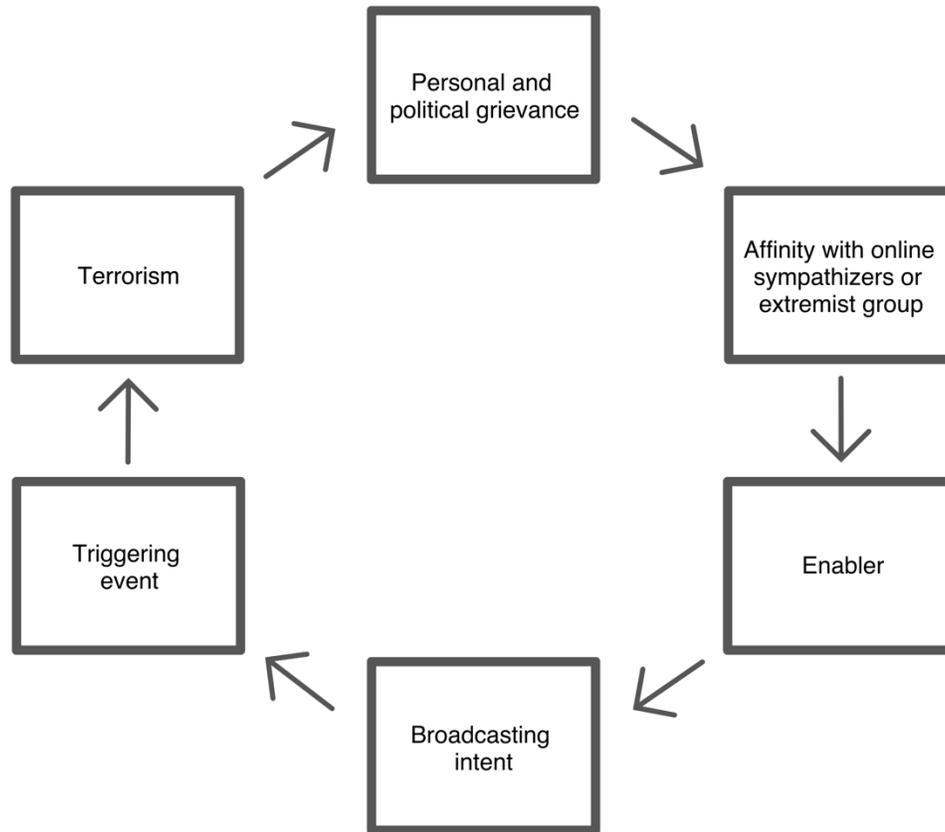


Figure 1. The Radicalization Model of Lone Wolf Terrorism<sup>55</sup>

## B. GENDERED ANALYSIS

Analyzing lone actor terrorism through the lens of gender requires an understanding of the power dynamics buttressed by gender norms to “make power visible.”<sup>56</sup> Gender lies within an inherently contextual, socially constructed framework and affects how we interact and conduct ourselves in the world.<sup>57</sup> J. Ann Tickner, a scholar of feminist security studies, explains, “Gendered social relationships are relationships of power,” and “gender

<sup>55</sup> Adapted from Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 159.

<sup>56</sup> Cynthia H. Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 8.

<sup>57</sup> Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Anchor Books, 1996), 168.

is not . . . synonymous with women and feminine identities; it is also about men and masculine identities and, more important, about relations between men and women.”<sup>58</sup> Examining the impact of lone actor terrorism through a lens of gendered analysis makes it possible to examine the attackers and attacks and determine whether this type of violence relates to hegemonic masculinity and the subordination of women as part of radicalization.

### 1. Hegemonic Masculinity and Threats to Masculinity

Western society holds standards of hegemonic masculinity, which serves to ensure “the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.”<sup>59</sup> Hegemonic masculinity is culturally constructed and manifests in Western norms that value economic success, dominance, sexual conquest over women, absolute heterosexuality, and stoicism.<sup>60</sup> Likewise, it may seem invisible because of its acceptance as the status quo; however, interrogating hegemonic masculinity and the ways in which individuals interact with perceived gender norms may be instructive.<sup>61</sup> For instance, lone actor terrorists typically are “white, unemployed, single males with a prior criminal record,” and these characteristics conflict with the successful performance of hegemonic masculinity.<sup>62</sup> Lone actor terrorists may explain personal grievances associated with their failure to perform hegemonic masculinity by blaming others, using extremist ideology to enable the “externalization of blame.”<sup>63</sup>

R. W. Connell, who has written extensively on masculinity, explains that over time, the gender order continually changes and is renegotiated. Connell explains,

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<sup>58</sup> J. Ann Tickner, “Feminist Perspectives on 9/11,” *International Studies Perspectives* 3, no. 4 (2002): 337, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1528-3577.t01-1-00098>.

<sup>59</sup> R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 77.

<sup>60</sup> Connell, *Masculinities*, 77–86; Ami Lynch, “Hegemonic Masculinity,” in *Encyclopedia of Gender and Society*, ed. Jodi O’Brien (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2009), <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412964517.n206>.

<sup>61</sup> Brooke A. Ackerly, Maria Stern, and Jacqui True, ed., *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 109, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511617690>.

<sup>62</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 50.

<sup>63</sup> E. Madfis, “Triple Entitlement and Homicidal Anger: An Exploration of the Intersectional Identities of American Mass Murderers,” *Men and Masculinities* 17, no. 1 (2014): 73, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X14523432>.

Interests are formed in any structure of inequality, which necessarily defines groups that will gain and lose differently by sustaining or by changing the structure. A gender order where men dominate women cannot avoid constituting men as an interest group concerned with defence, and women as an interest group concerned with change. This is a structural fact, independent of whether men as individuals love or hate women or believe in equality of abjection and independent of whether women are currently pursuing change.<sup>64</sup>

Western society continues to be dominated by men, but advancements for women in the forms of suffrage, mainstreaming of feminism, and acknowledgment of gender-based violence, through movements like #metoo, threaten the dominant gender order. Connell explains that this inequality and change in the gender order leads to two patterns of violence by men: violence as intimidation to maintain dominance over women and violence to communicate claims of masculinity to other men.<sup>65</sup>

Scholars have found that threats to masculinity result in actions and beliefs that reinforce dominance and the gender order. For example, psychologist Jennifer Berdahl found that sexual harassment acts as social control “primarily targeted at women who violate gender ideals” rather than, as commonly believed, an unwanted advance toward a desirable partner.<sup>66</sup> In a study of challenges to American male dominance following the 2008 recession, psychologists Kevin Weaver and Theresa Vescio found that with increases in rights for women and gay men, heterosexual men experienced increased distress in response to threats to masculinity, and these threats resulted in men supporting policies that promoted inequality.<sup>67</sup> Weaver and Vescio also observed that men experienced distress from the belief that others might perceive them as failing to perform masculinity.<sup>68</sup> Sociologist James Messerschmidt argues that interpersonal violence is also used to

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<sup>64</sup> Connell, *Masculinities*, 82.

<sup>65</sup> Connell, 83.

<sup>66</sup> Jennifer Berdahl, “The Sexual Harassment of Uppity Women,” *Journal of Applied Psychology* 92, no. 2 (March 2007): 435, <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.92.2.425>.

<sup>67</sup> Kevin Weaver and Theresa Vescio, “The Justification of Social Inequality in Response to Masculinity Threats,” *Sex Roles* 72, no. 11–12 (June 2015): 533, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0484-y>.

<sup>68</sup> Weaver and Vescio, 533.

reinforce dominance: “Wife beating/rape is a specific practice designed with an eye to one’s accountability as a ‘real man’ and, therefore, serves as a suitable resource for simultaneously accomplishing gender and affirming patriarchal masculinity.”<sup>69</sup> In short, scholars agree that violence and misogyny become tools for asserting identity in the context of hegemonic masculinity.

## 2. The Study of Hegemonic Masculinity and Mass Murderers

Research examining mass murderers, who may not have a political motive and, therefore, may not meet the conventional definition of a terrorist, has identified similar patterns. In identifying the link between gender-based violence and mass shootings, Yasmine Issa describes “mass violence as a response to gendered setbacks.”<sup>70</sup> Currently, scholars recognize domestic violence as a precursor to additional violence; even the Lautenberg Amendment prohibits gun dealers from selling firearms to individuals convicted of domestic violence.<sup>71</sup> Issa argues, “The law should treat acts of violence against women, including stalking and sexual assault, as red flags for larger-scale acts of violence,” as well as expand legal restrictions on gun ownership to those convicted of committing gender-based violence.<sup>72</sup>

Intersectional examinations of mass murderers have attempted to understand why white men are overrepresented as perpetrators. Sociologist Eric Madfis conducted intersectional research to examine “white entitlement, middle-class instability and downward mobility in the postindustrial economy, and heterosexual masculinity and its relationship to violence.”<sup>73</sup> Madfis claims that these factors may explain higher rates of mass murder. Another study that reviewed 28 mass murderers revealed they most

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<sup>69</sup> James W. Messerschmidt, *Masculinities and Crime: A Quarter Century of Theory and Research*, 2nd ed. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), 191.

<sup>70</sup> Yasmine Issa, “‘A Profoundly Masculine Act’: Mass Shootings, Violence against Women, and the Amendment That Could Forge a Path Forward,” *California Law Review* 107, no. 2 (2019): 678, <https://doi.org/10.15779/Z382V2C98F>.

<sup>71</sup> Issa, 690.

<sup>72</sup> Issa, 690.

<sup>73</sup> Madfis, “Triple Entitlement and Homicidal Anger.”

commonly experienced financial and social stressors.<sup>74</sup> As psychologists Kennedy-Kollar and Charles explain, “The hegemonic masculine perspective suggests that it is possible that the men viewed these stressors as threats to the self as providers for themselves and/or families.”<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, men may respond to these threats by “asserting the ideal masculine self through violence.”<sup>76</sup> Based on the literature, the populations of mass-murderers and terrorists may have some crossover relating to hegemonic masculinity.

Additionally, Douglas Kellner draws parallels between some school shootings and domestic terrorism attacks, identifying common themes of violent masculinity.<sup>77</sup> The United States Secret Service (USSS) also studied school-based violence and mass attacks in public spaces, uncovering similar themes in these populations. In its research, the USSS found that 40 percent of school attackers experienced familial discord, including domestic violence, and 30–32 percent of those committing mass attacks had previous histories of committing domestic violence—defined in the study as physical violence or “threat of imminent bodily harm.”<sup>78</sup> The USSS study of school-based violence examined 41 attacks from 2008 to 2017, finding that 83 percent of attackers were male.<sup>79</sup> The USSS review of mass attacks in public spaces determined 100 percent of attackers in 2017 and 93 percent in 2018 were male.<sup>80</sup> These findings indicate gender may be an important area of study in mass violence more broadly.

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<sup>74</sup> Deniese Kennedy-Kollar and Christopher Charles, “Hegemonic Masculinity and Mass Murderers in the United States,” *Southwest Journal of Criminal Justice* 8, no. 2 (2013): 67.

<sup>75</sup> Kennedy-Kollar and Charles, 69.

<sup>76</sup> Kennedy-Kollar and Charles, 70.

<sup>77</sup> Douglas Kellner, *Guys and Guns Amok: Domestic Terrorism and School Shootings from the Oklahoma City Bombing to the Virginia Tech Massacre* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2008).

<sup>78</sup> Lina Alathari et al., *Protecting America’s Schools: A U.S. Secret Service Analysis of Targeted School Violence* (Washington, DC: National Threat Assessment Center, November 2019), 30, [https://www.secretservice.gov/data/protection/ntac/Protecting\\_Americas\\_Schools.pdf](https://www.secretservice.gov/data/protection/ntac/Protecting_Americas_Schools.pdf); National Threat Assessment Center, *Mass Attacks in Public Spaces - 2017* (Washington, DC: Secret Service, March 2018), 3, [https://www.secretservice.gov/forms/USSS\\_NTAC-Mass\\_Attacks\\_in\\_Public\\_Spaces-2017.pdf](https://www.secretservice.gov/forms/USSS_NTAC-Mass_Attacks_in_Public_Spaces-2017.pdf); Lina Alathari et al., *Mass Attacks in Public Spaces - 2018* (Washington, DC: National Threat Assessment Center, July 2019), 5, 15, [https://www.secretservice.gov/data/press/reports/USSS\\_FY2019\\_MAPS.pdf](https://www.secretservice.gov/data/press/reports/USSS_FY2019_MAPS.pdf).

<sup>79</sup> Alathari et al., *Protecting America’s Schools*, 14.

<sup>80</sup> National Threat Assessment Center, *Mass Attacks in Public Spaces - 2017*, 3; Alathari et al., *Mass Attacks in Public Spaces - 2018*, 5.

### 3. Masculinity and Terrorism

The academic study of terrorism has been dominated by the definitional issues discussed earlier; however, some scholars have challenged definitions that center the analysis of terrorism solely on notions of political ideology. In examining the potential impacts of gender on the study of terrorism, some political motives may be insufficient to be deemed terrorism, especially in the context of American domestic terrorism. Security scholars Valerie M. Hudson and Kaylee B. Hodgson explore terrorist grievances in the framework of gender and “assert that the societal character of male/female relations is one critical structural factor, and that there is a differential sex-linked salience to many previously identified causes of terrorism, which salience is generally overlooked in terrorism studies.”<sup>81</sup> By examining the roots of terrorism with gender in mind, we can improve our understanding of grievances and identity threats, and how these intersect with violence against women.

Violence against women and gender-based crime are endemic: “Twenty people in the United States are assaulted every minute by their partners,” and “the overwhelming majority of victims—85%—are still, today, women and girls.”<sup>82</sup> Research by Hudson, Middle East scholar Donna Lee Bowen, and statistician Perpetua Lynne Nielsen argues that domestic violence should be “treated as the perpetration of terrorism that it is.”<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, in their research, they found broader implications of male domination: societies that subordinate women are “unstable, insecure, poorly governed, corrupt, and prone to conflict.”<sup>84</sup> If gender-based violence is not recognized for what it is—terrorism that targets women—then at least this thesis may further demonstrate that “the home can

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<sup>81</sup> Valerie M. Hudson and Kaylee B. Hodgson, “Sex and Terror: Is the Subordination of Women Associated with the Use of Terror?,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2020): 3, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2020.1724968>.

<sup>82</sup> Rachel Louise Snyder, *No Visible Bruises: What We Don't Know about Domestic Violence Can Kill Us* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019), 6.

<sup>83</sup> Valerie M. Hudson, Donna Lee Bowen, and Perpetua Lynne Nielsen, *The First Political Order: How Sex Shapes Governance and National Security Worldwide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020), 361.

<sup>84</sup> Hudson, Bowen, and Nielsen, 342.

serve as the training ground for future attacks, with terrorists rehearsing and perfecting violence against their families first.”<sup>85</sup>

### C. SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

Individuals form layers of identity based on roles in society and through comparison and contrast to others. Through socialization, people become acculturated to norms that shape their self-definition and interactions with others. Social identity theory (SIT) examines how people construct their sense of self in relation to others and how these constructs result in conflict or cooperation between groups of people. According to SIT, this understanding of self as a part of social groups informs how people interact. SIT is rooted in the work of Henri Tajfel, who saw the role of an individual’s understanding of self, one’s role in groups, and the role of society in the construction of group discord and commonly held biases.<sup>86</sup> SIT attempts to explain these cognitive processes, examine the connections between social behavior and the formation of individual beliefs, and analyze how those beliefs become shared within groups.

