

Youth violence : an alternative explanation for homegrown terrorism

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Youth Violence: An Alternative Explanation for Homegrown Terrorism

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complemented by her grace. From you, Mommy, I believe that I can go after any dream I might have. Thank you to my stepfather Jim, who taught me to appreciate the English language and actually use a dictionary. I choose my words carefully, though my hand gestures fill in the gaps with great exuberance. Uncle Robby, whether you realized it or not, you were my mental taskmaster and intellectual motivator. I thought of you often as I wrote and can answer affirmatively to your question: “oh, you’re actually going to finish?”

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Abstract

This thesis asks if the processes of radicalization prior to violence can be better explained, especially with respect to the early years of childhood and adolescence, and examines two cases of homegrown terrorism and one gang (control) case from Northern Virginia. This thesis asks:

1. How distinct are radicalization identifiers from youth violence identifiers?
2. Can better early warning signs for radicalization possibly be identified, starting with examples from Northern Virginia?

I argue the warning signs for radicalization are not so different than those for juvenile delinquency, and that radicalization research does not take sufficient account of delinquency factors or have sufficient data on these early childhood and adolescence processes. In this plausibility probe, I hypothesize:

1. Homegrown terrorism is better understood as simply terrorism, which is better understood as a subtype of youth violence rather than a distinct type of violence.
2. Youth violence variables have better explanatory powers than terrorism variables in identifying radicalization, in three case studies.

An iterative sequential mixed methods design tested these hypotheses using: quan, QUAL1, and QUAL2. Using the 2011 and 2012 *Fairfax County Youth Survey Reports*, statistical analysis (quan) on non-risky and risky behaviors linked to delinquent behaviors created an initial list of independent variables. Second, a systematic review of terrorism or radicalization, youth violence, and gang studies (QUAL1) identified a list of independent variables irrespective of geography or ideology. Comparing terrorism and youth violence studies, very few of the variables were distinct, supporting the hypothesis that homegrown terrorism is better theoretically and practically understood as terrorism, which is better understood as a subtype of youth violence. quan and QUAL1 variables created one matrix of 516 variables and were given a typology using Social Disintegration Theory (SDT). Case studies (QUAL2) of two homegrown terrorists (one foreign born and one native born) and one gang member (control) from Northern Virginia applied this matrix in a modified Lakatosian comparison.

The findings demonstrate that, in these three cases, risky and non-risky behaviors can be identified well before the point of radicalization and that variables from youth violence theories have greater explanatory power than variables from terrorism studies. These findings may, however, be specific to certain people or groups operating in Northern Virginia, or under similar circumstances. Lastly, while youth violence variables provide a superior explanation for radicalization, these could also be used alongside terrorism variables to prevent radicalization or to provide an opportunity for intervention.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Salvadorian Mara Salvatrucha gang (MS-13) killed a 14-year-old boy who was sitting on a friend's front porch for wearing the "wrong" color shirt in January 2005.¹ The Tsarnaev brothers bombed the Boston Marathon killing three people and injuring 280 more on April 15, 2013.² Two Chicago teenagers were shot to death over a Facebook dispute in April 2014.³ To better answer the questions of how and why such horrifying violence occurs, some explanations often emphasize the unique over the general. MS-13 is motivated by turf.⁴ The Chechen brothers were inspired by radical Islam.⁵ And a social networking site is a home for online bullying.⁶ Allegedly if only all these specific issues could be tackled, then youths would not kill. But across time and continents, some youths choose violence. Some youths become murderers and, in even fewer cases, terrorists.⁷ This thesis examines the complex phenomenon of "homegrown terrorism," a controversial term indeed, and asks how to better understand the years prior to radicalization and radicalization, most specifically in Northern Virginia.

¹ "Gangs' Deadly Reach Growing Younger," *The Washington Post*, January 30, 2005, accessed June 12, 2014, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A47558-2005Jan29.html>; Ruben Castaneda, "3 MS-13 Leaders Convicted in Killings," *The Washington Post*, April 28, 2007, accessed February 17, 2014, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/04/27/AR2007042702108.html>.

² Alan Yuhas, "Boston Marathon bomber Dzhokhar Tsarnaev: 'I am guilty and I am sorry'," *The Guardian*, June 24, 2016, accessed June 20, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jun/24/dzhokhar-tsarnaev-boston-marathon-bombing-survivors-speak>.

³ Becky Schlinker, "Mom: Two South Chicago teens killed over Facebook dispute," *Chicago Sun Times*, April 19, 2014, accessed May 17, 2014, <http://homicides.suntimes.com/2014/04/19/anthony-bankhead-jordan-means-found-shot-dead-in-south-chicago-home/>.

⁴ Ray Fisman and Tim Sullivan, "The Case for Neck Tattoos, According to Economists," *The Atlantic*, June 13, 2016, accessed June 22, 2016, <http://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/06/the-economics-of-neck-tattoos/486581/>.

⁵ Michael Cooper, Michael S. Schmidt, and Eric Schmitt, "Boston Suspects Are Seen as Self-Taught and Fueled by Web," *New York Times*, April 23, 2013, accessed June 14, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/24/us/boston-marathon-bombing-developments.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.

⁶ Amelia Butterly, "Growing Trend of Cyberbullying on Social Networks," *BBC Newsbeat*, October 2, 2013, accessed February 11, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsbeat/article/24364361/growing-trend-of-cyberbullying-on-social-networks>.

⁷ John Horgan finds that it is unlikely that "anyone, under the right set of circumstances, could become a terrorist" and asserts "probably not;" John Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2014), 81.

Though terrorism as a tactic has been around before the Sicarii revolts of 66 AD, any plot or attack today dominates the news and ranks very high on the list of national security concerns, especially when it occurs domestically.⁸ Both sides of the Congressional aisle decry the Islamic State (Daesh) as the American populous is ill-prepared for the psychological and physical trauma of another 9/11.⁹ To combat the problem, the biggest defense budget on the planet takes aim at terrorism while cutting social programs in American schools and outsourcing prison management.¹⁰ Instead, Guantánamo Bay prison circumvents established criminal laws to hold “high value-detainees,” made possible by the passage of the *United and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001* (USA PATRIOT Act 2001).¹¹ And while US counter-terrorism efforts are more nuanced than briefly introduced here, some supporters of these decisions argue that a hard handed approach will end attacks on American soil and interests abroad.¹² This style for countering terrorism, including homegrown, may well continue given the current political climate.¹³ Yet, the root(s) of the problem has not been

⁸ David C. Rapoport, “Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions,” *American Political Science Review* 78, No. 3 (September 1984): 668-672.

⁹ Stephen Brill, “Is America Any Safer?” *The Atlantic*, September 2016, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/09/are-we-any-safer/492761/>; John Mueller, “Six Rather Unusual Propositions about Terrorism,” *Terrorism & Political Violence* 17 (2005): 496—500. Daesh is the Arabic acronym for Arabic name for the Islamic State, al-Dawla al-Islamiya fi al-Iraq wa al-Sham. Unlike the acronym IS, ISIS, or ISIL, Daesh confers a derogatory meaning from “to trample down and crush” to a “bigot who imposes his views on others.” Zeba Khan, “Words matter in ‘ISIS’ war, so use ‘Daesh,’” *The Boston Globe*, October 19, 2014, <https://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2014/10/09/words-matter-isis-war-use-daesh/V85GYEuasEEJgrUun0dMUP/story.html>.

¹⁰ Ashley Kirk, “What are the Biggest Defense Budgets in the World?” *The Telegraph*, October 27, 2015, accessed November 17, 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/defence/11936179/What-are-the-biggest-defence-budgets-in-the-world.html>; Joseph Williams, “The Recession is Over, So Why Are School Districts Still Slashing Budgets?” *Huffington Post*, March 14, 2016, accessed online May 17, 2016, http://www.takepart.com/article/2016/03/14/recession-over-why-are-school-districts-still-slashing-budgets?cmpid=tp-ptnr-huffpost&utm_source=huffpost&utm_medium=partner&utm_campaign=tp-traffic.

¹¹ Chris McGreal, “Military Given Go-Ahead to Detain US Terrorist Suspects Without Trial,” *The Guardian*, December 15, 2011, accessed online April 27, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/dec/15/americans-face-guantanamo-detention-obama>.

¹² Edwin Meese III, “Guantanamo Bay Prison is Necessary,” *CNN*, January 11, 2012, accessed online October 17, 2014, <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/01/11/opinion/meese-gitmo/>.

¹³ Stephen Collison, “Attacks spotlight Trump’s tough tone on terror,” *CNN*, December 20, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2016/12/20/politics/donald-trump-terror-germany-turkey/>.

sufficiently addressed, wasting valuable US taxpayer money and possibly exacerbating the grievances that give rise to such violence in the first place.¹⁴

With this increased and urgent emphasis on combating terrorism, especially at home, there is a need for a better understanding of how and why a person radicalizes. Scholars of terrorism, quite notably psychologist John Horgan, are working to answer these questions, making great advances in the research.¹⁵ Some assessments focus on religion and ideology as motivational factors, while studies identify root causes.¹⁶ To be sure, there is a plethora of other explanations spanning everything from an inner ear defect to acute poverty.¹⁷ Analysis of the period prior to radicalization, and data on related non-violent indicators in childhood, are few and far between, however.¹⁸ This is not without good cause. The vast majority of people do not become terrorists and everyday behaviors should not be considered warning signs that someone is going to become violent. Further and according to Horgan, “preconditions alone are not sufficient to cause the outbreak of terrorism.”¹⁹ That said, pre-emption and prevention require far earlier opportunities for intervention, rather than arrest, and should be based on empirical data indicating the person is likely to become violent. In the quest to understand, and possibly prevent radicalization, known indicators, variables, or risk factors for other types of youth violence found in childhood and adolescence may be extremely helpful.

¹⁴ Mueller, “Six Rather Unusual Propositions about Terrorism,” 491-496; Jerrold M. Post, “Rewarding Fire with Fire: Effects of Retaliation on Terrorist Group Dynamics,” *Terrorism: An International Journal* 10 (1987): 33.

¹⁵ John Horgan, “From profiles to pathways and roots to routes: Perspectives from psychology on radicalization into terrorism,” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 618 (2008): 80-94. See also Randy Borum, “Radicalization into Violent Extremism I: A Review of Social Science Theories,” *Journal of Strategic Security* 4, no. 4 (Winter 2011): 7-36.

¹⁶ Chapter 3: Literature Review will specifically address terrorism and radicalization theories. For root causes, see Tore Bjørgo, ed., *Root causes of terrorism: myths, reality and ways forward* (New York: Routledge, 2005). For religion, see Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000). For ideology, see John P. Sawyer and Justin Hienz, “What Makes Them Do It? Individual-Level Indicators of Extremist Outcomes,” in Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich (eds.), *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism* (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016).

¹⁷ David G. Hubbard, “Terrorism and Protest,” *Legal Medical Quarterly* 2 (1978): 188 – 97. Horgan discusses the role that poverty may play in recruitment strategies for the Pakistani Taliban (TTP) in Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 81.

¹⁸ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 86.

This thesis aims to offer a better explanation for how and why homegrown terrorists, perhaps better understood as simply terrorists, radicalize in three cases from Northern Virginia. It asks two questions:

1. How distinct are radicalization identifiers from youth violence identifiers?
2. Can better early warning signs for radicalization possibly be identified, starting with Northern Virginia?

For the first question, this includes many types of radicalization, not just Islamic radicalization, in a generalist approach. I argue that conventional understandings of radicalization do not sufficiently incorporate variables from early childhood and adolescence indicating a person is likely to become violent later in life. While helpful, some of the existing research focuses on the point after a person has exhibited extremist tendencies or on broad terms like psychological climate, and thus is of limited utility.²⁰ To take this a step further, I argue the warning signs for radicalization are not so different than those for juvenile delinquency, and that radicalization research does not have adequate data on early childhood and adolescence processes. To this data point, Horgan finds “a gaping absence of empirical, data-driven analysis...” and a “...lack of a variety of important empirical datasets to support particular viewpoints,” which is where I believe data on early childhood and adolescence risk factors could make a contribution.²¹ If one purpose of studying homegrown terrorism is to prevent violence where possible, then radicalization research should produce actionable, early data. This task is hardly impossible. As Horgan says, “terrorism is no longer incomprehensible or mysterious.”²²

²⁰ See Chapter 3: Literature Review. For a dataset that starts with known terrorists, see Marc Sageman, *Understanding terror networks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). For a discussion on psychological climate and radicalization, see Randy Borum, “The Etiology of Radicalization,” in Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich (eds.), *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism* (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016).

²¹ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 3, 5. For more on what constitutes risk, see H. Kremer et al., “Coming to Terms With the Terms of Risk,” *Archives of General Psychiatry* 54 (1997): 337-343.

²² John Horgan, “The Social and Psychological Characteristics of Terrorism and Terrorists,” in *Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, Reality and Ways Forward*, ed. Tore Bjørgo (New York: Routledge, 2005), 44.

In this plausibility probe,²³ I hypothesize:

1. Homegrown terrorism is better understood as simply terrorism, which is better understood as a subtype of youth violence rather than a distinct type of violence.
2. Youth violence variables have better explanatory powers than terrorism variables in identifying radicalization, in three case studies.

If both the hypotheses appear accurate, then this thesis will encourage further studies and tests for radicalization variables from a youth violence perspective in studies related to terrorism. Data on linked behaviors and correlations from youth violence studies may be most helpful.²⁴

Section 1.1 clarifies the scope of analysis and key terms for this thesis. Section 1.2 briefly summarizes the use of an iterative sequential mixed methods design to test the hypotheses. Section 1.3 provides academic points of interest related to this thesis. The Literature Review, a separate chapter by Nanyang Technological University's standards, is in Chapter 3. Section 1.4 addresses some of policy points of interest. Lastly, Section 1.5 outlines the next six chapters.

²³ This thesis is a preliminary study on a relatively untested method, possibly resulting in the basis for a new theory. Therefore, this is a plausibility probe.

²⁴ Existing macro-youth violence studies include the *Communities that Care Youth Survey*, the Center for Disease Control's *Youth Risk Behavior Survey*, and *Monitoring the Future*, as well as smaller surveys conducted on an annual or sporadic basis around the United States.

Section 1.1: Scope of Analysis and Key Terms

There are several parameters to this thesis involving gender, selected groups, age, as well as what is meant when using the terms radicalization, terrorism, homegrown terrorism, crime, youth violence, juvenile delinquency, and gang indoctrination.

All independent variables were identified irrespective of gender. In examining question 1, “how distinct are radicalization identifiers from youth violence identifiers?,” the research was undertaken with a broad and general lens, and is not gender specific in the spirit of a plausibility probe.²⁵ This study was conducted with a mind to the general populous of possibly violent youths, not just men. Throughout, the word choice is gender neutral, acknowledging that females—as well as men—radicalize and commit acts of youth violence.²⁶ While the case studies are admittedly all men who met the criteria for inclusion, I offer a brief note on some of the similarities between men and women who radicalize as one justification for the gender neutrality of this thesis. Though women are a minority among those who perpetrate terrorism, they have historically been involved in all aspects, including suicide terrorism, as men have.²⁷ Feminist scholar Laura Sjoberg and international relations scholar Caron Gentry find that women terrorists are political actors in the same way men are, but their lives and decisions are guided by gender structures.²⁸ Women, similar to men, look to technology and the Internet to aid in recruitment, distribute propaganda, and participate in like-minded groups.²⁹ According to Mia Bloom—in her research on women terrorists in

²⁵ See Chapter 2: Methodology; for the specific quantitative data to be discussed in Section 1.2 and Chapter 2, it was possible to hold for one gender in the regression analysis, but there were non-linear relationships associated with gender that reduced the utility of those results.

²⁶ The Chicago Manual of Style (CMOS) recommends using “s/he” and alternating throughout unless too obtrusive. CMOS advises that “it” should be used sparingly; “Topic Q&A List,” The Chicago Manual of Style Online, 2010, pronouns, accessed November 13, 2016, <http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/qanda/data/faq/topics/Pronouns.html>.

²⁷ Caron Gentry and Laura Sjoberg, “Female Terrorism and Militancy,” in Richard Jackson (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies*, (Oxon, Oxford: Routledge, 2016),149.

²⁸ Laura Sjoberg and Caron Gentry, *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics* (London: Zed Books, 2007).

²⁹ Karla J. Cunningham, “Countering Female Terrorism,” in *Terrorism Studies: A Reader*, ed. John Horgan and Kurt Braddock (Oxford: Routledge, 2012), 441.

Chechen, Sri Lankan, Palestinian, Iraqi, Irish, and Indonesian groups—women are motivated to join terrorist organizations for reasons of revenge, redemption, or respect, which are also reasons men join.³⁰ Above all, the single most important factor is the relationship, personal or from afar, with a known insurgent or jihadi.³¹

Every ideologically motivated mass shooter, every terrorist group, and every youth on the planet who ever decided to vandalize a building cannot be covered here, nor does this thesis attempt to do so. The specifics of why one person would find al-Qaeda attractive and another be drawn toward Shining Path are equally outside the bounds, though their possibly generalizable patterns of becoming violent are not. Some researchers like terrorism expert Ariel Merari and social psychologist Nehemia Friedland find that terrorist groups are heterogeneous, yet Horgan suspects that this assumption might be the reason that a “coherent, well-grounded psychological theory” on the causes of terrorism does not exist and emphasizes that the formulation “...of a theory of terrorist behavior...must account for and accommodate the heterogeneity of the phenomenon as well the wide heterogeneity of individual motivations that terrorist members might themselves push as explanatory factors.”³² Rather than adopt the assumption, this thesis stays general with respect to group, including its geography and ideology, to see if commonalities in heterogeneous groups and individuals might be relevant to highly specific individuals. Hypothetically, aspects of a deviant youth’s trajectory could apply to any group where members adopt a new violent identity. This thesis seeks to find evidence of susceptibility to radicalization, prior to the youth—potentially any youth—becoming violent.

³⁰ Mia Bloom, *Bombshell: Women and Terrorism* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 235; their thoughts may be slightly different, but their actions are not very different, with the possible exception of the proportion of women who commit violent crimes.

³¹ Bloom, *Bombshell*, 220-222. See also Peter R. Neumann, *Radicalized: New Jihadists and the Threat to the West* (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2016), 120.

³² A. Merari and N. Friedland, “Social Psychological Aspects of Political Terrorism,” in S. Oskamp (ed.), *Applied Social Psychology Annual 6: International Conflict and National Public Policy Issues* (London: Sage, 1985), 187; Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 69.

Many individuals choose to commit acts of terrorism after the ages of youth or adolescence. What constitutes youth or adolescence can vary from nine (9) until 35 years of age; the United Nations uses a range of 15 to 24 years of age.³³ During these years, a person moves through childhood with the hope of fulfilling their “potential, personal agency, and social accountability” within family, community, and culture.³⁴ If this developmental phase does not go smoothly or the youth has problems with “cognition, emotion, behavior and relationships,” then issues arise with the youth’s ability to gauge risk, have resilience, and recognize opportunity.³⁵ Adolescence or youth receives primary focus as the causal stage where a person’s identity is formed and/or challenged, thus creating crises or enabling violence during those years or later in adulthood.³⁶ Adults who become terrorists were once children, and youth development influenced who they are now. Therefore, this thesis is primarily concerned about youth developmental processes that might matter most later in life and give some indication of a possible future violent pathway.

The definitions of radicalization, terrorism, and homegrown terrorism are disputed, to say the least. At some points in this thesis, the terms may be used interchangeably for style purposes. However, these are distinct. As this thesis looks at the path by which someone adopts a new belief system and then acts upon it, radicalization is first limited in scope to its most basic and pure form, free from modern politicization: “of, belonging to, or from a root or roots; fundamental to or inherent in the natural processes of life... characterized by

³³ “What Do We Mean by ‘Youth’?,” United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2016, accessed November 17, 2016, <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/youth/youth-definition/>.

³⁴ Alexa C. Curtis, “Defining Adolescence,” *Journal of Adolescent and Family Health* 7, no. 2 (2015), accessed November 20, 2016, <http://scholar.utc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1035&context=jafh>. See also Patricia M. Greenfield, Heidi Keller, Andrew Fuligni, and Ashley Maynard, “Cultural Pathways Through Universal Development,” *Annual Review of Psychology* 54 (February 2003): 461-490; J.A. Graber and J. Brooks-Gunn, “Transitions and turning points: Navigating the passage from childhood through adolescence,” *Developmental Psychology* 32, vol. 4 (1996): 768-76; J. Modell and M. Goodman, “Historical Perspectives,” in S.S. Feldman and G.R. Elliott (eds.), *At the Threshold: The developing adolescent* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 93-122.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Erik Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1968); Erik Erikson, *The Life Cycle Completed* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1982).

independence of or departure from what is usual or traditional...advocating thorough or far-reaching political or social reform.”³⁷ This *Oxford English Dictionary* definition is appropriate because it recognizes that change comes from deep within a person and, as a result of this, the person seeks reform regardless of whether the person is a terrorist or mass shooter, provided that person has a political or social agenda. Even applied to terrorism, some scholars have similarly rooted definitions of radicalization: “the developmental process by which a person comes to see an act of terrorism as an action alternative and comes to choose to carry it out.”³⁸ Forensic psychologist Randy Borum refers to radicalization as “diverse processes” that “operate in different ways for different people at different points in time and perhaps in different contexts.”³⁹ In a similar vein, sociology finds radicalization is often the “articulation between an extremist ideology and a more or less organized violent act.”⁴⁰ Ideology implies beliefs, ideas, and thoughts.⁴¹ As International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence (ICSR) director Peter Neumann notes, there is a “fault-line” between radicalization definitions that focus on extreme beliefs and those that focus on extreme behavior.⁴² This fault-line may be unnecessary. Cognitive theories believe thoughts and behaviors are inextricably linked: that how and what people think lead to emotions,

³⁷ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “Radicalization,” definition 1, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.wm.edu/view/Entry/272267?redirectedFrom=radicalization#eid>. Using the *Oxford English Dictionary* to establish the basic meaning of the word, then applying this to a modern construct, is borrowed from Sir Lawrence Freedman, who often does this. As one example, see Lawrence Freedman, *Deterrence* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2004), 27.

³⁸ Noémie Bouhana and Per-Olof H. Wikström, “Al Qai’da-Influenced Radicalisation: A Rapid Evidence Assessment Guided by Situational Action Theory” (RDS Occasional Paper 97, Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, London, 2011).

³⁹ Borum, “Radicalization into Violent Extremism I: A Review of Social Science Theories,” 7-8.

⁴⁰ Gérald Bronner quoted in Farhad Khosrokhavar, *Radicalization: Why Some People Choose the Path of Violence* (New York: New Press, 2015), 12.

⁴¹ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “Ideology,” definition 1, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.wm.edu/view/Entry/91016?redirectedFrom=ideology#eid>.

⁴² Peter R. Neumann, “The Trouble With Radicalization,” *International Affairs* 84, no. 4 (July 12, 2013): 12, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2346.12049/abstract>; Peter R. Neumann, *Prisons and Terrorism: Radicalisation and De-radicalisation in 15 Countries*, report (London: International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence, 2010). Elsewhere, Neumann applies a political lens to an understanding of extremism: “extremism can be used to refer to political ideologies that oppose a society’s core values and principles...the term can also be used to describe the methods through which political actors attempt to realize their aims, this is, by using means that show disregard for the life, liberty, and human rights of others.”

which lead to behavior (or the absence of some behaviors).⁴³ Thoughts and behaviors may be one in the same, and both are considered in this thesis as part of radicalization.

Radicalization differs from similar concepts, like indoctrination or enculturation, in a few key ways. First, it does not need to be explicitly taught, as instructional training or indoctrination does, and can be self-taught.⁴⁴ Similar to enculturation, radicalization can be influenced by the surrounding culture.⁴⁵ However, radicalization does not need to be forced or impressed upon someone with emphatic admonition or persistent repetition, as inculcation (an aspect of enculturation) does.⁴⁶ Lastly, the choice to pursue political or social reform can happen quite quickly after the person's identity has broken down, unlike the "gradual acquisition" and learning associated with enculturation.⁴⁷ Radicalization is distinct.

What constitutes terrorism or a terrorist has been debated over the centuries, which is unlikely to change. To this point, there are more than 250 definitions of terrorism, with no legal consensus, and many scholars—including Omar Malik and Brian Jenkins—who are a bit tired of the debate.⁴⁸ However, terrorism is "an identifiable phenomenon" and a definition—even if not codified in international law—does help limit the scope and clarify the purpose of this thesis.⁴⁹ The task is to select one that covers a great deal of behaviors, is

⁴³ Raymond DiGiuseppe et al., *APA Handbook of Clinical Psychology: Theory and Research*, ed. John C. Norcross et al., 7th ed., vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 2016), 145-182.

⁴⁴ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "Indoctrination," definition 1,

<http://www.oed.com.proxy.wm.edu/view/Entry/94679?redirectedFrom=indoctrination>.

⁴⁵ Kumar Ramakrishna, *Radical Pathways: Understanding Muslim Radicalization in Indonesia* (London and Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2009), doi:10.1353/prv.2005.0002.

⁴⁶ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "Inculcate," definition 1,

<http://www.oed.com.proxy.wm.edu/view/Entry/94107?isAdvanced=false&result=2&rskey=bn27tJ&>.

⁴⁷ *Dictionary.com*, s.v. "Enculturation," definition 1, 2010, accessed November 2, 2016,

<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/enculturation>. Michael D. Silber and Arvin Bhatt, *Radicalization in the West* (New York: New York City Police Department, 2007), 43.

⁴⁸ Alex P. Schmid, "The Definition of Terrorism," in *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, ed. Alex P. Schmid (New York: Routledge, 2013), 42; Alex P. Schmid, "Appendix 2.1: 250-plus Academic, Governmental and Intergovernmental Definitions of Terrorism," in *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, ed. Alex P. Schmid (New York: Routledge, 2013), 99-148; Laqueur addresses the problem of the definition of terrorism without dismissing the study of terrorism: "a comprehensive definition of terrorism...does not exist nor will it be found in the foreseeable future. To argue that terrorism cannot be studied without such a definition is manifestly absurd." Walter Laqueur, *Terrorism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977), 5.

⁴⁹ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 24.

flexible enough to apply in a variety of circumstances, and is appropriate to Northern Virginia. As summarized by terrorism expert Audrey Kurth Cronin, there are fundamental attributes of this phenomenon: “political nature, surprise use of violence against seemingly random targets, and the targeting of the innocent by nonstate actors.”⁵⁰ Cronin is not alone. A study by Alex P. Schmid, Director of the Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI), polled terrorism experts to ask for their definitions of the phenomenon.⁵¹ After amalgamating the responses, over 80% agreed that violence was key, while 65% believed there needed to be a political component. Fear or terror came in third at 51%.⁵² With consideration to this relative consensus and according to Cronin, terrorism is therefore: “the threat or use of seemingly random violence against innocents for political ends by a nonstate actor.”⁵³ Similar to radicalization, this definition strips out much of the subjective, while accounting for the psychological dimension of the “threat” and “seemingly random” targeting of innocents, or fear inherent in any word including terror.⁵⁴ The actuality of violence, what Borum terms “radicalization into violent extremism” or “action pathways,” may be a part of this, though radicalization could simply stay in the mind without action.⁵⁵ According to Borum, “not all terrorists even ‘radicalize’” and might conduct violence against non-combatants for political purposes without adopting a new belief system.⁵⁶ Cronin’s definition of terrorism covers one type of threat or use of violence: violence done for political reasons.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Audrey Kurth Cronin, “Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism,” *International Security* 27, no. 3 (Winter 2002), accessed November 22, 2016, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/88504_cronin.pdf; R.G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris, “Violence, Terrorism, and Justice,” in *Violence, Terrorism, and Justice*, ed. R.G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 3.

⁵¹ Alex P. Schmid, Albert J. Jongman, *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories and Literature* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1988), 5-6.

⁵² For similar findings to Schmid, see also Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur, and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler, “The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16, no. 4 (2004): 777-794.

⁵³ Cronin, “Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism.”

⁵⁴ This also incorporates Horgan’s claim that one aim of terrorism is psychological arousal. See Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 13.

⁵⁵ Randy Borum, “Rethinking Radicalization,” *Journal of Strategic Security* 4, no. 4 (Winter 2011): 2.

⁵⁶ Borum, “Radicalization into Violent Extremism I: A Review of Social Science Theories,” 58.

⁵⁷ According to Schmid, terrorism experts generally agree that terrorism can be considered “as/and politics.” See Schmid, “Introduction,” 2.

Taking “political” before “violence,” politics includes “activities or policies associated with government...public life and affairs involving matters of authority and government...actions concerned with the acquisition or exercise of power, status, or authority.”⁵⁸ Politics include social, economic, and other items provided these all form some basis of policy that is advanced. Violence, at a basic level, includes “the deliberate exercise of physical force against a person, property, etc.; physically violent behaviour or treatment; the unlawful exercise of physical force, intimidation by the exhibition of such force.”⁵⁹ Because terrorism is one specific type of violence or threat of violence among many possible types of violence, it is a subtype. Therefore, and from a definition point-of-view, this thesis finds that terrorism can be considered a subtype of violence, where the early processes leading to violence are best understood as part of youth violence. Terrorists are people who threaten or commit violence and who, without dispute, were once children.

Homegrown terrorism is a term that has gained popularity in Western lexicon since September 11, 2001, but especially since the Madrid Train Bombings in 2004 and London’s 7/7 Bombers in 2005.⁶⁰ To distinguish from terrorism imported from abroad with box cutters on airplanes, homegrown terrorism is meant to involve a perpetrator who is a citizen or resident of the target nation, committing an act or threat of violence on that same country’s soil.⁶¹ What constitutes “homegrown” seems to be very broad, while terrorism was defined in earlier in this section. Extremism expert Lorenzo Vidino offers an inclusive definition specific to Islamic terrorism:

⁵⁸ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “Politics,” definition 2 and 3, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.wm.edu/view/Entry/237575?redirectedFrom=politics#eid>.

⁵⁹ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “Violence,” definition 1, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.wm.edu/view/Entry/223638?rskey=ksqXJE&result=1>.

⁶⁰ Kimberley L. Thachuk, Marion E. “Spike” Bowman, and Courtney Richardson, *Homegrown Terrorism: The Threat Within* (Washington, DC: Center for Technology and National Security Policy, National Defense University, May 2008).

⁶¹ Risa A. Brooks, “Muslim “Homegrown” Terrorism in the United States: How Serious Is the Threat?,” *International Security* 36, no. 2 (Fall 2011), accessed November 12, 2016, <http://live.belfercenter.org/files/Muslim%20Homegrown%20Terrorism%20in%20the%20United%20States.pdf>.

individuals born in the West (second or third generation Muslim immigrants and/or converts) who embraced a radical interpretation of Islam autonomously and formed a more or less cohesive cluster that operates independently from any other organization. Nevertheless, a looser definition of ‘homegrown’ focuses less on the individual’s place of birth, but rather on where his or her radicalization has taken place.⁶²

Within this homegrown category may also be “lone wolf” terrorists.⁶³ Vidino defines these people as: “isolated individuals that, while operating outside any structure or chain of command, carry out violent acts in support of a terrorist group and/or radical cause.”⁶⁴

According to terrorism scholar Tomas Precht writing on the homegrown terrorist:

issues such as belonging, identity, group dynamics and values are all important elements in the transformation process. Religion plays an important role, but for some it rather serves as a vehicle for fulfilling other goals. A common denominator seems to be that the involved persons are at a crossroad in their life and wanting a cause.⁶⁵

These issues are hardly unique to homegrown and rather apply to other types of terrorists and even violent youths.⁶⁶ Natives, long-time residents, and immigrants with these characteristics are all included in Vidino’s definition of homegrown terrorism, diluting the term and losing all distinctiveness. Further, Horgan finds that “homegrown terrorism” is an “unhelpful” term because it provides no additional insight into the fighter’s motivations and is also problematic to distinguish from other types.⁶⁷ The lack of precision in the definition and understanding of homegrown terrorism limits its practical purpose and supports the idea that this may just be a name, rather than an academically supported independent category.⁶⁸ Therefore, while the

⁶² Lorenzo Vidino, “Homegrown Jihadist Terrorism in the United States: A New and Occasional Phenomenon?,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 39, no. 1 (2009).

⁶³ Ibid. For more works addressing (and some disputing) the lone wolf idea, see: J. Gruenewald, S. Chermak, and J.D. Freilich, “Far-Right Lone Wolf Homicides in the United States,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 36, no. 12 (2013): 10005-10034; J. Stern, *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill* (New York: Ecco, 2003), 172; P. Gill, J. Horgan, and P. Deckert, “Bombing Alone: Tracing the Motivation and Antecedents of Lone-Actor Terrorists,” *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 2014, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.proxy.wm.edu/doi/10.1111/1556-4029.12312/>; Neumann, *Radicalized*, 135; and Jeffrey Kaplan, “Leaderless Resistance,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Autumn 1997, 43.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Tomas Precht, “Homegrown Terrorism and Islamic Radicalization in Europe: From Conversion to Terrorism,” *Danish Ministry of Defense* (December 2007).

⁶⁶ See Chapter 3: Literature Review.

⁶⁷ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 131.

⁶⁸ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Islam Today: A Short Introduction to the Muslim World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999).

term homegrown terrorism will be used illustratively, it is done so with the understanding that homegrown terrorism is a label for terrorism, the purposes of which are discussed in Section 1.4.

In addition to its lack of precision, the phrase homegrown terrorism is problematic for a second reason: it opens up a discussion on the difference between it and domestic terrorism. Unabomber Ted Kaczynski conducted an 18-year bombing campaign with political motives that killed three and injured 23 others. He was charged and convicted in 1998 under US federal law, without the mention of homegrown terrorism.⁶⁹ The closest America came to a modern law about domestic terrorism prior to 2001 was in the aftermath of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, when a section on the use of a weapon of mass destruction was added by Public Law 103-322: The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994; yet this was still not—legally speaking—domestic terrorism.⁷⁰ It was simply about terrorism in general and was one of the laws under which 1995 Oklahoma City Bomber Timothy McVeigh was executed.⁷¹ Yet, Kaczynski, McVeigh, and others were widely called domestic terrorists.⁷² The passage of the USA PATRIOT Act 2001 expanded the definition of terrorism beyond international to include domestic acts that are primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States.⁷³ Now under US law, a domestic terrorist is someone who

⁶⁹ United States Attorney General, United States Department of Justice, “Theodore Kaczynski Indicted in Sacramento,” news release, June 18, 1996, United States Department of Justice, <https://www.justice.gov/archive/opa/pr/1996/Jun96/283crm.htm>.

⁷⁰ Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, Public Law No. 103-322, 108 Stat. 1796 (1994).

⁷¹ Otis H. Stephens, Jr., John M. Scheb, II, Colin Glennon, *American Constitutional Law, Volume II: Civil Rights and Liberties*, 6th ed. (Stanford, CT: Cengage Learning, 2015), 333.

⁷² Tom Krattenmaker, “Use ‘terrorist’ label carefully,” *USA Today*, June 11, 2012,

<http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/opinion/forum/story/2012-06-10/terrorism-white-race-religion-muslim/55503084/1>.

⁷³ “How the USA Patriot Act Redefines ‘Domestic Terrorism,’” American Civil Liberties Union, 2016, accessed November 7, 2016, <https://www.aclu.org/other/how-usa-patriot-act-redefines-domestic-terrorism>. For more on the international verses domestic aspects of terrorism, see M. Hough, “Domestic, International and Transnational Terror After 2011: Towards a New Typology?,” *Strategic Review for Southern Africa* 21, no. 1 (2007): 39-49; Paul Wilkinson, “Current and Future Trends in Domestic and International Terrorism: Implications for Democratic Government and the International Community,” *Strategic Review for Southern Africa* 23, no. 2 (November 2001); K.A. Seger, “Deterring Terrorists,” in *Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and Its Consequences*, ed. A. Silke (Chichester, UK: Wiley, 2003), 257-270. In addition to the USA PATRIOT Act, the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act and the

conducts an act “dangerous to human life” that violates criminal law, but is also someone who appears: “(i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination or kidnapping.”⁷⁴ Previously, a person who conducted or threatened imminent harm along these lines was a domestic criminal or terrorist. Now, that person is a domestic terrorist and is sometimes called a homegrown terrorist. Ignoring the semantics and focusing on the legality, this so-called homegrown terrorism is an act or threat of imminent harm in violation of US law with one or all of the aforementioned three criteria. Homegrown terrorism is not, legally speaking, a special phrase or distinct type of violence to be applied to followers of certain religions. One reason that this thesis seeks to reclassify homegrown terrorism as terrorism, which can be considered a sub-type of youth violence, is because of its non-legal and highly subjective uses. While this thesis uses the phrase homegrown terrorism, it does so with the hopes of minimizing its popularity.

Crime, terrorism, and radicalization have distinct attributes, but are also interrelated. Crime, without engaging in a discussion of morality, is “an act or omission constituting an offence (usually a grave one) against an individual or the state and punishable by law.”⁷⁵ When a person commits an act of violence or threatens imminent harm (with political ends) in violation of law, then that crime is terrorism according to the laws of the particular country.⁷⁶ In this sense, a mass shooter who violates federal or state law in hopes of influencing policy might be a criminal and a terrorist. However, radicalization without action or without imminent danger or threat of imminent harm may not be a crime for the person mentally identifying with radical ideologies or legally buying guns that remain locked away,

Attorney General’s Guidelines on terrorism and domestic security investigations were issued in the aftermath of September 11, 2001.

⁷⁴ “How the USA Patriot Act Redefines ‘Domestic Terrorism.’” Schmid also cites that “terrorism as/and crime” is another point of consensus among terrorism scholars. Schmid, “Introduction,” 2.

⁷⁵ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “Crime,” definition

1, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.wm.edu/view/Entry/44417?rskey=jhr7Yf&result=1#eid>.

⁷⁶ Jack P. Gibbs, “Conceptualization of Terrorism,” *American Sociological Review* 54, no. 3 (June 1989).

as one example.⁷⁷ Additionally, terrorism tends to be more extreme than regular crime, since it is aimed at civilians and non-combatants.⁷⁸ Terrorism is also conducted for political, social, or religious reasons, often with the support of a network. Crime, in contrast, lacks many of those higher motivations and is normally an isolated act(s).⁷⁹ Therefore, terrorism is likely crime, but crime is not always terrorism.

The term youth violence is applied in a straightforward way, adolescents who use “the deliberate exercise of physical force against a person, property, etc.; physically violent behavior or treatment; the unlawful exercise of physical force, intimidation by the exhibition of such force.”⁸⁰ This covers behaviors, if not exactly illegal, that violate social norms like the pushing of a classmate on the playground. For reasons of style, youth violence will be used interchangeably with juvenile delinquency, which has a slightly more exact definition. Juvenile delinquency, part of criminology, is more narrowly defined as the violation of criminal law by minors.⁸¹ Criminology, much like radicalization studies, is a multi-disciplinary approach that looks at individuals or micro levels of analysis, groups or gangs, and countries or macro levels of analysis.⁸² Terrorism, when defined as a crime with political motives in violation of a nation’s laws, falls into the realm of criminology, or research on “the breaking of laws and reactions to the breaking of laws.”⁸³ As mentioned in Section 1.1 Scope of Analysis, cognitive theorists find that thoughts and behaviors are linked.⁸⁴ Youth

⁷⁷ “Imminent Danger Law and Legal Definition,” US Legal, accessed November 3, 2016, <https://definitions.uslegal.com/i/imminent-danger/>.

⁷⁸ Robert Agnew, “General Strain Theory and Terrorism,” in *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, ed. Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 125.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “Violence,” definition 1, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.wm.edu/view/Entry/223638?rskey=gZOQVp&result=1#eid>.

⁸¹ Robert Agnew and Timothy Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency: Causes and Control* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 4; United States Census Bureau, “Census Bureau Projects U.S. and World Populations on New Year’s Day,” news release, December 29, 2014, Census.gov, <http://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2014/cb14-tps90.html>.

⁸² Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich, “Bringing Criminology into the Study of Terrorism,” in *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, ed. Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 5.

⁸³ E.H. Sutherland and D.R. Cressey, *Criminology*, 10th ed. (Philadelphia: Lippincott), 3.

⁸⁴ DiGiuseppe et al., *APA Handbook of Clinical Psychology*, 145-182.

violence and juvenile delinquency include behaviors or actions that are technically the violation of criminal law by minors, but—as with radicalization—also include their thoughts, beliefs, and emotions.

Gangs are well established as a form of juvenile delinquency, where involvement can extend beyond the years of adolescence.⁸⁵ Using the same legal jurisdiction that is applied to terrorism, the US Department of Justice defines a gang as:

(1) an association of three or more individuals; (2) whose members collectively identify themselves by adopting a group identity which they use to create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation frequently by employing one or more of the following: a common name, slogan, identifying sign, symbol, tattoo or other physical marking, style or color of clothing, hairstyle, hand sign or graffiti; (3) the association's purpose, in part, is to engage in criminal activity and the association uses violence or intimidation to further its criminal objectives; (4) its members engage in criminal activity, or acts of juvenile delinquency that if committed by an adult would be crimes; (5) with the intent to enhance or preserve the association's power, reputation, or economic resources; (6) the association may also possess some of the following characteristics: (a) the members employ rules for joining and operating within the association; (b) the members meet on a recurring basis; (c) the association provides physical protection of its members from other criminals and gangs; (d) the association seeks to exercise control over a particular location or region, or it may simply defend its perceived interests against rivals; or (e) the association has an identifiable structure. (7) This definition is not intended to include traditional organized crime groups such as La Cosa Nostra, groups that fall within the Department's definition of “international organized crime,” drug trafficking organizations or terrorist organizations.⁸⁶

This comprehensive definition is especially useful because it highlights the identity that gang members form, as well as their tactics, operations, and characteristics. It includes criminal activity and juvenile delinquency. Indoctrination is reflected in the way that members adopt a group identity, something they learn from “instruction” and “formal teaching.”⁸⁷ Unlike terrorism, there may be no overarching political purpose beyond the perpetuation of the

⁸⁵ See Chapter 3: Literature Review. Cheryl L. Maxson and Kristy N. Matsu, “Gang Delinquency,” in Barry Feld and Donna M. Bishop (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁸⁶ “About Violent Gangs,” United States Department of Justice, accessed November 01, 2016, <https://www.justice.gov/criminal-ocgs/about-violent-gangs>.

⁸⁷ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “Indoctrination,” definition 1, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.wm.edu/view/Entry/94679?redirectedFrom=indoctrination#eid>.

organization. However and like terrorism, the gang uses fear, intimidation, and violence to pursue its objectives. Also similar to terrorism, the group's main purpose becomes its maintenance.⁸⁸ While different entities, gangs and terrorist organization may have quite a bit in common.

⁸⁸ Martha Crenshaw, "An Organizational Approach to the Analysis of Political Terrorism," *Orbis* 29, no. 3 (Fall 1985): 465-487.

Section 1.2: Iterative Sequential Mixed Methods Design and Specification Principle

The two hypotheses are tested by using an iterative sequential mixed methods design, which is influenced by the specification principle. This thesis specifically looks at how variables possibly indicate that a person is radicalizing prior to violence. A far deeper discussion on the methodology, as well as the strengths and weaknesses of the main components and selection of the cases, is found in Chapter 2: Methodology. Presented here is an overview.

Figure 1.1: Iterative Sequential Mixed Methods Research Design



Iterative Sequential Mixed Methods

In an iterative sequential mixed methods design, the first data will contribute to the next data.⁸⁹ In Figure 1.1, the quantitative portion (quan) is comprised of the statistically significant results (1% level or 99% confidence) derived from regression analysis, which was conducted on two surveys of youth violence, the 2011 and 2012 *Fairfax County Youth Survey Reports*. quan, the statistically significant results from the surveys, create one set of independent variables related to potentially risky behaviors.⁹⁰ quan is followed by two dominant qualitative components (QUAL1 → QUAL2). QUAL1 is a macro approach and involves a systematic review of many existing studies on terrorism, youth violence, and gangs to compile a detailed list of behaviors and thoughts that might indicate a person is

⁸⁹ John Creswell and Plano Clark, *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research* (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2006), 121. My methodology is also influenced by the work of Audrey Kurth Cronin, who advocates looking deep into how terrorist groups end and other processes, rather than make assumptions about how counter-terrorism can end a group. Audrey Kurth Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

⁹⁰ There were 63,133 valid survey responses used in this step. *Fairfax County 2011 Youth Survey* (Fairfax, VA: Fairfax County and Fairfax County Public Schools, 2012); *Fairfax County 2012 Youth Survey* (Fairfax, VA: Fairfax County and Fairfax County Public Schools 2013). As found by Silke, there has been an increase in the use of descriptive and inferential statistics to support terrorism research claims. Here, quantitative data is used to support existing studies. See A Silke, "The Impact of 9/11 Research on Terrorism," in *Mapping Terrorism Research: State of the Art, Gaps, and Future Directions*, ed. M. Ranstorp (New York: Routledge, 2007), 80-81.

adopting a new identity (radicalizing or indoctrinating) or has completed that process.⁹¹

Together in a relational approach, quan and QUAL1 create a matrix of 516 independent variables including individual, social, political, ideological, group, and other factors.⁹² The relational approach or methodology “enables the research to view acting persons...and their social ties...as two dimensions of a single overarching process of constitutive dependency.”⁹³

The independent variables from quan and QUAL1 are additionally classified, or given a typology, using the dimensions from Social Disintegration Theory (SDT), adding character to the variables. In brief, SDT is a psychological and social framework or model to explain the process by which a young person may mentally then physically pull away from his/her community and sometimes engage in a specific type of violence to rectify a wrong or perceived slight.⁹⁴ While SDT has been mentioned in the same breath as terrorism before, this broad theory has not been applied on the micro-level to cases of radicalized individuals in any meaningful way to aid in future detection and prevention.⁹⁵ SDT yields generic categories of variables specific to a person’s perception of their participation in society’s material and cultural goods (social-structural dimension), normative and political forms of participation (institutional dimension), and collective and private aspects of life (socioemotional dimension).⁹⁶ Based on his/her predominant dimension and grievances, a person pursues different types of violence.⁹⁷ Homegrown terrorists could fall into the social spectrum of grievance begetting violence, in a similar way to other deviant children and

⁹¹ Annette Boaz and Adrienne Sidford, “Reviewing and Popularizing Research Insights,” in Gilbert, Nigel, (ed.) *From postgraduate to social scientist: a guide to key skills* (London, U.K.: SAGE Publications, 2006), 7-24.

⁹² While this is one list, their individual categories are noted separately in columns.

⁹³ P.T. Jackson additionally recommends this approach for the “disciplined ordering” of actual behaviors or observations to aid in explanations and to “[reveal] intriguing and useful things.” Stump, “Methodology,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies*, 95; P.T. Jackson, *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 114, 146.

⁹⁴ Wilhelm Heitmeyer and Reimund Anhut, “Disintegration, Recognition, and Violence: A Theoretical Perspective,” *New Directions for Youth Development* 119 (Fall 2008): 25-37.

⁹⁵ For a brief summary of its applicability to terrorism, see Turkey Abualola, *Social Services in the Field of Terrorism* (Indiana: Xlibris LLC, 2013), 68.

⁹⁶ Wilhelm Heitmeyer and Sandra Legge, eds, “Youth, Violence, and Social Disintegration.” *New Directions for Youth Development* 119 (Fall 2008).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

adolescents. By adding SDT to the design, there is a substantive reflection of the character of the independent variables and possible motivations behind the violence. The dependent variable is the choice of a violent lifestyle, whether youth violence or terrorism.

quan and QUAL1 feed into QUAL2, three case studies (N=3) from Northern Virginia: one immigrant to the US who became a terrorist; one natural born US-citizen who became a terrorist; and a gang member who serves as a control as to whether specific types of violence can be explained more simply as just youth violence. The case study, according to former prison warden and criminologist Mark S. Hamm and sociologist Ramón Spaaij, “is particularly suited to terrorism research because it not only has the capacity to analyze in depth a small number of cases, but also the ability to discover the sequence of individual trajectories leading to terrorism...[forming] the basis for inductive theory building.”⁹⁸ Related to this, Horgan finds that, “good science begins with good *description*,” which is accomplished in this thesis with case studies.⁹⁹ The inclusion of the case study approach into a mixed methods design allows for microanalysis of individuals in addition to the statistical analysis of quan and macro-analysis of QUAL1.¹⁰⁰ The case selection criteria are provided in Chapter 2.

To help dive deep into each case, within case analysis explores a single case by itself, prior to comparing it to the others.¹⁰¹ In the evaluation of the cases, indirect causal inference looks at which independent variables from terrorism and youth violence studies appear in the cases compared to all identified possibilities. Then, possible causal mechanisms are examined

⁹⁸ Mark S. Hamm and Ramón Spaaij, “Paradigmatic Case Studies and Prison Ethnography: Future Directions in Terrorism Research,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of the Criminology of Terrorism*, 207.

⁹⁹ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 5.

¹⁰⁰ Alexander George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, MA: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2005).

¹⁰¹ Barbara L. Paterson, “Within-Case Analysis,” *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2010), 971-973.

as to why that one person radicalized.¹⁰² A modified Lakatosian “three-cornered” test will evaluate whether variables from radicalization studies or variables from youth violence studies holds greater explanatory power against the actual evidence in the three cases.¹⁰³

Altogether, an iterative sequential mixed methods approach generates a deeper look into earlier childhood and adolescence variables that possibly indicate future violence, to include radicalization, from a very large dataset (quan) and existing studies (QUAL1). By using quantitative data first, more significance can be given to similar or identical findings that appear in qualitative studies and the qualitative can also support the findings from the quantitative. Then, the resulting model might be able to generalize highly specific findings from the case studies (QUAL2) to a slightly wider population with further testing. Thus, there is a modest attempt to incorporate both deductive (applying more general conclusions from broad data sets to specific cases) and inductive (generalizing from the particulars of case studies) reasoning with the disclaimer that this is a small N case study.¹⁰⁴ This is also an opportunity to analyze which behaviors commonly associated with radicalization are understood, possibly better, as youth violence. Lastly, using three sources of data counterbalances any shortcomings or weaknesses found in surveys, micro verses macro testing techniques, self-reporting, arrest records, and other measures by triangulating all the findings.

Specification Principle

This mixed methods study is guided by the specification principle. First, the specification principle identifies human behavioral patterns and allows analysis of what is highly specific

¹⁰² Daniel Steel, “Causality, Causal Models, and Social Mechanisms,” Michigan State University, 2, https://msu.edu/~steel/PoSS_Handbook.pdf.

¹⁰³ Stephen Van Evera, *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 94.

¹⁰⁴ George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, 240.

to the person, but also what opportunities or situations are in the world in general.¹⁰⁵ For example, a pattern might emerge where a person loves the color red and consistently will buy red plates, red shirts, and red shoes, but not red trousers. Those individual preferences will be considered against the myriad of red products that are currently being manufactured by the business community and then used in targeted marketing campaigns. Analyzing human behavior against what is available (not hypothetical) creates patterns where one can begin to anticipate what the person will buy (or do) next.¹⁰⁶ Specific to terrorism, there are known situations and grievances in the world, as well as highly specific internal, individual struggles. If a business can possibly predict what shirt a person will buy next out of the millions of options, then anticipations about which minor societal or personal shifts might have increased significance for an individual in the future might be possible. According to Merari, “No serious attempt has been made thus far to find out whether such [personality trait] commonalities exist.”¹⁰⁷ He continues, “There is no reason to assume that terrorists are characterized by a single personality pattern; it is hypothetically more reasonable to assume that several different personality patterns are associated with involvement in terrorism.” Therefore, radicalization and violence variables that exist in society should be examined alongside deeply individual characteristics, while looking for patterns in personality and behavior. The specification principle will appear throughout this thesis.

¹⁰⁵ Eric Evans and Martin Fowler, *Specifications*, accessed online May 27, 2012, <http://martinfowler.com/apsupp/spec.pdf>; for more on specifications, see also Eric Evans, *Domain Driven Design: Tackling Complexity in the Heart of Software* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2004).

¹⁰⁶ The next level is to develop products to meet future preferences or needs, and make those readily available to the shopper. In the context of terrorism, actions could be anticipated and proactive counter strategies designed prior to radicalization, perhaps. Herb Weisbaum, “Big data knows you’re pregnant (and that’s not all),” *CNBC*, April 9, 2014, accessed online April 10, 2014, <http://www.cnbc.com/2014/04/09/big-data-knows-youre-pregnant-and-thats-not-all.html>.

¹⁰⁷ Schmid, *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, 19.

Section 1.3: Academic Points of Interest

The findings of this thesis could address several academic points of interest related to the study of terrorism, if the youth violence hypothesis offers a greater explanation for radicalization in Northern Virginia. A note of caution: there are thousands of studies on terrorism and any generalizations contained herein are intended to briefly characterize trends rather than emphatically declare truth. Great work has been done, other great work contradicts aspects of the great work mentioned here within, and great work is to be done. A detailed Literature Review is provided in Chapter 3.

Some studies specific to terrorism and radicalization often begin by looking at known terrorists and are incident driven.¹⁰⁸ By doing this, the sample is precise, but perhaps somewhat restricted by the selection of the dependent variable first. There is a temptation to assume that terrorism is unique and must be studied in its own context, even though theories and methodologies from other disciplines might come into play.¹⁰⁹ Thus, possible indicators for radicalization prior to violence are truncated from the beginning. Scholars might inadvertently only know what can be found, but might not know what to look for in the first place. The data is also subject to being influenced by the most dramatic terrorists, or those who seem to be an exception to the theory.¹¹⁰ Mass interest by the media and academia alike into a famous subject could begin to skew the field of research.¹¹¹ Using only terrorists creates problems for both the individual and mechanism based approaches to uncovering radicalization pathways. I do select the case studies on the basis of the choice of violence.

¹⁰⁸ Many studies are included in Chapter 3: Literature Review. Two are Marc Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad: Terror in the Twenty-First Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008) and Neumann, *Radicalized*. Horgan specifically critiques terrorism studies for being too incident focused and narrow. See Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 156.

¹⁰⁹ Horgan cautions against focusing on selective features of terrorism and studying it through only one discipline, missing the relevance of "...security studies, history, theology, psychology, sociology, and political science or something else." Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 37.

¹¹⁰ Mueller, "Six Rather Unusual Propositions on Terrorism," 493-493.

¹¹¹ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 16, 31-32. William S. Parkin and David A. Green, "Terrorism in the News: The Efficiency and Impact of Sampling Methods on Data Collection and Content Analysis," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 39, no. 7-8 (2016): 668-686.

However, I counter that by including non-violent variables from people who are not deviant as part of the iterative sequential mixed methods design (quan). This is hardly perfect, but it is one small step in a balanced direction of including non-terrorism specific variables that often do not always create violent people, and identifying which of these appear in known terrorists.

Existing studies have done an impressive job of uncovering a myriad of risk factors linked with radicalization and terrorism. Many studies aimed at the agent or individual level of analysis focus on personality or idiosyncratic traits that are not or may not be generalizable.¹¹² Work done on the individual level is critiqued on two fronts. First, sometimes these traits have been hastily applied to future profiles of could-be terrorists in the massive proliferation of studies since September 11, 2001.¹¹³ Second, terrorism expert Jeff Victoroff, in particular, faults agent-centric terrorism theories for focusing too much on “anecdotal empirical evidence” and not enough on social and psychological indicators.¹¹⁴ In a comprehensive study reviewing the psychological research on terrorism, Victoroff concludes that terrorists are “psychologically extremely heterogeneous” and asserts four “typical” terrorist traits: high affective valence regarding an ideological issue; personal stake that distinguishes him/her from most who have high affective valence; low cognitive flexibility, low tolerance for ambiguity, and an elevated tendency toward attribution error; and, a capacity to suppress both instinctive and learned moral constraints against harming innocents.¹¹⁵ In addressing whether there is such thing as a terrorist personality, expert in terrorism studies Martha Crenshaw cautions that such a profile would require the “identifiable pattern of attitudes and behavior” in the person and need to include “a

¹¹² See Chapter 3: Literature Review.

¹¹³ Bradley McAllister and Alex P. Schmid, “Theories of Terrorism,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, ed. Alex P. Schmid (New York: Routledge, 2013), 214; see also Walter Laqueur, “Interpretations of Terror: Facts, Fiction, and Political Science,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 12, no.1 (January 1997): 2.

¹¹⁴ Jeff Victoroff, “The Mind of a Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no.1 (February 2005): 3.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 35.

combination of ego-defensive needs, cognitive processes, and socialization,” all specific to the situation.¹¹⁶ This requires a great deal of sound research on indicators that can be applied in different ways, to different people.

Other studies attempt to aggregate risk factors, and sometimes fall victim to the pressure to quickly publish information without explaining underlying processes.¹¹⁷ One related issue is the inability to discern the interactivity of these pathways and risk factors prior to radicalization. As succinctly put by political scientist Lasse Lindekilde:

Aggregate risk factors alone make poor predictions of vulnerability and radicalization. There is an urgent need to realize that individual and group risk factors could suggest the presence of causal mechanisms and pathways to radicalization, but that they in themselves are not explanations hereof. It is the dynamic interaction of risk factors and contextual factors that causes radicalization.¹¹⁸

Yet, there is no theory that explains process-driven how and idiosyncratic why questions of this dynamic interaction, a point strongly made by Horgan.¹¹⁹ Crenshaw adds: “Propositions about terrorism lack logical comparability, specification of the relationship of variables to each other, and a rank-ordering of variables in terms of explanatory power.”¹²⁰ With respect to quantitative work on radicalization, criminologist Per-Olof H. Wikström and counter-crime and counter-terrorism expert Noémie Bouhana caution, “One quickly finds oneself overwhelmed by long lists of significant correlates, with no way to discriminate between symptoms, markers, cause and accidents of statistics.”¹²¹ This is such a problem that “In short, one might abandon a risk-factor approach in favor of mechanism-based accounts, whereby mechanism is defined, in the scientific realist tradition, as the causal process that

¹¹⁶ Martha Crenshaw, “The Causes of Terrorism,” in *Terrorism Studies: A Reader*, ed. John Horgan and Kurt Braddock (Oxford: Routledge, 2012).

¹¹⁷ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 5.

¹¹⁸ Lasse Lindekilde, “Radicalization,” in *Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies*, ed. Richard Jackson (Oxford: Routledge, 2016), 254-255.

¹¹⁹ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 155.

¹²⁰ Crenshaw, “The Causes of Terrorism.”

¹²¹ Per-Olof H. Wikström and Noémie Bouhana, “Analyzing Radicalization and Terrorism: A Situational Action Theory,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 177.

links the cause to the effect.”¹²² This study is not ready to throw out the risk-factor approach, and believes that the individual and group levels are necessary to understand youth violence generally and radicalization specifically, though this frustration is duly noted.

Horgan and psychologist Max Taylor, in looking at radicalization as a process, recommend a possible model where associated actions and sociological, psychological, and political forces combine in ways that can lead to terrorism, but also could lead to nothing.¹²³ Horgan and Taylor acknowledge that missing pieces of a good model are the “mundane and apparently unrelated activities” that might be driving the radicalization.¹²⁴ Horgan, in a separate piece, urges “...a more sophisticated model of identity, and one aware of the need to integrate levels of analysis...to understand how terrorists’ own sense of identity forms and develops in response not only to their ‘own’ world but also to external change...”¹²⁵ As to whether this kind of modelling can be done well, Horgan and Taylor concede that there is not enough available empirical evidence, though they do turn to criminology studies for some assistance.¹²⁶ If possible, the value would be in identifying the person’s “particular pathway to terrorism,” complete with considerations highly specific to the individual and his/her surrounding circumstances.¹²⁷ Then, personality traits and psychological conditions would not be “...reduced to the grossly underdeserved state of the alleged causal variable.”¹²⁸ Yet, as Horgan laments, there is a “lack of variety of important empirical datasets to support particular viewpoints.”¹²⁹

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Max Taylor and John Horgan, “A Conceptual Framework for Addressing Psychological Process in the Development of the Terrorist,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18, no. 4 (2006).

¹²⁴ Ibid., 131.

¹²⁵ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 58.

¹²⁶ Taylor and Horgan, “A Conceptual Framework for Addressing Psychological Process in the Development of the Terrorist.”

¹²⁷ Ibid., 137.

¹²⁸ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 68.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 5.

This thesis, using mixed methods, does more than “aggregate risk factors” and takes a small step toward realizing Horgan and Taylor’s vision. It looks at individual and group risk factors or variables that potentially impact a person’s proclivity toward violence or deviance.¹³⁰ Rather than simply adding up risk factors from existing studies and reports, this thesis identifies violent and non-violent behaviors using a youth violence empirical dataset, the 2011 and 2012 *Fairfax County Youth Survey Reports*.¹³¹ This thesis identifies variables that statistically interact (with some more significant than others, even at the 1% level) and blends these with the known risk factors from existing terrorism and youth violence research. Then, it asserts a possible model or pathway of causation through an understanding of youth violence. That is why any model of youth violence or terrorism, including this study, will have both “equifinality (the same outcomes [terrorism] can be caused by different factors and combinations of factors) and multifinality (the same factors can lead to several different outcomes [terrorism and nonviolent political activism]).”¹³² This thesis is an attempt to begin to uncover a cadre of interactive variables, with varying strengths and specific to the individual and situation, that may be causal when applied to radicalization.

Taking terrorism studies to the next level may require additional academic rigor and empirical knowledge. Studies related to terrorism have been criticized for the inability to be scientific, or the inability to apply scientific knowledge to this discipline, as international relations and security studies have successfully done.¹³³ There is still no definitive answer to the question of how and why people radicalize, though Horgan has recommended a more useful study might be the examination of the “how” instead of the idiosyncrasies of each

¹³⁰ Kremer et al., “Coming to Terms With the Terms of Risk;” John Monahan, “The Individual Risk Assessment of Terrorism: Recent Developments,” in *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, ed. Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 523. A “risk factor” is “any variable that (a) statistically correlates with the outcome and also (b) precedes the outcomes in time.”

¹³¹ *Fairfax County 2011 Youth Survey; Fairfax County 2012 Youth Survey*.

¹³² Randy Borum, “Radicalization into Violent Extremism II: A Review of Conceptual Models and Empirical Research,” *Journal of Strategic Security* 4 (2011): 37-62.

¹³³ B. Buzan and L. Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Jackson, *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations: Philosophy of Science and Its Implications for the Study of World Politics*.

person's "why."¹³⁴ Seeking actionable and policy relevant data to get to the how and why, Wikström and Bouhana emphasize that:¹³⁵

A knowledge base capable of supporting policy must contain more than a catalogue of significant factors and regularly observed out-comes: it must include theories that advance explanations of how the former produces the unobservable, but plausible causal mechanisms. Knowledge is achieved when facts are explained, rather than described.¹³⁶

To recommend a possible solution, Crenshaw draws on her contemporaries Blumenthal, et al., and suggests that a survey of susceptible people could be done; then the researcher watches for terrorism and interviews those people.¹³⁷ The difficulties in convincing communities labeled as "terrorism likely" to participate will be hard to overcome. Providing one possible solution, Lindekilde calls for "more systematic empirical studies of the cause and mechanisms of radicalization" in a way that is testable.¹³⁸ Lindekilde suggests the merit of the mixed methods design, which could include a survey component. Though the design of this thesis was created prior to reading Lindekilde's work, this is heartening.

The ability to test for known, causal indicators of deviant personalities and violence does not need to be reinvented. Borrowing from other academic disciplines well-respected for

¹³⁴ Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 13, No. 4 (July 1981); Taylor and Horgan, "A Conceptual Framework for Addressing Psychological Process in the Development of the Terrorist;" Horgan, "From profiles to pathways and roots to routes," 80-94.

¹³⁵ Marc Sageman, "The Stagnation in Terrorism Research," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 4 (2014): 565-580; J.K. Young and M.G. Findley, "Promise and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research," *International Studies Review* 11, no. 3 (2011): 411-431.

¹³⁶ Wikström and Bouhana, "Analyzing Radicalization and Terrorism: A Situational Action Theory," in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 183.

¹³⁷ Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism;" Monica Blumenthal, *More About Justifying Violence: Methodological Studies of Attitudes and Behavior* (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1975), 12. Sloodman and Tillie, using survey data from the Amsterdam Resident Monitor including 321 Muslims, additionally interviewed 24 Amsterdam youths "on the verge of radicalizing" and 12 Muslim youths who were "radicalized," observing orthodox religion and a mistrust of society as drivers. They propose three non-independent paths to radicalization: need for meaning and stability; need for commitment; and, need for Islam. See Marieke Sloodman and Jean Tillie, "Processes of Radicalisation: Why some Amsterdam Muslims become radicals," *Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies*, 2006, available at: <http://home.medewerker.uva.nl/m.w.sloodman/>. Goli and Rezaei conducted a 108-item telephone survey of 1,113 persons aged fifteen to thirty in Denmark, where most were immigrants. Radicalized Muslims constituted 5.6% of the total sample. See: Marco Goli and Shahamak Rezaei, "House of War: Islamic Radicalisation in Denmark," Centre for Studies in Islamism and Radicalisation (CIR) Department of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark, 2010.

¹³⁸ Lindekilde, "Radicalization," in Jackson, *Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies*, 257.

identifying causal risk factors—individual and structural—may hold the answer. To date, there has not been the sufficient incorporation of key early findings from similar phenomena, whether youth violence or gang, into the study of radicalization.¹³⁹ By key early findings, I mean the specifics of childhood hunger, an abusive home, etc. Principles and theories are used, but not data derived from violent or at-risk individuals who are not classified as terrorists.¹⁴⁰ Crenshaw is one of the few who looks at youth crises, using Erik Erikson’s model, to assert that an identity crises or confusion may be driving terrorism later in life.¹⁴¹ While the relevance of juvenile delinquency criminology studies will be addressed in Chapter 3: Literature Review, this thesis aims to include the statistically significant and anecdotal patterns that emerge in youth violence into radicalization studies by identifying overlapping or related behaviors, and using known data indicating a person is at risk, especially during childhood and adolescence. This thesis incorporates quantitative data from a survey on youth risk factors with known information about deviant youths and radicalized individuals and tests the hypotheses against actual cases, aiming to do a slightly better job of explaining radicalization than variables from terrorism variables do.

What this thesis does not do, however, is use direct interviews, something Horgan believes is critical to building better theories of radicalization.¹⁴² Crenshaw also finds value in finding individuals who have chosen terrorism and then asking them questions, though she acknowledges that this is subject to great personal bias and revisionist history even if the person understands his/her motivations.¹⁴³ Regrettably, formal requests to interview the case study subjects in this thesis were declined. However, Horgan adds that “...listening to what the terrorists themselves have to say” is important to understanding the “development and

¹³⁹ Ibid., 256-257.

¹⁴⁰ See Chapter 3: Literature Review.

¹⁴¹ Martha Crenshaw, “The Psychology of Political Terrorism,” in M.G. Hermann (ed.), *Political Psychology: Contemporary Problems and Issues* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1986), 391-392.

¹⁴² John Horgan, “Interviewing the terrorists: reflections on and implications for psychological research,” *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 4, no. 3 (2012): 195-211.

¹⁴³ Crenshaw, “The Causes of Terrorism.”

structure” of terrorists.¹⁴⁴ This can include “private” accounts that might “shed more light on any psychopathological issues of relevance or usefulness to constructing a psychological analysis, despite their obvious incompleteness.”¹⁴⁵ This study does use cell phone transcripts, letters, private conversation transcripts, and blog posts in several points throughout the case studies, attempting to listen to these private accounts and possibly identify some common structures.¹⁴⁶ There is a great need for further first-hand research, in connection to theoretical studies, in the prisons and other places where radicalized individuals will be able to speak for themselves.

¹⁴⁴ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 5.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.

¹⁴⁶ Crenshaw believes that terrorist accounts or autobiographies could possibly reveal common themes and structures. See Martha Crenshaw, “Questions to be Answered, Research to Be Done, Knowledge to Be Applied,” in ed. Walter Reich, *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 247-260.

Section 1.4: Policy Points of Interest

The policy community, those creating and implementing strategies, faces a number of practical road blocks in discussing and countering terrorism. This thesis is not intended to argue with politicians, but rather contribute to an informed dialogue that cultivates the best data, resulting in policies that prevent violence.

At times, counterterrorism policies seem to be driven by hatred and fear, even if the emotional response seems justified in the aftermath of a horrific attack. Often, hatred of certain religions is used by those in power to justify political positions and enhance the standing of groups they view as favorable, while marginalizing or vilifying others.¹⁴⁷

Terrorism expert Bruce Hoffman, referencing Jenkins, “If one party can successfully attach the label terrorist to its opponents, then it has indirectly persuaded others to adopt its moral viewpoint.”¹⁴⁸ As said by international studies professor Isabelle Duyvesteyn, “Terrorism is thus often a pejorative term.”¹⁴⁹ Reconfiguring the debate on pathways to radicalization might lessen Islamophobia and fear of other religions, and minimize the use of terms like homegrown terrorism to target certain communities.

Counterterrorism appears in every US Department’s operations, from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Energy. During the George W. Bush administration, Hoffman pointed to a gap in counter-terrorism since September 11, 2001: “The United States must enunciate a clear policy for countering terrorism and from that policy develop a comprehensive strategy.”¹⁵⁰ Since that was written in 2005, several steps have been taken.

Consolidation efforts by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) aim to integrate and analyze key pieces of intelligence, then

¹⁴⁷ Ahmed, *Islam Today: A Short Introduction to the Muslim World*.

¹⁴⁸ Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 31.

¹⁴⁹ Isabelle Duyvesteyn, “How New Is the New Terrorism?,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 27, no. 5 (September/October 2004).

¹⁵⁰ Bruce Hoffman, “The Changing Face of Al Qaeda and the Global War on Terrorism,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 27, no. 6 (2004).

share these with the pertinent parties.¹⁵¹ However, each party still pursues their own piece of the counterterrorism mission. The one-sentence current counter-terrorism strategy is: “to prevent violent extremists and their supporters from inspiring, radicalizing, financing, or recruiting individuals or groups in the United States to commit acts of violence.”¹⁵² This is further supported by the *2011 National Strategy for Counterterrorism* that specifically identifies al-Qaeda and its affiliates and adherents as the threat.¹⁵³ The goals for the strategy are to: protect the American people, homeland, and American interests; disrupt, degrade, dismantle, and defeat al-Qa’ida and its affiliates and adherents; prevent terrorist development, acquisition, and use of weapons of mass destruction, eliminate safe havens, build enduring counterterrorism partnerships and capabilities, degrade links between al-Qa’ida and its affiliates and adherents; counter al-Qa’ida ideology and its resonance and diminish the specific drivers of violence that al-Qa’ida exploits; and, deprive terrorists of their enabling means.¹⁵⁴ Under the goals are the core principles of: adhering to US core values; building security partnerships; applying CT tools and capabilities appropriately; and building a culture of resilience.¹⁵⁵

At the time of writing that strategy in 2011, US President Barack Obama had made good on his promise to apprehend Osama bin Laden (albeit deceased) and al-Qaeda was arguably a large non-existential threat to the United States that was prime for dismantling. Also at the time of writing, Daesh was sending a mission into Syria following the outbreak of the Syrian Civil War.¹⁵⁶ The comprehensive strategy to combat terrorism at home and abroad

¹⁵¹ National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC), 2016, accessed November 16, 2016, <https://www.nctc.gov/>; Department of Homeland Security, 2016, accessed November 1, 2016, <https://www.dhs.gov/>.

¹⁵² United States of America, Office of the President, *Strategic Implementation Plan for Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States* (Washington, D.C., 2016), 1.

¹⁵³ United States of America, Office of the President, *National Strategy for Counter Terrorism* (Washington, D.C., 2011), 2-3.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 8-10.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁵⁶ Zack Beauchamp, “Syria’s civil war: a brief history,” *Vox*, October 2, 2015, <http://www.vox.com/2015/9/14/9319293/syrian-refugees-civil-war>.

as it affected the United States now faces another challenger that does not consider itself part of the al-Qaeda brand, though Daesh has claimed to absorb some parts of al-Qaeda. The policy community needs to pay attention to what the next challenge will be, rather than limit itself to al-Qaeda and its affiliates and adherents. Gangs and crime, among many other related issues, did not feature in the 2011 *Counterterrorism Strategy*; terrorism stood alone as a unique phenomenon in need of extraordinary attention. More broadly, counterterrorism was addressed in annual versions of the *US National Security Strategy*, but not updated to accommodate these shifting security environments. This may be because, as Neumann emphasizes, America has largely been the exception to the rise of global jihadist attack. While incidents like San Bernardino and Orlando happen, the frequency is far lower than Europe owing to what Neumann terms “Muslim American exceptionalism,” where Muslim Americans are “less receptive to the jihadist narrative, better integrated into the American mainstream, and – more generally – more at ease with being Western and Muslim.”¹⁵⁷ Counterterrorism practitioners need to acknowledge and better prepare for the eventuality of more terrorism, even if the numbers are low compared to Europe. This includes considerations for female terrorists and lone wolves, and will require enhanced coordination among local, state, federal, and international partners.¹⁵⁸ A National Strategy for Counterterrorism 2.0 should include a key piece: the integration of non-terrorism specific efforts to curb delinquency that will further help to prevent the rare radicalization where possible.

Recently in October 2016, the Obama White House released its “Strategic Implementation Plan for Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Extremism in the United

¹⁵⁷ Neumann, *Radicalized*, 149; for more on American jihadists, see J.M. Berger, *Jihad Joe: Americans Who Go to War in the Name of Islam* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2001).

¹⁵⁸ Karla J. Cunningham, “Countering Female Terrorism,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30, no. 2 (2007).

States,” which replaced a 2011 version.¹⁵⁹ This plan, quite insightfully, identifies the frontline role that communities, neighbors, families, and schools play in shaping a youth’s world view and in identifying when a person is heading down a bad path, which is referred to as countering violent extremism (CVE) in this context. This report is a laudable step in the right direction, identifying that “strong and resilient local communities are the most effective means of safeguarding individuals in the United States against violent extremist recruitment and radicalization.”¹⁶⁰ The report relies on communities to know and use tools and support to curb this. Though it adds violent extremism to the explicit mention of gang violence, potential active shooters, hate crimes, and self-destructive behaviors currently handled by local police, terrorism is still considered a separate entity.¹⁶¹

While communities are encouraged to incorporate CVE principles into existing programs, it is unclear if those additional responsibilities will be met with flexible funding, though the plan does mention support in the forms of “limited” resources, future government grants and financial assistance, and the identification of “new funding opportunities.”¹⁶² The report adds, “national programs should be flexible enough to be tailored to the specific needs of local stakeholders,” with the goal of enabling “communities to develop their own solutions to build local resilience.”¹⁶³ Hypothetically, could money—if provided—aimed at CVE be spent to provide school lunches to hungry children and counseling to those distraught over a poor home environment? Existing studies prove that childhood hunger and a poor home environment are indicative of juvenile delinquency, yet community organizations, public mental health professionals, and local law enforcement officers are woefully overburdened

¹⁵⁹ United States of America, *Strategic Implementation Plan for Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States*. I was fortunate enough to be given a copy prior to mass distribution and had the opportunity to discuss certain aspects with one of the architects of the report.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 9-11.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 2, 8.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 9-11.

and underpaid. This suggests that funding for local CVE efforts needs to be versatile.

Together, a wide variety of capabilities, tools, and participants build resiliency.¹⁶⁴

Spending money wisely is part of this policy equation. The terrorism industry, which includes everyone from media to entrepreneurs and government officials, needs to be reined in and focused.¹⁶⁵ The idea of the threat being everywhere means that money is literally spent anywhere there could possibly be a terrorist threat, no matter how far-fetched. National security professor John Mueller quotes homeland security Benjamin Friedman expert to make a punchy point: “Telling Kansan truck drivers to prepare for nuclear terrorism is like telling bullfighters to watch out for lightning. It should not be their primary concern.”¹⁶⁶ Mueller points to the excessive, self-defeating waste currently going on in this counter-terrorism industry: “The enormous sums of money being spent to deal with this threat have in part been diverted from other, possibly more worthy, endeavors.”¹⁶⁷

Good academic research needs to guide the fiscal investments that will be made in preventing radicalization, rather than throwing money at the problem. One large barrier to academia helping policy is in access to known terrorists. As noted by Hamm and Spaaij, researchers have been denied access to US prisons systems to interview terrorists the vast majority of the time, something I also experienced. According to them, overcoming this challenge demands not only a comprehensive research management plan, but also persistence and a commitment to working within the system.¹⁶⁸ Closer cooperation between academia and policy, something noted in the aforementioned CVE strategy, would also help clear up

¹⁶⁴ Stevan Weine and William Braniff, “Empowering Communities to Prevent Violent Extremism,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 454; For more on ways to minimize or counter terrorism, see Simon Perry, David Weisburd, and Badi Hasisi, “The Ten Commandments for Effective Counterterrorism,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 482-494.

¹⁶⁵ Mueller, “Six Rather Unusual Propositions about Terrorism,” 493.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; see also Benjamin Friedman, “Leap Before You Look: The Failure of Homeland Security,” *Breakthroughs* 13, no. 1 (2004): 35.

¹⁶⁷ Mueller, “Six Rather Unusual Propositions About Terrorism,” 492.

¹⁶⁸ Hamm and Spaaij, “Paradigmatic Case Studies and Prison Ethnography: Future Directions in Terrorism Research,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of the Criminology of Terrorism*, 214.

some confusion about what data matters to counterterrorism. Academic studies have fallen victim to obfuscation or distortion by the policy community when used to support or justify counter-radicalization programs.¹⁶⁹ As these studies are often used to prescribe policy positions, the data needs to be far more solid and actionable, rather than based off highly specific studies of radicalized individuals or broad conceptual theories. A comprehensive strategy cannot be reduced to a one-page memo that is explained in 60 seconds. Further, policy makers cannot wait to include terrorism experts until there is a crisis that needs managing.¹⁷⁰ Policy makers need academics and their theories earlier in the strategic planning process.

When a poor understanding of radicalization is combined with the need for an immediate policy response, resulting recommendations can be counterproductive. According to political scientist and political sociologist Donatella della Porta, “Political conflicts are often further radicalized by the effects of antiterrorist policies.”¹⁷¹ Chants of “build this wall” and calls for a Muslim registry do little other than further target the very communities that are essential in combating social discord at all levels, possibly including terrorism.¹⁷² Political psychologist Jerrold Post finds that government “retaliation may actually strengthen the group and promote increased terrorist activity,” as the group bonds against danger and threat.¹⁷³ Isolating and labeling individuals, discussed further in Chapter 3, often serves to harden these communities and create a sense of pride in being part of, in this case, the Islamic community.

¹⁶⁹ M. Sedgwick, “The Concept of Radicalization as a Source of Confusion,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22, no. 4 (2010): 479-494.

¹⁷⁰ Crenshaw, “Questions to be Answered, Research to Be Done, Knowledge to Be Applied,” in Reich (ed.), *Origins of Terrorism*, 247.

¹⁷¹ Donatella della Porta, “On Individual Motivations in Underground Political Organizations,” in *Terrorism Studies: A Reader*, ed. John Horgan and Kurt Braddock (Oxford: Routledge, 2012), 239.

¹⁷² Donald J. Trump, “Immigration,” *Trump Pence: Make America Great Again*, n.d., accessed online December 7, 2016, <https://www.donaldjtrump.com/policies/immigration/>; Aaron Blake, “Trump says we’ve known his Muslim ban and database plans ‘all along.’ But we still don’t – not really,” *The Washington Post*, December 21, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/11/17/the-evolution-of-donald-trump-and-the-muslim-database/?utm_term=.99f5a083329f.

¹⁷³ Post, “Rewarding Fire with Fire,” 33.

Good policy needs sensible preparations and tempered responses. Policy makers need to ready the public that another 9/11—though unimaginably horrible—will not bring the country down unless multiple nuclear weapons are involved. Nations, including the United States, have survived the loss of tens of thousands of people in a single day or from a disaster and rebuilt. While not demeaning the value of the lives lost, even a catastrophic attack that left tens of thousands dead would still only be “less than four thousandths of 1% of the population.”¹⁷⁴ Perspective is needed here. Policies that are neither wasteful nor aimed at the prevention of 100% of unlikely attacks could be “designed to... [reduce] fear and anxiety as inexpensively as possible.”¹⁷⁵ The discussions to put terrorism in context need to be deeper, sensible, and lead to good—rather than knee-jerk—policies.¹⁷⁶ Lastly, the response after the next attack should be measured and the temptation to over-react be avoided, lest this lead to even more hatred and vengeance against America.¹⁷⁷ This is what my thesis begins to do.

¹⁷⁴ Mueller, “Six Rather Unusual Propositions about Terrorism,” 495.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 411.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 408.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 411.

Section 1.5: Thesis Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 has identified the theoretical and policy puzzle: how distinct are radicalization variables from youth violence variables? If not distinct, then can better early warning signs for radicalization possibly be identified, starting with Northern Virginia? To reiterate, I hypothesize that homegrown terrorism is better understood as simply terrorism, which can be considered a subtype of youth violence. Second, I hypothesize that, therefore, youth violence variables can provide a better explanation than terrorism variables for radicalization, in three cases from Northern Virginia. The scope of analysis and definitions were established in Section 1.1. An iterative sequential mixed methods design tests this with case studies, as mentioned in Section 1.2. Chapter 1 also briefly reviewed the academic and policy points of interest in Sections 1.3 and 1.4.

In Chapter 2, the strengths and weaknesses of various aspects of the iterative sequential mixed methods design are discussed, as well as the selection of the independent variables and three cases. Further details are provided on how within case and a modified Lakatosian comparisons are applied to each case. This includes an explanation for how variables from terrorism studies are evaluated vis-à-vis a youth violence variables. SDT, including Recognition Denial (RD), is properly introduced as a typology for the independent variables. Chapter 3: Literature Review reviews relevant works from criminology, juvenile delinquency, terrorism, and radicalization studies, suggesting that the latter may benefit from the inclusion of data on childhood and adolescent behaviors that indicate future violence is likely. One contribution of this thesis to terrorism and radicalization studies is data on non-risky and risky behaviors in childhood and adolescence that indicate future violence in radicalized individuals. Chapters 4 through 6 test the presence of variables from radicalization and terrorism studies versus variables from youth violence studies across each case study. The final Chapter 7 includes brief cross-case comparisons, while summarizing the

important and actionable attributes of youth violence variables against terrorism and radicalization variables in the identification, and possibly prevention, of violent youths. As this is a plausibility probe, Chapter 7 will advise where future research and corresponding funding should be directed to better prevent radicalization.