Membership or association with social groups defines all individuals. Psychologist and SIT scholar Michael Hogg explains, “Social identity defines and evaluates one’s self-concept and how one will be treated and thought of by others.”<sup>87</sup> As a result, humans become invested in the group they belong to, or “in-group,” defining those external as the “out-group.” Hogg details the connection between self-concept and the in-group: “When people make comparisons between their own group and an out-group they are concerned to ensure that their own group is positively distinctive—clearly differentiated from and more favorably evaluated than relevant out-groups.”<sup>88</sup> The formation of identity through

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<sup>85</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 128.

<sup>86</sup> Michael A. Hogg, “Social Identity Theory,” in *Understanding Peace and Conflict through Social Identity Theory: Contemporary Global Perspectives*, ed. Shelley McKeown, Reeshma Haji, and Neil Ferguson, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 3, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-29869-6\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-29869-6_1).

<sup>87</sup> Hogg, 7.

<sup>88</sup> Hogg, 7.

comparison and the creation of in-groups and out-groups is not a static process. The maintenance of group identity depends on “subjective belief structures” that focus on

status (what’s my group’s social standing relative to the out-group), stability (how stable is this status relationship?), legitimacy (how legitimate is this status relationship?), permeability (how easy is it for people to change their social identity by “passing” into the out-group?), and cognitive alternatives (is a different intergroup relationship conceivable?).<sup>89</sup>

Individuals continually evaluate these factors to shape and manage their identity in the face of changes in their environment.

Although these groups can be actual groups, such as terrorist organizations, identification with a group or perceived group can form part of a person’s identity without interaction with other members. Foundational SIT scholar Muzafer Sherif explains, “Reference groups are those social units to which the individual relates himself to or aspires to relate himself psychologically.”<sup>90</sup> An individual “may even have no direct contact” with a reference group; furthermore, “his conception of them may not correspond closely with their nature, manifest values, and goals as studied objectively on a sociological level.”<sup>91</sup> In other words, one’s perceptions of self and relation to social groups are important for understanding social identity, even in the absence of formal group membership. The idiom “you are who you hang with” might be adapted to “you are who you think you belong with.”

Although this type of group identification may be conventional, it can have predictably adverse outcomes in terms of stereotyping and prejudice. Self-categorization theory explains the process by which prototypes, or “cognitive representation of features that describe and prescribe attributes of the group,” are formed for both the in-group and out-group.<sup>92</sup> Hogg explains that prototypes “are typically not checklists of attributes, but,

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<sup>89</sup> Hogg, 7.

<sup>90</sup> Muzafer Sherif, “The Self and Reference Groups: Meeting Ground of Individual and Group Approaches,” *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 96, no. 3 (January 1962): 801.

<sup>91</sup> Sherif, 801.

<sup>92</sup> Michael A. Hogg and Deborah J. Terry, “Social Identity and Self-Categorization Processes in Organizational Contexts,” *Academy of Management Review* 25, no. 1 (2000): 123, <https://doi.org/10.2307/259266>.

rather, fuzzy sets that capture the context-dependent features of group membership, often in the form of representations of exemplary members (actual group members who best embody the group) or ideal types (an abstraction of group features).<sup>93</sup> Prototypes are shorthand for decoding social context to identify what makes someone a member of the in-group or out-group, and as such, they attempt to describe the groups as markedly different, with clear contrasts from the out-group and strong affinity within the in-group.<sup>94</sup> Although potentially harmful, prototypes provide individuals with self-esteem and help them cope with uncertainty and conflict.<sup>95</sup>

## 1. SIT and Terrorism

Researchers have effectively leveraged SIT to understand terrorism better. SIT scholars David Brannan, Kristin Darken, and Anders Strindberg argue, “Terrorism is a form of social interaction,” which is understood “within a relevant social and cultural context.”<sup>96</sup> Moghaddam adds, “Becoming a terrorist is more than just taking part in terrorist activities; it is transforming the self to arrive at a particular identity.”<sup>97</sup> Moghaddam and Berger have leveraged SIT to understand the factors, processes, and inputs into identity formation that lead to extremist violence. Although these models have shortcomings for understanding individual behavior outside a terrorist group, taken together, they provide essential support for findings in this research because they can be leveraged to help understand the process of individual radicalization.

### a. *The Staircase to Radicalization*

Psychologist Fathali Moghaddam explains the radicalization process using a staircase metaphor. Moghaddam’s “staircase to terrorism” describes the process of

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<sup>93</sup> Hogg and Terry, 123.

<sup>94</sup> Hogg and Terry, 124.

<sup>95</sup> Hogg, “Social Identity Theory,” 14.

<sup>96</sup> David W. Brannan, Kristin M. Darken, and Anders Strindberg, *A Practitioner’s Way Forward: Terrorism Analysis* (Salinas, CA: Agile Press, 2014), 45.

<sup>97</sup> Fathali M. Moghaddam, *From the Terrorists’ Point of View: What They Experience and Why They Come to Destroy* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006), loc. 237 of 2403, Kindle.

radicalization beginning with the ground floor and ending with the fifth floor.<sup>98</sup> Each of these floors describes a different progression toward radicalization in terms of psychology and activities. Like other scholars' models, Moghaddam's staircase begins with a grievance or perceived injustice and an individual's attempt to understand this supposed unfairness. Although the staircase ends with the individual's committing an act of terrorism, Moghaddam's model is useful for understanding another challenge to radicalization theory—that not all extremists are violent. The staircase does not require that an individual climb each floor but rather explains the process of escalating extremism (see Figure 2).

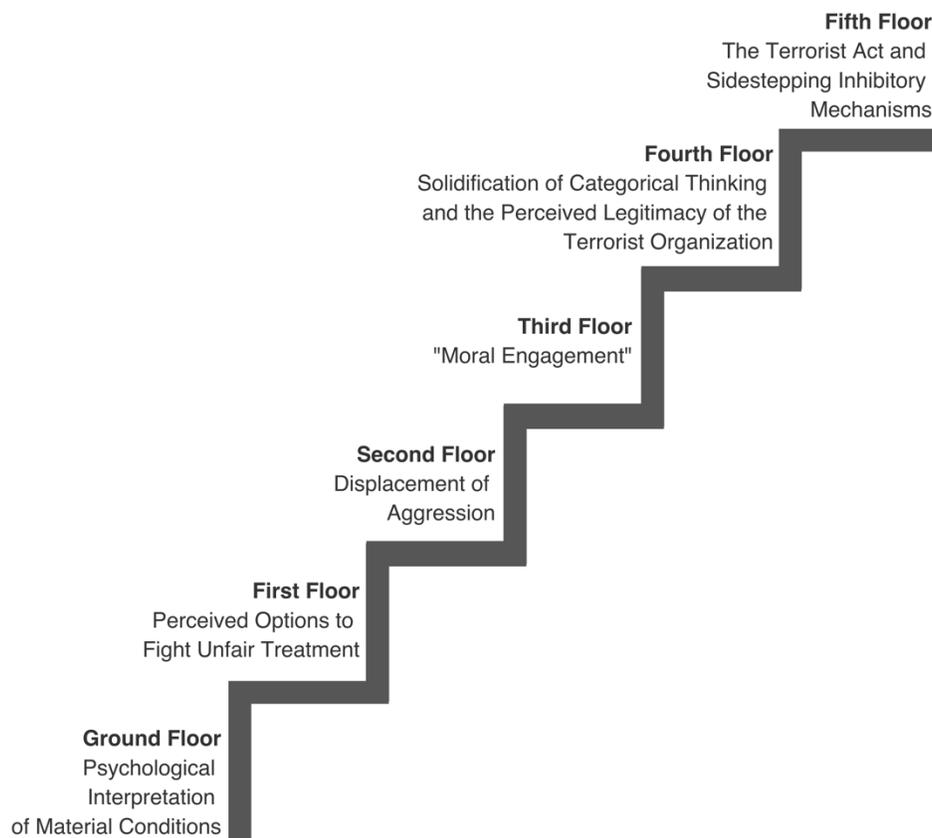


Figure 2. Staircase to Terrorism<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Fathali M. Moghaddam, "The Staircase to Terrorism: A Psychological Exploration," *American Psychologist* 60, no. 2 (March 2005): 161, <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.60.2.161>.

<sup>99</sup> Adapted from Moghaddam, "The Staircase to Terrorism."

Using the SIT framework, Moghaddam's staircase to terrorism describes "transformations in identity."<sup>100</sup> This framework helps tie together the environmental, social, and individual factors involved in radicalization. The ground floor of Moghaddam's metaphor relates to *material conditions*, which correlate with the "level of perceived injustice and the feelings of frustration and shame."<sup>101</sup> Notably, the conditions an individual experiences are not justifications for terrorism but are important for understanding the individual's perception of deprivation.<sup>102</sup> In the case of threats to male identity, the concept of *fraternal deprivation*, or "feelings of deprivation that arise because of the position of an individual's group relative to that of other groups," comes into play as an individual tries to reconcile his material conditions with the demands of hegemonic masculinity.<sup>103</sup> This feeling of deprivation may also result in shame, "a powerful negative emotion believed to result from a heightened awareness (whether real or imagined) or negative evaluation from others."<sup>104</sup>

As individuals climb to the first floor of Moghaddam's staircase, they begin a "search of solutions to what they perceive to be unjust treatment," and *perceived options* are shaped by "perceived possibilities for personal mobility . . . and their perceptions of procedural justice."<sup>105</sup> Moghaddam explains the view of justice can be influenced by the perception of the "inputs and outcomes for the self (or ingroup) and the inputs and outcomes for others (or the outgroup)."<sup>106</sup> Psychologist Melvin J. Lerner has examined justice as it relates to social behavior, finding that people need to believe they live in a "just

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<sup>100</sup> Moghaddam, *From the Terrorists' Point of View*, loc. 500.

<sup>101</sup> Moghaddam, "The Staircase to Terrorism," 162.

<sup>102</sup> Moghaddam, 163.

<sup>103</sup> Moghaddam, 163.

<sup>104</sup> Felicity W. K. Harper et al., "The Role of Shame, Anger, and Affect Regulation in Men's Perpetration of Psychological Abuse in Dating Relationships," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 20, no. 12 (December 2005): 1650, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260505278717>.

<sup>105</sup> Moghaddam, "The Staircase to Terrorism," 163.

<sup>106</sup> Fathali M. Moghaddam, *Multiculturalism and Intergroup Relations: Psychological Implications for Democracy in Global Context* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2008), loc. 2357 of 3853, Kindle.

world.”<sup>107</sup> Lerner explains, “This belief or need to believe that one lives in a just world is seen as a manifestation of ‘a persuasive cognitive tendency stemming from the general principle of cognitive balance.’”<sup>108</sup> Unjust or unfair experiences can cause distress, which individuals may try to alleviate through blaming others or ascribing a reason for why a bad thing has happened.<sup>109</sup> For some, that can take the form of victim-blaming, and for others, there may be externalization of blame.<sup>110</sup> Victim-blaming manifests in linking the victim’s behavior to the cause of a crime. For example, a rape victim may be blamed for wearing provocative clothing. With externalization of blame, an individual sees himself as a victim and assigns blame to someone else for the perceived injustice he is experiencing.<sup>111</sup> Individuals view justice based on their perception of “how one is being treated relative to others.”<sup>112</sup> Psychologists Stuewig et al. explain, “The link of anger and externalization of blame with antisocial and aggressive behavior is well established . . . [and] aggressive and antisocial individuals often use cognitive distortions to justify their activities.”<sup>113</sup> The externalization of blame is “not just ‘after the fact’ rationalizations but . . . beliefs and attitudes that theoretically contribute to antisocial behavior and specifically aggression.”<sup>114</sup> The externalization of blame corresponds with Berger’s ladder of identity construction in which extremism may develop as in-groups connect identity concepts and begin “bundling of multiple linkages into single conceptual constructs.”<sup>115</sup> An individual may do this

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<sup>107</sup> Melvin J. Lerner, “The Justice Motive in Social Behavior: Introduction,” *Journal of Social Issues* 31, no. 3 (Summer 1975): 5, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1975.tb00995.x>.

<sup>108</sup> Lerner, 5.

<sup>109</sup> Lerner, 5.

<sup>110</sup> Melissa V. Harris-Perry, *Sister Citizen: Shame, Stereotypes, and Black Women in America*, reprint (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 188.

<sup>111</sup> Madfis, “Triple Entitlement and Homicidal Anger,” 73.

<sup>112</sup> Moghaddam, *Multiculturalism and Intergroup Relations*, loc. 2387.

<sup>113</sup> Jeffrey Stuewig et al., “Shaming, Blaming, and Maiming: Functional Links among the Moral Emotions, Externalization of Blame, and Aggression,” *Journal of Research in Personality* 44, no. 1 (February 2010): 91–102, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2009.12.005>.

<sup>114</sup> Stuewig et al.

<sup>115</sup> J. M. Berger, *Extremist Construction of Identity: How Escalating Demands for Legitimacy Shape and Define In-Group and Out-Group Dynamics* (The Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism, 2017), 57, <https://icct.nl/publication/extremist-construction-of-identity-how-escalating-demands-for-legitimacy-shape-and-define-in-group-and-out-group-dynamics>.

through “consideration of the extremist in-group,” or what Hamm and Spaaij describe as the development of an “affinity with online sympathizers or extremist groups.”<sup>116</sup>

The second floor of Moghaddam’s staircase to terrorism is the displacement of aggression, which allows the individual to blame an external “other” for the perceived injustice he is experiencing. The displacement of aggression can serve multiple functions: reaffirm male identity through the use of violence or serve as an outlet for feelings of shame. In a study of college-age men, psychologists demonstrated that shame and anger are linked and “contribute to men’s use of psychological abuse with dating partners. More specifically . . . anger appears to serve as a pathway through which shame is expressed as psychological abuse.”<sup>117</sup> Moghaddam notes that physical violence is a critical factor in an individual’s likelihood to ascend the staircase, and this finding may be instructive for studying lone actor terrorists’ history of gender-based violence, which may meet this criterion.<sup>118</sup> This pattern also follows findings related to domestic violence being an indicator of future violence.<sup>119</sup> The displacement of aggression may be toward an out-group but also may begin with violence against women as a step toward re-establishing dominance. Furthermore, women may not be the out-group targeted, but the displacement of aggression through gender-based violence may be a step in the escalation of extremism and violence.

A lone actor terrorist might not ascend Moghaddam’s staircase once he reaches the fourth floor, which requires membership in a terrorist organization. The path toward violence in Moghaddam’s model requires membership in a “tightly controlled group,” which does not fit the lone wolf terrorist experience. However, a key takeaway from Moghaddam’s analysis is how intergroup dynamics can enable terrorism because in “categorizing the target, including civilians, as the enemy and exaggerating the differences between the in-group and out-group, terrorists psychologically distance themselves from

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<sup>116</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 159; J. M. Berger, *Extremism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018), 125.

<sup>117</sup> Harper et al., “The Role of Shame, Anger, and Affect Regulation,” 1658.

<sup>118</sup> Moghaddam, “The Staircase to Terrorism,” 162.