Chapter 2: Methodology

In not diving deep into the years prior to radicalization, an opportunity to explain how critical the life-stages of childhood and adolescence are to terrorism has been missed. The radicalization of a person—whether gang member or supporter of Daesh—is the accumulation of physical and emotional experiences across a lifetime, and especially early developmental stages. Not all of those experiences will be bad or appear as red flags for concern, and individuals have infinite characteristics and traits. In this chapter, a methodological framework is presented that involves non-violent as well as deviant variables to test the hypothesis that the radicalization of a homegrown terrorist in Northern Virginia is better explained as a form of youth violence.

This chapter consists of six sections. Section 2.1 explains the iterative sequential mixed methods design (quan, QUAL1, QUAL2) for this plausibility probe in greater detail. Section 2.2 details the quantitative methodological approach and statistical results—the first set of independent variables or quan—and gives insight into the strongest behavioral (non-violent and violent) relationships. While it is difficult to study terrorism without the intentional selection of the dependent variable, the inclusion of this step is one attempt to represent those individuals who do not become violent or do not become terrorists. Represented by QUAL1, Section 2.3 shares the first qualitative methodological approach and analyzes the results of the existing studies on radicalization, youth violence, and gangs, identifying independent variables from these disciplines. Section 2.4 combines the quantitative with the qualitative to create one research design or matrix with 516 independent variables. At this moment, the 516 independent variables represent factors from previously established studies on youth violence and terrorism that could be correlated with violence and may appear in case subjects. These could be insufficient or randomly appearing, especially in the small case set of three Northern Virginia men, but do allow for the comparison of youth

violence versus terrorism explanations and the examination of patterns in this thesis. With new research, this number could increase or decrease. Section 2.5 explains how Social Disintegration Theory (SDT) is used as an organizational tool for the quantitative (quan) and qualitative data (QUAL1), giving variables a typology or character.¹⁷⁸ Section 2.6 describes the three case studies (including “most likely” and “least likely”): Amine El-Khalifi, Zachary Chesser, and the control Thaddaeus Snow. Section 2.7 explains how the cases will be tested using indirect causal inference, within case analysis, and a modified Lakatosian “three-cornered fight” that evaluates the relative power of competing theories.¹⁷⁹ Two things are tested. First, how does the number of terrorism variables mathematically and substantively compare to the number of youth violence variables in these cases? This gets to the heart of whether two cases of homegrown terrorism could be considered a subtype of youth violence. Second, do variables from radicalization theories or variables from youth violence studies hold more explanatory power with respect to homegrown terrorism? The hypothesis remains that homegrown terrorism could be considered a subtype of youth violence and youth violence variables are better at explaining radicalization in three cases from Northern Virginia. Section 2.8 offers some ethical considerations.

¹⁷⁸ Michael P. Arena and Bruce A. Arrigo, “Social Psychology, Terrorism, And Identity: A Preliminary Re-Examination Of Theory, Culture, Self, And Society,” *Behavior Sciences & the Law* 23, no. 4 (2005): 485-506, doi: 10.1002/bsl.653. Arena and Arrigo find that social psychology has a role to play in the formulation of a terrorist’s identity within the larger context of culture and society.

¹⁷⁹ Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 83.

Section 2.1: Methodology Overview

Considerable thought has gone into the best way to test this hypothesis, not least with the influence of Stephen Van Evera, Alexander George, and Andrew Bennett.¹⁸⁰ First, there are a few limitations to testing the causation of violent and non-violent behaviors with respect to homegrown terrorism. John Stuart Mill's "method of agreement" and "method of difference" are not applicable.¹⁸¹ The radicalization process is unique to each person, and the various independent variables will form in different patterns, not revealing a single all-important and common indicator (method of agreement).¹⁸² In addition, comparing non-terrorists to terrorist reveals an enormous list of differing variables. There is not a single known difference (method of difference) that makes one person turn to violence and the other abstain.

Process-tracing and congruence testing were similarly not the best choices.¹⁸³ First, there are predictable holes in the data, though a rich volume of information was accessible and many variables could be inferred by triangulating with actual supportive evidence.¹⁸⁴ Under US national security laws, some key details have been sealed or classified, including psychological evaluations, and were not releasable under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). There was also a practical barrier to interviewing convicted terrorists. The defense attorneys denied all requests, submitted through a series of written correspondence and one in-person meeting. One objective of this thesis is to create a model that could be possibly applicable beyond the case studies, whereas process-tracing is possibly too narrow for generalizations. To use congruence testing, all but one independent variable needs to be

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.; George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*.

¹⁸¹ John Stuart Mills, *A System of Logic*, 1843.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ In process -racing, near complete information about a case with multiple data points needs to be collected, compared, and contrasted on a large and detailed scale. Then, causal mechanisms are identified and tested. For more on process-tracing and congruence, see George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*.

¹⁸⁴ Laura Dugan and Michael Distler, "Measuring Terrorism," in *The Handbook of the Criminology of Terrorism*, ed. Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 201. To overcome missing data, Dugan and Distler recommend using an imputation strategy, using related observable behaviors to triangulate.

controlled at a given time, which is also impossible given the above limitations.¹⁸⁵ There are too many factors.

Therefore, the most robust way to test the hypothesis is an iterative sequential mixed methods research design involving case studies. From Chapter 1:

Figure 1.1 Iterative Sequential Mixed Methods Research Design



As the strengths of the iterative sequential mixed methods research design have already been discussed, attention is now paid to each individual component and data selection: survey (quan), systematic review of existing studies (QUAL1), and case studies (QUAL2). An overview on SDT and how this is used to enhance quan and QUAL1 is included, prior to a discussion of the case study method.

¹⁸⁵ George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*.

Section 2.2: quan, the Survey Approach, and Quantitative Findings

Quantitative data can be used to enhance or supplement findings from qualitative analysis and case studies. Violent and non-violent behaviors most closely associated with other types of behavior exhibited by youths, to possibly include those who become terrorists, need to be established and expanded beyond databases solely built based on known terrorists.¹⁸⁶ Here, survey research has a unique advantage. According to George and Bennett, surveys provide “standardized, general questions” in support of the research purpose and allow for cumulative, comparable data across cases and individuals.¹⁸⁷ Surveys can measure facts, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs, as well as assess how widespread these may be, that become variables.¹⁸⁸ Surveys, done well and with sufficient response rates, create generalizable information that can be applied to a larger population.¹⁸⁹ Then, these variables should “provide some leverage for policy makers to influence outcomes.”¹⁹⁰ Lastly, surveys are useful with respect to case studies. George and Bennett recommend, “Case studies should employ variables of theoretical interest for purposes of explanation.”¹⁹¹ Thus, I sought a large, existing survey on youth behavior to use in the examination and analysis of known cases of homegrown terrorism, while drawing possible lessons for future cases.

There are a few drawbacks to surveys as a methodological tool. First, surveys are not the strongest tool in measuring causation.¹⁹² Second, surveys are highly individualistic, whereas the beliefs and actions of a person may be more the result of culture or the

¹⁸⁶ Robert Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005), and Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad*, 23-28. The databases by Pape and Sageman, for example, are highly specific to people who are suicide terrorists or are from Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa. However, there are far greater numbers of people who are just a little bit deviant, who join criminal organizations, and who commit more general acts of violence.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Wolfgang Donsbach and Michael W. Traugott, *The SAGE Handbook of Public Opinion Research* (New York, NY: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2008), 223.

¹⁸⁹ Donsbach and Traugott, *The SAGE Handbook of Public Opinion Research*.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, 69.

¹⁹² Ibid., 224.

surrounding group.¹⁹³ There are three potential errors with surveys: survey errors, survey constraints, and survey-related effects.¹⁹⁴ Self-report surveys often underestimate instances of serious delinquency.¹⁹⁵ Individuals tend to underreport bad behavior, and incorrectly answer vague questions. Because of this, the survey needed to achieve correlation without blindly asserting causation, have large response numbers and high statistical significance to minimize personal preferences, include minimal known errors, and indicate (if statistically significant) a good amount of information on delinquent behavior.

In selecting a survey, the first consideration was given for a geographic area with a diverse population, presence of crime and youth violence, and presence of terrorism. The second consideration was for its size and potential generalizability, and whether it conducts annual surveys of youth violence. Northern Virginia, a relatively diverse and affluent part of Virginia, is outside of Washington, DC and has experienced serious problems with youth violence and terrorism. With to its geographic location and possibly generalizable characteristics, proximity to a major city, and demographics, Northern Virginia was selected. Taking stock of the counties contained in Northern Virginia that survey youths about their behavior, Arlington County's survey varies years, as does Alexandria City's. Prince William County does not survey.¹⁹⁶ That leaves Fairfax County. Within Northern Virginia, Fairfax County is the largest county in Virginia by population. The median income is almost double

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ H.F. Weisberg, *The Total Survey Error Approach: A Guide to the New Science of Survey Research* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005), 224-230. According to Weisberg, survey error can include "sampling error, coverage error, non-response error at the unit level, non-response error at the item level, measurement error due to respondents, and measurement error due to interviewers...post survey error." Survey constraints include cost, time, and ethics. Survey-related effects "limit the precision of the conclusions that can be drawn from survey evidence" because a question was worded a particular way, questions were worded in a particular order, the administration of the survey (computer, proctored), and the risk inherent in comparing surveys.

¹⁹⁵ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 33.

¹⁹⁶ Kathy May, "A Summary of Results from Youth Health Risk Surveys," Voices for Virginia's Children, July 2009, accessed November 9, 2016, <http://www.connectnorthernvirginia.org/knowledgebase/showFile.php?file=bmNjczk5Ng==>.

that of the US and is even ahead of the surrounding areas.¹⁹⁷ There is a wage gap of about \$18,000 in male versus female annual salary for common jobs, but wages are distributed more evenly in Virginia compared to the national average.¹⁹⁸ Fairfax County has 6.6% of its population below the poverty line (majority white), compared to the national average of approximately 15.5%.¹⁹⁹ Approximately 85% of the population are citizens, compared with the national average of 93%. While any county will have its incomparable idiosyncrasies, results from Fairfax are possibly applicable to counties with similar income gaps, poverty rates, age (median age 37.6), race and ethnicity percentages (51.9% White, 18.8% Asian, 16.4% Hispanic, etc.), non-English languages, education (associate's degree), crime, and other measures. More specifically, Fairfax County was chosen for the quantitative data because focusing on one county was manageable for the time allotted for this thesis. There is no claim that Fairfax County is applicable to other counties or geographic areas with distinct environmental, historical, cultural, and other factors. In fact, Fairfax County does not keep data on, for example, the most similar 10 counties in the United States.²⁰⁰ However, it may be and this study could be followed with similar studies engaging other parts of the United States and international locations with careful consideration income, age, race, and other identifying characteristics.

Quite fortuitously, Fairfax County has annual data related to youth behaviors (including violence) and has been annually surveying their students since 2001. Following a Freedom of Information Act request, Fairfax County shared the 2011 and 2012 *Fairfax*

¹⁹⁷ "Fairfax County, VA," Data USA, 2016, accessed December 19, 2016, <https://datausa.io/profile/geo/fairfax-county-va/#wages>.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Sophia Dutton, "E-mail to Author," e-mail, January 5, 2017.

County Youth Survey Report databases.²⁰¹ According to Fairfax County, the Youth Survey Report is a:

comprehensive, anonymous and voluntary survey given each year to students in grades 6, 8, 10 and 12, examines behaviors, experiences and other factors that influence the health and well-being of Fairfax County's youth. The results provide a snapshot of the county's youth and serve as a barometer of the community's effectiveness fostering healthy choices in young people. The Youth Survey is a collaboration of Fairfax County Government and the Fairfax County Public Schools.

For both 2011 and 2012, the computer-scannable survey was conducted in the fall semester during one class period. The 2011 survey had 155 questions, while the 2012 survey had 207 questions that included the addition of dating behaviors. The 2011 and 2012 survey questions were based on nationally-validated youth surveys, especially the *Communities that Care Youth Survey*, the Center for Disease Control's *Youth Risk Behavior Survey*, selected Search Institute surveys, and the National Environmental Education and Training Foundation's *Roper Survey*. The categories and wording of questions was extremely similar from year to year, with slight and insignificant deviations. The survey uses a nonrandom sampling procedure, inviting all students to participate. Because it was nonrandom, Fairfax County acknowledges that there is some limitation on the extent to which it can be generalized to other populations and there is the possibility of sampling bias, as would be expected with any county survey. Parents and guardians received one month notice about the upcoming survey, along with instructions on how to review and opt their child out of the survey. Students were told that their participation was voluntary, they could additionally choose not to answer certain questions, and participation would be anonymous (emphasized several times in the survey administration).

To create their data analysis methodology, Fairfax County Public Schools (FCPS) compared "the percentage of survey respondents from each grade...with the percentage of all

²⁰¹ The 2009 dataset was also shared, but was riddled with errors and was unusable. FCPS cautions that no comparisons should be made with data prior to 2010.

enrolled students in each grade within that pyramid.”²⁰² FCPS used corrective weights to ensure proportionality, and each record was weighted by the factor:

$$w_{ij} = \frac{X_{ij} \div X}{Y_{ij} \div Y}$$

Where

- X_{ij} = # of students enrolled in Grade i, Pyramid j
 - X = total # of students enrolled in Grades 8, 10, and 12, in Pyramids 1-25
 - Y_{ij} = # of survey respondents in Grade i, Pyramid j
 - Y = total # of survey respondents in Grades 8, 10, and 12, in Pyramids 1-25
- (i = 8, 10, 12; 1 ≤ j ≤ 25)

Statistical differences (p < .05) were seen for grade-level, gender, and racial/ethnic subgroups.²⁰³ Questionnaires were rejected by FCPS if: fewer than eight questions were answered, the student answered “I was not honest at all” on the final question, the student reported use of a fictitious drug (vivoxiline), the grade information was missing, the student’s reported age and grade were implausible, the student provided inconsistent responses regarding substance abuse and other behaviors (including sexual), the student provided pharmacologically implausible patterns of responses (reports having never taken heroin and also says s/he took heroin in the last 30 days), or the student reported being in the 8th grade in Pyramid 9 (too old). In 2012, they additionally used Chronbach’s alpha to measure internal consistency. Their alpha values ranged from .423 to .961 with the vast majority above .6 and most within the recommended .06-.07 range for acceptable reliability. All together, these create confidence by Fairfax County that the remaining survey responses are indeed reliable and valid.

²⁰² The Fairfax County Public Schools’ system assigns schools to a pyramid that is comprised of a high school and its feeder elementary and middle schools; *Fairfax County 2011 Youth Survey*; *Fairfax County 2012 Youth Survey*, 189.

²⁰³ These inconsistencies impacted my regression analysis in minor ways. A few variables were excluded from or received less attention in my regression analysis because these were non-linear and could not be logically compared, or because they had no relationship to behavior. One such example of an omitted relationship is the statistical result of a comparison of ethnicity to gender.

In 2011, there were 31,106 valid responses and 2,818 rejected questionnaires for the 8th, 10th, and 12th graders. This represented an 87.1% response rate from FCPS total enrollment of 38,936 students, which excludes 232 valid surveys from alternative school students whose responses would not have been confidential owing to small numbers. In 2012, there were 32,027 valid responses and 3,053 rejected questionnaires from the 8th, 10th, and 12th graders. This is an 89.6% response rate from a total enrollment of 39,162, which excludes 124 valid surveys from alternative school students whose responses would not have been confidential owing to small numbers. Alternative high schools in Fairfax County assist disaffected youth who have not been successful in the regular school system for any number of reasons, including deviance, significant disabilities, and difficulty with English.²⁰⁴ That some serious delinquents, if even still attending school, are under-sampled in this survey, however, is a noted drawback. Any results on violence and delinquency, had the alternative schools been included, would possibly have been slightly higher. With respect to the 2011 and 2012 results, this is still a survey of the general youth population, where many deviant students do not attend alternative schools. Further and according to delinquency experts Robert Agnew and Timothy Brezina, “most juveniles engage in delinquency.”²⁰⁵ Thus even without the alternative schools, these surveys are likely representative of general youth trends. As a point of interest in 2015, Fairfax County did begin administering a shorter survey to approximately 2000 students with significant disabilities and not yet developed English skills, using questions (demographic, school climate, and incidents of bullying and

²⁰⁴ “Alternative and Nontraditional School Programs,” Fairfax County Public Schools, 2016, accessed December 16, 2016, <https://www.fcps.edu/academics/academic-overview/nontraditional-schools-program>.

²⁰⁵ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 49.

harassment) from the Youth Survey.²⁰⁶ These results did not differ significantly from the larger survey.²⁰⁷

As confirmed by representatives from Fairfax County's Countywide Service Integration and Planning Management Division Department of Neighborhood and Community Services, and Public Schools, the *Fairfax County Youth Survey Report* has been shared with several individuals. The Children's National Medical Center used the data when considering moving to later high school start times.²⁰⁸ It was also given to the Center for Disease Control for an Epi-Aid investigation related to suicide in 2014.²⁰⁹ Internally, Fairfax County actively uses the result to "identify both risk and protective factors for a range of risky behaviors," and then "use this data in presentations to the students, teachers, parents, and members of the community to highlight steps they can take to improve resiliency and increase protective factors...[tailoring] interventions at particular schools when we see patterns of concern."²¹⁰ Non-profits may also use the data in their grant applications.²¹¹ Academically, two dissertations accessible through *ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global* reference, but do not extensively appear to use, the data from other years: "Experiences of depression: A qualitative study of adolescents who have been diagnosed with depression" and "CYP2A6 and CYP2B6: Sources of variation and their role in nicotine metabolism."²¹² Fairfax County representatives additionally confirm that whole or partial datasets have been

²⁰⁶ This survey was administered with a read aloud option in English and seven other languages, a Braille version, and versions that could be completed using various vision assistance devices. A simplified version was given to students with severe limits in cognitive ability and communication skills.

²⁰⁷ Mary Ann Panarelli, "E-mail to Author," e-mail, December 29, 2016.

²⁰⁸ "Delaying High School Start Times: Children's National Developing a "Blueprint for Change" for Fairfax County Public Schools," Children's National, June 14, 2013, <http://childrensnational.org/news-and-events/childrens-newsroom/2013/delaying-high-school-start-times-childrens-national-developing-a-blueprint-for-change-for-fairfax-county-public-schools>; Sophia Dutton, "E-mail to Author," e-mail, December 29, 2016.

²⁰⁹ "CDC Epi-Aid Report on Youth Suicide in Fairfax County," Fairfax County Virginia, June 23, 2015, <http://www.fairfaxcounty.gov/hd/suicide/>.

²¹⁰ Mary Ann Panarelli, "E-mail to Author," e-mail, December 29, 2016.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Diane R. Tuininga, *Experiences of Depression: A Qualitative Study of Adolescents Who Have Been Diagnosed with Depression*, PhD diss., George Mason University, 2006 (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2006); Nael Al Koulsi, *CYP2A6 And CYP2B6: Sources of Variation and Their Role in Nicotine Metabolism*, PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2010 (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2010).

shared with other doctoral students, but they do not track records of the dissertations. By using the data from the Youth Survey Reports in this thesis, a new source of information on deviant youths was incorporated into the study of terrorism rather than relying only on someone else's data.²¹³ This helps address two problems that Horgan has identified with terrorism research: "a lack of variety of important empirical datasets to support particular viewpoints"²¹⁴ and "...little to no sense of how the identification of presumed common traits might actually be harnessed for practical purposes."²¹⁵ In asserting that early radicalization variables are identifiable and that these variables are supportive of a more general youth violence hypothesis, I needed to include an empirical dataset that 1) does not presume common traits, 2) is useful in identifying patterns of behavior, and 3) produces valid data that aids the development of policies aimed at preventing youth violence. Therefore, I incorporate the *Fairfax County Youth Survey Report* data for the 8th, 10th, and 12th graders.²¹⁶

²¹³ Magnus, "Mapping Terrorism Studies after 9/11: An Academic Field of Old Problems and New Prospects," in *Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda*, ed. R. Jackson, M. Breen Smyth and J. Gunning (London: Routledge, 2009), 13-33; A. Silke, *Research on Terrorism: Trends, Achievements and Failures* (London: Frank Cass, 2004). One critique of some terrorism studies is that these studies regurgitate data from other studies in a feedback loop.

²¹⁴ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 5.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 65.

²¹⁶ The questions for the 6th graders differed significantly and made a standardized comparison difficult, though their surveys will be used in my further research.

Statistical Analysis of the Youth Survey Reports

The 155 (2011) and 207 (2012) *Fairfax County Youth Survey* questions were identified as independent and/or dependent variables for this study, which avoided the trap of inadvertently inserting my personal biases and preferences.²¹⁷ Using SPSS, basic regression analysis tested which survey questions (independent variables) were most strongly correlated with delinquent or risky behavior (dependent variables). The dependent variables were those questions in the survey that dealt with aggression (including bullying and cyberbullying), dating violence, gangs, other delinquent behaviors, and weapons, or what would generally be considered violent or negative behavior or thoughts. Based on each regression, a question related to one of these delinquent or risky behaviors might serve as an independent variable if it was not dependent variable being tested. For example, whether the youth carried a handgun to school was both an independent and dependent variable in different regressions. These dependent variable question categories are summarized in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Preliminary Youth Violence Dependent Variable Categories

Bullying, Cyberbullying, Aggression, and Violent Acts
Dating Violence (2011 only)
Gangs
Other Delinquent or Risky Behaviors
Weapons

The regression analysis tested which questions, or independent variables, were statistically significant at the .01% and .05% level against dependent variable questions.²¹⁸ Results (behaviors) statistically significant at the .05% level are the same behaviors that are statistically significant at the .01% level, albeit with different dependent variables. As a result, the analysis was limited to the .01% level where there are approximately 182

²¹⁷ George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, 70.

²¹⁸ *Fairfax County 2011 Youth Survey; Fairfax County 2012 Youth Survey*. I use very basic quantitative analysis and am acutely aware that I am not a statistician, nor have I had formal training beyond the courses at RSIS. With that disclaimer, I find regression analysis critical to my thesis and incorporate it as the first step of my methodology.

independent variables or identifiers, with one independent variable possibly coordinating with multiple dependent variables and vice versa. These 182 variables are the foundation or the first step in the iterative sequential mixed design (quan) and could be considered an original contribution when applied to knowledge on radicalization, especially Northern Virginia. Quite importantly, quan creates one set of variables to be used in the examination of the case studies that might not appear in the subject's backgrounds, in part guarding against unconsciously identifying the variables most supportive of the hypotheses. Of these 182 heterogeneous variables, 83 are non-violent or non-delinquent variables that are strongly correlated with deviance. The strongest of these are noted based on the standardized b coefficients (Beta) and carry more weight in that one particular regression.²¹⁹ These combine to create 1298 possibilities for delinquent or risky tendencies from the *Fairfax County Youth Survey Reports*.²²⁰

Because of the very large number of statistical relationships, complete statistical tables are provided in Appendix E. Use of the personal pronoun in this section and Appendix E reflects the wording of the survey question. In these tables, correlation, of course, does not imply causation. In analyzing the correlations, the most notable findings from the regression analysis are as follow. The first interesting finding is that indications of religious devotion and political inclination, two items frequently associated with contemporary violence and terrorism, barely make an appearance. Regularly attending religious services is correlated strongly with a higher likelihood to: bully, taunt, tease, or ridicule someone; say something bad about someone's race or culture; and report that someone said something bad about your race or culture. Regularly using your political voice or reading about politics is correlated only with a higher likelihood of reporting that someone said something bad about your race

²¹⁹ Strength of the relationship is determined by the unstandardized b coefficient in the regression analysis output; this weighted analysis ends here as no standardized weights have yet been assigned to the qualitative variables identified by terrorism scholars, to follow in the next section. A note of caution: these b coefficients cannot be generalized across dependent variables. Each b coefficient stands alone with its individual regression.

²²⁰ *Fairfax County 2011 Youth Survey; Fairfax County 2012 Youth Survey.*

or culture. There is no correlation between religion and physical violence in survey responses, and no correlation between politics and any type of violence or bullying on the part of the youth. Looking at the data, there seems to be no strong correlations or signs that a youth is going to commit violence based on religion or politics, two of many possible drivers of radicalization.²²¹

The second finding is that close friends have a far more immediate impact on the youth than siblings. While deviant behavior on the part of a sibling is related to further deviant behavior on the part of that same sibling, it does not carry over to the youth. Other factors are influencing the youth. The third finding is the impact the household (but not siblings) has on the youth. Whether his/her family argues or is generally negative, whether s/he is hungry, and his/her general upbringing correlate with many deviant behaviors. Sleep, nutrition, and home impact future violent tendencies. The fourth finding concerns which independent variables are correlated with the largest numbers of dependent variables. The number of associated dependent variables is noted in parentheses, following the written out independent variable in Table 2.2.

²²¹ See Chapter 3: Literature Review.

Table 2.2: Independent Variables Most Correlated with Dependent Variables

Gender (18) ²²²	Feeling sad or hopeless almost every day for two or more weeks to the point of stopping usual activities (12)
Bullied or teased by someone (17)	Race (12) ²²³
Attacked by someone (16)	Driving a vehicle while drinking alcohol (12)
Suspension from School (15)	Steroid use in the last 30 days (12)
Carrying a handgun (15)	Feeling safe at school (12)
Attacking someone with the idea of seriously hurting them (14)	Bullying or teasing someone else (12)
Saying something bad about someone's race or culture (14)	Cyberbullied by a student who attends same school (12)
Being threatened with a weapon by someone who intended to harm the youth (14)	Parent who had his/her body hurt from actions by a spouse or partner (12)
Ecstasy use in the last 30 days (13)	Partner who always wants to know the youth's whereabouts (12)
Gang member (13)	Sexually harassed in past year (12)
Sexual intercourse (13)	Heroin use in last 30 days (11)
Cyberbullied by a student who attends same school (13)	Going hungry in the past 30 days (11)

The fifth finding has to do with the dependent variables that are associated with the largest number of independent variables. The number of associated independent variables is noted in parentheses, following the written out dependent variable in Table 2.3. There was a great deal of overlap between these variables.

²²² The male gender is related, unsurprisingly, to many behaviors, however it also saw the aforementioned statistical differences. Remembering this, it is almost two times as likely that the male youth was bullied or teased by someone, compared to NOT being bullied (both of which are related to deviant dependent variables). The pattern is the same for if the male youth was attacked as if he was bullied by someone.

²²³ Race also saw statistical differences.

Table 2.3: Dependent Variables Most Correlated with Independent Variables

Suspended in the past year (65)	Carries a handgun (52)
Hungry in the last 30 days (64)	Someone bullied (taunted, ridiculed, or teased) the youth (51)
Bullied, taunted, teased, or ridiculed someone (56)	Said something bad about someone's race or culture (50)
Carries weapon other than handgun (55)	Changed homes since kindergarten (48)
Someone said something bad about the youth's race or culture (52)	

Lastly, there are a number of correlations that are stronger than the rest, the b coefficients mentioned earlier. Every dependent variable has at least one very strong relationship with an independent variable, with the independent variable number noted in parentheses. Being suspended (8), carrying a handgun (7), and having someone bully (taunt, ridicule or tease) the youth (6) are dependent variables with the highest number of strong independent variables. When these items begin to line up, there should be a stronger warning flag. As a snapshot, the most significant relationships vis-à-vis being suspended are being in a lower grade level, having close friends who were suspended from school, receiving lower grades (often mostly F's), being a gang member, being in a gang without a name, having had sexual intercourse, having attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them, and carrying a handgun frequently. Forty-seven (47) independent variables have extra strong relationships with various dependent variables. As might be expected, this spread is far thinner. Independent variables for sexual intercourse (6), bullied by someone (5), gang member (4), affiliation with a gang with a name (4), bullied or teased someone else (4), and carrying a handgun, are among the most significant of the significant.

The complexity and denseness of these statistical results speaks to the intricate pattern that emerges with the study of violence. There are multiple pathways and related behaviors that apply in different ways and contexts to each person. When many little variables combine, these may indicate a shift toward a deviant or risky lifestyle, perhaps making a person more

susceptible to violence. These patterns chip away at the strong child through hunger pains, loss of self-worth, and constant berating, to name a few independent variables. Then, one youth may begin to alter his/her behavior and mindset in a way that restores his/her control of the situation, possibly opening the door to violence.

Section 2.3: QUAL1 and Existing Studies

For QUAL1 (phase two, see Figure 1.1), a systematic review of terrorism, youth violence, and gang indoctrination variables was completed using the case survey method in hundreds of research studies, books, and articles.²²⁴ The case survey method can be used with “heterogeneous” cases (whether about terrorism, gangs, or youth violence) and “aggregates the characteristics (but not necessarily the conclusions) of these cases.”²²⁵ It guards against false leads and allows studies conducted with different approaches to be measured against each other.²²⁶ With respect to very large-N or surveyed cases, Patrick J. Haney, studying foreign policy crises, combined and averaged the findings in a form of “meta-analysis.”²²⁷ He kept a structured, focused comparison while looking at many cases with similar problems, the process of which was replicated here.

To ensure integrity, a five-step process was followed: define the review topic or question; locate sources in a systematic review; judge the quality of studies identified; synthesize the studies identified; and report the findings of the studies.²²⁸ Youth violence and gang studies were included to serve a related function of identifying variables that might not appear in the terrorists’ backgrounds, thus providing one guard against researcher bias. Identifying variables from terrorism studies and comparing these to youth violence variables also provided a protection against the author unknowingly identifying the variables most supportive of the youth violence hypotheses and ignoring outliers. The review topic or

²²⁴ I elected for a systematic over comprehensive review for two reasons. First, there is an enormous amount of duplication in the variables of these categories. It was unnecessary to include thousands of studies saying the same thing. Second, the limitations of my language abilities left me to rely on translation services. Therefore, there are possible shortcomings from relying on mainly English sources. This will surely not include every variable ever identified in the literature, but will include a great deal of variables from youth violence, gang and prison radicalization, and terrorism or radicalization studies.

²²⁵ Robert K. Yin and Karen A. Heald, “Evaluating Policy Studies By Using the Case Survey Method,” *Rand Paper Series P-5349* (1975): 2.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Patrick J. Haney, *Organizing for Foreign Policy* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1997). See also Robert Yin and Karen A. Heald, “Using the Case Survey Method to Analyze Policy Studies,” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 20, no.3 (September 1975): 371-381.

²²⁸ Boaz and Sidford, “Reviewing and Popularizing Research Insights.”

question was defined as studies (narrow and broad) aiming to identify indicators, variables, or drivers of radicalization and/or terrorism, youth violence, and gang indoctrination to create a heterogeneous list. In short, how does someone adopt a new and violent identity? From here, a search strategy was designed by deriving key words, which was supplemented by additional key words while reviewing the first rounds of studies. The key words were sufficiently broad so as to not inadvertently exclude relevant studies, though—as mentioned—the primary focus was on drivers of a new violent lifestyle. See Table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Key Words for Existing Studies Research

Adolescent Deviance	Radicalisation
Adolescent Violence	Radicalism
Extremism	Radicalization
Gang	Religious Terrorism
Gang Indoctrination	Religious Violence
Gang Radicalization	Terror
Gang Recruitment	Terrorism
Homegrown Terrorism	Violent Youth
Indoctrination	Youth Deviance
Political Terrorism	Youth Violence
Political Violence	

The review then examined the published literature, primarily English language or translated into the English language, in America and internationally that addressed substantially or in part the adoption of a new violent identity, searching Primo (William & Mary’s Swem Library catalog including all e-journal titles, special collections, books and media, and articles from most licensed databases and journal collections, but not all database content), EBSCOhost (includes more than 65 EBSCO-brand databases) and ProQuest databases, as well as hundreds of other databases that William & Mary faculty access. The review also compiled variables of radicalization that appeared in the literature more casually, rather than a study of radicalization, that may have some bearing on the presence of violence. Studies that addressed the adoption of a violent identity that bled into criminology, sociology, and

psychology were included, thus guarding against “assuming the dominant relevance of one particular discipline.”²²⁹

The search process had three parts to increase the likelihood that a respectable amount of germane literature was included: electronic searches; personal communications; and hand searching.²³⁰ The biggest source for data was the electronic search, done primarily through the comprehensive database tools available through the College of William & Mary’s Swem Library and using the key word search terms. The second part, personal communications, took the form of requests sent to email lists, social media, and personal contacts in the related disciplines to request their expertise in selecting articles for inclusion. Among the small number casually or formally consulted include Rohan Gunaratna, Kumar Ramakrishna, Peter Neumann, John Sullivan, Farhad Khosrokhavar, and others. The third step involved hand-searching bibliographies, leading peer reviewed journals, and Routledge, Wiley, and Oxford handbooks on radicalization, terrorism, youth violence, and gangs for articles.²³¹ Consulting peer reviewed journals and handbooks (also during the first part) guarded against the insertion of personal bias and inclusion of poor information, as these have their own quality controls. Websites by legitimate governments, agencies, and institutes were searched for their studies.

With these three, a multi-year search was conducted for studies, with new ones being added with good regularity. This was stopped when a critical mass was achieved, most consequential studies were included, and no new variables were coming to light by the inclusion of extra sources.²³² Narrow and broad studies were included with a mind toward balance so that one body of literature (Palestinian terrorism or Latin American groups, for

²²⁹ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 37.

²³⁰ A similar methodology was used by the Youth Justice Board; Kris Christmann, *Preventing Religious Radicalisation and Violent Extremism: A Systematic Review of the Research Evidence*, (Youth Justice Board for England and Wales, 2012).

²³¹ Schmid, *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, 11.

²³² Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 48.

example) did not inadvertently skew the findings and so this part of the methodology would be applicable to other groups and situations beyond the case studies in QUAL2. Throughout this process, articles and studies were discarded that did not identify possible variables. A review log was created, in an Excel spreadsheet, noting the nature of the study itself, the variable, whether the variable was highly specific to one group, ethnicity, etc. or generalizable, the validity of the variable, and the source/citation. To ensure the validity of the data, an adaptation of the Wilcox methodological quality score procedure was used, whereas the variable was given a high or low score based on: if the variable was largely recycled from someone else's work, the quality of the work or work being cited, and whether an variable was casually referenced in the text or derived from the study.²³³ In general, the bar for excluding a variable was set high, as this step was meant to be broad and inclusive of qualitative and quantitative works. This resulted in approximately 300 terrorism or radicalization, 200 youth violence or juvenile delinquency, and 100 gang indoctrination studies, though this number could increase or decrease with new research. This included core Oxford, Routledge, and other handbooks from these disciplines that referenced even more studies. In the next step, thousands of variables were analyzed to create a single matrix. Duplicate or near identical variables were combined into one variable, which kept one study (often cited and recycled by others) from dominating the results. For example, "violence ingrained in daily life" and "normative beliefs supportive of violence" were combined into a single variable. The final product, one list of recognized variables, is the foundation for QUAL1, or the reported findings.

From this list of studies, 254 terrorism, 369 youth violence, and 141 gang independent variables were established. See Appendix A for the final matrix. With these three sets, independent variables that crossed categories and were largely the same behavior or feeling

²³³ Aidan Wilcox, "Any Number You Want? The Impact of Data Cleaning on Internal Validity," *Internet Journal of Criminology* (2007), accessed November 13, 2016, <http://www.internetjournalofcriminology.com/Wilcox%20-%20Any%20Number%20You%20Want.pdf>.

were noted accordingly in the Excel spreadsheet. With respect to terrorism variables, only five variables were especially unique and not easily found in the youth violence studies: takes suspicious or unreported travel; technician, researcher/surveyor; attended university in the West; and studied vocational and tech/natural sciences. Put another way, 249 variables from terrorism studies also appear in youth violence literature. In answer to hypothesis one, this is evidence that terrorism can be better understood as a subtype of youth violence, though this will need to be additionally tested with the case studies. With respect to gangs, ALL 141 variables appear in more generic youth violence literature as expected, since academic scholars accept gangs as a form of juvenile delinquency.²³⁴ This step was performed as a check on the existing literature, rather than an assumption and may have been unnecessary. Quite admittedly, this systematic review does not include every single possible variable related to radicalization, youth violence, or gangs. However, it does begin to track patterns above and beyond what has been done previously in and between disciplines. At this stage, one qualitative matrix with 329 independent variables was created that notes whether a variable is related to terrorism radicalization, youth violence, gang, or some or all of the above. From this step, there is a foundation for comparing a macro-view of radicalization to youth violence in the micro-case studies.²³⁵

²³⁴ Maxson and Matsu, "Gang Delinquency," in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*.

²³⁵ For a complete list of these three categories, see Appendix A.

Section 2.4: The Framework and Final Variable Matrix

Blending the qualitative with the quantitative, 182 behaviors (questions from the *Fairfax County Youth Survey Reports*) that are statistically significant at the 1% level were added to this QUAL1 matrix of 329 variables. As with the other categories, duplicates were removed and behaviors that crossed categories were noted, the latter of which is tracked in the columns of Appendix A. Thus, the final matrix includes 516 possible identifiers of multiple types of youth violence.²³⁶ This is highly heterogeneous, as Horgan recommends.²³⁷ Of the 516 variables, approximately 280 variables are far more representative of non-violent or non-deviant behavior. Combining the statistically significant quantitative behaviors (quan) with those variables found in respected radicalization and youth violence studies (QUAL1) provides an additional safeguard. The inclusion of statistically significant variables on youth behavior increases confidence that any case study assessment does not rest on a single subjective methodology or selection criteria. The matrix of 516 possible identifiers is not simply relying on radicalization studies, youth violence studies, or a youth survey. Integrating these two methods also creates a complex, but highly elucidating, web where different behaviors and experiences could produce the most innocent civil servant or a terrorist. Here is where indirect causal inference first appears and is most important: I am inferring that a number of mechanisms are at work as these variables combine and interact, and inferring that this could possibly create a causal relationship between the variables and the appearance of violence, be it youth or terrorism.²³⁸ This appearance of violence, whether the youth radicalizes and acts at some point in his/her life, constitutes the dependent variable.

Of course, these 516 independent variables create a certain amount of epistemic uncertainty, as not all people who meet some of these become violent. Expanding on this

²³⁶ See Appendix A.

²³⁷ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 69. See also Section 1.1: Scope of Analysis.

²³⁸ Steel, "Causality, Causal Models, and Social Mechanisms," 28.

further, these variables could be insufficient or randomly appearing, especially in the small case set of three Northern Virginia men. Each person's vulnerability to terrorism (or other types of violence) is unique and based on a combination of biological and environmental factors, which are difficult to discern. These factors are variables with hundreds of possible arrangements that, in the right sequence specific to the individual, can result in vulnerability to violence, or not. However, this thesis takes a small academic step forward. The quantitative and qualitative variables established in quan and QUAL1 build on each other to create a set of common denominators or behavioral variables that deviant youths could exhibit regardless of their type (terrorism, gang, etc.). Violent individuals—to include terrorists—will certainly hit a significant number of these independent variables at some point prior to delinquency, most especially during childhood and adolescence.

Section 2.5: Classifying the Variables and Social Disintegration Theory

Typologies are used in two places in this thesis: to classify the independent variables and to apply SDT. Assigning typologies to independent variables has several strengths. First, it allows greater conceptual clarity, as terrorism “frequently involves the interactions and effects of the actions of many persons and collectives involving a multiplicity of motivations, psychological effects and subjective evaluation.”²³⁹ It gives discipline, order, and conceptual clarity to the data to allow for better analysis.²⁴⁰ Lastly, typologies “should provide the most salient information related to compounds of attributes” vis-à-vis terrorism variables.²⁴¹ The 516 independent variables are coded or typologized along the lines of the type of behavior or attribute exhibited, creating these initial categories or classifications.

Table 2.5: Youth Violence Independent Variable Categories

Character	Relations
Demographic	Religion
Deviance	Sexual Relations
Drugs	Technology
Non-Violent	Violence
Politics/Justice	Weapons

To guard against a potential oversimplification of the data, a pitfall of typologies, the original variable is left intact.²⁴² Any label is additional, not a replacement for the behavior or identifier, and added as a column in the matrix. See Appendix A.

Next, SDT was used to give character or motivation to the independent variables.

SDT, attributable to Wilhelm Heitmeyer and Reimund Anhut, is a framework or model to

²³⁹ Paul Wilkerson, *Terrorism and the Liberal State* in Sarah V. Marsden and Alex P. Schmid, “Typologies of Terrorism and Political Violence,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, ed. Alex P. Schmid (New York: Routledge, 2013), 159.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ P.F. Lazarsfeld, “Some Remarks On The Typological Procedures In Social Research,” *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, in Schmid, *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, 159.

²⁴² Alexander George in Sarah V. Marsden and Alex P. Schmid, “Typologies of Terrorism and Political Violence,” 159.

explain the process by which a young person may mentally then physically pull away from his/her community, sometimes resulting in violence. SDT has three main societal components: social-structural; institutional; and socioemotional.²⁴³ Each of these dimensions comes with a type of recognition that a youth would hope to receive from a functioning society. The social-structural dimension reflects access to society's systems and provides recognition in the form of position or status. The institutional dimension focuses on the ability to participate in public or political affairs and confers moral recognition. Lastly, the socioemotional dimension focuses on the quantity and quality of social support that the individual derives from families and communities, which confer the emotional recognition that can only come from those closest to a person.

When a youth experiences social disintegration and is not receiving sufficient recognition, s/he could find him/herself on a path toward violence to rectify an actual or perceived wrong as the second part of the SDT framework.²⁴⁴ Along with Heitmeyer and Anhut, Brezina finds that the lack of recognition, or Recognition Denial (RD), "may lead to the development of attitudes that promote egocentric pursuits, generate hostility toward authority, and—indirectly—increase the likelihood of antisocial behavior," and very specific types of violence.²⁴⁵ The starting point of the youth—poor, politically disenfranchised, bullied—has a great bearing on the type of deviant behavior later exhibited, but not necessarily the intermediary stages.²⁴⁶ This plays out in each dimension.²⁴⁷ Social-structural is associated with status-securing violence aimed at restoring or enhancing the individual's position. Institutional is related to moral violence and the correction of injustice.

²⁴³ Heitmeyer and Legge, "Youth, Violence, and Social Disintegration."

²⁴⁴ Heitmeyer and Anhut, "Disintegration, Recognition, And Violence," 25-37.

²⁴⁵ Timothy Brezina, "Recognition denial, need for autonomy, and youth violence," *New Directions for Youth Development* 119 (Fall 2008), 114.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Heitmeyer and Legge, "Youth, Violence, and Social Disintegration."

Socioemotional is linked with emotional violence that helps the individual's self-esteem and sense of belonging. An overview of this is provided in Table 2.6 below.

Table 2.6: Social Disintegration and Recognition Denial Processes

Social Disintegration	Recognition Denial	Violence
<p>Social-structural (Individual Functioning)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participation in the material and cultural goods of society 2. Access to society's systems (housing, consumer goods) 3. Status 	<p>Positional (Avoidance of inferiority)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Apathy and resignation 2. Positive self-image by blaming others 3. Invocation of prejudice and hate 	<p>Status Securing <i>Egotistical pursuit of superiority with a lack of concern for others</i></p>
<p>Institutional (Communicative-interactive social)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Realization of and adherence to norms 2. Participation in politics, public affairs, and other institutions 	<p>Moral (Restoration of norms)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Feeling that one's life is not of equal value or being denied equal rights 2. Impression that basic principles of justice violated, feeling of injustice of behalf of others 3. Disenchantment with politics and rejection of systems 	<p>Political <i>Rejection of rules, assertion of own authority, beliefs, and vision</i></p>
<p>Socioemotional</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Familial and community support 2. Establishing emotional relations between persons for purpose of making sense, and self-realization 	<p>Emotional (Lack of alternative learning processes)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No or little self-esteem 2. No emotional support for stress 	<p>Identity and Esteem Security <i>Defensive independence, struggle to belong, collective violence against ethnic and other groups</i></p>

* Created by Kathryn H. Floyd based on Anhut, Heitmeyer, and Brezina's work.

Social-Structural Disintegration and Positional Recognition Denial

Social-structural disintegration deals very strongly with how well individuals function within the system.²⁴⁸ Can the individual access work, housing, education, and other consumer goods? Is the individual satisfied with his/her job, social position, and general activities? When the person is relatively happy and there are ample opportunities, society stays integrated. However, disintegration can occur as elements of society break down. Then, social polarization and reduced opportunities will separate the community into the haves and have-nots where the former are responsible for the latter's misfortune.²⁴⁹ There will be increasing pressure to appear successful, yet very few ways to accomplish this.

Accompanying social-structural disintegration is positional recognition denial. Positional recognition denial is closely associated with egotistical pursuits of autonomy and occurs when the individual attempts to avoid feelings of inferiority and further harm to self-esteem.²⁵⁰ The individual, especially the male, has no tolerance for rules and instead seeks greater independence from family or community structures. This withdrawal is linked to status securing violence as the individual strives to maintain a positive self-image and compensate for any discrimination.²⁵¹ Violent independence may be at the expense of peers or the community and shows a lack of concern or even hate for others. In addition, the individual might displace his/her frustration by blaming the out-group for his/her real or perceived misfortune, thereby restoring a positive self-image.²⁵² The afflicted youth believes status-securing violence will help him or her attain some element of eminence, like recognition as the most powerful or loyal believer of an organization, or perhaps terrorist cell.

²⁴⁸ Heitmeyer and Anhut, "Disintegration, Recognition, And Violence," 29.

²⁴⁹ Ioakim Boutakidis, Nancy G. Guerra, and Fernando Soriano, "Youth Violence, Immigration, and Acculturation," in *Preventing Youth Violence in a Multicultural Society*, ed. Nancy G. Guerra and Emilie Phillips Smith (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2006), 93.

²⁵⁰ Brezina, "Recognition denial, need for autonomy, and youth violence," 114.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² For more on out-group hate, see James Waller, *Becoming Evil* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2002). For an example of this process, see Gary Schwartz, *Beyond Conformity or Rebellion: Youth and Authority in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

Institutional Disintegration and Moral Recognition Denial

How well the individual accepts a society's rules, norms, and other priorities appears to have a profound impact on youth violence. The institutional dimension of SDT focuses on factors associated with communicative-interactive social integration.²⁵³ At this level, there are institutional and political forms of participation while commonly accepted democratic principles (right to vote, freedom from discrimination, etc.) are upheld. There is a desire on the part of the individual or community to participate in politics and democratic aspects of society. When disintegration occurs, an imbalance between individual and state interests follows. An individual may not be able, or maybe unwilling, to participate in politics or other ethical traditions, leading to the development of the 'me first' attitude.²⁵⁴ Accompanying this is the feeling that the person's life is worth less than someone else's or that they have been denied equal rights. This feeling of injustice is a "bi-product of evolution, a simple genetic stratagem," especially if it plays out in the public eye.²⁵⁵ In short, the norms that are understood or advocated by the self-righteous society are not being upheld.

Prior to and during this attempt to restore society's rules, the individual is struggling to obtain moral recognition. Feelings of ambivalence or disenchantment with the political or community system persist because the individual does not have what is "rightfully" his/hers, leading to violence and the development of "antisocial" peer groups or gangs.²⁵⁶ The youth may compensate for perceived or real inadequacies by defending what s/he holds to be a true form of justice that s/he will adopt to save the community or self.²⁵⁷ Then, self-important cultural values may simply be a defensive vehicle to social success.²⁵⁸ Institutional violence

²⁵³ Heitmeyer and Anhut, "Disintegration, recognition, and violence," 29.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Robert Wright, *The Moral Animal* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 205.

²⁵⁶ Martin Sanchez Jankowski, *Islands in the Street: Gangs and American Urban Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); James F. Short, *Poverty, Ethnicity, and Violent Crime* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997).

²⁵⁷ Carlos H. Arce, "Reconsideration of Chicano culture and identity," *Daedalus* 110 (1981): 177-191.

²⁵⁸ Glenn E. Weisfeld, and Jody M. Beresford, "Erectness of Posture as an Indicator of Dominance or Success in Humans," *Motivation and Emotion* 6 (1982): 113-29.

becomes linked to political actions, like protesting the government or even attacking Congress, to restore perceived norms.

Socioemotional Disintegration and Emotional Recognition Denial

In the socioemotional dimension, emotional and normative behaviors balance in cultural expressive social integration.²⁵⁹ Relationships with family members and the community help the individual to self-realize and give meaning to life, but also create a safety net for identity. The individual recognizes other group identities and how their status affects him/her, especially symbolically. As society disintegrates, additional stress on the parental units will be evident and the youth fails to positively engage with the family or society. The emotional support from the family or close group is lacking, and the youth must turn elsewhere to shore up his/her fragile self-esteem.

The corresponding emotional recognition denial is reflected in the lack of alternative learning processes for the youth. The individual has neither self-esteem nor emotional coping measures to deal with these stresses. The youth may then move from “self-hatred to self-love” as s/he internalizes and commits to a view or violent action to secure his/her identity. The individual may reject both the family and community as s/he becomes defensively independent. As a result, s/he will engage in collective violence to include xenophobia and ethnocentric actions for self-preservation and as an outlet for emotional troubles.²⁶⁰ S/he pursues violence for the greater good or group, but really this is about securing his/her own self-esteem and identity.²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ Heitmeyer and Anhut, “Disintegration, Recognition, And Violence,” 30.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 33.

²⁶¹ Neil Kressel, *Mass Hate: The Global Rise of Genocide and Terror* (New York: Plenum Press, 1996), 60.

From Social Disintegration and Recognition Denial to Violence

Whether one youth is protecting a neighborhood for his/her gang while another is demanding retribution for a cartoon, the two may have undergone very similar processes of social disintegration and experienced parallel forms of recognition denial. The fundamental (largely identity based cognitive restructuring) steps to make the world more manageable may be the same for each of them, but the final type of violence could differ based on their starting point. In other words, the processes by which a youth turns to terrorism or joins a gang may be extremely similar to how s/he creates and refines a distinct identity.

Now, the mere presence of social disintegration or RD does not lead to terrorism: “Although relative deprivation is likely to cause frustration and despair, it does not necessarily imply that anger is turned into violence as expected by a simple frustration-aggression hypothesis. It might also lead to withdrawal, depression or escape.”²⁶² That said, anger, withdrawal, and other factors establish many possible patterns that, in one person, could lead to violence. The very few choose to act. The real or perceived disintegration of society, and the corresponding recognition denial, can have disastrous consequences for the anxious youth. The violence from positional, moral, or emotional recognition denial is especially prevalent among youths who may have a different perception of the length of the road ahead or time. Resorting to violence, before physical existence is at stake, is an adaptive response or “cheating” when individuals are unable to exert influence and acquire their status or objectives through legitimate means.²⁶³ The impatient youth decides to act before any more harm to self is done.

Because of its potential ability to account for the complex relationship between the individual and the community, SDT is used in this thesis to explain some of radicalization

²⁶² Precht, “Homegrown Terrorism and Islamic Radicalization in Europe,” 42; See also Arie Kruglanski and Shira Fishman, “The Psychology of Terrorism: ‘Syndrome’ Verses ‘Tool’ Perspectives,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 18, no. 2 (2006): 196.

²⁶³ Wright, *The Moral Animal*, 244.

and seemingly unrelated behaviors on a deeper level. SDT can be applied to give character, if not motivation, to behavior and thoughts. Because of this, SDT is used as a typology to classify “apparently related phenomena.”²⁶⁴ SDT categorizes and organizes the vast amount of quantitative and qualitative data in this thesis with four labels: social-structural, institutional, or socioemotional, or no classification (action specific behavior).²⁶⁵ The labels or typology were assigned by carefully comparing the list of established independent variables (quan and QUAL1) to the list of characteristics identified by Heitmeyer and Anhut for each SDT dimension. Then, I selected a dominant SDT dimension, with overlaps noted. While not perfect, applying a typology allows for the substantive consideration or speculation of underlying motives and thoughts behind a behavior. The addition of typology serves a secondary function. Typology aims to “discover new relationships among things so ordered, to generate hypotheses, to lead on to the development of theories, and to identify areas for investigation.”²⁶⁶ As the youth walks the path toward terrorism, is s/he exhibiting more social-structural, institutional, or socioemotional variables, and what does this mean for how radicalization is understood? This will be examined in the testing of the hypothesis that homegrown terrorism is better understood as terrorism, which is better understood as a form of youth violence in three cases from Northern Virginia.

²⁶⁴ E.A. Thracian, “Typologies,” in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. D.L. Sills (New York: Free Press, 1997), 177-185.

²⁶⁵ “No classification” largely applies to those variables that are describing very specific behaviors, such as conducting surveillance on a target, and do not have discernable motivations.

²⁶⁶ G.K. Roberts, “A Dictionary of Political Analysis,” in *Typologies*, ed. A.P. Schmid, M. Stohl, and P. Flemming (London: Longman, 1971), 40.

Section 2.6: QUAL2 and the Case Studies

As the final stage of the iterative sequential mixed methods design, the hypotheses are tested with case studies. Case study methods have four strengths with respect to (1) testing social science hypotheses generally and (2) developing theories of violence more specifically. Case study methods have the: “potential for achieving high conceptual validity.”²⁶⁷ Even different “analytically equivalent phenomenon” in a contextualized comparison will show “equifinality,” or multiple pathways that lead to the same outcome (violence in this study), where the “paths may or may not have one or more variables in common.”²⁶⁸ Second, case study methods have “strong procedures for fostering new hypotheses.”²⁶⁹ In looking at detailed biographical information for each of the cases, new information may come to light. Third, case studies are “a useful means to closely examine the hypothesized role of causal mechanisms in the context of individual cases.”²⁷⁰ Consequentially, a “large number of intervening variables” can be examined to “identify what conditions present...activate the causal mechanism.”²⁷¹ This, again, will be specific to the individual. Lastly, case study methods have the “capacity for addressing causal complexity.”²⁷² All of these strengths aid in the study of radicalization and youth violence.

There are several drawbacks to case study methods, including case selection bias, limited or tentative conclusions about particular variables, degrees of freedom, and lack of representativeness.²⁷³ Many of these can be minimized with a mixed methods design incorporating statistical analysis. Including quan in this thesis increases the possibility that the case study results do not have to solely be contingent on the parameters or limitations of the case. While cases where the individual becomes violent have been deliberately chosen

²⁶⁷ George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, 19.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 19-21.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 19-22.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁷³ George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, 21-33.

(case selection bias), this is appropriate to the study of terrorism and youth violence because so few individuals in the general population choose that path. Selecting a case on the dependent variable will “help identify which variables are not necessary or sufficient conditions for the selected outcome.”²⁷⁴ Put alternatively, perhaps the most obvious variables are not causal. In this study, political and religious variables will be under the most scrutiny. Selecting cases where the person became violent opens up the heuristic possibility of “identifying the potential causal paths and variables leading to the dependent variable of interest.”²⁷⁵ The concern about tentative or limited conclusions about individual variables is less important in this study because, rather than attempting to identify one life experience that creates a terrorist, large combinations are examined with the underlying assumption that every person is different. The degrees of freedom problem, or the “potential inability to discriminate between competing explanations on the basis of the evidence,” is reduced by having sufficient evidence to “narrow the number of plausible explanations...to indicate...which [of] the remaining hypotheses appear to be complementary, competing, or incommensurate.”²⁷⁶ With respect to lack of representativeness, case study methods “seek contingent generalizations that apply to the subtype of [similar] cases,” while also “[uncovering] causal mechanisms that may be in operation in a less extreme form in cases that have less extreme values.”²⁷⁷ Most youths who become violent do not join Daesh. Hence, the limited ability to generalize from the case studies is still appropriate to both the study of terrorism as a subtype and less extreme form of youth violence.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 23.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 30.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 32.

Selecting the Cases

In selecting the two terrorism cases, a class of events where a youth from Northern Virginia transitioned from a non-violent to violent life was the key criteria.²⁷⁸ These paradigmatic or typical cases were selected from a larger phenomenon on homegrown terrorism as pivotal cases, understanding that each case is unique.²⁷⁹ For the control and third case, the criteria and process were the same, but the end result was gang membership or indoctrination. If arguing that the process of radicalization is not entirely unique and could be considered a subtype of youth violence, then other specific types of youth violence should also not be unique. Being in a gang was selected as the control because of existing research identifying the gang as a subtype of youth violence and linking the study of gang indoctrination to terrorism radicalization.²⁸⁰ Researchers find commonalities for terrorism and gang indoctrination in age, gender, and how the group drives behavior and reinforces new beliefs.²⁸¹ The variables for gang indoctrination found in QUAL1 also cover many of the same demographics and behaviors for terrorism: there are 61 variables in common between the two. The variables for gang indoctrination also cover many of the same demographics. These are similar, yet distinct. Therefore, the gang serves as a “control” in this limited context, a different form of violence than terrorism that is a subtype of youth violence.

The selection of the cases required several steps and some triangulation. There is no definitive public list or repository on the number of individuals associated with homegrown or other types of terrorism who have been detained, charged, and/or convicted for Northern

²⁷⁸ George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, 18. George and Bennett affirm that the researcher’s decision or choice to study a class of events, and which theories to apply to gather the data.

²⁷⁹ Hamm and Spaaij, “Paradigmatic Case Studies and Prison Ethnography: Future Directions in Terrorism Research,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of the Criminology of Terrorism*, 207.

²⁸⁰ Scott Decker and David Pyrooz, “I’m Down for a Jihad: How 100 Years of Gang Research Can Inform the Study of Terrorism, Radicalization, and Extremism,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9, (2015): 104-112. Cheryl L. Maxson and Kristy N. Matsu, “Gang Delinquency,” in Barry Feld and Donna M. Bishop (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

²⁸¹ Decker and Pyrooz, “I’m Down for a Jihad,” 104-112.

Virginia.²⁸² A confidential source within the FBI confirmed that public numbers are not accurate and there is a discrepancy between those termed homegrown violent extremists (HVE), homegrown terrorists, and terrorists that may affect which cases appear in databases and press releases. Homegrown terrorism expert Peter Bergen, however, estimated that, between 2001 and 2015, there were approximately 330 individuals charged with a crime related to terrorism in the United States, and four out of five were Americans.²⁸³ Operating under the assumption that many could be identified through FBI press releases, NCTC reports, and the American Defamation League primarily, approximately 25 possible cases were considered using database searching with the following filters. The cases needed to be relatively recent so that drivers of radicalization and indoctrination would reflect current social trends and occur within the same general window of time. Cases where there was not a full generational gap, approximately 25 years, between the individual and the Fairfax County youths who completed the survey were not considered. The same stresses acting upon the Fairfax youths should have influenced the cases, even if only subtly, and the case subjects should all be within the same generation.²⁸⁴ Third, the individual needed to be convicted in a US court of law and be imprisoned. The conviction criteria provide thorough court files, as well as other highly detailed documents, and media reports.²⁸⁵ The analysis of court files has

²⁸² I reached out to a FBI contact who handles this issue for his/her advice, and was told that the current databases and counts are not accurate and s/he was unable to give me a number.

²⁸³ Peter Bergen, *United States of Jihad* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2016).

²⁸⁴ Cooper, who believes terrorism should be studied within its political, social, and economic context, supports this generational approach; H.H.A Cooper, "Voices from Troy: What Are We Hearing?" in *Outthinking the Terrorist: An International Challenge: Proceedings of the 10th Annual Symposium on the Role of Behavioral Science in Physical Security* (Washington, DC: Defense Nuclear Agency, 1985), 95.

²⁸⁵ Dugan and Distler, "Measuring terrorism," in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 190-192; This is consistent with the data sources for criminology, which tends to draw from law enforcement agents, perpetrator reports, and victimization surveys. The victimization surveys are not relevant to this thesis, and are not used. Media reports are used to populate databases, including the International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events (ITERATE), RAND Database of Worldwide Terrorism Incidents (RDWTI), the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism (CPOST). Lastly, Sageman used both media reports and court documents in his studies on radicalized people from Europe and North Africa; Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks*.

several implications for the study of terrorism.²⁸⁶ Information about the person's childhood and early adolescence needed to appear in the court documents, as the nightly news was often insufficient on early variables. Highly personal or autobiographical data accepted by both the defense and prosecution was a consideration in selecting which cases with available court files were chosen. Where there was a discrepancy in terms of dates in the various sources, the court files were used as the official record. The imprisonment requirement is slightly more important for the selection of the gang case, as there have been reprisal threats against people writing on gang members.²⁸⁷ Lastly, there needed to be an appropriate and possibly generalizable geographic area where there would not be too much variance in terms of influences, and where there were several cases involving homegrown terrorists and youth violence. With these requirements, the three cases would come from convicted individuals from Northern Virginia who are the same approximate generation as the Fairfax County students. In one sense, this is the selection of the dependent variable. However, this is useful to test whether youth violence variables are more apparent than terrorism variables in the case subjects. As these cases are known to be violent, a deep study of their backgrounds can examine which behaviors appear and might be correlated with terrorism radicalization or gang indoctrination. Further, the examination of these cases involves variables (quan) that do not necessarily lead to violence. Thus, there is a test as to whether large numbers of variables associated with violence even appear in violent narratives.

Approximately 25 possible terrorists and 100 gang members were identified who met some of the above criteria. From those, two homegrown terrorists (one foreign born and one native born) and one gang member (as a control) were selected for N=3 because they met all the criteria. While specifics are reserved for the following three chapters, brief biographical

²⁸⁶ Jasper L. De Die and Christianne J. De Poot, "Studying Police Files with Grounded Theory to Understand Jihadist Networks," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 39, no 7-8 (2016): 580-601.

²⁸⁷ John Anderson, "Gang Related Witness Intimidation," *National Gang Center Bulletin* no. 1 (February 2007), <https://www.nationalgangcenter.gov/Content/Documents/Gang-Related-Witness-Intimidation.pdf>.

and identifying information on each of these three individuals is offered. Amine El-Khalifi was born in 1983 in Morocco and was most recently from Falls Church (part of Northern Virginia) and Arlington County, Virginia, which borders Fairfax County and has significant demographic overlap.²⁸⁸ In 2012, he pled guilty and was sentenced to 30 years in a US federal prison for plotting to carry out a suicide attack on the US Capitol building. Zachary Chesser was born in 1989 in the US and is a Muslim convert who lived in Fairfax County as an adolescent and later attended George Mason University.²⁸⁹ In 2011, Chesser pled guilty and was convicted of providing material support to Al-Shabaab, a Somali terrorist group. Thaddaeus Snow, born in 1983 in Northern Virginia, led the powerful Nine Trey Gangsters gang across most of Northern Virginia.²⁹⁰ While he is attempting an appeal, Snow was found guilty of crimes related to racketeering, robbery, drugs, sex trafficking, and firearms and was sentenced to 40 years in prison in 2014.²⁹¹ Data for the cases came from official police and court reports, some self-reported data in the form of blog posts and court letters, new reports and articles, and academic studies referencing the individuals' backgrounds.²⁹²

There is no claim being made here that the three case studies used in this thesis are universally applicable, exhaustive, or the complete picture. These case studies cover the micro-history for three individuals, proving new details and information that demonstrate pathways to radicalization and violence that manifest much earlier in their lives than the news reports detail. The choices or path chosen by these case individuals is not overly generalizable—as each person is slightly different—and this is not a large study of group

²⁸⁸ United States of America v. Amine El-Khalifi, No.1:12-cr-00037-JCC, 47 (Eastern District of Virginia February 23, 2012); United States of America v. Amine El-Khalifi, No.1:12-cr-00027-JCC, 97 (Eastern District of Virginia June 22, 2012).

²⁸⁹ United States of America v. Zachary Adam Chesser, No.1:10-cr-00395-LO, 115 (Eastern District of Virginia October 20, 2010).

²⁹⁰ United States of America v. Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” No.1:13-cr-00350-LMB, 9 (Eastern District of Virginia August 29, 2013).

²⁹¹ U.S. Attorney's Office, Eastern District of Virginia, “Nine Trey Gang Leader Sentenced to 40 Years in Prison, 1.

²⁹² Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 24.

behavior. Two of the cases, El-Khalifi and Chesser, involve al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab, which is affiliated with al-Qaeda. As these are individual cases, each is subject to counter-factuals and black swans. Concerns with the case study approach detailed here could easily apply to any work that attempts to explain choices and behaviors found in a member or members of a group using three individuals. To overcome, however, specific micro-biographical studies are paired with a larger group survey (quan) and variables from hundreds of general studies (QUAL1). In both instances, there is room for the paths to violence (be it radicalization or criminality) to overlap or diverge. Lastly, while the three case studies (N=3) are insufficient in numbers to allow for much in the way of cross-case comparison, parallels are drawn toward the end of this thesis.²⁹³

The two terrorism cases of El-Khalifi and Chesser fulfill the criteria of “most likely” and “least likely.” In most likely cases, “independent variables posited by a theory are at values that strongly posit an outcome or posit an extreme outcome.”²⁹⁴ Here, those variables are religious and political variables that lead to terrorism. El-Khalifi and Chesser are “most likely” cases for terrorism scholars and government analysts who believe current radicalization trends are symptomatic of the appeal of the global jihad advocated by Anwar Al-Awlaki, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, and other notorious individuals. El-Khalifi was allegedly motivated by a hatred for the West and a desire to kill Westerners, and emboldened after his return to Islam. Chesser was drawn to radical ideologies on the Internet, becoming obsessed after spending more time online debating doctrine and converting to Islam. Chesser’s radicalization cumulated in his attempted assistance for terrorist group Al-Shabaab.

Allegedly, they both had ties to mosques in or imams from Northern Virginia, which in turn

²⁹³ Samia Khan and Robert VanWynsberghe, “Cultivating the Under-Minded: Cross-Case Analysis as Knowledge Mobilization,” *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 9, no. 1 (January 2008). Cross-case analysis is useful in taking the results from individual cases, comparing that to other cases, and drawing knowledge that can be used in the future. However, it is very difficult to standardize and maintain quality control over the vast numbers of qualitative variables in order to produce unbiased and valid data.

²⁹⁴ Harry Eckstein, “Case Studies in Political Science,” in *Handbook of Political Science*, ed. Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, vol. 7 (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1975), 118.

had links to several terrorist plots, including the Virginia Jihad Network, Major Nidal Malik Hasan, September 11 hijackers, Umar Farouk Abdulmutalla, and others.²⁹⁵ El-Khalifi and Chesser were most likely radicalized in the way terrorism is sometimes understood to occur, motivated especially by religion and ideology.²⁹⁶

In “least likely” cases, “independent variables in a theory are at values that only weakly predict an outcome or predict a low-magnitude outcome.”²⁹⁷ Less attention is paid or vague references given in terrorism and radicalization studies to early childhood and even early adolescence unless there were extremely visible signs. As a result, there is no solid connection between childhood trauma and the joining of a terrorist group at age 25. This is one hole in the research, to be discussed further in Chapter 3: Literature Review, that this thesis addresses. Because of the very strong ties that homegrown terrorism in Virginia has to the global jihad, El-Khalifi and Chesser are also “least likely” cases for the alternative hypothesis, that their radicalization can better be explained using variables from youth violence theories. Given the evidence and data that will follow, it seems very unlikely indeed that this form of violence in their two cases is more likely motivated by the little things. Perhaps, however and as the “least likely” explanation, homegrown terrorism is better understood as terrorism, which is a subtype of youth violence in these cases.

These three case studies are more representative than otherwise might be if this thesis were strictly qualitative in nature. With the inclusion of a mixed methods design, the behaviors that appear in their backgrounds are reinforced with data from tens of thousands of other individuals from Northern Virginia. The statistically significant results of the *Fairfax County Youth Survey Reports* marry existing known variables of radicalization and youth

²⁹⁵ William Wan, “Imam Serves as Public Face of an Embattled Mosque,” *The Washington Post*, accessed November 17, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/imam-serves-as-public-face-of-an-embattled-mosque/2011/08/31/gIQA9vB2cK_story.html.

²⁹⁶ Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God*; Sawyer and Hienz, “What Makes Them Do It? Individual-Level Indicators of Extremist Outcomes,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*.

²⁹⁷ Harry Eckstein, “Case Studies in Political Science,” 118; George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, 121.

violence, providing richer and more robust pattern of items to look for when reviewing individual biographical information. Hence, the three case studies are generalizable to Northern Virginia in the context of similar subtype cases and variables of youth violence that may exist in “less extreme form in cases that have less extreme values.”²⁹⁸ These cases are more explanatory than predictive. However and with further studies of this nature, these case studies could be generalizable beyond this limited geography and could possibly be predictive. Already national youth surveys are being developed and implemented, like the Center for Disease Control’s *Youth Risk Behavior Survey*; meanwhile radicalization studies move forward. These can be merged to create predictive models for both radicalization and youth violence or, at minimum, complement each other as standalone entities. Then, a possible ethical obligation exists to provide additional school counseling, early intervention for traumatized youth, and programs aimed at eliminating or reducing stress in young people’s lives. Rather than assuming that every troubled child will become a terrorist, this thesis could provide data to support early minimization of risk factors and strengthening of society’s social fabric. The little stuff is important.

²⁹⁸ George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, 32.

Section 2.7: Testing the Cases

Indirect causal inference, within case analysis, and a modified Lakatosian comparison are used in the testing of the three cases. Briefly mentioned previously, indirect causal inference is a mechanism approach to study a causal relationship of a micro-process (non-violent and violent variables) that could generate a macro-sociological phenomenon of interest (homegrown terrorism or youth violence).²⁹⁹ Using this social mechanism overcomes a well-known difficulty in variable or quantitatively oriented research: that the correlations might actually be explained by unknown intervening variables rather than the pattern that emerges.³⁰⁰ In the case of youth violence, there is going to be partial causation and an unknown number of intervening variables in addition to this uncertainty. Social mechanisms acknowledge this, and permit research to move forward with a plausibility probe while making sound assertions about the causes of radicalization. In a complementary fashion, within case analysis allows for the “in-depth exploration of a single case as a standalone entity.”³⁰¹ By becoming very close to one case, the processes or patterns will “support, refute, or expand” theories of radicalization and youth violence in individuals. There is the danger of becoming too close to a case, which was protected for in this thesis with the inclusion of quan and QUAL1. This large dataset of 516 additionally guarded against any attempts to “diagnose” the terrorists in a way that supported the hypotheses. With so many variables possibly relevant, I reviewed extensive documentation on the cases several times and became intimately familiar with the subjects. In the first round of review, I identified obvious variables from the narrative. In subsequent reviews, I noted behaviors or actions that could be inferred from available data. Assumptions that were made include items like “losing multiple jobs,” thus indicating an unstable employment history and low wages, but no assumptions were made without identifiable evidence that was related to a variable. However,

²⁹⁹ Steel, “Causality, Causal Models, and Social Mechanisms,” 2.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Paterson, “Within-Case Analysis,” 971-973.

I acknowledge that the identification of some of the variables was subject to my interpretation. During this identification process, the column on the spreadsheet indicating the SDT field was hidden, lest I subconsciously wanted to start marking more items in the socioemotional category, for example. No attempts were made to tally the variables until months of research had concluded for each case, and no revisions were made to intentionally include additional variables in support of the hypothesis. The chips, or marks on the spreadsheet, stayed in their spot on the table and provided for a good quality of interpretation.³⁰²

Each case is structured similarly, though space is reserved at the end of this section to discuss modifications to the control. First, each chapter starts at the point where the person likely drew the attention of law enforcement for being possibly radicalized or violent. Then, there is an analysis of how well variables from terrorism studies would have explained radicalization to the point of violence. Then, the narrative restarts prior to the person's radicalization and tells the story up to the point where the case subject was well on his path to radicalization. To ease the flow of reading, some variables are noted in footnotes or not at all, but are found in the corresponding appendices for each case. It is possible that some of the variables have been missed or omitted in the data sources for each case study, especially if the person recording the data did not consider these consequential.

At the end of each chapter, the "most likely" terrorism approach is evaluated in a modified Lakatosian "three-cornered fight" and contrasted that with the "least likely" youth violence explanation.³⁰³ Imre Lakatos posits that a "three-cornered" test can evaluate whether the theory acted as expected in the case of the null hypothesis and how well an alternative

³⁰² Horgan cautions that a psychological approach to terrorism research is dependent on the quality of interpretation, which a researcher may skew to support his/her hypothesis; Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 44.

³⁰³ Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*, 83.

explanation explains that outcome, both against an actual case or experiment.³⁰⁴ The modification is the use of variables from theories, rather than one theory. Using this modified Lakatosian comparison, this thesis examines how well variables from radicalization studies compare to variables from youth violence studies with respect to the cases. Lakatos finds that a theory should “only be rejected if an alternative theory with greater explanatory power exists.”³⁰⁵ This guards against falsification.³⁰⁶ In Lakatosian fashion, a composite theory of radicalization (variables from terrorism and radicalization studies) will be pitted against a composite theory of youth violence (variables from youth violence and juvenile delinquency studies), with both classified using SDT attributes, in the review of the three cases.

In the modified Lakatosian comparison for El-Khalifi and Chesser, two questions are asked of the cases:

1. How does the number of terrorism variables mathematically and substantively compare to the number of youth violence variables?
2. Therefore, do youth violence variables hold more explanatory power than variables from terrorism studies?

First, the number of terrorism variables (possible, used, and unused or unmentioned in the identification of the terrorist) are analyzed and then the number of youth violence variables are analyzed, comparing the two in order to draw a conclusion as to which holds more explanatory power. The number and character of the variables through SDT is noted. What was really driving radicalization – religion, emotional distress, or something else? Terrorism variables will be upheld if these do a better job than the youth violence variables at identifying unique radicalization variables. However, variables from terrorism studies will be

³⁰⁴ Imre Lakatos, “Falsification and the Methodology of Scientific Research Programs,” in *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge*, ed. Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970): 91-196, 115.

³⁰⁵ Dennis Alcides Smith, “Regime Change: International overthrow and domestic vulnerability,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia: ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2007), 58, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.wm.edu/pqdtglobal/docview/304796657/628007B3F09945CCPQ/1?accountid=15053>.

³⁰⁶ A possible critique of Lakatos is that he does not allow for ad hoc theories and is instead limited to the interpretations of which theories have been selected to compete against one another in describing a particular phenomenon; Paul Feyerabend, *Against Method: Outline of an Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge* (London: New Left Books, 1975).

rejected if these offer no greater explanatory power for radicalization. The youth violence hypothesis will be upheld if it: 1) largely absorbs terrorism variables, and 2) better identifies youth violence variables indicating a person is susceptible to radicalization and has radicalized. I predict that the youth violence approach, considered through SDT, offers a more robust explanation of homegrown terrorism in the cases of El-Khalifi and Chesser.

As mentioned, Snow's case will serve as a control for this study. With homegrown terrorism, holding one variable constant is not helpful, nor is profiling one of the billions of people who did not become terrorists. In the case of Snow, his narrative is approached the same way as El-Khalifi and Chesser, starting once he was indoctrinated until jail, and then restarting at the beginning. Snow will be examined as a gang member, as a violent youth, and as a terrorist using the variables from Quan and the QUAL1 studies. Looking at Snow through terrorism variables will test whether, if a different label were applied, terrorism and gang indoctrination might be considered two sides of the same coin. As part of an extended and modified Lakatosian comparison for Snow, four questions are asked of his case:

1. Can Snow's gang indoctrination case be viewed through the lens of terrorism?
2. If so, can terrorism and gang violence be considered subtypes of youth violence?
3. How do the numbers of gang, terrorism, and youth violence variables mathematically and substantively compare?
4. Do variables from youth violence (including gang) studies hold more explanatory power than variables from terrorism studies?

Snow's profile is anticipated to parallel, or look very similar to, that of the terrorists, supporting the idea that gang indoctrination can be viewed through the terrorism lens, allowing a certain amount of interchange between the two. I predict that Snow's indoctrination mirrors that of terrorism and is better explained through youth violence theories and SDT, supporting both gang and terrorism as subtypes of youth violence. To this end, youth violence, considered through SDT, may be mathematically and substantively superior to the other theories. Lastly, I predict that in this control case, youth violence

theories still hold greater explanatory power. If true, then both terrorism and gang variables are rejected in favor of or used to complement the youth violence hypothesis.

For El-Khalifi and Chesser, as well as Snow, the relative explanatory power of the youth violence hypothesis over existing terrorism explanations is consequential. It suggests that fresh understandings of radicalization and its processes are possible, especially during early childhood and adolescence.

Section 2.8 Ethical Considerations

The ethical implication of identifying variables that someone might be on the path to terrorism is hardly insignificant. Local law enforcement laments the lack of empirical work that has been done on the identification of pre-incident variables and considers this the “holy grail.”³⁰⁷ The overarching goal of this thesis is not to help at-risk children be arrested prior to committing a crime. Although some youths become violent, very few adolescents act on that impulse in any sustainable and destructive way. Most teenagers will push boundaries, but they rarely reach the point of mass violence.³⁰⁸ There is no attempt in this thesis to advocate the jailing or targeting of children who are simply having a tough time because many of the factors leading to terrorism are present. However, identifying tangible moments where a youth needs intervention is not taboo and is an aim of this thesis. Gang intervention programs, as well as domestic abuse, are infused into many schools and communities in the United States.³⁰⁹ Fostering healthy and happy children who grow into productive members of society is as important as stopping a suicide bomber outside the US Capitol. Lastly, if this plausibility probe is expanded to include more than just Northern Virginia, then incidents of terrorism might be curbed long before a person engages with extremist ideology and joins a group. In the same way that societies pay attention to childhood hunger and afterschool programs to minimize crime and gang recruitment WITHOUT sending at risk children to jail,

³⁰⁷ Brent L. Smith, Paxton Roberts, and Kelly R. Damphousse, “The Terrorists’ Planning Cycle: Patterns of Pre-incident Behavior,” in *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, ed. Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 62.

³⁰⁸ U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, “Law Enforcement & Juvenile Crime,” *Statistical Briefing Book*, August 31, 2016, <http://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/population/qa01104.asp?qaDate=2015>. There are approximately 74 million juveniles in the United States. Of these, slightly over 1 million (9%) have been arrested for violent crimes, property crimes, and non-indexed crimes.

³⁰⁹ There are varying programs targeted at different levels (elementary school, middle school, community, etc.) administrated by different organizations. One well-known program is the Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.), which is administered by the US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs (OJJDP) and OJJDP’s Strategic Planning Tool. See Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, “Comprehensive Anti-Gang Initiative,” accessed online March 12, 2016, <https://www.ojjdp.gov/programs/antigang/>.

so too can terrorism be addressed. The real ethical challenges of this study are to not fail the children, again.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

The process by which someone adopts a new and extreme persona is complicated, to say the least. The study of this identity change—radicalization in the context of this thesis—is naturally multi-disciplinary in nature. Rather than attempting to construct a new handbook on radicalization studies, this literature review will cover the following items. In Section 3.1, key theories on criminology and juvenile delinquency are reviewed, with analysis on the applicability of childhood and adolescent behaviors indicating future deviance to radicalization studies. In Section 3.2, selections of pertinent studies on radicalization and terrorism that primarily look at how a person adopted a new identity, or agent level of analysis, are reviewed in terms of strengths and possible opportunities for additional research and data. Studies on counter-terrorism, the group without respect to the individual, and the actions of someone long after s/he has joined are outside the scope of this thesis.³¹⁰

³¹⁰ For a review on these other studies, see Bradley McAllister and Alex P. Schmid, “Theories of Terrorism,” 201-271.

Section 3.1: Criminology, Juvenile Delinquency, and Radicalization

According to the US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) arrest data for serious violent and property crime, juveniles under the age of 18 constitute about 8.4% of all crime in 2015 and are one-fifth of the population.³¹¹ This percentage includes a cross-section of the population who may well continue their deviant tendencies and normative violations into adulthood. Some of these adolescents may even go on to commit terrorism crimes, though this is a tiny percentage of the overall population.³¹² Criminology, applicable to the study of terrorism, uses well-established theories that identify how situational factors influence the adoption of a violent identity and leads to violent behaviors for a “normal” individual.³¹³ Risk factors are scientifically identified from these theories and integrated into good policy. The variables identified in this study as part of the iterative sequential mixed methods design are strongly represented in criminology studies, reinforcing the confidence in that aspect of this thesis. While not all criminology or juvenile delinquency theories are appropriate to the study of terrorism, General Strain Theory, Cultural Deviance and Social Learning Theory, Control Theory, and Labeling Theory are of particular importance.³¹⁴ These theories include mentions of many other narrower theories that are useful in understanding radicalization. This section reviews these four theories and discusses the applicability of criminology to terrorism studies, especially in respect to the inclusion of childhood and adolescent indicators of future deviance.

³¹¹ “2015 Crime in the United States,” FBI, July 25, 2016, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2015/crime-in-the-u.s.-2015/tables/table-36>; this number may be low, as many violent and property crimes go unreported.

³¹² Khosrokhavar, *Radicalization*, 4.

³¹³ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 59.

³¹⁴ For a comprehensive review of criminology and juvenile delinquency theories, see Francis T. Cullen and Pamela Wilcox, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) and Barry Feld and Donna M. Bishop, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Both of these were extensively consulted during research for this thesis.

General Strain Theory

Agnew, building on past research, argues for a General Strain Theory (GST) where normal juveniles experience strains or stressors and become upset or angry, but then only some youths commit crimes.³¹⁵ Strains are events and conditions that individuals dislike, and include objective, subjective, and imaginary strains.³¹⁶ Objectively, most people dislike some events and conditions, whereas subjective strains are particular to the person.³¹⁷ Within the subjective is the imaginary strain, which involves events or conditions that do not likely exist.³¹⁸ Strains can be personally experienced, anticipated (future), and vicariously experienced.³¹⁹ Overall, these strains fit into two categories: the failure to achieve positively valued goals, and the loss of positive stimuli or presentation of negative stimuli.³²⁰ When the juvenile fails to achieve a valued goal—often money, status, respect, masculinity, thrills, excitement, or autonomy—two things might result.³²¹ S/he might experience negative stimuli in the form of verbal and physical abuse. The youth might lose positive stimuli, for example

³¹⁵ Agnew, "General Strain Theory and Terrorism," in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 121; see Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 114. For one of the original theories on strain, see Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity* (New York: Free Press, 1960). Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," *American Sociological Review* 3 (1938): 672-682. Merton's theory was further developed by many individuals attempting to describe which strains lead to delinquency and then the most likely conditions that lead to delinquency. See also Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys* (New York: Free Press, 1955); "Delinquency and the Age Structure of Society," 189-223; Elliott et al., *An Integrated Theoretical Perspective on Delinquent Behavior* 16 (1979): 3-27; Leonard Berkowitz, *Aggression: Its Causes, Consequences, and Control* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1993); Mark Colvin, *Crime and Coercion* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

³¹⁶ Agnew, "General Strain Theory and Terrorism," in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 121.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 122.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

³¹⁹ Robert Agnew, "Experienced, Vicarious, and Anticipated Strain: An Exploratory Study on Physical Victimization and Delinquency," *Justice Quarterly* 19 (2002): 607.

³²⁰ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 335. For a discussion on how these lead someone to adopt an extreme identity in the context of a small cult, termed the "world-saver model," see J. Loftland and R. Stark, "Becoming a World-saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," *American Sociological Review* 30, no. 6 (1965): 862-875.

³²¹ Jeffrey Fagan and Deanna L. Wilkinson, "The Social Contexts and Functions of Adolescent Violence," in *Violence in American Schools*, ed. D.S. Elliott et al. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 55-93. Fagan and Wilkinson believe these failed goals could result in violence: achieving and maintaining social status, acquisition of material goods; harnessing power; street justice and self-help; and defiance of authority. Herman Schwendinger and Julia Schwendinger found that a youth's relative status position among their peers was the best indicator of delinquency. See Harold Schwindinger and Julia Schwindinger, *Adolescent subcultures and delinquency* (New York: Praeger, 1985).

the death of friends or family.³²² Of all the strains and stressors that exist, those most likely to lead to crime, according to Agnew, include:

parental rejection; harsh, excessive and/or erratic discipline; child abuse and neglect; negative school experiences; work in the secondary labor market; chronic unemployment; marital problems, criminal victimization; residence in economically deprived communities that suffer from problems such as crime, incivilities, and inferior schools; homelessness; discrimination; and the failure to achieve economic, status, autonomy, and certain other goals.³²³

In response, emotions—primarily anger, but also frustration, humiliation, anxiety, and depression—build until the person feels the need to do something to alleviate the strain, seek revenge against something, and manage the negative feelings. Part of this fear and vengeance may be hate.³²⁴ Hate, according to psychology professor Robert Sternberg, has three parts: negation of intimacy (distancing) in hate: repulsion and disgust; passion in hate: anger/fear (in response to threat); and decision-commitment in hate: devaluation-diminution through contempt.³²⁵ This hate can lead to the devaluation of outsiders and make violence more likely. Emotions, part of this and in addition to reason, influence behavior by creating “emotionally tinged implicit memories that are not subject to conscious reflection or control.”³²⁶ Each of these opens the door to crime for some (but not all) people in this

³²² Agnew, “General Strain Theory and Terrorism,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 121. Adolescents who cannot get money to buy things they need or want might attempt to acquire money through crime. Martin Sanchez Jankowski, “Ethnography, Inequality, and Crime in the Low-income Community,” in *Crime and Inequality*, ed. John Hagan and Ruth D. Peterson (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 80-94. The need for status and respect, especially a sense of masculinity, can result in anger that then calls for corrective action. See Richard Majors and Janet Mancini Billson, *Cool Pose: The Dilemmas of Black Manhood in America* (New York: Lexington, 1992) Robert Agnew, *Pressured into Crime* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). The idea that the youth might be a “sensation seeker” comes from Helen Raskin White et al., “The Relationship Between Sensation Seeking and Delinquency: A Longitudinal Analysis,” *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 22 (1985): 197-211. Greenberg finds that a major goal of adolescence is to achieve autonomy from adults, which if denied could lead to the youth asserting independence and being frustrated. See Greenberg, “Delinquency and the Age Structure of Society,” 189-223.

³²³ Agnew, “General Strain Theory and Terrorism,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 122.

³²⁴ Terry Cooper, *Dimensions of Evil* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 157; Roy F. Baumeister, *Evil: Inside Human Violence and Cruelty* (New York: W.H. Freeman, 1997), 118; Andrew J. Calder, Andrew D. Lawrence, and Andy W. Young, “Neuropsychology of fear and loathing,” *Nature Reviews, Neuroscience* 2, no. 5 (May 2001): 352-63.

³²⁵ Robert Sternberg, “A Duplex Theory of Hate: Development and Application to Terrorism, Massacres, and Genocide,” *Review of General Psychology* 7 (2003), 303.

³²⁶ Douglas S. Massey, “A Brief History of Human Society: The Origin and Role of Emotion in Social Life,” *American Sociological Review* 67 (2002): 1-29; Michael L. Benson and Tara L. Sams, “Emotions, Choice

complex relationship between strain, anger, and subcultural values.³²⁷ Psychologist Albert Bandura considers this all part of moral disengagement, or the process by which someone can remove guilt for their horrible actions: moral justification; euphemistic labeling; advantageous comparison; displacement of responsibility; diffusion of responsibility; disregard or distortion of consequence' dehumanization; and attribution of blame.³²⁸ The morally disengaged individual is experiencing strain in an area of life s/he considers very important and finds that the benefits to delinquency are high, likely leading to violence.³²⁹

GST has been applied to interpersonal violence, street crimes, and involvement in drugs, but not as much to terrorism. Religious studies and sociologist Mark Juergensmeyer, applying aspects of subculture to terrorism, finds that there is a "culture of violence" or "violent subcultures" within society.³³⁰ These groups paint themselves as the victim of internal colonialism and other grievances, making violence against others a legitimate choice. Agnew modified his initial theory to create the social psychological theory named General Strain Theory of Terrorism (GSTT), where specific aspects of existing strains could result in terrorism.³³¹ Largely based on case studies, he argues that terrorism could occur when an individual is faced with a collective strain that is: "(1) high in magnitude, with civilians affected; (b) perceived as unjust; and (c) inflicted by substantially more powerful others,

and Crime," in *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Theory*, ed. Francis T. Cullen and Pamela Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 495.

³²⁷ Agnew, "General Strain Theory and Terrorism," in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 123; Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 335; Timothy Brezina, "Anger, Attitudes and Aggressive Behavior: Exploring the Affective and Cognitive Foundations of Angry Aggression," *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 26 (2010): 186-203.

³²⁸ Albert Bandura, "Selective Moral Disengagement in the Exercise of Moral Agency," *Journal of Moral Education* 31, no. 2 (2002), 101-119.

³²⁹ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 123; Francis T. Cullen, "Social Support as an Organizing Concept of Criminology: Presidential Address to the Academy of Criminal Justice," *Justice Quarterly* 11 (1994): 527-559; Timothy Brezina, "Delinquent Problem-solving: An Interpretative Framework for Criminology Theory and Research," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 37 (2000): 3-30. Males are more likely to be juvenile delinquents than females, though females can absolutely be delinquent. For more on gender differences, see Lisa M. Broidy and Robert Agnew, "Gender and Crime: A General Strain Theory Perspective," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 34 (1997): 275-306.

³³⁰ Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God*, 11, 36.

³³¹ Agnew, "General Strain Theory and Terrorism," in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 121.

including complicit civilians, with whom members of the strained group have weak ties.”³³² In addition to what has already been described, these strains—especially imaginary or vicarious—can lead to terrorism and the formulation of terrorist groups.³³³ To support this claim, Agnew quotes terrorism expert and psychiatrist Marc Sageman: “Terrorists justify their acts in terms of justice and fairness and on behalf of the less fortunate—not from their own destitution.”³³⁴ Whether this person acts, however, is largely determined by his/her “ability to cope in a terroristic and a non-terroristic manner, the costs of terrorism, the opportunities for terrorism, and the disposition for terrorism.”³³⁵ Like other terrorism studies, there is no guarantee of violence.

Cultural Deviance and Social Learning Theory

Cultural deviance theories look at the nature of crime and its relationship to victimization, ultimately believing that crime is caused by social interaction.³³⁶ This encompasses several other theories, including social disorganization, differential association, and social learning theory.³³⁷ In a nutshell, social disorganization is “the inability to realize common values,” where both cultural and network-related aspects of a neighborhood can be a source of juvenile delinquency.³³⁸ Poverty and economic deprivation, residential instability and family disruption, and racial/ethnic heterogeneity are the most significant factors in Social Disorganization Theory.³³⁹ Some of these societies may give rise to subcultures with distinct

³³² Ibid., 121, 131. Agnew calls for quantitative work to support this.

³³³ Ibid., 122, 125.

³³⁴ Ibid., 125; see also Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad*, 48.

³³⁵ Agnew, “General Strain Theory and Terrorism,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 131.

³³⁶ Christopher J. Schreck and Eric A. Steward, “The Victim-Offender Overlap and Its Implications for Juvenile Justice,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, ed. Barry Feld and Donna M. Bishop (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

³³⁷ Ibid., 52.

³³⁸ Ruth R. Kornhauser, *Social Sources of Delinquency: An Appraisal of Analytic Models* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); Clifford Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Juvenile Delinquency in Urban Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942). This theory exists more in the theoretical and has not been extensively tested.

³³⁹ Barbara D. Warner and Audrey C. Clubb, “Neighborhood Ties, Control, and Crime,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Theory*, ed. Cullen Wilcox and Pamela Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

normative values, cultures, and attitudes that could make delinquency more likely.³⁴⁰ Among these subculture values, especially for men, are anxiety over trouble, exhibition of toughness, display of smartness, excitement, belief in fate, and need for autonomy.³⁴¹ According to Edwin H. Sutherland, a criminology pioneer, all social behavior—including crime—is learned in what he termed “differential association.”³⁴² Rationalizations, attitudes, and perspectives lead the person to suppress self-sanctions and to turn to crime within a socialized environment and/or intimate group.³⁴³ Though he did not explain how this happens, Sutherland found that criminal behavior is “learned through communication and interaction with others.”³⁴⁴ Criminologists Robert Burgess and Ronald Akers expanded Sutherland’s theory by identifying specific ways individuals learn delinquent behavior and speculating that learned content, even if not real, becomes ingrained in an individual’s psychological self.³⁴⁵ Social scientist Erving Goffman found that a person could convince him/herself that an interpretation of the aforementioned reality is true, thus “deceiving ourselves in order to deceive others better.”³⁴⁶ This self-deception and self-absorption create

2013), 336; Robert J. Bursik, Jr., “Social Disorganization and Theories of Crime and Delinquency: Problems and Prospects,” *Criminology* 26 (1988): 519-551.

³⁴⁰ Mark Warr, “The Social Origins of Crime: Edwin Sutherland and the Theory of Differential Association,” in *Explaining Criminals and Crime: Essays in Contemporary Criminological Theory*, ed. Raymond Paternoster and Ronet Bachman (Los Angeles: Roxburg, 2001); Elijah Anderson, *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999); T. Sellin, *Culture Conflict and Crime* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938); Hans Sebald, *Adolescence: A Social Psychological Analysis*, 4th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1997), 199-209. These are also referred to as cultural transmission models.

³⁴¹ Walter B. Miller, “Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency,” *Journal of Social Issues* 14, no. 3 (1965): 5-19.

³⁴² E.H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1947).

³⁴³ D. Cornish and R. Clarke, *The Reasoning Criminal* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1986). In any discussion on rationalizations, Rational Choice Theory (RCT) is likely underlying some of the assumptions. Rational Choice Theory finds that goal-oriented actors operate within the context of bounded rationality, “weighing the known, perceived costs and benefits of an action and alternative actions, to satisfy their self-interests.” For the application of rational choice to extremism, see J. Evans, “Fitting Extremism Into the Rational Choice Paradigm,” *Government and Opposition* 39, no. 1 (2004): 110-111.

³⁴⁴ Sutherland quoted in Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 129.

³⁴⁵ Robert L. Akers, *Deviant Behavior: A Social Learning Approach* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1973); Robert L. Burgess and Ronald L. Akers, “A Differential Association Reinforcement Theory of Criminal Behavior,” *Social Problems* 14 (1966): 128-147.

³⁴⁶ Erving Goffman in Wright, *The Moral Animal*, 264. Social psychologist Neil Kressel identified several individuals who sincerely believed the lies they were told about their enemies and a few who feigned ignorance of the scale of the genocide they committed in several case studies. See Kressel, *Mass Hate*, 39.

far greater problems than simple ignorance and may be the actual psychological tools driving a cruel imagination that is based off latent biases in a culture and learning.³⁴⁷

As this idea developed, Akers created Social Learning Theory (SLT) to reflect “operant conditioning” or the idea that individuals will learn from others to repeat rewarded behaviors and avoid punishable behaviors.³⁴⁸ SLT includes four key items. First, differential associations with a person’s primary group or even distant groups will be a source of learning. This includes close friends, but also the “sum total of all social influences,” including the Internet.³⁴⁹ When it comes to criminal or delinquent role models, these can be real or imagined, near or far, with opportunities for direct and indirect association.³⁵⁰ Other than prior delinquency, “no characteristic of individuals known to criminologists is a better predictor of criminal behavior than the number of delinquent friends an individual has.”³⁵¹ Second, the individual imitates or copies the behavior and emotions of others, often without fully understanding why.³⁵² Third, the person thinks about behaviors as good or bad, rewarding/reinforcing or punishing. In addition, from learning from others, the juvenile can intrinsically reinforce or punish, or self-teach, in an internal monologue about what is the best decision.³⁵³ Lastly, anticipatory or prospective differential reinforcement occurs where a

³⁴⁷ Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man: Human Nature II* (New York: Scribners, 1964); Cooper, *Dimensions of Evil*, 145.

³⁴⁸ Burgess and Akers, “A Differential Association Reinforcement Theory of Criminal Behavior,” 128-147.

³⁴⁹ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 130; B. B. Brown et al., “A Comprehensive Conceptualization of the Peer Influence Process in Adolescence,” in *In Understanding Peer Influence in Children and Adolescents*, ed. M. J. Prinstein and K. A. Dodge (New York: Guilford, 2008), 17-44. Brown et al. look at peer influence as an event-influence-response sequence.

³⁵⁰ D. Glaser, “Criminality Theories and Behavioral Images,” *American Journal of Sociology* 61 (March 1956): 433-444.

³⁵¹ Mark Warr, *Companions in Crime: The Social Aspects of Criminal Conduct* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 40; Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 130; Gerald R. Patterson, “A Brief History of the Oregon Model,” in *Antisocial Behavior in Children and Adolescents: A Developmental Analysis and Model for Intervention*, ed. John B. Reid, Gerald R. Patterson, and James Snyder (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2002), 12-13. This strong correlation also appeared in the regression analysis (quan), briefly reviewed in Chapter 2.

³⁵² See also Albert Bandura, *Social Learning Theory* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1977); Elaine Hatfield and Richard L. Rapson, “Emotional Contagion: Religious and Ethic Hatreds and Global Terrorism,” in *The Social Life of Emotions*, ed. Larissa Z. Tiedens and Colin W. Leach (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 132.

³⁵³ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 132.

person considers whether their behavior will be rewarded or punished, whether delinquency is desirable, or if delinquency is justifiable as a response to a stressful or “strained” situation.³⁵⁴ Social identity theory comes into play when the person, through learning, reconstructs him/herself and their group.³⁵⁵

Reinforcement through learning, especially intermittent reinforcement, can lead to many delinquent behaviors and beliefs. As Bandura found: “behavior that has been reinforced on a thin unpredictable schedule is exceedingly difficult to extinguish because one’s efforts are sustained by the belief that the actions will eventually prove successful.”³⁵⁶ Social interactions also teach the individual how to discern a situation that will reinforce delinquency from one that will punish it (referred to as discriminative stimuli) and reinforce beliefs, leading to more delinquency.³⁵⁷ For example, a great number of adolescents might drink underage or engage in consensual sexual relations, forms of minor delinquency that they come to believe are okay.³⁵⁸ While the individual might understand that fighting is not excusable, s/he will believe it is justified in self-defense, or the “code of the street.”³⁵⁹ Thus, fighting is acceptable because it helps right a wrong, and restore someone’s honor.³⁶⁰ This does not happen overnight. More so than adults, a juvenile undergoes “stewing, brewing, casting, assessment, aftermaths, and planning for retaliation” prior to acting violent.³⁶¹

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 335.

³⁵⁵ Henri Tajfel, *Differentiation Between Social Groups* (London: Academic, 1978), 63.

³⁵⁶ Albert Bandura, *Aggression: A Social Learning Approach* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 186.

³⁵⁷ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 134-135.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 136.

³⁵⁹ Anderson, *Code of the Street*. “Street code” is further known to expand the number of undesirable events and interactions, increase the perceived severity and injustice of interactional violations, constrain the emotional response to said violations, and encourage the development of an angry disposition.

³⁶⁰ Eric A. Stewart and Ronald L. Simons, “Structure and Culture in African American Adolescent Violence: A Partial Test of the ‘Code of Street’ Thesis,” *Justice Quarterly* 23 (2006): 1-33. Stewart and Simons found that juveniles who are likely to engage in violence will agree that “when someone disrespects you, it is important that you use physical force or aggression to teach him or her not to disrespect you” and other similar items.

³⁶¹ Deanna L. Wilkinson, “An Emergent Situational and Transactional Theory of Urban Youth Violence,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, ed. Barry Feld and Donna M. Bishop (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 348; Christopher J. Sullivan, “Change in Offending Across the Life Course,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Theory*, ed. Francis T. Cullen and Pamela Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 219.

After violence, juveniles are likely to justify or neutralize delinquency by denying responsibility because they were not ultimately in control of their decisions, denying injury because it did not cause harm, denying the victim by claiming s/he deserved it, condemning those who condemn them, and appealing to a higher loyalty or purpose, termed Neutralization Theory by criminologists David Matza and Gresham Sykes.³⁶² Part of this may be hostile attribution bias, the belief that others have unfriendly intentions and are malevolent, or the powerful role of a leader or sanctioner who ordered the juvenile to commit certain acts.³⁶³ The individual learns to act/imitate and believes it is justified, creating more delinquency.

Ever evolving, Akers added structural elements to SLT, renaming it Social Structure Social Learning (SSSL) and borrowing more from Sutherland.³⁶⁴ Now, considerations are made for population age and density, social class, gender, race and ethnicity, marital status, theories on social disorganization and conflict, and lastly personal networks of family, friends, peers, leisure groups, and colleagues.³⁶⁵

A handful of scholars are directly applying SLT or SSSL to terrorism, in particular, how a person's new extreme belief or ideology stimulates behavior and the influences around

³⁶² Gresham M. Sykes and David Matza, "Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency," *American Sociological Review* 22 (1957): 664-670.

³⁶³ Kenneth Dodge, "Translational Science in Action: Hostile Attribution Style and the Development of Aggressive Behavior Problems," *Development and Psychopathology* 18 (2006): 791-814; Stanley Milgram, "Behavioral Study of Obedience," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 67 (1963): 371-378; Herbert C. Kelman, "Violence without Moral restraint: Reflection on the Dehumanization of Victims and Victimizers," *Journal of Social Issues* 29, 4 (1973): 25-61.

³⁶⁴ Ronald L. Akers, *Social Learning and Social Structure: A General Theory of Crime and Deviance* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998); Stadler and Benson identify similar mechanisms in Walter A. Stadler and Michael L. Benson, "Revising the Guilty Mind: The Neutralization of White-Collar Crime," *Criminal Justice Review* 37, no. 4 (2012): 496.

³⁶⁵ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 74, 77, 78. Mid-to late adolescents are more likely to conduct crimes, as are males compared to females. Social class is largely unrelated to minor delinquency, but likely moderated related to serious delinquency. There is little or no relationship between race and minor delinquency, but African Americans are more likely than whites to be involved in serious delinquency. For more on social disorganization and how neighborhoods directly and indirectly affect juvenile delinquency, Charis E. Kubrin, "Communities and Delinquency," in *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, ed. Barry Feld and Donna M. Bishop (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 272-286.

the person work.³⁶⁶ Criminal justice scholars J. Keith Akins and Thomas Winfree apply SSSL to terrorism, finding that it helps to explain how radicalization occurs, how terrorist recruit new members, and how they control their members.³⁶⁷ Kenneth Payne, a scholar of behavior in war, finds that ideology can be derived from consciously constructed propaganda that is internalized or learned.³⁶⁸ Applied to al-Qaeda, its members learn that an Islamist utopia is possible, they are being attacked, and jihad is the only response.³⁶⁹ This narrative extensively pushed by the al-Qaeda leadership is why, according to Payne, there are hundreds of combatants and thousands more supporters who have internalized the message, though they have failed to mobilize worldwide masses.³⁷⁰ Specific to the group, terrorism scholar Allison G. Smith used social identity theory to compare documents issued by 13 terrorist groups to documents issued by non-terrorist groups.³⁷¹ Coding these documents according to in-group affiliation, out-group affiliation, and power motive imagery, Smith found that terrorist groups—using labeling—scored much higher in in-group affiliation and power motive imagery, both that support the important role the group plays in influencing its members. Social media, according the Akins and Winfree, plays a special role in this learning process. More research is needed to fully understand how the specifics from SSSL relate to terrorism, though there are some obvious overlapping principles. As individuals radicalize, they are learning and internalizing a new belief system whether from those around them or

³⁶⁶ Ronald L. Akers and A. Silverman, "Towards a Social Learning Model of Violence and Terrorism," in *Violence: From Theory to Research*, ed. M.A. Zahn, H.H. Brownstein, and S.L. Jackson (Cincinnati, OH: Lexis-Nexis-Anderson Publishing, 2004); Mark Hamm, *Terrorism as Crime: From Oklahoma City to Al-Qaeda and Beyond* (New York: NYU Press, 2007); Thomas Winfree, Jr. and J. Keith Akins, "Expanding the Boundaries of Social Learning Theory: The Case of Suicide Bombers in Gaza," *International Journal of Crime, Criminal Justice, and Law* 3, no. 1 (2008): 145-158; J. Keith Akins and L. Thomas Winfree, Jr., "Social Learning Theory and Becoming a Terrorist: New Challenges for a General Theory," in *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, ed. Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 13.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 144.

³⁶⁸ Kenneth Payne, "Winning the Battle of Ideas: Propaganda, Ideology, and Terror," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 32, no. 2 (January 26, 2009): 110.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 111-113.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 115-116.

³⁷¹ Allison G. Smith, "The Implicit Motives of Terrorist Groups: How the Needs for Affiliation and Power Translate into Death and Destruction," *Political Psychology* 29, no. 1 (2008): 55-75.

the Internet. Once the juvenile makes the decision to act, a variety of explanations echo the justifications for delinquency.

Control Theory

Control Theory addresses why “rational and pleasure-seeking” people conform to groups and asserts that delinquency is the result of weak or low controls that mediate most individual’s behavior.³⁷² Controls are elements of the social bond that generally stop someone from being delinquent, including emotional attachment to others, moral beliefs, and even self-restraint.³⁷³ When the bond between the individual and society breaks, control is weak and the juvenile finds it far easier to quickly satisfy natural selfish needs and wants, possibly through delinquent activities.³⁷⁴ In the words of leading control theorist Travis Hirschi:

Control theories assume that the potential for asocial conduct is present in everyone, that we would all commit delinquent acts were we not somehow prevented from doing so. The important differences between delinquents and non-delinquents are not differences in motivation; they are, rather, differences in the extent to which natural motivates are controlled.³⁷⁵

Thus, it is the level of control that will make the difference, not the individual.

Under Control Theory, there are four main types of control: direct; stake in conformity; beliefs regarding crime; and self-control.³⁷⁶ Direct control includes efforts by others to set rules, monitor behavior, punish or reprimand the juvenile when they break the rules, and reinforce conventional behavior. Those exerting direct control are the police, courts, parents, teachers, neighbors, and others who engage in coercive exchanges with the

³⁷² Schreck and Steward, “The Victim-Offender Overlap,” in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 55.

³⁷³ Travis Hirschi, *Causes of Delinquency* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); see Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 150 for more Control Theorists.

³⁷⁴ Schreck and Steward, “The Victim-Offender Overlap,” in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 55; Hirschi, *Causes of Delinquency*, 3.

³⁷⁵ Travis Hirschi, “Causes and Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency,” *Sociological Inquiry* 47 (1977): 329.

³⁷⁶ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 335.

youth.³⁷⁷ The youth might be told a curfew time and is expected to check in with a parent every two hours or risk being grounded. This is related to Opportunity Theory, which finds that “situations conducive to delinquency are especially likely to occur when adolescents spend unstructured time socializing with peers in the absence of authority figures.”³⁷⁸ Second is a stake in conformity – the juvenile is likely to benefit by having a stake in society and following the rules.³⁷⁹ The juvenile does not want to risk losing an emotional attachment to his/her parent/teacher/friend by disappointing the person and/or losing his/her anticipated investment in society.³⁸⁰ This investment could be as commonplace as completing high school, going to college, and getting a good job. Dropping out of high school jeopardizes the youth’s future stake in society. The idea that delinquency is wrong, referred to as belief, is a powerful deterrent for criminal activity.³⁸¹ However, individuals who have low control and a low stake in conformity are more likely to have an amoral orientation to delinquency or be open to delinquency.³⁸² S/he does not see delinquency as all that bad. Lastly, self-control—also referred to as Self-Control Theory—is the ability to restrain oneself from acting on impulse, or “the self altering its own responses or inner states.”³⁸³ Those more vulnerable to

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 151; Gerald R. Patterson and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, “The Correlation of Family Management Practices and Delinquency,” *Childhood Development* 55 (1984): 299-307.

For a coercive model of crime, see Thomas Vander Veen and Mark Colvin, “Coercion and Crime,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Theory*, ed. Francis T. Cullen and Pamela Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 607-624.

³⁷⁸ D. Wayne Osgood et al., “Routine Activities and Individual Deviant Behavior,” *American Sociological Review* 61 (1996): 635-655. According to Wilcox, Gialopsos, and Land, opportunity determines the distribution of crime events, comes from a variety of sources, is multilevel, and occurs at various levels operating independently or interactively. See Pamela Wilcox, Brooke Miller Gialopsos, and Kenneth C. Land, “Multilevel Criminal Opportunity,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Theory*, ed. Francis T. Cullen and Pamela Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 584-586.

³⁷⁹ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 153.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 153.

³⁸¹ Ibid., 154.

³⁸² Ibid., 154-156.

³⁸³ Mark Eddy and Laurie Swanson Griboskov, “Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention in the United States: The Influence of Theories and Traditions on Policies and Practices,” in *Delinquency Violent Youth: Theory and Interventions*, ed. Thomas P. Gullotta, Gerald R. Adams, and Raymond Montemayor (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 1998), 14; Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi, *A General Theory of Crime* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990); R. F. Baumeister, B. J. Schmeichel, and K. D. Bohs, “Self-Regulation and the Executive Function: The Self as a Controlling Agent,” in *Social Psychology: Handbook of Basic Principles*, ed. A. W. Kruglanski and E. T. Higgins, 2nd ed. (New York: Guilford, 2007), 517. This is heavily influenced by original sin and Hobbesian principles.

delinquency likely are low in self-control, exhibit impulsivity and arousal, need immediate rewards, enjoy risky activity, and have little ambition or motivation.³⁸⁴ When negativity impacts cognitive functioning and the youth tries to reestablish control, s/he can become aggressive or destructive toward him/herself and others.³⁸⁵ Not only do delinquent juveniles often have a predisposition or bias for these traits, low self-control is itself a person's natural state according to criminology professor Michael Gottfredson and Hirschi.³⁸⁶ The adolescent's low-self control makes it easy for the person to feel like a victim and also makes the adolescent more susceptible to recruitment by a group.³⁸⁷

Control theory has only undergone recent testing and requires more research.³⁸⁸ A study by sociologist Donald Black looks at terrorism as a form of social control, but not at how individual members lack elements of control.³⁸⁹ However, the idea that a lack of direct control, a low stake in conformity, relaxed beliefs regarding crime, and questionable self-control could all lead to different forms of delinquency is compatible with terrorism research. As the individual pulls away from society, loses emotional bonds, and comes to view certain types of violence as moral or justifiable, radicalization may be one of the paths open to the youth.

³⁸⁴ Harold G. Grasmick et al., "Testing the Core Empirical Implications of Gottfredson and Hirschi's General Theory of Crime," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 30 (1993): 5-29; Alex Piquero, "Measuring Self Control," in *Out of Control? Assessing the General Theory of Crime*, ed. Erich Goode (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008); Allie Harbin Burt and Ronald L. Simons, "Pulling Back the Curtain on Heritability Studies: Biosocial Criminology in the Postgenomic Era," *Criminology* 52, no. 2 (May 2014); Elizabeth Cauffman, Laurence Steinberg, and Alex R. Piquero, "Psychological, Neuropsychological and Physiological Correlates of Serious Antisocial Behavior in Adolescence: The Role of Self-Control," *Criminology* 43 (2005): 133-176.

³⁸⁵ Cooper, *Dimensions of Evil*, 131.

³⁸⁶ Gottfredson and Hirschi, *A General Theory of Crime*, 88.

³⁸⁷ Schreck and Steward, "The Victim-Offender Overlap," in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 55. Containment is a related theory where inner and outer containment help a person resist temptations. See Walter Reckless, "A New Theory of Delinquency and Crime," *Federal Probation* 25, December 1961, 42-46.

³⁸⁸ Two control theorists conducting newer research are: John Braithwaite, *Restorative Justice and Responsible Regulation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) and Lawrence W. Sherman, "The Defiant Imagination" (lecture, The Albert M. Greenfield Chair Inaugural Lecture, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 2000).

³⁸⁹ Donald Black, "Terrorism as Social Control," in *Sociology of Crime, Law and Deviance*, ed. Mathieu Deflem, vol. 5 (Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing Group Limited, 2004), 9-18.

Labeling Theory

Adolescents who are labeled as “delinquent” come to view themselves that way and act in a reflective manner, according to Labeling Theory.³⁹⁰ Labeling theories posits several direct impacts from the application of the delinquent label to juveniles. First, being labeled or tagged as “bad” or “evil” causes others to view and reject the juvenile as such, especially if the label is selectively applied.³⁹¹ Then, the juvenile begins to lose his/her stake in society, questioning beliefs.³⁹² People begin to treat the juvenile in unfair, disrespectful, and overly harsh ways, which causes the juvenile to lose a stake in conformity.³⁹³ Second, the rejected juvenile experiences strain and has trouble reaching his/her goals.³⁹⁴ S/he is no longer receiving positive stimuli and is likely irritable at how s/he is being treated. Irritability is then linked to heightened sensitivity to strains, tendency to attribute one’s problems to the ill-intentioned behaviors of others, tendency to be self-centered with little consideration to others, and an aggressive or antagonistic manner.³⁹⁵ As the irritable adolescent turns to other outsiders, s/he is exposed to more crime and opportunities for delinquent social learning.³⁹⁶ Third, the juvenile comes to view him/herself as a delinquent (self-concept) and, to find some relief or validation from the label, further identifies with this culture and possibly acts upon

³⁹⁰ Howard Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, Revised ed. (New York: Free Press, 1973), 9. One of the earliest labeling theories was by social psychologists Charles Horton Cooley and W.I. Thomas Cooley, describing self-evaluation and self-identity as a reflection of other people’s reactions as the “Looking-Glass Self.” C.H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964).

³⁹¹ For tagging, see Frank Tannenbaum, *Crime and Community* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1938), 8, 20. For more on selective labeling, part of Radical/Conflict Theories, see Richard Quinney, *Criminology: An Analysis and Critique of Crime in America* (Boston: Little Brown, 1975), 37-41.

³⁹² Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 171-172.

³⁹³ Lawrence W. Sherman, “Defiance, Deterrence, and Irrelevance: A Theory of the Criminal Sanction,” *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 30 (1993): 445-473.

³⁹⁴ Robert J. Sampson and John H. Laub, “A Lifecourse Theory of Cumulative Disadvantage and the Stability of Delinquency,” in *Developmental Theories of Crime and Delinquency*, *Advances in Criminological Theory*, ed. Terence P. Thornberry, vol. 7 (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction); K.E. Bolger and C.J. Patterson, “Developmental Pathways from Child Maltreatment to Peer Rejection,” *Child Development* 72, no. 2 (2001): 549-568.

³⁹⁵ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 240.

³⁹⁶ Mike S. Adams and T. David Evans, “Teacher Disapproval, Delinquent Peers, and Self Reported Delinquency: A Longitudinal Test of Labeling Theory,” *Urban Review* 28 (1996): 199-211. For work on “self-perception theory,” see Daryl J. Bem, *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Human Affairs* (Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1970), 50.

it.³⁹⁷ This is somewhat related to ideas of victimization—that the youth will learn violence from feeling victimized.³⁹⁸ In summary, being labeled or considered extreme leads to increased strain, reduces control, and increases social learning for crime.³⁹⁹ This pattern is more likely in individuals and families with vulnerable socio-demographic characteristics who might be subject to quick labeling.⁴⁰⁰

Related to Labeling Theory is Conversion Theory, which looks at how an individual adopts new beliefs and ideologies to change who they are.⁴⁰¹ Lewis Rambo, a leading proponent of Conversion Theory, sees this adoption of an identity as a series of interrelated phases that act upon each other: context (environmental factors); crisis (personal disequilibrium); quest; encounter (spiritual option); interaction; commitment (decision to invest in religious and promised bond to movement); and consequences.⁴⁰² This conversion can be passive or active, is influenced by “predisposing conditions” and “situational factors,” and can be a self-conversion rather than directed by a spiritual leader.⁴⁰³

The ideas underlying labeling theories hold interesting implications for the study of radicalization and terrorism. One work by counter-terrorism scholar Nicholas Appleby examines how counter-terrorism policies applying labels designed to separate Islam from terrorism may fragment populations, as these create a nebulous “Islamic community” that can be isolated and targeted.⁴⁰⁴ The terrorist, part of this Islamic community, might see the label as a “badge of honour” that even sympathizers uphold. There a small amount research on

³⁹⁷ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 165; Ross L. Matsueda, “Labeling Theory,” in *Explaining Criminals and Crime*, ed. Raymond Paternoster and Ronet Bachman (Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury, 2001).

³⁹⁸ Schreck and Steward, “The Victim-Offender Overlap,” in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 50.

³⁹⁹ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 335.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁴⁰¹ Lewis Rambo, *Understanding religious conversions* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993).

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*

⁴⁰³ Brock Kilbourne and James Richardson, “Paradigm conflict, types of conversion, and conversion theories,” *Sociological Analysis* 50 (1989): 1-21; John Lofland and Norman Skonovd, “Conversion motifs,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 20 (1981): 376; Lofland and Skonovd, “Becoming a world-saver: A theory of conversion to a deviant perspective.”

⁴⁰⁴ Nicholas Appleby, “Labeling the Innocent: How Government Counter-Terrorism Advice Creates Labels That Contribute to the Problem,” *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 3, no. 3 (December 10, 2010): <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17539153.2010.521643>.

labeling theory from a self-radicalization point of view, part of Conversion Theory, including sociology of religion scholar Lorne Dawson's work on New Religious movements and homegrown terrorism radicalization.⁴⁰⁵ How the individual comes to view or label him/herself and subsequent actions arising from that perception may be part of the adoption of a new and violent identity, including terrorism. More research is needed here.

⁴⁰⁵ Lorne L. Dawson, "The Study of New Religious movements and the Radicalization of Home-Grown Terrorists: Opening a Dialogue," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22, no. 1 (2010): 1-21.

Combining the Theories

Some criminology studies provide great merit in helping understand violence from a youth development perspective, or a path by which the person becomes violent either over a long period of time or quickly in response to a sudden crisis.⁴⁰⁶ Agnew finds these four theories covered here to be especially useful in explaining “patterns of offending over the life course.”⁴⁰⁷ Generally, three distinct pathways to delinquency include authority conflict pathway (early stubborn behavior, defiance, and authority avoidance), covert pathway (minor underhanded behavior, property damage, and then more serious forms of delinquency), and overt pathway (annoying and bullying others, then physical fighting, and lastly serious violence).⁴⁰⁸ In the life-course, delinquency is high in middle to late adolescence and then normally drops during the person’s 20s and 30s, with an even smaller percentage of delinquency past adolescence.⁴⁰⁹ The juvenile tends to only be delinquent for five to ten years.⁴¹⁰ During these years, many things are influencing the youth, including: genetics, hormones, and other neurobiological developments; home and family environment,

⁴⁰⁶ David P. Farrington and Rolf Loeber, “Risk Factors for Delinquency Over Time and Place,” *Youth Update* 17 (1999): 4-5. See also Rolf Loeber and Marc Le Blanc, “Toward a Development Criminology,” in *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, ed. Michael Tonry and Norval Morris, vol. 12 (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1990).

⁴⁰⁷ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 335. For more on life-course and violence, see Mark S. Hamm, “Prisoner Radicalization and Sacred Terrorism: A Life-Course Perspective,” in *Contemporary Issues in Criminological Theory and Research: The Role of Social Institutions – Papers From The American Society of Criminology 2010 Conference*, ed. R. Rosenfeld, K. Quinet, and C. Garcia (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2011), 188; Terrie E. Moffitt, “Life-Course-Persistent and Adolescent-Limited Antisocial Behavior: A Developmental Taxonomy,” *Psychological Review* 100 (1993): 674-701; Gerald R. Patterson, L. Crosby, and S. Vuchinich, “Predicting Risk for Early Policy Arrest,” *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 8, no. 4 (1992): 335-355; John H. Laub and Dale F. Hay, “Developmental Approaches to Aggression and Conduct Problems,” in *Development Through Life: A Handbook for Clinicians*, ed. Michael Rutter and Dale F. Hay (Oxford: Blackwell Scientific Publications, 1994); Robert J. Sampson and John H. Laub, *Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points Through Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Alex R. Piquero and Douglas B. Weiss, “Heterogeneity in Delinquency,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, ed. Barry Feld and Donna M. Bishop (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 31-32; and David P. Farrington, ed., “Developmental and Life-Course Criminology: Key Theoretical and Empirical Issues – The 2002 Sutherland Award Address,” *Criminology* 41 (2003): 221-255.

⁴⁰⁸ Rolf Loeber et al., “Developmental Pathways in Disruptive Behaviour,” *Development and Psychopathology* 23 (1993): 12-48.

⁴⁰⁹ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 335; Piquero and Weiss, “Heterogeneity in Delinquency,” in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*.

⁴¹⁰ Alex R. Piquero, David P. Farrington, and Alfred Blumstein, “The Criminal Career Paradigm,” in *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, ed. Michael Tonry, vol. 30 (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003).

community, school, and peer groups; and religion, mass media, drugs, and gun catalysts.

Special consideration is given at the end of this section for the possible relationship between immigration and youth violence.

Genetics, Hormones, and Other Neurobiological Developments

Related to life-course theory, adolescents are experiencing stages of physical and sexual maturity, increased hormones, and other neurobiological developments.⁴¹¹ Genetics and brain development, hormones, and early health risks may impact the potential for the deviancy by the adolescent. Genetic influences “have been found in virtually every measured human trait and behavior,” accounting for a vast majority of variance in criminal and antisocial behaviors.⁴¹² Aggressive acts seem to be more related to genetics than non-aggressive acts, the latter of which are largely influenced by the environment.⁴¹³ Multiple genes, as well as the environment, may lead to juvenile delinquency.⁴¹⁴ Neuroimaging studies have found that the development of the amygdala, temporal lobe, frontal lobes, and cingulate—all parts of the brain—may also be indicative of juvenile delinquency.⁴¹⁵ Antisocial or delinquent youths tend to demonstrate reduced amygdala activity and reduced connectivity between the amygdala and the ventromedial prefrontal cortex, which processes rewards and punishments,

⁴¹¹ Melissa Peskin et al., “Personal Characteristics of Delinquents: Neurobiology, Genetic Predispositions, Individual Psychosocial Attributes,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, ed. Barry Feld and Donna M. Bishop (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 73-106.

⁴¹² John Paul Wright and Kevin M. Beaver, “Parenting and Crime,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Theory*, ed. Cullen Wilcox and Pamela Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 47; Terrie E. Moffitt, Ayshalom Caspi, and Michael Rutter, “Strategy for Investigating Interactions between Measured Genes and Measured Environments,” *Archives of General Psychiatry* 62 (2005): 473-481.

⁴¹³ Peskin et al., “Personal Characteristics of Delinquents: Neurobiology, Genetic Predispositions, Individual Psychosocial Attributes,” in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 75; Terrie Moffitt, “The New Look of Behavioral Genetics in Developmental Psychopathology: Gene-Environment Interplay in Antisocial Behavior,” *Psychological Bulletin* 131 (2005): 533-554.

⁴¹⁴ David Goldman and Francesca Ducci, “The Genetics of Psychopathic Disorders,” in *International Handbook on Psychopathic Disorders and The Law*, ed. Alan R. Felthous and Henning Sass, vol. 1 (West Sussex, England: John Wiley and Sons, 2007), 253-262; Michael Koenigs, “The Role of Prefrontal Cortex in Psychopathy,” *Reviewers in the Neurosciences* 23 (2012): 253-262.

⁴¹⁵ Peskin et al., “Personal Characteristics of Delinquents: Neurobiology, Genetic Predispositions, Individual Psychosocial Attributes,” in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 76.

inhibits responses and behavior, and regulates emotions like fear.⁴¹⁶ Fear is extremely difficult, if not impossible to unlearn when experienced in adolescence compared to other stages of life.⁴¹⁷ In general, reduced activities in these parts of the brain impact the person from childhood into adolescence and beyond, affecting the development of morals and the ability to socialize.⁴¹⁸ The frontal lobes are critical to assessing risk. When these are not fused, or fail to fuse in the last years of adolescence, the individual may be predisposed to disruptive behavior and emotional deficiencies, which can be triggered or exacerbated by the environment.⁴¹⁹ These deficiencies can include impulse control, the ability to plan ahead, assess risk, and form relations with others.⁴²⁰ In children who have these, some very early indications (prior to age six) of future delinquency include childhood cruelty to animals and lying at home.⁴²¹ The fearless or stimulus-seeking child may become delinquent later.⁴²²

⁴¹⁶ Paula L. Ruttle et al., "Disentangling Psychobiological Mechanisms Underlying Internalizing and Externalizing Behaviors in Youth: Longitudinal and Concurrent Associations With Cortisol," *Hormones and Behavior* 59, no. 1 (2011); Phillip Sterzer et al., "Abnormal Neural Responses to Emotional Visual Stimuli in Adolescents With Conduct Disorder," *Biological Psychiatry* 57 (2005): 7-15; Simone G. Shamay-Tsoory et al., "Impaired 'Affective Theory of Mind' Is Associated with Right Ventromedial Prefrontal Damage," *Cognitive Behavioral Neurology* 18, no. 1 (2005): 55-67; Adam R. Aron, Trevor W. Robbins, and Russel A. Poldrack, "Inhibition and the Right Inferior Frontal Cortex," *Trends in Cognitive Science* 8, no. 4 (2004): 170-177; Kevin N. Ochsner et al., "The Neural Correlates of Direct and Reflective Self-Knowledge," *NeuroImage* 28: 797-814. With a signal coming from the amygdala, the hypothalamus releases adrenocorticotrophic hormone, which tells the pituitary gland to create adrenocorticotrophic hormone (ACTH). ACTH signals the adrenal gland to make adrenaline and cortisol.

⁴¹⁷ Richard A. Friedman, "Why Teenagers Act Crazy," *The New York Times*, June 28, 2014, accessed May 12, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/29/opinion/sunday/why-teenagers-act-crazy.html?_r=0; Traci Pedersen, "Teen Brains More Susceptible to Pervasive Anxiety," PsychCentral, May 3, 2011, accessed June 2, 2015, <http://psychcentral.com/news/2011/05/03/teen-brains-more-susceptible-to-pervasive-anxiety/25827.html>.

⁴¹⁸ Peskin et al., "Personal Characteristics of Delinquents: Neurobiology, Genetic Predispositions, Individual Psychosocial Attributes," in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 77.
⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, 80-81.

⁴²¹ Rolf Loeber et al., "Findings on Disruptive Behavior Disorders from the First Decade Of The Developmental Trends Study," *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review* 3 (2000): 37-59.

⁴²² Adrian Raine et al., "Fearlessness, Stimulation-Seeking, and Large Body Size at Age 3 Years as Early Predispositions to Childhood Aggression at Age 11 Years," *Archives of General Psychiatry* 55 (1998): 745-751. There is some limited research that finds a low-resting heart rate, greater heart rate reactivity to stress, and low arousal to skin contact may be related to delinquency, as the youth feels and processes things differently. See James Ortiz and Adrian Raine, "Heart Rate Level and Antisocial Behavior in Children and Adolescents: A Meta-Analysis," *Journal of American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* 43 (2004): 154-162; Jeffrey L. Kibler, Vicki L. Prosser, and Mindy Ma, "Cardiovascular Correlates of Misconduct in Children and Adolescents," *Journal of Psychophysiology* 18 (2004): 184-189; Michael F. Lorber, "Psychophysiology of Aggression, Psychopathy, and Conduct Problems: A Meta-Analysis," *Psychological Bulletin* 130 (2004): 531-552.

Hormones and stress may also affect the juvenile's future odds of delinquency. Low levels of cortisol, a stress hormone produced by the body in response to fear, are linked to anti-social children and adults who are less responsive to stressors and less fearful of negative consequences.⁴²³ High levels of cortisol, plus the associated adrenaline, can also be dangerous.⁴²⁴ Chronic or pervasive exposure to stress leads to the release of cortisol and also norepinephrine, affecting the structure, connectivity, and functioning of the child's brain.⁴²⁵ This stress and the released hormones are operating on the youth in many potentially detrimental ways with severe and negative consequences for self-regulation.⁴²⁶ The resulting "biological embedding" of stress (also referred to as the physiology of stress) over the person's life may lead to physical and mental disorders, among other problems.⁴²⁷ Exposure to stress is shown to negatively impact the juvenile's ability to regulate his/her thoughts, behaviors, or emotions to achieve a goal.⁴²⁸ Studies find that memory and spatial abilities are impacted negatively, opening the door to false or amended recollections.⁴²⁹ Being exposed to violence in the home and community (an acute form of stress) is one such factor that

⁴²³ Gavin Shoal, Peter R. Giancola, and Galina P. Kilrillova, "Salivary Cortisol, Personality, and Aggressive Behavior in Adolescent Boys: A 5-Year Longitudinal Study," *Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Mental Health* 42 (2003): 1101-1107; L. Atkinson et al., "Stress Physiology in Infancy and Early Childhood: Cortisol Flexibility, Attunement and Coordination," *Journal of Neuroendocrinology* 28, no. 8, doi:10.1111/jne.12408; Lauren E. Chaby, "Why Are There Lasting Effects from Exposure to Stress During Development? An Analysis of Current Models of Early Stress," *Physiology & Behavior* 164 (2016): 164-181.

⁴²⁴ "Understanding the Stress Response," Harvard Health Publications, March 8, 2016, <http://www.health.harvard.edu/staying-healthy/understanding-the-stress-response>.

⁴²⁵ Elizabeth Gould et al., "Neurogenesis in the Dentate Gy- Rus of the Adult Tree Shrew Is Regulated by Psychosocial Stress and NMDA Receptor Activation," *The Journal of Neuroscience* 17: 2492-2498.

⁴²⁶ Dana Charles McCoy, "Early Violence Exposure and Self-Regulatory Development: A Bioecological Systems Perspective," *Human Development* 56, no. 4 (2013): 254-273. Researchers also find that cortisol and stress in some adolescents may lead to sleep problems, which compound the issues mentioned here. See Sylvie Mrgus et al., "Sleep Problems Predict Cortisol Reactivity to Stress in Urban Adolescents," *Physiology & Behavior* 155 (March 1, 2016): 95-101.

⁴²⁷ Neal Halfon et al., "Lifecourse Health Development: Past, Present and Future," *Maternal Child Health Journal* 18 (2014): 344-365; V.J. Felitti et al., "Relationship of Childhood Abuse and Household Dysfunction to Many of the Leading Causes of Death in Adults. The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study," *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 14 (1998): 245-258; Chaby, "Why Are There Lasting Effects from Exposure to Stress During Development?," 164-181.

⁴²⁸ McCoy, "Early Violence Exposure and Self-Regulatory Development," 256.

⁴²⁹ Cheryl D. Conrad, J. Bryce Ortiz, and Jessica M. Judd, "Chronic Stress and Hippocampal Dendritic Complexity: Methodological and Functional Considerations," *Physiology & Behavior*, November 2016, 10-13.

negatively impacts self-regulation.⁴³⁰ If the youth does not develop coping mechanisms for violence, s/he may experience cumulative negative effects from the chronic and pervasive exposure and later develop problems.⁴³¹ Direct receipt of violence may lead to higher risks of mental illness and de-regulated behaviors, while indirect exposure could lead to altered perceptions of aggression.⁴³² The youth may be “inappropriately aggressive or defensive in everyday situations with peers, teachers, and family members...misidentify neutral situations as threatening...become ‘emotionally flooded’ and unable to down regulate negative emotions.”⁴³³ When the source of stress is no longer there, behavioral neuroscientist Cheryl Conrad et al. find that the affected person’s baseline is still different than those who did not experience the stress, indicating that these people have likely changed physiologically.⁴³⁴ Scholars of youth stress and delinquency are calling for studies, as very few exist, looking at the effects of violence on youth self-regulation that take into account the individuals’ characteristics and reactions to violence, as well as the relationship to the environment.⁴³⁵

Also in the youth brain, dopamine, a chemical released by nerve cells to signal other nerve cells, prompts wanting or seeking behavior, encouraging impulsive activity aimed at achieving a goal (real or abstract).⁴³⁶ Dopamine likes to have more dopamine, driving a repetitive or endless search for information and truth, even once the youth has found an

⁴³⁰ McCoy, “Early Violence Exposure and Self-Regulatory Development,” 258.

⁴³¹ E. Mark Cummings et al., “Responses of Physically Abused Boys to Interadult Anger Involving Their Mothers,” *Development and Psychopathology* 6 (1994): 31-41.

⁴³² Deborah A. O'Donnell, Mary E. Schwab-Stone, and Adaline Z. Muyeed, “Multidimensional Resilience in Urban Children Exposed to Community Violence,” *Child Development* 73 (2002): 1265-1282; D. Schwartz and L.J. Proctor, “Community Violence Exposure and Children's Social Adjustment in the School Peer Group: The Mediating Roles of Emotion Regulation and Social Cognition,” *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 68 (2000): 670-683.

⁴³³ McCoy, “Early Violence Exposure and Self-Regulatory Development,” 261. See also Kenneth A. Dodge, “Social-cognitive mechanisms in the development of conduct disorder and aggression,” *Annual Review of Psychology* 44, 559-584; J.M. Gottman and L.F. Katz, “The effects of marital discord on young children’s peer interaction and health,” *Developmental Psychology* 25, 373-381.

⁴³⁴ Conrad, Ortiz, and Judd, “Chronic Stress and Hippocampal Dendritic Complexity,” 12.

⁴³⁵ McCoy, “Early Violence Exposure and Self-Regulatory Development,” 258.

⁴³⁶ Susan Weinschenk, Ph.D., “Why We’re All Addicted to Texts, Twitter and Google,” *Psychology Today*, September 11, 2012, accessed November 27, 2014, <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/brain-wise/201209/why-were-all-addicted-texts-twitter-and-google>; Duncan Sinclair et al., “Impacts of Stress and Sex Hormones on Dopamine Neurotransmission in the Adolescent Brain,” *Psychopharmacology* 231, no. 8 (2014): 1581-1599, accessed March 27, 2014, doi:10.1007/s00213-013-3415-z.

answer on the Internet or elsewhere.⁴³⁷ Interestingly, the search is more powerful, neurologically, than the youth actually receiving a reward.⁴³⁸ With long-term dopamine stimulation, the youth may experience impaired cognitive functions and problems with higher level thinking about consequences.⁴³⁹ High levels of androgen, most often associated with the hormone testosterone, may be related to reward-seeking behaviors, dominance, and aggression.⁴⁴⁰ Low cortisol and high androgens make quite the volatile combination. Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) occurs at higher rates in juvenile delinquents and may lead to antisocial behaviors and aggression, especially when combined with some of the aforementioned factors.⁴⁴¹ A final point on the brain involves mirroring. Related to the amygdala, mirror neurons in the brain enable a person to experience real results—heart racing, increased breathing—while not engaging in any actual physical activity.⁴⁴² When the brain is mirroring, the youth fears what s/he does not understand and benign instincts quickly becomes distorted.⁴⁴³ The youth is mentally, and somewhat physically, primed for aggression.

Lastly on the brain, delinquency in youths isolated from friends may be related to suicidal ideation, though it is not entirely clear where these thoughts reside.⁴⁴⁴ In a longitudinal study, researchers found that youths seriously considered suicide one to seven

⁴³⁷ Weinschenk, “Why We’re All Addicted to Texts.”

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ Sinclair et al., “Impacts of Stress.”

⁴⁴⁰ Reid Daitzman and Marvin Zuckerman, “Disinhibitory Sensation Seeking, Personality and Gonadal Hormones,” *Personality & Individual Differences* 1 (1980): 103-110; John Archer, “Testosterone and Human Aggression: An Evaluation of the Challenge Hypothesis,” *Neuroscience and Biobehavioral Reviews* 30 (2006): 319-345.

⁴⁴¹ Terrie Moffitt, “Juvenile Delinquency and Attention Deficit Disorder: Boys’ Developmental Trajectories From Age 3 to Age 15,” *Child Development* 61 (1990): 893-910.

⁴⁴² Richard Ristak, *The Naked Brain: How the Emerging Neurosociety Is Changing How We Live, Work, and Love* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2006), 62-63; Lea Winerman, “The Mind’s Mirror,” *Monitor on Psychology* 36, no. 9, 48.

⁴⁴³ Roy F. Baumeister, *Inside Human Violence and Cruelty*, 1st ed. (New York: Henry Hold and Company LLC, 1996), 118; see also Erich Fromm, *The Heart of Man: Its Genius for Good and Evil*, ed. Ruth Nanda Anshen (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

⁴⁴⁴ Stephen Demuth, “Understanding the Delinquency and Social Relationships of Loners,” *Youth and Society* 35 (2004): 366-392; R.A. King et al., “Psychosocial and Risk Behavior Correlates of Youth Suicide Attempts and Suicidal Ideation,” *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* 40, no. 7 (2001): 837-846.

years after engaging in some delinquent activities.⁴⁴⁵ The idea seems to incubate, resulting in tragic consequences for some. Criminologist Adam Lankford, researching the relationship between suicide and terrorism using individual profiles, finds that individuals are driven to suicide (whether in the name of religion or not) because of depression and other psychological trauma.⁴⁴⁶ According to Lankford, suicide terrorists are far easier to understand or profile when simply considered suicidal, a point that Horgan strongly contests.⁴⁴⁷ The terrorism perspective on suicide is covered more extensively later in this chapter, but there is significant social and psychological research looking at the various motivates for someone who decides to kill him/herself.

Compared to a child, the developing juvenile has more autonomy, more material resources, higher status, more control over behavior and friendships, and more responsibility for education and work goals, but less so than autonomous adults.⁴⁴⁸ To make matters more complicated, morals may be unclear as adolescents figure out who they are and what they believe. This tension creates a loss of control, more strain, and the possibility of learning crime.⁴⁴⁹ This is even more significant if there are genetic inheritances and biological harms involved.⁴⁵⁰ Some early health risks may be related to delinquency, including smoking during pregnancy, birth complications, minor physical anomalies, and malnutrition.⁴⁵¹ Most youths

⁴⁴⁵ Martie P. Thompson, Ching-hua Ho, and J.B. Kingree, "Prospective Associations Between Delinquency and Suicidal Behaviors in a Nationally Representative Sample," *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* 40, no. 7 (2001): 232-237.

⁴⁴⁶ Adam Lankford, *The Myth of Martyrdom: What Really Drives Suicide Bombers, Rampage Shooters, and Other Self-Destructive Killers* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.; Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 32.

⁴⁴⁸ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 187; Jennifer L. Woolard, "Adolescent Development, Delinquency, and Juvenile Justice," in *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, ed. Barry Feld and Donna M. Bishop (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 107-108.

⁴⁴⁹ Paul Mazerolle and Jeff Maahs, "General Strain and Delinquency: An Alternative Examination of Conditioning Influences," *Justice Quarterly* 17 (2000): 753-778.

⁴⁵⁰ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 339.

⁴⁵¹ Peskin et al., "Personal Characteristics of Delinquents: Neurobiology, Genetic Predispositions, Individual Psychosocial Attributes," in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 87-90.

tend to grow out of delinquency by adulthood and are only “adolescence-limited offenders.”⁴⁵²

Social Development Factors: Home and Family, Community, School, and Peer Group

Delinquency theories extend beyond the individual. Social development factors not specific to the individual that influence delinquency include the home and family environment, community, school experiences and characteristics, and peer group or gang experiences that can act as triggers for genetic predispositions. All of these are part of the broader social environment and include, “the perceived or actual instrumental and/or expressive provisions supplied by the community, social networks, and confiding partners,” as well as asocial support.⁴⁵³

Starting at home, Agnew and Brezina find that the family influences: “the juvenile’s level of and reaction to strain, whether the juvenile learns to conform or deviate, and the control to which and the extent to which the juvenile is subject to labeling.”⁴⁵⁴ This can also be referred to as “attachment theory,” where the child learns an attachment style based on the nature of the relationship with his/her parents or caregivers, hopefully learning control and warmth.⁴⁵⁵ When parenting and parental supervision are poor or the parent rejects the child,

⁴⁵² Terrie E. Moffitt, “Adolescence-Limited and Life-Course Persistent Offending: A Complementary Pair of Developmental Theories,” in *Developmental Theories of Crime and Delinquency: Advances in Criminological Theory*, ed. Terence P. Thornberry, vol. 7 (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1997), 11-54.

⁴⁵³ Nan Lin, “Conceptualizing Social Support,” in *Social Support, Life Events, and Depression*, ed. Nan Lin, Alfred Dean, and Walter M. Edsel (Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1986), 18; Cullen, “Social Support as an Organizing Concept for Criminology,” 527-559. Social supports include the actual provision of support, expressive or instrumental support, support at multiple levels, informal support through individual relationships or formal support from an official institution.

⁴⁵⁴ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 253; Eugene Maguin and Rolf Loeber, “Academic Performance and Delinquency,” in *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, ed. Michael Tonry, vol. 20 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 145-264; Jay MacLeod, *Ain’t No Makin’ It* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995).

⁴⁵⁵ J. Bowlby, *Attachment and Loss*, vol. 1 (New York: Basic Books, 1969); “The Influence of Parenting Style on Adolescent Competence and Substance Use,” *Journal of Early Adolescence* 11:56-95; John H. Laub and R.J. Sampson, “Unraveling Families and Delinquency: A Re-Analysis of the Gluecks Data,” *Criminology* 26 (1988): 355-380.

delinquency is far more common and the child struggles to learn self-control.⁴⁵⁶ The bad or broken home, divorced parents, abusive and/or neglectful parents, single mother, low socioeconomic status of family, and large family size each creates additional strain while failing to teach appropriate coping mechanisms for stress.⁴⁵⁷ The individual then has less control over his/her self-sensors, and an incentive to act aggressively to gain stability and pride.

With respect to school, delinquent measures include low school performance and involvement, no or little time spent on homework, low attachment to or involvement in school, poor relations with teachers, poor grades or poor academic/occupational goals, dropping out of school, and school misbehavior.⁴⁵⁸ Again, these are found to lead to increased strain, low direct control, a person being labeled as bad, and pathways to learn crime.⁴⁵⁹ However, school experiences and delinquency are more likely caused by early family experiences and individual traits like low intelligence and low self-control, and can be affected by disorganized communities.⁴⁶⁰ While school experiences have a modest causal relationship to delinquency and should be tracked, other factors are more influential.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁶ David P. Farrington, "Predictors of Violent Youth Offenders," in *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, ed. Barry Feld and Donna M. Bishop (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 87, 158-159; Gottfredson and Hirschi, *A General Theory of Crime*, 88. Gottfredson and Hirschi in their *General Theory of Crime* find that the child needs to be taught self-control by age 10, or risk delinquency. See also Wright and Beaver, "Parenting and Crime," in Wilcox and Wilcox, *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Theory*, 40-61.

⁴⁵⁷ Farrington, "Predictors of Violent Youth Offenders," in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 87, 158-159. Also possibly involved is the "coercive model," where parental abuse or neglect intensifies juvenile delinquency, and the juvenile delinquent decreases parental efforts to control. See Gerald R. Patterson and James Snyder, "The Early Development of Coercive Family Process," in *Antisocial Behavior in Children and Adolescents*, ed. John Reid (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2002), 25-44.

⁴⁵⁸ Gary D. Gottfredson, "Schools and Delinquency," in *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, ed. Barry Feld and Donna M. Bishop (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 203-225.

⁴⁵⁹ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 338.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 273. Terrorism studies do not find low IQ to be a reliable indicator, while this measure does feature prominently in juvenile delinquency research. See Terrie Moffitt, "The Neuropsychology of Juvenile Delinquency: A Critical Review," in *Crime and Justice*, ed. Michael Tonry and Norval Morris, vol. 12 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 99-169; Gottfredson, "Schools and Delinquency," in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 215.

⁴⁶¹ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 274.

Lastly, the acquiring of delinquent friends tends to precede delinquent behavior, with the group acting as an extremely powerful influence.⁴⁶² Individuals who are irritable and have low self-control, as well as a poor home environment and negative school experiences, are all the more likely to join delinquent groups.⁴⁶³ Individuals who have friends or peers who are heavily involved in delinquency are far more likely to become delinquent, especially if the group is cohesive, small, and salient.⁴⁶⁴ In fact, the juvenile is likely to join multiple delinquent groups over the years and change accomplices often, though their delinquent friends will stay around for a while and are thus “sticky.”⁴⁶⁵ Juveniles in these groups might first become delinquent, even pre-emptively, to increase their status or respect among the members, or because they are afraid to go against the grain or face ridicule.⁴⁶⁶ With new delinquent friends, a more significant, loyal, and longer friendship will follow than with old friends.⁴⁶⁷ Delinquent behavior is reinforced as these friends provide support and opportunities for more delinquent behavior in a feedback cycle.⁴⁶⁸ Further and once the youth is a loyal member of the group, s/he cannot easily leave because their personality and identity would again be vulnerable.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶² Delbert S. Elliott and Scott Menard, “Delinquent Friends and Delinquent Behavior: Temporal and Developmental Patterns,” in *Delinquency and Crime: Current Theories*, ed. J. David Hawkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Peggy C. Giordano, Stephen A. Cernkovich, and M.D. Pugh, “Friendships and Delinquency,” *American Journal of Sociology* 91 (1986): 1170-1202.

⁴⁶³ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 289; Gary F. Jensen, “Parents, Peers, and Delinquent Action: A Test of the Differential Association Perspective,” *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (1972): 562-575.

⁴⁶⁴ E.S. Scott, N.D. Reppucci, and J.L. Woolard, “Adolescent Judgement in Legal Contexts,” *Law and Human Behavior* 19 (1995): 221-244.

⁴⁶⁵ Mark Warr, “The Social Side of Delinquent Behavior,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, ed. Barry Feld and Donna M. Bishop (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 230-231; Dexter Dunphy, “The Social Structure of Urban Adolescent Peer Groups,” *Sociometry* 26 (1963): 240-246.

⁴⁶⁶ Warr, *Companions in Crime*; Schreck and Steward, “The Victim-Offender Overlap,” in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 53.

⁴⁶⁷ Mark Warr, “Age, Peers, and Delinquency,” *Criminology* 31 (1993): 17-40.

⁴⁶⁸ Terence Thornberry, “Towards an Interactional Theory of Delinquency,” *Criminology* 25 (1987): 863-891.

⁴⁶⁹ Philip W. Johnson and Theodore B. Feldman, “Personality Types and Terrorism: Self-Psychology Perspectives,” *Forensic Reports* 5 (1992): 300-301.

One specific type of juvenile delinquent group is a gang, though there are many disagreements on a precise definition of a gang, as with terrorism.⁴⁷⁰ Gangs, similar to terrorism, have been around for many years, since the late 1800s by some measures.⁴⁷¹ Membership in a gang, according to gang experts Cheryl L. Maxson and Kristy N. Matsuda, appears to enhance the amount of crime a youth is the victim of and also the amount of crime committed.⁴⁷² Gangs are more cohesive (owing to external factors that “spawn social interaction in response to gang rivalries”) and somewhat more structured than non-gang delinquent youth groups, though often not extremely so.⁴⁷³ One distinguishing characteristic between gangs and other violent youth groups is “a strong group identity [or orientation] toward crime and violence.”⁴⁷⁴ Not all gang members will commit crimes, but they view the wider group operations as part of their identity.⁴⁷⁵ Malcolm Klein, another titan in the field, considered this orientation and inclination toward crime as an admirable identity to be the “tipping point” that makes a youth identify as part of a gang, not just a group.⁴⁷⁶ The risk factors for joining a gang vary widely and are not found consistently in the research.⁴⁷⁷ Risk factors that do somewhat consistently appear include experiencing negative life events, engaging in non-delinquent problem behaviors (antisocial, risk-taking, and impulsiveness),

⁴⁷⁰ Maxson and Matsu, “Gang Delinquency,” in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 246. See Bibliography for the gang-related research and scholarly works consulted in the completion of this thesis.

⁴⁷¹ G.D. Curry and S.H. Decker, *Confronting Gangs: Crime and Community* (Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury, 1998).

⁴⁷² Maxson and Matsu, “Gang Delinquency,” in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 246.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 246; Karen Hennigan and Marija Spanovic, “Gang Dynamics Through the Lens of Social Identity Theory,” in *The Modern Gang Reader*, ed. Cheryl L. Maxson et al. (New York: Oxford University Press), 191; Malcolm Klein and LY Crawford, “Groups, Gangs and Cohesiveness,” *J Res Crime & Del* 4 (1967): 63-75.

⁴⁷⁴ Hennigan and Spanovic, “Gang Dynamics Through the Lens of Social Identity Theory,” in Maxson et al., *The Modern Gang Reader*, 246.

⁴⁷⁵ Maxson and Matsu, “Gang Delinquency,” in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 258.

⁴⁷⁶ Malcolm Klein, *The American Street Gangs: Its Nature, Prevalence, and Control* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 29-30.

⁴⁷⁷ Malcolm Klein and Cheryl L. Maxson, *Street Gang Patterns and Policies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

weak parental monitoring, having delinquent friends, and negative peer influences.⁴⁷⁸ Studies that interview or ask gang members why they join generally find a person engages because of friends/family in the gang, protection, neighborhood pride, and a desire to engage in illegal activity.⁴⁷⁹ Females that join are likely to experience some or most of these factors, same as men, but are less likely to engage in violent crime.⁴⁸⁰ One final hallmark of the gang and its members as a subculture is its deep distrust of institutions, authorities, and society.⁴⁸¹ They learn this behavior, internalize it, and use the group to pursue rewards drawing on the same four theories mentioned previously.⁴⁸²

As a structural entity, the group or gang acts in specific ways. According to Social Movement Theory (SMT), the group will act in rational and strategic ways to guarantee survival, growth, and productivity.⁴⁸³ Within the group, polarization, groupthink, intergroup (in-group/out-group) bias, intergroup competition, intragroup competition, de-individualization, and group norms all coexist.⁴⁸⁴ Some subgroups may promote violence as retaliation for being wronged.⁴⁸⁵ Typically, there is a key individual or leader (who can rotate frequently) in the group that will instigate the offense or delinquency.⁴⁸⁶ Stanford sociologist Mark Granovetter has found that an instigator(s), someone with a low threshold for violence,

⁴⁷⁸ Maxson and Matsu, "Gang Delinquency," in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 253.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.; Terence Thornberry et al., *Gangs and Delinquency in a Developmental Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Glen D. Curry, Richard A. Ball, and Robert J. Fox, *Gang Crime and Law Enforcement Record Keeping: Research in Brief* (Washington, DC: Department of Justice, 1994).

⁴⁸⁰ Jody Miller, *One of the Guys: Girls, Gangs, and Gender* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁴⁸¹ William E. Thompson and Jack E. Bynum, *Juvenile Delinquency: A Sociological Approach* (New Jersey: Pearson Education), 295.

⁴⁸² Hennigan and Spanovic, "Gang Dynamics Through the Lens of Social Identity Theory," in Maxson et al., *The Modern Gang Reader*, 179-196.

⁴⁸³ Borum, "The Etiology of Radicalization," in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 19.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., 19-20.

⁴⁸⁵ Simon Singer, "Homogeneous Victim-Offender Populations: A Review and Some Research Implications," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 72 (1981): 779-788.

⁴⁸⁶ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 287.

is key to delinquency, which was also found in a classic study on obedience to authority by social psychologist Stanley Milgram.⁴⁸⁷ The group influence can be overt, or quite subtle.⁴⁸⁸

Several terrorism and radicalization studies incorporate SMT. Criminologist Remy Cross and sociologist David Snow, in the context of radicalization, find that grassroots social movements—Sageman would say leaderless—are “free spaces” where individuals can create a new identity among an insular or affinity group.⁴⁸⁹ In an empirical study using aspects of SMT, counter-terrorism expert Quintin Wiktorowicz looks at the relationship between social influences and a person’s decision to join a terrorist group as a four-step process.⁴⁹⁰ First, the person has a cognitive opening, where s/he is open to new ideas and worldviews. Then, the person seeks meaning through a religious framework, or “religious seeking.” Next, the person experiences frame alignment, where the person is attracted to the rhetoric and activities of the group. Lastly, socialization occurs as the person is indoctrinated, has identity-construction, and changes his/her values to be in line with the organization. The first three stages are required before reaching the fourth.

Drawing on SMT and sociology, della Porta focuses on the role perception plays in processing and possibly misinterpreting events for terrorists.⁴⁹¹ Much more so than individual personality traits and family pathologies, della Porta finds that social networks and adolescent peer groups are far better predictors of whether an individual will join a violent political

⁴⁸⁷ James Surowiecki, *The Wisdom of Crowds*, 2nd ed. (New York: First Anchor Books, 2005), 257-258. This is similar to the Milgram experiment where individuals will not want to violate the orders of a valid authority figure and will commit cruel acts. Stanley Milgram, interview by Carol Tavris, “The Frozen World of the Familiar Stranger,” *Psychology Today* 8 (June 1974): 71, excerpted in Stanley Milgram, *The Individual in a Social World* 24 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977).

⁴⁸⁸ Margo Gardner and Laurence Steinberg, “Peer Influence on Risk Taking, Risk Preference, and Risky Decision Making in Adolescence And Adulthood: An Experimental Study,” *Developmental Psychology* 41 (2005): 625-635.

⁴⁸⁹ Remy Cross and David A. Snow, “Radicalism within the Context of Social Movements: Processes and Types,” *Journal of Strategic Security* 4, no. 4 (Winter 2011): 81-114.

⁴⁹⁰ Q. Wiktorowicz, “Joining the Cause: Al-Muhajiroun and Radical Islam,” in *The Roots of Radical Islam* (Rhodes College: Department of International Studies, 2004).

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 232.

group.⁴⁹² The peer group demands loyalty, which then deepens the person's commitment to the group's purpose.⁴⁹³ From the point of view of the individual, the youth will experience ideological socialization as s/he constructs an activist identity, also enhancing commitment.⁴⁹⁴ As the person associates more exclusively with the risky group, his/her emotions will be high from a near constant sense of danger.⁴⁹⁵ S/he will construct new values as a member of this isolated group, rejecting old friends and norms.⁴⁹⁶ The individual's age makes this reconstruction all the more possible as: "young people are relatively unconstrained by obligations, responsibilities, and conventions."⁴⁹⁷ della Porta expands: "characteristics as energy, utopianism, the need for autonomy, openness to experimentation, a search for identity and fidelity are conducive to total adherence to a 'negative identity' and enhance the attractions of the 'adventure' in the underground."⁴⁹⁸ With a reconstructed identity, the youth is more likely to choose political violence because the group gives opportunities for experience and martial skills, while creating structures.⁴⁹⁹ The move toward violence is then seen as "natural" and fairly easy.⁵⁰⁰ As the devotion to the group becomes total, there is no time to think or critically reflect on the choices being made.⁵⁰¹

A group or gang is often part of a network. Social Network Analysis (SNA) is slightly newer to criminology than some of the other theories mentioned throughout, though it has

⁴⁹² Ibid., 234. To support this, della Porta cites a number of sociology studies on the role of the peer group: M. Zald and R. Ash, "Social Movement Organizations: Growth, Decay, and Change," *Social Forces* 44 (1996): 327-241; Jonathan Wilson, *Introduction to Social Movements* (New York: Basic Books, 1973); D.A.L. Snow, A. Zurcher, and S. Eklund-Olson, "Social Networks and Social Movements: A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment," *American Sociological Review* 45 (1980): 787-801, and more.

⁴⁹³ della Porta, "On Individual Motivations in Underground Political Organizations," in Horgan and Braddock, *Terrorism Studies*, 235.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 236.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁹ J.H. Laub and R.J. Sampson, *Shared Beginnings, Divergent Lives: Delinquent Boys to Age 70* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2003), 54-55. This element of choice is supported by Laub and Sampson.

⁵⁰⁰ della Porta, "On Individual Motivations in Underground Political Organizations," in Horgan and Braddock, *Terrorism Studies*, 239.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., 240.

been used extensively in public health, sociology, and some terrorism research.⁵⁰² SNA measures social structure and social influence better than other models because it uses the concept of interdependency to understand how nodes (people, organizations, and countries) are linked through ties (friendship, kinship, and group membership).⁵⁰³ Nodes are affected by “small-world theory,” which holds that people (through about six degrees of separation) can be reached easier and faster through centralized networks, the density of the ties, and the fragmentation that occurs when a node is gone.⁵⁰⁴ When ties are weak, the people can be introduced to other different nodes or networks, leading to innovation, adaptability, and increased social influence.⁵⁰⁵ The Internet is a prime breeding ground for nodes.

This group or network dynamic has a powerful influence on morals and crime.⁵⁰⁶ According to criminologist and sociologist Mark Warr, “groups can create their own moral climate, defining what is acceptable behavior within a self-contained social system.”⁵⁰⁷ The juvenile might well adjust his/her behavior in line with the group’s unique “moral code.”⁵⁰⁸ Here is where individual and environmental elements of Situational Actor Theory (SAT) are especially useful.⁵⁰⁹ SAT holds that people commit crimes because delinquent activities are seen as a morally acceptable action alternative and people fail to adhere to personal morals when incentivized to break norms.⁵¹⁰ With a revised set of morals supporting violence, the group position within society creates additional strain, reduces the incentives to conform,

⁵⁰² Aili Malm, Rebecca Nash, and Ramin Moghadam, “Social Network Analysis and Terrorism,” in *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, ed. Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 221. For SNA and terrorism, see Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks*.

⁵⁰³ Malm, Nash, and Moghadam, “Social Network Analysis and Terrorism,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 222.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 222-223.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 223.

⁵⁰⁶ J. Piaget, *The Moral Judgment of the Child* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1948); L. Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of Moral Stages* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981).

⁵⁰⁷ Warr, *Companions in Crime*.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁵⁰⁹ Wikström and Bouhana, “Analyzing Radicalization and Terrorism: A Situational Action Theory.”

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 178.

enables crime to be learned, leads to a “bad” label, and increases the amount of unstructured, unsupervised time away from the home for their members.⁵¹¹ This is a recipe for delinquency.

Situations, in addition to factors, exist that are extremely conducive to delinquency in groups and gangs. According to Routine Activity Theory, delinquency is far likelier when the person is provoked (especially insults, threats, bullying, and attacks) by others, attractive targets are available, and capable guardians or good parents are absent while delinquent peers abound.⁵¹² Delinquency is more probable when the target is attractive for a juvenile who sees high benefits and low cost to crime.⁵¹³ The most delinquent youths either seek out situations where delinquency is likely or are predisposed to coming in contact with delinquency through routine activities.⁵¹⁴ Building on situations, delinquency becomes even more likely for some when catalysts like religion, mass media, drugs, and guns enter the mix.

Catalysts for Delinquency: Religion, Mass Media, Drugs, and Guns

While religion is found to more often decrease delinquency, the positive factors can easily be translated into mechanisms that work for deviance. Religion seems to increase control, the likelihood of exposure to conventional models, the teaching of conventional beliefs, punishment for deviance, and conformity.⁵¹⁵ The effect of mass media might include TV, music, and social media. While violent juveniles are more likely to watch violent TV, the causation of between these two is a little unclear.⁵¹⁶ Watching media violence is seen to modestly increase aggressive behavior by exposing and desensitizing the youth, reducing

⁵¹¹ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 338.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*, 336; D. Wolke et al., “The Association Between Direct and Relationship Bullying and Behavior Problems Among Primary School Children,” *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry and Allied Disciplines* 41, no. 8 (2000): 989-1002; Lawrence E. Cohen and Marcus Felson, “Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: Routine Activity Approach,” *American Sociological Review* 44 (1979): 588-608.

⁵¹³ V. Reyna and F. Farley, “Risk And Rationality in Adolescent Decision Making: Implications for Theory, Practice, and Public Policy,” *Psychological Science in the Public Interest* 7 (2006): 1-44. Attractive targets are those that are visible and accessible, valuable, easy to move or are concealable, enjoyable, and unlikely to provoke guilt if stolen/attacked. See Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 203.

⁵¹⁴ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 207.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 307-308.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 311.

their internal control against violence, and triggering fear and suspicion of a dangerous world.⁵¹⁷ Violent video games are also linked to modest, short-term effects like aggression.⁵¹⁸ Violent music may increase aggressive thoughts and feelings, and is linked to minor delinquency as the child grows older.⁵¹⁹ Social media may open virtual doors to new delinquent friend groups and increase a juvenile's exposure to crime, victimization, and cyberbullying.⁵²⁰ Child development expert Karsten Hundeide looks at the relationship between the individual and community over time to describe how a person incrementally joins a counter-culture, even if not face-to-face.⁵²¹ Social media is intentionally used to "provoke, perpetrate, and publicize violent acts."⁵²² In turn, this virtual exposure can translate to aggression and a need for revenge. Delinquency and drugs share a strong relationship, though drugs do not necessarily cause delinquency.⁵²³ Drugs have a direct pharmacological effect, with certain types known to weaken a person's self-control and increase irritability.⁵²⁴ The majority of studies find a link (though there is evidence to the contrary) between gun ownership and gun-related crime in a county or community – the more guns in an area, the

⁵¹⁷ Robert D. Sege, "Life Imitating Art: Adolescents and Television Violence," in *Delinquency Violent Youth: Theory and Interventions*, ed. Thomas P. Gullotta, Gerald R. Adams, and Raymond Montemayor (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1998), 129-143.

⁵¹⁸ Craig Anderson et al., "Longitudinal Effects of Violent Video Games on Aggression in Japan and The United States," *Pediatrics* 122 (2008): 1067-1072.

⁵¹⁹ Craig Anderson, Nicholas L. Carnagey, and Janie Eubanks, "Exposure to Violent Media: The Effect of Songs With Violent Lyrics on Aggressive Thoughts and Feelings," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 84 (2003): 960-971; Ter Bogt et al., "Early Adolescent Music Preferences and Minor Delinquency," *Pediatrics* 131 (2013): 380-389.

⁵²⁰ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 316-317; Kowalski, Robin M., Susan P. Limber, and Patrick W. Agatston. *Cyberbullying: Bullying in the Digital Age*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012. Many individuals will experience cyberbullying, though traditional bullying is more common. See Susan P. Limber, Dan Olweus, and Harlan Luxenberg, *Bullying in U.S. Schools: 2012 Status Report*, report (Center City, MN: Hazelden Foundation, 2013), 15.

⁵²¹ Karsten Hundeide, "Becoming a Committed Insider," *Culture and Psychology* 9 (2003): 107-127.

⁵²² Desmond Upton Patton, Robert D. Eschmann, and Dirk A. Butler, "Internet Banging: New Trends in Social Media, Gang Violence, Masculinity and Hip Hop," *Computers in Human Behavior* 29 (2013): A59; see also Robin L. Thompson, "Radicalization and the use of Social Media," *Journal of Strategic Security* 4, no. 4 (winter 2016): 167-190.

⁵²³ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 322; Elizabeth D'Amico et al., "The Longitudinal Association Between Substance Use and Delinquency Among High-Risk Youth," *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 93 (2008): 85-92.

⁵²⁴ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 319.

more crime.⁵²⁵ Juveniles who carry guns for protection are more likely to be delinquent.⁵²⁶

Even considering other risk factors, juveniles with easy access to guns have an increased risk of future violence.⁵²⁷ These factors, of course, can combine with and compound each other.

Immigration and Juvenile Delinquency

A final category deserves mention in the context of this study, the displacement of youths from their home environments. Immigrant families and disadvantaged minority groups have to navigate previous cultures and values, the mainstream culture of the new country, and the dominant culture of the new country with respect to the minority ethnicities.⁵²⁸ The process of assimilation or acculturation, while normally smooth though each group has unique sociostructural circumstances, can lead to youth violence and gangs when the individual fails to integrate.⁵²⁹ A very influential work by psychologists Ioakim Boutakidis, Nancy Guerra, and Fernando Soriano looks at this immigration-violence dynamic.⁵³⁰ They find the greatest developmental impact of immigration is on children who came to the United States during childhood and for children who are first-generation residents.⁵³¹ When immigrants are poor, unskilled, and live in disadvantaged neighborhoods, they are more likely to experience stress, harsh conditions, violence, and difficulty accessing or scarce resources.⁵³² Both low and high levels of acculturation can be linked with violence where the youth senses discrimination and “may band together around a common belief system that articulates a set of reasons and

⁵²⁵ Ibid., 325.

⁵²⁶ Alan J. Lizotte et al., “Carrying Guns and Involvement in Crime,” in *Crime and Justice at the Millennium. Essays by and in Honor of Marvin E. Wolfgang*, ed. Bernard Cohen, Barry Krisberg, Robert A. Silverman, and Terence P. Thornberry (2002), 153-167.

⁵²⁷ R. Barry Ruback, Jennifer N. Shaffer, and Valerie A. Clark, “Easy Access to Firearms: Juveniles’ Risk for Violent Offending and Violent Victimization,” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 26 (2011): 2111-2138.

⁵²⁸ A.W. Boykin, “The Triple Quandary and the Schooling of Afro American Children,” in *The School Achievement of Minority Children*, ed. U. Neisser (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1986), 57-92.