<sup>119</sup> Srebnik, “Reentry Programs/Behavior Modification,” 4.

the other humans they intend to destroy.”<sup>120</sup> These intergroup dynamics illuminate how an individual may commit an act of terrorism and not need formal membership in an actual group to form identity in this way. Although Moghaddam’s staircase usefully describes the psychological process of becoming a terrorist through the integration of these inputs, it relies on group dynamics. Because lone actor terrorists, by definition, commit acts of terrorism but do not belong to a group, the staircase model does not adequately explain radicalization of this population. The staircase fails to adequately explain the leap from extremist thought to action absent group-driven pressures.

***b. Ladder of Identity Construction***

J. W. Berger’s ladder of identity construction arises from SIT but focuses on the issue of “legitimacy” rather than “status.” Berger explains, “Status must be understood relative to in-group/out-group dynamics, whereas legitimacy offers a starting point that primarily focuses on enhancing the in-group in the earlier states of identity construction, before expanding to address comparisons to out-groups.”<sup>121</sup> This distinction is especially important in considering lone actors who may be moving toward extremism based on reference groups.

Berger’s examination of the “extremist construction of identity” comes from a study of a white supremacist movement known as Christian Identity and has broad lessons for how extremist ideology becomes entangled with an individual’s identity. Berger explains that identity forms everything from what we believe to what we do, including intrinsic qualities we may have been born with “such as race, ethnicity, tribe, gender, citizenship, or sexual identity.”<sup>122</sup> Both individuals and groups use these factors to understand how they are similar to and different from others and to pursue legitimacy. When a group forms an identity-based ideology, extremism may escalate through creating narratives and culture and through “two additional lines of development: the perception of

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<sup>120</sup> Moghaddam, “The Staircase to Terrorism,” 166.

<sup>121</sup> Berger, *Extremist Construction of Identity*, 5.

<sup>122</sup> Berger, 54.

the threat posed by an out-group and the prescription to solve that threat.”<sup>123</sup> Berger explains that violence is more likely as the “out-group identity begins to be seen as intrinsic and again when the out-group identity incorporates expected future behaviours.”<sup>124</sup> In other words, once an individual’s identity construction becomes linked with the belief that an out-group has immutable, threatening qualities—and the out-group will inevitably take actions that threaten his survival—violence appears to be the only solution. While Berger writes about extremist ideology as “an outcome of a group radicalisation process,” an individual may use extremist ideologies in a similar manner. Additionally, Berger’s model of radicalization adds a cyclical element, where “individuals will evaluate the impact of their escalated involvement in terms of tangible and intangible benefits to themselves and the group.”<sup>125</sup> This cyclical approach comports with Hamm and Spaaij’s model and helps to explain the iterative nature of radicalization, with continued inputs during the escalation of extremism (see Figure 3).

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<sup>123</sup> Berger, 55.

<sup>124</sup> Berger, 56.

<sup>125</sup> Berger, *Extremism*, 126.

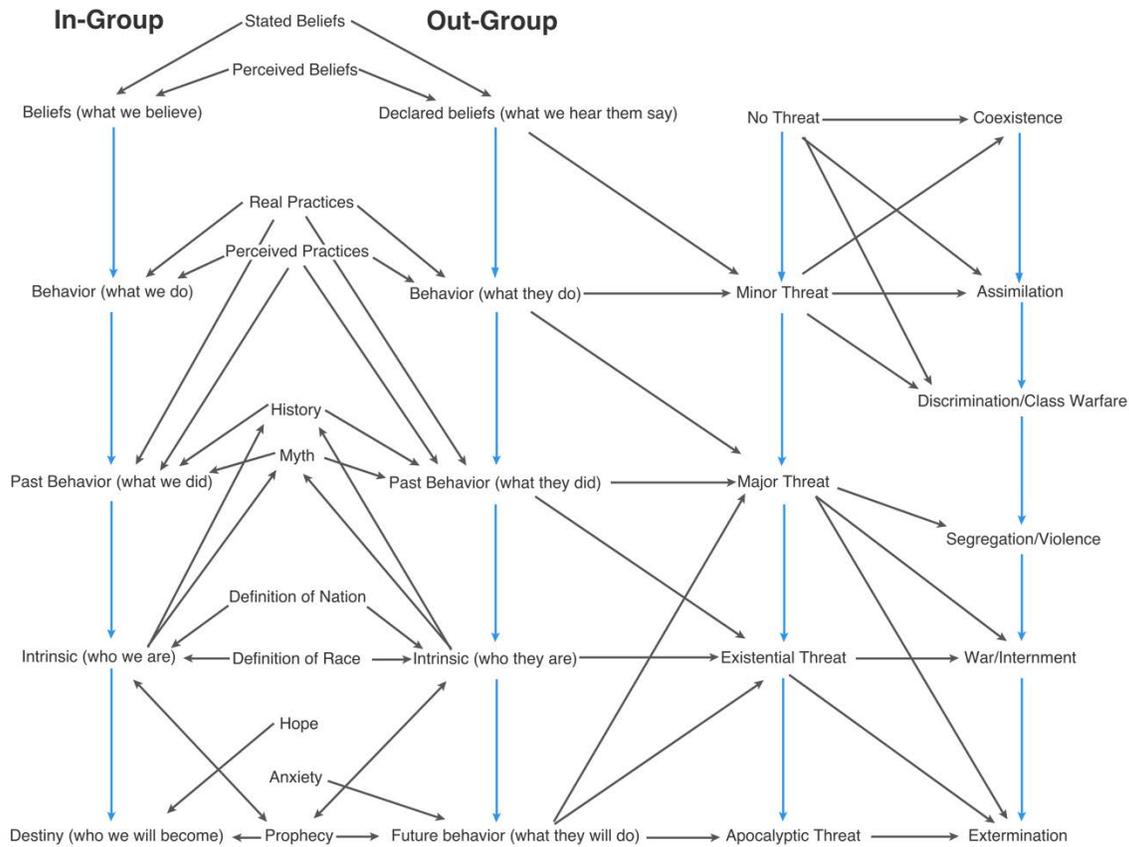


Figure 3. Ladder of Identity Construction and Perception of Threat Escalation<sup>126</sup>

## 2. Referent Informational Influence: A Loner’s Social Identity Theory

The lack of group dynamics poses a challenge for applying SIT and other radicalization models to lone actor terrorists, but not an insurmountable one. John C. Turner’s “referent informational influence” may bridge the gap between these theories. This concept holds that individuals self-define their group membership, “form or learn the stereotypic norms of that category,” and self-assign these stereotypes.<sup>127</sup> Referent informational influence explains how individuals can perceive membership in a group even absent other in-group members because self-categorization results in internalized norms

<sup>126</sup> Adapted from Berger, *Extremist Construction of Identity*, 56.

<sup>127</sup> John C. Turner, “Towards a Cognitive Redefinition of the Social Group,” in *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, ed. Henri Tajfel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 31.

that an individual imposes on himself. Interestingly, Turner found that “one’s stereotype of the in group” dictates conformity, so an individual’s “own behavior may become more normative at the same time as it differs from the observable behavior of other group members.”<sup>128</sup> Also, referential informational influence theory may not require in-group members for in-group information or social influence; instead, in-group beliefs may be formed as a result of “persuasive outgroup members (e.g., the mass media, school, etc.),” and “interpersonal communication and comparison . . . are not the vehicle for influence, since they are not necessary for increased conformity.”<sup>129</sup> In short, referential informational influence theory may prove useful in explaining how radicalization of lone individuals incorporates patterns observed in in-group dynamics (see Figure 4).

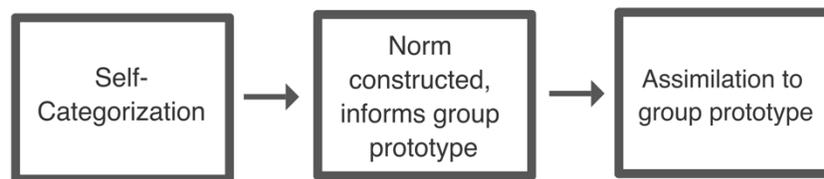


Figure 4. Stages of Referent Informational Influence Theory<sup>130</sup>

The theory of referential information influence has particular significance given the ubiquitous nature of the internet. Terrorism researchers have spilled much ink on the role of the internet as a tool for radicalization. However, they may have missed the broader dynamics of how individuals interact with groups, express political identity, and form identities given the changes in how we interact via the internet. Jia Tolentino describes how the internet has “position[ed] personal identity as the center of the universe” and

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<sup>128</sup> Turner, 32.

<sup>129</sup> Turner, 33.

<sup>130</sup> Adapted from Joanne R. Smith, “Referent Informational Influence Theory,” in *Encyclopedia of Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2010), 688–89, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412972017>.

“collapse[d] identity, opinion, and action.”<sup>131</sup> Tolentino observes how online activity has created an environment where the performance of self holds more weight than action, and the “organizing principle of opposition” drives the internet.<sup>132</sup> When liking a post or sharing an image is perceived as solidarity with a cause, it may be difficult to evaluate what counts as political action. Additionally, reference groups may have an increased influence on identity, and the prototypes of a perceived in-group may be shaped by the echo chamber of the internet, which “corresponds to our conscious choices and algorithmically guided preferences.”<sup>133</sup>

In considering lone actors, identity theory may seem like a closer adaptation as it centers the individual, rather than the group, and “explicates how individuals organize identity meanings, enact them in social situations, and respond to identity-relevant feedback.”<sup>134</sup> However, this thesis leverages SIT because of its relevance to reference groups as well as group interactions with extremist ideologies. Furthermore, scholars have posited that a “general theory of self” may come from combining identity theory with SIT.<sup>135</sup>

### **3. Social Identity Theory, Intersectionality, and Gendered Analysis**

Gender is foundational to understanding our identity; however, a gendered analysis examines more than the gender of those studied. Feminist researchers have embraced an *intersectionality* perspective, which “reveals that the individual’s social identities profoundly influence one’s beliefs about and experience of gender.”<sup>136</sup> Psychologist

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<sup>131</sup> Jia Tolentino, *Trick Mirror: Reflections on Self-Delusion* (New York: Random House, 2019), 14, 19.

<sup>132</sup> Tolentino, 22.

<sup>133</sup> Tolentino, 14.

<sup>134</sup> Jenny L. Davis, Tony P. Love, and Phoenicia Fares, “Collective Social Identity: Synthesizing Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory Using Digital Data,” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 82, no. 3 (2019): 2.

<sup>135</sup> Davis, Love, and Fares, “Collective Social Identity,” 2; Jan E. Stets and Peter J. Burke, “Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory,” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (2000): 148, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2695870>.

<sup>136</sup> Stephanie A. Shields, “Gender: An Intersectionality Perspective,” *Sex Roles* 59, no. 5 (September 2008): 301, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9501-8>.

Stephanie Shields explains, “Intersectionality, the mutually constitutive relations among social identities, has become a central tenet of feminist thinking . . . [and] has transformed how gender is discussed.”<sup>137</sup> Terrorism research using SIT has also found utility in an intersectional approach. Brannan, Darken, and Strindberg note, “Overlapping identities often result in tensions that an individual must resolve.”<sup>138</sup> An intersectionality perspective is critical to understanding the role of hegemonic masculinity in society. Hegemonic masculinity is not only about the male gender, but “is a concept that is shaped by ideologies of gender, age, class, sexuality, and race.”<sup>139</sup> The in-group/out-group paradigm defines the concept of hegemonic masculinity. As Patricia Hill Collins explains,

In the American context, hegemonic masculinity becomes defined through its difference from and opposition to women, boys, poor and working class men of all races and ethnicities, gay men, and Black men. . . . Ideals about groups formed within these ideologies, for example, women or LGBT people, constitute an important benchmark for defining hegemonic masculinity that must constantly construct itself. Without these groups as ideological markers, hegemonic masculinity becomes meaningless.<sup>140</sup>

Therefore, a gendered analysis using SIT must account for the layers of identity that shape hegemonic masculinity.

Hegemonic masculinity incorporates several components of identity as outlined by J. M. Berger: “beliefs, practices, history, intrinsic identity, and expectations.”<sup>141</sup> The “ideological markers” of hegemonic masculinity include beliefs about what constitutes masculinity, practices of control, and the “exercising of male authority,” including the use of violence, intrinsic gender identification and heterosexuality, and expectations of financial independence.<sup>142</sup> Brannan, Darken, and Strindberg describe the “social identity analytical method” in considering the actions of terrorist groups: “the patron-client

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<sup>137</sup> Shields, 301.

<sup>138</sup> Brannan, Darken, and Strindberg, *A Practitioner’s Way Forward*, 54.

<sup>139</sup> Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 187.

<sup>140</sup> Collins, 187.

<sup>141</sup> Berger, *Extremist Construction of Identity*, 46.

<sup>142</sup> Collins, *Black Sexual Politics*, 190.

relationship, the honor/shame paradigm, the challenge and response cycle, and the issue of a ‘limited good.’”<sup>143</sup> These traits have relevance in evaluating threats to hegemonic masculinity.

The patron-client relationship is described as “a symbiotic relationship between groups or individuals in which the client relies on the patron for introductions, status, protection, or materials while the patron relies on the client to support, serve, or defend the patron.”<sup>144</sup> In this context, it is other men who confer the status of masculinity. Sociologist Michael Kimmel explains, “Manhood is demonstrated for other men’s approval. It is other men who evaluate the performance.”<sup>145</sup> As a result, men are continuously performing masculinity to continue to enjoy the status of dominance and hegemonic masculinity from other men, and these actions support the larger patriarchal order.

The honor/shame paradigm emerges as follows: “Honor is publicly mediated and acknowledged positive status afforded to groups in relation to their friends and foes, while shame is the negatively charged opposite honor.”<sup>146</sup> Kimmel explains that hegemonic masculinity is tied to homophobia because other men are the arbiters of manhood, which is expressed as “fear that other men will unmask us, emasculate us, reveal to us and the world that we do not measure up, that we are not real men.”<sup>147</sup> This fear leads to shame and conformity with harmful practices toward the out-group.<sup>148</sup> Threats to masculinity, therefore, may be perceived as honor challenges that demand a response, which may come in the form of a definitive demonstration of manhood—violence.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Brannan, Darken, and Strindberg, *A Practitioner’s Way Forward: Terrorism Analysis*, 2nd ed. (Salinas, CA: Agile Press, forthcoming), 67.

<sup>144</sup> Brannan, Darken, and Strindberg, *A Practitioner’s Way Forward*, 70.

<sup>145</sup> Michael S. Kimmel, “Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity,” in *Feminism & Masculinities*, ed. Peter F. Murphy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 186, <https://literariness.org/>.

<sup>146</sup> Brannan, Darken, and Strindberg, *A Practitioner’s Way Forward*, 70.

<sup>147</sup> Kimmel, “Masculinity as Homophobia,” 189.

<sup>148</sup> Kimmel, 189.

<sup>149</sup> Kimmel, 189.

A more detailed examination of hegemonic masculinity reveals it has implications of male dominance and female subordination. Male domination is vital to controlling *limited goods*, or “a limited resource related to the honor of the group” in the form of either a “physical resource” or “an intangible resource like status.”<sup>150</sup> This systematic subordination of women is achieved through “an interlocking pattern of institutions, processes, and norms,” and Hudson explains that the root of this subordination is a “justification on the bases of out-group threat . . . [to] provide physical security for group members from external or out-group threats.”<sup>151</sup> However, the subordination of women is not just the protection of the family unit or nation-state from an external enemy; it is used to protect the limited good of status as well as “tangible and quite personal goods and services, including sexual services.”<sup>152</sup> Therefore, the maintenance of male identity in the context of hegemonic masculinity is a continual process and is critical to retaining control over the limited good of status. Additionally, this process may lead to beliefs of entitlement and, potentially, fraternal deprivation.