⁵²⁹ Boutakidis, Guerra, and Soriano, “Youth Violence, Immigration, and Acculturation,” in Guerra and Smith *Preventing Youth Violence in a Multicultural Society*, 80.

⁵³⁰ Ibid. See also Sarah Garland, *Gangs in the Garden City: How Immigration, Segregation, and Youth Violence Are Changing America’s Suburbs* (New York: Nation Books, 2009).

⁵³¹ Ibid., 76.

⁵³² Ibid., 77.

causes for their plight.”⁵³³ Part of this is the result of the stress the young person feels during the acculturation process.⁵³⁴ Acculturative stress can lead to increased drug and alcohol use, mental health problems, intrafamilial conflict and upset parent-adolescent relations, and increased risk of physical illness.⁵³⁵ Often, parent-child conflicts or acculturative dissonance can arise, leading to weak parental monitoring and increased problem behavior (sense of injustice, violence, delinquency and future criminal behavior) on the part of the adolescent.⁵³⁶ All of this can lead to anger, frustration, and a search for a like-minded group, in addition to the normal developmental stresses that are occurring at this life stage.⁵³⁷ Violence is all the more possible.

Several terrorism-related works have a bearing on the highlighted role of immigration and gangs in youth violence. The NATO Advanced Research Workshop on Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism found that the trauma and violence often associated with the migration process can present a “massive challenge to individuals which frequently involves loss of identity, alienation and discrimination,” with some concluding that these experiences can be part of the trajectory of radicalization and terrorism.⁵³⁸ Using ten books written by persons involved in eight terrorist movements, political scientist David C. Rapoport identified three waves of terrorism: anarchists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a nationalist/colonial wave from 1921 to present, and a new Left/Marxist beginning in the 1960s.⁵³⁹ He later adds a fourth wave to this, the religious wave from 1960 until 2020 that

⁵³³ Ibid., 84. See also Sabine E. French, Tia E. Kim, and Olivia Pillado, “Ethnic Identity, Social Group Membership, and Youth Violence,” in *Preventing Youth Violence in a Multicultural Society*, ed. Nancy G. Guerra and Emilie Phillips Smith (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2006), 47-73.

⁵³⁴ John W. Berry, “Acculturative Stress,” in *Psychology and Culture*, ed. Walter J. Lonner and Roy S. Maplass (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1994).

⁵³⁵ Boutakidis, Guerra, and Soriano, “Youth Violence, Immigration, and Acculturation,” in Guerra and Smith *Preventing Youth Violence in a Multicultural Society*, 85.

⁵³⁶ Ibid., 86.

⁵³⁷ Ibid. See also Jankowski, *Islands in the Street*.

⁵³⁸ Giovanni Maria Ruggiero, ed., *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism* (Milan: NATO Advanced Research Workshop on Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism, 2010).

⁵³⁹ David C. Rapoport, ed., *Inside Terrorist Organizations* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 32-58.

will be discussed later in Section 3.2.⁵⁴⁰ Rapoport asserts that the motivation of the group will affect the type of violence chosen by the group, but also set an example for and affect the violence by the waves that follow. Waves tend to be triggered by historical incidents, which will impact individuals perceiving the world around them, and have identifying characteristics. Through the words of terrorists, Rapoport induces that four variables shape these waves: terrorist commitments to international revolution, the willingness of foreign publics and government to help, and the availability of émigré or diaspora populations, and the political changes in the international system prior to the wave.⁵⁴¹ All variables are related to mass movements and the international system, but the émigré or diaspora populations are relevant to the discussion on immigration and violence.

Elsewhere, crossover terrorism scholars have examined whether an understanding of gangs will help radicalization theories more broadly. Professor of political science Tore Bjørgo, examining interview data from individuals who have left neo-Nazi and far right movements in Norway, finds that violent behavior comes from “internal group dynamics or the pressure from the group towards individual members.”⁵⁴² Being in the group fulfills social and psychological needs for the youth, the combination of which will reduce the individual’s self-sanctions on committing crimes.⁵⁴³ Youths join for reasons of: politics (with ideology coming later); prior experience of provocation and anger; protection; prior drifting; thrill-seeking; attraction to violence/weapon/uniform; interest in provoking society; search for substitute families and father-figures; search for friends and community; and the search for identity and status, which Bjørgo believes might be the most important factor. Similar patterns are discussed in Bjørgo et al.’s works on root causes for terrorism later in this

⁵⁴⁰ David C. Rapoport, “Modern Terror: The Four Waves,” in *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, ed. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 46-73.

⁵⁴¹ Rapoport, *Inside Terrorist Organizations*, 3.

⁵⁴² Tore Bjørgo and Yngve Carlsson, “Early Intervention with Violent and Racist Youth Groups,” in *NUPI 677 Paper* (Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2005), 17.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*, 19.

chapter. Extremism expert Jamie Bartlett and researcher Carl Miller, in their study of jihadi groups, found that social engagement was the key shared goal, not violent action. There was the watching of jihadi video and the singing of jihadi songs, but “no one wanted to act on them.”⁵⁴⁴ Berger reached a similar conclusion in his analysis of “hate and self-loathing” people who propagate online jihadi materials online.⁵⁴⁵ Sageman, looking at modern terrorist groups in North Africa and Europe, finds less of a hierarchical model and more of a “leaderless” criminal enterprise that also uses terror.⁵⁴⁶ These individuals drift into the group, become strongly bonded to their group, adopt the ideology after joining, and belong for a couple of years.⁵⁴⁷ Overall, these terrorist organizations seem to look and act quite similar to a gang.⁵⁴⁸ Criminologist Scott Decker and sociologist David Pyrooz, building on Sageman, look at the points of convergence and difference between American gangs and radicalization.⁵⁴⁹ Finding the differences outweigh the points of similarity, the authors note that processes involved in radicalization are very fluid and that great care should be taken when comparing terrorism to gangs. However, they do find that collective structures, dynamics, and processes from one may help inform an understanding of the other, and vice versa.⁵⁵⁰ On this point, I am not asserting that gangs and terrorism are the same, but rather that they can both be considered subtypes of youth violence.

⁵⁴⁴ J. Bartlett and C. Miller, “The Edge of Violence: towards Telling the Difference between Violent and Non-violent Radicalization,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24, no. 1 (2012): 1-21.

⁵⁴⁵ Berger, *Jihad Joe*, 208.

⁵⁴⁶ Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks*.

⁵⁴⁷ Marc Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad: Terror in the Twenty-First Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Sageman, *Understanding terror networks*.

⁵⁴⁸ Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks*.

⁵⁴⁹ Scott Decker and David Pyrooz, “Gangs, Terrorism, and Radicalization,” *Journal of Strategic Security* 4, no. 4 (Winter 2011). This point was also raised in David G. Curry, “Gangs, Crime and Terrorism,” in *Criminologists on Terrorism and Homeland Security*, ed. B. Forst, J. Greene, and J. Lynch (New York: Cambridge, 2007), 97-112.

⁵⁵⁰ Decker and Pyrooz, “Gangs, Terrorism, and Radicalization.”

Concluding Thoughts on Criminology and its Applicability to Radicalization

Criminology theories have historically differed in what is most causal: the individual, society, or something else. In many of the studies mentioned throughout, there are reciprocal correlations and associations between variables, making it difficult to determine what causes and/or maintains violent behavior. However, there is a gathering consensus for biosocial criminology and the idea that biological (including genetic) and social constructs are complementary.⁵⁵¹ As Sutherland said, “the general principle involved in an explanation of crime is that crime is always the joint product of an individual and social factors, or, ...of an attitude and a value.”⁵⁵² These theories and risk factors have direct and indirect effects on each other, with the majority having a strong impact on late adolescent delinquency.⁵⁵³ From hormones and brain development, to status and prestige, immature decision-making, and peer influences, many traits and characteristics are working together at different times specific to the individual and compounded by the group.⁵⁵⁴

Several studies attempt to pull this all together with a macro-theory. Criminologist Andrew and clinical psychologist James Bonta’s “Personal, Interpersonal, and Community-Reinforcement” framework addresses most everything mentioned in this section.⁵⁵⁵ The US Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) looks at community, individual, family, peer, and school domain risk factors.⁵⁵⁶ In particular, they find the biggest indicators of juvenile delinquency across most studies are history of antisocial conduct, antisocial

⁵⁵¹ Matt Delis, “Emotions, Choice and Crime,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Theory*, ed. Francis T. Cullen and Pamela Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 17.

⁵⁵² Sutherland and Cressy, *Criminology*, 111.

⁵⁵³ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 338-339; Emily E. Tanner-Smith, Sandro Jo Wilson, and Mark W. Lipsey, “Risk Factors and Crime,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Theory*, ed. Francis T. Cullen and Pamela Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 104-105.

⁵⁵⁴ Wilkinson, “An Emergent Situational and Transactional Theory of Urban Youth Violence,” in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 348.

⁵⁵⁵ D.A. Andrews and James Bonta, *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct*, 5th ed. (New Providence, NJ: Lexis-Nexus, 2010).

⁵⁵⁶ James C. Howell, *Preventing and Reducing Juvenile Delinquency: A Comprehensive Framework*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2009).

attitudes/cognition, antisocial associates/peers, and an antisocial personality.⁵⁵⁷ Youth crime and violence professor Finn-Aage Esbensen et al. developed a macro-theory of youth violence accounting for sex and race in generic youth violence, gang membership, and victimization.⁵⁵⁸ With varying concentrations, Esbensen et al. statistically prove the following risk factors: individual domain (impulsivity, risk seeking, guilt, use of neutralizations, social isolation, and self-esteem), family domain (parental monitoring, attachment to mother, attachment to father), peer domain (pro-social peers, delinquent peers, commitment to positive peers, commitment to negative peers, spending time without adults present, spending time with drugs and alcohol present), and school domain (commitment to school, perception of limited educational opportunities, and perception of negative school environment).⁵⁵⁹ Probabilistically speaking, youths who possess 11 or more risk factors (especially if in multiple domains) account for 61.2% of violent offenders, whereas one to five risk factors accounts for 10.9% of violent offenders.⁵⁶⁰ Behavioral scientist Carl Leukefeld et al. find that individual, family, peer, school, neighborhood, and biological factors are all related to delinquency in different ways.⁵⁶¹ Borum identifies historical factors (school problems, maltreatment or abuse, and family maladjustment), clinical factors (problem substance abuse, risk taking and impulsivity, and negative attitudes), and contextual factors (negative peer relations, poor parental management, neighborhood crime, lack of social support, and stress and loss) as causing delinquency different ways in different people.⁵⁶²

As is becoming evident, the themes and research findings throughout this criminology and juvenile delinquency section are endemic to other types of deviance – terrorism included.

⁵⁵⁷ Andrews and Bonta, *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct*.

⁵⁵⁸ Finn-aage Esbensen et al., *Youth Violence: Sex and Race Differences in Offending, Victimization, and Gang Membership* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2010).

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁵⁶¹ C.G. Leukefeld et al., "Adolescent Drug Use, Delinquency, and Other Behaviors," in *Delinquency Violent Youth: Theory and Interventions*, ed. Thomas P. Gullotta, Gerald R. Adams, and Raymond Montemayor (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1998), 98-128.

⁵⁶² Randy Borum, "Assessing Violence Risk Among Youth," *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 56, no. 10 (2000): 1263-1288.

Aspects of criminology theories concerning psychological and sociological drivers of radicalization and violence have begun to infuse studies of and methodological approaches to terrorism, especially over the last two decades.⁵⁶³ Psychologist John Monahan identified the most significant risk factors for both criminology and terrorism as ideology, affiliation, grievances, and moral emotions.⁵⁶⁴ Precht, looking at Islamic radicalization in Europe, found that background factors (personal struggles with religious identity, discrimination, lack of social integration), trigger factors (mentor or charismatic leader and events like policy actions), and opportunity factors (access to extremist ideas and way to act on these) drive radicalization.⁵⁶⁵

One merit of incorporating criminology into radicalization is that it recasts discussions of causation within a broader social context. Another merit is the possible early identification of pre-incident behavior, a hole in the radicalization variables that this thesis begins to address.⁵⁶⁶ The identification of early warning signs for radicalization is more probable than wishful thinking. Criminology researchers can predict early onset of juvenile delinquency at rates substantially better than chance.⁵⁶⁷ As one example, the Cambridge Study of Delinquent Development studied men at age eight, interviewed them annually until

⁵⁶³ LaFree and Freilich, "Bringing Criminology into the Study of Terrorism," in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 3-12.

⁵⁶⁴ Monahan, "The Individual Risk Assessment of Terrorism: Recent Developments," in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 523.

⁵⁶⁵ Precht, "Homegrown Terrorism and Islamic Radicalization in Europe."

⁵⁶⁶ Smith, Roberts, and Damphousse, "The Terrorists' Planning Cycle: Patterns of Pre-incident Behavior," in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*. Smith et al. examine the kinds of indicators that could possibly have a "time-stamp" indicating violence is not far behind. Using data from the American Terrorism Study, Smith et al. identified 2,559 early or "antecedent activities" associated with planned or conducted attacks. These antecedent activities are divided into two categories: ancillary (27%) or preparatory (73%). While the timeline varies based on group, ideology, and type of attack planned, the largest patterns in precursor conduct were in communications, research, birth certificate fraud, and border crossing. About half of all preparatory conduct occurred in the final month leading up to the planned attack; this is one distinguisher from non-terrorism crime that does not tend to involve much planning. From their study, Smith et al. learned that one terrorism incident normally involves multiple crimes. While this work advances research on preparatory indicators, it does not address ancillary activities that are unrelated to the attack. Thus, there is room for further research in this area.

⁵⁶⁷ Terrie E. Moffitt, "Life-Course-Persistent Verses Adolescence-Limited Antisocial Behavior," in *Developmental Psychopathology*, ed. Dante Cicchetti and Donald J. Cohen, 2nd ed., vol. 3, Risk, Disorder, Adaptation (New York: Wiley, 2006).

age 32, and checked their criminal records until they were 40. From this, they created a series of risk factors and concluded that more risk factors identified by age 18 indicated a far greater likelihood of antisocial and delinquent futures, upwards of 60%. Identifying behaviors early and correlating these to later activities can identify a delinquent pathway in this sample.⁵⁶⁸ The Cambridge study could possibly be replicated for a different type of youth violence—radicalization—using many of the theories and studies covered here. A third merit is that criminology brings a science-based approach to the study of terrorism.⁵⁶⁹ Lastly and as criminology helps terrorism studies, terrorism studies might help certain aspects of criminology.⁵⁷⁰ This is especially true in the identification of childhood and adolescent behaviors that are strongly linked to later delinquency, a key focus of this thesis. The process by which someone adopts a new and extreme identity is not isolated to one realm and rather crosses many.

⁵⁶⁸ D.P. Farrington, “Psychosocial Predictors of Adult Antisocial Personality and Adult Convictions,” *Behavioral Sciences & The Law* 18, no. 5 (2002): 605-622.

⁵⁶⁹ LaFree and Freilich, “Bringing Criminology into the Study of Terrorism,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 11.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

Section 3.2: Studies on Radicalization and Terrorism

Studying radicalization and terrorism can be problematic. There is no global legal consensus on definitions, or even if “terrorism studies” should be its own category.⁵⁷¹ The ability to generalize between groups and across time is not a guarantee. Testimony by terrorists, or former terrorists, is to be taken with some amount of skepticism, yet this phenomenon should not be studied only from a theoretical perspective. Some recent studies focusing, though not exclusively so, on Islamic terrorism, possibly skew broader studies on the causes of terrorism. This does not make the task of deciding what is or is not radicalization and terrorism—or deciphering what really matters—easy. Scholars and practitioners have, however, reached common ground on a few items.

Points of Consensus

According to Schmid, there are several areas of consensus with respect to what is known about terrorism and radicalization:

1. Most terrorists are clinically normal although their acts are considered widely as extra-normal in moral terms;
2. Backgrounds of terrorists are very diverse; there are many paths to terrorism and there is no single profile of a terrorist;
3. Radicalisation is usually a gradual, phased process;
4. Individual poverty alone does not cause radicalisation towards terrorism but un(der)employment may play a role;
5. Grievances play a role but often more as a mobilisation device than as a personal experience;
6. Social networks/environments are crucial in drawing vulnerable youths to a terrorist movement;
7. Ideology often plays an important role in that it can provide the true believer with a ‘license to kill.’⁵⁷²

⁵⁷¹ Alex P. Schmid, “Introduction,” *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, ed. Alex P. Schmid (New York: Routledge, 2013), 2.

⁵⁷² Alex P. Schmid, *Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review*, International Centre for Counter-Terrorism - The Hague, March 2013, https://www.icct.nl/download/file/ICCT-Schmid-Radicalisation-De-Radicalisation-Counter-Radicalisation-March-2013_2.pdf. There is an eighth point of consensus that is less relevant to this chapter: Disengagement from terrorism often occurs without de-radicalisation. Schmid’s “expert consensus” approach is criticized for not representing all experts, or what all experts think is terrorism, and several related issues. See Timothy Shanahan, “The Definition of Terrorism,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies*, ed. Richard Jackson (Oxon, Oxford: Routledge, 2016), 105.

Elements of these will feature heavily over the next several pages, following Schmid's order, in a review of studies most relevant to the explanation of how someone adopts a new and violent identity. First, studies and literature on the normal individual with diverse backgrounds and paths are discussed. Then, radicalization as a "gradual, phased process" is analyzed with theories of radicalization and mobilizing factors like grievances. Third, the potentially powerful role of the group or social network is reviewed. Fourth, guiding influences like ideology and religion are considered. One final section cover an item not explicitly mentioned by Schmid, but that has a bearing on this thesis: the so-called homegrown terrorism. A common thread through the studies mentioned in this section is insufficient data on or attention paid to early childhood and adolescence behaviors indicating future radicalization.

The Normal Individual, Many Paths

Some research tries to identify one single variable or a few key pathways that is unique to or different about the "normal" person who becomes a terrorist.⁵⁷³ This literature is most commonly called the micro-level and is already heavily influenced by psychology and psychologists. This micro-level factor tends to be derived from interviews and exhaustive case studies that begin at a known starting point—a terrorist—and retroactively work backwards.⁵⁷⁴ As believed by historian Walter Laqueur, one of the pioneers for the study of

⁵⁷³ Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad*. The individual-level approach has been most loudly criticized by Sageman because it assumes that terrorists are fundamentally different than the rest of the population. Horgan, Silke, and Taylor concur with Sageman's findings that terrorists do not have particular or distinctive qualities in a psychological sense. See John Horgan, "The Psychology of Terrorism," in *Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and Its Consequences*, ed. A. Silke (Chichester: Wiley, 2003); Max Taylor, *The Terrorist* (London: Brassey's, 1988).

⁵⁷⁴ For two studies using this micro-approach, see: Thomas Hegghammer, "Terrorist recruitment and radicalization in Saudi Arabia," *Middle East Policy Council* 13, no. 4 (2006); Edwin Bakker, "Jihadi terrorists in Europe, their characteristics and the circumstances in which they joined the jihad: An exploratory study," *Clingendael Security and Conflict Programme: The Hague, Clingendael Institute* (2006); John Horgan, "Deradicalization or Disengagement? A Process in Need of Clarity and Counterterrorism Initiative in Evaluation," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 2, no. 4 (2008); Peter Neumann and Brooke Rodgers, "Recruitment and

political violence and terrorism, today's trends are motivated by a wide range of grievances and inspirations that play out in the mind well before these play out on the ground.⁵⁷⁵ In this section, several prominent studies looking at the radicalized individual will be analyzed. This section concludes by analyzing several studies that examine suicide terrorism as an individual choice.

Highly specific to the individual, social psychologist and terrorism scholar Arie Kruglanski and colleagues developed a radicalization model primarily concerned with a quest for personal significance that develops along a continuum, with some staying non-violent supporters and others becoming suicide bombers.⁵⁷⁶ In another work, David Webber and Kruglanski have named this the "3N Approach," which has three parts.⁵⁷⁷ First, the individuals' needs or motivations define and drive the goal. Then, an ideological component or cultural narrative helps the individual understand how to accomplish the goal, through violence or some other means. Lastly, the social process or group creates opportunities and reframes both the goal and the possible choice of violence. To begin the quest for personal significance, the person is "awakened" by a loss of significance, an anticipated or threatened loss of significance, or the potential for significant gain. The individual then needs closure to reduce his/her uncertainty and have order restored.⁵⁷⁸ Often, this can be accomplished by turning to the group, also known as a "collective shift."⁵⁷⁹ The individual's motivation may be honor and social status, vengeance against something wronged, or loyalty to a leader or "ultimate authority." The individual focuses on the norms and values of the group, rather than

Mobilisation for the Islamist Militant Movement in Europe," *International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence* (2007).

⁵⁷⁵ Walter Laqueur, *No End to War: Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc., 2003).

⁵⁷⁶ A.W. Kruglanski et al., "The Psychology of Radicalization and Deradicalization: How Significance Quest Impacts Violent Extremism," *Political Psychology* 25, no. S1 (2014): 69-83.

⁵⁷⁷ David Webber and Arie W. Kruglanski, "Psychological Factors in Radicalization: A '3N' Approach," in *The Handbook of the Criminology of Terrorism*, ed. Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 33.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 37.

him/herself, and is willing to act to protect the group.⁵⁸⁰ Psychological operations officer John M. Venhaus, studying 2,032 foreign fighters aiming to affiliate with al-Qaeda, found similar results: “the recurring theme was that they were looking for something...they want to understand who they are, why they matter, and what their role in the world should be. They have an unfulfilled need to define themselves, which al-Qaida offers to fill.”⁵⁸¹ These seekers are looking for revenge, status, identity, and/or thrills.⁵⁸²

In examining whether an individual with a history of violence or convictions has radicalized to the point of violence, not prior to radicalization, risk assessment expert Elaine Pressman created a Violent Extremist Risk Assessment of 28 indicators that someone is planning to act alone or as a group, has identified a target, and is motivated by ideology, religion, or politics.⁵⁸³ As the risk factors are considered, a “judgment score” is created to assess the likelihood that an adolescent or adult is about to act based on attitudinal, contextual, historical, protective, and demographic items. To give a quick overview, attitudinal items include the individual’s perceptions, hatred, and identity problems. Contextual items include use of extremist websites, anger at external factors, and contact with violent extremists. Historical items include prior involvement in or exposure to violence and military training. Protective items include a shift in ideology and change of vision of the enemy, as well as the support of a significant other or community. Lastly, demographic items consider gender, marital status, and age.

Horgan identifies two ways that terrorism studies and psychology relate: the individual’s psychology and the impact of the group on the individual.⁵⁸⁴ Horgan dispels the notion that terrorists are psychopaths who exhibit “abnormal” psychological traits and instead

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 7.

⁵⁸¹ J.M. Venhaus, *Why Youth Join Al-Qaeda* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace).

⁵⁸² Ibid.

⁵⁸³ D.E. Pressman, “Risk Assessment Decisions for Violent Political Extremism,” Public Safety Canada, 2009, accessed December 17, 2010, www.publicsafety.gc.ca/res/cor/rep/2009-02-rdv-eng.aspx.

⁵⁸⁴ John Horgan, “The Search for the Terrorist Personality,” in *Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and Its Consequences*, ed. A. Silke (Chichester: Wiley, 2003), 4-5.

points to their clinical normality.⁵⁸⁵ Horgan further identifies why individuals join organizations, engage or stay in such groups, and leave their group through a pathway model. The first model one is of primary interest to this thesis. First, Horgan and Borum find that radicalization is a gradual, social process that is specific to the individual.⁵⁸⁶ Any conversation on terrorism absolutely must involve consideration of the individual, and the opportunities s/he has to act.⁵⁸⁷ Horgan proposed six risk factors that might be considered individual drivers of radicalization prior to group influences: an “emotional vulnerability;” dissatisfaction or disillusionment with mainstream political or social protest as a method to produce political change; identification with the suffering of Muslim victims globally or experience of personal victimization; conviction that violence against the state can be morally justified, receiving rewards from group membership; and close social ties with the organization.⁵⁸⁸ He cautions that these should not be considered in isolation, but looked at together as “openness to socialization into terrorism.”⁵⁸⁹

Borum prefers to reframe the “psychology of terrorism” conversation in the context of a person’s mindset and worldview creating a “psychological climate” where his/her vulnerabilities and propensities then give way to ideas and actions that will either increase or

⁵⁸⁵ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 53. Andrew Silke supports this point by citing studies that use second-hand research rather than face-to-face interviews. See Andrew Silke, “Becoming a Terrorist,” in *Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and Its Consequences*, ed. A. Silke (Chichester: Wiley, 2003), 31.

⁵⁸⁶ John Horgan, “Leaving Terrorism Behind: An Individual Perspective,” in *Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and Its Consequences*, ed. A. Silke (Chichester: Wiley, 2003), 109-130; Sawyer and Hienz, “What Makes Them Do It? Individual-Level Indicators of Extremist Outcomes,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 49. In agreement with this, Sawyer and Hienz concur: “Process theories highlight that extremists do not arise spontaneously and arbitrarily but rather are a product of specific contexts and inputs.”

⁵⁸⁷ Taylor and Horgan, “A Conceptual Framework for Addressing Psychological Process in the Development of the Terrorist,” 132.

⁵⁸⁸ Horgan, “From profiles to pathways and roots to routes,” 80-94. Horgan and Taylor cite the relationship between emotional arousal and whether a risky decision is made, drawing on J.A. Bouffard in Taylor and Horgan, “A Conceptual Framework.” See J.A. Bouffard, “The Influence on Emotion on Rational Decision Making in Sexual Aggression,” *Journal of Criminal Justice* 30 (2002): 121-124.

⁵⁸⁹ Horgan, “From Profiles to Pathways and Roots to Routes,” 80-94.

decrease the person's likelihood of becoming involved in terrorism.⁵⁹⁰ This process involves four stages: grievance ("it's not right"); injustice ("it's not fair"); target attribution ("it's your fault"), and distancing/devaluation ("you're evil").⁵⁹¹ Borum cautions that a worldview does not automatically lead to radicalization, but does create vulnerabilities for terrorism in a variety of ways.⁵⁹² Three of these vulnerabilities are: need for personal meaning and identity; a need for belonging, and perceived injustice/humiliation.⁵⁹³ In addition to psychological vulnerabilities, an individual has psychological propensities—motivation, attributional style, volition, and attitudes—that may impact whether a person is pushed (grievances) or pulled (material or expressive incentives) toward violent extremism.⁵⁹⁴ Criminologist Andrew Silke, also looking at this psychological angle, reaches several conclusions.⁵⁹⁵ Most terrorists are young men, ages 18 to 25.⁵⁹⁶ They tend to socially identify with the group and feel marginalized, whether prior to or after joining the group. They like to seek vengeance in the name of justice, whether personal or vicarious, and take matters into their own hands, which can be immediate or after some time.⁵⁹⁷ An individual may be drawn to a group for status and personal rewards, respect, protection, and power.⁵⁹⁸ Historian Zachary Shore, interviewing Muslims in the European Union, finds that this marginalized identity creates a dangerous pool of recruits for terrorist organizations like al-Qaeda.⁵⁹⁹ These individuals want to

⁵⁹⁰ Borum, "The Etiology of Radicalization," in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 21; Jerrold M. Post, "Group and Organisational Dynamics of Political Terrorism: Implications for Counterterrorist Policy," in P. Wilkinson and A.M. Steward (eds.), *Contemporary Research on Terrorism* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), 308.

⁵⁹¹ Randy Borum, "Understanding the Terrorist Mindset," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 72, no. 7 (2003): 7-10.

⁵⁹² Borum, "The Etiology of Radicalization," in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 22.

⁵⁹³ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., 2.

⁵⁹⁵ Silke, "Becoming a Terrorist," in Silke, *Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and Its Consequences*, 35-47.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ See also Donald Black, "Crime as Social Control," *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 1 (1983): 34-45.

⁵⁹⁸ Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich, eds., *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism* (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 136. The reward may be physiological in nature.

⁵⁹⁹ Zachary Shore, *Breeding Bin Ladens* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

integrate with Western society, yet are repelled by its consumerism, sexualization of women, poor social justice, and foreign policies.⁶⁰⁰

Starting with the individual, former New York Police Department (NYPD) intelligence division officers Mitchell D. Silber and Arvin Bhatt outlined a four-step radicalization process in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 that is highly specific to Islamic terrorism.⁶⁰¹ First, the person is in a state of pre-radicalization, where they might lack exposure to an extreme ideology and are largely living their lives as before. In self-identification, the individual becomes more aware of Salafi Islam and begins to identify with the new ideology, pulling away from friends and previous beliefs. This “cognitive opening” can be triggered by any number of things, from losing a job to a personal crisis. Then, the person becomes indoctrinated in his/her new belief system. The new frame is fully internalized and the person is now a jihadi-Salafi who believes action is necessary, which is often supported by a leader or “spiritual sanctioner.” In the final stage of jihadization, the person believes it is their duty or moral obligation to participate in acts of jihad. S/he is now a holy fighter where violence is required, not optional. Silber and Bhatt note that most people do not become Islamic terrorists. However, among those who do, they tend to follow this trajectory where the transition from the third stage to the fourth happens quite rapidly. Silber and Bhatt caution that an individual may stop at any point and nothing is inevitable.⁶⁰²

One area that some scholars consider highly individualistic is suicide terrorism. Research looking at the individual’s motivation for suicide terrorism is not particularly broad, as some 95% of all suicide attacks were conducted by an organization rather than a lone individual.⁶⁰³ However, a person still needed to sacrifice him/herself, or be sacrificed.

Psychologist Fathali M. Moghaddam identifies a “staircase to terrorism” or “multi-causal

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ Silber and Bhatt, *Radicalization in the West*.

⁶⁰² Ibid., 19.

⁶⁰³ Bradley McAllister and Alex P. Schmid, “Theories of Terrorism,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, ed. Alex P. Schmid (New York: Routledge, 2013), 237.

approach” for suicide terrorism based on the individual’s perception.⁶⁰⁴ Individuals progress from the ground floor or “functional level,” where s/he begins to take note on a cognitive level about the surrounding environment or society and register any unjustness, to the first floor where the person will try and remedy any unjustness to improve the material or political situation. On the second floor, the person might experience social immobility and exclusion from politics, resulting in “perceived option to fight unfair treatment.” Blaming others and “displaced aggression” occurs as the person reaches the second floor, while the person “morally disengages” with society and engages with a terrorist group on the third floor. Now, the person can morally justify the use of violence against the people who are blamed. On the fourth floor, there is the consolidation of the group and of its values through “categorical thinking and the perceived legitimacy of the terrorist organisation.” By the time a person reaches the fifth floor, s/he may commit violence or terrorism against fellow human beings by “sidestepping inhibitory mechanisms.” Each of these floors involves individual (dispositional), organizational (situational), and environmental (socio-cultural, economic, and political) factors that motivate the suicide bomber. Moghaddam’s model has been supported by a great amount of empirical evidence, but critiqued for its focus on linear steps and the transitions between the steps.⁶⁰⁵

Gradual, Phased Radicalization

One principle behind radicalization as a gradual or phased approach is that radicalization starts somewhere, rather than emerging fully formed. One insightful work on the root causes

⁶⁰⁴ Fathali M. Moghaddam, “The Staircase to Terrorism: A Psychological Explanation,” *American Psychologist* 60, no. 2 (February/March 2005): 161-169; John Elster, “Motivations and Beliefs in Suicide Missions,” in *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*, ed. Diego Gambetta (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 233-258. On the individual level, Elster recognizes that the person may wish to kill a great number of people, as primarily motivated by hate or revenge.

⁶⁰⁵ R.B. Lygre et al., “Terrorism as a Process: A Critical Review of Moghaddam’s ‘Staircase to Terrorism,’” *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology* 52 (2011): 609-616. Lygre et al. believe that there could be other mechanisms and factors that combine in a non-six stair model to create terrorism.

of terrorism comes from Bjørgo and his colleagues. Bjørgo et al. start by identifying the level of causation for terrorism, separating factors or “root causes” into preconditions and precipitants.⁶⁰⁶ Between these two, Bjørgo et al. delineate structural causes (modernization, class structures, etc.), facilitator or accelerator causes (transportation, weak state control of territory, etc.), motivational causes (real grievances, ideology, rhetoric, etc.), and triggering causes (absurd act, event demanding revenge, etc.).⁶⁰⁷ Related to these root causes are fourteen pre-conditions, or variables, prior to the person radicalizing: lack of democracy, civil liberties, and the rule of law; failed or weak states; rapid modernization; extremist ideologies; historical antecedents of political violence, civil wars, revolutions, dictatorship or occupation; hegemony and inequality of power; illegitimate or corrupt governments; powerful external actors upholding illegitimate governments; repression by foreign occupation or by colonial powers; the experience of discrimination on the basis of ethnic or religious origin; failure or unwillingness by the state to integrate dissident groups or emerging social classes; the experience of social injustice; the presence of charismatic ideological leaders; and triggering events.⁶⁰⁸ Groups are influenced by combinations of these factors specific to the time and place where their radicalization occurs, though the underlying mechanics of radicalization may be quite similar.

Running through several of Bjørgo et al.’s pre-conditions are principles of economics. The issue of some form of actual or perceived deprivation features very heavily in terrorism and radicalization studies. In brief, societal conflict expert Ted Gurr found that men rebel because of an economic gap between a perception of what s/he should have achieved and reality, as fueled by political frustration, or “relative deprivation.”⁶⁰⁹ Involved in this path to revolt are frustration, aggression, the group dynamic, and the individual’s unique

⁶⁰⁶ Tore Bjørgo, ed., *Root Causes of Terrorism*.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., 3-4. In Bjørgo’s edited volume, special attention to the social and psychological angle because these are known to drive terrorism.

⁶⁰⁸ Bjørgo, ed., *Root Causes of Terrorism*.

⁶⁰⁹ Ted R. Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), 13.

predisposition, which lead to violence when the “situation is compounded by ideology.”⁶¹⁰ Elsewhere, scholars have focused on development, underdevelopment or the slowed rate of economic growth, something Sageman also terms “relative deprivation.”⁶¹¹ More scientific, economics and terrorism expert Brock Blomberg et al. examine how groups upset the status quo by seeking more economic power or influence in the wake of economic shocks in weak states to counter-balance their deprivation.⁶¹²

Similar to Bjørge et al.’s motivational causes, Borum summarizes common mechanisms or roots driving radicalization across many studies: predisposing life experiences, activating situations, predisposing vulnerabilities, social and group dynamics, and ideology/narrative.⁶¹³ Professor of psychiatry Walter Reich also examines roots of terrorist behavior, specifically religious and ideological motivations, and attempts to understand the terrorist’s motivations.⁶¹⁴ In studying the psychology of terrorism, Reich cautions, however, about overgeneralizations that “ignore or blur the variety and complexity” of individual accounts, as well as reductionism.⁶¹⁵ One terrorist’s behavior, according to Reich, cannot be attributed to a specific cause be it genetic, group influences, or hate, to name

⁶¹⁰ Isabelle Duyvestyn, “How New Is the New Terrorism,” in *Terrorism Studies: A Reader*, ed. John Horgan and Kurt Braddock (Oxford: Routledge, 2012), 28. Challenging this, economist Claude Berrebi found that, in a study of Palestinian suicide bombers, very few would be considered poor or uneducated, measures of economic potential. See Claude Berrebi, “Evidence about the link between education, poverty and terrorism among Palestinians,” *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy* 13, no. 1 (2007): 1-36.

⁶¹¹ Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks*, 95; For more on deprivation as a motivating factor, see W.G. Runciman, *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice: A Study of Attitudes to Social Inequality in Twentieth-Century England* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1966) and A. Dalgaard-Nielsen, *Studying Violent Radicalization in Europe 2: The Potential Contribution of Socio-psychological and Psychological Approaches*, working paper no. 2008/3 (Danish Institute for International Studies, 2008). Nancy Morris and Gary LaFree find evidence for underdevelopment creating a “fertile ground” for the development of terrorism, but not as a target country for an attack. See Nancy A. Morris and Gary LaFree, “Country-Level Predictors of Terrorism,” in *The Handbook of the Criminology of Terrorism*, ed. Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 107.

⁶¹² S. Brock Blomberg, Gregory D. Hess, and Akila Werapana, “Economic Conditions and Terrorism,” *European Journal of Political Economy* 20 (2004): 463-478.

⁶¹³ Borum, “The Etiology of Radicalization,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 24.

⁶¹⁴ Reich, *Origins of Terrorism*. In this, Reich does recognize the limitations of such a quest and identifies several preventive measures for policy makers.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 262-273.

a few.⁶¹⁶ Reich warns not to ignore the rational reasons for choosing a terrorist strategy, even when these reasons lead to murder.⁶¹⁷ There are many levels or perspectives where psychology is going to play in understanding terrorism, not just one.

Neumann and his researchers at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR) are conducting an ongoing study of more than 700 foreign fighters and individuals traveling to fight in the wider Syrian Civil War, directly interacting with several via Skype, Whatsapp, Facebook, and Twitter, and speaking to a few in person.⁶¹⁸ Neumann identified a “jihadist international” wave from this survey, finding that more than 20,000 individuals from 90 countries have travelled to Syria and Iraq in the last three to four years to primarily fight for the Islamic State or the al-Nusra Front.⁶¹⁹ Most of the fighters are young men in their 20s (though several are older and younger, and up to 15% are female), some are devout while others are religiously ignorant, and they have varying socio-economic backgrounds.⁶²⁰ What unites them, Neumann finds, is their “lack of identification with the Western societies they...were born and grew up in.”⁶²¹ Of the devout (or those who claim to be), the fighters are mainly counterculture Salafists who: want to rebel against Western society; seek order; join a community; and attain salvation.⁶²² Neumann creates three dominant categories of fighters: defenders (who protect the Sunni population), seekers (not motivated by religion, but rather identity, community, power, and masculinity), and hangers-on (who have a tight connection to a small group or leader that goes ahead to join the fight).⁶²³

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 267.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., 273.

⁶¹⁸ Neumann, *Radicalized*, 86.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., 87.

⁶²⁰ Ibid., 86-87, 119.

⁶²¹ Ibid., 90.

⁶²² Ibid., 112-113.

⁶²³ Ibid., 90-97.

A more specific root is related to ethnicity. From a root causes perspective, Daniel Byman examines how ethnic terrorism is used to help create an ethnic identity and to mobilize that population.⁶²⁴ This super select percentage of the population has a built –in constituency that is primed for the next level of action, violence. The aim of this violence, unlike other groups, tends to be quite narrow in nature. As a result, there is extreme ethnic hardening and consolidation. The sub-population shares negative experiences of discrimination and persecution, fueling membership, fundraising, and enabling the more extreme voices to be heard as the moderates are pushed out or eliminated.⁶²⁵

Borum, Reich, Bjørge et al., Neumann, and others not mentioned here create detailed theories on which roots may be most significant in the radicalization process. Where there is room for further contribution is identifying a pattern or pathway within an individual that suggests, prior to terrorism and very early in the process, the person is at risk for radicalization.

The Group and Social Network

The impact of the group on the individual is extremely powerful, a principle supported by criminology and juvenile delinquency research. Crenshaw, in “The Causes of Terrorism,” looks at three levels of causation: situational variables; strategy of the terrorist organization; and—to a lesser extent—the individual’s role.⁶²⁶ Operating on these levels are preconditions—including enabling or permissive factors and situations that inspire or motivate—that make terrorism more likely in the long run and precipitant factors that are specific events (possibly direct causes) that come right before or trigger terrorism.⁶²⁷ Among

⁶²⁴ Daniel Byman, “The Logic of Ethnic Terrorism,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 21 (1998): 150-157.

⁶²⁵ There are many studies on ethnicity and violence in specific geographic areas. One work, which addresses the Basque separatist group Eskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) is: Diego Muro, *Ethnicity and Violence: The Case of Radical Basque Nationalism* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

⁶²⁶ Martha Crenshaw, “The Causes of Terrorism,” in Horgan and Braddock, *Terrorism Studies*, 100.

⁶²⁷ *Ibid.*, 100.

all the permissive causes, Crenshaw especially points to the government's inability (or unwillingness) to prevent terrorism as a key political factor.⁶²⁸ With respect to direct causes, Crenshaw notes the importance of "concrete grievances among an identifiable subgroup of a larger population," which also extends to Gurr's theory of relative deprivation.⁶²⁹ Added to this is the lack of opportunity for political participation by individuals.

Crenshaw goes a step further in her analysis, hypothesizing that perhaps terrorism occurs where "mass passivity and elite dissatisfaction coincide," especially in a stable society with a minority who seek radical change.⁶³⁰ Among the few may be—more than all other factors—a need for vengeance on behalf of those wronged and, to a lesser extent, guilt that can be lifted by action.⁶³¹ All eyes, then, are on the government facing cries for its blood to be spilled and whose actions could make terrorism more likely. Terrorism, according to Crenshaw, becomes far more logical when the group is aiming to influence or lead a resistance movement against the government and when the "power ratio of government to challenger is high."⁶³² The perception of time plays a role here, as groups are more likely to use terrorism when survival of the movement requires action and waiting to act (in reality or in perception) means the death of the movement.⁶³³ This impatience is caused when the group perceives a historical moment as a window of opportunity, has seen that using terrorism has bolstered similar groups and created momentum, acute failure of other means has occurred, and the group experiences internal pressure.⁶³⁴ Thus, they are willing to accept a far higher level of risk if their death is worth something.⁶³⁵ The group will rush.

⁶²⁸ Ibid., 101.

⁶²⁹ Ibid., 102.

⁶³⁰ Ibid., 103.

⁶³¹ Ibid., 109-110.

⁶³² Ibid., 105.

⁶³³ Ibid.; for more on "short time horizons," see Martin Daly and Margo Wilson, *Homicide* (Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter, 1988), 168.

⁶³⁴ Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," 106.

⁶³⁵ Ibid., 110.

Crenshaw has additional thoughts on the group as a separate entity. Crenshaw's work on organizational process theory (OPT) asserts that the group's main purpose becomes its maintenance and the group interests supersede the individuals in it in many cases.⁶³⁶ Leaders, with agendas, drive the membership with incentive structures for joining and staying in the organization.⁶³⁷ For sophisticated transnational terrorist organizations, the significance of the leader in recruiting followers may be even greater.⁶³⁸ Their followers are far more loyal to the group than an ideology or abstract idea.⁶³⁹ Loyalty makes violence likelier as wrongs against members demand revenge, which in turns increases the prestige of the group and self-esteem of the individual.⁶⁴⁰ The cohesion of the group intensifies beliefs, strengthening cohesion in a feedback cycle that could lead to brutalization.⁶⁴¹ According to Crenshaw, the importance of beliefs or ideology wanes over time as the actual running of the organization becomes all-important. To survive, groups will engage in spoiling activities, emphasize material benefits to keep membership high, and even shift goals to stay relevant.⁶⁴² And it is the presence of the organization itself—and the effect that has on its members—that explains terrorism. Being in a high-risk group in a stressful situation could then “lead to high levels of anxiety, aggravated by fatigue.”⁶⁴³ The group struggles to “identify alternatives, estimate costs and benefits, assess outcomes, evaluate audience perspectives, and adjust to changes in the

⁶³⁶ Martha Crenshaw, “An Organizational Approach to the Analysis of Political Terrorism,” in *Terrorism Studies: A Reader*, ed. John Horgan and Kurt Braddock (Oxford: Routledge, 2012), 465-487.

⁶³⁷ For more on the significance of the leader or role model as a justifier for violence, see Jerrold M. Post, E. Sprinzak, and L.M. Denny, “The Terrorists in Their Own Words: Interviews with 35 Incarcerated Middle Eastern Terrorists,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15, no. 1 (2003): 171-184.

⁶³⁸ Jytte Klausen found that one ore more of four sheiks were connected to 80% of the 350 jihadi terrorists in her dataset. Referenced in Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 122. The Danish Intelligence Service (PET) also looks at the role of the influences/radicalizer, finding that person is central to radicalization that occurs from the top down. See Precht, “Homegrown Terrorism and Islamic Radicalization in Europe.”

⁶³⁹ Martha Crenshaw, “Decisions to Use Terrorism: Psychological Constraints on Instrumental Reasoning,” in *Terrorism Studies: A Reader*, ed. John Horgan and Kurt Braddock (Oxford: Routledge, 2012), 252, 257.

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 255.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 254.

⁶⁴² Crenshaw, “An Organizational Approach to the Analysis of Political Terrorism,” in Horgan and Braddock, *Terrorism Studies*, 471.

⁶⁴³ Crenshaw, “Decisions to Use Terrorism,” in Horgan and Braddock, *Terrorism Studies*, 252, 257.

environment.”⁶⁴⁴ Once a member gradually moves from the periphery to the core, s/he becomes more accepting of violence advocated by the organization.⁶⁴⁵ And as the collective advocates and commits acts of terrorism, the individual is part of the organizational machine. However, Crenshaw does caution that looking at many groups might lead to “conflicting or ambiguous results.”⁶⁴⁶ Groups may appear quite different in their outward manifestations. Perhaps there is a case for returning to the most common denominator, the human being, for at least some part of the causal explanation.

Post has some similar points. Like Crenshaw, Post finds that “once individuals join a terrorist group individual differences disappear in the face of the powerful unifying forces of group and organizational psychology.”⁶⁴⁷ Looking at several different types of Islamist groups, Posts finds that the individual identity “fuses” with the group identity, though he adds that this is true of “all organizations regardless of ideological affiliation.”⁶⁴⁸ Once fused, the struggle is personal for all members who need to belong to the group, need to ensure the success of the group, and desire to be more active within the group.⁶⁴⁹ Pride and shame are group emotions that enable or condone violence against whoever the enemy happens to be when the person is able to split him/herself by projecting de-valued parts of themselves on others and when “hatred is bred in the bone.”⁶⁵⁰ Post finds this to be true across a diverse spectrum of violent groups, including the Irish Republican Army, Basque Homeland and

⁶⁴⁴ O.R. Holsti, “Crisis, Stress and Decision Making,” in *Crisis, Escalation, War* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972); Crenshaw, “Decisions to Use Terrorism,” in Horgan and Braddock, *Terrorism Studies*, 252.

⁶⁴⁵ Crenshaw, “An Organizational Approach to the Analysis of Political Terrorism,” in Horgan and Braddock, *Terrorism Studies*, 477.

⁶⁴⁶ Martha Crenshaw, “How Terrorists Think: What Psychology Can Contribute to Understanding Terrorism,” in *Terrorism: Roots, Impact, Responses*, ed. L. Howard (New York: Praeger, 1992); Andrew Silke, “Research on Terrorism: A Review of the Impact of 9/11 and the Global War on Terrorism,” *Terrorism Informatics* 18 (2008): 12.

⁶⁴⁷ Post, “Rewarding Fire with Fire,” 25-26.

⁶⁴⁸ Jerrold M. Post, “The Socio-Cultural Underpinnings of Terrorist Psychology,” in *Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, Reality and Ways Forward*, ed. Tore Bjørngo (New York: Routledge, 2005), 64-65.

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 66; Jerrold M. Post, *The Mind of the Terrorist* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 8.

Liberty (ETA), Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), Tamil Tigers (LTTE), Hezbollah, Hamas, Shining Path, and more.

Counterterrorism expert Ehud Sprinzak is quite notable for his work on “de-legitimization,” or the physical and mental process by which someone and their group moves from legitimate political activities to terrorism.⁶⁵¹ First, the group becomes disillusioned with the current political climate. Then, a conflict of legitimacy occurs as grievances are blamed on a flawed system, rather than a few politicians, that is in need of redress. Third, the system and anyone representing it are dehumanized and demonized in a crisis of legitimacy, opening the pathway to violence and encouraging individuals to outwardly reject society. From here, self-defense groups may form in extensional de-legitimization, a deeper form of radicalization of the mind might take place in transformational de-legitimization, and groups may rise up against potential opponents in split de-legitimization.⁶⁵² De-legitimization then occurs two ways.⁶⁵³ The opponent, or other community, is now illegitimate and fair game for directed violence. Second, the government will be targeted with anti-regime violence. The people and the state are now marked by the radicalized group, who justifies their use of terrorism against a de-legitimate target.

Group mechanisms may involve incentives or the “pull” for joining a group. According to the Youth Justice Board for England and Wales, these pulls could include “a sense of belonging, rewarding personal and social ties, increased status and self-esteem, the sense of risk, excitement and danger, being part of the wider [community], as well as fulfilling the desire for vengeance.”⁶⁵⁴ Additionally and specific to Islamic terrorism, extremism and violence expert Jamie Bartlett et al. found five items that make violent

⁶⁵¹ Ehud Sprinzak, “The Process of Delegitimation: Towards a Linkage Theory of Political Terrorism.” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 3(1): 1991: 51-61.

⁶⁵² Ehud Sprinzak, “Right-Wing Terrorism in a Comparative Perspective: The Case of Split Delegitimization,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 7, no. 1 (1995): 17-20.

⁶⁵³ Crenshaw, “An Organizational Approach to the Analysis of Political Terrorism,” in Horgan and Braddock, *Terrorism Studies*, 65; Sprinzak, “Right-Wing Terrorism in a Comparative Perspective,” 20-21.

⁶⁵⁴ Christmann, *Preventing Religious Radicalisation and Violent Extremism*, 27.

radicalization more appealing to a person in a group.⁶⁵⁵ First there is an emotional pull in the face of injustice involving the lack of Islamic knowledge, narratives of being under attack from “evil, scheming Western interests,” and the prevalence of jihadi videos.⁶⁵⁶ Second is the “thrill, adventure and coolness” of a dangerous counter-cultural group that includes non-religious reasons. Third, the individual believes s/he will gain status and honor by joining. Fourth, the person will feel some peer pressure. Lastly, the echo chamber emerges where there is not alternative information for the person. Part of the pull, thrill, and pressure is recruitment. della Porta looks at radicalization from the recruitment side in one study, concluding that the recruiters create ‘resonance’ between a person’s individual motivations or grievances and the overall goal or purpose of the group, enabling violence through dehumanization and moral detachment.⁶⁵⁷ Once pulled into the group, the individual is “elite,” which makes the isolation of the individual and group a positive choice, rather than a negative one.⁶⁵⁸ For the greater good and his/her group, the terrorist is altruistic and the model of self-sacrifice.⁶⁵⁹

Psychologists Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko look at radicalization as a process of preparation for inter-group conflict using social psychology.⁶⁶⁰ Using a pyramid similar to David Kilcullen’s on insurgents, they envision radicalization coming from the masses and intensifying to the few that go on to lead the group and commit acts in a 12-level

⁶⁵⁵ Bartlett and Miller, “The Edge of Violence: Towards Telling the Difference Between Violent and Non-Violent Radicalization.”

⁶⁵⁶ Groups aim to arouse this sense of “absolute injustice.” See L. Manconi, “Il Nemico Assoluto. Antifascismo E Contropotere Nella Fase Aurorale Del Terrorismo De Sinitra,” *Polis* 2 (1988): 259-286 in della Porta, “On Individual Motivations in Underground Political Organizations,” in Horgan and Braddock, *Terrorism Studies*, 240. For more on seeing the outgroup as evil, see Elliot Sober and David Sloan Wilson, *Unto Others: The Evolution and Psychology of Unselfish Behavior* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). Cited in Waller, *Becoming Evil*, 152.

⁶⁵⁷ Donatella della Porta, *Social Movements, Political Violence and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁶⁵⁸ della Porta, “On Individual Motivations in Underground Political Organizations,” in Horgan and Braddock, *Terrorism Studies*, 243. For more on the importance of the recruiter, see T. Hegghammer, “The Recruiter’s Dilemma: Signaling and Rebel Recruitment Tactics,” *Journal of Peace Research* 50, no. 1 (2012): 3-16.

⁶⁵⁹ Crenshaw, “Decisions to Use Terrorism,” in Horgan and Braddock, *Terrorism Studies*, 253.

⁶⁶⁰ Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko, “Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Towards Terrorism,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20 (2008): 416-427.

mechanism process with individual, group, and mass (social movement theory) levels.⁶⁶¹ A person's perception of the inter-group conflict will have a bearing on how much s/he radicalizes and the various mechanisms that will be operating at any one time.⁶⁶² McCauley and Moskalkenko single out the following radicalization pathways: groupthink and the reinterpretation of reality; closed information loops; membership selection bias favoring violence; and fractionalization from group competition that makes the escalation of violence more likely.⁶⁶³ Operating within this, the individual might be motivated by personal victimization, personal grievance, or the desire to belong and be loved. The individual craves a sense of "belonging, identity, comradeship, security, excitement."⁶⁶⁴ As the person moves up the pyramid, s/he joins a more exclusive network of like-minded individuals who are more likely to favor and use violence.⁶⁶⁵

The group, individual, and surrounding culture go hand-in-hand. The impact of the environment and society on groups and individuals cannot be over stated. Counter-terrorism expert Kumar Ramakrishna believes that existential identity, culture, and personality combine with geopolitics, history, ideology, and other factors to create a terrorist who inflicts great violence or dies for a cause. This, according to him, is owing to extreme Existential Identity Anxiety (EIA), "a product of the interaction between Existential Identity, Culture, and a

⁶⁶¹ The 12 are personal victimization, political grievance, joining a radical group – the slippery slope, joining a radical group – the power of love, extremity shift in like-minded groups, extreme cohesion under isolation and threat, competition for the same base of support, competition with state power, within group competition – fissioning, jujitsu politics, hate, martyrdom. See also David Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁶⁶² Albert J. Jongman, "Appendix 6.2: World Directory of Extremist, Terrorist and Other Organisations Associated with Guerrilla Warfare, Political Violence, Protest, Organised Crime and Cyber-crime," in *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, ed. Alex P. Schmid (New York: Routledge, 2013), 429.

⁶⁶³ Jerrold M. Post, "Terrorist Psycho-logic: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Psychological Forces," in *Origins of Terrorism*, ed. Walter Reich (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998). Post also points to the role of the small-group and groupthink as causes of terrorism.

⁶⁶⁴ McCauley and Moskalkenko, "Mechanisms of Political Radicalization," in Lasse Lindekilde, "Radicalization," *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies*, 252.

⁶⁶⁵ See also R.S. Baron et al., "Social Corroboration and Opinion Extremity," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 32 (1996): 537-560.

complex set of Individual Personality variables interacting with structural factors.”⁶⁶⁶ As a society feels threatened, and when its citizens beings to morally disengage, the social death of the “them” or outsiders can occur as the outsider is dehumanized, a point made by Bandura and used by Ramakrishna.⁶⁶⁷ When person starts to morally disengage, Ramakrishna found that:

individual regression to a primitive state of mind in which the individual self is subsumed into the collective self, or an us—while various out-group selves are simultaneously collapsed into a single overarching “them”—represents the cognitive essence of radicalization.⁶⁶⁸

According to psychologist John P. Dvoretzky, also occurring at this point are the weakening of social restraints as impulsive and aggressive tendencies are released and “the person loses individual identity, usually as the result of being part of a large group or having his or her identity concealed in some way,” also known as de-individualization.⁶⁶⁹ Even in the face of contradictory information, a person stands by his/her group and distorted decision.⁶⁷⁰ This is especially dangerous and indicative of violence if “members of the in-group perceive that they are on the verge of extinction as a separate, distinctive identity group,” especially if in-group differences have been lost.⁶⁷¹ Violence is rationalized as the enemy is denigrated and the person avoids responsibility for their actions.⁶⁷²

A selection of other views on the surrounding culture follows. Laqueur finds that terrorism is inherently populist and the result of the current cultural Zeitgeist.⁶⁷³ Political violence and sociology experts Stefan Malthaner and Peter Waldmann found that “radical milieus” are the cultural phenomenon that create and sustain the call for violence, along with

⁶⁶⁶ Ramakrishna, *Radical Pathways*, 27. Ramakrishna is incorporating “group tent theory” by Vamik Volkan, *Killing in the Name of the Identity: A Study of Bloody Conflicts* (Charlottesville, VA: Pitchstone Publishing, 2006), 69-70.

⁶⁶⁷ Albert Bandura, “Mechanisms of Moral Disengagement,” in *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, ed. Walter Reich (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998).

⁶⁶⁸ Ramakrishna, *Radical Pathways*, 34.

⁶⁶⁹ J.P. Dvoretzky, *Psychology*, 3rd ed. (St. Paul, MN: West, 1991), 571.

⁶⁷⁰ Waller, *Becoming Evil*, 150-151.

⁶⁷¹ Ramakrishna, “The Radical Pathways Framework.”

⁶⁷² Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 127.

⁶⁷³ Laqueur, “Interpretations of Terror,” 14.

moral and material support from a like-minded community.⁶⁷⁴ Crenshaw, objecting to the psychological explanations for terrorism, prefers the rational choice model of instrumental violence, where the opponent will be manipulated to upset the status quo and improve the position of the terrorist group.⁶⁷⁵ Part of this rational choice is a reward system that encourages the development of a youth's identity through "feelings of worth and love," as well as "opportunities for action, social status, and material rewards" that would come with a community.⁶⁷⁶ But, this is all accomplished within the wider group or cultural setting, not as a product of the individual.

The group does not only operate face-to-face. The decentralized world of the Internet seems to be playing a special role in connecting Americans, and other nationalities, sympathetic to violent extremism to others around the world.⁶⁷⁷ Likeminded people come together with varying amounts of supervision on the Internet, and people have many ways to self-select information and chat anonymously in an echo chamber. Through a vibrant online community that is advanced more by the supporters of Daesh than the organization itself, the "online jihadist ecosystem" gives a "feeling of strength, community, and adventure" to fighters, cheerleaders, and fans according to Neumann.⁶⁷⁸ This is especially true of the younger generation, well represented in Syria.⁶⁷⁹ According to START senior researcher John Sawyer and co-author Justin Heinz, being in a group and forming friendships means the individual is far more likely to exhibit radical behaviors, both of which can be accomplished

⁶⁷⁴ S. Malthaner and P. Waldmann, "The Radical Milieu: Conceptualizing the Supportive Social Environment of Terrorist Groups," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 37, no. 12 (2014): 979-998.

⁶⁷⁵ Martha Crenshaw, "Theories of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches," in *Inside Terrorist Organizations*, ed. David C. Rapoport (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1988), 13-14.

⁶⁷⁶ Rapoport, *Inside Terrorist Organizations*, 3; Crenshaw, "Theories of Terrorism," in Rapoport, *Inside Terrorist Organizations*, 13-31.

⁶⁷⁷ Vidino, "Homegrown Jihadist Terrorism in the United States," 480.

⁶⁷⁸ Neumann, *Radicalized*, 124-129. See also Jarret Brachman on "jihobbyists" in Jarret M. Brachman and Alix N. Levine, "You Too Can Be Awlaki!" *The Fletcher Forum of International Affairs* 35, no. 1 (2011): 25-46.

⁶⁷⁹ Vidino, "Homegrown Jihadist Terrorism in the United States," 480.

online.⁶⁸⁰ The relationship with the social network can be far more significant than that with a family member, or even romantic partner.⁶⁸¹

The Internet and its uses are also emblematic of globalization. As summarized by professor of Middle Eastern studies Brynjar Lia, terrorism may be a response to globalization and the natural outgrowth of a local conflict becoming globalized.⁶⁸² In a feedback cycle, terrorists benefit from globalization in the same way that globalization enabled their existence, which is also true (according to Lia) for other types of violence. Sociologist Farhad Khosrokhavar views the terrorist within the context of globalization, where men and women feel humiliated and victimized as individuals and feel as though their group under assault in this wider world.⁶⁸³ As with other perceptions, these can be real or imagined, and result in deep resentment, an increased capacity or ad hoc desire to act through the group, and a desire to humiliate the enemy.⁶⁸⁴ Khosrokhavar finds that radicalization takes slightly different paths whether ad extra (directed outward, Europe in his study) and ad intra (the Middle East or Muslim world) when globalization, oppression, and frustration combine.⁶⁸⁵

Suicide terrorism also features on the group level. One of the most influential works on suicide terrorism as a coercive strategic choice is by political scientist Robert Pape.⁶⁸⁶ Pape does not find suicide terrorism to be a matter of individual choice, religious obligation, or a psychological predisposition. Looking at the institutional level of analysis, the choice to pursue suicide terrorism is made by the organization exercising game theorist Thomas Schelling's "rationality of the irrational."⁶⁸⁷ While it may be irrational for a person to kill

⁶⁸⁰ Sawyer and Hienz, "What Makes Them Do It?," in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of the Criminology of Terrorism*, 49.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid., 58.

⁶⁸² Brynjar Lia, *Globalization and the Future of Terrorism* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 2.

⁶⁸³ Khosrokhavar, *Radicalization*, 16-19.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., 47-48.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., 114, 148.

⁶⁸⁶ Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (2003): 343-351.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid., 344. For more on Schelling, see Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966).

him/herself, the organization reasons that this is a matter of strategic choice even if it loses them popular support.⁶⁸⁸ Pape reaches five conclusions in his study. First, as stated in this brief overview, suicide terrorism is strategic on the part of the organization, rather than the state. Second and in matters of national self-determination, suicide terrorism can bring about concessions from democratic governments. Third, it works pretty well, especially as part of a larger campaign, and is thus on the rise.⁶⁸⁹ Fourth, even the moderate use of suicide terrorism can elicit results, though the organization should be careful not to go too far. Fifth, military actions and concessions rarely quell suicide terrorism. Rather, the government should focus on eliminating the resources and abilities of the operation, effectively reducing terrorist's confidence in suicide as a tactic.

Though less known than Pape, several scholars have made contributions to the study of suicide terrorism, blending the individual with the group. Security and crime science expert Paul Gill's "pathway model" finds that individuals experience four stages that reinforce each other.⁶⁹⁰ First, s/he is broadly socialized and exposed to violent propaganda. Second, the person experiences a "catalyst event," creating motivation to join. Third, a pre-existing family member or friend will facilitate radicalization. Lastly, the person internalizes the group's norms and values through in-group radicalization, resulting in a suicide bomber. Gill considers these pre-requisites for suicide terrorism, though the order is not set in stone. Anthropologist Scott Atran examined how groups radicalize their members into becoming martyrs, rather than an individual coming to that conclusion on his/her own, making several new discoveries about the individual.⁶⁹¹ First, the organizations target young men who are

⁶⁸⁸ Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," 344. Crenshaw also points to "rational political choice" for campaigns of terror, and how a group's reasons for terrorism are key in a discussion on causation. See Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," 103.

⁶⁸⁹ In this article, Pape does comment elsewhere that suicide terrorism works about half the time and is unlikely to achieve more ambitious goals.

⁶⁹⁰ P. Gill, "A Multi-Dimensional Approach to Suicide Bombing," *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 1, no. 2 (2007): 142–159.

⁶⁹¹ Scott Atran, "Mishandling Suicide Terrorism." *Washington Quarterly*, 27, no. 3 (2004): 74-81.

likely to have pro-American values and are from middle class, well-educated nuclear families. Thus, these young people are being manipulated by the organization, rather than motivated by a grievance such as poverty. The person needs to be of a malleable character. Not only does the person have to get past self-sanctions on killing, s/he has to accept the taking of one's own life and view that choice as positive.⁶⁹² Mia Bloom, also noteworthy for her work on female terrorists, finds that individual and organizational motivations help advance group goals and outbid rivals when other forms of previous resistance have failed and as a result of inter-group competition.⁶⁹³ She notes some differences for religious verses nationalistic groups in her study of numerous individuals and groups including al-Qaeda, Palestinians, Tamil Tigers, PKK, and others, where the nationalists are vying for territory and the religious groups may be aiming to spread an ideological war.⁶⁹⁴ Bloom differs from Pape in that she does not always find that groups lose support as a result of using suicide operations.

While the group level of analysis has strengths in explaining the collective power of individuals, it is not without its criticisms. Sageman finds fault with the macro or structural level of analysis, as it assumes people robotically respond to the organization, and prefers middle range analysis.⁶⁹⁵ By looking at the relationships in terrorist networks, Sageman theorizes that "leaderless jihad" is occurring in his study of al-Qaeda recruits in Europe and North Africa.⁶⁹⁶ He believes that terrorism, especially homegrown, centers on isolated communities drawn to ideological rhetoric and is largely "leaderless," especially in social networks.⁶⁹⁷ Sageman holds that the current threat "has evolved from a structured group of al

⁶⁹² Scott Atran, "Social Science Review: Genesis of Suicide Terrorism," *Science* 299, no. 5612 (2003): 1534-1539.

⁶⁹³ Mia Bloom, *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 85-97.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 97-100.

⁶⁹⁵ Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad*, 21

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁶⁹⁷ Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad*.

Qaeda masterminds, controlling vast resources and issuing commands, to a multitude of informal groups;” the latter makes up the vast majority of his case studies and demonstrates how the leaderless network could function alongside the existing terrorist establishment.⁶⁹⁸ Thanks to the Internet, a homegrown “bunch of guys” create “blob” that will possibly lead to terrorism.⁶⁹⁹ Their radicalization involves rejecting the perceived inadequacies of the “protest counterculture” and resorting to violence to achieve real results, as well as protesting the West.⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁹⁸ Marc Sageman, “Does Osama Still Call the Shots,” *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 4 (2008): 163-166.

⁶⁹⁹ Marc Sageman, “The Turn to Political Violence” (lecture, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, November 12, 2009).

⁷⁰⁰ Marc Sageman, interview by Margaret Warner, *NewsHour*, PBS, February 1, 2010; For more on the role of networks and social bonds, see S. Hamid, “Islamic Political Radicalism in Britain: The Case of Hizb-Ut-Tahrir,” in *Islamic Political Radicalism: A European Perspective*, by T. Abbas (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

Ideology: Religion, Politics, and Morality

Ideology is understood as a “system of ideas and ideals, especially one which forms the basis of economic or political theory and policy.”⁷⁰¹ Some scholars find that ideology is the most important factor in radicalization. Hamm identified ideology-specific profiles for possible terrorists.⁷⁰² He finds that potential terrorists have a desire for attention and celebrity, both of which serve to undermine the greater group.⁷⁰³ Terrorism expert C.J.M. Drake believes that ideology is the most key aspect of a group, guiding its “beliefs, values, principles, and objectives—however ill-defined or tenuous...[defining] its distinctive political identity and aims.”⁷⁰⁴ Sponsored by the National Institute of Justice, *Profiles of Individual Radicalization in the United States* found the following largely-ideological patterns: radicalized individuals had been arrested, indicted, or killed as a result of their activities; or belonged to a terrorists or organization or group with a leader who had been indicted for ideologically motivated violence.⁷⁰⁵

However, the actual understanding of ideology, provided it is present, might not matter. According to Sawyer and Hienz, “most of the individuals whose extremist behaviors are limited to associating with known extremists have minimal exposure to the ideology...but most of the individuals who have minimal exposure to the ideology cross the threshold into violence.”⁷⁰⁶ Further, “those who are merely exposed to an ideology, as well as deep believers, are disproportionately more likely to attack people than the other levels of belief.”⁷⁰⁷ Sawyer and Hienz found that, shockingly, one-third of violent extremists “lack a

⁷⁰¹ *Oxford English Dictionaries*, s.v. “Ideology,” definition 1, 2017, accessed November 17, 2016, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/ideology>.

⁷⁰² Hamm, *Terrorism as Crime*.

⁷⁰³ *Ibid.*, 27-149.

⁷⁰⁴ See C.J.M. Drake, “The Role of Ideology in Terrorists' Target Selection,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 10, no. 2 (1998): 54-55.

⁷⁰⁵ Sawyer and Hienz, “What Makes Them Do It?,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of the Criminology of Terrorism*, 51.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 53.

deep ideological commitment.”⁷⁰⁸ Interestingly, weak or strong connections to ideology seem to result in greater numbers of violence.

Like the system of ideas that constitutes ideology, the beliefs and worship rituals of religion can influence radicalization. Academics differ widely on the role that religion—in addition to what is meant by religion—plays in terrorism, from “no relationship whatsoever” to “a script for what an individual or group wants to do for non-religious reasons” and a motivator or rationalizer.⁷⁰⁹ According to social psychology professor Michael Hogg, the uncertain or insecure individual can find comfort, clear scripts or rules, and friends in the radical group setting, especially religious groups.⁷¹⁰ In this script there may be a “scared value”: something the moral community or group holds in perpetuity that must be defended.⁷¹¹ Religious ideology, in addition to other forms of ideology, creates “macronarratives” that frame and justify violence, as well as the enemy.⁷¹² The terrorists are “[elites] with high consciousness” and heroes.⁷¹³

In the pre-modern age, terrorism was only legitimately justified through religion.⁷¹⁴ While not all groups who use terrorism claim to answer to a higher power, from 1979 forward scholars, including terrorism expert Bruce Hoffman and others, have pointed to a marked increase in religiously motivated terrorism, with violence that can be aimed toward

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁹ Ioannis Tellidis, “Religion and Terrorism,” in *Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies*, ed. Richard Jackson (Oxon, Oxford: Routledge, 2016), 135; Schmid, *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, 23; Wright, *The Moral Animal*, 274.

⁷¹⁰ M. Hogg, “Self-Uncertainty, Social Identity and the Solace of Extremism,” in *Extremism and the Psychology of Uncertainty*, ed. M. Hogg and D. Blaylock (Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell Publishing, 2012), 190-35.

⁷¹¹ Monahan, “The Individual Risk Assessment of Terrorism: Recent Developments,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 524. See also Sara Savage, “Four Lessons from the Study of Fundamentalism and Psychology of Religion,” *Journal of Strategic Security* 4, no. 4 (Winter 2011): 131-150.

⁷¹² della Porta, “On Individual Motivations in Underground Political Organizations,” in Horgan and Braddock, *Terrorism Studies*, 243; see also Khachig Tolovan, “Culture Narrative and the Motivation of the Terrorist,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 10 (1987): 217-233.

⁷¹³ Martha Crenshaw, “The Subjective Reality of Terrorists: Ideological and Psychological Factors in Terrorism,” in *Current Perspectives on International Terrorism*, ed. R.O. Slater and M. Stohl (London: Macmillan, 1988), 12-46; della Porta, “On Individual Motivations in Underground Political Organizations,” in Horgan and Braddock, *Terrorism Studies*, 243.

⁷¹⁴ Rapoport, “Fear and Trembling,” 658.

“an almost open-ended category of opponents.”⁷¹⁵ While “terrorism motivated by religious fanaticism has been perpetrated throughout history,” it has risen in attention as “religious terrorism” since 1990, cementing its place in the lexicon after September 11, 2001.⁷¹⁶ This coincides with what several scholars have termed “new terrorism.”⁷¹⁷ Hoffman, a prominent proponent of the idea of a “new terrorism,” finds that today’s terrorists are religiously motivated in a way unlike past groups that identified with a particular spiritual doctrine. Writing specifically with al-Qaeda in mind, Hoffman believes that today’s religious groups view violence as a sacramental act, a moral obligation, and a theological imperative.⁷¹⁸ Religion, in addition to being a motivator, holds “different value systems, mechanisms of legitimization and justifications, concepts of morality, and worldviews.”⁷¹⁹ The religious terrorists, therefore, see themselves as “outsiders’ seeking fundamental changes in the existing order.”⁷²⁰ As a result, there is a greater lethality to religious attacks because the perpetrators are not bound by typical moral constraints as they reject society. This is for their version of God and there is no middle ground.

Juergensmeyer, observing mass-casualty violence and the lack of a grand strategy, asserts a “cosmic war” hypothesis.⁷²¹ Juergensmeyer finds that religion concerns the tension between order and disorder. Normally, according to him, religion is left in the abstract. At the hands of terrorists, however, it can result in cosmic war or physical violence in five ways that

⁷¹⁵ Bruce Hoffman, “Terrorism and WMD: Some Preliminary Hypotheses,” *Nonproliferation Review* 4, no. 3 (Spring/Summer 1997): 48; Bruce Hoffman, “Terrorism Trends and Prospects,” in *Countering the New Terrorism*, ed. I.O. Lesser, B. Hoffman, J. Arguilla, D. Ronfeldt, and M. Zanini (Santa Monica: Rand, 1999), 20. See also L. Wadgy, “The Psychology of Extremism and Terrorism: A Middle-Eastern Perspective,” *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 12, no. 2 (2007): 141-155.

⁷¹⁶ Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism Versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 34; Tellidis, “Religion and terrorism,” in Jackson, *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies*, 137.

⁷¹⁷ For more on this debate, see Martha Crenshaw, “The Debate over ‘New’ vs. ‘Old’ terrorism,” *Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago* (2007), http://www.start.umd.edu/sites/default/files/files/publications/New_vs_Old_Terrorism.pdf.

⁷¹⁸ Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 94-95.

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 88

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*, 89; In contrast to Hoffman, Stout believes that Islamic terrorists are inspired by revolutionary or Marxist military theory. See M. Stout, “In Search of Salafi Jihadist Strategic Thought: Mining the Words of the Terrorists” (presentation, International Studies Association Convention, March 29, 2008).

⁷²¹ Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God*, 185-190.

are fairly person-centric. First, the terrorists must view the religious struggle as happening in real time. Second, s/he must personally identify with the conflict and feel compelled to act on religious grounds. Third, s/he must seek this as a long or continuous struggle that requires a deep commitment. Fourth, s/he needs to believe that this struggle is now at a critical, or crisis, level in history. Lastly, the violence must be viewed in apocalyptic or religious terms with a corresponding script.

In several small studies, researchers found that religious identity had a significant impact on attitudes that favor terrorism and violence.⁷²² Duyvesteyn points to religion and its corresponding fanaticism as a primary motivator for these newer groups, especially those who feel insecure.⁷²³ Asymmetric threat expert Magnus Ranstorp finds that the presence of religious terrorism tends to follow the more general increase in the use of terror as a tool of war, with even religious groups being “driven by day-to-day practical political considerations.”⁷²⁴ At these points in time, the terrorist views him/herself as part of a vanguard that has a duty to react to surrounding events – this is history in the making.

In some cases, political radicalization seems linked to increased religious beliefs.⁷²⁵ Elsewhere, religious people may be more prejudiced or prone to religious ethnocentrism.⁷²⁶ However, there is a great deal of evidence to the contrary - that religion does not significantly lead to terrorism.⁷²⁷ Indeed, many studies have shown the methodological flaws in assuming

⁷²² Ansari in A. Silke, “Holy Warriors: Exploring the Psychological Processes of Jihadi Radicalization,” *European Journal of Criminology* 5, no. 1 (2008): 99-123.

⁷²³ Duyvesteyn, “How New Is the New Terrorism,” 32-33.

⁷²⁴ Magnus Ranstorp, “Terrorism in the Name of Religion,” *Journal of International Affairs* 50, no. 1 (1996): 2-5.

⁷²⁵ A.N. Awan, “Transitional Religiosity Experiences: Contextual Disjuncture and Islamic Political Radicalism,” in *Transitional Religiosity Experiences: Contextual Disjuncture and Islamic Political Radicalism*, ed. T. Abbas (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

⁷²⁶ B. Altemeyer, “Why Do Religious Fundamentalists Tend to Be Prejudiced?” *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 13, no. 1 (2003): 17-28.

⁷²⁷ See J. Githens-Mazer, “Islamic Radicalisation among North Africans in Britain,” *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 10, no. 4 (2008): 550-570.

a causal link between religion and terrorism.⁷²⁸ A brief list follows. Duyvesteyn, while she uses religion as one causal explanation, faults only looking at the religious explanation because it “implies a monocausal explanation that does not do justice to the rich practice of terrorist activity.” Duyvesteyn asserts that many motivations are normally at play.⁷²⁹ Sociologist Mark Gould and conflict studies professor Nathan Funk echo this, each concluding that religion alone cannot result in violent radicalization.⁷³⁰ Counter-terrorism scholars Daveed Gartenstein-Ross and Laura Grossman found that religion and theology only motivated 40% of their subjects in a study of 117 homegrown jihadi terrorists in the US and United Kingdom.⁷³¹ Related to this, Schmid identified perceived or real grievances, when combined with an interpretation of religious values, as terrorism.⁷³² Sociology professor Tahir Abbas finds that politics is far more related to terrorist actions than religion.⁷³³ Pointing to the prominence of a political agenda, Islamic studies professor Bruce Lawrence concluded that most messages sent by al-Qaeda had explicit political goals and targets.⁷³⁴ Intelligence analyst Chris Quillen, however, observed that it is virtually impossible to distinguish the political from the religious in the case of groups like al-Qaeda or even Timothy McVeigh, thus blurring motivations.⁷³⁵ Counterterrorism expert Assaf Moghadam cautions that “religion has an ambiguous relationship with violence,” while others warn about making

⁷²⁸ Martha Crenshaw, “The Psychology of Terrorism: An Agenda for the 21st Century,” *Political Psychology* 21, no. 2 (2000): 405-420; Wilkinson, *Terrorism Versus Democracy*, 34; Bloom, *Dying to Kill*; Pape, *Dying to Win*; W. Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence: Secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁷²⁹ Duyvesteyn, “How New Is the New Terrorism,” 24.

⁷³⁰ M. Gould, “Understanding Jihad,” *Policy Review* 129 (February/March 2005); N. Funk, “Religious and Cultural Dimensions of Peacebuilding,” *Journal of Religion, Conflict and Peace* 1, no. 1 (Fall 2007).

⁷³¹ Daveed Gartenstein-Ross, Joshua D. Goodman, and Laura Grossman, “Terrorism in the West 2008: A Guide to Terrorism Events and Landmark Cases,” Human Security Report Project (2009).

⁷³² A. Schmid, “The Importance of Countering Al Qaeda’s ‘Single Narrative,’” in *Countering Violent Extremist Narratives*, ed. The Netherlands National Coordinator for Counterterrorism (The Hague: Netherlands National Coordinator for Counterterrorism, 2010), 48.

⁷³³ Tahir Abbas, “Introduction – Islamic Political Radicalism in Western Europe,” *Islamic Political Radicalism: A European Perspective*, ed. T. Abbas. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

⁷³⁴ B. Lawrence, ed., *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden* (New York: Verso, 2005).

⁷³⁵ C. Quillen, “A Historical Analysis of Mass Casualty Bombers,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 25, no. 5 (2002): 279-292.

generalizations about the role religion plays.⁷³⁶ According to terrorism expert Boaz Ganor, “there is no direct relationship between terrorism and religion,” but he does emphasize that religion can be used by extremists in any number of ways.⁷³⁷ Political scientist Paul Wilkinson takes this a step further: “What appears at first sight to be a purely religious phenomenon is in fact in large part about political control and socioeconomic demands.”⁷³⁸ This is just a snapshot of the dissent.

In a sense, politics is also ideology. In the context of political violence, ideology rejects factual arguments, is abstract, puts forth an emotional appeal, and is designed for a very small audience of believers.⁷³⁹ A brief summary of related research follows. The US Army found that the goals, and presumably some motivations, of terrorist groups are “always political, as extremists driven by religious or ideological beliefs usually seek political power to compel society to conform to their views.”⁷⁴⁰ Political power goes hand in hand with government. Relevant to politics, the strength of democracy appears to impact the development of terrorism, something Bjørgero et al. touched upon earlier. Gurr makes a contribution here, observing that political violence is more likely when people are not able to access or exercise their democratic rights.⁷⁴¹ Schmid points to the inherent vulnerabilities—like freedom of speech and civil rights—in a democracy and the role that a free market economy can play in facilitating terrorism.⁷⁴² Democracies will thus have tools for preventing or discouraging terrorism at home, while being a target for groups from abroad.

⁷³⁶ Schmid, *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, 24-25.

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁷³⁸ Wilkinson, *Terrorism Versus Democracy*, 61.

⁷³⁹ G. Sartori, “Politics, Ideology, and Believe System,” *American Political Science Review* 63 (1969): 398-411. Quoted in della Porta, “On Individual Motivations in Underground Political Organizations,” in Horgan and Braddock, *Terrorism Studies*, 242. For more on ideological responses and drives, see Muhammad Haniff Bin Hassan, “Key Considerations in Counterideological Work Against Terrorist Ideology,” in *Terrorism Studies: A Reader*, ed. John Horgan and Kurt Braddock (Oxford: Routledge, 2012), 358-383.

⁷⁴⁰ D. Whittaker, *The Terrorism Reader* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2001), 17.

⁷⁴¹ T.R. Gurr, cited in McAllister and Schmid, “Theories of Terrorism,” 251.

⁷⁴² Elliott Currie, “The Market Economy and Crime,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Theory*, ed. Francis T. Cullen and Pamela Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 437.

Unsurprisingly, there is dissent on the role of politics and democracy as causal factors. Developmental criminologist Nancy Morris and criminology professor Gary LaFree, examining country-level predictors of terrorism in existing studies, found conflicting evidence for the relationship between democracy and terrorism.⁷⁴³ While democracies are more likely to be targeted by international terrorists, democracies are “negatively related to international terrorism of perpetrator countries.”⁷⁴⁴ If the democracy respects physical integrity rights, they likely experience fewer attacks.⁷⁴⁵ Sageman, Wiktorowicz, Moghadam and others agree that any political motivations require some kind of catalyst or crises to capitulate radicalization.

An ideological belief system—religious, political, or otherwise—may include a measure or perception of morality. For radicalization to occur, Sageman believes there needs to be moral outrage because of a perceived or actual moral violation in an ongoing conflict that resonates with personal experiences and requires a moral judgment.⁷⁴⁶ Violence becomes more likely as these radicalized individuals are mobilized through interactivity and the group.⁷⁴⁷ This process is recurrent, not necessarily sequential, and morality is a key factor. Bandura’s research largely parallels this, finding that abject violence is made acceptable by a narrative that says it is done for moral reasons.⁷⁴⁸ Rapoport and terrorism studies professor Yonah Alexander, prior to September 11, 2001, examined a number of ways that a group could justify terrorism on moral grounds by invoking religious or secular reasons, or

⁷⁴³ LaFree is also the director of the National Center for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) at the University of Maryland.

⁷⁴⁴ Morris and LaFree, “Country-Level Predictors of Terrorism,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of the Criminology of Terrorism*, 110.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁶ Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad*, 72-88.

⁷⁴⁷ United States of America, Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Radicalization of Global Islamist Terrorists*, by Marc Sageman (Washington, DC, 2007), 4.