#### **D. CONCLUSION**

Despite robust literature on lone actor terrorism, the gender implications of both the actors and their actions have been neglected. Feminist studies of crime and terrorism have challenged definitional constructs of terrorism and insisted that the subjugation of and violence toward women be included in terrorism research. SIT, while buttressed by group dynamics, still offers valuable insights into identity, which may be instructive for the examination of gender and lone actor terrorism.

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<sup>150</sup> Brannan, Darken, and Strindberg, *A Practitioner's Way Forward*, 70.

<sup>151</sup> Hudson, Bowen, and Nielsen, *The First Political Order*, 21–22.

<sup>152</sup> Hudson, Bowen, and Nielsen, 22.

### III. RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter describes the data used in this thesis, potential limitations of the data, the process by which new data was generated, and the criteria used to assess the data.

#### A. DATA SOURCE AND LIMITATIONS

This thesis leverages the Lone Wolf Terrorism in America (LWTA) database created by Hamm and Spaaij and funded by the U.S. Department of Justice. The database, published by the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data, contains 98 cases from 1940 to 2013, with 60 cases occurring after 9/11. This study incorporates 23 variables, including the offender's name, prior criminal history, employment status, marital status, and factors related to the individual's radicalization. Hamm and Spaaij's dataset supports the findings published in their book, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, and includes cases of lone actor terrorism through 2016, with an additional 23 cases not included in the LWTA.

In their analysis, Hamm and Spaaij clearly delineate between pre- and post-9/11 terrorists. Hamm and Spaaij found that post-9/11 lone actor terrorists differed from pre-9/11 lone actor terrorists in several aspects but most notably in their use of the internet to interact with extremist groups or ideologies.<sup>153</sup> As a result, this thesis examines only post-9/11 lone actor terrorists to provide analysis most useful to the current environment. In their work, Hamm and Spaaij also separate individuals captured through sting operations, excluding them from "authentic lone wolf cases."<sup>154</sup> Of the 23 additional cases, one case is the unidentified perpetrator of the 2015 Phoenix, Arizona, freeway shootings. This thesis excludes both the unidentified perpetrator and those captured through sting operations from the cases selected. In sum, this thesis uses 68 cases from 2001 to 2016, leveraging 44 cases from the LWTA database and 24 additional cases from *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, which includes only the year, attacker name, and a brief description of the terrorist event. The 68 post-9/11 cases of authentic lone actor terrorism with identified perpetrators listed

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<sup>153</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 157.

<sup>154</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, 271.

in *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism* are referred to hereafter as the ALWT. These cases, along with the additional research described in this chapter, are provided in Appendix A and are referred to hereafter as the LWTA+.

Definitional issues make the study of lone actor terrorism challenging. The cases selected by Hamm and Spaaij meet their criteria for lone wolf terrorism; however, an examination of the data reveals some potential issues with this method. The completeness of this data source is limited in two respects: the selection of cases included and the completeness of information captured for cases listed. A comparison of the ALWT to two other terrorism data sources—the University of Maryland’s Study of Terrorism and the Responses to Terrorism’s Global Terrorism Database (GTD), recognized as the most complete unclassified sources of terrorist attack data—and Jane’s Terrorism and Insurgency Centre (JTIC) events database was used to further investigate potential issues with data completeness. Hamm and Spaaij have criticized the GTD’s lone actor terrorist data in the past, citing the absence of several 2009 lone actor attacks. The GTD updated its codebook in June 2017 to include unaffiliated individuals and now includes some, but not all, of the 2009 attacks highlighted by Hamm and Spaaij.<sup>155</sup> Again, these disagreements speak to the difficulty of defining this population and conducting systematic research.

To identify cases in the same scope using the GTD, the database was queried for attacks performed by unaffiliated individuals, and cases were narrowed based on the country where the attack took place (United States) and the date of the attack (post-9/11).<sup>156</sup> GTD cases, which are coded by terrorist event, were aggregated by individual perpetrator to allow for a comparison with the ALWT. Of the 68 authentic lone wolf cases with identified perpetrators in the ALWT, 39 appeared in the GTD, and 29 did not. Some of the LWTA cases might have been excluded from the GTD because the attack did not actually occur: of the 29 cases missing in the GTD, at least four represent instances where the

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<sup>155</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 42; “What Is the GTD?,” National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, accessed June 14, 2020, <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd>.

<sup>156</sup> Erin Miller, *Global Terrorism in 2018* (College Park, MD: National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, 2019), <https://www.start.umd.edu/publication/global-terrorism-2018>.

individual planned but could not execute his attack due to law enforcement intervention, and in one case, the wife of the attacker killed him before he could commit the attack. Examining the aggregated cases in the GTD, 33 additional unaffiliated, individual terrorists are missing from the ALWT (see Appendix B).

Finally, the JTIC was consulted as an additional source to cross-reference the cases identified in both the ALWT and the unaffiliated individual terrorists in the GTD.<sup>157</sup> The JTIC database includes open-source reporting of events after 2009, and the database's "non-state armed group attacks" from 2009 to June 2016 were used to triangulate the cases included in the original data sources. The JTIC database was not leveraged to add cases of lone actor terrorism to this thesis, as the tool is event-driven rather than actor-driven and focused on group attacks rather than lone actors. Consulting this source to compare cases present in the GTD but not the ALWT (and vice versa) confirms the problem of data completeness.

The issue of inclusion criteria becomes apparent in comparing Hamm and Spaaij's database to available alternatives, and Figure 5 depicts the discrepancies and similarities in these sources. Notably, the ALWT does not include Shannon Richardson, the one female lone actor terrorist in the GTD for this period, nor does it include Elliot Rodger, the inspiration for the "involuntary celibate" or *incel* movement, "a violent political ideology based on a new wave of misogyny and white supremacy."<sup>158</sup> In the case of Elliot Rodger, the exclusion of this case points to potential bias in defining what constitutes terrorism. Hoffman explains, "The incel worldview is not obviously political. But because its core ethos revolves around the subjugation and repression of a group and its violence is designed to have far-reaching societal effects, incel violence arguably conforms to an emergent trend in terrorism with a more salient hate crime dimension."<sup>159</sup> Future research would benefit

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<sup>157</sup> "Terrorism and Insurgency Centre," Jane's, accessed January 7, 2020, <https://www.janes.com/>; Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 267.

<sup>158</sup> Shannon Zimmerman, Luisa Ryan, and David Duriesmith, "Recognizing the Violent Extremist Ideology of 'Incels'" (Washington, DC: Women in International Security, September 2018), 1; Bruce Hoffman, Jacob Ware, and Ezra Shapiro, "Assessing the Threat of Incel Violence," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 43, no. 7 (2020): 3, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2020.1751459>.

<sup>159</sup> Hoffman, Ware, and Shapiro, "Assessing the Threat of Incel Violence," 4.

from a recognition of the role of misogyny in extremist ideologies and the inclusion of relevant actors.

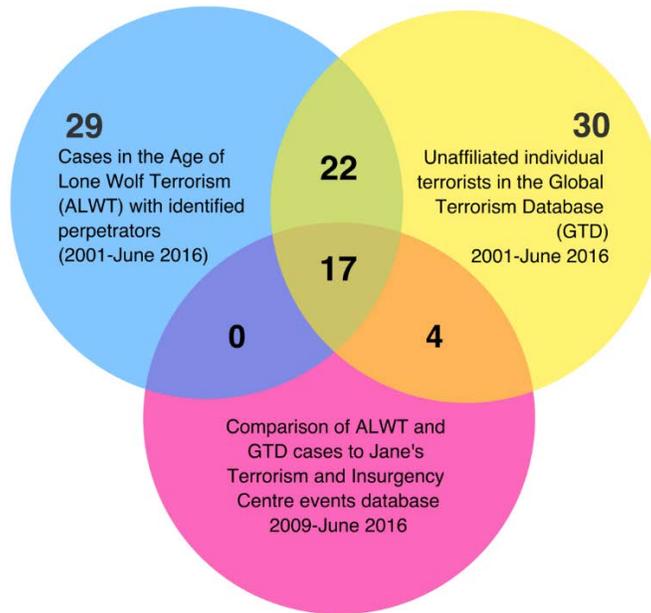


Figure 5. Discrepancies and Similarities between ALWT, GTD, and JTIC Cases from the Same Time Frame<sup>160</sup>

To remedy the lack of gendered analysis in the literature, data are required. Gender analysis was not part of Hamm and Spaaij’s study plan; therefore, their research could be incomplete. For cases in which gender-based violence was present in the data, this information surfaced through different variables, including prior criminal history, broadcasting intent, social/political grievance, triggering events, and capture/arrest. Additionally, of the 44 LWTA cases with detailed data, open-source research uncovered seven cases of gender-based violence not captured in the original database. Because the initial database research did not include gender-based violence and potential stressors as

<sup>160</sup> Source: “Global Terrorism Database (GTD),” National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, accessed December 18, 2019, <https://www.start.umd.edu/research-projects/global-terrorism-database-gtd>; Jane’s, “Terrorism and Insurgency Centre”; Hamm and Spaaij, “Lone Wolf Terrorism in America; Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 268. This diagram is based on analysis of these databases as described in the research design.

part of its scope, it did not thoroughly address these factors. Although the dataset selected for this thesis had limitations, it provided a basis for further analysis of previously identified and studied lone actors.

## **B. PROCEDURE**

Using the LWTA+, this thesis analyzes gender-based violence and stressors related to hegemonic masculinity by coding the existing information in the LWTA database and augmenting it with additional research. In aggregate, these quantitative data inform qualitative analysis to identify the role of gender-based violence and hegemonic masculinity in American, post-9/11 lone actor terrorists. Second, this thesis seeks to build upon Hamm and Spaaij's radicalization model of lone wolf terrorism. It examines how data on gender-based violence, an understanding of hegemonic masculinity, and social identity theory may be used in identifying common pathways toward violence.

### **1. Coding**

King et al. explain that qualitative research can be improved by other researchers' coding data "with different preferred interpretations and explanations of the phenomena."<sup>161</sup> The LWTA+ was coded based on the characteristics of this thesis, which examines gender-based violence and stressors. Additionally, open-source research of the lone actor terrorists was conducted to identify additional reports of gender-based violence or potential stressors. The criteria used for this coding, as well as included terms or sample indicators, are described here. As an overarching goal of this thesis is to improve data quality to inform gendered analysis, the research approach is provided with the intent of maximizing validity and reliability.<sup>162</sup>

#### ***a. Gender-Based Violence***

The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women defines gender-based violence as any act "that results in, or is likely to result in, physical,

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<sup>161</sup> Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 157.

<sup>162</sup> King, Keohane, and Verba, 23–24.

sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.”<sup>163</sup> The declaration further defines types of violence: sexual abuse, rape, female genital mutilation, trafficking, and sexual harassment.<sup>164</sup> In addition, gender-based violence has been defined by scholars to include “child abuse and neglect, intimate partner violence, sexual assault, sexual harassment, stalking, human trafficking, and honor violence.”<sup>165</sup> For this thesis, the data collected are coded using these definitions of gender-based violence and include child pornography offenses as sexual exploitation of children, which is a form of child abuse.<sup>166</sup>

Accurately capturing gender-based violence can be difficult because of the varying legal protections against gender-based violence and the underreporting of crimes. For example, in many states, sexual harassment in public places is not illegal, even though behaviors such as catcalling, groping, and indecent exposure have an impact on the safety of women and girls.<sup>167</sup> Also, underreporting of gender-based crimes continues to be a problem. According to the United States Department of Justice, only 47 percent of domestic violence is reported to police.<sup>168</sup> With that in mind, this thesis examines gender-based violence committed by lone actor terrorists reported in the media using the criteria in Table 1. This approach has limitations as media reports are not criminal convictions, and these issues pose challenges to all research in this arena.

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<sup>163</sup> G.A. Res. 48/104 (February 23, 1994), <https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/48/104>.

<sup>164</sup> G.A. Res. 48/104.

<sup>165</sup> Melanie D. Hetzel-Riggin, “Gender-Based Violence,” in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Psychology and Gender*, ed. Kevin L. Nadal (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483384269>.

<sup>166</sup> “Citizen’s Guide to U.S. Federal Law on Child Pornography,” Department of Justice, May 28, 2020, <https://www.justice.gov/criminal-ceos/citizens-guide-us-federal-law-child-pornography>.

<sup>167</sup> Talia Hagerty et al., *Know Your Rights: Street Harassment and the Law* (Reston, VA: Stop Street Harassment, December 2003), 2, <http://www.stopstreetharassment.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/SSH-KnowYourRights-StreetHarassmentandtheLaw-20131.pdf>.

<sup>168</sup> Rachel E. Morgan, “Criminal Victimization, 2018,” NCJ 253043 (Washington, DC: Department of Justice, September 2019), 8, <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv18.pdf>.

Table 1. Types of Gender-Based Violence and Sample Indicators

Types of Gender-Based Violence	Sample Indicators
<b>Child abuse and neglect</b>	Physical or sexual abuse, sexual exploitation (including child pornography), or sex offender <sup>169</sup>
<b>Intimate partner violence</b>	Domestic violence convictions, arrests, testimonial reporting from current or former partners <sup>170</sup>
<b>Sexual assault</b>	Reports or convictions of rape or other nonconsensual sexual act, sex offender <sup>171</sup>
<b>Sexual harassment</b>	Indecent exposure, unwanted sexual advances, unwanted touching <sup>172</sup>
<b>Stalking</b>	Order of protection, testimonial evidence of prolonged, unwanted contact, or “conduct directed at a specific person that would cause a reasonable person to fear for his or her safety or the safety of others or suffer substantial emotional distress” <sup>173</sup>

**b. Stressors**

In a study of attacks on federal government targets, the USSS National Threat Assessment Center (NTAC) found it valuable to “[assess] the impact of stressors on the person’s decision to engage in targeted violence.”<sup>174</sup> In subsequent work examining

<sup>169</sup> Children’s Bureau, *Definitions of Child Abuse and Neglect* (Washington, DC: Department of Health and Human Services, March 2019), <https://www.childwelfare.gov/pubPDFs/define.pdf>.

<sup>170</sup> Sharon Smith et al., “National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2015 Data Brief” (Atlanta: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, November 2018), <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/pdf/2015data-brief508.pdf>.

<sup>171</sup> Smith et al.

<sup>172</sup> Hagerty et al., *Know Your Rights: Street Harassment and the Law*.

<sup>173</sup> “Stalking,” Department of Justice, May 16, 2019, <https://www.justice.gov/ovw/stalking>.

<sup>174</sup> National Threat Assessment Center, *Exploring the Effect of Stressors in Threat Assessment Investigations: A Case Study on Bart Allen Ross* (Washington, DC: Secret Service, 2015), 1, [https://www.secretservice.gov/data/protection/ntac/Bart\\_Ross\\_Investigating\\_Stressors.pdf](https://www.secretservice.gov/data/protection/ntac/Bart_Ross_Investigating_Stressors.pdf).

individual assailants, mass attacks in public spaces, and school-based violence, NTAC has found it valuable to assess the role of stressors to better understand the attacker and inform potential prevention strategies.<sup>175</sup> The FBI also found stressors an important factor in studying lone actor terrorists: “Many of the offenders had personal experiences, motives, and life stressors that co-mingled with their violent ideologies and their reasons for carrying out an attack.”<sup>176</sup> As a result, the data collected are coded for four types of stressors in the five years before the attack relating to law enforcement contact, family or romantic relationships, financial instability, and work or school (see Table 2). Notably, these studies often consider stressors related to mental health. Variables related to employment status, relationship status, previous criminal history, and mental health have been previously examined in Hamm and Spaaij’s work, but the stressors selected for this thesis have not been previously captured or examined in this manner.