⁷⁴⁸ Albert Bandura, “Psychological Mechanisms of Aggression,” in *Human Ethology: Claims and Limits of a New Discipline*, ed. M. Von Cranach, K. Froppa, W. Lepenies, and D. Ploog (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 351.

transferring blame onto the dehumanized victim.⁷⁴⁹ Terrorism transforms the opponent into a despised object as, Ramakrishna also notes.⁷⁵⁰ Political terrorism expert Grant Wardlaw also identifies terrorism as a moral problem and sees political terrorism as a way to achieve a disproportionate amount of power and influence.⁷⁵¹

Moral reasons might include the need to right a real or perceived wrong. One motivation or cause of terrorism that appears in multiple scholarly works is revenge, or vengeance.⁷⁵² Sociologist Graeme Newman and criminologist James Lynch argue that vengeance is a possible common terrorist ideology, where violent vengeance defends honor (an important part of identity) by overcoming injustice and powerlessness. Thus, the person seeking vengeance has violence become a part of who s/he is, lifting all limits on the severity of the violence.⁷⁵³ Psychology professor Amy Cota-McKinley and fellow researchers found that vengeance also takes its toll on the person: “vengeance can have many irrational and destructive consequences for the person seeking vengeance as well as for the target. The person seeking vengeance will often compromise his or her own integrity, social standing, and personal safety for the sake of revenge.”⁷⁵⁴ The moment of vengeance and possible irrationality may have implications for observing patterns of violence. Shore finds that “pattern breaks” in a person’s normal or routine behavior show what that person values most at that moment.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁴⁹ David Rapoport and Yonah Alexander, eds., *The Morality of Terrorism: Religious and Secular Justifications* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, xiii.

⁷⁵¹ Grant Wardlaw, *Political Terrorism: Theory, Tactics and Countermeasures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁷⁵² Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman, *Political Terrorism*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1988).

⁷⁵³ G.R. Newman and M.J. Lynch, “From Feuding to Terrorism: The Ideology of Vengeance,” *Contemporary Crises* 11 (1987): 223-242.

⁷⁵⁴ A. Cota-McKinley, W. Woody, and P. Bell, “Vengeance: Effects of Gender, Age and Religious Background,” *Aggressive Behavior*, 2001, 27, 343.

⁷⁵⁵ Zachary Shore, *A Sense of the Enemy: The High-Stakes History of Reading Your Rival's Mind* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 8.

Vengeance, in addition to being a source of consternation and a pattern break, does have its perks including fulfilling various goals, correcting a perceived injustice and preventing future such incidents, and restoring the person's self-worth.⁷⁵⁶ Here, there are some differentiations for men and women. Cota-McKinley et al. found that men were generally more positive on violent action than women, and young people are far more accepting than older.⁷⁵⁷ Vengeance is perhaps so pervasive because it is not specific to terrorism. When a common person is presented with a perceived injustice, s/he is quick to think violence is permissive even if it results in loss of life and/or collateral damage and is used before other options are exhausted.⁷⁵⁸

Special Consideration: Homegrown Terrorists

Homegrown terrorism, a label rejected by this thesis, is not a 21st century phenomenon. Vidino, looking at homegrown terrorism in the United States, finds evidence that this trend—while increasing lately—has been around for three decades.⁷⁵⁹ Similar to Neumann's findings, Jenkins found that, in 46 homegrown cases in the United States, most recruited themselves into the role, a clear majority.⁷⁶⁰ The others supported terrorist organizations overseas, perhaps fought on one of the frontlines, and concocted plots against the US homeland.⁷⁶¹ Journalist and security expert Peter Bergen, examining more than 300 homegrown terrorists in the US since September 11, 2001, points to their "desire for recognition or belonging" and recommends looking at early stages of radicalization that can be interrupted prior to violence, if these can be tracked.⁷⁶² One critique he levels is that

⁷⁵⁶ Cota-McKinley, Woody, and Bell, "Vengeance," 27.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid.,

⁷⁵⁸ Andrew Silke, "Fire of Iolau: The Role of State Countermeasures in Causing Terrorism and What Needs to Be Done," in *Terrorism Studies: A Reader*, ed. John Horgan and Kurt Braddock (Oxford: Routledge, 2012), 353.

⁷⁵⁹ Vidino, "Homegrown Jihadist Terrorism in the United States," 470.

⁷⁶⁰ Brian Michael Jenkins, "Would-Be Warriors: Incidents of Jihadist Terrorist Radicalization in the United States Since September 11, 2001," *Occasional Paper 292* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2010).

⁷⁶¹ Ibid., 893.

⁷⁶² Bergen, *United States of Jihad*, 16.

information on homegrown terrorists was not adequately understood or shared, something that could perhaps be overcome by “making smarter judgments about information collected through established, legal means” and possibly with the aid of criminology best practices.⁷⁶³ Strategy and terrorism expert Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen, in examining the literature on homegrown terrorism, amalgamates three categories of approaches to determine radicalization.⁷⁶⁴ First, French sociological accounts look at macro-cultural and socioeconomic factors, even for those well integrated into their communities.⁷⁶⁵ Second, Social Movement and Network theories look at how a person is exposed to radical ideologies and comes to hold those beliefs as his/her own. Lastly, largely atheoretical accounts look at the backgrounds of known terrorists to ascertain motivations and find pathways, or ways the person has framed the situation. Rather than competing theories, Dalgaard-Nielsen sees these as complementary to explain processes in mid-level analysis.

One factor in homegrown terrorism could include immigrants and the generations that follow them. Gartenstein-Ross and Grossman conducted two case studies to look deeper into the radicalization process in the United States and United Kingdom.⁷⁶⁶ In one, they found that twenty of their case studies were more susceptible to radical activity when they were able to notice a divide between their religion and new homeland, which would likely cause some level of anxiety.⁷⁶⁷ In the other involving 117 homegrown terrorists in the United States and United Kingdom, Gartenstein-Ross and Grossman found six potentially common factors in radicalization: adopting a legalistic interpretation of Islam; trusting only select religious authorities; perceived schism between Islam and West, low tolerance for perceived

⁷⁶³ Ibid., 217.

⁷⁶⁴ Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen, (2010). “Violent radicalization in Europe: What we know and what we do not know.” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 33(9): 79.

⁷⁶⁵ Neighborhood with low socioeconomic status is a robust indicator of juvenile delinquency. Kubrin, “Communities and Delinquency,” in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*.

⁷⁶⁶ Daveed Gartenstein-Ross and Laura Grossman, *Homegrown Terrorists In The U.S. and U.K.: An Empirical Examination of The Radicalization Process* (Washington, DC: FDD Press of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, 2009).

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid.

theological deviance; attempts to impose religious beliefs on others; and political radicalization.⁷⁶⁸ The failure to properly integrate into a new society, discussed previously, may have implications for radicalization and the group that forms around this grievance in their new home. This, as a source of terrorism for Muslims, was cited in numerous studies including Neumann's study on the radicalization of migrants in Europe who go onto join ISIS.⁷⁶⁹ In particular, residential segregation, sometimes self-segregation, seems to play a greater role in radicalization than enclavisation.⁷⁷⁰ Also in this area, diaspora expert Khachig Tölölyan believes that the terrorist is socially constructed by society around him, which uses stories of the past to create current calls to action.⁷⁷¹ This relates to the mass level of radicalization, advanced by Kleinmann, where societal forces or strains affecting large populations weigh on individuals and their groups in his study of homegrown Sunni militants in the US.⁷⁷² There is no reason to suspect that the pressure and stain of migration, acculturation, and assimilation would not be affecting youths who become terrorists, in addition to those who simply become violent.⁷⁷³

Homegrown terrorism may not be new, and it is not terribly unique to the other types covered in this literature review. There may be greater utility in looking at motivations and risk factors for groups and lone wolves, especially if migration is a concern.

⁷⁶⁸ Gartenstein-Ross, Goodman, and Grossman, "Terrorism in the West 2008."

⁷⁶⁹ Neumann, *Radicalized*; Silber and Bhatt, *Radicalization in the West*; Brian Michael Jenkins, *Building an Army of Believers: Jihadist Radicalization and Recruitment* (RAND Corporation, 2007); Netherlands Ministry of Justice (2004) "The Ministerial Integration Conference on 'Turning Principles into Actions'", *The Netherlands' Ministry of Justice* (2004).

⁷⁷⁰ See iCoCo, "A Window on Extremism: Young People in Hounslow – A Study of Identity, Social Pressures, Extremism and Social Exclusion," 2007; M. Macey, "Islamic Political Radicalism in Britain; Muslim Men in Bradford," in *Islamic Political Radicalism: A European Perspective*, ed. T. Abbas (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007); M. Mahmood, "Review Essay: Whither Political Islam? Understanding the Modern Jihad," *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 1 (2005): 148-155.

⁷⁷¹ Khachig Tololyan, "Cultural Narrative and the Motivation of the Terrorists," in *Inside Terrorist Organizations*, ed. David C. Rapoport (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1988), 217.

⁷⁷² S.M. Kleinmann, "Radicalization of Homegrown Sunni Militants in the United States: Comparing Converts and Non-Converts," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 35 (2012): 278-297.

⁷⁷³ This may not be causal, however. In a sample of 1,113 young people in Denmark, Goli and Rezaei did not find a link between failed integration and radicalism. See Goli and Rezaei, "House of War."

Concluding Thoughts

A great deal of terrorism research focuses on behaviors and/or beliefs.⁷⁷⁴ Neumann, rather than pick one side, argues that there is “an inevitable relationship” between these two and sees ideological and behavioral change resulting from social processes.⁷⁷⁵ And as Lombroso says, “there is no crime which is not rooted in multiple causes.”⁷⁷⁶ One recent study by social psychologists Willem Koomen and Joop van der Pligt compiles a review of an expansive number of studies. From this, the authors create a theoretical framework covering the vast majority of processes mentioned by criminology and terrorism in the study of radicalization, or the adoption of an extreme identity in many different types of groups.⁷⁷⁷ Individual factors driving radicalization include personality (authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and sensation seeking) and demographics (socioeconomic status, education, gender, and age).⁷⁷⁸ The individual level interacts with social identity processes, including in-group favoritism, social distance, out-group homogeneity, and stereotypes, possibly leading to issues with self-esteem, a quest to belong, and heightened intergroup emotions.⁷⁷⁹ They find that stereotypes and prejudice lead to discrimination, reduced contact and isolation, and a sense of relative deprivation (that might relate to an actual economic position), which makes the person feel threatened.⁷⁸⁰ Threats impact the interpersonal and intergroup dynamic, giving rise to different types of radicalization. The cognitive and emotional effects of these threats have very similar serious consequences and create stress, regardless of the ideology or orientation of the group.⁷⁸¹ Cognitive effects include a sense of injustice, frustration, dissatisfaction, and

⁷⁷⁴ Akins and Winfree, Jr., “Social Learning Theory and Becoming a Terrorist: New Challenges for a General Theory,” in LaFree and Freilich, *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism*, 135.

⁷⁷⁵ Neumann, “The Trouble with Radicalization,” 87.

⁷⁷⁶ Cesare Lombroso, *Criminal Man*, trans. Mary Gibson and Nichole Hahn Rafter (London: Drake University Press, 2006).

⁷⁷⁷ Willem Koomen and Joop van der Pligt, *The Psychology of Radicalization and Terrorism* (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁷⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁷⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁷⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 47.

uncertainty.⁷⁸² Emotional effects include fear, heightened moral emotions, anger, contempt, aversion, and hate, which lead to the intensification of an ideology, aggression, and revenge.⁷⁸³ These are compounded by culture (hierarchy, violence, honor, and uncertainty avoidance), social climate (social provisions, equity, and stability), and catalyst events (violence, insults, and armed conflicts), which can also impact polarization, radicalization, and the intensification of beliefs.⁷⁸⁴ Koomen and van der Pligt find ideology and religion to play a special role in the transition from conflict to radicalization and terrorism.⁷⁸⁵ Ideology, and sometimes religion, helps the individual and group create a sense of coherence and order, instill certainty and structure, delineate between good and bad, provide a sense of moral superiority, and creates a script for intolerance for outsiders.⁷⁸⁶ Three things are operating in the move from extremism to violence.⁷⁸⁷ The group is providing social support, rewards, and benefits, all of which can be reinforced through family relations. Within the small group, members are experiencing isolation and groupthink, while listening to leaders and role models. Lastly, the individual is cognitively restructuring the situation to allow for the dehumanization of victims, justification for the horror, and the absolution of blame and responsibility.

The development of a theory about terrorism—that does not replicate some of the shortcomings—needs to be “general enough to address the range of terrorism...narrow enough to usefully analyze a specific aspect of the subject,” according to Schmid.⁷⁸⁸ As a result, it needs to involve the social sciences in a multidisciplinary, and to a certain extent interdisciplinary, way.⁷⁸⁹ In the context of studying “homegrown terrorism” in Northern

⁷⁸² Ibid., 47.

⁷⁸³ Ibid., 68; the authors cite smaller examples of the physiology of stress on pg. 38.

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid., 90.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., 146.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid., 169.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., 202.

⁷⁸⁸ Schmid, *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, 202.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid.

Virginia, I can find no better comprehensive framework than the one advanced by Koomen and van der Pligt, though their book came out many years after the design of this thesis. Each of their processes, as well as the other theories mentioned in this chapter, are reflected in the model presented in Chapter 2. However, the framework advanced by Koomen and van der Pligt has not been tested; it is merely the compilation of theories—albeit a superb compilation. My work builds on the many theorists mentioned in this chapter, but especially the comprehensive framework by Koomen and van der Pligt. My framework of these complex processes operating in different ways across the life course undergoes three tests or case studies and incorporates statistical data on behaviors that are linked to delinquency. In testing my hypotheses against El-Khalifi, Chesser, and Snow, I will be able to see if these many mechanisms are indeed operating in a limited sample. Special attention is paid in my methodology to childhood and adolescence, with identifiable variables that are sometimes correlated with delinquency. As discussed in the conclusion, future research should apply Koomen and van der Pligt's framework, and my own, to other geographic areas and conditions.

Chapter 4: Amine El-Khalifi

Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, a Moroccan immigrant, was arrested on February 17, 2012 for attempting to conduct a suicide bomb operation at the US Capitol in Washington, DC on behalf of al-Qaeda. To kill civilians and politicians, the 29-year-old was armed with an explosive vest and a MAC-10 automatic weapon. Unbeknownst to him, El-Khalifi's weapons and network were fakes, fabricated by the FBI as part of a sting operation. Before he could exit a parking garage and attack, El-Khalifi was arrested. He later pled guilty to one count of attempted use of a weapon of mass destruction against US property and is currently serving a 30-year prison term.⁷⁹⁰

This chapter examines the case of Amine El-Khalifi, a man who desperately sought to be part of an elite extremist group. El-Khalifi's narrative starts in 2009 when he first drew attention to himself on Facebook at the alleged beginning of his radicalization. At the conclusion of that section is a brief analysis of how well variables from terrorism studies explain El-Khalifi's radicalization to the point of violence. Then, I rewind the clock and tell his story from birth up until the point he was likely fully radicalized. For matters of readability, not all variables appear in this chapter. Variables possibly indicating radicalization are mentioned throughout and documented in Appendix B. El-Khalifi's chapter ends with a modified Lakatosian comparison of terrorism variables against youth violence variables.

Data used in El-Khalifi's case study predominantly comes from two sources: 44 court files and news articles constituting about 170 documents.⁷⁹¹ However, there are three limitations to this data. First, I was not permitted to speak with or write to El-Khalifi or members of his family. While researching El-Khalifi, I met with Kenneth P. Troccoli, Esq.,

⁷⁹⁰ The Associated Press, "Man Sentenced to 30 Years in Capitol Bomb Plot," *NY Daily News*, September 14, 2012, accessed June 12, 2015, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/amine-el-khalifi-sentenced-30-years-capitol-bomb-plot-article-1.1159847>.

⁷⁹¹ United States of America v. Amine El Khalifi. No.1:12-cr-00037-JCC. (Eastern District of Virginia February 12, 2012).

the lead defense lawyer and Assistant Federal Public Defender. Troccoli declined to let me communicate with his client or family, even on issues unrelated to the plot, citing a possible adverse effect on an appeal hearing.⁷⁹² Second, the psychological evaluation of El-Khalifi is sealed under US national security laws, considered classified, and not releasable under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA).⁷⁹³ Third, I reached out to approximately one dozen individuals who would have known him in the United States and either did not receive a response or was told all information had been reported in the media. Thus, this chapter contains all available data on Amine El-Khalifi at the time of publication.

The “Start” of El-Khalifi’s Radicalization

Right at the age when young men seem most susceptible, El-Khalifi came to the attention of the FBI circa 2009 at age 26 when he answered a Facebook post “to recruit Muslim holy warriors” and sought to be part of the “jihad.”⁷⁹⁴ While the post was actually planted by the FBI, this was El-Khalifi’s first known participation in a virtual radical group.⁷⁹⁵ According to the FBI, El-Khalifi’s radicalization began online and was completed by human contact.⁷⁹⁶ Prior to this online activity, El-Khalifi was not on any known watch lists and was not being tracked as a potential threat to national security.

From 2009 onward, El-Khalifi sought out certain types of Internet materials and online conversations that likely began to cement his radical thinking. El-Khalifi proceeded to selectively post and “like” various al-Qaeda videos on Facebook, sympathizing with radical groups, expressing support for radical extremist causes, and drawing further attention for his

⁷⁹² Kenneth Troccoli, “E-mail to Author,” *e-mail*, February 26, 2015.

⁷⁹³ Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 47; Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00027-JCC at 97.

⁷⁹⁴ Paul R. Ehrlich and Liu Jianguo, “Some Roots of Terrorism,” *Population and Environment* 24, no. 2 (2002), accessed November 24, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27503829>; Associated Press, “Man Sentenced to 30 Years.”

⁷⁹⁵ United States of America v. Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, No.1:12-cr-00037-JCC, 196 (Eastern District of Virginia September 7, 2012).

⁷⁹⁶ Stevens and Neumann, “Countering Online Radicalisation.”

social media behavior.⁷⁹⁷ Online, he exposed himself to radical voices and watched videos about Western atrocities in the Middle East. The repeated viewing of horrific materials may have triggered psychological effects from global violence, as well as feelings of persecution, humiliation, and oppression.⁷⁹⁸ El-Khalifi seemed to believe in the conspiracy theory that the West is out to attack all Muslims, repeating these rumors and simplifying the enemy.⁷⁹⁹

In July 2010, El-Khalifi responded to an Afghan terrorist seeking assistance on Facebook: “if you want to join the Mujahidin, contact me.”⁸⁰⁰ During the summer of 2010, El-Khalifi posted a video of al-Qaeda in Iraq leader Abu Al-Zarqawi and the beheading of an American, as well as “numerous videos of suicide bombings and calls for Muslims to attack the West.”⁸⁰¹ After monitoring El-Khalifi’s Facebook replies, the FBI became concerned about his potential radicalization and reached out to their informants within extremist circles.⁸⁰² The primary criminal complaint in the *United States v. Amine El-Khalifi* begins here, January 2011, when their informants shared some concerning news. Not just virtually, El-Khalifi was hanging out in person with individuals who were on the FBI’s radar. On January 11, 2011 in Arlington, Virginia, El-Khalifi was given the chance to play with some of their weapons: an automatic AK-47, two revolvers, and ammunition. These individuals became El-Khalifi’s first known contact with radical associates and the beginning of his physical exposure to violence.⁸⁰³ El-Khalifi, trusting these people around him, spoke freely.

⁷⁹⁷ Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 281.

⁷⁹⁸ Frank W. Putnam, “Televised Trauma and Viewer PTSD: Implications for Prevention,” *Psychiatry* 65, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 310-312.

⁷⁹⁹ The Associated Press, “Capitol Bomb Plot Foiled, Says FBI,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, February 19, 2012, accessed April 15, 2014, <http://www.smh.com.au/world/capitol-bomb-plot-foiled-says-fbi-20120218-1tfu3.html>.

⁸⁰⁰ Del Quentin Wilber, “Inside an FBI Anti-Terrorist Sting Operation,” *The Washington Post*, November 25, 2012, accessed October 04, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/crime/inside-an-fbi-anti-terrorist-sting-operation/2012/11/25/0838eee0-2f55-11e2-a30e-5ca76eeec857_story.html; Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 235; El-Khalifi claims to not recall the post, but a confidential informant shared this with the US government who, in turn, used it to build the case against him.

⁸⁰¹ Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 235. Al-Zarqawi is since deceased.

⁸⁰² *Ibid.*, 47. There is a discrepancy as to whether El-Khalifi’s early meetings, even before the FBI reached out to their informants, were made possible by federal agents. Regardless of this part of the timeline, he was meeting with FBI agents soon after he began to engage in person.

⁸⁰³ McCauley and Moskalenko, “Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Toward Terrorism.”

With aggression, El-Khalifi said that his group needed to prepare for war.⁸⁰⁴ He voiced outrage at attacks on a defenseless opponent, his Muslim brothers.⁸⁰⁵ Likely having adopted extremist ideals, El-Khalifi shared online a desire to satisfy the jihad aspect of the Islamic faith by actively participating in the Holy War. He had cut any remaining ties with past friends and was limiting social interaction to these like-minded people, while withdrawing from usual (non-religious) activities.⁸⁰⁶ With a warrant, the FBI tapped El-Khalifi's phones, tracked his use of the Internet, and followed his movements, each of which confirmed their concerns about his possible radicalization.⁸⁰⁷

In February 2011, El-Khalifi posted an image of “a man on horseback silhouetted against the burning ruins of a skyscraper and carrying a black flag associated with Al Qaeda and related terrorist organizations” on Facebook.⁸⁰⁸ On March 27, he posted and “liked” a message allegedly posted by Osama Bin Laden that called for the US's destruction.⁸⁰⁹ Seeing these, the FBI posted a Craigslist advertisement for a Toyota Prius in El-Khalifi's area, knowing he was looking to buy and hoping to engage him. Under the ruse of this car sale, an FBI agent named “Hussien” and El-Khalifi met on September 2, 2011 in what would be the first of 22 meetings.⁸¹⁰ In addition to discussing the Prius, the two chatted in Arabic about their home countries and El-Khalifi shared his negative views on the Jews, Israel, and the United States. Building the relationship, Hussien mainly nodded in agreement.⁸¹¹ El-Khalifi also likely shared his financial difficulties that he had been experiencing acutely for the past

⁸⁰⁴ Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 1.

⁸⁰⁵ Associated Press, “Capitol Bomb Plot Foiled;” Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-mj-87; John Miller, “Inside the Plans of Capitol Bomb Suspect,” *CBS News*, February 18, 2012, accessed November 16, 2014, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/inside-the-plans-of-capitol-bomb-suspect>.

⁸⁰⁶ Associated Press, “Capitol Bomb Plot Foiled;” Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 196; “FBI 'Anti-terror' Arrest Near US Capitol,” *BBC News*, February 18, 2012, accessed October 20, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-17080940>; Wilber, “Inside an FBI Anti-Terrorist Sting Operation”; El-Khalifi had no known girlfriend, significant other, or children at this time.

⁸⁰⁷ Wilber, “Inside an FBI Anti-Terrorist Sting Operation.”

⁸⁰⁸ Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 235.

⁸⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸¹⁰ Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 72.

⁸¹¹ Wilber, “Inside an FBI Anti-Terrorist Sting Operation.”

few months, and over the past several years. The two parted, planning to meet the next day to finalize the car deal, which El-Khalifi bought. Their friendship began to grow, primarily around cars and religion, and the two would meet over meals paid for by Hussien. Over the months that would follow, Hussien often gave El-Khalifi between \$100 and \$200 to help with food, rent, and other items.

Eventually their friendly conversations turned to El-Khalifi's interest in weapons training and overseas jihad in Afghanistan, Somalia, or the Philippines.⁸¹² Realizing his increased willingness to act, the FBI took steps to control El-Khalifi's plans and gave him a powerful opportunity.⁸¹³ Hussien presented himself as someone who had access to the inner extremist circles El-Khalifi desperately wanted and promised to make trusted introductions.⁸¹⁴ There was also a second car sale, a Volkswagen, around this time. Hussien involved El-Khalifi in several car sales, one that resulted in a \$200 commission.

By December 1, 2011, El-Khalifi was ready to take further steps and needed the help of others.⁸¹⁵ El-Khalifi traveled with Hussien to Baltimore, Maryland to meet with "Yusuf," a person who Hussien promised could be trusted as a fellow extremist.⁸¹⁶ Yusuf was also an undercover FBI agent. During this meeting, El-Khalifi was again given the opportunity to play with an automatic weapon, which he thought belonged to Yusuf. El-Khalifi expressed that he was very interested in creating and deepening an association with extremists (especially al-Qaeda), and wished to carry out an attack.⁸¹⁷ El-Khalifi briefed Yusuf on his idea to bomb an office building occupied by the US military in Alexandria, Virginia. After feeling the weight of the weapon, El-Khalifi showed signs of anger and confided in Yusuf his

⁸¹² Ibid.; Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 196.

⁸¹³ Javier Jordan and Fernando M. Mañas, "External Signs of Radicalization and Jihadist Militancy," trans. Peter Billerbeck, *Athena Intelligence Journal* 2, no. 1 (March 3, 2007): accessed July 6, 2015, <https://www.ict.org.il/Article.aspx?ID=736>.

⁸¹⁴ Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC.

⁸¹⁵ Ibid.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid., 109.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid.

desire to kill Americans “face to face.”⁸¹⁸ The December 1, 2011 meeting was the first time El-Khalifi seriously supported violence as a viable option—indeed a provoked reaction—for the errors of the West.

A few days later, El-Khalifi suggested a different target. Speaking with Hussien, El-Khalifi floated the idea of attacking a synagogue in Alexandria on December 8, 2011.⁸¹⁹ He was obsessed with talking about the injustices of the West and Israel against Muslims.⁸²⁰ With his words, El-Khalifi was dehumanizing his potential Jewish victims.⁸²¹ As with most of his rants, El-Khalifi derived some moral support and sense of approval for his hatred from Hussien, who nodded along as he had done in the past.⁸²² However, Hussien did give El-Khalifi pause by questioning the death of civilians. Upon further reflection, El-Khalifi decided that he might target an Army general instead, deciding to research possible locations. When asked if Yusuf could be brought into the plan, El-Khalifi agreed.

Approximately one week later on December 15, 2011, El-Khalifi went back to the idea of attacking an unnamed government building, looking at nearby locations in Alexandria, Virginia, where high-ranking military officials likely were.⁸²³ He shared a plan with Hussien to place a bomb at an unnamed restaurant located next to the building. Following El-Khalifi’s suggestion, the two agreed to go to the restaurant the following week to conduct surveillance, which likely did not occur. On December 22, El-Khalifi met with Hussien at his home on Wyndham Circle in Alexandria to discuss another potential target, the Aria Pizzeria restaurant in Washington, DC.⁸²⁴ The two visited Aria Pizzeria, discussed plans to leave a bomb in a jacket behind a chair, and asked a waiter when the restaurant was busiest

⁸¹⁸ Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-mj-87.

⁸¹⁹ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 109.

⁸²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2, 196; Associated Press, “Capitol Bomb Plot Foiled.”

⁸²¹ See Bandura, “Mechanisms of moral disengagement.”

⁸²² Associated Press, “Man Sentenced to 30 Years.”

⁸²³ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 109.

⁸²⁴ *Ibid.*, 118.

– lunchtime. El-Khalifi told Hussien that he planned to bomb this restaurant at lunchtime, but did not share a specific date.

A little more than three weeks later on January 7, 2012 at his apartment, El-Khalifi met with Hussien to construct a bomb for the restaurant. Hussien brought a cast booster that, when modified with a detonation source or cord, could become an improvised explosive device (IED).⁸²⁵ El-Khalifi touched the cast booster, evaluating its use against Aria Pizzeria, and asked questions about its magnitude. Now that their extremist bond had deepened, Hussien shared with El-Khalifi that he was an al-Qaeda operative, a group El-Khalifi desperately wanted to join. Out of this meeting, El-Khalifi walked away believing his restaurant bombing would be part of a larger al-Qaeda operation that would also include a second attack on a military target.⁸²⁶ He was now—or would be upon completion of his mission—part of a cohesive and ideological group. Hussien and Yusuf discouraged El-Khalifi from speaking to others about their network and plan, further limiting his outside contact.⁸²⁷ Should he violate their trust, El-Khalifi was warned that he would be out of the group.⁸²⁸ As he became more psychologically involved with his new group, El-Khalifi no longer viewed the attack as optional. The Quran convinced him that he had “a religious duty to take action,” a belief he had been coming around to for quite some time.⁸²⁹ Being a member of al-Qaeda meant El-Khalifi would try to regain the roots of Islam and receive the rewards reaped by those most devoted.⁸³⁰ He believed that Allah had called on him to carry out this mission.

El-Khalifi then offered to purchase the materials for the military target attack. The next day, January 8, 2012, El-Khalifi bought two jackets and a cell phone for the restaurant

⁸²⁵ Ibid., 109.

⁸²⁶ Ibid.

⁸²⁷ Ibid., 196.

⁸²⁸ Ibid.

⁸²⁹ Ibid.

⁸³⁰ Cary Docter, “Suicide Attack on U.S. Capitol Foiled,” *FOX6Now.com*, February 17, 2012, accessed April 6, 2014, <http://fox6now.com/2012/02/17/suicide-attack-on-u-s-capitol-foiled/>.

and military attacks, and agreed to buy “two more cell phones, nails, and glue” to amplify the military attack.⁸³¹ This is significant because, for the first time, he was actively and suddenly acquiring weapons. El-Khalifi planned to leave the US using fraudulent documents after his attack, though there is no evidence he made any actual arrangements.

On January 15, 2012, El-Khalifi and Hussien drove to a quarry in West Virginia to meet Yusuf.⁸³² En route, they stopped so El-Khalifi could purchase more nails for the bomb at a Home Depot hardware store. Dramatically abandoning the restaurant plot, El-Khalifi then told Hussien that he would prefer to die a martyr:

I've thought about this a long time...Listen, I'm going to go it alone. You're not going to go with me. I'm going to put everything on my body and inside a real place...and then I'm going to explode...I got thick [nails], not thin ones. The one [that is] going to make damage. Don't be nervous man. Come on, man.⁸³³

His target would be the place with “those suits. Those heads,” the US Capitol Building in Washington, DC, saying, “I want those people.”⁸³⁴ Sensing some possible pushback, El-Khalifi told Hussien not to question his plan. He then added that he would be happy to kill 30 people, which may have related to the payload of one of the guns he previously held.⁸³⁵

By this point, El-Khalifi was showing signs of an increased intolerance of ambiguity and an absolutist or polar view of morality.⁸³⁶ He was now willing to seriously hurt civilians at the epicenter of American politics, a conclusion he seems to have arrived at largely on his

⁸³¹ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 109.

⁸³² Ibid.

⁸³³ Thomas, Levine, Date, and Cloherty, “EXCLUSIVE: How the FBI Foiled.”

⁸³⁴ Susan Candiotti, “Undercover FBI Sting Nets Alleged Jihadist,” *WWLP.com*, January 20, 2015, accessed April 26, 2015, <http://wwlp.com/2015/01/20/undercover-fbi-sting-nets-alleged-jihadist/>; Daily Mail Reporter, “I Love Allah... That's It': Failed Capitol Bomber Arrested in FBI Sting Refuses to Say Sorry as He Is Sentenced to the Maximum 30 Years,” *Mail Online*, September 15, 2012, accessed July 3 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2203573/Amine-El-Khalifi-gets-30-year-sentence-Capitol-bomb-plot.html>; Thomas, Levine, Date, and Cloherty, “EXCLUSIVE: How the FBI Foiled.”

⁸³⁵ Wilber, “Inside an FBI Anti-Terrorist Sting Operation.” The FBI claims that every time El-Khalifi discussed an attack, Hussien asked him if he was sure and if there were peaceful alternatives. This is a process by which the person of interest can deescalate and avoid (unbeknownst to them) being charged.

⁸³⁶ “FBI 'Anti-terror' Arrest Near US Capitol.”

own.⁸³⁷ El-Khalifi was exhibiting extreme religious intolerance and demonstrating a capacity to suppress both instinctive and learned moral constraints against harming innocents. But, this may have been about salvation. El-Khalifi viewed his sacrifice as one way to rectify his deviant lifestyle and “wipe away his past sins.”⁸³⁸ For his past indiscretions (to be covered later in this chapter), El-Khalifi was extremely concerned with his soul being “saved.”⁸³⁹ El-Khalifi said, “This is not about happiness. This is about Allah. This is not about, you know, us anymore. It’s about Allah...I’m done. I’m done. My work is done in this life.”⁸⁴⁰ As he worked through this realization, El-Khalifi’s cognitive political extremism was likely cementing, which deepened his commitment to his religious revolution and emotionally detached him from the consequences of his actions.⁸⁴¹ There was no evidence he felt any remorse or empathy for the blood that would be on his hands.⁸⁴² El-Khalifi’s death would be both a self-righteous commitment and a sacrifice.⁸⁴³

Arriving at the quarry, El-Khalifi handed the military grade glue, cell phones, and nails, as well as the IED parts given to him by Hussien, over to Yusuf.⁸⁴⁴ Briefed on the new plan to attack the Capitol, Yusuf then had El-Khalifi try on an inoperable suicide jacket, as well as dial a cell phone that would detonate a bomb placed in the quarry, all FBI hoaxes. As he watched the bomb explode, El-Khalifi requested a bigger bomb, capable of killing more

⁸³⁷ Sari Horwitz, William Wan, and Del Quentin Wilber, “Federal Agents Arrest Amine El-Khalifi; He Allegedly Planned to Bomb Capitol,” *The Washington Post*, accessed June 30, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/federal-agents-arrest-man-who-allegedly-planned-suicide-bombing-on-us-capitol/2012/02/17/gIQAtYZ7JR_story.html.

⁸³⁸ Daily Mail Reporter, “I Love Allah... That’s It.”

⁸³⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁰ Candiotti, “Undercover FBI Sting;” Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 196.

⁸⁴¹ “FBI ‘Anti-terror’ Arrest Near US Capitol.”

⁸⁴² The Associated Press, “Capitol Bomb Sting Suspect Waives Court Hearing,” *CBS News*, February 22, 2012, accessed October 19, 2015, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/capitol-bomb-sting-suspect-waives-court-hearing>; Thomas, Levine, Date, and Cloherty, “EXCLUSIVE: How the FBI Foiled;” Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 196.

⁸⁴³ Richard Reeve, “Amine El-Khalifi: Capitol Bomb Plot Arrest Capped Yearlong Probe,” *WJLA*, February 18, 2012, accessed November 28, 2015, <http://wjla.com/news/local/amine-el-khalifi-capitol-bomb-plot-arrest-capped-yearlong-probe--72773>; Horgan notes this lack of remorse or guilt as a psychopathic tendency that is seen in some terrorists. Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 49.

⁸⁴⁴ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 109.

people: “Brother, this is not strong enough.”⁸⁴⁵ On the car ride home, El-Khalifi told Hussien that February 17, 2012 would be the date of the attack and to share this with Yusuf.⁸⁴⁶

A few days later on January 18, 2012, El-Khalifi reiterated to Hussien his desire for a larger bomb, questioning whether it would be possible to take down the entire US Capitol.⁸⁴⁷ A little over a week later on January 28, El-Khalifi and Hussien drove to the US Capitol to conduct surveillance, choosing a time when and location where El-Khalifi would enter the building.⁸⁴⁸ El-Khalifi requested more explosives to tape to his body and verbally rehearsed how he would respond if approached by police officers before he was inside. El-Khalifi reaffirmed his desire to die in the attack and said he was no longer making plans to leave the US. He had decided against a martyrdom video.

The final surveillance was done on February 6, 2012, when El-Khalifi and Hussien drove back to the US Capitol from Alexandria, walking around the west and south sides.⁸⁴⁹ El-Khalifi then requested a back-up plan, should he be intercepted by police, and asked that Hussien remotely detonate his suicide vest in the event of any problems. El-Khalifi also asked Hussien to procure a gun for him to shoot any officers who he encountered. This issue of the police continued to weigh on El-Khalifi’s mind for several days, prompting more requests. Around February 12, he sought clarification on the type of gun he would receive, as well as asked if Hussien could send someone to do additional surveillance on the best place to enter the Capitol. After discussing the other planned attack on the military installation, the two agreed they would meet with Yusuf on February 14 for final preparations.

On Valentine’s Day, El-Khalifi and Hussien drove to a hotel room in Alexandria to meet Yusuf. On the car ride over, El-Khalifi and Hussien discussed the two attacks, and

⁸⁴⁵ “WATCH: Video From FBI Sting That Caught U.S. Capitol Bomb Plotter,” *Fox News Insider*, January 17, 2015, accessed December 05, 2015, <http://insider.foxnews.com/2015/01/17/watch-video-2012-fbi-sting-operation-caught-us-capitol-bomb-plotter>.

⁸⁴⁶ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 109.

⁸⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

Hussien shared the al-Qaeda leadership’s plans to release a video claiming credit for the atrocities. El-Khalifi, preferring to stay anonymous, requested he be referred to only as “al maghrabi” in the video. Perhaps, he could be regarded as a selfless and heroic freedom fighter, whose sacrifice corrected a moral injustice and alleviated the repression of Muslims by the West.⁸⁵⁰ El-Khalifi also believed his actions would make the world better for Muslims.⁸⁵¹ By this point in his radicalization, El-Khalifi was likely one with the organization.

Once inside the hotel room, El-Khalifi was given an inoperable MAC-10 automatic rifle, the weapon he planned to use on the day of the attack. El-Khalifi carried it around, practicing pulling the trigger and pausing to look in the mirror at his reflection. A suicide jacket, also inoperable, was given to El-Khalifi to try on, which he did while pretending to



El-Khalifi practicing shooting the MAC-10 in the hotel room. Source: ABC News.

fire his weapon. El-Khalifi exclaimed: “Let’s do it man, I don’t want to keep thinking about it too much.”⁸⁵² El-

Khalifi practiced detonating his device by dialing a cell phone.⁸⁵³ He revisited

his plan to enter the US Capitol through a specific door, asserting he would shoot

the police officer at the door to guarantee he would die inside the building. Around this time and by this meeting, El-Khalifi had settled his worldly affairs. He negotiated for and believed he had secured money—between \$500 and \$1,000 a month—to be sent to his family in

⁸⁵⁰ Barakat, “Capitol Bomb Plot Suspect Amine El-Khalifi;” Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 248.

⁸⁵¹ “FBI 'Anti-terror' Arrest Near US Capitol.”

⁸⁵² Thomas, Levine, Date, and Cloherty, “EXCLUSIVE: How the FBI Foiled.” Studying Italian militants, Passerini found they were fascinated by action and were not interested in “mere talking.” Quoted in Donatella della Porta, “On individual motivations in underground political organizations,” in Horgan, *Terrorism Studies*, 236.

⁸⁵³ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 109.

Morocco in exchange for his martyrdom operation.⁸⁵⁴ He also received a promise for \$4300 in outstanding rent payments, allowing him to die debt free (an important Islamic requirement). All told, El-Khalifi had received more than \$5700 from Hussien and Yusuf, not counting the money promised to his loved ones. El-Khalifi's death would be altruistic, fulfill his strong desire to benefit kin, and help those he held dear; the attack would be about honor and status.⁸⁵⁵

On February 17, El-Khalifi was "happy."⁸⁵⁶ He went to pray at the Dar Al-Hijrah Islamic Center in Fairfax, Virginia where he had irregularly attended in the past.⁸⁵⁷ Later at his home, El-Khalifi was picked up by a van with Hussien and Yusuf inside. They drove from Northern Virginia to a parking garage close to the US Capitol. El-Khalifi was ready to attack and have his vengeance, so much so that Hussien began to cry.⁸⁵⁸ In addition to planning to shoot the US Capitol police officer with the MAC-10, El-Khalifi shared his intention to shoot people prior to detonating his bomb. Hussien and Yusuf promised El-Khalifi that they were with him "every step of the way" and would detonate his vest if he were unable.⁸⁵⁹ After he took possession of both the inoperable vest and the inoperable MAC-10, El-Khalifi was arrested by FBI agents before exiting the parking garage. On September 14, 2012, El-Khalifi was sentenced to 30 years in prison for attempted use of a weapon of mass destruction against US property. Upon his release, he will be deported from the US and never permitted to return.⁸⁶⁰

⁸⁵⁴ Thomas, Levine, Date, and Cloherty, "EXCLUSIVE: How the FBI Foiled;" Daily Mail Reporter, "I Love Allah... That's It.;" Barakat, "Capitol Bomb Plot Suspect Amine El-Khalifi."

⁸⁵⁵ Daily Mail Reporter, "I Love Allah... That's It."

⁸⁵⁶ "Jihadist Planned Attack on U.S. Capitol," *FBI*, January 04, 2013, accessed April 26, 2015, <https://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/2013/january/stopping-a-suicide-bomber>.

⁸⁵⁷ Horwitz, Wan, Wilber, "Federal Agents Arrest Amine El-Khalifi."

⁸⁵⁸ Wilber, "Inside an FBI Anti-Terrorist Sting Operation."

⁸⁵⁹ Barakat, "Capitol Bomb Plot Suspect Amine El-Khalifi."

⁸⁶⁰ United States of America v. Amine El-Khalifi, No.1:12-cr-00037-001, 281 (Eastern District of Virginia September 14, 2012).

Analysis of Terrorism Variables and El-Khalifi

In this “most likely” case, seventy-seven (77) variables from terrorism studies identified that El-Khalifi would continue on his online path toward actual violence, enhancing his devotion and commitment to violent religious extremism. See Table 4.1. He passed from self-identifying as a Muslim who was upset at America to furthering his indoctrination online. The Internet served as an echo chamber for him to reinforce his hatred and racism, giving him access to a network he otherwise may not have had. As he looked for and accepted opportunities to engage, El-Khalifi desired to be part of al-Qaeda and carry out missions on its behalf. He transitioned from virtual participation to physical participation, with the help of Hussien and Yusuf, and planned his attack. This mission would be part of El-Khalifi’s religious obligation and he sought out confirmation that his violence was indeed permissible in Islam.⁸⁶¹ Without excessive encouragement, El-Khalifi steadily increased his desire to do harm and amplify the magnitude of his attack. He was prepared to take his own life and go down in history as a warrior in the final stages of his jihadization. However, El-Khalifi should have come to the attention of the community or law enforcement before the FBI noticed him. What was missing was close attention to the months and years prior to his radicalization, when community leaders or law enforcement could have intervened. Next, El-Khalifi’s narrative starts at his birth and tells his story up to the point when radicalization was increasingly evident.

⁸⁶¹ “Alexandria Man Arrested for Attempting to Detonate Bomb in Suicide Attack on Capitol”; Serrano, “Bomb Plot Suspect Said He 'would Be Happy Killing 30 People.'”

El-Khalifi's Early Years

El-Khalifi was born in Morocco in 1983. While not a great deal is known to the public about El-Khalifi's life there, I overlay what is known about him with what life was generally like when he was growing up in Casablanca. This is not used as hard evidence, but rather to offer possible background. Although Morocco lacks some civil liberties, including freedom of speech, freedom of the press, or the right to privacy, there is no evidence El-Khalifi was specifically denied any of these.⁸⁶² Morocco continues to have a large gender equity gap, generational gap, prominent violence against women, and the domination of society by men.⁸⁶³ It is entirely possible that El-Khalifi grew up in a patriarchal, if not misogynistic society, as women lacked legal protections and a male rapist could be excused for marrying their victim.⁸⁶⁴ El-Khalifi likely would have had at least limited exposure to discrimination in the justice system and seen ineffectual law enforcement that fails, as the Moroccan police were fairly corrupt and bribe-able.⁸⁶⁵ On top of this, there is a certain amount of cultural acceptance of violence as a means to solve conflict in Morocco, though there is no information on El-Khalifi's direct experience with this.⁸⁶⁶ El-Khalifi was growing up amid high population growth rates with disaffected young men. The Moroccan population has been growing slightly faster than the global average and youth unemployment continues to be high.⁸⁶⁷ Morocco also has a communications capability gap, with less than 50,000 people having Internet access while El-Khalifi lived there.⁸⁶⁸

⁸⁶² "Morocco," *Freedom House*, 2006, accessed July 3, 2015, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2006/morocco>.

⁸⁶³ "Morocco," *World Economic Forum*, 2011, accessed June 17, 2015, <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-2011/#section=country-profiles-morocco>; Leila Hanafi and Sarah Alaoui, "Beyond the Law: Protecting Morocco's Women," *Al Jazeera English*, February 14, 2014, accessed July 3, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/02/beyond-law-protecting-morocco--2014212104721165904.html>.

⁸⁶⁴ Hanafi and Alaoui, "Beyond the Law: Protecting Morocco's Women."

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁷ "Morocco: Population Growth (annual %)," *The World Bank*, accessed June 17, 2015, <http://data.worldbank.org/country/morocco>.

⁸⁶⁸ Mohammed Ibahrine, "Towards a National Telecommunications Strategy in Morocco," *First Monday*, 9, no. 1 (September 2003), accessed July 2, 2015, doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.5210/fm.v0i0.1778>.

By all known counts, El-Khalifi's family was well respected in the community.⁸⁶⁹ Driss El-Khalifi, his father, was a school teacher and the owner of a bazaar where he sold antiques and other items.⁸⁷⁰ Rabiaa El-Khalifi, El-Khalifi's mother, stayed at home to take care of her three children and run the household. El-Khalifi likely grew up in an environment with injunctive norms and clear behavioral expectations. In general in Morocco, children are given more freedom, though parental authority is very strong.⁸⁷¹ In El-Khalifi's house, his mother was the disciplinarian, imposing punishments and insisting upon the strict observation of Islam. El-Khalifi was the oldest of three children, a brother named Saad and an unnamed sister.⁸⁷² Saad, during El-Khalifi's trial, wrote a letter to the judge describing his brother as "straight forward...a very caring, sensible person."⁸⁷³ He was a sensitive child, who "will always show that everything is fine, while he was suffering deep inside."⁸⁷⁴ Around the neighborhood, El-Khalifi was known for helping people in the street and carrying things for the elderly.⁸⁷⁵

El-Khalifi's narrative includes early education factors. His family was financially secure enough to send El-Khalifi to El-Manal, a private school in Morocco where he must have been sufficiently intelligent enough to attend through the 10th grade. Strong, corporal punishment is practiced in many Moroccan schools.⁸⁷⁶ As part of his education, El-Khalifi would have likely been exposed to violence in the community at a young age and witnessed bullying, as this was not uncommon in Moroccan schools. In addition, there are not many

⁸⁶⁹ Ahmed Taibi, "The Moroccan "Paper Terrorist"" *Morocco Tomorrow*, February 24, 2012, accessed September 05, 2015, <http://www.moroccotomorrow.org/the-moroccan-paper-terrorist/>.

⁸⁷⁰ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 196.

⁸⁷¹ Ibid.

⁸⁷² Ibid.

⁸⁷³ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁶ Sylvie Floris, "Studies On Youth Policies in the Mediterranean Partner Countries," *Salto Youth*, October 2010, accessed June 30, 2015.

extracurricular opportunities outside the school (only 10-15% of Moroccan youths are involved in non-school associations), except football teams.⁸⁷⁷

Meanwhile, El-Khalifi was likely exposed to political speeches, tensions, and refugee waves at least twice in his life. First, he was born in 1983 during the Western Sahara War, which was fought between Morocco and the Sahrawi indigenous Polisario Front (Western Sahara) from 1973 until 1991. While this war did not reach Casablanca, it did involve hundreds of thousands Moroccan activists and some 20,000 Moroccan soldiers, resulting in disputed death numbers (estimates range from 2,000 to 20,000) and tens of thousands of refugees. As an adolescent, El-Khalifi was exposed to a historic moment in modern Moroccan and Arab politics – the election and government of an opposition power. Following the 1998 election, the opposition socialist leader Abderrahmane Youssoufi formed a coalition government comprising fellow socialists, leftists, and nationalist parties and was actually permitted to govern. El-Khalifi would have witnessed this immaculate rise of the underdog seeking a more just and equitable society. One year later, he would have a slightly different political experience with respect to conflict in the lead up to the 1st Sahrawai Intifada in 1999, which aimed for more respect for Sahrawi human rights in Moroccan-controlled Western Sahara.⁸⁷⁸ However, El-Khalifi was travelling to the US by the time the 1st Sahrawai Intifada in 1999 was properly underway. Presumably to create a better life for his son, Driss decided it was time to leave Morocco.

Kissimmee, Florida

In June 1999, sixteen-year-old El-Khalifi and his father used some of their wealth to legally travel to and enter the US on B2 visitor visas to stay with El-Khalifi's maternal uncle who

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁸ Maria J. Stephan and Jacob Mundy, "A Battlefield Transformed: From Guerilla Resistance to Mass Nonviolent Struggle in the Western Sahara," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 8, no. 3 (Spring 2006).

resided in Kissimmee, Florida with his wife and three children.⁸⁷⁹ Very common as part of the immigration or assimilation process, El-Khalifi quickly became infatuated with America, attempting to embrace as much of his new culture as possible. He also would have had more exposure to the Internet by 1999, as many schools and households had computers. Doing relatively well after several months, El-Khalifi encouraged his father to return to Morocco and leave him in the care of his uncle. Soon thereafter, El-Khalifi enrolled in 11th grade at Osceola High School and began to hit some serious roadblocks in his cultural transition.⁸⁸⁰

While El-Khalifi was well educated and attended a good high school in Morocco, the public school system in Kissimmee was a bit of a shock. Though El-Khalifi enjoyed time with his uncle and cousins, he failed to make an adequate social and cultural transition from family to school. El-Khalifi, not yet fluent in English, struggled in his classes.⁸⁸¹ An ethnic minority in a heavily white and Hispanic school, El-Khalifi was somewhat isolated.⁸⁸² Undoubtedly, he had some social strains at school, possibly experiencing humiliation as a result, claiming he had “difficulty fitting in with his peers.”⁸⁸³ His lack of integration into his Florida school may be the first most significant non-violent variable that his life was getting off-track.

In and around his neighborhood, there were additional stressors above and beyond the basic tension caused by changing homes from one side of the Atlantic Ocean to the other, something most immigrants feel.⁸⁸⁴ Though his move from Morocco to the US could be

⁸⁷⁹ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 196.

⁸⁸⁰ Osceola High School has not responded to my requests for yearbooks or student records.

⁸⁸¹ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 196; “Kissimmee, Florida Population: Census 2010 and 2000 Interactive Map, Demographics, Statistics, Quick Facts,” *Census Viewer*, 2012, accessed November 16, 2014, <http://censusviewer.myshopify.com393789046>.

⁸⁸² “Osceola High School,” *Zillow*, 2013, accessed November 16, 2014, <http://www.zillow.com/yeehaw-junction-fl/schools/osceola-high-school-73194/>; “MACO At a Glance,” *MACO*, 2014, accessed June 18, 2015, <http://www.macous.org/category/about/>.

⁸⁸³ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 196.

⁸⁸⁴ See Leo Sher and Alexander Vilens, eds., *Immigration and mental health: stress, psychiatric disorders, and suicidal behavior among immigrants and refugees* (Hauppauge, New York: Nova Science, 2010); Boutakidis, Guerra, and Soriano, “Youth Violence, Immigration, and Acculturation,” in Guerra and Smith *Preventing Youth Violence in a Multicultural Society*.

characterized as going from a poor nation to a wealthy one, El-Khalifi's neighborhood in Kissimmee, Florida had a poverty rate of 20.9% and a relatively high unemployment rate, while experiencing more than a 16% increase in population over 10 years.⁸⁸⁵ Rising high concentrations of poor residents experiencing inflation and unemployment were all around him. Life in Florida should have been the American Dream, but the inequality and lack of opportunities for young men was right in front of El-Khalifi's face. He may have felt this and possibly missed his old neighborhood in Morocco, even if only subconsciously.

El-Khalifi grew increasingly disgruntled and unhappy, feeling no particular affinity or connection to his neighborhood in Florida. El-Khalifi was physically isolated from adults he could talk to about something important and conventional role models.⁸⁸⁶ He was detached from his nuclear family in Morocco, experiencing parent-child separation.⁸⁸⁷ El-Khalifi lacked the comfort of a supervised and structured life that was largely enforced by his mother; he would seek this out in years to come. This was the beginning of his search for family, financial, and emotional support.⁸⁸⁸

To compound his problems, El-Khalifi was no longer in the United States legally because he had overstayed his B2 visa. As El-Khalifi understood it, his uncle (a US citizen) would apply on his behalf for lawful status and citizenship for his minor nephew. This never happened. By the end of 1999, El-Khalifi was longing for a change of scenery that he believed an urban environment could provide. He obtained his father's permission to stop attending school and move in with a cousin in Arlington, Virginia, where he stayed (illegally) for several years.⁸⁸⁹

⁸⁸⁵ "Kissimmee FL Home Prices & Values," *Zillow*, accessed November 21, 2014, <http://www.zillow.com/kissimmee-fl/home-values>; "Kissimmee, FL Employment," *Area Vibes*, accessed November 21, 2014, <http://www.areavibes.com/kissimmee-fl/employment/>.

⁸⁸⁶ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 196.

⁸⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁸ Associated Press, "Man Planning to Carry Out Suicide Attack"; Associated Press, "Man Sentenced to 30 Years."

⁸⁸⁹ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 196; El-Khalifi's B2 visa authorized him to temporarily stay in the US no later than June 27, 2000. As of June 28, 2000, El-Khalifi was in the US illegally.

Northern Virginia and Washington, DC

In Northern Virginia, El-Khalifi experienced slightly more favorable socio-economic conditions in the community. His neighborhood in Douglas Park, Arlington was mostly composed of minority races with lower property values; however, the residents were not typically considered economically struggling when compared to the national average.⁸⁹⁰

Arlington is, by most counts, affluent. In general, changing homes creates a certain amount of stress on a person, and El-Khalifi moved twice in the span of one year. As in Florida, he failed to make a connection to his neighborhood and was not in touch with a support network. There was a larger Moroccan population in Arlington, though there is no evidence he sought to form connections with neighbors. The further El-Khalifi moved from his life in Morocco and his family, whether in North Africa or Florida, the more stressed his core relationships became and the worse his acculturation process went.⁸⁹¹

Money weighed on El-Khalifi. He had an incredibly difficult time finding meaningful employment because of his lack of marketable skills, limited education, and absence of a work permit.⁸⁹² El-Khalifi found himself with a series of low-status and unstable jobs.⁸⁹³ El-Khalifi was constantly hopping from one profession to another, one day aspiring to be a chef then thinking he could be a world premiere DJ if he purchased the right equipment and practiced daily (which he did for approximately six years).⁸⁹⁴ At one point, El-Khalifi was a cook in a sandwich shop for three months, then a busboy for two months, a salesman for

⁸⁹⁰ “Douglas Park Neighborhood in Arlington, Virginia (VA), 22204 Detailed Profile,” *City-Data.com*, 2013, accessed November 07, 2015, <http://www.city-data.com/neighborhood/Douglas-Park-Arlington-VA.html>.

⁸⁹¹ “Ex-Landlord of Alleged Terrorist Recounts Warning Signs,” *Wink News*, February 22, 2012, accessed November 16, 2014, <http://winknews.com/>.

⁸⁹² Michael Sorrentino, “Man Who Attempted 2012 U.S. Capitol Bombing Preps for Attack,” *NY Daily News*, January 15, 2015, accessed June 17, 2015, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/man-attempted-2012-u-s-capitol-bombing-preps-attack-article-1.2080451>.

⁸⁹³ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 196.

⁸⁹⁴ Benjamin R. Freed, “Alleged U.S. Capitol Bomber Loved to Party, Spent All His Money on Liposuction and Designer Threads,” *DCist*, February 22, 2012, accessed November 16, 2014, http://dcist.com/2012/02/alleged_capitol_bomber_loved_to_par.php.

three years, a waiter at TGIF for six months, and other seemingly odd jobs.⁸⁹⁵ Sporadically, El-Khalifi worked as a salesman for the Georgetown Millennium clothing store for three years, assisted a glass contractor for four months, and helped with car sales.⁸⁹⁶ Allegedly, he would even make (or lose) money by gambling and playing poker.⁸⁹⁷ Often and in-between occupations, he was simply an unemployed youth.

The desire for a stable position in society extended into El-Khalifi's social life. In Virginia, El-Khalifi tried to break free of his socio-economic status and he fought against any social exclusion. In his first attempt to form a relationship with high society, El-Khalifi fell hard for the glitz and glamour of the elite inner circles of Georgetown in Washington, DC. He adopted a high society, western lifestyle, behaving and dressing in a couture way with designer jeans.⁸⁹⁸ He aggressively pursued an affluent social life and followed a pattern for partying, going out every night despite a lack of consistent income.⁸⁹⁹ El-Khalifi demanded the best cars (BMW) and clothes (Dolce & Gabbana was a favorite), even when he had to sleep on the floor for lack of available money to buy a bed. The peer pressure of those around him easily influenced El-Khalifi as he searched for loyalty and a place to belong among the glitterati.⁹⁰⁰ Plagued by body image issues, El-Khalifi allegedly paid \$10,000 for liposuction, rather than exercise.⁹⁰¹ Instead of paying rent, he would spend great amounts of money to fit in with the crowd.⁹⁰²

In a different facet of his life, El-Khalifi attempted to create intimacy and connect with fellow humans. He sought out several casual and serious relationships with women while he was in Northern Virginia.⁹⁰³ El-Khalifi lived with a Bulgarian woman, prompting

⁸⁹⁵ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 196.

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid.; Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 284.

⁸⁹⁷ Freed, "Alleged U.S. Capitol Bomber Loved to Party."

⁸⁹⁸ Associated Press, "Man Sentenced to 30 Years."

⁸⁹⁹ Freed, "Alleged U.S. Capitol Bomber Loved to Party."

⁹⁰⁰ Miller, "Inside the Plans of Capitol Bomb Suspect."

⁹⁰¹ Freed, "Alleged U.S. Capitol Bomber Loved to Party."

⁹⁰² Thomas, Levine, Date, and Cloherty, "EXCLUSIVE: How the FBI Foiled."

⁹⁰³ Freed, "Alleged U.S. Capitol Bomber Loved to Party."

her landlord to believe they were married.⁹⁰⁴ In the DC nightclubs, El-Khalifi was infamous for having sex with women at those establishments and was known to enjoy bizarre sex rituals.⁹⁰⁵

Politics may also have been unattainable for El-Khalifi. Unless he was in some parallel universe to Georgetown, he was likely exposed to a politically-charged environment with people who freely shared their political opinions.⁹⁰⁶ Moving to the nation's capital put El-Khalifi in the vortex of politics, but he could not have been more isolated. As an illegal immigrant, El-Khalifi was outside many of the protections of the US Constitution. He was ineligible to vote in or disenfranchised from any US elections, facing a lack of opportunity for political participation.⁹⁰⁷ Possibly, this was underlying some of his frustration with the West and American actions abroad.

At each turn, El-Khalifi frequently exhibited jealousy and was vocal about the status of what others had. Despite his best attempts to fit in, he experienced classism, never quite belonging to the inner circles of affluent Georgetown. After all the philandering, El-Khalifi still had an inability to create intimacy from the casual encounters with women. Any chance to be part of the umbrella of government was a non-starter with his illegal status. Socially, El-Khalifi failed to create lasting relationships that come with acceptance from friends, connecting with a woman, and participating in politics.⁹⁰⁸

⁹⁰⁴ "Landlord Tipped Off Authorities To Would Be Capitol Bomber, Amine El-Khalifi In 2010," *CBS DC*, February 17, 2012, accessed July 02, 2015, <http://washington.cbslocal.com/2012/02/17/landlord-tipped-off-authorities-to-would-be-capitol-bomber-amine-el-khalifi-in-2010/>.

⁹⁰⁵ The source declined to elaborate on what "bizarre" meant in this context; Freed, "Alleged U.S. Capitol Bomber Loved to Party."

⁹⁰⁶ Sorrentino, "Man Who Attempted 2012 U.S. Capitol Bombing Preps for Attack."

⁹⁰⁷ Associated Press, "Capitol Bomb Plot Foiled."

⁹⁰⁸ Barakat, "Capitol Bomb Plot Suspect Amine El-Khalifi."

Yellow Flags

As he struggled to establish his position in society, El-Khalifi walked the line between dangerous and crazy activities.⁹⁰⁹ He had conduct problems including drug usage and a history of violence and intimidation.⁹¹⁰



El-Khalifi on the DC club scene. Source: Glitterazzi

In an overt act of defiance, El-Khalifi became involved with illegal drugs including cocaine, ecstasy, and marijuana to fit in with his Georgetown friends and to (presumably) avoid moments of downtime or routine boredom in life.⁹¹¹ As he was big in the DC club scene, El-Khalifi knew people who used and sold illicit drugs.⁹¹² It is extremely likely that his family would have disapproved of his drug use given their devoutness, something that would have weighed on his mind. El-Khalifi was breaking from his past by using drugs, rejecting his familial and religious norms. While the use of illegal drugs has only a loose connection to other types of violence, selling drugs and engaging in illicit economic activities seriously related to other forms of delinquency.⁹¹³ El-Khalifi frequently dealt drugs in DC nightclubs. By using and selling, El-Khalifi opened the door from one illegal activity to another.⁹¹⁴ His vulnerability, insecurity, and ability to be deviant were all growing.⁹¹⁵

El-Khalifi's behavior began to concern those around him, further fueling his paranoia and discomfort. As just one example of possible discrimination, El-Khalifi's landlord Frank

⁹⁰⁹ Daily Mail Reporter, "I Love Allah... That's It."

⁹¹⁰ Reeve, "Amine El-Khalifi: Capitol Bomb Plot Arrest Capped Yearlong Probe;" "Ex-Landlord of Alleged Terrorist Recounts Warning Signs"; Reeve, "Amine El-Khalifi: Capitol Bomb Plot Arrest Capped Yearlong Probe"; Daily Mail Reporter, "I Love Allah... That's It."

⁹¹¹ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC.

⁹¹² He also likely did not get much sleep.

⁹¹³ See Appendix E.

⁹¹⁴ Freed, "Alleged U.S. Capitol Bomber Loved to Party."

⁹¹⁵ Ibid.

Dynda was routinely suspicious of him, tracking his moves with his girlfriend and later friends who were squatting, pursuing late rent, and eventually believing El-Khalifi was making bombs in his apartment instead of running a luggage business.⁹¹⁶ After seeing packages delivered from Baltimore, Dynda commented: “He was getting mysterious packages labeled ‘books,’ but I didn’t think there were books in them.”⁹¹⁷ The landlord reported El-Khalifi to the Arlington police, who visited the apartment but did not find probable cause to pursue the matter. El-Khalifi threatened to beat up Dynda while claiming that he had a right to stay.⁹¹⁸ El-Khalifi was clearly not intimidated, later calling on several acquaintances to “back” him up and harass Dynda.⁹¹⁹ El-Khalifi either left or was evicted from his apartment in 2010.⁹²⁰

As he failed to make adequate social and cultural transitions, El-Khalifi exhibited attributional biases. At many moments, he was exposed to short-term provocative situations such as being bored, angry, or drunk. He overestimated others’ hostilities toward him, felt disrespected, and rushed into fights as a result, long before he turned to extremism.⁹²¹ Whether in Morocco or in DC, El-Khalifi followed cultures where toughness equated masculinity and granted respect. He had multiple arrests for past criminal offenses committed in the DC area.⁹²² In June 2007 at a DC nightclub, El-Khalifi got into a fight following an argument with an acquaintance. He was subsequently convicted for two counts of assault, stemming from a glass that was broken during the fight. At the time of his arrest, he was unemployed and was living in a nice house, despite having been recently evicted from a

⁹¹⁶ “Ex-Landlord of Alleged Terrorist Recounts Warning Signs.”

⁹¹⁷ Horwitz, Wan, Wilber, “Federal Agents Arrest Amine El-Khalifi.”

⁹¹⁸ Associated Press, “Possible Terror Bomb Plot.”

⁹¹⁹ “Feds Arrest Man Heading to US Capitol for Suicide Mission,” *New York Post*, February 17, 2012, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://washington.cbslocal.com/2012/02/17/landlord-tipped-off-authorities-to-would-be-capitol-bomber-amine-el-khalifi-in-2010/>.

⁹²⁰ The Associated Press, “Authorities: Terror Suspect Planned Suicide Bomb Attack in Washington D.C.,” *Kingsport Times-News*, 2012, accessed April 15, 2014, <http://www.timesnews.net/article/9042522/authorities-terror-suspect-planned-suicide-bomb-attack-in-washington-d-c>.

⁹²¹ Miller, “Inside the Plans of Capitol Bomb Suspect.”

⁹²² Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 188.

different residence for being unable to pay rent.⁹²³ El-Khalifi pled guilty to misdemeanor charges and served a five-day jail sentence, as well as completed his probation. As one type of delinquency is strongly correlated with other types of increasingly severe violence, it should come as no surprise that El-Khalifi's violent tendencies would later return.

Drugs and assault aside, El-Khalifi has a far more disturbing allegation in his past. While part of the DC club scene, El-Khalifi allegedly beat his dog to death, something often associated with extreme antisocial personalities.⁹²⁴ Underlying the motivation to harm a defenseless animal can be any number of things, including (but not limited to): a call for help; sign of substance abuse; link to gang activities or a deviant peer group; and an attempt at control.⁹²⁵ Moreover, cruelty to animals is a gateway to further delinquency, violence, and criminal behavior. If this allegation is true, El-Khalifi was headed in an extremely dark direction before he found al-Qaeda.

⁹²³ Andrea Stone, "Capitol Bomb Plot Raises FBI Sting Questions," *Huffington Post*, February 17, 2012, accessed September 10, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/02/17/capitol-bomb-plot-fbi_n_1285635.html.

⁹²⁴ Freed, "Alleged U.S. Capitol Bomber Loved to Party;" David P. Farrington and Rolf Loeber, "Two Approaches to Developmental/Life Course Theorizing," in *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Theory*, ed. Francis T. Cullen and Pamela Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 229. Though harming animals does not immediately mean someone is going to be cruel, the late adolescent killing of an animal is very concerning behavior.

⁹²⁵ *Ibid.*

Return to Religion, Money Troubles, and Online Activity

Return to Religion

Following his arrest for assault, El-Khalifi perhaps felt powerless. After all, he was unable to control his impulses for drugs, unable to avoid getting into trouble, and unable to work a serious job.⁹²⁶ El-Khalifi was again in the middle of an identity crisis, likely experiencing guilt and shame, and he sought the council of his mother. Rabiaa disapproved of his fighting (and presumably disapproved of his drug use). At his mother's urging, El-Khalifi suddenly became interested in religion again and picked up the Quran, fully immersing himself in a truncated and largely Internet-based study.⁹²⁷ He strove to please her and, in doing so, improve the self-esteem he derived from home. The significance of the mother's beliefs, much more so than the father's, cannot be overstated, despite Morocco being a patriarchal society.

El-Khalifi spoke of his desire to spread his new ideology. For the second time in his adult life, El-Khalifi changed his social norms, changed his behavior, and developed strange habits. The extent to which he wears new personas is significant. Rapid shifts can indicate a sense of sadness with whom the person was before and a desire to quickly change that. After returning to Islam, El-Khalifi gave up clubbing, stopped his drug activities, and likely would have adopted hardline views against drug and alcohol use in keeping with the faith.⁹²⁸ El-Khalifi dramatically changed his appearance by adding whiskers and prayer beads.⁹²⁹ He still sported his Mohawk haircut and numerous tattoos. At the Dar Al-Hijrah mosque he regularly attended in Fairfax, El-Khalifi was insecure and concerned about what fellow worshippers

⁹²⁶ Miller, "Inside the Plans of Capitol Bomb Suspect."

⁹²⁷ "Va. Man Gets 30-Year Term for Capitol Bomb Plot," *The Washington Post*, September 15, 2012, accessed November 16, 2014.

⁹²⁸ Freed, "Alleged U.S. Capitol Bomber Loved to Party."

⁹²⁹ Taibi, "The Moroccan "Paper Terrorist."

would think of him, carrying a white towel to keep his sweaty palms dry.⁹³⁰ Similar to the club scene, El-Khalifi failed to make connections. In fact, Dar Al-Hijrah Imam Abdul-Malik Said and the leaders of the mosque barely knew him.⁹³¹ As with Florida and Georgetown, El-Khalifi had weak social ties and low community participation.⁹³²

Money Troubles

Soon after his return to religion, El-Khalifi faced a new challenge. His father's bazaar in Morocco had been closed and El-Khalifi felt the additional stress of being responsible for an unemployed father.⁹³³ This brought him to tears.⁹³⁴ Confirmed by his younger brother, El-Khalifi sent everything he had in his pockets to his parents in Morocco, while he was starving.⁹³⁵ He owed more than \$4,000 in rent, lacked a steady job, and was accumulating significant debt.⁹³⁶ What El-Khalifi was experiencing was a form of resource deprivation – being denied basic needs like an occupation he could live on and be proud of. He was in poverty, likely hungry, and in dire financial straits by 2011.⁹³⁷

Online Religion

If El-Khalifi could not interact with people face-to-face, then perhaps he could virtually connect with individuals via the Internet. First, El-Khalifi regularly read about issues affecting the public and politics, experiencing political discontentment, marginalization, and even alienation online as he started to believe that the West was waging a war on all

⁹³⁰ Matthew Barakat, "Amine El-Khalifi, Suspect in Capitol Bomb Sting, Expected in Court," *Huffington Post*, February 22, 2012, accessed March 3, 2014.

⁹³¹ "Would-Be Capitol Suicide Bomber Amine El-Khalifi Waives Right To Hearing," *CBS DC*, February 22, 2012, accessed September 4, 2015, <http://washington.cbslocal.com/2012/02/22/would-be-capitol-suicide-bomber-amine-el-khalifi-waives-right-to-hearing/>.

⁹³² "Va. Man Gets 30-Year Term for Capitol Bomb Plot."

⁹³³ Amine Mohamed El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 196.

⁹³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹³⁶ Daily Mail Reporter, "I Love Allah... That's It."

⁹³⁷ Stone, "Capitol Bomb Plot Raises FBI Sting Questions."

Muslims.⁹³⁸ His exposure to stereotypical attitudes, behaviors, and feelings was increasing, a similar a pattern to when he was clubbing in Georgetown. Second, he expressed public sympathy for a cause.⁹³⁹ From afar, El-Khalifi developed a sense of solidarity with the suffering Palestinians and Muslims. El-Khalifi felt personally victimized, like a persecuted minority.⁹⁴⁰ Partly because of this exposure to violence in the media, he began to experience some cultural disillusionment.⁹⁴¹ El-Khalifi began to question Western commercialism and reflect on what he was actually experiencing. He saw the West as dirty and chastised the US for atrocities in the Middle East against his people.⁹⁴² With all his research, El-Khalifi repeated baseless conspiracy theories that created a false truth in his world and, unsurprisingly, had difficulty controlling his anger toward the West.⁹⁴³

Due to his self-directed study, El-Khalifi likely failed to distinguish between legitimate religious expressions and extremism.⁹⁴⁴ According to someone claiming to know El-Khalifi, “he couldn’t recite more than a few short Quranic verses, nor could he speak smartly about moderate Islamic doctrines and interpretations.”⁹⁴⁵ Thus, any readings of the Quran or the teachings of Islam were viewed through his good verses bad and right verses wrong lens.⁹⁴⁶ With these self-taught beliefs, he became drawn to supporters of radical action online, chatting with many.⁹⁴⁷ El-Khalifi identified with them and sought out extremist

⁹³⁸ Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 235.

⁹³⁹ Miller, “Inside the Plans of Capitol Bomb Suspect.”

⁹⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁹⁴¹ Daily Mail Reporter, “I Love Allah... That's It.”; Amine El-Khalifi, 1:12-cr-00037-JCC at 281; David Moore, “Poll of Nine Islamic Countries: Generation Gap in Attitudes Toward the West,” *Gallup*, March 19, 2002, accessed October 2, 2015, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/5482/poll-nine-islamic-countries-generation-gap-attitudes-toward-west.aspx>; David Ingram, “Moroccan Man Sentenced to 30 Years in U.S. Bomb Plot,” *Reuters*, September 14, 2012, accessed November 16, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-crime-capitol-idUSBRE88D16Q20120914>; “Alexandria Man Arrested for Attempting to Detonate Bomb in Suicide Attack on Capitol.”

⁹⁴² “FBI 'Anti-terror' Arrest Near US Capitol.”

⁹⁴³ Barakat, “Capitol Bomb Plot Suspect Amine El-Khalifi”; Associated Press, “Man Sentenced to 30 Years.”

⁹⁴⁴ Associated Press, “Man Planning to Carry Out Suicide Attack”; Associated Press, “Man Sentenced to 30 Years.”

⁹⁴⁵ Taibi, “The Moroccan ‘Paper Terrorist.’”

⁹⁴⁶ Docter, “Suicide Attack on U.S. Capitol Foiled.”

⁹⁴⁷ “Alexandria Man Arrested for Attempting to Detonate Bomb in Suicide Attack on Capitol;” “FBI 'Anti-terror' Arrest Near US Capitol.”

groups (al-Qaeda primarily) on the Internet. El-Khalifi began to hold the conviction that violence is divinely commanded and theologically justified.⁹⁴⁸ Violence would be a personal and moral choice about self-defense, revenge, and protection.⁹⁴⁹ As he became more radicalized, El-Khalifi was very open about his desire to commit mass destruction and replace the corrupt world with a pure new social order, pulling the West down.⁹⁵⁰ As deviance and violence tend to lead to other types of deviance and violence, this is not surprising. Previously, he broke rules on selling illicit drugs, and now he was ready to resort to mass destruction.⁹⁵¹

El-Khalifi's return to religion is not terribly significant or interesting, nor is El-Khalifi's decision to pursue friends or acquaintances that are religious at the mosque and online. However, El-Khalifi's return to Islam at the urging of his deeply religious mother may be key. The beliefs and approval of the mother weigh heavily on some people, but perhaps especially on an insecure young man. By turning to religion, El-Khalifi could please his mother and finally belong to a group with esteem and value, or so he believed. Akin to a recent religious convert, El-Khalifi's sudden interest in religion and theology was, in another way, a quick fix for past sins and solution for salvation.⁹⁵² Bearing in mind that El-Khalifi's fascination with Islam was sudden and came after he was vulnerable, his use of the Internet made his radicalization all too easy and quick. The insecure boy was on shaky footing, albeit virtually. The FBI's case begins here.

⁹⁴⁸ Associated Press, "Man Sentenced to 30 Years."

⁹⁴⁹ Associated Press, "Capitol Bomb Plot Foiled."

⁹⁵⁰ Horwitz, Wan, Wilber, "Federal Agents Arrest Amine El-Khalifi."

⁹⁵¹ Daily Mail Reporter, "I Love Allah... That's It"; Associated Press, "Capitol Bomb Plot Foiled."

⁹⁵² Barakat, "Capitol Bomb Plot Suspect Amine El-Khalifi"; "Va. Man Gets 30-Year Term for Capitol Bomb Plot."

Lakatosian Comparison of Variables from Terrorism and Youth Violence Studies

In this modified Lakatosian comparison, two questions are answered with respect to the “most likely” case study of Amine El-Khalifi:

1. How does the number of terrorism variables mathematically and substantively compare to the number of youth violence variables?
2. Therefore, do youth violence variables hold more explanatory power than terrorism variables alone?

Analysis of Terrorism Variables

Approximately 161 out of a possible total of 254 terrorist variables (63%) appear in or are inferred using details from El-Khalifi’s narrative. Table 4.1 mathematically shows the possible terrorism variables and those that appear from the point that the FBI identified El-Khalifi as likely radicalized.

Out of 254 terrorism variables, 94 (37%) were not applicable and did not appear in El-Khalifi’s radicalization. Of the remaining 161 variables, El-Khalifi was exhibiting socioemotional issues (48%) more numerically than the other categories, but all four categories had very high internal percentages. I provide the internal or within percentages of the SDT categories to evaluate the findings two ways: which category has more total variables compared to the other categories and which category has the highest percentage of variables specific to that category. Against all possible within variables, institutional was the highest at 69% (47 out of 68 institutional variables), but the other three followed closely. While politics and religion (aspects of the institutional dimension) were strong, these did not tower above the other categories. Interesting, there was only one variable unique to terrorism—takes suspicious or unreported travel.

Eighty-four out of 161 possible terrorism variables (52%) were not noticeable in the FBI’s identification of El-Khalifi as a terrorist, but do appear in his narrative prior to the FBI case. Again, socioemotional variables (47%) are numerically superior. From a percentage

point of view, social-structural (86%) deeply influenced El-Khalifi, but so did emotional impulses (61%) followed by institutional (59%). Prior to radicalization, El-Khalifi was more affected by social-structural and socioemotional issues than institutional.

With respect to what appeared during the FBI's identification of El-Khalifi as a threat, the numbers are a bit different. Of those 161 variables, approximately 77 (48%) are observable. For his radicalization profile, El-Khalifi was again numerically exhibiting socioemotional motivations (51%), followed by institutional (31%) and then those very specific to actual behaviors (no classification). From a weighted point of view, socioemotional and institutional are almost equal at 51%, with the obvious variables like "reconnaissance" appearing in the variables with no classification (60%). The same variable—takes suspicious or unreported travel—is unique. Once susceptible to radicalization, El-Khalifi exhibited more of the obvious variables, burying the more subtle ones. He was already well on his way to radicalization by the time the FBI identified him.

Table 4.1: El-Khalifi's Terrorism Variables

<i>Possible</i>	<i>Identifiable</i>
<p>254 Terrorism Variables</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 49% Socioemotional • 27% Institutional • 15% Social-structural • 9% No Classification <p>- 94 Not Applicable (37%)</p> <hr/> <p>= 161 Terrorism Variables (63%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 48% Socioemotional (77/161) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 77/124 (62%) • 29% Institutional (47/161) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 47/68 (69%) • 14% Social-structural (22/161) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 22/39 (61%) • 9% No Classification (15/161) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 15/23 (65%) <p>- 160 Not Unique to Terrorism</p> <hr/> <p>= 1 Possible Terrorism Variable (.4%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 0% Socioemotional • 0% Institutional • 0% Social-structural • 100% No Classification 	<p>161 Terrorism Variables (63%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 48% Socioemotional • 29% Institutional • 14% Social-structural • 9% No Classification <p>- 84 Before Radicalization Variables (52%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 47% Socioemotional⁹⁵³ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 47/77 (61%) • 31% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 28/47 (59%) • 6% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 19/22 (86%) • 12% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 6/15 (43%) <hr/> <p>= 77 Radicalization Variables (48%)⁹⁵⁴</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 51% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 39/77 (51%) • 31% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 24/47 (51%) • 6% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 5/22 (23%) • 12% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 9/15 (60%) <p>- 76 Not Unique to Terrorism</p> <hr/> <p>= 1 Used Unique Radicalization Var. (.6%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 100% No Classification

⁹⁵³ These within percentages include the before radicalization variables and take into account the 16 variables that appeared before and after radicalization, as these could have been used for early identification.

⁹⁵⁴ In this section of the table, the 16 variables are also counted as variables of radicalization, since these were used as such. This only affects the within percentages.

Analysis of Youth Violence Variables

Of the total possible 511 youth violence variables, 246 or 48% appear in El-Khalifi’s narrative in this “least likely” explanation. Table 4.2 shows the math on the possible youth violence variables and those that were identifiable as El-Khalifi radicalized to the point of violence.

Table 4.2: El-Khalifi’s Youth Violence Variables

<i>Possible</i>	<i>Identifiable</i>
<p>511 Youth Violence Variables</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 52% Socioemotional • 20% Institutional • 11% Social-structural • 17% No Classification <p>- 265 Not Applicable (52%)</p> <hr/> <p>= 246 Youth Violence Variables (48%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 49% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 121/264 (46%) • 24% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 59/103 (57%) • 14% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 35/57 (61%) • 13% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 31/87 (36%) 	<p>246 Youth Violence Variables</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 49% Socioemotional (121/246) • 24% Institutional (59/246) • 14% Social-structural (35/246) • 13% No Classification (31/246) <p>- 182 Before Radicalization Youth Violence Variables (74%)⁹⁵⁵</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 48% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 87/121 (72%) • 22% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 40/59 (68%) • 18% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 32/35 (91%) • 12% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 23/31 (74%) <hr/> <p>= 64 Radicalization Youth Violence Variables (26%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 69% Socioemotional⁹⁵⁶ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 44/121 (36%) • 24% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 24/59 (41%) • 14% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 5/35 (14%) • 13% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 8/31 (26%)

⁹⁵⁵ The 17 variables are counted in the before radicalization stage because, if identified early, these would have been useful prior to violent action.

⁹⁵⁶ In this model, there are 17 variables that are identified in the before radicalization and radicalization narrative. The within percentage breakdown, but not the overall percentage, includes these variables that could be counted as both.

Of the 246 youth violence variables in El-Khalifi's narrative, 49% are primarily those associated with socioemotional impulses. He demonstrates slightly more social-structural tendencies (14%) than the average profile (11%) suggests. Approximately 64 of 246 youth violence variables (26%) begin from the point of the FBI case and should be considered as variables that El-Khalifi has radicalized, not that he might be susceptible to radicalization. The remaining 182 variables (74%) are identifiable in or inferable from his narrative from his time in Morocco through his rough transition to life in the US. Almost half of these are socioemotional (48%); less than a third are institutional (22%) and related to politics or religion. Within the categories, El-Khalifi's path toward radicalization was likely motivated by social-structural (91%), followed by no classification (74%) and socioemotional (72%), then finally institutional (68%). The tale of El-Khalifi is about status and job, as well as riddled with emotional distress, self-inefficacy and low self-esteem.⁹⁵⁷ At each stage, El-Khalifi let his emotions influence his choices, a repeated emphasis of feeling over thinking.⁹⁵⁸ As he described his would be victims, El-Khalifi subconsciously chose an emotional expression, saying he would be "happy: if he killed 30 people."⁹⁵⁹ Mathematically and substantively, the youth violence narrative is useful for the explanation of El-Khalifi's radicalization. The youth violence explanation provides 182 (74%) variables to possibly identify his radicalization, which was strongly motivated by strong social-structural and socioemotional concerns prior to seeking violence.

⁹⁵⁷ Thomas, Levine, Date, and Cloherty, "EXCLUSIVE: How the FBI Foiled."

⁹⁵⁸ Daily Mail Reporter, "I Love Allah... That's It."

⁹⁵⁹ Associated Press, "Man Sentenced to 30 Years."

Terrorism verses Youth Violence Variables

In the case of El-Khalifi:

1. How does the number of terrorism variables mathematically and substantively compare to the number of youth violence variables?
2. Therefore, do youth violence variables hold more explanatory power than terrorism variables?