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<sup>175</sup> Alathari et al., *Protecting America’s Schools*; Alathari et al., *Mass Attacks in Public Spaces - 2018*; National Threat Assessment Center, *Mass Attacks in Public Spaces - 2017*; National Threat Assessment Center, *Exploring the Effect of Stressors in Threat Assessment Investigations*.

<sup>176</sup> National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime, *Lone Offender*, 35.

Table 2. Types of Stressors and Sample Indicators

Stressor Type	Sample Indicators
<b>Law enforcement contact</b>	Arrests, reports, or concerns related to parole status <sup>177</sup>
<b>Family or romantic relationships</b>	“Death of a loved one, divorce, a broken engagement, or physical or emotional abuse” <sup>178</sup>
<b>Financial instability</b>	Inability to meet financial obligations, debt, housing security, or other “losses or changes related to financial security or status” <sup>179</sup>
<b>Work or school</b>	Work stressors may include “disciplinary procedures, denial of promotion, or termination from a job . . . [or] the inability to obtain meaningful employment.” <sup>180</sup> School stressors may include “being forced to withdraw from school.” <sup>181</sup>

## 2. Thematic Analysis

Following the initial coding of the data, attributes were aggregated for analysis and examined in the context of the research question. The coded data table is provided in Appendix A, and the tabulated results are presented in the analysis. These variables were compared to the radicalization frameworks explored in the literature review to investigate how the data may relate to themes present in these frameworks. These themes were

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<sup>177</sup> National Threat Assessment Center, *Exploring the Effect of Stressors in Threat Assessment Investigations*, 1.

<sup>178</sup> Alathari et al., *Mass Attacks in Public Spaces - 2018*, 9.

<sup>179</sup> National Threat Assessment Center, *Exploring the Effect of Stressors in Threat Assessment Investigations*, 4.

<sup>180</sup> National Threat Assessment Center, 2.

<sup>181</sup> Alathari et al., *Mass Attacks in Public Spaces - 2018*, 9.

combined using *diagramming* to “make sense of the connections between them and further interrogate the themes” in relation to SIT.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Lorelli S. Nowell et al., “Thematic Analysis: Striving to Meet the Trustworthiness Criteria,” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 16, no. 1 (2017): 9, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406917733847>.

## **IV. ANALYSIS**

This chapter analyzes the role of gender-based violence and hegemonic masculinity in radicalization and attacks. Additionally, it applies SIT in the context of the data presented to determine whether it provides additional insights to the scholarly understanding of lone actor terrorism.

### **A. THE PREVALENCE OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE**

Of the 68 cases examined in the LWTA+, 28 (41%) of the lone actor terrorists were reported as perpetrators or alleged perpetrators of gender-based violence. Of the 28 individuals, intimate partner violence was most prevalent, appearing in 16 instances. Of the 16 lone actor terrorists with reports of committing intimate partner violence, two individuals also engaged in child sexual exploitation, and one individual also committed sexual assault and engaged in stalking behavior. Other cases of gender-based violence included sexual assault, sexual harassment, family violence, and violating orders of protection. Figure 6 summarizes the gender-based violence perpetrated by lone actor terrorists, with some individuals having committed more than one type of gender-based violence. An additional four lone actor terrorists reportedly witnessed domestic violence in their homes, with three cases of their fathers abusing intimate partners and one case of a father abusing a sister.

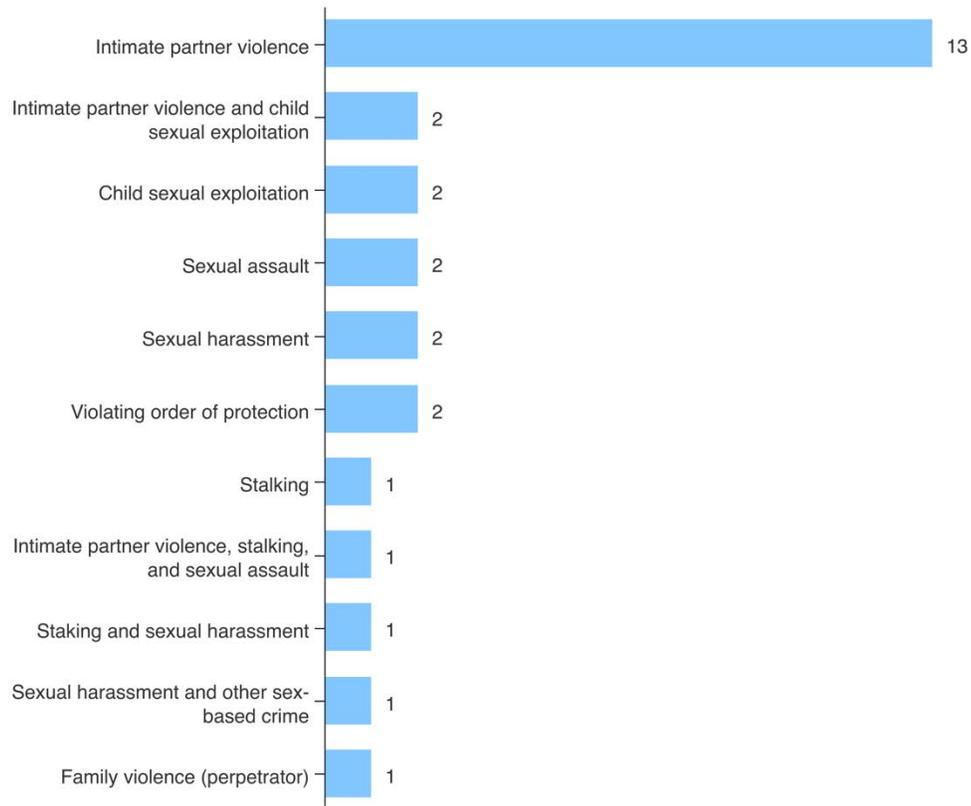


Figure 6. Lone Actor Terrorists Reported to Have Committed Gender-Based Violence by Type<sup>183</sup>

The prevalence of gender-based violence in this population is important to examine in the context of the literature. Srebnik’s study found that a conviction of domestic violence is a predictor of future violent crime.<sup>184</sup> Additionally, Moghaddam found that an individual who commits an act of violence is more likely to further radicalize as a terrorist.<sup>185</sup> Therefore, there is an increased possibility that these actors will commit further violence. These findings also demonstrate that lone actor terrorists commit gender-based violence, which is an assertion of dominance. This discovery affirms that this population may identify with concepts of hegemonic masculinity and threats to masculinity as identity

<sup>183</sup> For a complete list of sources, see Appendix A.

<sup>184</sup> Srebnik, “Reentry Programs/Behavior Modification,” 4.

<sup>185</sup> Moghaddam, “The Staircase to Terrorism,” 162.

threats.<sup>186</sup> Therefore, an exploration of identity threats in the context of hegemonic masculinity may be useful in better understanding lone actor terrorism.

## **B. STRESSORS AS THREATS TO MASCULINITY**

Of the 68 lone actor terrorists, 56 (82%) experienced at least one recent stressor, with 29 (42%) experiencing a stressor related to work or school, 29 (42%) experiencing a stressor related to law enforcement contact, 26 (38%) experiencing a stressor related to family or romantic relationships, and 19 (27%) experiencing a stressor related to financial stability; see Figure 7. Hamm and Spaaij had previously reported about this dataset that “a majority of them were single (80 percent) white males (64 percent) . . . [and] most were unemployed (73 percent) and had a criminal background (60 percent).”<sup>187</sup> See Table 3.

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<sup>186</sup> This finding is based on themes observed in the data (see Appendix A) as well as themes explored in the literature review discussion of Collins, *Black Sexual Politics*, 136; Brannan, Darken, and Strindberg, *A Practitioner’s Way Forward*, 67–70; Kimmel, “Masculinity as Homophobia.”

<sup>187</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 50.

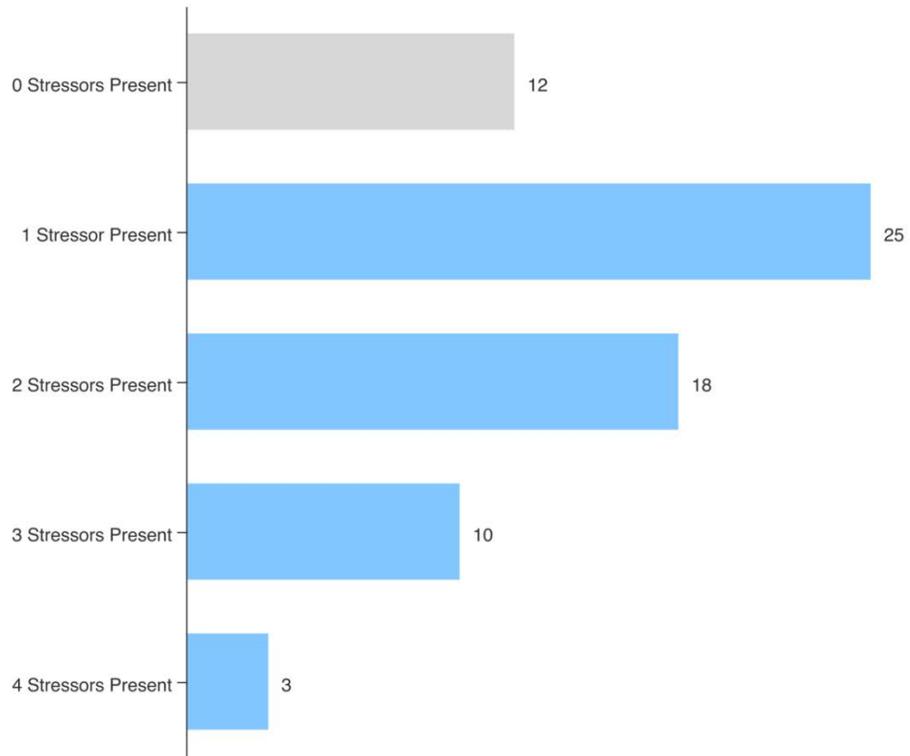


Figure 7. Total Identified Stressors Less Than Five Years before Attacks<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> For a complete list of sources, see Appendix A.

Table 3. Stressors and Related Demographics for Lone Actor Terrorists

	<b>Stressor Experienced Five Years before Attack<sup>189</sup></b>	<b>Status at Time of Attack<sup>190</sup></b>
<b>Criminal history and law enforcement contact</b>	42% experienced stressors related to law enforcement contact	60% had a criminal history
<b>Relationships and family</b>	38% experienced stressors related to family or romantic relationships	80% were single
<b>Financial stability, employment, and work and school life</b>	27% experienced stressors related to financial instability 42% experienced stressors related to work or school	73% were unemployed

### C. APPLICATION OF SIT

Because gender-based violence and gendered analysis have proven essential in understanding the phenomenon of lone actor terrorism, the addition of identity-centered models of radicalization may lend analytical value. The LWTA+ comprises men exclusively, and while that does not mean women are incapable of committing acts of terrorism, it strongly suggests that men may be more vulnerable to radicalization. Gender is a central component of identity, and the concept of hegemonic masculinity permeates Western society. Patriarchy informs a concept of an idealized male, which informs a reference group or prototype, which consists of the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity. As a result, men who self-categorize as “men” within the criteria of hegemonic masculinity adopt that prototype and then self-enforce that criteria.<sup>191</sup>

<sup>189</sup> For a complete list of sources, see Appendix A.

<sup>190</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 50.

<sup>191</sup> This finding is based on themes observed in the data (see Appendix A) as well as themes explored in the literature review discussion of Turner, “Towards a Cognitive Redefinition of the Social Group,” 32; Kimmel, “Masculinity as Homophobia”; Berger, *Extremist Construction of Identity*, 54; Kennedy-Kollar and Charles, “Hegemonic Masculinity and Mass Murderers in the United States”; Messerschmidt, *Masculinities and Crime*, 191.

The stressors examined correlate with threats to the concepts of hegemonic masculinity, which include “physical strength; economic success; control; exclusive heterosexuality and the search for sexual conquests even if by force; athletic prowess; stoicism and suppression of emotions that convey vulnerability.”<sup>192</sup> Several of the attacks were directly related to the stressors experienced, which affirms that these stressors were perceived as such extreme threats to identity that they necessitated violent responses. For example, several lone actor terrorist attacks appear to be linked to an immediate, identifiable stressor related to work or career. In two cases, the individuals killed had a direct link to the attackers’ loss of employment. In an attack at his former workplace, Alton Nolen killed a co-worker who had complained about him before he was fired.<sup>193</sup> During a series of shootings in Los Angeles, Christopher Dorner attacked the daughter of an individual involved in disciplinary proceedings that resulted in his termination.<sup>194</sup> Six additional cases may be linked to stressors related to the attackers’ career. Bruce Ivins sent anthrax letters as he experienced pressure related to his work in developing the anthrax vaccine.<sup>195</sup> Dwight Watson’s attack seemingly began as a protest of farm policy following struggles to secure a loan or a successful auction of his family farm.<sup>196</sup> Joseph Stack attacked the IRS after a series of struggles with unpaid taxes affected his businesses, and John Bedell attacked the Pentagon after failing to be awarded a grant.<sup>197</sup> In the case of two

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<sup>192</sup> Lynch, “Hegemonic Masculinity.”

<sup>193</sup> Timothy Williams and Michael S. Schmidt, “Oklahoma Man Is Charged in Beheading of Co-Worker,” *New York Times*, September 30, 2014, <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/01/us/oklahoma-man-charged-with-murder-in-beheading-of-co-worker.html>.

<sup>194</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, “Lone Wolf Terrorism in America.”

<sup>195</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, “Lone Wolf Terrorism in America”; Willman, *The Mirage Man*, 21; Dalton, “Q&A: Too Close for Comfort.”

<sup>196</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, “Lone Wolf Terrorism in America”; Drew Jubera, “Standoff Ends, but Not Farmers’ Plight; Frustration Took Toll, Say Home Folks,” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, March 20, 2003; David Nakamura and Michael D. Shear, “Unhappy Man Grabs the Spotlight; Hard-Luck Farmer Finds a Sympathetic Audience in North Carolina Tobacco Country,” *Washington Post*, March 20, 2003.

<sup>197</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, “Lone Wolf Terrorism in America.”

perpetrators, Bracklow and Caffall, disputes over rent (i.e., financial instability) were an immediate impetus for the attacks.<sup>198</sup>

Additional attacks relate to threats to hegemonic masculinity's assertion of dominance and sexual conquest. These attacks included intimate partners and family violence or followed romantic rejection. Two such attacks began with law enforcement response, one over a domestic dispute with the attacker's mother (Poplawski) and one attack beginning with police attempting to arrest an individual for domestic violence after assaulting his wife (Cartwright).<sup>199</sup> In three cases, an intimate partner was the target of the attack. In a 2001 attack on his former workplace, Joseph Ferguson first targeted his ex-girlfriend.<sup>200</sup> Jacob Robida's 2006 killing spree ended with him killing his ex-girlfriend before committing suicide, and Jim David Adkisson's 2008 church shooting targeted his ex-wife's place of worship.<sup>201</sup> In an additional case, James Cummings was killed by his wife, who feared for her and her daughter's safety, before he could carry out his attack.<sup>202</sup> Moreover, in three cases, the attack appears directly related to or follows rejection by women. Keith Luke began his attack by visiting the home of a woman who had rejected his advances. When the woman was not at home, he raped her sister until she arrived and then shot them both.<sup>203</sup> George Davis harassed women at a bar and was rebuffed before opening fire in Montana, and in writings handed to a survivor of his rampage, Christopher Mercer complained that he had lacked a girlfriend and was a virgin.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> Eric Bailey and Robin Fields, "Shootout Vowed in Chilling Video," *Los Angeles Times*, September 11, 2001, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2001-sep-11-mn-44550-story.html>; Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

<sup>199</sup> Don Thompson, "Butte County Deputies Ambushed by Gunman, Sheriff Says," Associated Press, July 31, 2001; Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

<sup>200</sup> Bailey and Fields, "Shootout Vowed in Chilling Video."

<sup>201</sup> John Gonzalez, "Darkness Falls: Attack on a New Bedford Gay Bar," *Boston Magazine*, June 2006; Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

<sup>202</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

<sup>203</sup> Maria Papadopoulou, "District Attorney Says Killer Deserved to Die," *The Enterprise*, May 31, 2013, <https://www.enterpriseneews.com/article/20130531/NEWS/305319847>.

<sup>204</sup> Brief of Respondent, *Davis v. Montana*, No. DA 06-331, 2006 MT S. Ct. Briefs LEXIS 756; Rick Anderson, "'Here I Am, 26, with No Friends, No Job, No Girlfriend': Shooter's Manifesto Offers Clues to 2015 Oregon College Rampage," *Los Angeles Times*, September 23, 2017, <https://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-school-shootings-2017-story.html>.

An additional subset of attacks targeted women's health providers and gay individuals, clearly meeting the criteria of establishing dominance and enforcing gender norms within the context of hegemonic masculinity. In six cases, attackers targeted women's health providers or abortion clinics.<sup>205</sup> Several attacks targeted gay individuals. Pulse nightclub shooter Omar Mateen may have been angered by witnessing two men kissing.<sup>206</sup> Ali Brown's victims included men who he reportedly met through a gay social-networking app.<sup>207</sup> Jacob Robida's attack began at a gay bar, Jim David Adkisson claimed to target a Unitarian church in part because it welcomed gay attendees, and Derek Shrout's list of targets at his school were all black, except for one white male whom Shrout believed was gay.<sup>208</sup> Additionally, lone actor terrorists Frazier Glenn Miller, Dylann Roof, and John Houser had well established homophobic, anti-gay views.<sup>209</sup> Finally, in two cases, misogynistic rhetoric was directly related to the attacks' targets. Jared Loughner targeted Gabby Giffords, believing that women should not hold positions of power, and Paul Ciancia, who targeted Transportation Security Administration (TSA) agents during his attack at the Los Angeles airport, used homophobic, misogynistic language toward Janet Napolitano in his manifesto.<sup>210</sup>

The presence of stressors in 82 percent of the lone actor terrorists and their direct connection to many of the attacks suggest that Moghaddam's concept of material conditions is relevant. When a man cannot successfully perform the hegemonic masculinity prototype as he has internalized it, an identity threat comes from these material conditions.

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<sup>205</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

<sup>206</sup> Kyra Gurney et al., "Omar Mateen's Immigrant Family Lived the American Dream—or So It Seemed," *Miami Herald*, June 18, 2016, <https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/national/article84370692.html>.

<sup>207</sup> "No Death Penalty for Suspected Killer," *Seattle Times*, December 17, 2016.

<sup>208</sup> Gonzalez, "Darkness Falls"; "Church Members Shot for Acceptance of Gays," *Daily Courier*, July 29, 2008; "Alabama Student Planned to Kill Gay, Black Classmates," *Mississippi Link*, January 10, 2013.

<sup>209</sup> Judy L. Thomas, "For Frazier Glenn Miller Jr., a War Declaration and a Reduced Sentence," *Kansas City Star*, April 19, 2014; Kevin Sack and Alan Blinder, "No Regrets from Dylann Roof in Jailhouse Manifesto," *New York Times*, January 5, 2017; Jim Mustian, Rebekah Allen, and Maya Lau, "Tragedy in Lafayette: 'More and More Unstable' Theatre Gunman John Houser Had History of Mental Illness," *The Advocate*, July 25, 2015.

<sup>210</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 139; "LAX Shooter Paul Ciancia's Manifesto Had Homophobic Slurs against Janet Napolitano," *Hinterland Gazette*, November 3, 2013.

Resulting anger and shame fuels a lack of perceived options; however, to re-establish control, he must identify a scapegoat to justify his failure. At this point, he may interact with an extremist ideology, maybe one that is culturally relevant or accessible, to identify a narrative that allows him to cope with the identity threat through the externalization of blame. Increased discomfort related to these threats results in displacement of aggression, which is seen in gender-based violence, but may also include engagement with violent rhetoric. These themes are present in the data, as well as the radicalization models of Moghaddam, Hamm and Spaaij, and Berger. The diagram in Figure 8 coalesces these themes with perspectives from Connell on masculinity and the work of Madfis on intersectional identities.

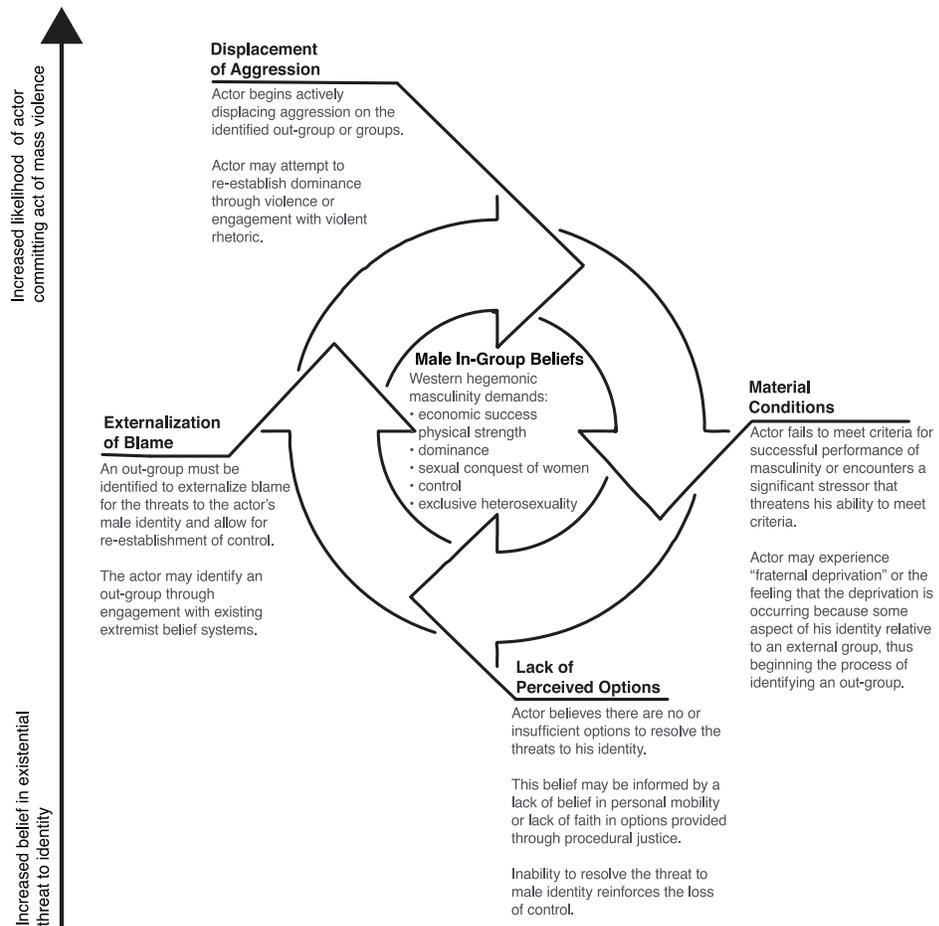


Figure 8. Lone Actor Terrorists' Radicalization in the Context of Threats to Masculinity: Thematic Diagram<sup>211</sup>

<sup>211</sup> Adapted from Moghaddam, "The Staircase to Terrorism"; Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*; Berger, *Extremist Construction of Identity*; Madfis, "Triple Entitlement and Homicidal Anger"; Connell, *Masculinities*; Lynch, "Hegemonic Masculinity."

## V. CONCLUSION

The role of gender and gender-based violence has not been adequately addressed in lone actor terrorism research. Using research by Hamm and Spaaij, this thesis has examined their dataset of lone actor terrorists who committed attacks in the United States of America from 2001 to 2016. This population is exclusively men, many of whom committed gender-based violence before their attacks. Gender-based violence is a violent assertion of power and serves as an indicator of possible future violence and radicalization.

Hegemonic masculinity provides an idealized masculinity that values dominance, physical force, and success in terms of financial and sexual competency. Lone actor terrorists frequently do not meet the criteria of hegemonic masculinity, experiencing stressors related to employment and relationships that threaten their identity. Because violence is an acceptable and valued assertion of dominance, gender-based violence may be used to respond to these identity threats. Therefore, SIT is instructive for understanding how threats to identity in the context of hegemonic masculinity can affect lone actor terrorist radicalization.

### A. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Based on the findings of this thesis, gender-based violence is a significant indicator for lone actor terrorism. Gender-based violence was prevalent in the dataset, with 41 percent of American, post-9/11 lone actor terrorists having reportedly committed acts of gender-based violence. An additional four lone actor terrorists reportedly witnessed gender-based violence in their homes, committed by their fathers. Additionally, 82 percent of the dataset experienced stressors related to identity threats associated with hegemonic masculinity in the five years before their attack. These findings demonstrate a connection between gender-based violence, gender identity, and lone actor terrorism.

To help explain gender-based violence and identity threats in the context of hegemonic masculinity, this thesis has leveraged social identity frameworks by Moghaddam and Berger as well as the social identity analytical framework by Brannan, Darken, and Strindberg. This thesis offers a thematic diagram (see Figure 8) that

incorporates these various frameworks and models to conceptualize radicalization in terms of threats to hegemonic masculinity. Additionally, this thesis uses referent informational influence to bridge the gap between group-based radicalization models, existing lone-wolf research, and intersectional, gendered perspectives. Based in SIT, the thematic diagram illustrates how lone actors faced with identity threats derived from their self-categorization as men may progress toward radicalization in a society that values hegemonic masculinity.

The availability of data limits these findings. Gender-based violence may be even more prevalent because of the chronic underreporting of domestic and family violence. However, this lack does not excuse the absence of gender from terrorism research. Future efforts should prioritize gender-based violence history in data collection, consider potential gender bias in defining scope and methodology, and explore how identity threats may have a gendered component.

## **B. OPPORTUNITIES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

During the course of this research, questions remain unanswered relating to the role of gender in targeting and misogynic rhetoric as part of radicalization. In several cases, women who were current or former intimate partners of attackers were clearly targeted. The targeting of women's health providers and clinics and gay individuals or gathering places also has a gendered component. Additionally, in some cases where an attack began as a domestic dispute, the police who intervened became victims. Additional data on lone actor terrorism targeting, from a gendered perspective, may help researchers understand more about who becomes victims of these attacks and provide tools for law enforcement to protect potential victims and themselves.

Misogynic rhetoric is a form of extremism that cuts across ideology and warrants further study. Misogynistic language appeared in the manifestos of Jared Loughner, Paul Ciancia, Christopher Harper-Mercer, and Dylann Roof.<sup>217</sup> Increased attention to the role of

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<sup>217</sup> Karla Mantilla, "Gendertrolling: Misogyny Adapts to New Media," *Feminist Studies* 39, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 563–70; Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 139; "LAX Shooter Paul Ciancia's Manifesto"; Lenny Bernstein, Sari Horwitz, and Peter Holley, "Roof's Manifesto: 'I Have No Choice,'" *Washington Post*, June 21, 2015; Anderson, "Here I Am, 26, with No Friends."

misogyny as a feature of extremist ideologies and as a form of extremism itself, in the case of groups like incels, is needed in the study of terrorism.<sup>218</sup>

Definitional issues related to what constitutes terrorism will continue to be troublesome as well. Berger maintains,

If people carry out lone-wolf-style attacks without having significantly engaged with this radicalization process, we should question whether they should be properly understood as extremist adherents or as pathological mass killers. Members of the latter category may loosely involve an extremist movement they have not meaningfully engaged with.<sup>219</sup>

Re-examining what meaningful engagement with extremism means in a digital world and how lone actors find different ways to engage extremist thought as they adjudicate differences in their identities and perceptions of status is needed. Lone actor terrorism can pose tremendous challenges when it comes to political motivation because the group activity to corroborate a motive is not present. Because there are common features related to gender, gender-based violence, and stressors present in other populations of mass-violence, such as mass shootings and school-based attacks, further research on lone assailants, irrespective of motive or ideology, may prove valuable. Identity threats exist across ideologies, and additional insights may be gleaned from examining lone assailants using the thematic diagram presented in this thesis.

Furthermore, existing concepts of what constitutes political violence may be gender-biased. By including or excluding a form of violence or attack, researchers are making decisions that affect the outcomes of terrorism research. By not fully understanding the role of gender-based violence in the radicalization of terrorists and the political forces that subjugate women, some acts of violence are excluded from research. The exclusion of a gendered perspective reinforces the norm that some violence matters and other violence, such as violence against women, is accepted as the status quo. Ultimately, the aim of research should be to inform violence prevention.

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<sup>218</sup> Zimmerman, Ryan, and Duriesmith explain that involuntary celibate or “incel” ideology is “predicated on the notion that feminism has ruined society. Therefore, there is a need for a ‘gender revolt’ in order to reclaim a particular type of manhood based on both male and white superiority.”

<sup>219</sup> Berger, *Extremism*, 127.

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## APPENDIX A. DATA

Table 4. Post-9/11 Cases of Lone Actor Terrorism (2001–2016): Gender-Based Violence and Stressors<sup>220</sup>

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Richard Bracklow</b>	2001	California police killings	None			Attack began after police were called to an argument regarding Bracklow owing rent and being asked to leave. <sup>221</sup>	
<b>Joseph Ferguson</b>	2001	California killing spree	Intimate partner violence <sup>222</sup>		Break-up with girlfriend, co-worker and first victim of attack. Parents' divorce finalized the week prior; mother serving time for molesting Ferguson and his brother <sup>223</sup>		Suspended from work days before attack <sup>224</sup>

<sup>220</sup> Adapted from Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 268.

<sup>221</sup> Thompson, "Butte County Deputies Ambushed by Gunman."

<sup>222</sup> Bailey and Fields, "Shootout Vowed in Chilling Video."

<sup>223</sup> Bailey and Fields.

<sup>224</sup> Bailey and Fields.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Bruce Ivins*</b>	2001	Anthrax attacks	Stalking <sup>225</sup>				Perceived threats to career <sup>226</sup>
<b>Clayton Waagner</b>	2001	Anthrax hoaxes	None	Began attacks months after escape from prison <sup>227</sup>	Death of granddaughter <sup>228</sup>	Financially insolvent <sup>229</sup>	
<b>Andrew Mickel</b>	2002	California police killing	None				

\* Indicates individual is present in the GTD.