First, a simple numerical comparison of terrorism variables verses youth violence variables is offered: 63% of applicable terrorism variables verses 48% of applicable youth violence variables. Numerically, both theories have many potential variables, but terrorism appears to fare better overall until digging deeper.

Table 4.3: Comparison of Terrorism and Youth Violence Variables

	Terrorism Variables	Youth Violence Variables
Appear	161/254 (63%)	246/511(48%)
Appear and Unique	1/254 (.4%)	NA
Before Radicalization	84/161 (52%)	182/244 (74%)
Radicalization	77/161 (48%)	64/244 (26%)
Useful	1 Unique (.6%)	246 Universal (48%)

However, 84 out of 161 (52%) terrorism variables did not appear in the identification of El-Khalifi as a possible terrorist by the FBI. Many of these radicalization variables do not even appear in the court filings and news reports without considerable research. Prior to violence, youth violence variables account for 74% of his variables. With respect to radicalization variables, 48% of terrorism variables appear from the point the FBI began their case, while 26% of youth violence variables could have been applicable to the FBI's case. Terrorism appears to identify individuals once radicalization has occurred, whereas youth violence may be better at identifying radicalization prior to violence. Moreover, variables from terrorism studies provided one unique variable (.6%) while youth violence provided 246 universal ones (48%). The one unique terrorism variable relies on the most obvious of radicalization

variables—takes suspicious or unreported travel. In his case, terrorism variables were not as useful in identifying radicalization. Mathematically, terrorism variables should be rejected in favor of youth violence variables, or the two should complement and enhance each other.

“No Classification” refers to actual observable behaviors, like taking drugs, and will not be discussed in this section on motivations, though these can be useful when pointing to identifiable risky behavior. Substantively, the terrorism variables in El-Khalifi’s background would have explained overall radicalization using institutional motivations (69%), then socioemotional (62%), and finally social-structural (61%). Institutional includes religion and politics, which appear to drive radicalization in this view of the data. The youth violence variables drew a picture of social-structural (61%), followed by institutional (57%). The character of the youth violence variables is overwhelmingly in favor of status. Prior to radicalization, some slight shifts occurred in both the terrorism and youth violence models. Prior to radicalization in the terrorism model, El-Khalifi was most motivated by social-structural (86%), then socioemotional (61%), and finally institutional (59%). In the youth violence model prior to radicalization, social-structural (91%) was still the strongest and socioemotional the next strongest (72%), but institutional was the least influential percentage (68%). Indeed, emotions surpassed politics. Given these shifts, youth violence variables do a better job explaining that El-Khalifi was motivated by social-structural, then emotions. Substantively, terrorism variables and the “most likely” explanation should be rejected in favor of youth violence variables or the “least likely,” or the two should complement and enhance each other. As demonstrated mathematically and substantively, youth violence variables hold more explanatory power than terrorism variables in the case of El-Khalifi.

Concluding Thoughts on Amine El-Khalifi

Albeit complex, El-Khalifi's past can be seen as a narrative about a kid desperate to fit in, who wants to receive the positive sense of self-worth that accompanies peer acceptance. During his adolescence and early adulthood, El-Khalifi exhibited prosocial behaviors, seeking all kinds of connections and following social scripts. Yet, he would have regularly felt rejected or alone as he drifted among the crowds in high school, between many jobs, and through the DC social circles.⁹⁶⁰ With each network he approached, El-Khalifi had a subconscious and physical expectation of benefit. From being arrested, to being saddled with heavy debt, to needing to support his family in Morocco, he was going through a series of critically stressful events or personal crises.⁹⁶¹ Struggling, El-Khalifi was drawn to the safe space the Internet provided for his frustrations as he blamed the West and sought the moral high ground. When he connected with Hussien and Yusuf, and through them al-Qaeda, El-Khalifi was desperate to belong, deeply impressionable, and impulsive.⁹⁶² For more than two decades, he had been attracted to exclusive opportunities, wanting to belong as part of a special society and chosen group.⁹⁶³ It took very little to encourage El-Khalifi to buy the latest fashion, and it took very little for FBI agents to enable his plans.⁹⁶⁴

A common theme through much of El-Khalifi's adolescent and early adult life is his repeated choice of the easy way. When El-Khalifi had difficulty coping with trauma, like his social maladjustment, he would look for a quick fix. He pursued friends in DC through superficial relationships and hopped from job to job to get whatever financial resources were most desperately needed. When struggling to assimilate in the US, he turned to drugs. After

⁹⁶⁰ Associated Press, "Man Sentenced to 30 Years."

⁹⁶¹ Daily Mail Reporter, "I Love Allah... That's It."

⁹⁶² Thomas, Levine, Date, and Cloherty, "EXCLUSIVE: How the FBI Foiled."

⁹⁶³ Associated Press, "Man Sentenced to 30 Years."

⁹⁶⁴ "FBI Nabs Moroccan in Washington Bomb Sting," *Al Jazeera English*, February 18, 2012, accessed April 06, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/americas/2012/02/201221719157983635.html>.

being arrested for assault some years later, El-Khalifi turned to Islam.⁹⁶⁵ More often than not, he would switch paths or give up when things got tough. At each step, El-Khalifi seemed to go with the first solution presented.⁹⁶⁶ He was also impervious to the consequences of his actions. El-Khalifi pursued what felt good no matter what: it felt good to take drugs, it felt good to engineer salvation through murder.⁹⁶⁷ After he had selected the Capitol, El-Khalifi said: “I’m not thinking about anything. Nothing. I have my decision. I seen some stuff in my dreams.”⁹⁶⁸ As one of his last acts of defiance, El-Khalifi wore a Tactical Athlete brand t-shirt with the words “Ready in Season” to his initial court hearing.⁹⁶⁹



Source: CNN and Tactical Athletic

With a relatively easy suicide, El-Khalifi would quickly solve all his problems and finally belong among al-Qaeda’s chosen few. Yet, El-Khalifi remains unfulfilled. Perhaps the best way to sum up his extraordinary need for identity is to use his words from his sentencing hearing: “I just want to say that I love Allah. That’s it.”⁹⁷⁰ Love, and the desire to be loved, is an unimaginably powerful emotion.

⁹⁶⁵ Associated Press, “Man Sentenced to 30 Years.”

⁹⁶⁶ Daily Mail Reporter, “I Love Allah... That's It.”

⁹⁶⁷ Thomas, Levine, Date, and Cloherty, “EXCLUSIVE: How the FBI Foiled.”

⁹⁶⁸ Candiotti, “Undercover FBI Sting.”

⁹⁶⁹ Carol Cratty, “Authorities: Suicide Attack on U.S. Capitol Foiled,” *CNN*, February 17, 2012, accessed December 20, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2012/02/17/justice/us-dc-security-threat-arrest/>. Picture sources: CNN and Tactical Athletic.

⁹⁷⁰ Daily Mail Reporter, “I Love Allah... That's It.”

Chapter 5: Zachary Chesser

On July 24, 2010, Zachary Adam Chesser (aka Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee), a US natural born citizen, was arrested on terrorism-related charges after more than eighteen months of voracious writing and planning. To join the terrorist group Al-Shabaab, the 20-year-old intended to travel from Uganda to Somalia on July 10, 2010 using his infant child as cover for his illegal activities. Justifiably paranoid, Chesser knew the FBI was monitoring him because of his online activities advocating jihad and threatening those who insult Islam. On October 20, 2010, he accepted a plea deal that would keep his wife, also a supporter of radical action, out of prison. Chesser is currently serving a 25-year prison term for communicating threats, soliciting others to engage in conduct constituting a felony that has as an element the threatened use of physical force against another, and attempting to provide material support to a designated terrorist organization.⁹⁷¹

This chapter examines the case of Chesser, who frequently and impulsively changed identities and activities to reflect whatever his current interest happened to be. Using variables from terrorism studies, Chesser's narrative starts in late 2008 and early 2009 when drew the attention of law enforcement for his violent rhetoric, following his conversion to self-taught Islam. At the conclusion of this section is a brief analysis of how well variables from terrorism studies explain that Chesser would radicalize to the point of planning to travel to join Al-Shabaab. Then, Chesser's narrative starts at his birth and tells his story until radicalization was increasingly evident. For matters of readability, not all variables appear in this chapter. Variables possibly indicating radicalization are mentioned throughout, but documented in Appendix C. Chesser's chapter ends with a modified Lakatosian comparison of terrorism variables against youth violence variables.

⁹⁷¹ United States of America v. Zachary Adam Chesser. No.1:10-cr-00395-LO. 115, Eastern District of Virginia October 20, 2010.

Data used in Chesser's case study predominantly comes from three sources: 62 court files, Chesser's writings, and news articles constituting about 240 documents.⁹⁷² However, there are three limitations to the data contained in Chesser's case study. First, I was not permitted to speak with or write Chesser or members of his family. While researching Chesser, I reached out to Michael Nachmanoff, Esq., federal public defender, who works with Troccoli.⁹⁷³ Nachmanoff declined to let me communicate with Chesser or his family, even on issues unrelated to the charges, citing a possible adverse effect on his client. Second, several of the documents from Chesser's trial are sealed and not releasable under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA).⁹⁷⁴ Third, I reached out to approximately one dozen individuals who would have known him in the United States and either did not receive a response or was told the same information as had already been reported in the media. Thus, this chapter contains all available data on Chesser at the time of submission.

The "Start" Of Chesser's Radicalization

The FBI does not disclose the exact moment they began to monitor Chesser's activities, though I make two educated guesses based on the charges brought against him: his interactions with known radical Anwar al-Awlaki in late 2008 and early 2009 and his very public threats against the creators of South Park in April 2010.⁹⁷⁵ The first, al-Alwaki's website, was his first known participation in a virtual radical group. The latter was an outright call for vengeance. Chesser's radicalization narrative coincides with the end of his first semester at George Mason University in Virginia, when he was expressing his extreme

⁹⁷² United States of America v. Zachary Adam Chesser. No.1:10-cr-00395-LO. (Eastern District Court of Virginia October 20, 2010).

⁹⁷³ Troccoli was the lead defense lawyer and Assistant Federal Public Defender who handed the case of Amine Al-Khalifi (Chapter 4).

⁹⁷⁴ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 1.

⁹⁷⁵ United States v. Zachary Adam Chesser, No.1:10-mj-00504-TCB, 3 (Eastern District of Virginia July 21, 2010); the behaviors and conversations contained in the Affidavit are summaries of many recorded conversations between Chesser and the FBI, with some translations as done by the FBI.

religious views online, and moving from researching jihad to wanting to travel, a known marker of radicalization. He was approximately 18 years old.

In 2008, Chesser had been supporting the Chechen rebels after watching videos of Commander Khattab, a legendary fighter from Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and the Chechen wars, who took on the “evil” Russians to defend his people.⁹⁷⁶ However, Chesser shied away from supporting the Chechen fighters after he learned of the 2004 Beslan Massacre, where at least 385 people (many children) were murdered, and was looking for a new group to support.⁹⁷⁷ On December 21, 2008, Chesser read a post by al-Awlaki, who was praising Al-Shabaab for its recent victories and achievements in expanding its territory and implementing Shariah law, succeeding with a “bullet” where the “ballot has failed.”⁹⁷⁸ For all the reasons he turned away from the Chechens, Chesser was drawn to the Somalis: “[Somalia] had all the same pros of Chechnya, but none of its cons.”⁹⁷⁹ In the horn of Africa, he was looking for a place where he could be part of “the creation of an Islaamic state where the Shari’ah is applied...with no exceptions of general matters of which there is a consensus...[in] a just society where the law is applied and where the people are treated fairly.”⁹⁸⁰ He began expressing public sympathy for this cause and others online.

In what likely attracted the attention of the FBI (as they had been monitoring al-Awlaki’s activities), Chesser began reaching out to al-Awlaki, who returned two of his email messages. In one email sent from his university address (zchesser@gmu.edu), Chesser asked

⁹⁷⁶ Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*. ”

⁹⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁸ United States of America, United States Senate, Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser: A Case Study in Online Islamist Radicalization and Its Meaning for the Threat of Homegrown Terrorism*, by Majority and Minority Staff, February 2012, 10, accessed February 12, 2016.

⁹⁷⁹ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 265; United States Senate, Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser: A Case Study*; Chesser continued in his reasoning: “Also I was already interested in Somalia and was planning to make it the focus on my major in International Relations...Al-Awlaki simply put al-Shabaab on the radar for me.”

⁹⁸⁰ Aaron Y. Zelin, “Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī.” *Al-Maktabah*, June 29, 2010, 4, accessed February 23, 2016, <https://azelin.files.wordpress.com/2010/07/interview-with-abu-tale1b8a5ah-al-amriki.pdf>.

al-Awlaki to interpret two of his dreams, which al-Awlaki was known to do.⁹⁸¹ In one dream, Chesser had joined Al-Shabaab or wished to do so.⁹⁸² In a different email, Chesser reached out al-Awlaki to congratulate him following a rumor that he had been killed, but saying he would be happier if his self-selected mentor was still alive.⁹⁸³

Chesser's activities extended beyond reading and emailing; he would also post his views on al-Awlaki's website. In one instance, he encouraged Muslims to travel: "Living in this world with modern technology the possibility of travel feesabiliah [in the way of Allah] is virtually a non-issue for those of us in the West."⁹⁸⁴ In another, Chesser encouraged women to support their husbands and other men in their lives, recognizing the importance of female influence.⁹⁸⁵ Chesser took advantage of the comments sections on al-Awlaki's site to introduce readers to his own YouTube Channel where he posted "very inspirational" videos, sought out helpful advice like where to find an English madrassa, and provided his interpretation of al-Awlaki's assessments. When al-Awlaki gave his thoughts on "suicide or martyrdom," Chesser added "Jihad is mandatory for all Muslims."⁹⁸⁶ Evidenced through his posts, Chesser now believed that it was legitimate to use violence and approved of suicide terrorism. Al-Awlaki provided a determination and Chesser was following it literally.

By the end of the year, Chesser was at least somewhat aware he needed to be careful about alerting the authorities, asking al-Awlaki's readers on December 28, 2008 to help him

⁹⁸¹ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 10; regrettably, the written interpretation of the two dreams does not seem to be available, just mentions throughout news stories. Chesser posted the description of the dreams on Anwar-alAwlaki.com, which was shut down. Around this time, Chesser began listing his email address as abutalhahalamrikee@yahoo.com, rather than his George Mason University zchesser@gmu.edu.

⁹⁸² Ryan Tracy, "FBI: Man Who Threatened 'South Park' Creators Used Youtube to Spread Jihad," Newsweek, July 22, 2010, accessed March 15, 2016, <http://www.newsweek.com/fbi-man-who-threatened-south-park-creators-used-youtube-spread-jihad-217420>.

⁹⁸³ Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*.

⁹⁸⁴ "Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint," Anti-Defamation League, May 17, 2011, 1, accessed March 27, 2014, <http://www.adl.org/combatting-hate/domestic-extremism-terrorism/c/abu-talhah-al-amrikee-chesser.html?referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F#.V2ioGpODGko>; the quote continues: "There are airplanes that have made it so Washington, DC is closer to Somalia in our era than Makkah and Madinah were in the time of the Rasoolu Allah sal Allahu 'alayhi wa sallam [the Prophet Muhammad]."

⁹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

join al-Shabaab without being arrested.⁹⁸⁷ On December 29, 2008, he notified this same community about a protest he was organizing against the Egyptian government: “This protest is going to be all Muslim. Do not invite the kafir [non-believer] friends that you should not have.”⁹⁸⁸ Chesser was aiming to belong to a cohesive group with highly-developed bonds and shared values. He was both mobilizing and being mobilized by peer supporters of radical action. One week later on January 9, Chesser began asking about the permissibility of violence: “If someone is an apostate and they are so openly, can I just kill them right then and there or are there conditions?”⁹⁸⁹ He was beginning to see the world in us versus them terms, with his group being different than non-believers.

Starting in mid-January 2009, Chesser moved from his father’s house into a dormitory at GMU; his family hoped this would be an opportunity for him to mature a bit. Chesser, however, was on a different mission. He was interested in female companionship and met Proscovia Kampire Nzabanita through correspondence on al-Awlaki’s blog about a protest Chesser was organizing.⁹⁹⁰ Nzabanita was the daughter of a Ugandan diplomat who converted to Islam after being raised Roman Catholic and living a Western childhood.⁹⁹¹ Nzabanita, who was deeply religious and some would say was more extreme than Chesser, would pontificate on how to be a woman and fulfill her jihadi obligations on al-Awlaki’s site.⁹⁹² In January 2009, Chesser asked the blog community an open-ended question about whether a future mujahedeen would be a desirable husband. Nzabanita replied, assuring him

⁹⁸⁷ Chesser, Zachary, comment on post entitled “Lies of the Telegraph,” *Anwar Al-Aulaqi website*, December 28, 2008, accessed February 12, 2016.

⁹⁸⁸ Chesser, Zachary, comment on post entitled “The Meaning of Gaza,” *Anwar Al-Aulaqi website*, December 29, 2008, accessed February 12, 2016.

⁹⁸⁹ Chesser, Zachary, comment on post entitled “A New Year: Reality and Aspirations,” *Anwar Al-Aulaqi website*, January 9, 20089, accessed February 12, 2016.

⁹⁹⁰ “Wife of Virginia Man Who Threatened South Park Pleads Guilty,” Anti-Defamation League, November 9, 2010, accessed February 22, 2016, http://archive.adl.org/main_terrorism/nzabanita_chesser.html#.V2i7ApODGko; Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*. ”

⁹⁹¹ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 268.

⁹⁹² “Wife of Virginia Man Who Threatened South Park Pleads Guilty;” Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*. ”

that many women would be interested in such a man and their online relationship began to bloom.⁹⁹³ Around this time, Chesser responded to one of Nzabanita's posts by saying "If our community in the West had more sisters like you subhanallah [Glory be to God] we would be blessed mash'allah [praised]. I always thought if I made Hijra [pilgrimage] I would find a wife later, because of the lack of sympathy toward Al-Mujahideen, but perhaps there are more here than I thought [sic]."⁹⁹⁴ The two turned their online relationship into a face-to-face courtship after Proscovia asked Chesser to take her best friend's husband around DC, who then introduced them properly. They quickly became serious.⁹⁹⁵

A few weeks later, Chesser emailed his father to say he was likely getting married in the near future—he "wished to protect [himself] from falling into sins"—and hoped to go to an Islamic university in Saudi Arabia or Yemen.⁹⁹⁶ His father objected on several levels to the union, believing his son was too young and noting the lack of a full-time job. Once the father found the name of his son's betrothed, he tried to reach out to her father several times, who asked not to be contacted again. On March 6, 2009, Chesser left his father a voice message that he was to be married later that day, following his three-day official courtship.⁹⁹⁷ His father and stepmother found the location and attended.⁹⁹⁸ As the men chatted before the ceremony, the father recalled: how the Imam chuckling when he (Chesser's father) said the marriage was too rushed; a conversation on the differences in women's verses men's rights; a great deal of talk about weapons; and some rather nice and childlike encounters with his son's friends.⁹⁹⁹ Despite all this, Chesser's father simply wanted to support his son.

⁹⁹³ "Wife of Virginia Man Who Threatened South Park Pleads Guilty."

⁹⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁵ Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*.

⁹⁹⁶ Zachary Chesser, "Victims of the American Inquisition III," Coolness of the Eyes, September 24, 2012, accessed February 17, 2016, <http://steedsofwar.blogspot.com/2012/09/victims-of-american-inquisition-iii.html>.

⁹⁹⁷ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 268; Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*.

⁹⁹⁸ This may have been the Shirley Gate mosque or Islamic Center of Northern Virginia.

⁹⁹⁹ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 301.

As their marriage started, Chesser and Nzabanita were unemployed and living on whatever means they could in a dorm room.¹⁰⁰⁰ His father encouraged his son to continue his university studies as a way to provide for his new family, which Chesser appeared to do for at least some of the semester. Chesser's mother, however, refused to accept her son's marriage, stopped talking to him, and cut him off financially.¹⁰⁰¹ Throughout their marriage, Chesser and Nzabanita were very active online, on social media, and in chat rooms. Nzabanita continued to encourage women to support their mujahedeen husbands.¹⁰⁰² She posted advice for women whose husbands were martyrs and reposted videos that Chesser had uploaded. On her YouTube page, Nzabanita claimed to be enrolled at the "university of al qaeda" to "bring back the khilafa [Islamic Caliphate]."¹⁰⁰³ She would even host gatherings of like-minded women in her home.¹⁰⁰⁴ Chesser had married a woman who would encourage and intensify his beliefs.

Relatively new to this world, Chesser was being pulled in two directions. He became even more prolific online than before, devouring as much self-selected information as he could and contributing in a plethora of ways. Across many online platforms, Chesser would post "extremist" videos, jihadi propaganda, and blatant terrorist prose, believing that "jihad involves the tongue."¹⁰⁰⁵ He was exposed to a culture of violence almost constantly. However, Chesser had a moment of hesitation in mid-2009. He struggled with his childhood pacifist tendencies and his new beliefs. On one hand, he told himself that "if [he] went to fight jihad, [he] would be saving more lives even if it meant that others died."¹⁰⁰⁶ On the other, Chesser felt that he had "moderated" in his beliefs, could not support jihadi

¹⁰⁰⁰ With no income, they were presumably living at or below the poverty line.

¹⁰⁰¹ Chesser, "Truth Cannot Remain Silent in the Face of Evil," 5.

¹⁰⁰² This variable is more typically applied to the mother, but in this case Chesser was enormously influenced by the most maternal person around him who was his wife.

¹⁰⁰³ "Wife of Virginia Man Who Threatened South Park Pleads Guilty."

¹⁰⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*"; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 128; Chesser's writings are so numerous that not all are included in this chapter.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 268.

propaganda anymore, and did not support acts of terrorism or violence. That said, he would be willing to die a selfless death for his religion and did wish the US to fail in its international military exploits.¹⁰⁰⁷

In May 2009, Chesser had stopped attending classes and the couple moved out of the dorm room and into a small apartment.¹⁰⁰⁸ Chesser claims his mother's lack of financial support "negated" any chance he had at finishing college, thus limiting his marketable skills outside his religious interests.¹⁰⁰⁹ Around this time, Chesser was diagnosed with Crohn's disease, a chronic and debilitating inflammatory condition of the gastrointestinal tract that is not usually fatal.¹⁰¹⁰ With his new health problems, Chesser's mother did begin speaking with him again, though she offered no monetary support. Chesser became a caretaker at the Shirley Gate mosque and the couple lived in a converted utility closet. Now pregnant, Nzabanita would stay with him when not at her mother's house.¹⁰¹¹ At Shirley Gate, Chesser studied religious texts and was praised for his care of outdoor plants.

Nineteen-years-old and approximately nine months after he converted to Islam, he established AlQuranWaAlaHadeeth, a YouTube website where he posted as Abu Talhah, on May 13, 2009.¹⁰¹² Chesser also started his own YouTube homepage—LearnTeachFightDie—where he would post "inspirational" videos and hold discussions. Chesser believed this name—LearnTeachFightDie—reflected his personal philosophy at the time, though he later closed the site because he found it a "waste of time" and instead opened AlQuranWaAlaHadeet, a new YouTube site with terrorist videos and English translations of

¹⁰⁰⁷ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 307.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 276.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Chesser, "Truth Cannot Remain Silent in the Face of Evil," 5.

¹⁰¹⁰ Chesser, "Truth Cannot Remain Silent in the Face of Evil," 5; "What Is Crohn's Disease," Crohn's & Colitis Foundation of America, accessed February 23, 2016, <http://www.cafa.org/what-are-crohns-and-colitis/what-is-crohns-disease/?referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F>.

¹⁰¹¹ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 301.

¹⁰¹² Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 3; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 276; Chesser also owned, and operated the site.

Arabic sermons.¹⁰¹³ “The Permissibility of Self-Sacrificial Operations” was one such sermon that said: “the best treatment and the greatest medicine that we apply to the brothers of the monkeys and pigs is that we perform these martyrdom operations.”¹⁰¹⁴ He had begun to dehumanize his enemies.

Chesser was still engaging with his family in May 2009, but it was tense. Though he had cut off his son financially, Chesser’s father had them over for lunch and dinner a few times, with the conversation inevitably turning toward politics. Chesser would speak out about the “grave injustice,” the hypocrisy caused by US policy toward the Middle East, and also express sympathy for the effects of sanctions on Iraqi children following the First Gulf War.¹⁰¹⁵ His father believed his son was disillusioned and wanted the US to “solve the world’s ills.”¹⁰¹⁶ While his interest in politics far predated his interest in Islam, Chesser was becoming more vocal about his displeasure with American foreign policy, the West, and Israel.

In late spring, Chesser became aware that the FBI was inquiring about him through members of his Muslim community and he put the word out: “tell them to just talk to me face to face.”¹⁰¹⁷ The FBI showed up the next day in what became the first of two meetings. At a Hardees fast food restaurant, FBI Special Agent Paula G. Menges met with Chesser to talk about his various activities in May 2009. He discussed his various websites and that he used zchesser@gmu.edu for most of his communications. During this meeting with the FBI, Chesser claimed that they often tried to turn him into an informant for them. During the time of his interviews, Chesser considered himself a neo-Salafi and was sharing posts reflecting this belief system on Hizb ut-Tahrir and al-Awlaki’s website, as well as his YouTube

¹⁰¹³ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 5.

¹⁰¹⁴ “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint,” 5.

¹⁰¹⁵ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 301.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 302; The situation was made slightly odder by Nzabanita wearing a full burqa in the presence of Zachary’s brother.

¹⁰¹⁷ Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*.”

channel.¹⁰¹⁸ The second meeting took place in June 2009 at the FBI building in Manassas, VA, where the focus was on people Chesser knew.¹⁰¹⁹ At this meeting, Chesser further offered to hand over his computer if they would leave him alone. However, any cooperation or goodwill Chesser might have felt toward law enforcement was squandered when the house where he converted to Islam in 2008 was raided. Chesser claims the FBI was “evil” and their raid “angered [him] tremendously... destroyed [my] movement away from jihad, and caused [me] to refuse further contact.”¹⁰²⁰ Henceforth, he would have a poor relationship with law enforcement, who he already viewed as ineffective. He would no longer be taking their calls, nor would he follow through on his offer to hand over his laptop.¹⁰²¹

By November 2009, Chesser was even more concerning. He was showing “increasing stubbornness...[and] would focus on obscure verses in the Quran, stick to his own interpretation even when his teachers pointed out how other verses contradicted his reading of the text.”¹⁰²² After six months, he quit his job at the mosque, the leaders of which were glad to see him go as he was not open to more moderate interpretations of Islam. The young family moved in with Nzabanita’s mother.¹⁰²³ In fulfillment of his religious obligations and to have more involvement, Chesser was increasingly interested in travelling to fight as he believed the definition of jihad was an external struggle.¹⁰²⁴ He felt that “If one is aware of the need for more soldiers and he is able to go, then is it obligatory upon him to leave.”¹⁰²⁵ Chesser’s inability to fulfill this obligation weighed on him, creating feelings of guilt and

¹⁰¹⁸ Stephen Schwartz, “Neo-Salafi’ Fallacies And Muslim Reaction to Insults Against Muhammad,” Center for Islamic Pluralism, September 20, 2012, accessed March 07, 2016, <http://www.islamicpluralism.org/2105/neo-salafi-fallacies-and-muslim-reaction-to>.

¹⁰¹⁹ Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*.”

¹⁰²⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰²¹ Ibid.

¹⁰²² Jonathan Wilson, “Mosque Leader Says Chesser Was Stubborn In Religious Beliefs,” WAMU 88.5, July 23, 2010, 1, accessed February 21, 2016, http://wamu.org/news/10/07/23/mosque_leader_says_chesser_was_stubborn_in_religious_beliefs.

¹⁰²³ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 301.

¹⁰²⁴ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 5; Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*”; Chesser claims he did “not quite have an al-Qaidah ideology so leaving the United States was necessary in my mind to fulfill my religious duties.”

¹⁰²⁵ Zelin, “Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī.”

shame. Purchasing two tickets to Kenya, he and his very pregnant wife had planned to travel to Somalia via speedboat in November 2009 to support al-Shabaab and its affiliate al-Qaeda. Intending to use or support violence as a great equalizer, he aimed to replace the corrupt world with a pure new social order. However, Nzabanita's mother refused to relinquish her daughter's passport.¹⁰²⁶ Very concerned about their attempt to leave the country, Nzabanita's sister secretly contacted Chesser's father to say that his son was "out of control."¹⁰²⁷ When Chesser's father reached out to his son, he heard a "panicky" and desperate voice. His father tried to reason that airlines would not let a very pregnant woman fly. Unbeknownst to him, Chesser had been placed on the Terrorist Screening Center's No Fly List and would not have been able to travel even with passports.¹⁰²⁸ Chesser said he tried "just about everything to get [his wife's passport]," ultimately failing and staying in America.¹⁰²⁹

Very soon thereafter, Chesser's son, Talhah, was born on November 26, 2010 and named for Talhah bin 'Ubaidullah, the best of the Prophet Muhammad's companions.¹⁰³⁰ The young family moved into a friend's apartment and, by the father's estimates, Chesser was a proud father who was good at changing diapers, playing with his son, and feeding him.¹⁰³¹ Chesser's mother sent a few gifts to help with Talhah, but was not overly interested in him. She requested Chesser's wife "send her a picture" when Talhah was born in lieu of visiting, though she lived only 15 minutes away.¹⁰³² This must have pained Chesser, as he noted how the other non-Muslim grandparents were very supportive and would visit his baby boy.¹⁰³³ In turn, Chesser stopped visiting her and her wife, citing religious reasons.¹⁰³⁴

¹⁰²⁶ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 6.

¹⁰²⁷ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 302.

¹⁰²⁸ *Ibid.*, 269.

¹⁰²⁹ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 9.

¹⁰³⁰ Zelin, "Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī."

¹⁰³¹ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 302.

¹⁰³² Chesser, "Truth Cannot Remain Silent in the Face of Evil," 5.

¹⁰³³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰³⁴ Chesser's mother was involved in a homosexual relationship, of which he disapproved.

A young son was not a sufficient distraction from his online activities and, in December 2009, Chesser continued his postings. Demonstrating cognitive political extremism, he discussed his political views on September 11, 2001 with the Islamic Awakening Forum: “Why does every Muslim desire that 9-11 be an inside job, when if it is not it means that 20+ Muslims will get the reward for fighting jihad” and “Collateral damage is allowed. The WTC, the Pentagon, and the White House are all military targets regardless of whether or not they had civilians in them.”¹⁰³⁵ On his AlQuranWaAlaHadeeth YouTube channel, he posted “Lion or Mouse,” a video supporting violent jihad.¹⁰³⁶ By this time, Chesser established and operated themujahidblog.com, also posting under the names Abu Talhah and Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee.¹⁰³⁷ This blog would be “dedicated to those who give their blood for this religion” and “primarily devoted to spreading knowledge regarding Jihad and the Mujahideen.”¹⁰³⁸ Chesser claimed that he was not soliciting “specific acts of violence,” but his website did “encourage general and ambiguous acts of violence.”¹⁰³⁹

Around late December 2009, Chesser was at the point of actually joining groups through pre-existing friendships. When asked, Chesser began running Revolution Muslim’s website and aimed to start a DC chapter.¹⁰⁴⁰ Revolution Muslim existed to justify and practically call for violence, including terrorism, against non-Muslims. It was initially based in New York and was outwardly anti-Semitic.¹⁰⁴¹ Through Revolution Muslim, Chesser gained some new friends including Younes Abdullah Muhammad, Mohamed Mahmood Alessa, Abdullah Ibrahim al-Faisal, and Ramy Zamzam, all later arrested on terrorism related charges. Interestingly, Chesser first met Zamzam at a “feed the homeless” drive that Zamzam

¹⁰³⁵ “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint,” 4.

¹⁰³⁶ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 129.

¹⁰³⁷ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 3; Chesser created many websites and blogs to display extremist views.

¹⁰³⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴⁰ “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint,” 2.

¹⁰⁴¹ *Ibid.*

was organizing.¹⁰⁴² Chesser believed that his real world interactions “played essentially the same role as the online ones” in his activities.¹⁰⁴³ However, his non-face-to-face connections were far more extensive, reaching computer screens far away from Virginia to include many individuals with extreme views: Shaker Masri, who planned to aid al-Qaeda; Emerson Winfield Begolly, who posted praise for the shootings by Yonathan Melaku; and Samir Ibn Zafar Khan, the editor of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula’s (AQAP) *Inspire* magazine, among many others.¹⁰⁴⁴

With respect to his real and virtual friends, Chesser came to view himself as a great religious authority, exhibited narcissistic delusions of grandeur, and took pride in being the “most extreme” of all of them.¹⁰⁴⁵ Indeed, his friends from Revolution Muslim and elsewhere would seek his counsel on matters of “jihad-related topics” and Chesser believed he was “building audiences and influencing them.”¹⁰⁴⁶ When pontificating on religious questions, Chesser would give a definitive answer then a disclaimer, asking (almost like an afterthought) for Allah’s forgiveness if he was wrong. He was also establishing a reputation among counter terrorism analysts.¹⁰⁴⁷ Chesser devoured counter terrorism materials from and engaged with the Counter Terrorism Blog, Jamestown Foundation, Intel Wire, NEFA Foundation, SITE Intel Group, and West Point’s Combatting Terrorism Center, to name a few.¹⁰⁴⁸

As 2009 came to a close, Chesser became a great deal more active online, posting in English, as well as some limited Arabic and Somali. In addition to Facebook, Twitter (as both Mujahid Blog and Abu Talhah), YouTube, and Scribd, he was active on a number of online

¹⁰⁴² Ibid.

¹⁰⁴³ Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*.”

¹⁰⁴⁴ “Zachary Chesser’s Radical Affiliations,” *National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism*, 2011, accessed February 25, 2016,

https://www.start.umd.edu/sites/default/files/files/publications/research_briefs/ChesserLinkAnalysis.pdf.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 5; Zelin, “Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī.”

¹⁰⁴⁶ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 3; Zelin, “Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī.”

¹⁰⁴⁷ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 5; Zelin, “Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī.”

¹⁰⁴⁸ Zelin, “Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī.”

websites and forums and was establishing a suspicious pattern.¹⁰⁴⁹ Chesser believed his proficiency with the Internet was because of his: “above average artistic, computer graphics, video editing, writing, and programming skills. These, combined with a flair for propaganda, motivational work, recruiting, networking, and marketing led to [his] quick rise on the Internet.”¹⁰⁵⁰ Though there is no exact date for this, he did mention that, with respect to the Internet, “One person briefly pulled me away, but this was supplemented by online material.”¹⁰⁵¹ Chesser was hooked.

The New Year was an opportunity for Chesser to increase his reputation. On January 9, 2010, Chesser posted “How to Help the Mujahideen” on his Mujahid Blog¹⁰⁵² Here, he outlined several ways believers might assist, including:

working out, studying military strategy and tactics, eating correctly, making da’wa for jihad and ribaat, acquiring the right equipment, etc...do everything we can in order to prepare for the fight...give up our sins, make istikhar and tawva, go for jogs, do push-ups, learn firearms, and all kinds of things...pray our Sunnan, wake up in the middle of the night and stand before Allah ‘azzaa wa jall...And perhaps most importantly, we have to actually go and fight against the disbelievers.¹⁰⁵³

Again, he was reiterating the need to travel. On January 19, 2010, Chesser posted “Aviation Security Screening Management Standard Operations Procedures,” a manual by the US Transportation Security Administration (TSA), to themujahidblog.com with the intention of educating his readers about airport screenings and how to circumvent security with explosives and other weapons that could pass through.¹⁰⁵⁴ He continued to upload al-Awlaki lectures to his AlQuranWaAlaHadeeth YouTube site between January 20 and 22, 2010.¹⁰⁵⁵ On a January 25, 2010 post on his blog, Chesser identified himself by his full name and offered that anyone doubting his credentials could contact his university: “I am a revert to

¹⁰⁴⁹ “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint,” 1.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*.”

¹⁰⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵² Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 11; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 129.

¹⁰⁵³ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 11.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 137.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Ibid., 129.

Islam and was a student at George Mason University. Feel free to go to GMU's [Muslim Student Association] page on Facebook and ask them about me if you are seriously worried about that."¹⁰⁵⁶ Interestingly, the faculty member for MSA had no knowledge of Chesser and he was no longer attending any known religious services.¹⁰⁵⁷

Chesser started February 2010 with some dark postings. On February 2, 2010, he uploaded a video to his AlQuranWaAlaHadeeth YouTube page, showing the construction, planting, and detonation of an IED that hit a military vehicle.¹⁰⁵⁸ A few days later on February 9, 2010, Chesser posted six more videos with scenes from Afghanistan.¹⁰⁵⁹ Also in February 2010, Chesser posted some support for the mujahideen on the 7th Century Generation Forum: "Allah grant them a quick and obvious victory over the munafiqeen [hypocrites] and the innovators. Allah provide for the families of the martyrs... Guide us to be among the mujahideen and grant us martyrdom in Your Path."¹⁰⁶⁰ For Revolution Muslim, Chesser shared some of his ethnic and religious hatred: "May Allah blow up the Jews and the Rawaafidh [shi'a]."¹⁰⁶¹ Later, Chesser and five other contributors posted "America Fika," a video of Chesser singing "America, America, America here we come, we come to please our lord, and jihad is all we know" over militants pointing their gun at the viewer, to their YouTube Jihad Blog.¹⁰⁶² Chesser believed that "America is...an enemy of greater immediate consequence due to its militancy in the lands of the Muslims," placing a target on her.¹⁰⁶³ In between posting graphic videos and other materials, Chesser would remind his followers of the importance of online engagement. On February 12, 2010, he encouraged his readers to

¹⁰⁵⁶ "Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint," 4.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Joshua Rhet Miller, "Road to Radicalism: The Man Behind the 'South Park' Threats," Fox News, April 23, 2010, 3, accessed February 13, 2016, <http://www.foxnews.com/us/2010/04/23/road-radicalism-man-south-park-threats.html>.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 129.

¹⁰⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 130.

¹⁰⁶⁰ "Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint," 3; at the time of writing, the 7th Century Forum is a still-active message board for communicating on all things Islam, including the sharing of rather extreme views.

¹⁰⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶³ Zelin, "Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī."

“comment often, even if it is only a short and semi-useless comment...[to] help keep topics of importance on people’s minds.”¹⁰⁶⁴ This is the same day he established a YouTube channel named AQWAHProductions to post videos praising killed mujahedeen, in addition to sharing on other sites.¹⁰⁶⁵ A few days later on February 17, Chesser published “How to Propagate & Call to Jihad” to his blog, further encouraging the spread of information via video, audio, still-images, and writing in both the real and virtual worlds.¹⁰⁶⁶

Chesser began to turn his attention to the news and current events, while keeping up his online presence. On March 3, 2010, Chesser vented about a Muslim guest who was on The Sean Hannity Show: “May Allah kill the murtad [apostate] with a death more painful than all the deaths he caused by serving the agents of genocide,” for which he drew praise.¹⁰⁶⁷ On March 7, 2010, Chesser posted “Open Source Jihad” on his blog with thoughts on how to make a movement successful online. Later, he claimed that al-Awlaki borrowed the term and AQAP used his materials.¹⁰⁶⁸ Chesser was keeping at least one foot in the real world, however. He travelled to Philadelphia to be at the arraignment of Colleen LaRose, a woman convicted on terrorism-related crimes, when his car broke down outside an empty spa and oak tree on March 18, 2010.¹⁰⁶⁹ After walking to the gas station and unsuccessfully trying to start the car, Chesser was approached by a police officer who claimed, “we got a call about a Muslim looking guy standing outside a car.”¹⁰⁷⁰ After Chesser’s name or license plate raised a red flag in the system, the officer proceeded to search him and his car. Chesser sat handcuffed in the back of the police car as the FBI, Department of Homeland Security, and more police arrived to inspect what they thought might be a car bomb.¹⁰⁷¹ When all was said

¹⁰⁶⁴ Zachary Chesser, “How to Propagate & Call to Jihad,” February 18, 2010, accessed March 9, 2016.

¹⁰⁶⁵ “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint,” 5.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Chesser, “How to Propagate & Call to Jihad.”

¹⁰⁶⁷ Zachary Chesser Status Update, Facebook, March 3, 2010, accessed March 23, 2016.

¹⁰⁶⁸ “An American Terrorist: Zachary Chesser Timeline,” *The Washington Post*, October 27, 2010, accessed June 21, 2016, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/metro/zac-chesser/timeline-test.html>.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*.”

¹⁰⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷¹ Ibid.

and done, Chesser was free to go and, as an apology, the police paid for the car to be towed.¹⁰⁷² Regardless of the parting good will, this was a deeply unpleasant experience for Chesser.

March continued with an interest in weapons, a little activism coupled with strategy, and a great deal of online activity. Chesser spoke more definitely about weapons on March 19, 2010: “[b]oth legal and illegal weapons are much easier to obtain here than they are in Europe,” and goes on to explain how he would acquire a M16 and grenade off the streets of DC.¹⁰⁷³ Chesser had also uploaded a field manual for US Army Rangers that contained, among other things, instructions on building bombs.¹⁰⁷⁴ Stepping away from the computer briefly, Chesser attended one of the Revolution Muslim rallies on March 20, 2010 outside the White House, which overlapped with an anti-war protest.¹⁰⁷⁵ Never one to shy away from proclamations, he was photographed reading a statement calling US President Barack Obama “an enemy of our religion and a tyrant.”¹⁰⁷⁶ On March 21, 2010, Chesser drifted into strategy and wrote a piece on “Counter Counter Terrorism #1” on his Mujahid Blog.¹⁰⁷⁷ In this, he detailed how to get around various counter terrorism tactics and suggested rewarding those who fought for Islam. He advised four ways to use propaganda in the fight: anytime the kuffar (non-believers) have something which is perceived as success it must be hidden; successes of the mujahideen must be emphasized; kill the sympathy factor; and emphasize

¹⁰⁷² Ibid.

¹⁰⁷³ Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee, comment on “Quoted in Metro Article About Jihad Jane, Etc,” *Jarret Brachman* March 19, 2010, accessed March 22, 2016, <http://jarretbrachman.net/quoted-in-metro-article-about-jihad-jane-etc/>.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Zachary Adam Chesser, “Addendum to Victims of the American Inquisition,” *Aseerun*, April 15, 2012, 3, accessed December 7, 2014, <https://aseerun.wordpress.com/2012/05/02/zachary-adam-chesser-april-15-2012-addendum-to-victims-of-the-american-inquisition/>; Chesser claimed in his court proceedings that he never read the manual.

¹⁰⁷⁵ “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint,” 2.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Ibid., 4; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 139; The first seven parts of his Counter Counter series was also posted on AlQimma.

unpopular actions of the kuffar.¹⁰⁷⁸ Additionally, Chesser recommended phrasing to use when non-Muslims are killed, such as “5 Western pigs sent to Hellfire in sha’a Allah.”¹⁰⁷⁹ The next day on Twitter, Chesser aired his opposition to the Jewish state by writing that the “United States still the slave of Israel. Hillary Clinton declares relationship with the genocidal regime ‘Rock solid.’”¹⁰⁸⁰ Regardless of the content, Chesser was interpreting world events through an extremist prism. Following the March 29, 2010 Moscow Metro Bombings, Chesser praised the two female suicide bombers on Revolution Muslim.¹⁰⁸¹ As if there was any doubt by this time, Chesser clearly understood the power of his new platform, writing “the jihadi movement has moved from the mountains and caves to the bedrooms of every major city around the world.”¹⁰⁸² Highly goal oriented, Chesser bragged: “In 2010 both my YouTube page and several others have seen more traffic than in all of 2009. In my case 2010 is 80% of my views so far...the growth of my page and some others I pay attention to is looking to hit a rate that would produce more than 1,000,000 views per year. There are currently no jihadi YouTube pages with even that many total views.”¹⁰⁸³ While his estimates might have been a bit grandiose, Chesser had found his pulpit and believed he had enormous influence.

April 2010 was a busy month for Chesser, briefly interrupted by some nice family time. On April 1, Chesser posted “An Overview of the Jihad in Somalia” where he praised the 20 Somali-American young men who left to fight and called on others to follow in their footsteps: “They have fulfilled their obligation and now it is time for those learning the truth to act.”¹⁰⁸⁴ A few days after on Easter, Chesser and his father’s family had a pleasant encounter, but this was a façade. Obsessively, Chesser was posting information about his

¹⁰⁷⁸ Zachary Chesser, “Counter Terrorism #1 - Defeating The Plotting Of The Enemies Of Allah,” *The Mujahid Blog*, March 21, 2010, accessed February 11, 2016, themujahidblog.com.

¹⁰⁷⁹ “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint,” 4.

¹⁰⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸² *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰⁸³ Al-Amrikee (Chesser), comment on, “Quoted in Metro Article About Jihad Jane, Etc.”

¹⁰⁸⁴ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 12; The first half of the quote is “...[trusting] the brothers and sisters who take the time to tell the truth on the internet...letting Muslims all over the world, particularly the west know what is really happening in Muslim lands.”

interpretations of Islam on many different websites, including several of those mentioned already. Like a fantasy, he speculated about “Destroying the West” with a laundry list of items ranging from taking down “Fantasy Football” sites to loading tanker-trucks with the chemical agent Ricin.¹⁰⁸⁵ On April 13, Chesser posted to the Islamic Emirate Forum, calling for Muslims to “serve Allah by uniting,” naming several nations (including the US, Israel, and the United Kingdom) as “clear enemies,” and arguing “the issue of killing someone without going to a Qadee [judge] is correct in the situation of one who insults the Messenger of Allah.”¹⁰⁸⁶ Using his themujahiblog.com, he advised fellow jihadis to take to Twitter to “[influence] the youth who do not know about the jihadi forums or who are not recruited into the forums, but are aware of them,” along with some evasive instructions.¹⁰⁸⁷

It was later in April, however, when Chesser likely attracted the attention of the FBI for a second time in what was a fairly blatant test of one’s boundaries. On April 14, the satirical and crass cartoon South Park, created by Matt Stone and Trey Parker, aired an episode on Comedy Central depicting the Prophet Mohammed as a bear.¹⁰⁸⁸ Despite the fact that Chesser once enjoyed South Park, the disrespect of his Prophet and his religion warranted thinly-veiled death threats. Worse yet, these were written in such a way as to inspire others to make reprisal attacks against the cartoonists. The next morning, April 15, Chesser posted on Twitter: “May Allah kill Matt Stone and Trey Parker and burn them in hell for an eternity. They insult our Prophets Muhammad, Jesus, and Moses.”¹⁰⁸⁹ The same day, Chesser posted something similar to his Mujahid Blog with a graphic picture of Theo Van Gogh, a Dutch filmmaker who was assassinated for his cartoon of the Prophet Mohammad, writing: “Theo Van Gogh – Have Matt Stone and Trey Parker Forgotten This?”¹⁰⁹⁰ Chesser

¹⁰⁸⁵ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 268.

¹⁰⁸⁶ “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint,” 4.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Zachary Chesser, *The Mujahid Blog*, April 2010, accessed February 5, 2016, themujahidblog.com.

¹⁰⁸⁸ “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint,” 2.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

went on to list their office address with the instruction: “We have to warn Matt and Trey that what they are doing is stupid and they will probably wind up like Theo Van Gogh if they do air this show. This is not a threat, but a warning of the reality of what will likely happen to them.”¹⁰⁹¹ In a third move, Chesser uploaded one of al-Awlaki’s videos titled “The Dust Will Never Settle Down” to YouTube, calling for the assassination of anyone who “defamed Mohammad.”¹⁰⁹² Chesser’s father reached out to him the day after the news broke to say he wished for no further contact, believing his son was being dishonest with him by not sharing these thoughts at Easter.¹⁰⁹³

Two days later on April 18, Chesser posted a blog entry on Revolution Muslim “in defense of the Prophet Campaign,” which included a lecture by al-Awlaki sharing a story about an assassinated Jewish leader in the 7th century who defamed the Prophet and photographs of individuals who had previously been marked for death by insulting Muhammad.¹⁰⁹⁴ Chesser spoke of seeking revenge, “As Usama bin Laden said with regard to the cartoons of Denmark, if there is no check in the freedom of your words, then let your hearts be open to the freedom of our actions.”¹⁰⁹⁵ Chesser ended his post with: “Join us in this campaign to let Matt Stone & Trey Parker know that ...the dust will never settle down” and posted their home addresses in Colorado.¹⁰⁹⁶ With potentially deadly consequences, he was “speaking” for a group and for a higher, more sensitive form of universal justice with an absolutist moral polarization. The responses, both in support and in opposition, to Chesser were violent. In the comments section, readers discussed slitting the throats of Stone and Parker with a rusty knife, killing and annihilating them, crucifying them, dismembering them

¹⁰⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹² Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*”; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 133.

¹⁰⁹³ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 302.

¹⁰⁹⁴ “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint,” 2; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 134.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Miller, “Road to Radicalism,” 3.

¹⁰⁹⁶ “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint,” 2; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 133.

with aces, and more.¹⁰⁹⁷ Chesser's own wife added: "may Allah awj humiliate them THE SOUTH PARK CREATURES."¹⁰⁹⁸ As with many of these postings, Chesser and his followers demonstrated a cultural acceptance of violence as a means to solve conflict. Elsewhere on April 18, he was downright gratuitously violent and understood the value of psychic numbing: "Videos of the kuffar dying should be spread. Death is an extraordinarily powerful image. There is nothing stronger in killing one's sympathy for the enemy than seeing him die enough times that there is no longer a shock factor."¹⁰⁹⁹ On April 21, Chesser and Revolution Muslim issued a statement "Clarifying the South Park Response and Calling on Others to Join in the Defense of the prophet Muhammad," justifying the deaths of the creators for their defamation of Islam.¹¹⁰⁰ Lacking empathy, Chesser was emotionally detached from the consequences of his actions and practically over-justifying his choices.

Chesser's war on South Park attracted a great deal of attention. Fox News reached out for an interview, which Chesser did over email and said, among other things, that peace will only come with "a complete withdrawal of non-Muslim forces from Muslim lands, an ending of the propping up of the apartheid regime of Israel, and a ceasing of the propping up of the brutal dictators."¹¹⁰¹ As a result, many located Chesser's parents, as well as Chesser, to communicate death threats of their own. Chesser claimed his mother was mainly upset by the Fox News article that stated he lived with her (an error Fox later corrected) and her partner threatened to murder him, which his mother weakly protested.¹¹⁰² Chesser's mother said she would never speak to him again. Chesser was now completely alienated from his parents. On April 22, Chesser acknowledged that his actions might cause the deaths of the South Park creators, to which he replied: "It's not a threat, but it really is a likely outcome. They're going

¹⁰⁹⁷ "Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint," 3.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Zachary Chesser, "Counter Counter Terrorism #2 - Using the Enemy Against Himself," *The Mujahid Blog*, April 18, 2010, accessed February 12, 2016, themujahidblog.com.

¹¹⁰⁰ "Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint," 3.

¹¹⁰¹ Miller, "Road to Radicalism," 3.

¹¹⁰² Chesser, "Truth Cannot Remain Silent in the Face of Evil," 5.

to be basically on a list in the back of the minds of a large number of Muslims. It's just the reality."¹¹⁰³ Chesser was "shocked" by the amount of attention his call to action created. He stepped away from Revolution Muslim and shifted elsewhere on the Internet, though this may have been based on necessity.¹¹⁰⁴ Facebook closed his account in April 2010 (presumably for his reposting of extreme blog articles and videos) and WordPress shut down his Mujahid Blog, which had amassed over 12,000 page views, for violating the terms of service.¹¹⁰⁵

As a brief interjection in Chesser's narrative, at some point in 2010 he claims that two agents of the FBI gave him an apartment (showing some level of reengagement with them), which he believed was so they could conduct surveillance on him. He even cites one instance where he left the apartment intentionally unlocked, only to return home and be locked out.¹¹⁰⁶ Because he believed he was bugged, Chesser would self-sensor or say outlandish things followed with: "To the FBI: that was a joke."¹¹⁰⁷ During 2010, he additionally believed that two agents were emailing him with the intention of entrapping him into revealing activities or support for foreign terrorist organizations.¹¹⁰⁸ One "outlandish" individual emailing him was, according to Chesser, "either a member of Al-Qaeda with no clue how to handle security or the FBI."¹¹⁰⁹ When the individual asked to meet Chesser, he obliged but planned to have a friend (who forgot) follow the person. Two people attended the brief meeting with Chesser, one of whom "appeared to have recently bought his beard from a nearby 'Party City.'"¹¹¹⁰ One of the individuals parroted security techniques Chesser had posted online; the meeting

¹¹⁰³ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 134.

¹¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 268.

¹¹⁰⁵ "Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint," 3.

¹¹⁰⁶ Zachary Adam Chesser, "Victims of the American Inquisition," Aseerun, February 20, 2012, 2, accessed November 11, 2014, <https://aseerun.wordpress.com/2012/02/20/victims-of-the-american-inquisition/>.

¹¹⁰⁷ Chesser, "Addendum to Victims of the American Inquisition," 1.

¹¹⁰⁸ Chesser, "Victims of the American Inquisition," 3.

¹¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

was “like bad theater, and it was really quite strange.”¹¹¹¹ The other person tried to convince Chesser to do martial arts training with the understanding that he could become an instructor, which Chesser declined despite their pushing.¹¹¹² Allegedly, Chesser brought a knife to the meeting, but has no memory of doing so.¹¹¹³ The FBI, as Chesser believed, was also showing up in some of his online forums during 2010. Chesser revealed what he claimed was “one undercover agent trying to entrap people” and had him kicked off an unnamed website. Despite Chesser’s lack of physical engagement, the FBI continued to contact him.

Returning to the timeline, on May 11, 2010, Chesser played on his infamy and encouraged the use of the term “jihobbyist,” a person who posts things on the Internet but does not act, to “create a feeling of inadequacy...[to] drive people to eliminate that feeling through actions.”¹¹¹⁴ Still working through some guilt, Chesser considered himself a “jihobbyist.” He began to more directly engage terrorism experts in dialogue, while occasionally showing his youth. Since February 2010, Chesser had been posting on terrorism scholar Jarret Brachman’s website. Brachman initially considered Chesser’s remarks to be the “usual ranting of a low-level al Qaeda supporter,” but came to realize he was a bit different and more respectful than the typical commenter, most of the time.¹¹¹⁵ On or slightly before May 14, 2010, Chesser was quite immature, calling Brachman “retarded” and suggesting that “someone should break [his] hands and cut out [his] tongue so that [he does] not have any way of communicating,” though he later apologized.¹¹¹⁶ According to Brachman, Chesser

¹¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹¹⁴ Zachary Chesser, “Counter Counter Terrorism #8 - Fomenting Disunity in the Counter Terrorism Movement,” *The Mujahid Blog*, July 22, 2010, accessed February 13, 2016, themujahidblog.com; An excerpt of this post is available at, Jarret Brachman, “Blog “Buddy” Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee Gets Nabbed,” *Jarret Brachman* (blog), July 22, 2010, accessed February 13, 2016, <http://jarretbrachman.net/blog-buddy-abu-talhah-al-amrikee-gets-nabbed/>.

¹¹¹⁵ Jarret Brachman, “My Pen Pal, the Jihadist,” *Foreign Policy*, July 29, 2010, 2, accessed April 13, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2010/07/29/my-pen-pal-the-jihadist/>.

¹¹¹⁶ Jarret Brachman, “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee’s Response to My Response to Abu Al-Qa’qa Mujahid,” *Jarret Brachman* (blog), May 14, 2010, accessed March 19, 2016, <http://jarretbrachman.net/abu-talhah-al-amrikees-response-to-my-response-to-abu-al-qaqa-mujahid/>.

“fancied himself a legitimate analyst and strategist, one who could go toe-to-toe with [Brachman] on any jihadist matter. He was insightful and rational, but only to a point.”¹¹¹⁷

Chesser was “intensely intellectually curious,” keen to engage, and even open to constructive criticism about how to structure his arguments, provided his knowledge of Islam was not being questioned.¹¹¹⁸ However, he “sophomorically” saw the world divided among good and bad.¹¹¹⁹

On May 15, 2010 in the 7th Century Generation Forum, Chesser posted “Home of Lars Vilks Firebombed – Kafir New” with his interpretation of the attack against Vilks, the Swedish cartoonist targeted for drawing the Prophet Muhammad as a dog in a Swedish newspaper in 2007. Chesser saw the attack as “correcting an evil with your hand.”¹¹²⁰ As he had with South Park, Chesser received some threats for his words, but continued to engage online. He went so far as to post the personal contact information, including a school and church, of people who joined the counter-protest Facebook group “Everyone Draw Muhammad Day” as “just a place to start” around May 18, 2010.¹¹²¹ By May 28, 2010, Chesser began to plan his next attempt at travel, setting his sights on Somalia via Uganda. His wife and he had decided that he would go and take his young son with him as “cover” to avoid detection by US authorities, which is recorded on court-ordered electronic surveillance.¹¹²² If asked by law enforcement, Nzabanita would tell them that Chesser went to Uganda to obtain her birth certificate.¹¹²³ Their latest plot had hatched.

¹¹¹⁷ Brachman, “My Pen Pal, the Jihadist,” 3.

¹¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹¹⁹ Ibid., 5.

¹¹²⁰ “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint,” 3.

¹¹²¹ Ibid., 2; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 135; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 272.

¹¹²² Chesser, “Victims of the American Inquisition;” “An American Terrorist: Zachary Chesser Timeline;” Chesser claims this did not occur and that there was no plan to use him as cover. However, this statement remained in his plea deal.

¹¹²³ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 284; on July 21, 2010, she did tell federal law enforcement agents that Chesser attempted to go to Uganda for her birth certificate. While this was a lie, she was not under oath and this was not part of her subsequent charge and convention.

Time began to speed up in June for both Chesser and the FBI. On June 8, 2010, Chesser told his wife that he would be in Uganda for 24 hours or less, presumably moving quickly toward Somalia.¹¹²⁴ The same day, he posted “American Tuta Fika” or “America We Are Coming,” a video that included him singing and images of fighters in Somalia on the Al Fallujah Islamic Forum or Al Faloja, which is associated with terrorist propaganda.¹¹²⁵ Around June 9, he went on to post “200 plus books on various beneficial subjects” covering preparations, communications, transportation, security, weapons, “Guidelines for Beating and Killing Hostages,” “Guerrilla Air Defense, Antiaircraft Weapons and Techniques for Guerrilla Forces,” espionage, and a host of other resources that could be used in support of violent jihad.¹¹²⁶ To Al Fallujah on June 15, as well as AlQimmah (associated with Al-Shabaab), Chesser posted “Jihadi Calls for ‘Suspicious Bags’ To Be Left Throughout DC and NYC,” to which he added a note about the previous success of such operations: “A cop might walk up to a bag that someone thought might be a bomb, so he assumes it is not. Then he bends over to open it rolling his eyes at this waste of his time. Boom! No more kaafir [non-Muslim].”¹¹²⁷ Also on June 15, Chesser uploaded a song to Al Qimmah that he had recorded in English, “So Work Hard O Soldier,” singing: “Our goals are only two...victory or death, from the first drop of life’s blood, until the final breath, They call me ‘irhaabi,’ [terrorist] for supporting mujahidun. So if jihad is irhaab [terrorism], then nahnu irhaabiyun [we are all terrorists].”¹¹²⁸ With his music, he openly aimed to emulate Omar al-Hammami, an American member of Al-Shabaab who was known for his jihadi rap songs.¹¹²⁹ Chesser was drawn to the beat, making his own.

¹¹²⁴ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 7.

¹¹²⁵ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 130.

¹¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 130, 137.

¹¹²⁷ “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint,” 4; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 137.

¹¹²⁸ “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint,” 4.

¹¹²⁹ Brachman, “My Pen Pal, the Jihadist,” 4.

For the second half of June, Chesser returns to his idea of traveling to fight. On June 17, 2010, Chesser posted “Counter Counter Terrorism #12 – Actually Leaving for Jihad” in an online forum where he advocated “LEAVE,” as this would shock nonbelievers. Chesser advised that the ideal time to travel was one year after the person made their decision, advice he seems to have loosely followed for himself.¹¹³⁰ He elaborated on other prerequisites, as well, including amassing enough money to buy the plane ticket, acquiring travel documents, staying under the radar of authorities (by shaving the beard), and actually leaving.¹¹³¹ Likely practicing what he preached and based on what was needed, Chesser used various addresses including the one on his driver’s license, a different one on his son’s passport application, and the house of a friend, though he claimed this was out of practicality and not an attempt to confuse law enforcement.¹¹³² Chesser dispelled those who said his voyage would be impractical or cause arrest: “If somebody keeps their mouth shut, buys a GPS device for hiking, and then has the patience to spend a few hours to a few days outside then everywhere from Afghanistan to Chechnya is fairly accessible.”¹¹³³ He also rejected what religious authorities had to say about his pending decision. Chesser asked local mosque leaders for approval of his plans, but “disagreed with their responses.”¹¹³⁴

Almost ready to “LEAVE,” Chesser turned back online, posting a lengthy engagement on June 22, 2010 in response to “25 thoughts on ‘Ansar al-Mujahidin English Forum translated an essay by Dr. Akram Hijazi: Ibn Taymiyyah Reviews,’” published by radicalization scholar Aaron Y. Zelin on his site Jihadology.¹¹³⁵ Dismissed as a “college drop-out ‘mujtahid’” by Ibn Siqille, Chesser became slightly defensive about the fact he had

¹¹³⁰ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 10.

¹¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹³² *Ibid.*, 6; Zachary Adam Chesser, “Addendum to Victims of the American Inquisition,” 4.

¹¹³³ Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*”; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 131.

¹¹³⁴ Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*.”

¹¹³⁵ Aaron Zelin, “Ansar al-Mujahidin English Forum translated an essay by Dr. Akram Hijazi: ‘Ibn Taymiyyah Reviews,’” 17; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 128.

not left to fight. Chesser also criticized the Islamic Studies program at George Mason University where “the professors seemed to know less than the students” and “seemed to try and portray Islaam in the best way they could, but this resulted in a lot of strange errors.”¹¹³⁶ Chesser was an expert, not the professors. The conversation, often flippant, between Ibn Siqille and Chesser continued almost non-stop for more than two days at all hours.¹¹³⁷ In the exchange with Ibn Siqille, Chesser would quite typically know one piece of information and decide that was sufficient for a black and white opinion. In one excerpt, he wrote, “I do not know specifically how he has criticized al-Qaeda...however, this opinion along with all his other shaadh [doubtful] opinions are enough for me to dismiss him completely.”¹¹³⁸

In June, the FBI was building its case as Chesser was increasing his profile. He was simultaneously becoming more paranoid and brazen. As both Chesser and his wife suspected continued searches when they were not home, they put security measures in place like destroying papers and other items by “pouring water and bleach on them.”¹¹³⁹ Chesser was right to be looking over his proverbial shoulder. Believing imminent travel was planned, the FBI obtained a court-ordered search warrant of Chesser’s residence in Fairfax, VA on June 24, 2010, where they found his personal journal that contained writings very similar to those posted online and details about other extreme activities like joining al-Shabaab, as well as the hope that his personal story might be a “real life ‘how-to-guide on how to reach the fields of Jihad.”¹¹⁴⁰ On June 28, 2010, Chesser published what could be considered his manifesto, “Raising al-Qaa’ida: A Look Into the Long Term Obligations of the Global Jihaad

¹¹³⁶ Zelin, “Ansar al-Mujahidin English Forum translated an essay by Dr. Akram Hijazi: ‘Ibn Taymiyyah Reviews,” 18.

¹¹³⁷ Chesser posted at all hours, likely impacting his sleep.

¹¹³⁸ Zelin, “Ansar al-Mujahidin English Forum translated an essay by Dr. Akram Hijazi: ‘Ibn Taymiyyah Reviews,” 27; Chesser is referring to Yusuf al-Qaradawi an Egyptian Islamic theologian and chairman of the International Union of Muslim Scholars who supports terrorism and condones Palestinian attacks on Israelis.

¹¹³⁹ *U.S. v. Nzabanita*, Statement of Facts (November 8, 2010)

¹¹⁴⁰ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 9.

movement,” sharing it across many platforms.¹¹⁴¹ “Raising al-Qaa’ida” discussed bottom-up ways to involve all kinds of Muslims, from apathetic to “moustache only” to the most dedicated. Throughout the 25 pages, Chesser asserted the superiority of the Islamic fighter. The document goes into greater detail with respect to the role of women and children, strategies for indoctrination and recruitment, and who are the most critical groups of fighters.

On June 29, 2010, Chesser allowed Zelin to interview him on both personal and theological matters.¹¹⁴² Whereas he had once opposed violence except in cases of self-defense, Chesser revealed that he had come around to the fact that civilian Muslims would die in his battle: “Collateral damage will naturally occur in any war, and in some scenarios it will be the majority of the deaths. The current wars the Muslims are fighting are within their own territory, so virtually all collateral damage will be of Muslims.”¹¹⁴³ During the interview, Chesser also reiterated his influence, claiming he was “on track to eventually getting perhaps a million hits per month” and considered himself in a position of “enormous influence.”¹¹⁴⁴ Maybe because Chesser considered himself such a great expert, he made sweeping statements acknowledging a lack of insight on an issue, while making an often damning statement in the next breath: “I do not remember what the Shi’a in Syria believe from my lessons, but I remember it to be kufr of some sort.”¹¹⁴⁵ As revealed in his answers, Chesser would provide his interpretation of Islamic theology as the true indisputable truth, while also saying “I usually do not write on Islaam, because someone such as me is better suited to copying and pasting until they have more knowledge.”¹¹⁴⁶ The Zelin interview likely encapsulated Chesser’s physical and mental state in the days before he would attempt to join Al-Shabaab. Shortly thereafter on June 30, Chesser posted the four-part video “al-Shabaab-Preparation for

¹¹⁴¹ “Virginia Jihadist Zachary Chesser Arrested,” SITE Intelligence Group, January 15, 2014, Jihadist Threat, accessed March 30, 2016, <https://news.siteintelgroup.com/Featured-Article/chesserarrest.html>.

¹¹⁴² Zelin, “Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī.”

¹¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴⁴ Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*.”

¹¹⁴⁵ Zelin, “Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī.”

¹¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

the Battle-No Peace Without Islam,” showing the many ways the fighters train and build bombs.¹¹⁴⁷

On July 10, 2010, a recently shaven Chesser was attempting to board a plane from John F. Kennedy Airport in New York to Uganda with a bag of diapers, a \$40 camera, and \$1,000 in cash.¹¹⁴⁸ After the airline refused to let him check-in, TSA informed Chesser that he was on the No-Fly list and he was interviewed by US Secret Service Special Agent Kirgan, who confirmed he would not be flying.¹¹⁴⁹ Undeterred, Chesser announced he might cross into Mexico and Canada to depart from there, planning to walk from Uganda into Kenya and then into Somalia.¹¹⁵⁰ When answering questions, Chesser exhibited great impracticality. He intended to walk across several countries with an infant, despite the fact that he could only speak English and Japanese with very limited Arabic and Somali. The agent allegedly asked Chesser several questions about the President of the United States, where the agent mentioned Chesser’s invitation to Obama to become a Muslim.¹¹⁵¹ In the interview at the airport, Chesser claims he was selective with the truth, but that he did not lie.¹¹⁵²

After the failed attempt to board the plan, Chesser returned home. He stayed in the house most of the time and planned how to get out of the country, despite a lack of funds. At some point (possibly earlier than July 11), Chesser changed the hard drive on his computer.¹¹⁵³ He then started a new blog dedicated to the study of insurgencies, downloaded an al-Qaeda magazine (because there was a piece that concerned him), and reached out to some close Al-Shabaab contacts.¹¹⁵⁴ Chesser asked his Somali contacts if there was any

¹¹⁴⁷ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 131.

¹¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 269.

¹¹⁴⁹ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 5.

¹¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 6; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 269.

¹¹⁵¹ Chesser, “Victims of the American Inquisition,” 4.

¹¹⁵² Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*, 36.

¹¹⁵³ Chesser, “Addendum to Victims of the American Inquisition,” 3; Chesser claims there was nothing incriminating on the hard drive and, in fact, the contents might have helped his case.

¹¹⁵⁴ Chesser, “Victims of the American Inquisition,” 4.

information he might give the FBI in exchange for being allowed to leave the country. With their approval, Chesser reached out to the FBI on July 14 and two interviews followed.¹¹⁵⁵ Over the interviews, Chesser revealed that his intention on July 10 was to travel to Somalia via Uganda then Kenya or Tanzania (which he believed was as easy to do as going from Kansas to Missouri) to join in the fight, fully aware that Al-Shabaab was a Designated Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) by the United States.¹¹⁵⁶ The timing was such that he would arrive approximately two months after Ramadan, when the training camps would begin again.¹¹⁵⁷ First, he would have basic and firearms training over approximately six weeks, then possibly additional training for a special skill such as bomb making or sniper shooting.¹¹⁵⁸ Having done some amount of research, Chesser shared that \$20 at an Al-Shabaab controlled border crossing would get him into Somalia from Kenya and that Al-Shabaab was easier to join than the Taliban or “those in Iraq.”¹¹⁵⁹ Believing he was likely going to be recruited as a “foreign fighter,” Chesser had been asked to bring a laptop for personal use by fighters and a camera for the filming of professional quality Al-Shabaab propaganda.¹¹⁶⁰ As he had produced “things” for Al-Shabaab members previously and they “trusted” him, Chesser believed he was likely to be placed in their media branch in Mogadishu. He did think he would still be able to experience some true fighting in fulfillment of his religious obligation.¹¹⁶¹ Chesser reiterated that, on July 10, 2010, he was willing to be

¹¹⁵⁵ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 6; Tara Bahrapour, “Terror Suspect Took His Desire to Belong to the Extreme,” *The Washington Post*, July 25, 2010, accessed March 8, 2016, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/07/24/AR2010072402497_pf.html; “Victims of the American Inquisition,” 4; US Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*, 37; Chesser later claimed that the fact pattern that is about to follow was partially fabricated by the FBI and that there are inaccuracies in the Affidavit. However, the Affidavit stands as the official record.

¹¹⁵⁶ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 7.

¹¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹¹⁶⁰ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 8.

¹¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*; Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*, 52; Chesser believed some of his recruitment or desirability was based on his propaganda and communications skills.

on the front lines and was not afraid to die for his religion.¹¹⁶² He, however, was deterred when learning about the July 11, 2010 Kampala bombings where Al-Shabaab suicide bombers killed 74 civilians watching the FIFA World Cup Final.

Chesser was disturbed at several things that happened in the interviews. He claims that the FBI refused to record the interview and harassed him with questions like “your religion allows you to lie to us, right?”¹¹⁶³ They were “pissed off” by at least one video he uploaded and attempted to get him to name some of his friends.¹¹⁶⁴ One agent called him a traitor and made fun of the fact that Chesser would not be able to go on the Hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca. Chesser claims that, at the end of the second interview, agents yelled at to get on the floor, handcuffed him, and kicked him in the ribs. Chesser was formally arrested on July 21, 2010, though he was not told about the charges he was facing until a day or two later.¹¹⁶⁵

In a massive first offense, Chesser pled guilty to “Communicating Threats, Soliciting Others to Threaten Violence, and attempted Provision of Material Support to Designated Foreign Terrorist Organization” on October 20, 2010. In exchange for his guilty plea, Chesser’s wife would avoid jail time. In December 2010, Chesser wrote that he “completely reject[s] the idea that killing can be justified in the name of Islam or any religion.”¹¹⁶⁶ Chesser reflected on 18-months of radicalization and described it as “a missing puzzle piece in [his] life.”¹¹⁶⁷ Many years from now, Chesser hopes to start a new life as a “productive citizen for both society and his family.”¹¹⁶⁸ After he wrote that, however, Chesser continued to post religious and inflammatory remarks online, answered questionnaires until he was cut

¹¹⁶² Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 8.

¹¹⁶³ Chesser, “Victims of the American Inquisition,” 5.

¹¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶⁵ Chesser, “Addendum to Victims of the American Inquisition,” 3; Chesser claimed he was not told about the charges at that time.

¹¹⁶⁶ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 5; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 270.

¹¹⁶⁷ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 270.

¹¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

off from that type of communication, and filed convoluted legal petitions regarding the custody of his son, who is now primarily in the care of Chesser's mother.¹¹⁶⁹ Chesser was sentenced to 25 years in prison on February 24, 2011.¹¹⁷⁰

Analysis of Terrorism Variables and Chesser

In this "most likely" case, approximately 103 out of 204 terrorism related variables are associated with Chesser's radicalization from the time he was likely flagged by the FBI as potentially dangerous. With the voracity of his postings, Chesser was on a rapid path from self-identifying as an Islamic extremist to being fully indoctrinated, and finally trying to violently act on his beliefs. Most of his radicalization seems to have taken place online in a self-selected echo chamber where he was able to learn, debate, and educate others about his filtered and distorted version of Islam. With his online skills, however self-aggrandized, Chesser built a substantial network first through al-Awlaki's site and later through the many channels that he established. He came to view traveling to fight, or jihad, as an obligation that absolutely had to be fulfilled as part of his religion; however, his planning was lacking. Viewing himself a leader for his movement, Chesser exponentially increased his desire to inspire others to do harm, all but ordering his readers to commit murder. By the time he was fully radicalized, he was prepared to board a plane with his infant son and literally walk across Kenya to join Al-Shabaab. Chesser was obsessed and disillusioned, brazenly flaunting his beliefs to law enforcement, media, and the general public.

However, Chesser was a seriously damaged and vulnerable young man who, through his actions, let out many cries for help that went unanswered. Next, Chesser's narrative starts at his birth and tells his story up to the point where radicalization was increasingly evident.

¹¹⁶⁹ Chesser, "Victims of the American Inquisition."

¹¹⁷⁰ "Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint," 1.

Chesser's Early Years

Zachary Adam Chesser was born on December 22, 1989 in Charlottesville, Virginia.¹¹⁷¹

Zachary's father, David Chesser, received his Ph.D. in economics.¹¹⁷² At the time of Zachary's birth, his father was a graduate student at the University of Virginia. In what would be the first of several moves for the family, David spent six years as an Assistant Professor at the University of Missouri Columbia where he had a very close relationship with Zachary. Then, David transitioned and was an Instructor at Montana State University for one year. During David's year at Montana State University, Zachary stayed with this mother in Missouri. Zachary's mother, Barbara Chesser, is also highly educated, currently a DC prosecutor, and a Christian.¹¹⁷³ Chesser grew up in a middle to upper-middle class family.

As a child, Chesser was an American Civil War buff, able to name the majority of the major battles, generals, fatality statistics, etc. In fact, Chesser aspired to be a general in the American army, influenced by the "support the troops" mentality on the home front.¹¹⁷⁴ This rosy outlook lasted until he was about age 10.¹¹⁷⁵ Moving his family to Northern Virginia, David began working as a contractor for the US Department of Transportation.¹¹⁷⁶ Zachary's mother and father separated in summer 2000, following their move to Northern Virginia, and were divorced in December 2000, a critically stressful event for a young child.¹¹⁷⁷ Zachary and his brother Owen split their time between their two parents, alternating houses weekly. Early in the divorce, David moved from an apartment in Springfield to a townhouse in Oakton in January 2001. By his own admission, David was depressed and seeking a counselor. Unsuccessfully, he encouraged his boys to do the same, though David

¹¹⁷¹ Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*, 5.

¹¹⁷² Throughout this section, I will differentiate between father and son with the use of their first names.

¹¹⁷³ Chesser, "Addendum to Victims of the American Inquisition," 1.

¹¹⁷⁴ Al-Amrikii, *Raising Al-Qaa'ida: A Look into the Long Term Obligations of the Global Jihaad Movement*, 13.

¹¹⁷⁵ Chesser, "Truth Cannot Remain Silent in the Face of Evil," 3.

¹¹⁷⁶ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO.

¹¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 298.

acknowledges that Zachary seemed to be “doing well in school and in making friends.”

However, Zachary’s father felt that “there was now a distance between us.”¹¹⁷⁸

Zachary’s home with his mother was even more unpleasant. Upon moving back to Virginia, Barbara immediately reached out to Stacy Anderson, whom she knew from Missouri, and married her, adding Stacy to their home.¹¹⁷⁹ Zachary described Stacy as “butch” and the more masculine of the couple.¹¹⁸⁰ More significantly, however, was her alcoholism. Zachary claims that Stacy drank wine almost every night to the point of intoxication and was prone to excessive cursing.¹¹⁸¹ Zachary says that her presence was “detrimental to any child living in the same house as her,” especially as she began to parent the two boys more than their mother.¹¹⁸²

Middle School

Zachary was always a very bright individual and, from sixth to eighth grade, was in his school’s Gifted and Talented program where he was bussed to a special school.¹¹⁸³ As Zachary transitioned from elementary to middle school, he “drifted from one obsession to another.”¹¹⁸⁴ According to fellow gifted classmate James Chung, “If he’d get interested in something, he’d really get into it.”¹¹⁸⁵ Over six feet tall in seventh grade, Zachary was a star on his youth basketball and soccer teams, as seen in the Oakton High School yearbook photo. He became interested in languages and began Latin. Zachary was a self-starter, teaching

¹¹⁷⁸ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO; Chesser lived in an urban area close to Washington, DC.

¹¹⁷⁹ Chesser, “Truth Cannot Remain Silent in the Face of Evil,” 3; same sex marriage was not legal in the Commonwealth of Virginia until 2014.

¹¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹¹⁸¹ Chesser, “Truth Cannot Remain Silent in the Face of Evil,” 3.

¹¹⁸² Ibid.

¹¹⁸³ Zelin, “Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī.”

¹¹⁸⁴ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 266.

¹¹⁸⁵ Tara Bahrapour, “Internet Helped Muslim Convert from Northern Virginia Embrace Extremism at Warp Speed,” United Jerusalem, November 2, 2010, 4, accessed April 1, 2016, <http://www.unitedjerusalem.org/index2.asp?id=1373002>.

himself to draw freehand by starting with tracing designs.¹¹⁸⁶ In a sudden shift away from his boyhood, his persona was far more “Goth,” with long hair that earned him the nickname “Rapunzel.” He had an interest in heavy-metal music, Marilyn Manson, and drawing satanic images in notebooks.¹¹⁸⁷ This was the first of many identity searches with sudden friend changes. With a few friends, Zachary planned to start a band, taught himself guitar (later keyboard), and even took a few lessons.¹¹⁸⁸ According to his father, Zachary played paintball and Xbox video games, forms of militarized play.¹¹⁸⁹

According to his father, Zachary was incredibly stubborn and opinionated, even as a child and later adolescent, and showed poor problem solving ability and reasoning. With difficult math homework, he would reject the assistance of his father and would insist he was right despite evidence to the contrary. Zachary had a small lazy streak and needed parental pressure to try-out for a competitive basketball travelling team. During middle school, Zachary began to voice his beliefs more loudly and was especially outspoken in his opposition to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.¹¹⁹⁰ In political discussions, he would have an “idealist but impractical view.” Zachary was deeply affected by suffering in all aspects of life and became a vegetarian at the age of fourteen because he “didn’t believe it was right to kill animals.”¹¹⁹¹

Zachary’s dysfunctional home situation at his mother’s continued to deteriorate and was riddled with problem parent behavior.¹¹⁹² Stacy would drunkenly scream at him almost every day over things he did or not do, according to Zachary.¹¹⁹³ He admitted that sometimes a scolding was called for—like when he forgot to do his chores or picked fights with his

¹¹⁸⁶ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 298.

¹¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 266; Miller, “Road to Radicalism,” 1.

¹¹⁸⁸ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 298; these are also examples of toy weapons.

¹¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 266.

¹¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 298.

¹¹⁹² Presumably, he did not enjoy spending time with his mother, nor did he feel very close to her. His home life was ravaged with family conflict, poor family functioning and management practices, high levels of family disruption, and parental stress among other issues, according to him.

¹¹⁹³ Chesser, “Truth Cannot Remain Silent in the Face of Evil,” 3.

parents—but most of the time it was over something insignificant like “accidentally letting the cat get outside or not remembering to clean [his] plate after dinner.”¹¹⁹⁴ Zachary was not “that bad a kid by American standards.”¹¹⁹⁵ He would not sneak out of the house, party, use drugs, or drink alcohol.¹¹⁹⁶ He recalled that his mother or Stacy would be over-controlling and insist on checking his homework before he turned it in, sometimes screaming at him for poor work (that the teacher later deemed perfect) and not acknowledging the good work.¹¹⁹⁷ Further, Stacy was verbally abusive and threatening in additional ways, telling Zachary she could “kick [his] ass” and encouraging a fight.¹¹⁹⁸ His mother did a poor job of mediating this and would normally end up crying. Zachary felt her love for herself and for her relationship outweighed what she might feel toward her children.¹¹⁹⁹ His mother was also emotionally abused by Stacy, who “treated her like garbage too,” and threatened to throw all three of them out on the street.¹²⁰⁰

Zachary’s younger brother was doing very poorly with this home environment. At one point, his brother Owen confided he was considering suicide to get away from Stacy, which was a traumatic experience for Zachary.¹²⁰¹ His brother was involved in drugs and becoming delinquent. Zachary, stepping into a parental role, took it upon himself to throw away the drugs and speak to his brother about it.¹²⁰² David, who was once assaulted by Stacy when she was drunk, banned her from entering his home. In part retribution, Barbara would speak ill of David around her boys.¹²⁰³ This was a pattern that continued from middle school through high school for Zachary.

¹¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 4.

¹¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁰¹ Ibid.

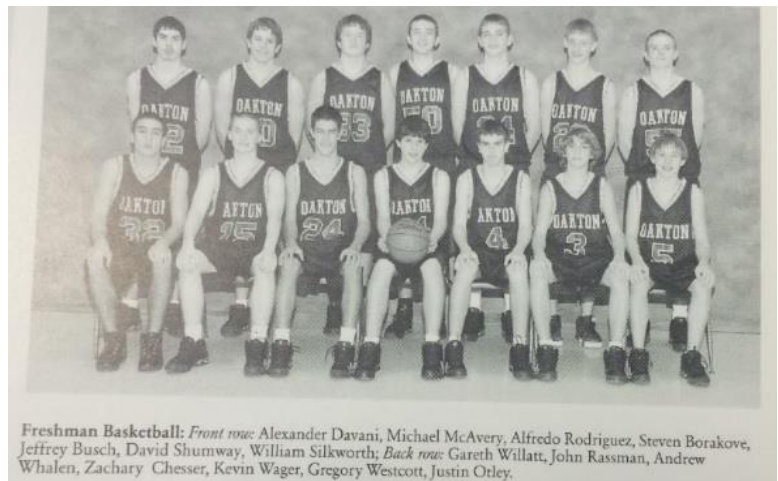
¹²⁰² Ibid., 3.