\* Indicates individual is present in Jane's event database.

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<sup>225</sup> Dalton, "Q&A: Too Close for Comfort"; Willman, *The Mirage Man*, 21; Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

<sup>226</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

<sup>227</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>228</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>229</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Luke Helder*</b>	2002	Midwestern mail bombings	None	Charged with possession of drug paraphernalia year before attacks. <sup>230</sup> During time of attacks, pulled over three times and issued warnings. <sup>231</sup>	Break-up nine months prior to attack <sup>232</sup>		
<b>Hesham Hadayet*</b>	2002	Los Angeles airport shooting	Intimate partner violence <sup>233</sup>		Marital conflict <sup>234</sup>		Struggling business owner <sup>235</sup>

\* Indicates individual is present in the GTD.

‡ Indicates individual is present in Jane’s event database.

<sup>230</sup> Frank Main, “What Transformed Luke Helder from ‘Sweet’ Kid to Bomb Suspect?,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 9, 2002.

<sup>231</sup> Ron Franscell, “The Back-Road Bomber Heartland Weathers the Storm of Fear Delivered by Luke Helder,” *Denver Post*, June 2, 2002.

<sup>232</sup> Sean Kelly, “Bomb Suspect’s Father Apologizes; Sheriff Says Student Planned to Make ‘Smiley Face’ with Mailbox Explosions,” *Denver Post*, May 10, 2002.

<sup>233</sup> Matt Krasnowski and Rachel Uranga, “Motive in Airport Rampage Not Clear; Hate, Terror, Random Act Still Possibilities,” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 6, 2002.

<sup>234</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, “Lone Wolf Terrorism in America.”

<sup>235</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
Steve Kim*	2002	United Nations shooting	None				
Charles Bishop*	2002	Florida plane attack	Father abused mother <sup>236</sup>				Changed schools four times in the three years prior to attack <sup>237</sup>
Dwight Watson*	2003	Lincoln Memorial bomb plot	None		Mother recently moved to nursing home <sup>238</sup>	Financially insolvent, had been denied a loan, and could not sell farm at a decent price <sup>239</sup>	Unable to afford family farm <sup>240</sup>

\* Indicates individual is present in the GTD.

‡ Indicates individual is present in Jane’s event database.

<sup>236</sup> Oliver Burkeman, “Death Wish: He May Have Been a Little on the Quiet Side, but Few in the Affluent Community of Palm Harbour Imagined That Charles Bishop Was Anything Other Than an Ordinary American 15-Year-Old—Until He Flew a Cessna into the 28th Floor of a Tower Block,” *The Guardian*, January 9, 2002.

<sup>237</sup> “The Freshmen; Surprising Story of Charles Bishop Who Crashed Small Plane into Building Claiming Sympathy for Bin Laden,” *Dateline*, NBC, January 8, 2002.

<sup>238</sup> Nakamura and Shear, “Unhappy Man Grabs the Spotlight.”

<sup>239</sup> Jubera, “Standoff Ends, but Not Farmers’ Plight”; Hamm and Spaaij, “Lone Wolf Terrorism in America”; Nakamura and Shear, “Unhappy Man Grabs the Spotlight.”

<sup>240</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, “Lone Wolf Terrorism in America.”

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>George Davis</b>	2003	Montana shooting	Stalking (order of protection), Sexual harassment immediately preceded attack <sup>241</sup>				Recently fired from work and started a new job within weeks of attack <sup>242</sup>
<b>Mohammed Taheri-azar*</b>	2006	Chapel Hill, NC, auto attack	None		Parents divorced in 2003 <sup>243</sup>		

\* Indicates individual is present in the GTD.

‡ Indicates individual is present in Jane’s event database.

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<sup>241</sup> Brief of Respondent, *Davis v. Montana*, No. DA 06-331, 2006 MT S. Ct. Briefs LEXIS 756; “Montana Shooting Spree Suspect Has Racist Past,” Anti-Defamation League, July 2, 2003, [https://web.archive.org/web/20160318100739/http://archive.adl.org/learn/news/montana\\_shooting.html](https://web.archive.org/web/20160318100739/http://archive.adl.org/learn/news/montana_shooting.html).

<sup>242</sup> Davis.

<sup>243</sup> Jane Stancill and Jessica Rocha, “Taheri-Azar Expects Life in Prison; Suspect in UNC Attack Vows to Plead Guilty in Letter to N&O,” *News & Observer*, March 16, 2006.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Naveed Haq*</b>	2006	Seattle shootings	Sexual harassment <sup>244</sup>	Facing criminal charges at time of attack <sup>245</sup>	Failed attempt to marry; conflict with immediate family <sup>246</sup>	Financially insolvent <sup>247</sup>	Could not find employment <sup>248</sup>
<b>Jacob Robida</b>	2006	Eastern and southern killing sprees	Intimate partner violence <sup>249</sup>		Break-up year before. Ex-girlfriend is killed in attack. <sup>250</sup>		
<b>Paul Evans*</b>	2007	Austin, TX, abortion bombing	None	Paroled two years before attack <sup>251</sup>			

\* Indicates individual is present in the GTD.

\* Indicates individual is present in Jane's event database.

<sup>244</sup> Associated Press, "Seattle Shooting Suspect Grew Distant from Kin," NBC News, July 31, 2006, [http://www.nbcnews.com/id/14116181/ns/us\\_news-crime\\_and\\_courts/t/seattle-shooting-suspect-grew-distant-kin/](http://www.nbcnews.com/id/14116181/ns/us_news-crime_and_courts/t/seattle-shooting-suspect-grew-distant-kin/); Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

<sup>245</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

<sup>246</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>247</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>248</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>249</sup> Gonzalez, "Darkness Falls."

<sup>250</sup> Gonzalez.

<sup>251</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Marc Ramsey</b>	2008	McCain anthrax hoax	None	In prison at time of attack <sup>252</sup>	Critically ill father <sup>253</sup>		
<b>Jim David Adkisson*</b>	2008	Knoxville, TN, church shooting	Intimate partner violence (order of protection) <sup>254</sup>		Physically abused former wife. Another former wife was member of church where attack took place but not present <sup>255</sup>	Financially insolvent <sup>256</sup>	Unable to find employment <sup>257</sup>

\* Indicates individual is present in the GTD.

‡ Indicates individual is present in Jane's event database.

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<sup>252</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>253</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>254</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>255</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>256</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>257</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>James Cummings</b>	2008	Maine dirty bomb plot	Intimate partner violence and child sexual exploitation <sup>258</sup>		Abused wife, who ultimately shot Cummings before his use of the bomb <sup>259</sup>	Mismanagement of inheritance <sup>260</sup>	
<b>Scott Roeder**</b>	2009	Wichita, KS, abortion killing	None		Denied visitation rights to daughter <sup>261</sup>	Financially insolvent <sup>262</sup>	
<b>Carlos Bledsoe**</b>	2009	Little Rock, AK, military shooting	None	Contacted by law enforcement and put on watch list <sup>263</sup>			

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\*\* Indicates individual is present in Jane's event database.

<sup>258</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>259</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>260</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>261</sup> Tracy Clark-Flory, "FBI Was Warned about Scott Roeder," Salon, November 13, 2009.

<sup>262</sup> Anderson Cooper, "A Woman's Choice: A Nation Divided," *Anderson Cooper 360*, CNN, June 5, 2009.

<sup>263</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Nidal Hasan**</b>	2009	Fort Hood shooting	None				Harassment at workplace <sup>264</sup>
<b>Richard Poplawski</b>	2009	Pittsburgh, PA, police shooting	Intimate partner violence <sup>265</sup>	Contempt of order of protection <sup>266</sup>	Abused ex-girlfriend. Dispute with mother began the attack. <sup>267</sup>	Facing potential homelessness <sup>268</sup>	Could not find employment <sup>269</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>265</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>266</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>267</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>268</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>269</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Joshua Cartwright</b>	2009	Florida police killings	Intimate partner violence <sup>270</sup>	Attack began with police attempting to arrest Cartwright for domestic violence <sup>271</sup>	Abused wife <sup>272</sup>		Terminated days before the attack <sup>273</sup>
<b>James von Brunn</b> <sup>*‡</sup>	2009	Washington, DC, Holocaust Memorial killing	Intimate partner violence and child sexual exploitation <sup>274</sup>		Conflict with son	Lost social security benefits weeks before attack; facing potential homelessness <sup>275</sup>	

\* Indicates individual is present in the GTD.

‡ Indicates individual is present in Jane’s event database.

<sup>270</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>271</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>272</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>273</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>274</sup> Del Quentin Wilber, “Child Porn Found on Museum Suspect’s Computer, Court Told,” *Washington Post*, June 19, 2009, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/06/18/AR2009061802237.html>; Rich Schapiro and James Gordon Meek, “Holocaust Museum Shooter, Neo-Nazi James von Brunn’s Ex-Wife: He Vowed to Go Out ‘with Boots On,’” *New York Daily News*, June 11, 2009, <https://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/holocaust-museum-shooter-neo-nazi-james-von-brunn-ex-wife-vowed-boots-article-1.374005>.

<sup>275</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, “Lone Wolf Terrorism in America.”

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Keith Luke</b>	2009	Massachusetts killing spree	Sexual assault at beginning of attack <sup>276</sup>		Woman who rejected his romantic advances was victim of attack. <sup>277</sup>	Financially insolvent <sup>278</sup>	
<b>Christopher Monfort</b>	2009	Seattle police shootings	Sexual harassment <sup>279</sup>				Fired two months before attack <sup>280</sup>
<b>Joseph Stack**</b>	2010	Austin, TX, IRS plane attack	Intimate partner violence <sup>281</sup>			Losses related to business failure <sup>282</sup>	Business failed as a result of non-payment of taxes <sup>283</sup>

\* Indicates individual is present in the GTD.

\*\* Indicates individual is present in Jane's event database.

<sup>276</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>277</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>278</sup> Jessica Fargen, "Sicko Kill Plot Emerges; Suspect in Slays Intent on Carnage, Police Say," *Boston Herald*, January 23, 2019.

<sup>279</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

<sup>280</sup> Jonathan Martin, "Accused Cop Killer: Loner, Obsessed by Ideology," *Seattle Times*, July 25, 2010.

<sup>281</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

<sup>282</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>283</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>James Lee**</b> *	2010	Washington, DC, Discovery Channel attack	None	Arrested two years prior to attack <sup>284</sup>			Laid off from job; pitches to Discovery Channel ignored <sup>285</sup>
<b>Yonathan Melaku**</b> *	2010	North Virginia military shooting	None	Arrested one month before attack <sup>286</sup>			
<b>Sandlin Smith</b>	2010	Florida mosque bombing	Sexual assault <sup>287</sup>		Argued with wife and moved out one week before attack <sup>288</sup>		

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\*\* Indicates individual is present in Jane's event database.

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<sup>284</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>285</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>286</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>287</sup> Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Affidavit from the FBI in 2010 Mosque Bombing," Scribd, accessed June 15, 2020, <https://www.scribd.com/doc/54699656/Affidavit-from-the-FBI-in-2010-mosque-bombing>.

<sup>288</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Byron Williams</b>	2010	California police shootout	None	Attack began during a traffic stop; Williams feared prison as three-strike offender <sup>289</sup>			
<b>John Bedell**</b>	2010	Pentagon police shooting	None	Arrested one month prior to attack <sup>290</sup>			Filed grant application with Pentagon but did not hear back <sup>291</sup>
<b>Casey Brezik</b>	2010	Missouri assassination attempt	None	Months before attack, arrested and deported from Canada <sup>292</sup>			
<b>Khalid Aldawsari</b>	2011	Bush bomb plot	None				Dropped out of university <sup>293</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>290</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>291</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>292</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>293</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Jared Loughner</b>	2011	Tucson, AZ, Gabrielle Giffords shootings	None	Stopped by officer for running a red light day of attack <sup>294</sup>		Financially insolvent <sup>295</sup>	Fired <sup>296</sup>
<b>Kevin Harpham**</b>	2011	Spokane, WA, MLK parade bombing	None				
<b>Ralph Lang</b>	2011	Wisconsin abortion clinic attack	None				
<b>Naser Jason Abdo</b>	2011	Fort Hood bomb plot	Child sexual exploitation <sup>297</sup>				Disciplinary procedures from Army preceded attack <sup>298</sup>

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<sup>294</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>295</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>296</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>297</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>298</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Oscar Ortega-Hernandez</b> <sup>* **</sup>	2011	Obama assassination plot	Intimate partner violence <sup>299</sup>				
<b>Wade Page</b> <sup>* **</sup>	2012	Milwaukee Sikh shootings	None	Fired due to drunk driving <sup>300</sup>	Break-up <sup>301</sup>	Lost home to foreclosure <sup>302</sup>	Fired from two jobs in two years before attack <sup>303</sup>
<b>Thomas Caffall</b>	2012	Texas A&M shootings	None	Attack began when police officer served notice to appear for failing to pay rent <sup>304</sup>		Financially insolvent <sup>305</sup>	Quit job nine months before attack <sup>306</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>300</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>301</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>302</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>303</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>304</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>305</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>306</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
Floyd Corkins**	2012	Washington, DC, shooting	None				
Francis Grady*	2012	Wisconsin abortion clinic arson	Intimate partner violence (order of protection) <sup>307</sup>	Wanted for probation violation at time of attack <sup>308</sup>			
Gregory Weiler	2012	Oklahoma church bomb plot	None				
Raulie Casteel	2012	Michigan highway shootings	None			Financial problems <sup>309</sup>	

\* Indicates individual is present in the GTD.

\*\* Indicates individual is present in Jane's event database.

<sup>307</sup> "How Wrong Was Michelle Goldberg about Wisconsin Planned Parenthood Bombing? Update: 'I Lit Up the Clinic,' Suspect Told Police; Offers Guilty Plea at Hearing," *The Other McCain* (blog), April 4, 2012, <https://theothermccain.com/2012/04/04/how-wrong-was-michelle-goldberg-about-wisconsin-planned-parenthood-bombing/>; Sally A. Grady v. Francis G. Grady, No. 2003CV000812 (Outagamie Cnty., Wis., July 10, 2003).

<sup>308</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

<sup>309</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Derek Shrout</b>	2013	Alabama school bomb plot	None				
<b>Jimmy Lee Dykes</b>	2013	Alabama kidnapping	Violated order of protection <sup>310</sup>	Day before attack, missed a court date <sup>311</sup>		Financially insolvent <sup>312</sup>	
<b>Christopher Dorner*</b>	2013	Los Angeles shootings	None				Fired. One victim of attack was daughter of individual involved in disciplinary proceedings. Targeted police officers (Dorner was a police officer before his termination). <sup>313</sup>

\* Indicates individual is present in the GTD.

\* Indicates individual is present in Jane's event database.

<sup>310</sup> "Jimmy Lee Dykes, Linked to Ala. Standoff, Was Facing Court for Threatening Neighbors," *Hinterland Gazette*, January 30, 2013.