¹²⁰³ Ibid., 4.

High School

As a teenager at Oakton High School in Fairfax County, Zachary was a bit of a loner who tried his hand at many different activities to fit in with his peers. In the transition from middle to high school, Zachary lost a great number of friends who went to Thomas Jefferson High School, a magnet technology program, or other schools. This was compounded by the fact that Zachary did not have many friends in his father's neighborhood, which is also where he attended Oakton High School.¹²⁰⁴ For his first two years of high school, Zachary had lots of chances to be involved in activities and was eager to join a new group or have new friends.

He changed personas to become the athlete with short hair, rather than the Goth musician from middle school. Zachary played on the freshman and JV basketball and freshman football teams and was nicknamed "cheese."¹²⁰⁵



Source: *Oakton High School Yearbook 2005*

Though he was considered a "normal kid" and "the nicest guy on the team," the teams constituted the bulk of his socializing.¹²⁰⁶ When he was not on the basketball court, Zachary was in his room on the computer (he did not have Internet until senior year), drawing, or playing music.¹²⁰⁷ Occasionally, one friend would come over to play video games or he would go play paintball, though Zachary's parents did not really know his friends and he had difficulty forming intimate human relationships.¹²⁰⁸ At one point, his father took the door off

¹²⁰⁴ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 299.

¹²⁰⁵ Bahrapour, "Terror Suspect Took His Desire to Belong to the Extreme," 1.

¹²⁰⁶ Ibid.; "Fox 5 News: Zachary Chesser, Archive.org, July 22, 2010, accessed April 14, 2016, http://archive.org/details/WTTG_20100723_030000_Fox_5_News_Edge_at_11?q=zachary%2Bchesser#start/0/end/60.

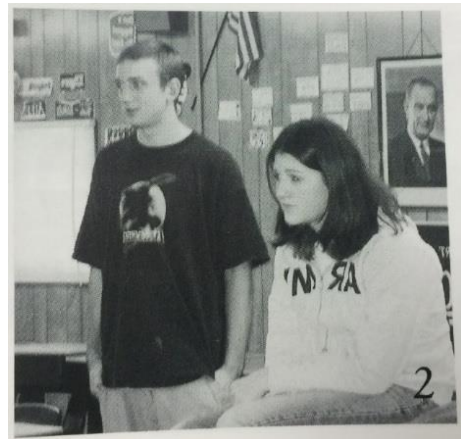
¹²⁰⁷ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 299.

¹²⁰⁸ Ibid., 304.

his room for a few days to try to force human interaction.¹²⁰⁹ An anonymous classmate described Zachary as having “a loner thing...[with] an interest in being controversial and saying crazy things.”¹²¹⁰

In ninth grade, Zachary’s father began dating and later married a woman named Meg. To introduce Meg to his boys, David took them all fossil hunting in Maryland, which Zachary found unpleasant. According to David, Zachary resented this and told his father “not to take them along on [his] dates.”¹²¹¹ Zachary eventually warmed some to Meg, who moved in during the summer of 2005 and married his father in 2006.¹²¹² Meg fulfilled more of a “second adult” than “parenting role” for his boys, and Zachary would go to her for advice.¹²¹³ Meg described Zachary as a moody and “typical teen, trying to find his place.”¹²¹⁴

One constant feature of Zachary’s personality was his concern about people in the 3rd world and the causes and solutions to poverty and oppression, and pacifism.¹²¹⁵ On the Young Democrats his freshman year, Chesser regularly used his political voice and was finally part of a student group during a generational conflict.¹²¹⁶ At home, he and his father would have many debates and Meg believed he was destined for the Peace Corps, as he aspired to have a world where “children don’t go hungry and people look out for one another.”¹²¹⁷ Even in high school, Zachary’s concern for others often turned into action. David once gave his son \$20 from his allowance so he could go to a vegetarian



Source: *Oakton High School Yearbook 2005*

¹²⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹²¹⁰ Miller, “Road to Radicalism: The Man Behind the ‘South Park’ Threats,” 2.

¹²¹¹ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 299.

¹²¹² Ibid.

¹²¹³ Ibid.

¹²¹⁴ Ibid., 298.

¹²¹⁵ Ibid., 307.

¹²¹⁶ Oakton High School, *Oakton High School Yearbook*, 2004 – 2005, 92, accessed March 17, 2016.

¹²¹⁷ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 302, 304.

restaurant he heard about in Vienna. Later that evening, Zachary requested money to go to 7-11; while his meal had cost \$6, Zac gave the remaining \$14 as a tip to the waiter who said he was poor.¹²¹⁸ This was not uncommon; Chesser would often talk to people at train stations who claimed to need money, always giving to the con artists, according to Meg.¹²¹⁹ Zachary would often go out of his way to make sure all people are treated fairly; his father believed that “his strongest character trait is that he cares passionately about the world and people.”¹²²⁰

Throughout high school, Zachary was academically interested in history and civics. He was obsessed, however, with Japanese culture, studying Japanese for four years and viewing Japanese anime.¹²²¹ While there is no specific information on the type of Japanese anime Zachary viewed, he watched a great deal and was at least interested in InuYasha, a manga series notorious for its dark and violent subject matter.



Source: Oakton High School Yearbook 2005

Japanese anime and the related manga are known for their quick and dramatic camera effects. Both provide a form of escapism where the watcher becomes part of that fantasy, a fictionalized world where violence without restraint is common, as are sexism, mortal heroes,

¹²¹⁸ Ibid., 299.

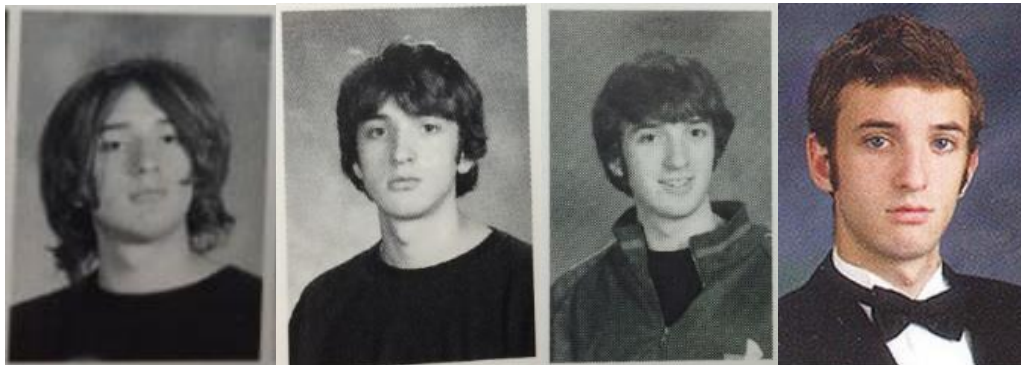
¹²¹⁹ Ibid., 305.

¹²²⁰ Ibid., 298.

¹²²¹ Ibid., 266.

and mysticism.¹²²² This heavy viewing of fast-paced, high-action, and violence-laden programs may have affected his perception of reality and violence.

Zachary's junior year was fairly eventful. He crewed in 11th grade in hopes of getting a scholarship to Carnegie Melon; fellow rower Shawn Jang said Zachary "got along with all types of people."¹²²³ Zachary joined the Freestyle Club, a predominantly Korean break-dancing team, in 11th and 12th grades.¹²²⁴ One reason he decided to join the Freestyle Club was because it "was a great way to condition for sports and to express myself, especially if I was frustrated. The club also provided a very cultural experience."¹²²⁵ Zachary was not bothered when the club members spoke Korean, which he did not understand, around him.¹²²⁶ He also would have fun attracting attention. For Halloween, Zachary dressed up as Buzz Lightyear and paraded the costume around school.¹²²⁷



Source: Chesser Oakton High School Yearbook 2005-2008 (L to R)

In Zachary's junior year of high school, he came out of his shell slightly, reengaging with family and friends. Meg gave birth to a baby boy, Sam, in February 2007. Zachary was a very good big brother, holding and playing with him, feeding him bottles from time to time, and briefly watching him. Meg cites her stepson's "one diaper changing rule."¹²²⁸ He and his

¹²²² Fuji Odakane, "Violence in Anime & Manga," Cool Japan Illustrated, accessed April 11, 2016, http://www.cool-jp.com/articles/anime/creative_freedom_violence.php.

¹²²³ "Fox 5 News: Zachary Chesser."

¹²²⁴ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 266; Oakton High School Yearbook 2007.

¹²²⁵ Oakton High School, *Oakton High School Yearbook*.

¹²²⁶ Bahrapour, "Terror Suspect Took His Desire to Belong to the Extreme," 2.

¹²²⁷ Zelin, "Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī."

¹²²⁸ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 304.

father coached a youth basketball team that year – Zachary loved spending time with children. Zachary had a girlfriend in spring of 2007 and went to prom. This is also the time he became interested in Buddhism and read a few books.¹²²⁹ But all was not perfect. Around this time, Zachary’s father began drinking more and continued drinking through his son’s high school years (eventually entering some kind of rehabilitation program for his alcohol problem), which he believes pushed his son away some.¹²³⁰

Just before the start of school in 2007, Zachary broke his ankle in a weight room accident and was unable to row fall crew or coach youth basketball, which likely upset him and caused social strains at school. Meg believes the start of senior year was when Zachary was trying to constantly (dangerously) re-invent himself with new clubs and activities.¹²³¹ According to Alex Harrel, who once took high school classes with Zachary, “It seemed like he never really settled on something...He was really smart, but he never really tried at anything.”¹²³² Drew Harrington, another high school friend, said Zachary was “always trying to find himself.”¹²³³ At least somewhat pro-social, he participated in “Powder Puff” cheerleading senior year.¹²³⁴ Zachary continued with break-dancing once his ankle healed and participated in many competitions. He, building on his knowledge of Japanese, planned to teach English in Japan and went on a class trip to East Asia over spring break.¹²³⁵ Zachary briefly became interested in high fashion and bought “ridiculously expensive clothing,” as well as went to teen clubs in Washington, DC in a possible move to enhance his social standing.¹²³⁶

¹²²⁹ Ibid., 299.

¹²³⁰ Ibid.

¹²³¹ Ibid., 305.

¹²³² The Associated Press, “Magistrate Rejects Bond for 'South Park' Critic,” *WUSA 9*, July 27, 2010, 2, accessed April 20, 2016.

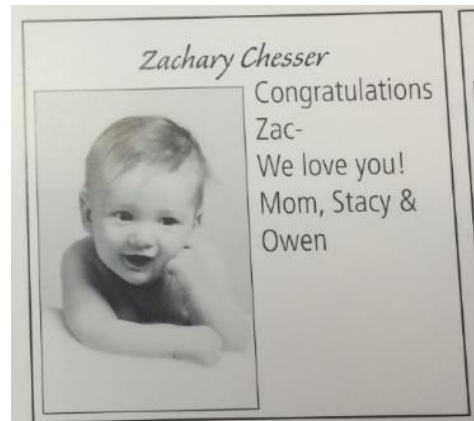
¹²³³ Bahrapour, “Terror Suspect Took His Desire to Belong to the Extreme,” 1.

¹²³⁴ Zelin, “Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī;” in Powder Puff, the boys are the cheerleaders and the girls play football.

¹²³⁵ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 305.

¹²³⁶ Ibid.

There was a flip side to this, however. Though he would go out with his Freestyle Club friends, Zachary still spent a great deal of time home alone and had Internet in his room for the first time. His father talked him into spring crew to get him out of the house and was concerned about how distant Zachary was becoming, as well as his willingness (or unwillingness) to challenge himself. Meg thought Zachary was increasingly rebellious, refusing to hear the other side of an argument. He was disregarding household rules, neglecting his chores, and letting his grades slip. Zachary, considered “freakishly intelligent” by friends, recalled passing the Advanced Placement calculus exam while failing the class with 28%.¹²³⁷ When either Meg or his father would try and talk to him, Zachary would often scream even in response to something small.¹²³⁸ At the time, the father chalked the solitude and attitude up to typical smart teenager rebellion.¹²³⁹ While Zachary did not have the best relationship with his mother for the aforementioned reasons, she cared enough in Fall 2007 to place a cute note in his senior yearbook: “Congratulations Zac – We love you! Mom, Stacy & Owen.”¹²⁴⁰



Source: Oakton High School Yearbook 2008

During his senior year, Zachary considered and applied to a number of colleges and universities, creating a list of those that were first priority.¹²⁴¹ Though he claims he did “not [do] very much of the work,” Zachary had a B+ average, many college credits completed, and good SAT scores.¹²⁴² He even received a “Scholar Athlete” award and would graduate Oakton with honors.¹²⁴³ Initially accepted to

¹²³⁷ Bahrapour, “Terror Suspect Took His Desire to Belong to the Extreme,” 1; “Fox 5 News: Zachary Chesser”; Zelin, “Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī.”

¹²³⁸ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 305.

¹²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 299.

¹²⁴⁰ Oakton High School Yearbook 2008.

¹²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 305.

¹²⁴² Chesser, “Truth Cannot Remain Silent in the Face of Evil,” 3.

¹²⁴³ *Ibid.*

Temple University early admission in January 2008 with a scholarship, Zachary abandoned all thoughts of other schools and was stubborn in his conviction.¹²⁴⁴ By late April, however, Zachary changed his mind to George Mason University (GMU), claiming his mother forced him to go there. However, he also believed that, because of his ankle injury, he was not good enough to make the Temple crew team, which may have set his decision-making on a course to avoid rejection.¹²⁴⁵ Quite a few arguments between Zachary, his mother, and his father followed.¹²⁴⁶ When Zachary's father said no to GMU, he said Zachary had difficulty controlling emotions like anger and frustration, becoming anxious, "panicky and desperate."¹²⁴⁷ As in the past, Zachary dug his heels in, tensed up, and insisted he would go to GMU, which he ultimately did by justifying its cheaper cost and good reputation. Zachary's father believes this was the beginning of his son's seriously "erratic" behavior.¹²⁴⁸ In the Sentencing Factors, Zachary's father goes a little into the physiognomy and genetics (or at least learned behavior) of his son: "his reaction reminded me of his mother's reaction to big decisions – a physical response, tensing up and rapid breathing, and a refusal to see any other point."¹²⁴⁹

In addition to his drinking and the divorce, David cites two potentially traumatizing life experiences for his son. First, Zachary began to take Accutane for his acne in the spring of his senior year. In rare cases, Accutane has been linked to psychosis, which concerned his father.¹²⁵⁰ Second, Zachary had a tumultuous relationship with a girlfriend that involved at least one suicide threat by her. Spring semester senior year, he began dating Fatumah, a classmate and daughter of Somali immigrants. Fatumah was the sister of one of his crewmates and was a junior. Fatumah's father disapproved of her being alone with a non-

¹²⁴⁴ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 305.

¹²⁴⁵ Zelin, "Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrikī."

¹²⁴⁶ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 300.

¹²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 299.

relative male, in keeping with Islam.¹²⁵¹ According to his father, Zachary fell in love quickly, but the relationship was rocky (not least owing to her family drama) and riddled with break-ups. Zachary believed he could be the one to save her from a bad situation and would leave the house quickly to be with her, refusing to explain any details to his family.¹²⁵² If they questioned him, he became enraged.¹²⁵³ At the same time this was occurring, the relationship between Stacy and Zachary reached a breaking point with their fights “growing increasingly frequent and severe.”¹²⁵⁴

Fatumah and Zachary sporadically dated through the summer of 2008. Zachary became easily influenced by her Islamic beliefs and Hizb ut-Tahrir, a pro-Islamic theocracy group with whom Zachary played soccer.¹²⁵⁵ As he had before, Zachary was searching for companionship and possibly found ideology as an alternative to the rejection he feared. Initially working at Blockbuster Video, Zachary began attending the Islamic Heritage Center in Vienna, which led him to quit his job as he could not work at a place that rented videos of naked women.¹²⁵⁶ This was the same summer that Zachary experienced the traumatic event - Fatumah threatened suicide while on the phone with Zachary. At his mother’s house at the time, Zachary begged to use her car to rush to Fatumah’s side, but was told no by his mother and to call the police instead. Stacy was “severely intoxicated” that night and also refused, becoming “belligerent...screaming...insulting ...and showering verbal abuses upon [him].”¹²⁵⁷ As he had with the Temple verses GMU decision, Zachary had a significant emotional and physical reaction and likely did not properly recover from this crisis. His father believes that this night caused a void between Zachary and his mother that was

¹²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 300.

¹²⁵² *Ibid.*, 305.

¹²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 305, 307; Chesser cites the beginning of his interest in Islam around July 2008.

¹²⁵⁴ Chesser, “Truth Cannot Remain Silent in the Face of Evil,” 4.

¹²⁵⁵ “Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint,” 2.

¹²⁵⁶ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 300.

¹²⁵⁷ Chesser, “Truth Cannot Remain Silent in the Face of Evil,” 4.

deepened by Zachary's religious objections to her homosexual relationship, as well as by more arguments with Stacy.¹²⁵⁸

Soon thereafter, Stacy decided that Zachary could no longer live with them and he moved in with his father. Zachary felt like her solution to an abusive situation was to get rid of her own child.¹²⁵⁹ A few days after he was forced from his mother's residence in August 2008, Zachary left Buddhism, gave up leisure activities, converted to Islam at the home of a Hizb ut-Tahrir member after reading translations of the first four chapters of the Quran, and completely immersed himself in this new identity.¹²⁶⁰ Zachary claims he became a Muslim because he "found that the Words of Allah in his Book were nothing but the unblemished Truth. Allah then blessed me to have a fierce passion for increasing myself in knowledge and worship."¹²⁶¹ This had the bonus of absolving him from his sins and enhancing his identity because: "in sha'a Allah nothing before Islaam will count against me on the Day of Judgment."¹²⁶² From this point forward, Zachary was fond of saying "Allah knows best" and other statements placing trust in his God.¹²⁶³

George Mason University welcomed Chesser in late August 2008. Rather than the typical freshman experience of meeting many diverse people and joining lots of student activities, Zachary lived at home with his father, commuted via bus, and preferred to only interact with fellow Muslims. He yearned to have an apartment with his new friends, but his parents intervened and said it was the father's house or the dorm room. Though Zachary was volunteering for the 2008 presidential election for Barack Obama, his path to radicalization was accelerating.¹²⁶⁴ In his third physical change in appearance, Zachary began to grow a

¹²⁵⁸ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 300.

¹²⁵⁹ Chesser, "Truth Cannot Remain Silent in the Face of Evil," 5.

¹²⁶⁰ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 267; "Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint," 2; Zelin, "Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī."

¹²⁶¹ Chesser, "Victims of the American Inquisition," 2.

¹²⁶² Zelin, "Interview with Abū Talḥah Al-Amrīkī."

¹²⁶³ Chesser, "Victims of the American Inquisition," 4.

¹²⁶⁴ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 267.

beard, changed his American clothing for robes and the Middle Eastern thobe, cut off the bottoms of his pant legs, and wore a type of loin cloth in place of underwear, all of which elicited some prejudiced comments as students called him “Jesus.”¹²⁶⁵ He was likely experiencing social maladjustment and feeling marginalized with mainstream society, even though this was of his own doing.

As part of his self-taught conversion, Zachary devoured online videos and vigorously participated in online discussions, as well as acquired many over-the-counter CDs, from fall 2008 forward. The Internet, according to Zachary, was “simply the most dynamic and conventional form of media there is.”¹²⁶⁶ In retrospect, the FBI described his behavior as “almost [obsessive]” and Zachary himself admitted to supporting and researching “jihad-affiliated ideologies independently.”¹²⁶⁷ He was easily influenced by distortions in the media and pursued a form of selective exposure to what he wanted to read, which in turn caused him to have some rather peculiar discussions around the dinner table. After he moved in, Zachary’s dad noted these behavioral changes and began to ask questions about his new religious activities. Zachary responded to his father that he realized that he was heading down a bad social path and had been interested in Islam for a long time (his father notes only a few months).¹²⁶⁸

Zachary thinks that he quickly became very “extreme” in part because of his lack of religious upbringing, desperately seeking to believe in something.¹²⁶⁹ In late summer and early fall 2008, Zachary would explain “requirements” to his family that were allegedly supported by the Quran, including no toilet paper and men’s pants must not touch the ankles.¹²⁷⁰ When he did not have access to a car, he would walk four miles each way to

¹²⁶⁵ Ibid.; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 300.

¹²⁶⁶ Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*, 7.

¹²⁶⁷ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 4.

¹²⁶⁸ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 300.

¹²⁶⁹ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 4; Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 307.

¹²⁷⁰ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 305.

worship at the Islamic Center. Muhammad Farooq, president of the Mosque, saw Zachary's theology shifting: "He was becoming more and more conservative, and more and more on the side of the Islam that we do not recommend. If there was one quotation from the Hadith, he would take that one hadith and not consider that there are 10 other quotes in the Quran that point to the middle ground."¹²⁷¹ By ignoring key pieces and having very little true knowledge of his religion, Chesser was showing some cognitive dissonance and failing to distinguish between legitimate religious expressions and extremism. He was no longer a vegetarian and was disengaging from his usual activities. By the time the 2008 election approached, Zachary believed it would violate Islamic law to vote and he abstained from participating.¹²⁷² He had cut ties with old friends from before he converted and was anti-social around family.

By November 2008, Zachary was drawn to the teachings of Anwar al-Awlaki, a radical American-born Imam.¹²⁷³ Despite knowing that al-Awlaki was considered an enemy to the US, Zachary agreed (or at least did not disagree) with him on many points and would repost al-Awlaki's lectures and materials on his own Facebook and other social media accounts.¹²⁷⁴ He would listen to al-Awlaki's lectures without critique: "I did not question al-Awlaki's theological arguments."¹²⁷⁵ Zachary would also post to al-Awlaki's blog and ask questions such as "Are protests allowed in Islam?" and al-Awlaki answered that, if Zachary thinks it is beneficial, he should do it.¹²⁷⁶ Zachary also asked "Can I put up anti-war graffiti on government property?" which there is no evidence he did.¹²⁷⁷ True to his concern for suffering people, he would also write to ask about stories he heard about Afghanistan.

¹²⁷¹ Bahrapour, "Terror Suspect Took His Desire to Belong to the Extreme," 2.

¹²⁷² Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 267.

¹²⁷³ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 4; Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*, 7; Al-Awlaki was an imam at the at Dar al-Hijra mosque in Fairfax in 1999 and 2000, before Chesser's conversation; Al-Awlaki is Chesser's first known exposure to an authority figure with an extreme view or radical ideology.

¹²⁷⁴ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 6.

¹²⁷⁵ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 307; Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*, 7.

¹²⁷⁶ Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, *Zachary Chesser*, 42.

¹²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

According to Zachary, he first became interested in jihad—and not just Islam—because of his “religion, the state of affairs in the Muslim world, and a desire to alleviate suffering within it.”¹²⁷⁸ He “made it [his] goal to find a way to help the armies which were attempting to repel the invaders of Muslim lands and overthrow the tyrants who were in control in many regions of our territory.”¹²⁷⁹ While Zachary was likely attracted to al-Awlaki for many reasons, he felt inspired by al-Awlaki’s charismatic preaching to pursue jihad as an obligation to Islam.¹²⁸⁰ Jihad was becoming the single-issue that he most cared about, believing that violence was divinely commanded and theologically justified. Through al-Awlaki’s website, Zachary also came to read the writings of another known jihadist, Yusuf al-Uyairi, and became aware of the Somali terrorist group Al-Shabaab.¹²⁸¹ With those two scholars and an interest in theology, Zachary was creating a worldview with an extreme ideology.

Zachary’s beliefs became too extreme for his moderate and mainstream Islamic high school girlfriend, who was one of the major reasons he converted in the first place. The two broke up in November 2008 after he insisted they marry, an early abiding or deep commitment to his faith.¹²⁸² Zachary’s beliefs were also too conservative for his old friends at Oakton High School’s Muslim Student Association. Trying to force his convictions on others, he told them they would go to hell if they did not behave and dress conservatively.¹²⁸³ When he was at home, Zachary was normally isolated in his room. Meg detailed hearing him listen to a “Hitler” like speech. When his father raised the possibility of counseling with him, Zachary appeased him by coming to dinner each night, though would constantly make excuses to avoid helping around the house, citing the need to go and pray. David was

¹²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹²⁷⁹ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-mj-00504-TCB at 4; Chesser, “Victims of the American Inquisition,” 2.

¹²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸¹ “Zachary Chesser’s Radical Affiliations.”

¹²⁸² Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 267.

¹²⁸³ Bahrapour, “Internet Helped Muslim Convert from Northern Virginia Embrace Extremism at Warp Speed,” 4.

frustrated at the lack of quality engagement and once chased Zachary from the house, yelling that Zachary could not live there if he did not participate.¹²⁸⁴

Unsurprisingly, Zachary refused to join in the holiday activities that year, though his family tried. In December, David planned to take Zachary to a Ravens versus Redskins football game and then dinner at a halal restaurant. When Zachary came downstairs in robes, his father made him change into regular clothes, which he angrily and begrudgingly did.¹²⁸⁵ Though the father was pleased with their outing, Zachary told Meg that he never wanted to do that again.¹²⁸⁶ By the end of December, he was only wearing traditional clothing and listening to “brainwashing” lectures alone in his room, though he claimed to be against violence when questioned.¹²⁸⁷ This constant exposure to stereotypical attitudes, behaviors, and feelings, as well as violence, was creating a new set of norms for him as he became more and more anti-social. His world was becoming an online echo chamber with like-minded (and isolated) people. Listening to the monotone Arabic, Zachary watched the screen for hours at a time, barely moving.¹²⁸⁸ From his bedroom, Zachary reached out to the radical network following al-Awlaki: “Does anyone know of some good English taught Madrassas? I am learning Arabic, but it will be a couple of years before I could take classes in it, and I don’t want to wait that long.”¹²⁸⁹ Zachary was not sharing his thoughts or feelings with his father, showing increasing hostility. Any semblance of family cohesiveness with either parent was gone and whatever family attachment Zachary had was evaporating. His father and Meg were in a “panic” by this point and required him to leave his door open when in his room awake.

¹²⁸⁴ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 300.

¹²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 305.

¹²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 301.

¹²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 306.

¹²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸⁹ Bahrapour, “Internet Helped Muslim Convert from Northern Virginia Embrace Extremism at Warp Speed,” 3.

They debated intervention, but Zachary was over the age of 18 and lacked the protective factors that a minor might have.¹²⁹⁰

Character

While there are no specific dates for this section, there is additional insight into Chesser's character prior to radicalization. As described by his father, Zachary was an "all-or-nothing" person.¹²⁹¹ Meg viewed her stepson as "someone who always does things 150%."¹²⁹² Reflecting on himself, Zachary characterized himself as having "to do everything to the fullest extent, whether it is how I dressed, who I spoke to, or how I prayed."¹²⁹³ On the other side of the coin, Zachary could "be impulsive, impractical, naïve, and obstinately single-minded."¹²⁹⁴ He lacked common sense and street smarts, while also being cognitively inflexible.¹²⁹⁵ "He would read something from a single source, often on the Internet, and then declare that was the absolute truth and try to debate that point to eternity."¹²⁹⁶ As evidence of rushed decision-making, "it was not uncommon for him to make major decisions on the fly without weighing out all the facts."¹²⁹⁷ "Zachary sees everything as black and white."¹²⁹⁸ David saw some of his own extreme behavior and the tendency to see the world on his own terms (rather than as it truly is) in Zachary.¹²⁹⁹

Though it seems to have little to no bearing on the final sentencing, Zachary's defense did discuss adolescent brain development in their request for consideration. They cited recent research that the fusing of the frontal lobes is delayed in boys, often as late as twenty-five

¹²⁹⁰ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 306.

¹²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 267.

¹²⁹² *Ibid.*, 305.

¹²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 307.

¹²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 298.

¹²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 305.

¹²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 306.

¹²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 302.

years old.¹³⁰⁰ As this is the region of the brain that affects risk assessment and the thinking through of consequences, the defense was essentially arguing that Zachary's underdeveloped brain led him to make very poor, immature, and reckless choices that an older person would not have done. Dangerous to be sure, but this was also the reality of a young brain.

¹³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 267.

Lakatosian Comparison of Variables from Terrorism and Youth Violence Studies

In this modified Lakatosian comparison, two questions are answered with respect to the “most likely” case study of Zachary Chesser:

3. How does the number of terrorism variables mathematically and substantively compare to the number of youth violence variables?
4. Therefore, do youth violence variables hold more explanatory power than terrorism variables alone?

Analysis of Terrorism Variables

Approximately 204 of a possible total of 254 terrorist variables (80%) appear in or are inferred using details from Chesser’s narrative, but this number needs additional explanation. Table 5.1 shows the math on the possible terrorism variables and those that appear from the point that the FBI identified Chesser as possibly radicalized to the point of violence.

Out of 254 terrorism variables, 50 (20%) were not applicable and did not appear in Chesser’s radicalization narrative. Of the 204, Chesser showed more socioemotional variables (52%) than the other categories, but all four categories had high internal percentages. Against all possible within variable categories, institutional was the largest (90%), with socioemotional second (85%). This, at face value, shows that politics and religion were very influential in the terrorism lens. Out of the 254 terrorism variables, only four or 2% are possibly unique or specific to terrorism, and not easily found or covered in the youth violence literature.¹³⁰¹

One hundred and one (101) out of 204 terrorism variables (49.5%) were not used in the identification of Chesser as a terrorist, but do appear when examining him prior to radicalization. Socio-economic is still numerically the strongest. An interesting shift in the percentage breakdown occurs, however. Rather than the institutional dimension being the

¹³⁰¹ These four are: takes suspicious or unreported travel, technician, researcher/surveyor, and attended university in the West.

overwhelming driver of radicalization, it drops from 90% to 51% and is now on par with socioemotional, and very close to social-structural (46%). Prior to radicalizing, socioemotional impulses are numerically strong, as well as strong as a percentage (52%).

Table 5.1: Chesser’s Terrorism Variables

<i>Possible</i>	<i>Identifiable</i>
<p>254 Terrorism Variables</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 49% Socioemotional • 27% Institutional • 15% Social-structural • 9% No Classification <p>- 50 Not Applicable (20%)</p> <hr/> <p>= 204 Terrorism Variables (80%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 52% Socioemotional (105/204) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 105/124 (85%) • 30% Institutional (61/204) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 61/68 (90%) • 11% Social-structural (24/204) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 24/39 (62%) • 7% No Classification (14/204) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 14/23 (61%) <p>- 200 Not Unique to Terrorism</p> <hr/> <p>= 4 Possible Terrorism Variables (1.6%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 75% Social-structural • 25% No Classification 	<p>204 Terrorism Variables</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 52% Socioemotional • 30% Institutional • 11% Social-structural • 7% No Classification <p>- 101 Before Radicalization (49.5%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 52% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 53/105 (50%) • 31% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 31/61 (51%) • 11% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 11/24 (46%) • 6% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 6/14 (43%) <hr/> <p>= 103 Radicalization Variables (50.5%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 50% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 52/105 (50%) • 29% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 30/61 (49%) • 13% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 13/24 (54%) • 8% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 8/14 (57%) <p>- 101 Not Unique to Terrorism</p> <hr/> <p>= 2 Unique Radicalization Variables (1%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 50% Social-structural • 50% No Classification

Of the 103 variables (50.5%) present from the point the FBI identified his possible radicalization, Chesser was numerically showing socioemotional impulses (50%), followed

by institutional (29%) and then social-structural (13%). Looking within each category, no classification was the strongest (57%), but this detailed radicalized actions, rather than motives. Leaving that to the side, Chesser was driven by social-structural motives (54%), then socioemotional (50%), and finally institutional (49%), but the latter two are very close. The relevance of institutional fell considerably from the overall picture of radicalization as seen through terrorism. Two variables are specific to terrorism studies: takes suspicious or unreported travel and technician. Taking suspicious travel is not reflective of any underlying behavioral motivation and being a technician is equally unhelpful in the possible identification of a terrorist. Given these numbers, whether considering the possible four or remaining two variables, terrorism variables were of limited utility in identifying Chesser's radicalization.

Analysis of Youth Violence Variables

Of the total possible 511 youth violence variables, 304 or 59% appear in Chesser’s narrative in this “least likely” explanation.¹³⁰² Table 5.2 shows the math on the possible youth violence variables and those that were identifiable as Chesser radicalized to the point of violence.

Table 5.2: Chesser’s Youth Violence Variables

<i>Possible</i>	<i>Identifiable</i>
<p>511 Youth Violence Variables</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 52% Socioemotional • 20% Institutional • 11% Social-structural • 17% No Classification <p>- 207 Not Applicable (41%)</p> <hr/> <p>= 304 Youth Violence Variables (59%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 59% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 179/264 (68%) • 24% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 74/103 (72%) • 9% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 27/57 (47%) • 8% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 24/87 (28%) 	<p>304 Youth Violence Variables</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 59% Socioemotional (179/304) • 24% Institutional (74/304) • 9% Social-structural (27/304) • 8% No Classification (24/304) <p>- 183 Before Radicalization Youth Violence Variables (60%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 62% Socioemotional (114/183) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 114/179 (64%) • 24% Institutional (43/183) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 43/74 (58%) • 6% Social-structural (12/183) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 12/27 (44%) • 8% No Classification (14/183) • 14/24 (58%) <hr/> <p>= 121 Radicalization Youth Violence Variables (40%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 54% Socioemotional (65/121) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 65/179 (36%) • 26% Institutional (31/121) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 31/74 (42%) • 12% Social-structural (15/121) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 15/27 (56%) • 8% No Classification (10/121) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 10/24 (42%)

¹³⁰² This number does not include the five specific to terrorism, not easily found or covered in the youth violence literature.

Breaking down the 304, Chesser was exhibiting socioemotional (59%), institutional (24%), social-structural (9%), and no classification variables (8%). Comparing the possible to the applicable, there is a slight shift of 7% toward socioemotional variables. Approximately 121 of 304 youth violence variables (40%) begin from the point where the FBI likely started paying attention and should be considered as variables that Chesser HAS radicalized, not that he might be susceptible to radicalization. The remaining 183 variables (60%) appear in his narrative from childhood through his initial interest in radical theology with socioemotional (62%), institutional (24%), social-structural (6%), and no classification (8%). Within the categories, socioemotional (64%) leads, with institutional (58%) following. Comparing the overall 304 variables to the 183 variables prior to radicalization, there is a small shift of 3% again toward socioemotional. Prior to radicalization, the emotional pull supersedes structure and institution. The tale of Chesser is that of a young man desperate to have security and stability in his life. His choices are guided by emotions or the need to secure his self-esteem. Mathematically and substantively, the youth violence narrative is useful for the explanation of Chesser's radicalization, providing 183 points (60%) where radicalization could have been identified with strong socioemotional impulses prior to attempted travel.

Terrorism verses Youth Violence Variables

In the case of Chesser:

1. How does the number of terrorism variables mathematically and substantively compare to the number of youth violence variables?
2. Therefore, do youth violence variables hold more explanatory power than terrorism variables?

First, a simple comparison of terrorism variables verses youth violence variables is offered:

80% of applicable terrorism variables verses 59% of applicable youth violence variables.

Numerically, both theories have many possible variables, with youth violence having more.

Table 5.3: Comparison of Terrorism and Youth Violence Variables

	Terrorism Variables	Youth Violence Variables
Appear	204/254 (80%)	304/511 (59%)
Appear and Unique	4/204 (1.6%)	NA
Before Radicalization	101/204 (49.5%)	183/304 (60%)
Radicalization	103/204 (50.5%)	121/304 (40%)
Useful	2 Unique (1%)	304 Universal (59%)

Out of 204 terrorism variables, 101 (49.5%) before radicalization variables were not part of the identification of Chesser as a possible terrorist, and were thus very limited in utility.

Many of variables prior to radicalization do not appear in the court filings and news reports without considerable research. As the inaccurate story goes, Chesser became radicalized after a swift and deep online experience, finding a space on the Internet to spew hate. Using the youth violence models, there was a 60% chance of identifying radicalization variables prior to violence. On the radicalization front, terrorism variables fare better at 50.5% compared to youth violence's 40% from the point the FBI likely started monitoring Chesser, but these both include some very obvious variables that do not aid in prevention. Of the radicalization variables used to identify Chesser, terrorism variables provided two (2) unique variables—

technician and takes suspicious/unreported travel—while youth violence provided 183 universal ones. In the case of Chesser, terrorism variables were less useful compared to youth violence variables prior to violence. Mathematically, terrorism variables should be rejected in favor of youth violence variables, or the two should complement and enhance each other.

“No Classification” refers to actual observable behaviors, like taking drugs, and will not be discussed in this section on motivations, though these can be useful when identifying risky behavior. Substantively, the terrorism variables in Chesser’s background would have explained overall radicalization using institutional motivations (90%), then socioemotional (85%), and finally social-structural (62%). Institutional includes religion and politics, which appear to drive radicalization in this view of the data. The youth violence variables drew a picture of institutional motivations (72%), then socioemotional (68%), and finally social-structural (47%). The character of the youth violence variables is institutional followed closely by socioemotional. Prior to radicalization, some slight shifts occurred in both the terrorism and youth violence models. In the terrorism model, Chesser was most motivated by institutional (51%), then socioemotional (50%), and finally social-structural (46%). In the youth violence model, socioemotional (64%) was the strongest and institutional the next strongest (58%). Emotions did surpass politics. The margin in the terrorism model was extremely close between institutional (51%) and socioemotional (50%). However, adding in additional childhood considerations shifted the motivations in the youth violence model toward socioemotional by 6% (58% to 64%). The terrorism model was missing many of these early influences. Given this, youth violence variables better explain that Chesser was motivated by emotions, then institutional considerations. Substantively, terrorism variables and the “most likely” explanation should be rejected in favor of youth violence variables or the “least likely,” or the two should complement and enhance each other.

Conclusion

Sitting in the library at Oakton High School, my first non-news look at Chesser was as a boy practicing his speech for Young Democrats as depicted in his yearbook. Four years later, his image would be splashed across CNN posts with traditional clothing and a beard. But before either of these images was the better part of a decade where his family situation ranged from unstable to unsafe, his brother was delinquent, his girlfriend threatened to kill herself, and Chesser was desperate to find a place to belong. With early interests and inclinations toward violent subcultures to relieve his frustrations, Chesser found a home on the Internet where he could rage against the world and find solidarity with those who were suffering. The place in his soul that Meg thought would take him to the Peace Corps took him to al-Awlaki as he sought protection and justice. The insecurities and uncertainties faded away as he had a script for how to live each day of his life and how to benefit those around him.

Chesser was naïve to believe that, in the post-9/11 world, he would be able to carry on as he did on the Internet and not arouse the interest of the FBI. His poorly thought-out plan to join Al-Shabaab was reflective of “sensation-seeking” behavior that he would likely grow out of, according to Dr. Stephen Xenakis, the forensic psychiatrist who later evaluated Chesser.¹³⁰³ But, at the same time, he was numb and likely felt he was somehow protected by his First Amendment rights. Like his home life with his mother, this illusion also fell apart. As a high school friend of Chesser’s said: “he was interested in other cultures, and he found one he really liked. I think he just wanted to be part of something.”¹³⁰⁴

¹³⁰³ Zachary Adam Chesser, 1:10-cr-00395-LO at 278.

¹³⁰⁴ Bahrapour, “Terror Suspect Took His Desire to Belong to the Extreme,” 4.

Chapter 6: Thaddaeus Snow

On February 21, 2014, Thaddaeus Earva Snow (aka Storm), a US-natural born citizen, was convicted of conspiracy to commit racketeering, violence in aid of racketeering, robbery, conspiracy to distribute cocaine base, conspiracy to commit sex trafficking by force and coercion, and multiple firearms offenses.¹³⁰⁵ Snow was the leader of the Nine Trey Gangsters, an offshoot of the international United Blood Nation (UBN) gang that aimed to protect itself from the rival Crips Street gangs.¹³⁰⁶ His line-up or cell of the Nine Trey Gangsters operated in Fairfax, Fauquier, Manassas, and Prince William Counties in Northern Virginia, as well as parts of Richmond, Virginia, and North Carolina.¹³⁰⁷ At face value, Snow was an unlikely person to become not only a gang member, but also a leader. He was fairly well educated, did not use drugs, and was brought up in a good home. However, Snow began wandering down a bad path in high school that intensified in college and was cemented during his time in jail in the early 2000s.

This chapter examines Snow, who was deeply sensitive and aimed to have a level of status and security, as the control case study that undergoes three tests. First, Snow's narrative is tested using variables from gang studies and second is tested using youth violence studies in a "most likely" test of the youth violence model. Third, Snow's narrative undergoes a "least likely" test using variables from terrorism studies, as though he were a terrorist rather than a gang member. Looking at Snow through terrorism variables tests whether, if a different label were applied, terrorism and gang indoctrination might be considered two subtypes of youth violence. While law enforcement did not start paying attention to him until 2012, Snow was already deeply entrenched at that point. Therefore,

¹³⁰⁵ U.S. Attorney's Office, Eastern District of Virginia, "Nine Trey Gang Leader Sentenced to 40 Years in Prison, Enforcer Sentenced to 30 Years for Multiple Racketeering Offenses," news release, May 9, 2014, United States Department of Justice, accessed May 01, 2016, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edva/pr/nine-trey-gang-leader-sentenced-40-years-prison-enforcer-sentenced-30-years-multiple>.

¹³⁰⁶ U.S. Attorney's Office, Eastern District of Virginia, "Nine Trey Gang Leader Sentenced to 40 Years in Prison."

¹³⁰⁷ Ibid.

Snow's narrative will start in 2008 when he began directing the activities of the Nine Trey Gangsters upon his release from prison. At the conclusion of this section is a brief analysis of how well variables from terrorism studies could have accounted for his behavior. Then, Snow's narrative starts at his birth and tells his story up to the point when indoctrination was increasingly evident. For matters of readability, not all variables are mentioned in this chapter. A complete list of Snow's variables is located in Appendix D.

Data used in Snow's case study predominantly comes from two sources: 952 court files, including transcripts of phone calls, and news articles constituting about 1000 documents, plus additional court files from his co-conspirators.¹³⁰⁸ However, there are three limitations to the data contained in Snow's case study. First, requests to Snow's family to ask for more details on his childhood went unanswered. Second, the presentencing report and specifics of some plea agreements related to Snow's trial are sealed and not releasable under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Third, Snow dismissed his court appointed lawyer, whom I did contact, and there is a gap in those able to speak on his behalf or assist him at any great length. Thus, this chapter contains all available data on Snow at the time of submission. Snow's chapter ends with a modified Lakatosian comparison of how terrorism variables explained his indoctrination compared to gang and youth violence variables.

¹³⁰⁸ United States of America v. Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm." No. 1:13-cr-00350-LMB. 3 (Eastern District of Virginia August 29, 2013).

Prison and the “Start” Of Snow’s Indoctrination

Snow first became a member of the Nine Trey Gangster Bloods during his incarceration for burglary, armed robbery, and kidnapping in North Carolina between 2001 and 2008.¹³⁰⁹ The Nine Trey Gangsters or “9-3” are part of the United Blood Gang, a child of notorious Los Angeles Street Gang “The Bloods” that was founded in the 1970s.¹³¹⁰ The Bloods differed from other American gangs in that they were less preoccupied with a large area to control, instead preferring certain “turf” or territory across specific streets and neighborhoods.¹³¹¹ Predominantly African American, members of the Bloods tend to range in age from 16 to 35 years old.¹³¹² To protect its members from The Almighty Latin King Nation, the Bloods formed the United Blood Nation on July 16, 1993 to be a “single Blood prison entity” at the George Motchen Detention Center in New York.¹³¹³ By uniting original sets of gang members, the Bloods had created one philosophy—to inflict violence upon their enemies—that would be spread throughout New York as its members were released.¹³¹⁴ They also adopted an “anti-oppression ideology of the Black Panthers Party,” advancing a gang lifestyle.¹³¹⁵ Though the gang moved across the United States, control remained firmly in the chain of command hierarchy, complete with a board of directors or “godfathers,” in New York, including the two founders “Magoo” and “SI,” who manage approximately 15,000

¹³⁰⁹ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 9; United States of America, Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department, November 16, 2000, 3, accessed June 11, 2016.

¹³¹⁰ Laura Mansnerus, “Gang Crackdown in New Jersey Leads to More Than 60 Arrests,” *The New York Times*, July 26, 2006, Late ed., sec. B, accessed May 30, 2016; Police Department: City of Durham, N.C., *Gang Awareness Booklet* (Durham: North Carolina Government), 4.

¹³¹¹ Henry Culvyhouse, “Who Are the Nine Trey Gangsters?” *Delmarva Daily Times*, May 18, 2016, accessed May 21, 2016, <http://www.delmarvanow.com/story/news/local/maryland/2016/05/18/whoninetreygangsters/84533278/>.

¹³¹² James C. Howell and John P. Moore, “History of Street Gangs in the United States,” Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, no. 4, May 2010, accessed June 01, 2016.

¹³¹³ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 4.

¹³¹⁴ Tunku Varadarajan, “Police Struggle to Stem Brutal Tide of ‘Bloods,’” *The Times* (New York City), August 30, 1997, accessed June 19, 2015, Lexis Nexis.

¹³¹⁵ United States of America, U.S. Department of Justice, National Drug Intelligence Center, *United Blood Nation* (2003), 1.

members.¹³¹⁶ Set out in the handbook “Inglewood” were 31 common rules governing all gang activities, including: strict adherence to the chain of command when possible; do not “snitch” or cooperate with law enforcement; “obey orders;” learn the history and rules; communicate in code (like using the Swahili word for blood, Damu) and body and hand signals (wiping face to indicate police, making a “b” with your fingers and saluting); and more.¹³¹⁷ New geographic areas for gang activities would be covered by the creation of an “enterprise,” an official offshoot of the UBN that would generate financial profits, protect gangs members and turf from other gangs and threats, defend any members who were insulted, threatened, or attacked, and assist members who commit crimes.¹³¹⁸ The Nine Trey Gangsters Bloods were one of the recognized enterprises and, to keep its cover, would be known as “Billy Bad Ass” on the streets.¹³¹⁹ The Nine Trey Gangsters had two big line-ups or chapters in Virginia, where the highest-ranking member was referred to as a “high” or “high strain,” with a “low” or “low strain” beneath him.¹³²⁰ Below the low strain are the five, four, three, two, and one star generals.¹³²¹ A five star general might oversee any number of smaller line-ups.¹³²² Any members below the generals are soldiers. The Bloods required membership dues, \$31 to be paid on the 9th or 15th of the month, to benefit the UBN/Bloods Street Gang organization and help arrested members and their families, as well as assist with the day-to-day running of the organization.¹³²³ Divided out, \$15 would go to the general in charge of a major line-up with

¹³¹⁶ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5, 5755, 6526; United States of America, Commonwealth of Virginia Department of State Police, Virginia Fusion Center, *Bloods Street Gang Intelligence Report* (2008), 3.

¹³¹⁷ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 9; Thaddaeus Snow, and William Sykes, and Jameel Aleem, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 7153; National Drug Intelligence Center, *United Blood Nation* (2003), 5; Virginia Fusion Center, *Bloods Street Gang Intelligence Report*, 10.

¹³¹⁸ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 11.

¹³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 5752, 5754.

¹³²¹ *Ibid.*, 5755.

¹³²² *Ibid.*, 5765.

¹³²³ *Ibid.*, 7.

\$15 going to the higher up stain or the godfathers; \$1 would be kept in a local pot for bailing people out and operating needs.¹³²⁴

To be part of the Nine Trey Gangsters/UBN/Blood Street Gang, Snow would have been introduced by an existing member or officially recruited.¹³²⁵ Within the prison, there was an established UBN organization with a committee to oversee activities on the inside, and sometimes the street.¹³²⁶ If he was well liked, then he could join the gang without a violent initiation, also called “blessing.”¹³²⁷ Alternatively, he would have been physically beaten by other gang members for 31 seconds and made to memorize the 31 rules and book of knowledge that covered life, love, loyalty, knowledge, and respect for wisdom.¹³²⁸ Snow would have taken the Nine Trey Gangsters’ Oath: “I hereby take this oath and declare myself a Nine Trey Gangsta. With this oath, I am willing to fulfill all duties passed upon me by my GF, OG, G's. If I shall violate or transgress this oath shall be the death of me. Eastside N.T.G. up.”¹³²⁹ He would also have learned the prayer, their concept of war, motto, and pledge.¹³³⁰ From that point on, Snow was a Nine Trey Gangster.

Once a member, Snow was identifiable several ways and had initial responsibilities. The Nine Trey Gangsters had code words, graffiti, and colors (especially red, which Snow wore).¹³³¹ They dressed to emphasize the left side, sometimes putting a red shoelace just in the left shoe.¹³³² More than likely, members sport one of the following affiliated tattoos: letters “M.O.B.” (Member of Bloods), five pointed star (representing that brotherly love

¹³²⁴ Ibid., 5772.

¹³²⁵ This would largely come through pre-existing friendships with several gang members. Snow’s recruitment would have been based on something he could contribute to the group, possibly Northern Virginia operations.

¹³²⁶ National Drug Intelligence Center, *United Blood Nation*, 1.

¹³²⁷ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5826.

¹³²⁸ Ibid., 8; United States of America, U.S. Department of Justice, National Drug Intelligence Center, *United Blood Nation* (2003), 4. Other ways to join involve committing other acts of violence like slashings or conducting criminal acts, but these did not feature as prominently in Snow’s line-up.

¹³²⁹ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm”; William Sykes, a/k/a “Black”; and Jameel Aleem, a/k/a “Nino B,” No.1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 6430.

¹³³⁰ National Drug Intelligence Center, *United Blood Nation*, 3.

¹³³¹ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5; Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5615.

¹³³² National Drug Intelligence Center, *United Blood Nation*, 5.

overrides oppression and destruction), three circular bands or “dog paws,” other dog tattoos including pit bulls, letters “9 Trey” or “NTG.”¹³³³ Next, Snow would have been told to “put in work,” code for carrying out any number of tasks on behalf of the gang including selling illicit drugs, extortion, prostitution, robbery, and more.¹³³⁴ Though there is not an exact date, Snow was fairly senior a gang member by the time he was eligible for parole 2008.

Release from prison

When Snow was released from prison in 2008, he was approximately 27-years-old. He returned home to Northern Virginia where he had difficulty finding a job.¹³³⁵ For a while, both he and his brother Tychicus were laborers with long and hard hours. Snow went to work every morning.¹³³⁶ However, the jobs became fewer and further between and Snow was forced to look for employment elsewhere, eventually working for Domino’s Pizza.¹³³⁷ While Snow was an employee at Dominos, he was at the house of a friend when the authorities raided it. Not in an overly affluent part of the county, this house was believed to contain several gang members and police frequently targeted the group.¹³³⁸ Over the two and a half years that he worked at Dominos, Snow claimed that one officer, Mr. Healy, frequently wrote him tickets for offenses and he faced “the harassment, the unfairity, the struggle” during this time of his life.¹³³⁹ Eventually, Snow was laid off from Dominos in a round of employee

¹³³³ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 8; Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5758; Drug Intelligence Center, *United Blood Nation*, 4. The dog paw can be created by burning a cigarette into someone’s skin.

¹³³⁴ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 8.

¹³³⁵ United States of America v. Thaddaeus Snow, No.1:13-cr-00350-LMB, 5435 (Eastern District of Virginia May 07, 2014). With his reintegration difficulties, Snow likely perceived some failures of the justice system and was frustrated at his ability to reintegrate.

¹³³⁶ Thaddaeus Snow, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5436.

¹³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 5435.

¹³³⁸ There is also a higher concentration of poor residents in this area.

¹³³⁹ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 7397.

cutbacks and experienced further social maladjustment.¹³⁴⁰ Unemployed and with a lack of marketable skills, he was poor and, as he said, had “been poor for years.”¹³⁴¹

The other side of Snow’s employment was far less legitimate. As a five star general, Snow was given permission to “breed” or recruit new members in Northern Virginia, creating a new part of the group.¹³⁴² As one of his first moves, Snow built his line-up to include his deputies William Sykes (aka Black) and George Williams (aka Champ), as well as several others.¹³⁴³ As part of the recruitment process, Snow would talk to the young men and women who came around to buy marijuana and other drugs.¹³⁴⁴ If he thought they were a good fit, Snow asked them “What do you know about Blood?” and gave them a piece of paper with information on it.¹³⁴⁵ Then, he would ask them to learn it and come back to him. One woman, Janee Yates, became a Blood because she wore a red bandana around Snow, prompting him to accuse her of “false flagging.”¹³⁴⁶ He gave her the choice of joining with his blessing, or being beaten as punishment.¹³⁴⁷ His recruits included school-age teenagers, even those aged fifteen and sixteen who had checkered pasts and were looking for a mentor.¹³⁴⁸ Two such young members, Markeith Kerns and Deontae Holland, saw Snow as a “father figure” because he promised “support and brotherhood...a whole new world of excitement and intrigue.”¹³⁴⁹ When people first met him, they “looked up to him” and saw that “everyone

¹³⁴⁰ Ibid., 5435.

¹³⁴¹ Ibid., 7398.

¹³⁴² Ibid., 9.

¹³⁴³ Ibid.

¹³⁴⁴ Many drugs will be referenced throughout this chapter; their use, sale, and availability are related to violence.

¹³⁴⁵ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5749.

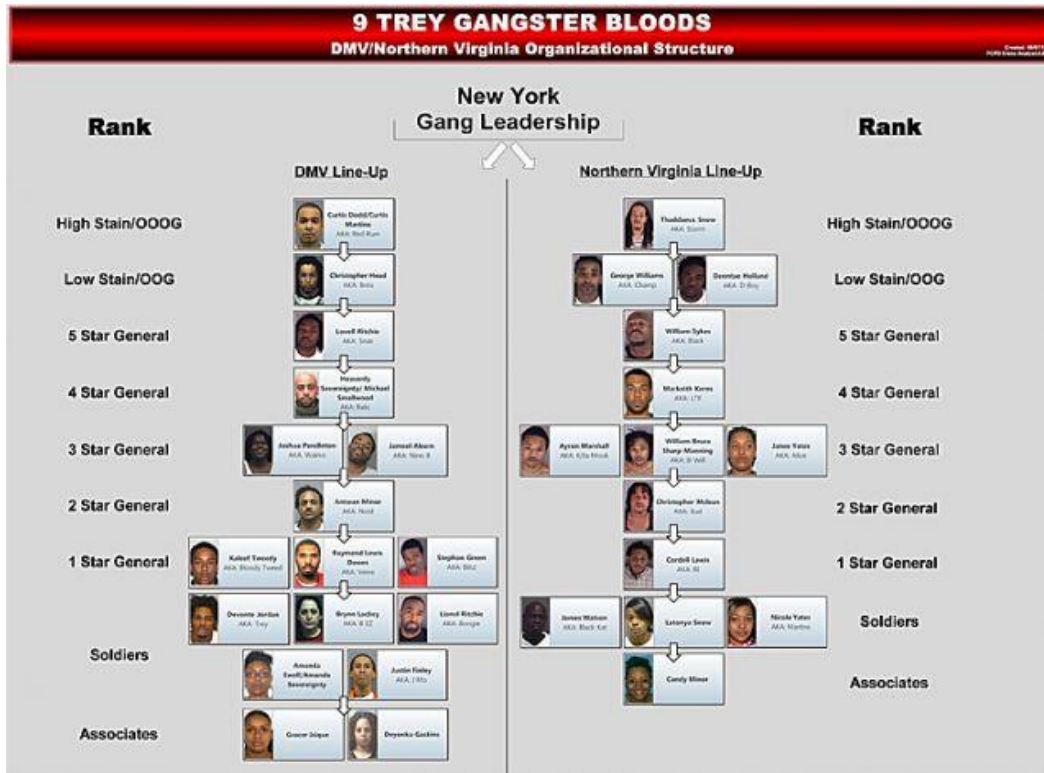
¹³⁴⁶ Ibid., 5825.

¹³⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁴⁸ Ibid., 5391, 7388; Snow’s recruits were estranged from their families, doing poorly in school, and often had a history of drug or alcohol use or abuse. He encouraged them to stay away from school and support gang activities.

¹³⁴⁹ United States of America v. Deontae Holland, No.1:13-cr-00350-LMB, 2290 (Eastern District of Virginia January 13, 2014); United States of America v. George Williams, No.1:13-cr-00350-LMB, 4602 (Eastern District of Virginia April 04, 2014).

showed him respect.”¹³⁵⁰ Snow would both feed and put a roof over these young people’s heads.¹³⁵¹ Very social and charismatic, he was the leader, the enforcer, and the intimidator of the gang. The following years—2009 through 2012—are woven with drugs, prostitution, and violence.



Source: *FaquierNow.com*

By 2009, Snow had acquired an apartment in Torrie Station, Bealton, which was also referred to as the “Den.”¹³⁵² The Den was where gang members would “play video games and horseplay, talk, rap...where everybody just hung out.”¹³⁵³ It was also where some of the crack cocaine was “cooked” or made.¹³⁵⁴ More formal monthly meetings were held at the

¹³⁵⁰ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm”; William Sykes, a/k/a “Black”; and Jameel Aleem, a/k/a “Nino B,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB, 5615.

¹³⁵¹ United States of America v. Markeith Kerns, No.1:13-cr-00350-LMB, 1916 (Eastern District of Virginia December 28, 2013).

¹³⁵² Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5395, 5597; Torrie Station in Bealton is not a particularly affluent area, but Northern Virginia is higher in economic status than most of the country. This area has reputation for some instability and disorganization.

¹³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 5851.

¹³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 6548.

Den with a superior gang member often calling in via cell phone.¹³⁵⁵ During these gatherings, new members would be initiated, future criminal activities would be planned, and business reports would be made.¹³⁵⁶ A great deal of their meetings in 2009 had to do with drug operations, especially marijuana, pills, and crack cocaine, if not more.¹³⁵⁷ Also during the meetings, sanctions—including beatings, disfigurement, or death—might be issued for those who failed to follow the guidelines, to be enforced by the discipline and punishment (D.P.) system.¹³⁵⁸ At Snow’s direction, gang members would beat other gang members because “You pretty much do what you’re told, and if not, then...it happens to you.”¹³⁵⁹ One such sanction was delivered in 2009 when Lauren Byrd, a dealer for Snow who was also one of his many girlfriends for a period of time, had her prescription pills stolen.¹³⁶⁰ To avenge this disrespect against the Nine Trey Gangsters, Sykes and others located a random group of young men, punching and pistol-whipping one until the police came, all to send a message.¹³⁶¹ In other instances, Snow would “yell, scream, threaten to harm family members, or...sexual abuse” when he felt that he had been wronged.¹³⁶² Allegedly, Snow routinely carried a firearm and was prepared to use it.¹³⁶³

While Snow’s control over gang operations was brutal, his control over his women (girlfriends and female gang members) was downright disturbing and riddled with jealousy.¹³⁶⁴ Lauren lived in the Den around 2009. According to Janee Yates, Lauren’s cousin, they were together all the time and “do anything he wanted” because she was “really

¹³⁵⁵ Ibid., 9.

¹³⁵⁶ Ibid., 11.

¹³⁵⁷ Ibid., 5622.

¹³⁵⁸ Ibid., 4680.

¹³⁵⁹ Ibid., 5784; the gang, a member would be expected to back up Snow and others in a dispute.

¹³⁶⁰ Ibid., 5857.

¹³⁶¹ Ibid., 4685.

¹³⁶² Ibid., 5859.

¹³⁶³ Ibid., 17, 7399; Snow, in his trial, disputed this saying he did not carry a gun and preferred to have a dog for protection.

¹³⁶⁴ Snow exhibited enormous cognitive inflexibility about his gang and his women.

in love with him, and she didn't want him to ever be mad at her."¹³⁶⁵ The relationship soured when Janee told her the number of other women he was seeing and Lauren confronted one, subsequently forgetting to bring Snow his marijuana.¹³⁶⁶ Snow was more concerned about how she found out, eventually getting both Lauren and Janee to confess.¹³⁶⁷ Still though, Lauren was not scared of him and would visit the Den.

When people in the gang wanted to date, especially lesbians, Snow insisted that he approve it.¹³⁶⁸ Leslie Yates, who was dating gang member Janee Yates in early 2010, was confronted by Snow, who claimed that Janee was not loyal to him because she shared "his personal business" and also cared about Leslie more than him.¹³⁶⁹ At best Snow was immature; at worst he was sociopathic. He demanded that Leslie have sex with him, giving her the option to drop her three-year-old daughter off somewhere or let the girl watch, so that the two of them would have a "secret" to keep from Janee.¹³⁷⁰ He also threatened her mother and threatened to kill Leslie if she told anyone.¹³⁷¹ Several times, Snow had nonconsensual sex with Leslie, who did not want to get him in trouble and somehow still saw him as a friend.¹³⁷² When Janee would disappoint Snow, he would rape Leslie Yates too, as punishment.¹³⁷³ Throughout their relationship, Snow additionally threatened Leslie's daughter, should she deny him.¹³⁷⁴

¹³⁶⁵ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5857.

¹³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 5857.

¹³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 5858.

¹³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 5932.

¹³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 5950.

¹³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷² *Ibid.*, 5951.

¹³⁷³ United States of America v. Janee Yates, No.1:13-cr-00350-LMB, 2320 (Eastern District of Virginia January 14, 2014); Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5952; Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5959; Janee Yates, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 2330; Janee and Leslie's relationship did not last through 2011, though they would briefly reunite in 2013.

¹³⁷⁴ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5394.

Snow was undeterred in 2010, despite knowing he was attracting the attention of local law enforcement.¹³⁷⁵ On March 1, 2010, police raided the Den.¹³⁷⁶ The police searches became somewhat regular and the Nine Trey Gangsters would relocate to the apartment above the Den if the latter was under too much scrutiny.¹³⁷⁷ The apartment above the Den also housed the safes where guns, drugs, and other items were kept.¹³⁷⁸ Around the same time, Snow's directed violence reached a new level. On April 1, 2010, Snow had some of his members bring Lauren, who had stolen some of their marijuana money (after her falling out with Snow over the other women) and thus disrespected Snow, to the Den. There, they were to give her a "Buck-Fifty," the slicing of the face from mouth to ear that requires 150 stitches.¹³⁷⁹ For Lauren's indiscretions, "blood must be shed."¹³⁸⁰ This was the same day that Snow's daughter Kymani was born to his wife, Latonya.¹³⁸¹

Around April 2, 2010, Janee's newest girlfriend got a taste of Snow's cruelty. Snow confronted Nicole Yates (aka Merlot) about her relationship with Janee, accusing Janee of having more loyalty to Nicole than him.¹³⁸² To exert control, he made Janee come over around 2:30 am to smack Nicole to prove her loyalty to him.¹³⁸³ When Janee arrived, both ladies were now in trouble. Snow raped Janee, which she came to find out was because Nicole refused to have sex with him earlier that evening.¹³⁸⁴ This was one of three times she would be raped by him.¹³⁸⁵ Later, Snow would also rape Nicole, and force the two ladies to

¹³⁷⁵ Northern Virginia police are very attuned to activities in their jurisdiction and would likely be aware of illegal activities, the likes of which are throughout this chapter.

¹³⁷⁶ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5395; Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm"; William Sykes, a/k/a "Black"; and Jameel Aleem, a/k/a "Nino B," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5597; Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5944.

¹³⁷⁷ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5943.

¹³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 5944.

¹³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 5645.

¹³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 7396.

¹³⁸² *Ibid.*, 5860.

¹³⁸³ *Ibid.*; Aleem, Motion for a New Trial, 12.

¹³⁸⁴ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5860.

¹³⁸⁵ United States of America v. Jameel Aleem, No.1:13-cr-00350-LMB, 7210 (Eastern District of Virginia June 27, 2014).

have a threesome with him.¹³⁸⁶ Janee's niece Lexie Moore (Chardonay) was also one of Snow's women.¹³⁸⁷ Lexie joined Snow's gang at the age of fourteen or fifteen and lived in the Den.¹³⁸⁸ Like others, she was hit in the jaw by Snow.¹³⁸⁹ Lexie heard stories of other women that Snow had raped or threatened when they refused and, while he did not force her to have sex with him, she acquiesced without actually giving permission several times.¹³⁹⁰ In many instances, Snow had nonconsensual sex with female gang members, either for pleasure, to discipline them for indiscretions, or to keep them in line.¹³⁹¹

When Snow was not raping women, he was ordering other acts of retaliation and revenge or, at minimum, creating a culture where this was acceptable among his ranks. He and the Nine Trey Gangsters were so committed to their organization that they would, to an extreme, stand up for it. On April 12, 2010, the Nine Trey Gangsters shot down a person referred to as "D.D." with multiple firearms at Cedar Lee Middle School in Fauquier, Virginia. The shooting occurred because of an earlier dispute D.D. had with Markeith Kerns, one of Snow's favorite soldiers.¹³⁹² Previously, D.D. had jumped out of some bushes, punched Kerns in the face, and ran away.¹³⁹³ Not able to tolerate disrespect, the Nine Trey Gangsters turns a schoolboy fight into a deadly ambush. This was one of many times that the group's discontent was idealized and frustration over a short-term provocative situation became a matter of pride.

As a brief interjection, Snow claimed that his health continued to suffer from an old high school accident. After his release from prison, Snow reports that he was hospitalized several times in both the DC area and Richmond for lingering effects of an old

¹³⁸⁶ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Snow"; 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 2911.

¹³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 6318, 6331.

¹³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 6562.

¹³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 6571.

¹³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 6572.

¹³⁹¹ United States's Notice of Other Crimes and Evidence Pursuant to Fed. R. Ev 404(b), 5.

¹³⁹² Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 17; Markeith Kerns, a.k.a "LTK," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 711.

¹³⁹³ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm"; William Sykes, a/k/a "Black"; and Jameel Aleem, a/k/a "Nino B," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5870.

concussion.¹³⁹⁴ He was also a regular attendee of a Sunday Worship Service where those who knew him in that capacity believed him to be a “man of good moral character.”¹³⁹⁵ There are no exact dates for these activities.

By 2011, Snow was a bit of an entrepreneur and diversifying his business operations. Snow sought council by the godfathers, especially Magoo, and would travel to the Wende Correctional Facility in New York to discuss operations.¹³⁹⁶ Snow was liaising with Curtis Martino (aka Curtis Dodd or Red Rum), who was also a five star general of a nearby Nine Trey Gangster Blood line-up in Northern Virginia.¹³⁹⁷ Under Snow and Martino, the Nine Trey Gangsters grew their criminal enterprise and had lower members carry out a great number of crimes.¹³⁹⁸ As promotion depended on the ability to gain “knowledge” or money for the organization, Snow now oversaw a wide range of interstate criminal activities including assault, robbery, drug trafficking, use and possession of illegal firearms, dealing and counterfeiting US currency, and more.¹³⁹⁹

With respect to drugs in 2011, Snow mainly trafficked cocaine, cocaine base (crack cocaine), marijuana (aka visine), Schedule II prescription painkillers (aka flues), ecstasy (including mollie), and more.¹⁴⁰⁰ Snow sent several of his members to New York to buy heroin (aka huey) that would be sold in Virginia.¹⁴⁰¹ His enterprise sold anywhere between 3.5 and 14 grams of crack cocaine every few days per dealer, in addition to the other drugs.¹⁴⁰² One of his sources was a person known as “Black Cat,” a school friend from his youth.¹⁴⁰³ Snow routinely threatened his dealers with physical harm, should they not hand

¹³⁹⁴ Thaddaeus Snow, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5431.

¹³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 5437.

¹³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 6525.

¹³⁹⁷ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 9.

¹³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*,

¹³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁴⁰³ Thaddaeus Snow, and William Sykes, and Jameel Aleem, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 7117.

over the correct amount of money or if they were caught using the product.¹⁴⁰⁴ As his drug distribution network grew, Snow “unquestionably enhanced the problems in [Fauquier and Prince William counties].”¹⁴⁰⁵ Snow also became interested in counterfeit money that was coming out of New York and acquired a few hundred dollars to start.¹⁴⁰⁶

Snow’s control over his women was as strong as ever. Candy Minor first met Snow around 2009, though she was not an official member of the Nine Trey Gangsters.¹⁴⁰⁷ From the beginning of 2012 until the end of September of that year, Candy and Snow became romantically involved when she was on a break from her fiancée, a mistake she came to greatly regret.¹⁴⁰⁸ Snow was violent from the beginning. In February 2012, he slammed her head against a dresser and hit her head against a wall when she refused to let him use her car for gang activities.¹⁴⁰⁹ Similar abuse happened in March 2012. In May and August 2012, Snow woke Candy in the early morning by standing over her bed in an intimidating manner, forcing her to take him places in her car.¹⁴¹⁰

By 2012, Snow wanted another way to make money and began to dabble in prostitution, a new enterprise for his line-up.¹⁴¹¹ His first prostitute, Priscilla Storey, came to him with the idea. She was first introduced to Snow via mutual Nine Trey Gangster friends in 2012, after failed stints in rehab for marijuana, pills, and heroin.¹⁴¹² About eighteen-years-old at the time, she met Snow through Markeith at a McDonalds in Warrenton.¹⁴¹³ Soon, they

¹⁴⁰⁴ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 17.

¹⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 5391.

¹⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 6052.

¹⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 5931-32, 2647; prior to becoming entangled with Snow, Candy was a respectable person in society and her church. She aided in raising her three siblings and took care of her ill parents. Candy was working as a Certified Nursing Assistant (CNA) and was entrusted with the care of several elderly people, all whom adored her. She was also the devoted mother to three beautiful children. She, by all appearances, returned to that life following her escape from Snow.

¹⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 2632; Thaddaeus Snow, and William Sykes, and Jameel Aleem, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 7108; Candy was the main driver for Priscilla Storey.

¹⁴⁰⁹ United States of America v. Candy Minor, No.1:13-cr-00350-LMB, 2697 (Eastern District of Virginia January 17, 2014).

¹⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹¹ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 6609.

¹⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 4935.

¹⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 4938.

were hanging out every day and Snow offered to let her stay at his house, which she did.¹⁴¹⁴ After wrecking Snow's girlfriend Candy Minor's car, Storey was even more desperate for money. She began to sell drugs for Snow, also observing him sell drugs.¹⁴¹⁵ Then, she suggested prostituting for Snow, which she had casually been doing before for herself.¹⁴¹⁶ Snow, however, needed some advice on how to run this business model. To learn how to manage a prostitution ring, Snow and Priscilla sought Nicole's advice, as she had experience.¹⁴¹⁷ A plan in hand, Snow began to force Priscilla to perform sex acts in Virginia, but also Maryland, North Carolina, New York, and more.¹⁴¹⁸ Posting herself on the prostitution website BackPage, Priscilla would meet customers in hotel rooms in multiple states every day from January until October 2012.¹⁴¹⁹ Snow had his other women, Candy and his wife Latonya, assist with the driving and booking of rooms.¹⁴²⁰ But Priscilla did not like being a "whore."¹⁴²¹ When she asked to leave, Janee (supervising her) replied once, "I'm going to smack her right in her f*cking mouth, you stupid b*tch. You let her know I said it."¹⁴²² Snow considered Priscilla, as well as his other prostitutes that he had by this point, his "wallet," or his way to make money.¹⁴²³ Snow refused to let her quit.¹⁴²⁴ That said, his vise was so powerful that Priscilla reported thinking that she loved him and that these people were her friends.¹⁴²⁵

In April of 2012, Snow was ordering armed robberies. He sent his lowest ranking gang members to rob a local marijuana dealer because he was fond of the product. With a

¹⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 4940.

¹⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 4941.

¹⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 4943.

¹⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 6604.

¹⁴¹⁸ Ibid., 17.

¹⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 4946.

¹⁴²⁰ Ibid., 9; Latonya Snow, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5008; Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 17; Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 579; Snow, and William Sykes, and Jameel Aleem, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 7111; Candy mainly booked rooms for prostitution from January through April 2012.

¹⁴²¹ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5875.

¹⁴²² Ibid., 5875.

¹⁴²³ Ibid.

¹⁴²⁴ Ibid., 4961, 4965.

¹⁴²⁵ Ibid., 4985.

muzzle of a gun to the dealer's face, they stole his marijuana and his money.¹⁴²⁶ This was one of the more brazen attacks at his direction and the authorities were starting to pay attention to the network, though not yet to Snow. By June 12, 2012, if not earlier, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was phone calls between leaders of the Nine Trey Gangsters, started with a mid-ranking leader Michael Troy Smallwood.¹⁴²⁷ Smallwood had been distributing crack cocaine for the Nine Trey Gangsters.¹⁴²⁸ From Smallwood, the FBI tapped fellow gang member Christopher Head, and then Martino.¹⁴²⁹ Operations continued as normal for Snow, with drugs, prostitutes, and violence.

On June 25, 2012, the Nine Trey Gangsters were discussing the purchase of additional ecstasy pills. From June 25 until September 7, 2012, another member would order crack cocaine for distribution.¹⁴³⁰ On June 28, 2012, the gang discussed how its narcotics sales were not as big as expected.¹⁴³¹ On July 20, 2012, the gang debated what to do about one member who was allegedly violating the rules by smoking phencyclidine or "PCP."¹⁴³² While they sold drugs, UBN members were not permitted to use them.¹⁴³³ To a certain extent, they tried to be careful. Nine Trey Gangsters Blood did what they could to avoid detection by law enforcement, even deciding a gang member with no or little criminal record would accept responsibility for one of their crimes on July 24, 2012.¹⁴³⁴ Snow was also very "secretive," hiding money and not sharing information about transactions with fellow gang members.¹⁴³⁵

Summer 2012 was a busy time for Snow. Around July or August 2012, Snow attempted to recruit more prostitutes, this time approaching an 18-year-old girl in

¹⁴²⁶ Ibid., 4688.

¹⁴²⁷ Ibid., 5683.

¹⁴²⁸ Ibid., 5684.

¹⁴²⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴³⁰ Ibid., 18; There was also a gang meeting held on June 27, 2012.

¹⁴³¹ Ibid.

¹⁴³² Ibid.

¹⁴³³ Ibid., 7403.

¹⁴³⁴ Ibid., 18.

¹⁴³⁵ Ibid., 6534; fellow gang members report seeing Snow with large amounts of money.

Maryland.¹⁴³⁶ Snow and his subordinates were not above using violence to keep their prostitutes in line and, around August 2012, Sykes slapped and choked one of their women for approximately 20 minutes for not making enough money.¹⁴³⁷ In summer 2012, Snow was involved in an altercation with Heavenly Sovereignty, a Nine Trey Gangster from a different line-up, over Lexie. The keys to the car, a Magnum, were missing. Snow punched her and planned to give her a buck-fifty, as had been done to Lauren.¹⁴³⁸ After Snow brought out his knife, Sovereignty struck Snow, knocking him down and taking the weapon.¹⁴³⁹ What made this fight interesting was that Sovereignty fought a higher-ranking gang member, won, and was not reprimanded.

No one in Snow's network was safe to go about his or her daily business. In August 2012, Candy shopped at a dollar store in Warrenton, leaving her 7-year-old son in the car. When she returned, Snow was in the front seat and "smashed" her face into the windshield.¹⁴⁴⁰ According to Candy, Snow was "the most manipulative man [she has] ever met."¹⁴⁴¹ In addition to countless threats against herself and family, Snow would further intimidate her by showing up at her children's school.¹⁴⁴² At some point in 2012, Snow was also molesting Nicole, who fled to North Carolina to get away from him and the gang.¹⁴⁴³ The gang would still call her, and one day arrived to "come and get [her]."¹⁴⁴⁴ Following an arrest and because she knew the gang was looking for her, Nicole returned to Northern Virginia.¹⁴⁴⁵ Snow's power, and want for power, was immense.

¹⁴³⁶ Ibid., 18.

¹⁴³⁷ Ibid., 19.

¹⁴³⁸ Ibid., 6318; Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm"; William Sykes, a/k/a "Black"; and Jameel Aleem, a/k/a "Nino B," No.1:13-cr-00350-LMB, 6573 (Eastern District of Virginia May 22, 2014).

¹⁴³⁹ United States of America v. Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 6318.

¹⁴⁴⁰ United States of America v. Candy Minor, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 2697.

¹⁴⁴¹ Ibid. 2698.

¹⁴⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴⁴³ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 6600.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., 6602.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., 6603.

By September 7, 2012, the FBI was wiretapping Snow's phone, which they would do until approximately October 19, 2012.¹⁴⁴⁶ Snow was now discussing mollie, a version of ecstasy.¹⁴⁴⁷ He was also liberal with the gang lingo. As Snow would hang up the phone, it would not be uncommon for him and the person on the other end of the line to exchange the phrases: "Alright east" and "All the time."¹⁴⁴⁸ This affirmed their loyalty to the East Coast branch of the Bloods and their lifelong commitment to the cause.¹⁴⁴⁹

Snow's iron grip on his prostitution ring was not just enforced with assault and emotional abuse. On September 8, 2012, he used some extreme rhetoric when he threatened to "peter roll" or kill Priscilla after she failed to answer his phone call.¹⁴⁵⁰ When she did not want to "post" or prostitute, Storm gave the gang member minding her an earful: "Did you tell her she can vote? She can't vote unless you tell her she can vote."¹⁴⁵¹ The same day, he instructed one of his operatives to stay with her so that she would not run away.¹⁴⁵² Another time, Snow created a rule where gang members could have sex with Priscilla whenever they wanted and would not have to pay.¹⁴⁵³ The women had absolutely no say in whether they wanted to perform sexual acts on the customers or where they went and were beaten for disobedience.¹⁴⁵⁴ They would be forced to sell their bodies as many as 20 or 30 times a day and at all hours of the night.¹⁴⁵⁵ If they did not make enough money, then they would not be going home that day.¹⁴⁵⁶

¹⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 5684.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 5702.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.; a great number of phone conversations were admitted as evidence in the trial and show a plethora of peculiar discussions with all kinds of code words and phrases.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 5704.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 9, 4967.

¹⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 4968.

¹⁴⁵² Ibid., 19.

¹⁴⁵³ Ibid., 5946.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 19, 48.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 5594; the time stamps of some of the phone calls transcribed in the court documents indicate the gang was operating at 2 a.m. and other times in the middle of the night, indicating a possible lack of sleep.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Thaddaeus Snow, and William Sykes, and Jameel Aleem, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 7155.

Like many people working for Snow, Candy wanted to leave, which resulted in a confrontation with Snow on September 12, 2012.¹⁴⁵⁷ To keep her from outright leaving, Snow told Candy that she owed him \$18 and needed to bring it to him, or else he would have people waiting for her at her mother's: "I'm going to come there and get your whole goddam family."¹⁴⁵⁸ When she arrived, Snow took her keys, would not let her leave, and proceeded spend about an hour and a half abusing her so badly that her eye and cheek were swollen, her body was sore, she was scratched, and had bruises everywhere.¹⁴⁵⁹ When the beating was done, Snow offered these parting words: "See what the homies say when they find out that some bitch done put their hands on their Big Homie?"¹⁴⁶⁰ He threatened to kill her: "You put your hands on a high. You should be peter-rolled right now."¹⁴⁶¹ Snow, as he did with the 31 rules, paid a great deal of attention to what was permitted or prohibited. He continued, "Only a fool would attack a raging lion...you attacked a raging lion. And then you wonder why you got hurt."¹⁴⁶² For six weeks, her jaw was so sore that Candy could not chew.¹⁴⁶³ At this time, Candy had transitioned from being on Snow's girlfriend list to his "green light" list, or to kill list.¹⁴⁶⁴ Women were expendable and certainly killable, and Snow desperately needed uniformity.

Snow was stepping up his drug game and becoming interested in crystal meth around September 14, 2012. By September 16, 2012, Snow was showing a bit of paranoia. He and his closest associates discussed the recent arrest of a UBN member in Norfolk, VA by federal authorities, and the odds that Snow might face a federal investigation.¹⁴⁶⁵ Not terribly scared, Snow began to plan how to put counterfeit \$10 Federal Reserve Notes into circulation at local

¹⁴⁵⁷ United States of America v. Candy Minor, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 2696; Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 17; if a gang member wished to leave, then Snow would have him assaulted.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 6586 (Eastern District of Virginia May 22, 2014).

¹⁴⁵⁹ Thaddaeus Snow, and William Sykes, and Jameel Aleem, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 7129.

¹⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 7131.

¹⁴⁶¹ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 6586.

¹⁴⁶² Jameel Aleem, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 7213.

¹⁴⁶³ Thaddaeus Snow, and William Sykes, and Jameel Aleem, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 7130.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Candy Minor, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 2698.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 20.

businesses and in drug deals, but warned his operates not to use the phrase “counterfeit currency.”¹⁴⁶⁶ Instead, the code phrase for exchanging counterfeit money for real money was “change clothes” and each “t-shirt” was equivalent to \$20.¹⁴⁶⁷ At one point in 2012, he sold \$400 in counterfeit Federal Reserve Notes to one of his members and bought \$200 of real money.¹⁴⁶⁸ Once that was successful, Snow upped his game and next sold \$5000 worth of counterfeit Federal Reserve Notes to one of his members.¹⁴⁶⁹

Bearing in mind that he was married, Snow and Latonya had what she characterized as a “broken, abusive marriage.”¹⁴⁷⁰ While she and the children needed him for financial support, they would often live apart and separate because of his “abusive behavior.”¹⁴⁷¹ Snow and his wife would fight, which resulted in her running away every time.¹⁴⁷² On September 29, 2012, Snow was arrested and charged with assault on a family member in Prince William County, Virginia.¹⁴⁷³ Snow’s wife posted bond, using prostitution proceeds from his girls, and the charges were later dismissed.¹⁴⁷⁴

Occasionally, someone would escape his grasp. In October 2012, Priscilla was finally able to stop prostituting for Snow.¹⁴⁷⁵ According to Priscilla, “he didn’t love me like I loved him.”¹⁴⁷⁶ She had overheard people talking about murdering her: “Don’t kill her yet. Wait till I get there then you can kill her aiiight.”¹⁴⁷⁷ Priscilla decided to disappear by leaving the state.¹⁴⁷⁸

¹⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., 21.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 6055.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 22.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Latonya Snow, 1:13-cr-00350-LM at 5008.

¹⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 5014.