<sup>311</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

<sup>312</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

<sup>313</sup> Hamm and Spaaij.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Matthew Buquet</b>	2013	Spokane, MA, ricin plot	Sexual harassment <sup>314</sup> and other sex-based crimes <sup>315</sup>				
<b>Jason Woodring</b>	2013	Arkansas power grid attack	Violated order of protection <sup>316</sup>	Arrested two weeks before attack <sup>317</sup>	Issues with ex-girlfriend and death of infant son <sup>318</sup>	Financially insolvent; in court for debt <sup>319</sup>	
<b>Paul Ciancia*</b>	2013	Los Angeles airport shooting	None		Mother died a year and a half before attack <sup>320</sup>		

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<sup>314</sup> Kip Hill, "Stolen Stationery Used to Send Ricin; Suspect Cleaned Spokane Law Firm Office," *Spokesman Review*, January 11, 2014.

<sup>315</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

<sup>316</sup> "The Story of Jason Woodring, the Arkansas Power Grid Vandal," *Arkansas Times*, June 11, 2014.

<sup>317</sup> Hamm and Spaaij, "Lone Wolf Terrorism in America."

<sup>318</sup> "The Story of Jason Woodring."

<sup>319</sup> "The Story of Jason Woodring."

<sup>320</sup> Larry Altman, "LAX Shooting: Police Search for What Triggered Paul Ciancia's Deadly Anti-TSA Rampage," *San Jose Mercury News*, November 2, 2013.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Frazier Glenn Miller**</b>	2014	Kansas shooting	None		Six years before attack, his son shot a man and was killed by a responding police officer. <sup>321</sup>		Unsuccessful run for U.S. Senate <sup>322</sup>
<b>Eric Frein*</b>	2014	Pennsylvania police shooting	Father abused adopted sister <sup>323</sup>	Issued citation two years before for expired sticker <sup>324</sup>			Lied to family about graduating college and getting job <sup>325</sup>

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<sup>321</sup> Ed Payne, "Frazier Glenn Cross 'Entrenched in the Hate Movement,'" CNN, April 14, 2014, <https://www.cnn.com/2014/04/14/us/kansas-shooting-suspect-profile/index.html>.

<sup>322</sup> Rachel Maddow, *The Rachel Maddow Show*, MSNBC, March 4, 2015.

<sup>323</sup> Joseph Kohut, "Frein Trial: Defense Rests in Sentencing Phase," *Pottsville Republican & Evening Herald*, April 26, 2017.

<sup>324</sup> Terrie Morgan Besecker and David Singleton, "Who Is Eric Matthew Frein?," *Times-Tribune*, September 28, 2014.

<sup>325</sup> Joseph Kohut, "Defense: Frein a Loner, Sought Father's Approval," *Times-Tribune*, April 25, 2017.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Alton Nolen</b>	2014	Oklahoma beheading	None	Released from prison year prior to attack <sup>326</sup>			Fired from workplace, where attack took place. One of his victims was co-worker who complained about him <sup>327</sup>
<b>Zale Thompson**</b>	2014	Queens, NY, police ambush	Intimate partner violence <sup>328</sup>				
<b>Ali Brown*</b>	2014	Seattle, WA, killings	Child sexual exploitation <sup>329</sup>	Wanted for failing to register as sex offender <sup>330</sup>		Homeless <sup>331</sup>	

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\*\* Indicates individual is present in Jane’s event database.

<sup>326</sup> Lindsey Bever, “‘Lock the Door!’ 911 Caller Says during Oklahoma Beheading. ‘He Has Stabbed Someone’; Alton Nolen, 30, Is to Be Charged for Beheading One Woman and Seriously Wounding Another at Food Distribution Center,” *Washington Post* (blog), September 29, 2014.

<sup>327</sup> Williams and Schmidt, “Oklahoma Man Is Charged in Beheading of Co-Worker.”

<sup>328</sup> Christine Mai-Duc, “NYPD Commissioner Calls Hatchet Attack on Officers a ‘Terrorist Act,’” *Los Angeles Times*, October 25, 2014, <https://www.latimes.com/nation/nationnow/la-na-nn-hatchet-attack-nyc-20141024-story.html>.

<sup>329</sup> Jennifer Sullivan, “Awaiting Justice,” *Seattle Times*, July 15, 2015.

<sup>330</sup> Ansel Herz, “Religious Fanatic Claims to Have Murdered Gay Men,” *The Stranger*, August 27, 2014.

<sup>331</sup> Ashley Peskoe, “Point Pleasant Beach: Warrant Issued in Armed Robbery,” *Star-Ledger*, July 2, 2014.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
Larry McQuilliams*	2014	Austin, TX, court attack	None	Released from prison four years prior to attack <sup>332</sup>			Could not secure employment <sup>333</sup>
Craig Hicks*	2015	Chapel Hill, NC, killings	Intimate partner violence <sup>334</sup>	Days before attack, hearing ordered over \$14k in unpaid child support to first wife <sup>335</sup>	Relinquished parental rights to another child for whom he owed support <sup>336</sup>		

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<sup>332</sup> Katie Matlack, "My Dog sitter, the ATX Shooter," *Texas Observer*, December 18, 2014, <https://www.texasobserver.org/my-dogsitter-the-atx-shooter/>.

<sup>333</sup> Abby Ohlheiser and Elahe Izadi, "Police: Austin Shooter Was a 'Homegrown American Extremist'; 'Hate Was in His Heart,' Austin Police Chief Art Acevedo Said of Larry McQuilliams. Authorities Say McQuilliams Was Associated with the Phineas Priesthood," *Washington Post* (blog), December 1, 2014.

<sup>334</sup> Mandy Locke, "For Years, Craig Stephen Hicks Was Frustrated about Parking at Finley Forest," *News & Observer*, February 21, 2015.

<sup>335</sup> Jonathan M. Katz, "Chapel Hill Killer's Rage Went beyond Parking Dispute," *The Record*, March 4, 2015, <https://www.therecord.com/news/world/2015/03/04/chapel-hill-killer-s-rage-went-beyond-parking-dispute.html>.

<sup>336</sup> Locke, "Craig Stephen Hicks Was Frustrated about Parking."

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Dylann Roof**</b>	2015	Charleston, SC, massacre	Father abused stepmother <sup>337</sup>	Arrested on drug charges and trespassing months before attack <sup>338</sup>	Father and stepmother divorced <sup>339</sup>		Dropped out of high school <sup>340</sup>
<b>John Houser*</b>	2015	Louisiana movie shooting	Intimate partner violence <sup>341</sup>		Divorce <sup>342</sup>		

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<sup>337</sup> Sarah Ellis and Harrison Cahill, "Dylann Roof: Hindsight and 'What Ifs,'" *The State*, June 27, 2015.

<sup>338</sup> Jeremy Borden, Sari Horwitz, and Jerry Markon, "For Accused Killer Dylann Roof, a Life That Had Quietly Drifted off Track; Dylann Roof Was Arrested Thursday for His Alleged Role in the Slayings of Nine People in the Church Sanctuary," *Washington Post* (blog), June 19, 2015.

<sup>339</sup> Ellis and Cahill, "Dylann Roof: Hindsight and 'What Ifs.'"

<sup>340</sup> Borden, Horwitz, and Markon, "A Life That Had Quietly Drifted off Track."

<sup>341</sup> Campbell Robertson, Richard Pérez-Peña, and Alan Blinder, "Lafayette Shooting Adds Another Angry Face in the Gunmen's Gallery," *New York Times*, July 24, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/25/us/lafayette-theater-shooting-john-houser.html>.

<sup>342</sup> Mustian, Allen, and Lau, "Tragedy in Lafayette."

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Mohammad Youssef Abdulazeez</b> <sup>**</sup>	2015	Chattanooga, TN, military attack	Father abused mother <sup>343</sup>	DUI charge months before attack <sup>344</sup>		Financially insolvent <sup>345</sup>	Lost job in 2013 <sup>346</sup>
<b>Shannon Miles</b>	2015	Texas police killing	None	Arrested and charged with aggravated assault; sent to mental hospital <sup>347</sup>			
<b>Jason Smith</b>	2015	New York City bomb threat	None				

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<sup>343</sup> Craig Whitlock, Carol D. Leonnig, and William Branigin, "As Investigators Probe Motive in Chattanooga Rampage, a Portrait of the Shooter Emerges; Mohammad Youssef Abdulazeez Blogged Days before about Living in a 'Prison' of Monotony and Praised Early Practitioners of Jihad," *Washington Post* (blog), July 17, 2015.

<sup>344</sup> Whitlock, Leonnig, and Branigin.

<sup>345</sup> Joan Garrett McClane, "Abdulazeez Lived Two Lives," *Chattanooga Times Free Press*, July 21, 2015.

<sup>346</sup> McClane.

<sup>347</sup> Anderson Cooper, "Alleged Cop Killer Found Mentally Incompetent in 2012," *Anderson Cooper 360*, CNN, August 31, 2015.

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Christopher Mercer*</b>	2015	Oregon college shooting	Family violence (perpetrator) <sup>348</sup>		Manifesto complained of lack of girlfriend <sup>349</sup>		Put on academic probations months before attack <sup>350</sup>
<b>Faisal Mohammad*</b>	2015	California college stabbings	None				Kicked out of study group <sup>351</sup>
<b>Robert Dear**</b>	2015	Colorado Planned Parenthood shooting	Intimate partner violence, stalking, sexual assault <sup>352</sup>				

\* Indicates individual is present in the GTD.

\*\* Indicates individual is present in Jane's event database.

<sup>348</sup> Carisa Cegavske, "UCC Shooter's Mother Said Her Son Was Born Angry," *News-Review*, September 13, 2017, [http://www.nrtoday.com/news/crime/ucc\\_shooting/ucc-shooter-s-mother-said-her-son-was-born-angry/article\\_4d0a9c59-6f80-5802-b78c-955a34198ae7.html](http://www.nrtoday.com/news/crime/ucc_shooting/ucc-shooter-s-mother-said-her-son-was-born-angry/article_4d0a9c59-6f80-5802-b78c-955a34198ae7.html).

<sup>349</sup> Anderson, "Here I Am, 26, with No Friends."

<sup>350</sup> Molly Young, "Retracing Digital Steps of a 'Deranged' Shooter," *The Oregonian*, March 13, 2016.

<sup>351</sup> Mark Gomez, "Family of Faisal Mohammad Expresses 'Deepest Sympathy' to UC Merced Victims," *San Jose Mercury News*, November 11, 2015.

<sup>352</sup> Melissa Jeltsen, "Before Terrorizing Planned Parenthood, Shooter Targeted Women Closer to Home," *Huffington Post*, December 2, 2015, [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/planned-parenthood-shooter-robert-dear-targeted-women-closer-to-home\\_n\\_565f1e71e4b079b2818cc03c](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/planned-parenthood-shooter-robert-dear-targeted-women-closer-to-home_n_565f1e71e4b079b2818cc03c); Julie Turkewitz et al., "Robert Dear, Suspect in Colorado Killings, 'Preferred to Be Left Alone,'" *New York Times*, November 28, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/29/us/robert-dear-suspect-in-colorado-killings-preferred-to-be-left-alone.html>; Issa, "A Profoundly Masculine Act."

Name	Year of Attack	Terrorist Event	Gender-Based Violence Identified	Stressors Related to Law Enforcement Contact	Stressors Related to Family or Romantic Relationships	Stressors Related to Financial Instability	Stressors Related to Work or School
<b>Edward Archer**</b>	2016	Philadelphia police shooting	None	Was due in court for sentencing days before attack <sup>353</sup>			
<b>Omar Mateen*</b>	2016	Orlando, FL, mass murder	Intimate partner violence <sup>354</sup>				

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<sup>353</sup> "Shooting Suspect Archer Was Due in Court Monday," FOX 29 Philadelphia, January 8, 2016, <https://www.fox29.com/news/shooting-suspect-archer-was-due-in-court-monday>.

<sup>354</sup> Jack Healy, "Sitara Yusufiy, Ex-Wife of Orlando Suspect, Describes Abusive Marriage," *New York Times*, June 13, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/14/us/sitora-yusufiy-omar-mateen-orlando-shooting.html>.

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## APPENDIX B. LONE ACTOR TERRORISTS IN THE GTD BUT ABSENT FROM THE ALWT

Table 5. Unaffiliated Individual Terrorists Present in the GTD but Absent from the ALWT (2001–June 2016)<sup>355</sup>

Name of Attacker	Year	Terrorist Event
<b>Preston Lit</b>	2002	Philadelphia, PA, mail bombing
<b>Eid Elwiewlwir</b>	2003	California vehicle ramming of military base
<b>David Robert McMenemy</b>	2006	Iowa Women’s Health Center vehicle ramming/fire
<b>Roosevelt Terry</b>	2010	Harlem train station bomb
<b>Bobby Joe Rogers</b>	2012	Florida abortion clinic attack
<b>Ray Lazier</b>	2012	New York City fire bombings
<b>Anthony M. Graziano</b>	2012	New Jersey temple arson

\* Indicates individual is present in the JTIC.

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<sup>355</sup> Source: National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, “Global Terrorism Database”; Hamm and Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 268. This table is based on analyses of these databases as described in the research design.

<b>Name of Attacker</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Terrorist Event</b>
<b>Luis Ibarra-Hernandez</b>	2012	Alabama shooting
<b>Jedediah Stout</b>	2012, 2013	Joplin, MO, mosque and Planned Parenthood arsons
<b>Randolph T. Linn</b>	2012	Perrysburg, OH, mosque arson
<b>Abdullatif Ali Aldosary</b>	2012	Casa Grande, AZ, bombing
<b>Shannon Richardson</b>	2013	Ricin letters
<b>David Patterson</b>	2014	Weirton, WV, bombings
<b>Eliot Rodgers</b>	2014	Isla Vista, CA, shootings
<b>Eric King</b>	2014	Kansas City, MO, Molotov cocktail attack
<b>Michael Conrade Sibley</b>	2014	Roswell, GA, bomb plot
<b>Dawud Abdulwali</b>	2014	Apartment complex arson

\* Indicates individual is present in the JTIC.

Name of Attacker	Year	Terrorist Event
<b>Justin Nojan Sullivan</b>	2014	Morgantown, NC, shooting
<b>Ismaaiyl Brinsley*</b>	2014	New York City police shooting
<b>Thaddeus Murphy</b>	2015	Colorado Springs, CO, NAACP bombing
<b>Mitchell Hapner</b>	2015	Kalamazoo, MI, arson
<b>Richard White</b>	2015	New Orleans TSA checkpoint attack
<b>Rasheed Abdul Aziz</b>	2015	Bullard, TX, attack attempt
<b>Marshall E. Leonard</b>	2015	Tupelo, MS, Walmart bombing
<b>K. C. Tard Jr.</b>	2015	Ingelwood, CA, attack
<b>Ted Hakey Jr.*</b>	2015	Meriden, CT, mosque shooting
<b>Chester H. Gore</b>	2015	Falls Church, VA, mosque bombing

\* Indicates individual is present in the JTIC.

<b>Name of Attacker</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Terrorist Event</b>
<b>Piro Kolvani</b>	2015	New York City attack
<b>Matthew Gust</b>	2015	Grand Forks, ND, fire bombing
<b>Carl James Dial*</b>	2015	Coachella, CA, mosque bombing
<b>Mohamed Barry</b>	2016	Columbus, OH, machete attack
<b>Dana Ericson</b>	2016	Nashville, IN, hatchet attack
<b>Danny M. Kelly</b>	2016	Tyngsborough, MA, power line attack
<b>Michael Steven Sandford**</b>	2016	Trump assassination attempt

\* Indicates individual is present in the JTIC.

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