¹⁴⁷² Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 7399.

¹⁴⁷³ United States’s Notice of Other Crimes and Evidence Pursuant to Fed. R. Ev 404(b), 5.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.; United States of America v. Latonya Snow, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5008; charges were dismissed in November 2012.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 6161.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 6162.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Jameel Aleem, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 7214.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 6161.

In December 2012, Snow resurfaced in Leslie's life.¹⁴⁷⁹ He arrived at her house with Nicole and another woman because he was mad at Janee, who Leslie had not seen in a long time. According to him, Janee had told Latonya about his affairs and Snow was going to punish her by making Leslie, the "only thing Janee cared about," his property.¹⁴⁸⁰ Thankfully, Leslie had been on the phone with her mother when Snow and the two ladies arrived and told her mother that she did not have a good feeling about it.¹⁴⁸¹ Her stepfather was able to call the police who arrived and intervened, asking anyone who did not want to be searched to leave. Leslie left her home that night, never to return over fears of her safety.¹⁴⁸² Snow did reach out to Janee in retribution, telling her to "buck-fifty" Leslie, which she refused to do.¹⁴⁸³ Snow told Janee, "You and Leslie are both food, and will be eaten on sight."¹⁴⁸⁴

Branching out from recruiting to kidnapping, Snow and one of his members unsuccessfully tried to take a woman from her home on December 6, 2012 to make her one of his prostitutes.¹⁴⁸⁵ While a great deal of money was flowing and Snow kept half of all "dues" for the UBN, he claimed to be "dire" financial straits and was likely feeling the pressure to make more.¹⁴⁸⁶ He was not considered a "flashy" person and was not known for any extravagant spending.¹⁴⁸⁷ On top of this, Snow's marriage finally crumbled. In December 2012, Latonya left him, taking the children with her to a battered women's shelter.¹⁴⁸⁸

By 2013, Snow was acting with impunity, though the law was hot on his trail.¹⁴⁸⁹ On June 9, 2013, Snow ordered another robbery, which he was fond of doing. He sent four gang members to the home of a Crip, a rival gang member, who was growing his own

¹⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 5952.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 5953.

¹⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 5954.

¹⁴⁸² Ibid.

¹⁴⁸³ Janee Yates, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 2330.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a "Storm," 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 21.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., 4680, 5432 (Eastern District of Virginia May 07, 2014).

¹⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 6522.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Latonya Snow, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5014.

¹⁴⁸⁹ This is evidence of ambivalence toward authority.

marijuana.¹⁴⁹⁰ Using a woman as cover, the four men burst in the home once the door opened and shot the man, who was hospitalized for more than a month in a medically induced coma.¹⁴⁹¹ The authorities were closing in, though their break came when a former associate of Snow found herself in trouble. Priscilla was arrested for prostitution in July 2013, and the prosecution presumably had a way to strengthen their case against Snow.¹⁴⁹² US attorneys and Detective Pengelly sat down with Priscilla and asked about Snow and his activities, providing the opportunity for a plea deal or reduced sentence. She talked.

Complete with tattoos and dreadlocks, Snow was arrested on September 4, 2013 in Fairfax County.¹⁴⁹³ On one side, he was a “high,” having risen above the rank of the five star general in the Nine Trey Gangsters.¹⁴⁹⁴ He ordered murders, raped women, and sold the most serious of drugs. On the other, he was working a 16-hour day trying to provide for his family.¹⁴⁹⁵ On February 21, 2014, Snow was convicted of conspiracy to commit racketeering, violence in aid of racketeering, robbery, conspiracy to distribute cocaine base, conspiracy to commit sex trafficking by force and coercion and multiple firearms offenses.¹⁴⁹⁶ Appalled, Snow’s childhood family was no longer in regular contact with him.¹⁴⁹⁷ He was sentenced to 40 years in prison on May 9, 2014.¹⁴⁹⁸ As part of the judge’s final ruling, Snow was enrolled in 500-hour intensive drug treatment program and evaluated as to the need for some mental health treatments.¹⁴⁹⁹

¹⁴⁹⁰ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm”; William Sykes, a/k/a “Black”; and Jameel Aleem, a/k/a “Nino B,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 4688.

¹⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 4688, 6105.

¹⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 4995.

¹⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6352.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Thaddaeus Snow, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5450.

¹⁴⁹⁶ U.S. Attorney's Office, Eastern District of Virginia, “Nine Trey Gang Leader Sentenced to 40 Years in Prison, Enforcer Sentenced to 30 Years for Multiple Racketeering Offenses.”

¹⁴⁹⁷ Thaddaeus Snow, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5429.

¹⁴⁹⁸ U.S. Attorney's Office, Eastern District of Virginia, “Nine Trey Gang Leader Sentenced to 40 Years in Prison, Enforcer Sentenced to 30 Years for Multiple Racketeering Offenses.”

¹⁴⁹⁹ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 7403.

Analysis of Terrorism Variables and Snow

When the label “gang” is swapped out for “terrorism,” Snow’s indoctrination follows a very similar path in this “least likely” case. By choosing to join an organization (gang) and rise through its ranks, Snow was indoctrinated in a way that supported comradery and reinforced the ideology of the Nine Trey Gangsters. This loyalty intensified to the point of carrying out operations on behalf of the organization and supporting violence as a first, not last, option. Snow was completely subsumed by his new beliefs and continually increasing his involvement with its illicit activities. Like El-Khalifi and Chesser, Snow’s indoctrination was, to a certain extent, a choice. The Nine Trey Gangsters do not typically force someone to join, though a person wearing their colors might receive an option of being beaten as punishment. Owing to his charisma and ability to organize, Snow grew this line-up and exert control over more and more people. He spread their beliefs, albeit criminal, across swaths of Northern Virginia and beyond. Snow came to view expanding operations as critical to his role in the gang, including directing others to do harm. By the time Snow was fully indoctrinated, he was subjecting women to atrocities, pushing heroin and crack cocaine, and calling for the deaths of those who challenged him. Snow was seemingly untouchable.

However, the identification of Snow as an indoctrinated gang member, especially when the police began monitoring his actions, omits the path that led him to jail in the first place, especially his high school years.

Childhood

Snow was born on August 1, 1980.¹⁵⁰⁰ As an African American male, Snow was raised by his mother and father in a well-respected and “good Christian home” in the urban suburbs of Virginia.¹⁵⁰¹ Considered the “emotional” and “most caring” one, Snow was the middle of seven children.¹⁵⁰² Reverend Dr. Tommie L. Snow, Snow’s father, was an employee with IBM, but left to start his own business and be closer to home as his children were growing up.¹⁵⁰³ Snow’s mother, Shirley, was a stay-at-home mom who was frequently around for her children.¹⁵⁰⁴ Snow was “raised to fear God, and treat people right” by the Baptist church and his parents.¹⁵⁰⁵ He attended Sunday school and church every day of his childhood and adolescence.¹⁵⁰⁶ His parents accepted that their children were not perfect, but encouraged them to work for goodness and live with Jesus.¹⁵⁰⁷

Growing up, Snow struggled to find his place in his own family. As the middle child, he was too little, as well as too “small, not athletic enough” to accompany his older brothers.¹⁵⁰⁸ On the other side, the brother below him was not interested in playing outside. That left his sister and a much younger brother.¹⁵⁰⁹ Because of the age differences, Snow’s older brothers would watch the children when the parents were away. Once when Snow was about 12 years old, the siblings put on a talent show where the youngest two were the judges. The older five competed and Snow performed a MC Hammer song in a grey church vest that drew taunts and teases from his older brothers, especially the second oldest who was

¹⁵⁰⁰ “North Carolina State Prison Inmate Details for Snow, Thaddaeus Snow,” Bail Bond City, accessed June 25, 2016, http://bailbondcity.com/north_carolina/ncdoc-inmate-SNOW/0733683.

¹⁵⁰¹ Thaddaeus Snow, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5429; being a member of a minority race and being male are two variables. While African Americans fare much better now than in other points in America’s history, there is still some minority group economic discrimination that Snow’s family likely would have been aware of or experienced.

¹⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 5435, 5438.

¹⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, 5429.

¹⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 5438.

¹⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 5440.

¹⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 5438.

¹⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

musically inclined.¹⁵¹⁰ Snow, feeling sad, humiliated, and insecure, went outside for quite a while to cry.¹⁵¹¹ His sister Tamar was the sibling who would comfort him. Snow took other jokes painfully to heart, including a reoccurring one where his brothers would tell his friends that he wet the bed. Likely anxious, he felt constantly disrespected and had low self-esteem.¹⁵¹² While siblings will tease each other, Snow likely began to internalize this and reacted by treating his friends the way his learned from his brothers.¹⁵¹³

Snow had minor health problems as a child that did not impede him much. Afflicted with asthma, he was the only child who would cut the grass (despite the fact that all his siblings had asthma).¹⁵¹⁴ Snow did this to please his mother.¹⁵¹⁵ His father saw his son as a “chip off the old-block...a born leader and hard worker.”¹⁵¹⁶

High School

Snow was never a very big man, small shouldered and not overly muscular, but he tried.¹⁵¹⁷ In Nokesville, Snow was an athlete in high school, playing on multiple sports teams including football and basketball.¹⁵¹⁸ A dedicated athlete, Snow won the “hardest worker award” for his efforts.¹⁵¹⁹ While on the football team, Snow believes he suffered at least one concussion that left him with lifelong health issues.¹⁵²⁰ From this point forward, Snow would have “episodes” where he would blackout and become “nauseous, clammy and...pass out.”¹⁵²¹

¹⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹¹ Ibid.

¹⁵¹² Ibid., 5436; one letter submitted on Snow’s behalf in the trial references the possibility that Snow had ADHD and other behavioral issues, but is not written by a doctor.

¹⁵¹³ Ibid., 5438.

¹⁵¹⁴ Ibid., 5440.

¹⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵¹⁶ Ibid., 5450.

¹⁵¹⁷ Ibid., 4691.

¹⁵¹⁸ Ibid., 5435.

¹⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 5453.

¹⁵²⁰ Ibid., 5431.

¹⁵²¹ Ibid.

During high school, Snow's parents believed their sons were facing racism and made the decision to switch the older children to a school in Manassas.¹⁵²² Snow handled this transition very poorly, suddenly changing friends, increasing his risky behavior, and hanging out with the wrong people as he was desperate to fit in. Snow was easily influenced by peer pressure and likely engaged in some back-and-forth bullying and teasing. When it came to his friends, Snow's childhood insecurities came back. Beginning to assert toughness, he enforced "loyalty" with them, always wanting to know who he could trust.¹⁵²³ His father told his son that, unless something changed, he would "end up either shot dead or in jail."¹⁵²⁴ Snow, however, considered himself very intelligent and assumed he was smart enough to avoid that.¹⁵²⁵ He managed to get through high school and graduate.

Snow believed in "family support," and would do what he could to help his relatives.¹⁵²⁶ Throughout childhood and early adulthood, Snow did his best to honor his mother. He would answer when she called and he would always check in on her. According to her, Snow was always respectful to both his parents. Snow would "go out of his way to put a smile on [his mother's] face."¹⁵²⁷

College

Shirley believes that her son's serious problems started when he left his home and church, losing his protective factors, and attended college at University of North Carolina at Charlotte (UNC Charlotte) in 1999.¹⁵²⁸ Snow's physical and emotional health were in question and he

¹⁵²² United States of America v. James Watson, No.1:13-cr-00350-LMB, 5237 (Eastern District of Virginia April 22, 2014); while the name of the high school does not show up in Snow's records, Stonewall Jackson High School near Manassas, Virginia is listed for his childhood friend Watson.

¹⁵²³ Thaddaeus Snow, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5435.

¹⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, 5438.

¹⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, 5435.

¹⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, 5440; Snow had a reputation for going out of his way to make people feel treated fairly and to help people.

¹⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*

had experienced his fair share of “pain and hurt.”¹⁵²⁹ Snow’s younger brother Thomas passed away, a personal crisis for Snow. In his memory, Snow had a teardrop tattooed on his left cheek to keep him “close to [his] heart.”¹⁵³⁰ His health was poorer than it was in high school and he had already been to the emergency room about 14 times, or once a month.¹⁵³¹ Approximately seven of those times were by ambulance.¹⁵³²

While Snow did successfully complete his freshman year, finances became far tighter by his second year and he turned to crime at age 19.¹⁵³³ Snow began conducting several robberies, the start of his history of discipline problems.¹⁵³⁴ In a Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department report dated November 16, 2000, Snow and two others engaged in burglary, armed robbery, and kidnapping against three fellow UNC Charlotte students.¹⁵³⁵ Snow and his co-conspirators showed both a handgun and shotgun, moving the other men into the living room.¹⁵³⁶ They stole wallets, an entertainment center, a rifle, a gun kit, an ammunition box, and ATM cards.¹⁵³⁷ Snow claims he went along with the crime for financial reasons, but also because he needed to be “loyal” to his friends.¹⁵³⁸ Snow was arrested and received his first conviction on July 31, 2001.¹⁵³⁹ With this abrupt behavioral shift, Snow was the only one of his siblings to have issues with the law.¹⁵⁴⁰ He would not return to school.

¹⁵²⁹ Ibid., 5436.

¹⁵³⁰ Ibid., 7398.

¹⁵³¹ Ibid., 7407.

¹⁵³² Ibid.; the records do not specify the exact medical condition.

¹⁵³³ Ibid., 5429.

¹⁵³⁴ Ibid., 5395.

¹⁵³⁵ United States of America, Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department, November 16, 2000, 1, accessed June 11, 2016.

¹⁵³⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵³⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵³⁸ Thaddaeus Snow, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5438.

¹⁵³⁹ Offender Public Information, NC DPS, 1; this was a consolidated conviction that also included his other crimes.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Thaddaeus Snow a/k/a “Storm,” 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5395; Snow was also the only one of his siblings to be involved with drugs.

Prison

Isolated from his family and lacking appropriate authority figures, Snow spent the better part of eight years in jail in North Carolina where he survived by showing his masculinity or “bravado” to ward off fights, acting in self-defense.¹⁵⁴¹ He would have been exposed to violent people or simply individuals suspected of involvement in a gang. Violence was engrained in daily life and there was a cultural acceptance of violence as a means to resolve conflict. While he was incarcerated, Snow’s grandmother passed away, which he marked with a second teardrop tattoo.¹⁵⁴² Starting at maximum security, he was eventually downgraded to minimum and finally allowed out on work release.¹⁵⁴³ At some point while on work release, Snow met the woman who would become his wife, Latonya Carraway.¹⁵⁴⁴ When he finished serving his sentence, Snow claimed he had learned his lesson. He married his fiancée in September 2008 and they suffered an early miscarriage.¹⁵⁴⁵ Snow’s father, who was still active in his life, told his son that “God wanted [him] to do things right.”¹⁵⁴⁶ Snow and his wife rented a condo from his sister Tamar, who also co-signed a car for him.¹⁵⁴⁷ Snow’s father gave him a job and he seemed to be okay for a while. However, his old friends began to reappear and Snow claimed that he could help them.¹⁵⁴⁸ According to his mother, Snow is “the kind of person who will have a friend who has absolutely no where to go and will invite that person to stay with him. If Thaddaeus doesn’t have a place to invite him to do, he will go to that person just so he won’t be alone.”¹⁵⁴⁹

¹⁵⁴¹ Thaddaeus Snow, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5440.

¹⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 7398.

¹⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*, 7396.

¹⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 6789.

¹⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 7396.

¹⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 5438.

¹⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 5440.

With respect to his loved ones, Snow went out of his way to make his family members laugh and would shed tears at their sadness.¹⁵⁵⁰ Overall, relatives described him as “kind and sweet.”¹⁵⁵¹ As he had been in high school, Snow was “brilliantly intelligent” and would discuss everything from theology to current events with them.¹⁵⁵² His sister-in-law, prior to his arrest, saw him as a “mentor, a great orator, a sound philosopher.”¹⁵⁵³ Snow was the type of person who would give his family his last dollar, putting others above himself and protecting them.¹⁵⁵⁴ He had such a wonderful heart that he sent a birthday cake to his sister’s job or house every single year.¹⁵⁵⁵ Snow watched his nieces and nephews. Snow loved these children dearly, showing a “strong love” and drolling out “hugs and kisses, his time, and his affection.”¹⁵⁵⁶ The ability to provide for them, and later his children, weighed very heavily on him.¹⁵⁵⁷ To this day, Snow keeps his grandmother’s obituary in his Bible.¹⁵⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵⁰ Ibid., 5451.

¹⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., 5438.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., 5440.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., 5435.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., 7398.

Control and the Lakatosian Comparison of Violence Variables

To satisfy the control criteria, two questions are answered with respect to the “least likely” case study of Snow:

1. Can gang indoctrination case be viewed through the lens of terrorism?
2. If so, can terrorism and gang violence be considered subtypes of youth violence?

If questions 1 and 2 are positively satisfied, then the case of Snow will be evaluated as El-

Khalifi and Chesser were in a modified Lakatosian comparison, answering:

3. How do the numbers of gang, youth violence, and terrorism variables mathematically and substantively compare?
4. Do youth violence variables (including gang) hold more explanatory power than terrorism variables?

Snow's Gang Variables

Without dispute, Snow was a member of the Nine Trey Gangsters gang. Therefore, he should hit a number of expected gang identifiers. Of a possible 141 gang identifiers, 87 (62%) appear in his narrative, as anticipated. Table 6.1 shows the math on the possible gang variables and those that were visible in the identification of Snow as a violent person.

Table 6.1: Snow's Gang Variables

<i>Possible</i>	<i>Identifiable</i>
<p>141 Gang Variables</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 60% Socioemotional • 18% Institutional • 14% Social-structural • 8% No Classification <p>- 54 Not Applicable (38%)</p> <hr/> <p>= 87 Gang Variables (62%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 61% Socioemotional (53/87) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 53/84 (63%) • 18% Institutional (15/87) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 15/24 (63%) • 16% Social-structural (15/87) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 15/22 (68%) • 5% No Classification (4/4/87) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 4/11 (36%) 	<p>87 Gang Variables (62%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 61% Socioemotional • 18% Institutional • 16% Social-structural • 5% No Classification <p>- 51 Before Indoctrination Gang Variable (59%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 65% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 33/53 (62%) • 23% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 12/15 (80%) • 10% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 5/15 (33%) • 2% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 1/4 (25%) <hr/> <p>= 36 Indoctrination Variables (41%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 56% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 20/53 (38%) • 8% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 3/15 (20%) • 28% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 10/15 (67%) • 8% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 3/4 (75%)

Of the 141 possible variables, 38% were not applicable and did appear in his gang pre-indoctrination or indoctrination. Of the remaining 87 variables, Snow was demonstrating

socioemotional variables (61%) much more so than the other categories. Within each category, Snow was mainly driven by social-structural variables (68%), with socioemotional and institutional (both 63%) right behind. Given the emphasis on status and territory in a gang, I would have anticipated that social-structural would have been more dominant in both measures, but it was fairly close to other influences.

Almost 59% of the applicable variables appear in his pre-indoctrination narrative and were possibly notable prior to indoctrination. Socioemotional variables (65%) outperform all the other categories. Within the categories, institutional is the highest at 80%, with socioemotional (62%) following behind. Interesting, the emphasis on justice and norms featured more heavily than emotions and turf or status in this view.

The obvious gang indoctrination variables account for 41%, well after he was a gang member and while the FBI was tapping his phone. Rather than boasting about status, turf, and other commonly associated gang identifiers that align with the social-structural dimension (28%), Snow's indoctrination process was numerically dominated by the socioemotional dimension (56%) where he sought a secure identity, loyalty, and love. Social-structural (28%) was followed by institutional (8%). The remaining 8% was perhaps the most obvious identifier of indoctrination – has spent time in prison. The link between prisons and gangs is well established, but does not address what makes a person (other than being in a physically enclosed space) susceptible in the first place and prior to prison.¹⁵⁵⁹ Within the categories and when not considering obvious behaviors, social-structural (67%) is the strongest, followed by the much lesser socioemotional (38%). This is as expected. Largely without dispute, gang violence is considered a subtype of youth violence, however with highly specific identifiers like clothing colors, an emphasis on control of key neighborhoods, tattoos, etc.

¹⁵⁵⁹ David Skarbek, *The Social Order of the Underworld: How Prison Gangs Govern the American Penal System* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Analysis of Youth Violence Variables

Of the total possible 511 youth violence variables, 260 (51%) appear in Snow’s narrative in the “most likely” explanation.¹⁵⁶⁰ Table 6.2 shows the math on the pre- and post-indoctrination variables for youth violence.

Table 6.2: Snow’s Youth Violence Variables

Possible	Identifiable
511 Youth Violence Variables <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 52% Socioemotional • 20% Institutional • 11% Social-structural • 17% No Classification - 251 Not Applicable <hr/> = 260 Youth Violence Variables (51%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 53% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 138/264 (52%) • 21% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 54/103 (52%) • 12% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 31/57 (54%) • 14% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 37/87 (43%) 	260 Youth Violence Variables <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 53% Socioemotional • 21% Institutional • 12% Social-structural • 14% No Classification - 131 Before Indoctrination Var. (50.4%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 58% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 77/138 (56%) • 22% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 28/54 (52%) • 9% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 13/31 (42%) • 1% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 13/37 (35%) <hr/> = 129 Indoctrination Variables (49.6%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 47% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 61/138 (44%) • 20% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 26/54 (48%) • 14% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 18/31 (58%) • 19% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 24/37 (65%)

Numerically, socioemotional variables dominate the other categories, but—from a percentage perspective—social-structural (54%) pulls ahead of socioemotional and institutional (both

¹⁵⁶⁰ This number does not include the five specific to terrorism, not easily found or covered in the youth violence literature.

52%). Prior to indoctrination, Snow's thoughts and behaviors were primarily driven by socioemotional impulses. Once he had turned violent, emotional impulses (47%) diminished in favor of his position within the gang (social-structural at 14%) and operational activities (no classification at 19%), but only slightly. Within categories, social-structural was the most strongly aligned with actual radicalization. As with the breakdown with the gang variables, Snow was primarily radicalized because of self-esteem, identity crises, and a lack of stable relationships, with concerns over politics, justice, territory, and money, etc. being less important. Whether a terrorist or a gang member, Snow was a young man losing his way along a path he hoped would bring him pride, stability, and security.

Analysis of Terrorism Variables

Snow’s narrative contains 149 of a possible total of 254 terrorist variables (59%), which is slightly less than the 62% gang variables, though still a high percentage. From a raw numbers perspective, 149 terrorist variables (59%) are visible. Table 6.3 shows the math on Snow’s variables for terrorism before and at the approximate point of radicalization.

Table 6.3: Snow’s Terrorism Variables

<i>Possible</i>	<i>Identifiable</i>
<p>254 Terrorism Variables</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 49% Socioemotional • 27% Institutional • 15% Social-structural • 9% No Classification <p>- 105 Not Applicable (41%)</p> <hr/> <p>= 149 Applicable Terrorism Variables (59%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 49% Socioemotional (149) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 73/124 (59%) • 27% Institutional (149) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 39/68 (57%) • 13% Social-structural (149) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 21/39 (54%) • 11% No Classification (149) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 16/23 (70%) 	<p>149 Applicable Terrorism Variables</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 52% Socioemotional • 30% Institutional • 11% Social-structural • 7% No Classification <p>- 66 Before Radicalization Variables (44%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 58% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 38/73 (52%) • 21% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 13/39 (33%) • 12% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 9/21 (43%) • 9% No Classification • 6/16 (38%) <hr/> <p>= 83 Radicalization Variables (56%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 42% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 35/73 (48%) • 31% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 26/39 (67%) • 15% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 12/21 (57%) • 12% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 10/16 (63%)

Out of 254 terrorism variables, 105 (41%) were not applicable and did not appear in Snow’s narrative. Of the remaining 149, Snow was showing socioemotional variables (49%) more

than the other categories and, within categories, demonstrated socioemotional (59%), institutional (57%), and social-structural (54%) influences. He was also showing actionable variables (70%). If gang involvement does not look like terrorism, I would have anticipated that social-structural variables would have been far higher, as gang are concerned with status and turf. Snow largely mirrors the terrorist breakdown with the 254 terrorism variables.

Prior to joining the gang, 66 out of 149 (44%) were visible prior to Snow demonstrating gang indoctrination, in contrast to 59% in the gang model. Socioemotional is numerically superior at 58% and is also the strongest within category measure at 52%. The second, also a departure from terrorism, is social-structural (43%). Prior to violence, the terrorism variables largely hit behaviors and thoughts that suggest Snow was vulnerable and impressionable (anxiety, extraordinary need for identity, grievances by a sub-group of society, etc.).

Once radicalized, Snow demonstrated 83 out of 149 variables (56%) in the terrorism model, compared to 41% in the gang model. Breaking this down, the numerical majority of variables were again socioemotional (42%). Within categories, however, institutional tops the list at 67%, followed by social-structural (57%) and socioemotional (48%). The obvious behavioral variables are strong, as expected, at 63%. The vast majority of these radicalization variables covered typical gang activities and attitudes (group cohesiveness, counterfeit goods, etc.) and behaviors that Snow exhibited AFTER he joined a gang.

If a terrorist is different from a gang leader, then terrorist Snow should not be overly similar to the gang member Snow. In Table 6.4, Snow is simultaneously examined as a terrorist and a gang member, looking at which variables are the same for both.

Table 6.4: Terrorism and Gang Variables

<i>Identifiable</i>	<i>Before Radicalization</i>	<i>Radicalization</i>
<p>149 Terrorism Variables</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 49% Socioemotional (59%) • 27% Institutional (57%) • 13% Social-structural (54%) • 11% No Classification (70%) 	<p>66 Before Radicalization</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 58% Socioemotional (52%) • 21% Institutional (33%) • 12% Social-structural (43%) • 9% No Classification (38%) 	<p>83 Radicalization Var.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 42% Socioemotional (48%) • 31% Institutional (67%) • 15% Social-structural (57%) • 12% No Classification (63%)
<p>87 Total Gang Variables</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 61% Socioemotional (63%) • 18% Institutional (63%) • 16% Social-structural (68%) • 5% No Classification (36%) 	<p>51 Before Gang Variables</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 65% Socioemotional (62%) • 23% Institutional (80%) • 10% Social-structural (33%) • 2% No Classification (25%) 	<p>36 Gang Variables</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 56% Socioemotional (38%) • 8% Institutional (20%) • 28% Social-structural (67%) • 8% No Classification (75%)
<p>46 Also Gang (31%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 59% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 27/37 (73%) • 17% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 7/10 (70%) • 20% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 10/11 (91%) • 4% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 2/3 (66%) 	<p>23 Also Gang (45%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 65% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 15/27 (56%) • 22% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 4/7 (57%) • 9% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 3/10 (30%) • 4% No Classification • 1/2 (50%) 	<p>23 Also Gang (64%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 52% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 12/27 (44%) • 13% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 3/7 (43%) • 30% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 7/10 (70%) • 5% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 1/2 (50%)

Of the 149 terrorism variables, 46 (31%), close to one-third, are also gang. Numerically, socioemotional drivers dominate in both the pre-indoctrination and post-indoctrination phases. For pre-terrorism, Snow primarily exhibits socioemotional (52%) followed by social-structural (43%). The obvious post-indoctrination variables are the highest percentage shared between terrorism and gang, not surprising as his most serious violent activities began after he was a full member of the Nine Trey Gangsters. In post-terrorism within percentages, Snow shows mostly institutional drivers (67%), also keeping with variables from terrorism studies. Out of the 149 terrorism variables, Snow has one variable that is highly specific to terrorism

and not easily found or covered in the youth violence literature – suspicious or unreported travel.¹⁵⁶¹ Snow, not a terrorist, exhibited a unique identifier of terrorism, in addition to a plethora of other affiliated terrorism activities.

The variables for gang behavior are more specific than generic youth violence and, to guard against an artificial distinction, I note that 148 out of 149 or 99% of Snow’s terrorist variables are also youth violence variables. As expected, terrorism looks similar to youth violence for Snow in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Terrorism Through Youth Violence Variables

Identifiable	Before Radicalization	Radicalization
149 Total Radicalization Variables <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 49% Socioemotional • 27% Institutional • 13% Social-structural • 11% No Classification 	66 Before Radicalization Variables <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 58% Socioemotional • 21% Institutional • 12% Social-structural • 9% No Classification 	83 Radicalization Variables <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 42% Socioemotional • 31% Institutional • 15% Social-structural • 12% No Classification
148 Also Youth Violence (99%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 49% Socioemotional • 26% Institutional • 14% Social-structural • 10% No Classification¹⁵⁶² 	66 Also Youth Violence (100%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 58% Socioemotional • 20% Institutional • 14% Social-structural • 9% No Classification 	82 Also Youth Violence (99%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 42% Socioemotional • 32% Institutional • 15% Social-structural • 11% No Classification

In answer to questions one and two, given the above numbers and the amount of “terrorist” behavior exhibited by Snow, gang indoctrination can be viewed through the terrorism lens. This presents additional evidence that more research should be done to compare terrorism radicalization in prison to gang indoctrination in prison.¹⁵⁶³ Both gang and terrorism can be

¹⁵⁶¹ These five are: takes suspicious or unreported travel, technician, researcher/surveyor, attended university in the West, and studied vocational and tech/natural sciences the most.

¹⁵⁶² Partial percentage points make it so no number can be rounded to reach a total combined of 100%.

¹⁵⁶³ One work that has looked at this is Neumann, “Prisons and Terrorism.”

considered subtypes of youth violence in the case of Snow. To answer question three and compare gang and youth violence to terrorism, see Table 6.6.

Table 6.6: Comparison of Gang, Terrorism, and Youth Violence Variables

	Gang	Youth Violence	Terrorism
Appear	87/141 (62%)	260/511 (51%)	149/254 (59%)
Appear and Unique	NA	NA	1/149 (1%)
Before Indoctrination	51/87 (59%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 65% Socioemotional (62%) • 26% Institutional (80%) • 8% Social-structural (33%) • 1% No Classification (25%) 	131/260 (50%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 58% Socioemotional (56%) • 22% Institutional (52%) • 9% Social-structural (42%) • 1% No Classification (35%) 	66/149 (44%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 58% Socioemotional (52%) • 21% Institutional (33%) • 12% Social-structural (43%) • 9% No Classification (38%)
Indoctrination	36/87 (41%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 56% Socioemotional (38%) • 8% Institutional (20%) • 28% Social-structural (67%) • 8% No Classification (75%) 	129/260 (50%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 47% Socioemotional (44%) • 20% Institutional (48%) • 14% Social-structural (58%) • 19% No Classification (65%) 	83/149 (56%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 42% Socioemotional (48%) • 31% Institutional (67%) • 15% Social-structural (57%) • 12% No Classification (63%)
Key Takeaways	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 51 Useful (59%) • 31% of Gang Variables are Terrorism Variables • 100% of Gang Variables are Youth Violence Variables 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 131 Useful (50%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 65 Useful (44%), 1 Unique to Terrorism (1%) • 99% of Terrorism Variables are Youth Violence Variables

Three findings emerge from this comparison. First, Snow's case is obviously a form of gang indoctrination and a "most likely" case. As expected, his indoctrination hits 62% of all the possible gang variables, with 59% of the before indoctrination variables. Second, and also expected, Snow's case is one of youth violence, hitting broader variables (50% of all possible). In instances like Snow, policy practitioners should look at gang specific indoctrination vulnerabilities prior to violence while also paying attention to generic youth violence vulnerabilities, giving the greatest number (not percentage) of possible yellow flags for intervention.

Snow was not considered a terrorist. Matters of ideology did not primarily motivate him, as some terrorism studies would suggest he should have been. However, and as a third finding, Snow's profile shows that he met 59% of terrorist variables, only slightly underperforming gang variables (62%) and exceeding the percentage of youth violence variables (51%). With respect to his transition to violence, Snow also scored the highest in the percentage of indoctrination variables (56%) compared to gangs (41%) and youth violence (50%). Third, Snow's narrative looks more like terrorism than a classic case of youth violence in this "least likely" case.

To answer question three, the gang model has the best percentages (overall and for prior to indoctrination) and the terrorism model is a close second, but the youth violence model has the largest number of opportunities for identifying a youth who is indoctrinating to the point of violence. The youth violence model, when gangs are absorbed into it, also has the best percentages for identifying indoctrination prior to violence in the "most likely" case. Mathematically and when gangs are included in youth violence, the terrorism model has the best overall explanation whereas the youth violence model has the best numbers prior to indoctrination. Terrorism, however, has so many variables in common with youth violence that youth violence is the mathematically superior model.

Substantively, the gang model shows that Snow was primarily motivated by socioemotional (65%) impulses, as do the terrorism (58%) and youth violence (58%) models, in pre-indoctrination. Gang, like the other two, shows that he was next motivated by institutional (26%) concerns, then social-structural (8%), and finally those action-specific behaviors with no clear category (1%). Remembering that gang violence is a subtype of youth violence, the comparison between terrorism and youths is far more interesting. The numbers are almost identical. Whether viewed as a terrorist or violent youth, Snow was most motivated by socioemotional reasons 58% prior to indoctrination. Within 1%, he was equally motivated by institutional concerns; however institutional is stronger in the youth model (22%) than terrorism (21%), though both are inferior to emotions. The numbers are slightly more spread apart with social-structural and no classification, but not when considering the within percentages that are almost identical. Substantively, and when gangs are included in youth violence, the terrorism and youth violence models are almost equal prior to indoctrination. As the terrorism variables are almost identical to the youth violence variables, the youth violence model is substantively superior. However, these two models can complement and enhance each other, both mathematically and substantively in Snow's "most likely" and "least likely" case.

Terrorism verses Youth Violence Variables

4. Do youth violence variables (including gang) hold more explanatory power than terrorism variables in the case of Snow?

First, a simple numerical comparison of terrorism variables verses youth violence (including gang) variables is offered: 59% of applicable terrorism variables verses 51% of applicable youth violence variables in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7: Terrorism verses Youth Violence Variables

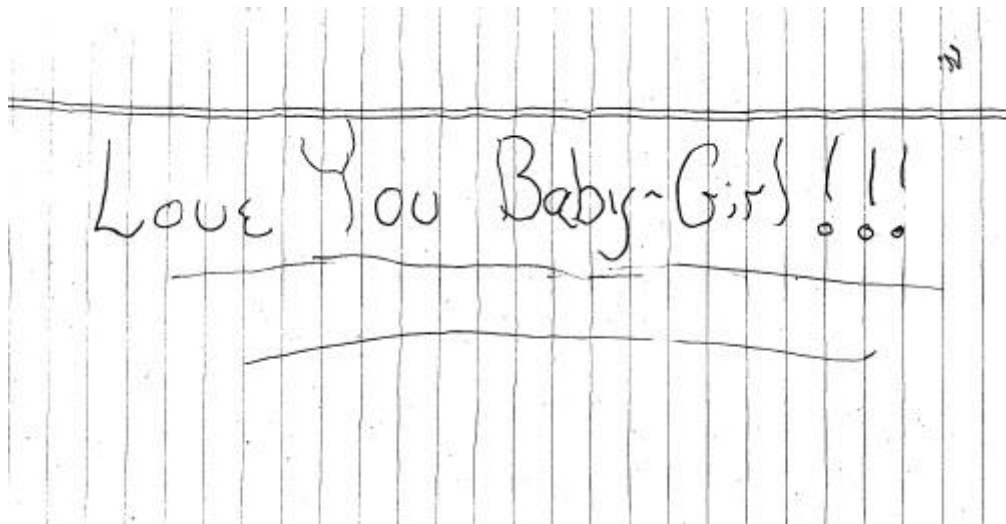
	Terrorism Variables	Youth Violence Variables
Appear	149/254 (59%)	260/511 (51%)
Appear and Unique	1/149 (1%)	NA
Before Indoctrination	66/149 (44%)	131/260 (50%)
Radicalization	83/149 (56%)	129/260 (50%)
Key Takeaways	65 Useful (44%), 1 Unique to Terrorism (1%)	131 Useful (50%)

Overall, terrorism appears to explain more from a percentage point of view, while youth violence explains more from a numerical point of view. Prior to radicalization, variables from terrorism studies explain 44% of his motivation while youth violence covers 50%. In post-radicalization, variables from terrorism studies explain 56% and youth violence theories cover 50%. This one nuance is fascinating. As SDT suggested, very different motivations will lead to violence. The specific type of violence will depend on whether the person was motivated by position, morals, or emotions, but violence will ensue. Looking at gang violence through terrorism more accurately explained that Snow, once radicalized, would actually commit violence, including the terrorism-specific variable of travel. In this sense, the terrorism model was most useful to showing that not only would Snow radicalize, he would act. This finding supports the hypothesis that all types of youth violence need to be used in the explanation,

and possibly prediction, of indoctrination, rather than assuming that terrorism has little to do with gangs or generic youth violence and vice versa. Youth violence variables explain more about Snow's path prior to indoctrination than variables from terrorism studies in a "most likely" case, but variables from terrorism studies explain his violent behaviors after indoctrination better in a "least likely" case.

Conclusion

Snow, by his own account, was brought up well.¹⁵⁶⁴ He knew the difference between right and wrong, and had his basic childhood needs met.¹⁵⁶⁵ According to those close to him, Snow “does love, he does cry, he does have remorse for the people he hurt.”¹⁵⁶⁶ However, he was missing a huge part of emotional wellbeing and lacked a solid sense of self. Snow had weak social ties to meaningful friends and struggled to find an appropriate place in society. To Snow, the Nine Trey Gangsters were a new and powerful identity. Snow was also cruel and callous. During his own trial, Snow laughed and made remarks toward his victims, further dehumanizing them. During the testimony of one of his abused prostitutes, Snow held up a sign in the courtroom with the writing “Love You Baby Girl.”¹⁵⁶⁷ He pled not guilty and maintained his innocence in the face of insurmountable evidence against him.



As a gang member, Snow was most obviously going to show signs of gang indoctrination.¹⁵⁶⁸ As gang indoctrination is a subtype of youth violence, he was also going to exhibit (in a less specific and more generic sense) youth variables. In an attempt to show that terrorism looks a great deal like gang indoctrination and can therefore also be considered a

¹⁵⁶⁴ Thaddaeus Snow, 1:13-cr-00350-LMB at 5429.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., 5438.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., 5435; this was a blatant sign of emotional detachment and callous behavior.

type of youth violence in this case, Snow's narrative was examined as though he were a terrorist. In a "least likely" case, gang violence should not have looked like terrorism. But on the most macro-level, terrorism variables (59%) were more present than youth variables (51%), answering question one—yes, Snow's gang indoctrination can be viewed through the lens of terrorism. Terrorism variables were especially useful in identifying that someone would act on their violence impulses and gang variables were superior in identifying a more narrow set of variables that someone susceptible to gang indoctrination would show prior to joining. These three had enormous commonalities, most essentially that gang and terrorism variables are largely covered under youth violence variables, leading to the conclusion that gang and terrorism are subtypes of youth violence in this case, answering question two. Comparing the models mathematically and substantively in question three, the terrorism model has the best overall numbers in a "least likely" case whereas the youth violence (including gangs) model has the best numbers prior to radicalization in a "most likely" case. Terrorism, however, has so many variables in common with youth violence that youth violence emerged the mathematically superior model. Substantively and when gangs are included in youth violence, the terrorism and youth violence models are almost equal in showing motivation. As the terrorism variables are almost identical to the youth violence variables, the youth violence model is substantively superior, shedding light on why Snow indoctrinated. In answer to question four, youth violence theories still hold the greatest explanatory power in the case of Snow, and can complement or enhance other theories of violence.

Chapter 7: Conclusion, Implications, and Future Research

A small minority of vulnerable youths will seek destructive outlets for their pain and frustration. One person might turn to the Nine Trey Gangsters and adopt a criminal identity. Another person might be drawn by terrorism and pursue violence in the name of Al-Shabaab or al-Qaeda. Before people go against deeply engrained self-sanctions against violence and killing, they became susceptible to a deviant lifestyle.¹⁵⁶⁹ A series of small, seemingly innocuous, events or personality shifts create an adolescent or young person who was exposed and in need of something secure. This thesis addressed how a person becomes vulnerable and how it is plausible to begin identifying early risk patterns, perhaps in childhood and adolescence, prior to radicalization for some people. While this is more a model than a theory, the youth approach to homegrown terrorism posits one way to view radicalization through an iterative sequential mixed methods design with quantitative and qualitative components. In this model, youth violence variables provide a better explanation for radicalization than radicalization variables in the three cases. Youth violence approaches identify specific statistically significant independent variables that are correlated with delinquency, and appear to be relevant to the study of terrorism.¹⁵⁷⁰ As a contribution or complement to the existing scholarship, this thesis adds an emphasis on specific early childhood and adolescent behaviors to the study of radicalization that is part of criminology, but missing in many of the terrorism studies reviewed in Chapter 3: Literature Review.

Section 7.1 summarizes the quantitative (quan) and qualitative (QUAL1) findings, as well as the qualitative case study (QUAL2) findings. Through the data and case studies, terrorism through the lens of youth violence can explain radicalization better than, or be complementary to, traditional terrorism variables in the three cases from Northern Virginia:

¹⁵⁶⁹ Bandura, "Selective Moral Disengagement," 101-119.

¹⁵⁷⁰ See the b coefficient or Beta column in Appendix A.

El-Khalifi, Chesser, and Snow. Section 7.2 discusses academic areas of further research. Section 7.3 addresses implications for the policy realm and areas of further action.

Section 7.1: Findings

This thesis developed an iterative sequential mixed methods model that was applied to three men from Northern Virginia, explaining how each became vulnerable to a deviant lifestyle prior to any observable acts of violence.¹⁵⁷¹ Years before terrorism variables identify a radicalized person, youth violence variables can point to an individual who is not doing well and in need of help, not a jail sentence. Key to this is identifying risky and non-risky activities that are strongly correlated, which was done through statistical analysis of the 2011 and 2012 *Fairfax County Youth Survey Reports*.¹⁵⁷² Applying quantitative analysis (quan), this thesis: determined statistically significant relationships between non-violent and violent variables; noted which violent actions are strongly correlated with other violent actions; and ascertained the most significant among the significant as noted by the b coefficient. Like a “choose your own adventure novel,” there are many possible risky combinations for a young person: 1298 at first analysis. Within this are approximately 182 independent variables or identifiers, with one independent variable possibly correlating with multiple dependent variables and vice versa. Of these 182, 83 are non-violent or non-deviant variables that are strongly correlated with violence. This quantitative analysis provides an initial foundation on which to begin to explain, and possibly predict, youth violence that is not dependent on a person being a terrorist as in the cases of El-Khalifi, Chesser, and Snow, and should be tested on other violent individuals.

From this quantitative analysis, there were a few unanticipated findings. Matters of religion and politics were expected to be linked to other frustrations. However, these barely

¹⁵⁷¹ See Figure 1.1: Iterative Sequential Mixed Methods Research Design.

¹⁵⁷² See Appendix E.

appear in the statistical results. Second, siblings were expected to follow in each other's footsteps, but friends are a far stronger proxy that the youth will become violent. However, the overall household environment—especially the parents—can be enormously uplifting or damaging for the youth.¹⁵⁷³ S/he needs sleep, nutrition, and a positive home life to avoid being vulnerable. Fourth, being male, being teased or bullied, and being attacked by someone are the strongest indicators of other violent behavior across the independent variables. Fifth, the dependent variables of suspension from school and hunger are correlated with the largest number of independent variables. Lastly, the strongest of the strong correlations (b coefficients) or indicators are: being suspended; carrying a handgun; and someone bullying the youth. All of these quantitative results were consolidated and then given a label or typology under SDT to give each variable meaning, providing a lens through which to interpret behavior and other inferable items.¹⁵⁷⁴

The next finding is about the number and character of other variables from terrorism and youth violence studies, plus gang studies to be used in the control case (QUAL1). After a systematic review of various studies and reports, a list of 329 variables or qualitative variables of terrorism, youth violence, and gang indoctrination was created. From this step, the quantitative foundation was merged with the qualitative layer to create one matrix of 511 independent variables, or 516 when including the five variables unique to terrorism studies. Of the 516 variables, approximately 280 are non-violent behaviors. These were also given a label according to SDT in order to typologize types of motivations. The final dependent variable is, quite clearly, a violent person.

¹⁵⁷³ Tanner-Smith, et al., "Risk Factors and Crime," in Cullen and Wilcox, *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Theory*, 108.

¹⁵⁷⁴ See Appendix A.

Table 7.1: Comparison of Case Studies with Terrorism Variables

<i>El-Khalifi</i>	<i>Chesser</i>	<i>Snow</i>
254 Terrorism Variables	254 Terrorism Variables	254 Terrorism Variables
- 94 Not Applicable (37%)	- 50 Not Applicable (20%)	- 105 Not Applicable (41%)
= 161 Terrorism Variables (63%)	= 204 Terrorism Variables (80%)	= 149 Terrorism Variables (59%)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 48% Socio-emotional (77/161) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 77/124 (62%) • 29% Institutional (47/161) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 47/68 (69%) • 14% Social-structural (22/161) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 22/39 (61%) • 9% No Classification (15/161) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 15/23 (65%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 52% Socio-emotional (105/204) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 105/124 (85%) • 30% Institutional (61/204) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 61/68 (90%) • 11% Social-structural (24/204) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 24/39 (62%) • 7% No Classification (14/204) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 14/23 (61%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 49% Socio-emotional (149) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 73/124 (59%) • 27% Institutional (149) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 39/68 (57%) • 13% Social-structural (149) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 21/39 (54%) • 11% No Classification (149) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 16/23 (70%)
- 84 Before Radicalization (52%)	- 101 Before Radicalization (49.5%)	- 66 Before Radicalization (44%)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 47% Socio-emotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 47/77 (61%) • 31% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 28/47 (59%) • 6% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 19/22 (86%) • 12% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 6/15 (43%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 52% Socio-emotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 53/105 (50%) • 31% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 31/61 (51%) • 11% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 11/24 (46%) • 6% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 6/14 (43%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 58% Socio-emotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 38/73 (52%) • 21% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 13/39 (33%) • 12% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 9/21 (43%) • 9% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 6/16 (38%)
= 77 Radicalization Var. (48%)	= 103 Radicalization Var. (50.5%)	= 83 Radicalization Variables (56%)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 51% Socio-emotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 39/77 (51%) • 31% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 24/47 (51%) • 6% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 5/22 (23%) • 12% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 9/15 (60%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 50% Socio-emotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 52/105 (50%) • 29% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 30/61 (49%) • 13% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 13/24 (54%) • 8% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 8/14 (57%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 42% Socio-emotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 35/73 (48%) • 31% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 26/39 (67%) • 15% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 12/21 (57%) • 12% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 10/16 (63%)

Applying this matrix to the three case studies yields the following breakdown for terrorism in Table 7.1. The “most likely” case of El-Khalifi (63%), “most likely” case of Chesser (80%), and “least likely” case of Snow (59%) exhibited many terrorism variables.¹⁵⁷⁵ Between before radicalization and radicalization was about a 50% split, with Snow having slightly more radicalization or indoctrination variables. Overall, all three of them exhibited socioemotional impulses and second institutional impulses at the point of radicalization or indoctrination. Within each category are more nuances at the point of radicalization or indoctrination.

¹⁵⁷⁵ I will not be addressing the “no classification” category in this conclusion, as those are almost entirely specific to physical actions and not related in a clear way to motivations.

Within each category and in general, El-Khalifi showed a greater percentage of institutional grievances (69%). Prior to radicalization, he was heavily influenced by socioemotional factors (61%), but more so social-structural (86%) from a within percentage point of view. According to some terrorism theories, the institutional drivers should have been stronger.¹⁵⁷⁶ Once he was already radicalized, he exhibited equal socioemotional and institutional percentages (51%). Chesser had very high internal percentages of institutional (90%) and socioemotional (85%) variables. This strong lead of institutional factors is consistent with some terrorism theories.¹⁵⁷⁷ Prior to radicalization, institutional (51%) pulled ahead slightly as compared to socioemotional (50%). Once radicalized, Chesser was strongest in social-structural first (54%), socioemotional second (50%), and institutional third (49%). Snow, who should not have looked like a terrorist if gangs are not somewhat analogous, certainly appeared similar to El-Khalifi and Chesser. From an internal percentage, Snow was driven by socioemotional impulses (59%) and institutional (57%). Prior to radicalization, Snow was strong in socioemotional (52%) and was second strongest in social-structural (43%), like El-Khalifi. For radicalization, Snow was mainly driven by institutional (67%), then social-structural (57%) and finally socio-emotional (48%). In that sense, he fit the profile of a terrorist more than either El-Khalifi or Chesser. In QUAL2, the cases are driven primarily by socioemotional impulses rather than institutional, and the gang member can be examined using variables from terrorism studies. Therefore and in these three cases, terrorism can also be considered youth violence in the same ways gangs are in this case.

Applying this matrix to the three case studies yields the following breakdown for youth violence in Table 7.2. The youth violence “least likely” case of El-Khalifi (48%), “least likely” case of Chesser (59%), and “most likely” case of Snow (51%) all exhibited a good

¹⁵⁷⁶ See Chapter 3: Literature Review. As one example, see: Abbas, “Introduction – Islamic Political Europe.”

¹⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.

number of youth violence variables.¹⁵⁷⁸ Admittedly, this is less than the terrorism model, but there are also more indicators in the youth violence model. The split between before radicalization and radicalization, however, is far more dramatic in the youth violence model. For El-Khalifi, 74% of his variables appear prior to radicalization. For Chesser, that number is 60%. In the case of Snow, it is equally split. Youth violence variables have a clear edge over terrorism variables in identifying behaviors prior to radicalization in these “most likely” and “least likely” cases. Overall, all three of them were radicalized strongly by socioemotional impulses and second by social-structural, same as terrorism. Prior to radicalization, El-Khalifi was most influenced by social-structural (91%) and then socioemotional (72%), departing from traditional terrorism explanations. In radicalization, institutional is higher at 41% and rests on the obvious religious variables. For Chesser, he was most influenced by socioemotional (64%) and institutional (58%) second. In radicalization, he was mainly exhibiting social-structural (56%) and institutional (42%), seeking status within religion. Lastly for Snow, he was showing strength in socioemotional (56%) above the other categories prior to radicalization, but social-structural the most in radicalization (58%), paralleling the idea of a vulnerable youth who joins a gang for status and prestige.

¹⁵⁷⁸ I will not be addressing the “no classification” category in this conclusion, as those are almost entirely specific to physical actions and not related in a clear way to motivations.

Table 7.2: Comparison of Case Studies with Youth Violence Lens

<i>El-Khalifi</i>	<i>Chesser</i>	<i>Snow</i>
511 Youth Violence Variables	511 Youth Violence Variables	511 Youth Violence Variables
- 265 Not Applicable (52%)	- 207 Not Applicable (41%)	- 251 Not Applicable
= 246 Youth Violence Variables (48%)	= 304 Youth Violence Variables (59%)	= 260 Youth Violence Variables (51%)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 49% Socio-emotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 121/264 (46%) • 24% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 59/103 (57%) • 14% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 35/57 (61%) • 13% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 31/87 (36%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 59% Socio-emotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 179/264 (68%) • 24% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 74/103 (72%) • 9% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 27/57 (47%) • 8% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 24/87 (28%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 53% Socio-emotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 138/264 (52%) • 21% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 54/103 (52%) • 12% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 31/57 (54%) • 14% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 37/87 (43%)
- 64 Radicalization Youth Violence Variables (26%)	- 121 Radicalization Youth Violence Variables (40%)	- 129 Indoctrination Youth Violence Variables (49.6%)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 69% Socioemotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 44/121 (36%) • 24% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 24/59 (41%) • 14% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 5/35 (14%) • 13% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 8/31 (26%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 54% Socioemotional (65/121) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 65/179 (36%) • 26% Institutional (31/121) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 31/74 (42%) • 12% Social-structural (15/121) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 15/27 (56%) • 8% No Classification (10/121) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 10/24 (42%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 47% Socio-emotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 61/138 (44%) • 20% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 26/54 (48%) • 14% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 18/31 (58%) • 19% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 24/37 (65%)
= 182 Before Radicalization Youth Violence Variables (74%)	= 183 Before Radicalization Youth Violence Variables (60%)	= 131 Before Indoctrination Youth Violence Variables (50.4%)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 48% Socio-emotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 87/121 (72%) • 22% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 40/59 (68%) • 18% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 32/35 (91%) • 12% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 23/31 (74%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 62% Socio-emotional (114/183) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 114/179 (64%) • 24% Institutional (43/183) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 43/74 (58%) • 6% Social-structural (12/183) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 12/27 (44%) • 8% No Classification (14/183) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 14/24 (58%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 58% Socio-emotional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 77/138 (56%) • 22% Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 28/54 (52%) • 9% Social-structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 13/31 (42%) • 1% No Classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 13/37 (35%)

El-Khalifi and Chesser were “least likely” cases for the superior hypothesis, that youth violence variables would explain their radicalization better than terrorism variables. While Snow clearly was a “most likely” case for gang indoctrination and youth violence, he was also a “least likely” case for terrorism variables that were very strong in his narrative. In these three cases, comparing terrorism to youth violence reveals that terrorism variables are good at explaining largely understood and anticipated behaviors, often in retrospect. Youth violence variables, however, have a far greater likelihood of identifying or explaining behaviors prior to radicalization and diving deep into those motivators, prior to violence. Guided by the principle of specification, youth violence variables reveal diverse human

behavior patterns and allows the researcher to look at one person in isolation.¹⁵⁷⁹ It is the combination of everything in the world with what deeply affects one person that drives radicalization. Then, this micro-process of various youth behaviors generates a macro-sociological phenomenon—terrorism. Radicalization, and “homegrown terrorism,” is not a total enigma—patterns can be charted. Therefore and in the iterative sequential mixed methods design, variables from youth violence theories do a better job at explaining radicalization than terrorism variables in the three cases. Youth violence models could therefore complement, if not supersede, some terrorism models.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Evans and Fowler, *Specifications*; see also Evans, *Domain Driven Design*.

Section 7.2: Academic Implications and Future Research

There are several areas where further research could build on this thesis. First, the narrow application of variables to three men from Northern Virginia could be expanded to see if the same patterns are evident in men and women affiliated with terrorism in other parts of Virginia, other parts of the United States, and internationally. Both El-Khalifi and Chesser were affiliated with al-Qaeda. Further research could test this matrix against non-al-Qaeda affiliated individuals. On the international point, additional research could address whether people radicalize to the point of terrorism in highly complex and sophisticated international terrorist organizations, or if this pattern is specific to one small corner of the world.¹⁵⁸⁰ Second, research is needed to see if the framework holds true when considering individuals who join right or left-wing groups, or groups not affiliated with Islamic terrorism.

As emphasized by sociologist Ronald Simons et al., “it is extremely rare for the person who was a model child and adolescent to suddenly begin to engage in criminal behavior as an adult.”¹⁵⁸¹ Attention should be paid toward developing better theories of how a youth’s identity becomes vulnerable and how, under the right mix of circumstances, s/he becomes violent. This includes the identification of actual risk factors and not just variables. Empirical research has already identified “school failure, violent or aggressive behavior, impulsivity/hyperactivity, and externalizing problem behaviors during childhood” as risk factors indicating that the youth might benefit from early assistance.¹⁵⁸² According to Gottfredson and Hirschi:

The common element in crime, deviant behavior, sin and accident is so overriding that the tendency to treat them as distinct phenomena subject to distinct causes is

¹⁵⁸⁰ For more on transnational terrorism, see Richard M. Pearlstein, *Fatal Future? Transnational Terrorism and the New Global Disorder* (Austin: University of Austin Press, 2004) and Patrick Stewart, *Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

¹⁵⁸¹ Ronald L. Simons, Leslie Gordon Simons, and Donna Hancock, “Linking Family Processes and Adolescent Delinquency: Issues, Theories, and Research Findings,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, ed. Barry Feld and Donna M. Bishop (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 176.

¹⁵⁸² Tanner-Smith, et al., “Risk Factors and Crime,” in Cullen and Wilcox, *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Theory*, 108.

one of the major intellectual efforts of positive thought and is a major cost of the tendency to divide intellectual problems among academic disciplines.¹⁵⁸³

This common element is the lack of self-control. They do not believe that complicated theories or motives are needed to explain such simple behaviors, and prefer to recommend the identification of risk factors, as do psychological criminologist David Farrington and sociologist David Hawkins.¹⁵⁸⁴ While I will not go so far as to advocate the abandonment of theory, their point on good risk variables is well taken. Life course theories need to better identify early risk factors, as do terrorism theories.¹⁵⁸⁵ Research from gang indoctrination in prison could be better applied to research on terrorism radicalization in prison. Currently, there is not enough data to build good models and, rather than indicators, researchers are left with variables that may or may not lead to violence. These variables, to be indicators, first need to be measured before the violence and second need to lead to violence.¹⁵⁸⁶ Particular to the person, however, these indicators can be “malleable, and, when manipulated, influence the likelihood of that outcome.”¹⁵⁸⁷ Then, research might be able to determine “which risk factors are causes and which are merely markers or correlated with causes,” to include the “sequential or interactive effects on offending,” and test these indicators across studies.¹⁵⁸⁸ In my iterative sequential mixed method, quan is a small step in this direction.

Findings and testing indicators could be accomplished two ways. First, research can map more indicators of youth violence, expanding the *Fairfax County Youth Survey Reports* to include more counties and states. While there are existing large nation-wide surveys,

¹⁵⁸³ Gottfredson and Hirschi, *A General Theory of Crime*, 10.

¹⁵⁸⁴ David P. Farrington and J. David Hawkins, “Predicting Participation, Early Onset and Later Persistence in Officially Recorded Offending,” *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health* 1 (1991): 1-33.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Piquero and Weiss, “Heterogeneity in Delinquency,” in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 43.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Farrington, “Predictors of Violent Youth Offenders,” in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 147.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Alan E. Kazdin et al., “Contributions of Risk-Factor Research to Developmental Psychopathology,” *Clinical Psychology Review* 17 (1997): 375-406.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Joseph Murray, David P. Farrington, and Manuel P. Eisner, “Drawing Conclusions about Causes from Systematic Reviews of Risk Factors: The Cambridge Quality Checklists,” *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 5 (2009): 1-23.

counties and localities would benefit from identifying specific patterns of behavior in their corner of the US in an annual survey and then sharing best practices with others. My next research step may be to run similar regression analysis on the Center for Disease Control's *Youth Risk Behavior Survey* and apply that to case studies on radicalized or violent individuals from around the United States. Second using the specification principle or something similar, proper matrices can be designed to test for possible radicalization indicators and chart the specifics of individuals, many of whom will not become violent. Currently the challenges of multilevel analysis—something this thesis does not do—are in integrating individual (genetic, biological, and psychological), institutional and structural, and other variables indicating the person may become radicalized. This could include special considerations for the impact that displacement from a home environment (non-Western or otherwise) might have on the person.¹⁵⁸⁹ There is a need for more multivariate radicalization models that use youth violence and/or other data that is necessary to conduct hierarchical analysis across these levels and with consideration for geography, gender, age, and other demographics.¹⁵⁹⁰ Such a multivariate model would then be able to be used to analyze a current problem, the Daesh youths who are returning to Europe, Southeast Asia, and other parts of the world.¹⁵⁹¹ This would include an element of social disorganization and social disintegration theories that “[posit] clear contextual effects on individual behavior and [imply] a need for multilevel analysis.”¹⁵⁹² If a multivariate model existed with this data and

¹⁵⁸⁹ Ruggiero, ed., *Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism*; NATO Advanced Research Workshop on Perspectives on Immigration and Terrorism (Milan, Italy) (Amsterdam; Washington, D.C.: IOS Press, 2011). Most immigration studies to date have looked at one country or area. For two examples, see: Anita Buchegger-Traxler and Ulrike Sirsch, “The impact of risk and protective factors on mental health and well-being: Austrian adolescents and migrant adolescents from war-affected countries,” *Epidemiology, Biostatistics and Public Health* 9, no. 3 (September 2012); Ramaswami Mahalingam (ed.), *Cultural Psychology of Immigrants* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006).

¹⁵⁹⁰ Brian D. Johnson, “Applying Multilevel Models to Terrorism Research,” in Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich (eds.), *The Handbook of Criminology of Terrorism* (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 244-259.

¹⁵⁹¹ For the role of returnees, see Neumann, *Radicalized*, 133-135; on disengagement, see Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, Ch. 6.

¹⁵⁹² Johnson, “Applying Multilevel Models to Terrorism Research,” 255.

using the specification principle, testing could occur for “individuals with different pre-dispositions who perhaps play their [terrorist] roles because of profoundly different psychological factors,” where “...roles may blur depending on the type of the group and its size.”¹⁵⁹³ In some instances, a testable multivariate model might have some predictive validity and show an opportunity for early intervention. In others, it may point to rehabilitation. If behavior can be modelled using reliable indicators, then violence (radicalization) can be explained and possibly prevented. Horgan, Sageman, and many others might soon have a more definitive answer to the how, and perhaps why, of the terrorism.¹⁵⁹⁴

¹⁵⁹³ Victoroff, “The Mind of a Terrorist,” 5-6.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Sageman finds that current research cannot explain “the turn to political violence.” Sageman, “The Stagnation of Research on Terrorism,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 30, 2013, accessed on May 17, 2015, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09546553.2014.895649>.

Section 7.3: Policy Implications

Several policy implications result from this thesis. First, some aspects of the incoming US government should not treat Islamic or homegrown terrorism a war against “evil.”¹⁵⁹⁵ That is as unhelpful as it is dangerous, implying that terrorism cannot be understood and adding hurtful labels to communities. While de-mystifying homegrown terrorism, the policy community must be careful to not downsize the attention paid to prevention. It is not nearly as sexy to fund school lunches as it is to bomb Daesh, which could drive budget priorities or the lack thereof. As Horgan warns, “if we are to break this vicious cycle effectively, we must be prepared to challenge traditional and essentially comfortable views that the security solution to terrorism is the most appropriate one. It isn’t, nor should it be.”¹⁵⁹⁶ As one small point of evidence in support of this, Bergen cites that “an American residing in the United States was around five thousand times more likely to be killed by a fellow citizen armed with a gun than by a terrorist inspired by the ideology of Osama bin Laden” in the years after September 11, 2001.¹⁵⁹⁷

Second, investments in school programs, strong communities, and parental education are necessary in the fight against terrorism.¹⁵⁹⁸ School, community, and other programs should “[inhibit] the initiation and escalation of early delinquent behavior.”¹⁵⁹⁹ Already, studies show that prevention programs are a good return on investment and a worthwhile endeavor as compared to prison and juvenile justice responses.¹⁶⁰⁰ Addressing root causes of

¹⁵⁹⁵ Guy Taylor, “Donald Trump’s team puts ‘radical Islam’ front and center in terror fight,” *Washington Times*, November 23, 2016, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2016/nov/23/donald-trumps-team-puts-radical-islam-front-and-ce/>; “Full text: Donald Trump’s speech on fighting terrorism,” *Politico*, August 15, 2016, <http://www.politico.com/story/2016/08/donald-trump-terrorism-speech-227025>.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 160.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Bergen, *United States of Jihad*, 272.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 279.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Tanner-Smith, et al., “Risk Factors and Crime,” in Cullen and Wilcox, *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Theory*, 108.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Steve Aos et al., *Benefits and Costs of Prevention and Early Intervention Programs for Youth* (Olympia: Washington State Institute for Public Policy, 2004); Lynn A. Karoly et al., *Investing in Our Children: What We Know and Don’t Know About the Costs and Benefits of Early Childhood Interventions* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1998)..

delinquency, to include terrorism, as early in the life course as possible will “pay more dividends than dealing with delinquents well after they have accumulated a healthy stock of offending experience.”¹⁶⁰¹ Horgan and others have identified focus points of dangerousness and risk assessment for initial involvement in terrorism, as well as the importance of shifting thoughts, attitudes, and behaviors, which should be incorporated into existing risk models aimed at wider youth violence prevention.¹⁶⁰² School programs that have good traction on preventing violent children, some of which are targeted at high risk children, include: school and discipline management; classroom or instructional management; reorganization of grades or classes; and fostering self-control or social competency using cognitive behavioral or behavioral instructional methods.¹⁶⁰³ As part of this, preventing delinquency and addressing root causes also means: smaller class sizes; giving schools good resources; clear and consistently enforced school behavioral policies that create high expectations and a pleasant working environment; opportunity for school success; praised academic accomplishments; good cooperation between administrators and teachers; and strong community involvement.¹⁶⁰⁴ In short, well-funded and supported schools and school programs need to be firm and warm, which will create less strain, subject students to greater control, facilitate positive social learning, and curb many kinds of juvenile delinquency.

The community and the family play many roles in the prevention of juvenile delinquency and should be supported with the necessary tools. Relevant to the youth’s community, neuroscience and behavioral science studies find that early environment has a

¹⁶⁰¹ Piquero and Weiss, “Heterogeneity in Delinquency,” in Feld and Bishop, *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, 43.

¹⁶⁰² Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 162.

¹⁶⁰³ Sandra Jo Wilson and Mark W. Lipsey, “School-Based Interventions for Aggressive and Disruptive Behavior: Update of a Meta-Analysis,” *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 33, no. 2S (2007): 130-143; J. David Hawkins, Elizabeth Von Cleve, and Richard F. Catalano, “Reducing Early Childhood Aggression: Results of a Primary Prevention Program,” *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* 30 (1991): 208-217.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Agnew and Brezina, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 280-281.

“potent” effect on the “capacity of human skill development.”¹⁶⁰⁵ Even before the child is born, general parent education and parent management training are effective in preventing delinquent youths, as the parents are some of the strongest influences on the child.¹⁶⁰⁶ Preschool intellectual enrichment and child skills training are effective in preventing delinquency and later crime, and could include an understanding of drivers of radicalization.¹⁶⁰⁷ Among the most effective community initiatives to curb delinquency when the youth is a little older are after-school and mentoring programs, which could be expanded.¹⁶⁰⁸ As Neumann highlights, programs should also be in youth centers in the community and even the Internet, giving parents and teachers the tools to aim in prevention.¹⁶⁰⁹ Interventions and cooperation with Muslim communities, especially for combating terrorism, is key.¹⁶¹⁰ Youths who are having issues with assimilation and acculturation, having been displaced from their home environments, may need special attention.¹⁶¹¹ Helping an at-risk person as soon as possible increases the odds of avoiding delinquency.

Better prevention tools for distribution in schools, community associations, and other areas provide an opportunity for peaceful intervention, need to be based on empirical data (as many already are), and should be enhanced to consider drivers of radicalization. One large hole in the data available to policy makers, however, is a systematic review or meta-analysis on the effects of peer-based intervention programs that prevent delinquency and later criminal

¹⁶⁰⁵ Eric I. Knudsen et al., “Economic, Neurobiological, and Behavior Perspectives on Building America’s Future Workforce,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 103 (2006): 10155.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Brandon C. Welsh, “Delinquency Prevention,” in Barry Feld and Donna M. Bishop (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 400.

¹⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 397.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Brandon C. Welsh and Akemi Hoshi, “Communities and Crime Prevention,” in *Evidence-Based Crime Prevention*, ed. Lawrence W. Sherman, David P. Farrington, Brandon C. Welsh, and Doris L. MacKenzie (New York: Routledge, 2006); Darrick Jolliffe and David P. Farrington, *The Influence of Mentoring on Reoffending* (Stockholm, Sweden: National Council for Crime Prevention, 2008).

¹⁶⁰⁹ Neumann, *Radicalized*, 183.

¹⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹¹ For a multi-national study specifically looking at children, see: Doná Giorgia and Angela Veale, “Divergent Discourses: Children and Forced Migration,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37, no. 8: 1273-1289.

behavior, a task that could be undertaken by the policy community or academia.¹⁶¹² Schools, teachers, parents, and communities, when evaluating a youth, need to be able to understand linked behaviors with respect to the very powerful influence the peer group has and be given tools to counter that. For youths who are much more high-risk than the average population, empirically based prevention and intervention programs should occur prior to violence, if possible, and encourage healthy development.

However, beginning to allege that someone might be vulnerable to terrorism could spark any number of witch-hunts, which is not a helpful intervention or prevention program. In agreement with Neumann, prevention programs should be kept strictly separate from criminal justice, lest the youth feel marginalized and be inadvertently pushed toward an extremist ideology or deviant lifestyle.¹⁶¹³ Policy makers need to keep a careful ethical balance between identifying someone who is not doing well and branding them for life. Finding this delicate balance is a worthy investment in our community, our children, and our safety. Prevention and intervention initiatives must help tackle all forms of extremism, not just terrorism, as the underlying processes can really be considered quite similar.

¹⁶¹² Brandon C. Welsh, "Delinquency Prevention," 405.

¹⁶¹³ Neumann, *Radicalized*, 183.

Final Thoughts

As a plausibility probe, this thesis proceeded in three steps using an iterative sequential mixed methods design and asked: 1) how distinct are radicalization variables from youth violence variables and 2) can better early warning signs for radicalization possibly be identified, starting with Northern Virginia? To answer these, statistically significant linked deviant and non-deviant behaviors (quan) were identified first, with some correlations being extra strong even at the 1% level (b coefficients). Then, a systematic review of many important studies on terrorism, radicalization, youth violence, and gangs was completed to create a second part of the data set (QUAL1). As a first finding, radicalization variables were not shown to be unique from youth violence variables, with the possible exception of five that are highly specific to the actual conduct of the attack, in QUAL1. Then, the two components (quan and QUAL1) were applied to three carefully selected case studies (QUAL2) from Northern Virginia: Amine El-Khalifi, Zachary Chesser, and Thaddaeus Snow. As a second finding, better early warning signs in childhood and adolescence for radicalization can be identified, in the case of the three Northern Virginia men, by incorporating youth violence variables into terrorism studies or approaching terrorism from a youth violence perspective. This thesis hypothesized two things. First, homegrown terrorism is better understood as simply terrorism, which is better understood as a subtype of youth violence as opposed to a distinct type of violence. After examining the vague and pejorative definitions of homegrown terrorism and comparing terrorism variables to youth violence variables in QUAL1, I determine that homegrown terrorism is better understood as terrorism, which is better understood as a subtype of youth violence rather than a distinct type of violence, in a somewhat similar way that a gang is considered a subtype of youth violence. Homegrown terrorism is a label, rather than a distinct type of violence, that offers no additional explanatory power. Second, as hypothesized, the model of youth violence is better

at explaining radicalization in three cases from Northern Virginia (see Tables 7.1 and 7.2). While youth violence variables could take the place of radicalization variables, there is so much overlap between the two that a blended or combined approach might be most practical. Many of the scholars mentioned in Chapter 3: Literature Review are already incorporating psychological and sociological variables, if perhaps indirectly and as these appear in terrorism subjects. If there is to be a theory derived from this thesis, it is that radicalization in Northern Virginia, as seen in the cases of the three men, can be better understood through and possibly identified far earlier using variables from youth violence studies.

Appendix A – All Independent Variables

YSQ	Youth	Terrorism	Gang	SDT Category	IV Category	Independent Variable	Beta
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Character	Absolutist moral polarization; believes in speaking and acting for a group and for a higher, more sensitive form of universal justice; sees world in starkly polar terms, dualistic Manichean perspective, everything either good or evil; exaggerated distinction between what is PURE and IMPURE, ideals of a pure or just society; scrupulous attention to what is permitted and what is prohibited	
Yes	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Character	Adherence to convention or strong set of principles; commitment to revolution or cause; does the person stand up for what they believe, even when it is unpopular to do so?	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Institutional	Character	Ambivalence toward authority; challenges the words of recognized leader (like imam)	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Character	Being faced with difficult moral choices	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Character	Belief that mission will do more good than bad; motivated by profound sense of altruism, desire to benefit kin and social group	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Character	Cognitive political extremism	
Yes		Yes		Institutional	Character	Does he ignore rules that get in his way? Acts of open defiance	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Character	General conservatism	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Character	High levels of motivation, highly goal oriented	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Character	Moral outrage, outrage at attack on defenseless or ill-equipped opponent (whether kittens or a country)	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Institutional	Character	Right-wing militarism; fascination with militarism and uniforms	
Yes				Institutional	Character	Would he permit a friend to steal?	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Institutional	Character (ethnicity)	Racial or ethnic discrimination or prejudice faced by youth, xenophobic discrimination; complains about bias	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Character (locus of control)	Desire to convert or recruit others to cause; seeks to impose convictions and moralities on others	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Character (psychological)	Believes in conspiracy theories to the point of paranoia, imagines vast conspiracies of evil; interpretation of events through extremist prism	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Institutional	Character (psychological)	Difficulty controlling emotions like anger, hostile; resentment, temper, increased loss of temper, frustration or aggression, increasing disillusionment	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Institutional	Character (psychological)	Easily influenced by distortions in the media; selective exposure to media; senses stigmatization in media; psychological effect of global violence, exposure to violence in mass media	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Character (psychological)	Intolerance of ambiguity, need for certainty and uniformity; low tolerance for perceived deviance from belief; intolerance to others	
	Yes			Institutional	Demographic (geography)	Geographic boundaries based on ethnicity/race/religion	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Lives in country with communication capabilities gap	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Witness or victim of rich countries attempting to control resources in other countries (particularly against oil-based economies)	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Deviance	Bulk purchases of cigarettes or other counterfeit goods	

Yes		Yes		Institutional	Deviance	Does he like to see how much he can get away with? Need to test one's boundaries	
	Yes		Yes	Institutional	Deviance	History of Discipline problems/frequent conflict with authority	
Yes				Institutional	Deviance	If ever, how old was he when he was first arrested?	
Yes				Institutional	Deviance (family)	How wrong would his parents feel it would be for him to draw graffiti, write things, or draw pictures on buildings or other property?	
Yes				Institutional	Deviance (family)	How wrong would his parents feel it would be for him to steal anything worth more than \$5?	
Yes				Institutional	Deviance (school)	How many days of school would he miss because he skipped or cut?	
Yes	Yes		Yes	Institutional	Deviance (school)	If ever, how many times in a year was he suspended from school? Expelled?	Yes
Yes				Institutional	Deviance (school)	If ever, how old was he when first suspended from school?	Yes
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Institutional	Deviance (school)	Truancy and dropping out of school; problems in school	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Non-violent	Alters choice of reading materials in personal area	
Yes				Institutional	Non-violent (environmental)	How often would he recycle things such as newspapers, cans, and glass? How often would he buy biodegradable or recyclable products?	
Yes				Institutional	Non-violent (environmental)	How often would he try to conserve water in his home or yard?	
Yes				Institutional	Non-violent (environmental)	How often would he try to cut down on the amount of trash and garbage he created?	
Yes				Institutional	Non-violent (environmental)	How often would he turn off lights and electrical appliances when not in use?	
Yes	Yes		Yes	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Academic Failure or Poor Achievement; repeating a grade; decline in school performance; what were his grades like last year (poor?)? Less educated?	Yes
	Yes			Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Attending a cognitively-oriented day-care	
	Yes		Yes	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Attending a school with inconsistent disciplinary practices	
Yes				Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Did he believe he had lots of chances to be a part of class discussions or activities?	
Yes			Yes	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Did he feel safe at his school? Disruptive or dangerous school environment; violence and crime in schools	
Yes				Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Does he think he can do well in school if he wants to?	
	Yes		Yes	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Experiencing oppressive school rules; excessive zero tolerance punishments	
Yes				Institutional	Non-violent (school)	How often would he come to classes without his homework finished?	
	Yes			Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Inadequate Counseling in school	
	Yes		Yes	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Large class size	
	Yes		Yes	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Low Bonding or commitment to school	
	Yes		Yes	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Parent involvement in school	
	Yes		Yes	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Physical decay of schools, underfunded schools	
	Yes			Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Social Strains at schools (pressure for social or intellectual success)	
	Yes		Yes	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Teacher's management of the classroom, lax enforcement and undisciplined classrooms	

Yes			Yes	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Would his teachers notice when he was doing a good job and let him know about it?	
Yes			Yes	Institutional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	How many times did he participate in school or non-school extra-curricular activities? How many sports teams?	
Yes			Yes	Institutional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	Were there lots of chances for students in his school to get involved in sports, clubs, and other school activities outside of class? Were there sports teams or other extracurricular activities for teenagers available in his community?	
Yes				Institutional	Politics/Justice	As a teenager, did he use his political voice as a result of reading about politics, political campaigns, etc.?	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Attention to discrimination and armed conflicts around the world	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Contested elections	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Desire mass destruction to replace corrupt world with pure new social order	
Yes		Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Did he regularly read about issues affecting the public and politics?	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Disenfranchisement; denial of civil liberties; inability to participate in political institutions; lack of opportunity for political participation; perception that conventional political activity does not work or produce results; removal of local agenda by government	
	Yes			Institutional	Politics/Justice	Failed institutions; disintegration of traditional authority structures; discrimination in justice system; failure of the juvenile justice system	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Frustration at government defense expenditures, government spending	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Hatred of injustice	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Humiliation by political oppressors later in life	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Ideologization of group discontent; rise of aggressive fundamentalist groups (cults, religious)	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Ineffectual law enforcement that fails to fulfill a variety of roles	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Lack of democratic institutions; lack of freedom	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Lack of respect for state sovereignty, distrust institutions	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Listens to compromising speeches by public figures; exposure to propaganda exploiting politics	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	March or demonstrate against occupation	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Political discontent/marginalization/alienation; underrepresented	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Political instability	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Politically charged environment	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Rejection of democratic principles; above society's rules	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Views acts and statements by hostile out-groups as provocative; (specific to terrorism) displeasure at the proximity of American troops near sacred Islamic sites, violence against Muslims; perceived schism between Islam and West; western support for oppressive regimes	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Politics/Justice	Witness to harsh police reaction to protest group or brutality; poor relationship with law enforcement	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Relations	Grievances by a subgroup of society (i.e. ethnic minority)	

	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Relations (community)	Attends rallies for extremist causes	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Relations (community)	Public or parental sympathy for a cause (could be radical)	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Religion	Abiding or deep commitment to their faith; high affective valence regarding an ideological issue	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Religion	Failure to distinguish between legitimate religious expressions and extremism	
Yes		Yes		Institutional	Religion	How often would he attend religious services or activities?	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Religion	Intensification of beliefs	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Religion	Interest in theology	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Religion	Legalistic interpretation of religion (Islam)	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Religion	Little knowledge of religion (Islam)	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Institutional	Religion	Recent religious convert	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Religion	Sudden interest in religion; interest for everything religion; possible turn from secular devotion to religious	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Religion (violence)	Conviction that violence is divinely commanded and theologically justified	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Violence	Exposure to or threatened by retaliation by governments; poor treatment by government; tortured or beaten by security forces	
Yes	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Violence	Fight in Self-defense, driven by desperation to violence; sees self as reluctant warrior; view of no other choice; believe it is okay to beat people up if they start the fight	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Violence	Organizes protests inspired by extremist ideology; involved in events that give cause for concern (violent clashes)	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Violence	Seeks more involvement in the fight	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Belief that violence against state or its symbols is not inherently immoral	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Explicit approval of suicide terrorism or acts against civilians	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Expresses a political, religious, or ideological obligation to engage in unlawful violence	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Expressions of "support for radical extremist causes or leaders"	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Obsession in talking about the injustices of the West and Israel against Muslims; verbally indicates hatred for the U.S. and/or the Constitution	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Seeks to legitimize views by expressing indignation over conditions in society	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Speaks about seeking revenge (avenge government injustices)	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	View that terrorism is necessary, defensive, and urgent against an offensive enemy	
	Yes	Yes		Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Views violence as a great equalizer	
Yes				Institutional	Weapons	Would a kid in his neighborhood be caught by the police if he or she carried a handgun?	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Character (body)	High testosterone levels	
	Yes			NA	Character (body)	Lead levels in body	
	Yes			NA	Character (psychological)	Deep subcortical brain activity	
	Yes			NA	Character (psychological)	Low brain serotonin levels (inversely, high blood serotonin levels)	
	Yes		Yes	NA	Character (psychological)	Low intelligence, self-reported learning problems, verbal/reading ability; low adult literacy	

	Yes			NA	Character (psychological)	Low resting heart rates which leads to low autonomic arousal, sensation seeking and risk taking	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Demographic	Multiple surnames at same address	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Demographic	National Public Health	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Demographic	Unmarried	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Demographic (age)	Age	
Yes	Yes			NA	Demographic (ethnicity)	What race is he? Member of a minority race?	Yes
Yes	Yes	Yes		NA	Demographic (gender)	Gender	Yes
	Yes	Yes		NA	Demographic (language)	Speak multiple languages	
Yes				NA	Demographic (language)	What language was used most often in his home growing up?	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	NA	Deviance	Arrested, spent time in prison, esp. if juvenile; served longer than average sentence	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Deviance	Conduct surveillance or reconnaissance; practice counter-surveillance or operational security; new interests in public or government facilities; tests security	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Deviance	Deploying assets/getting into position	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Deviance	History of petty crime	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Deviance	Suspicious pattern	
Yes	Yes		Yes	NA	Deviance (drugs)	If ever, how many times has he driven a car or other vehicle when he has been drinking?	
Yes	Yes			NA	Deviance (friends)	If any, how many of his best friends have been arrested?	
Yes	Yes			NA	Deviance (friends)	If any, how many of his best friends have been suspended from school?	Yes
Yes				NA	Deviance (friends)	If any, how many of his best friends have dropped out of school?	
	Yes		Yes	NA	Drugs	Availability and use of drugs in the neighborhood; perceived availability of drugs	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	NA	Drugs	Drug or substance use, abuse	
Yes				NA	Drugs (alcohol - friends)	How many of his best friends have tried beer, wine, or hard liquor when their parents didn't know about it?	
	Yes		Yes	NA	Drugs (alcohol)	Babies born with fetal alcohol syndrome	
Yes				NA	Drugs (alcohol)	How easy would it have been for him to get some beer wine, or hard liquor?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (alcohol)	How much does he think people risk harming themselves if they: take one or two drinks of an alcoholic beverage nearly every day?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (alcohol)	How old was he when he first began drinking alcoholic beverages regularly, that is, at least one or twice a month?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (alcohol)	How old was he when he first had more than a sip or two of beer, wine, or hard liquor?	
Yes	Yes		Yes	NA	Drugs (alcohol)	On how many occasions has he had beer, wine, or hard liquor to drink in his lifetime? In a 30 day timeframe?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (alcohol)	Underage, would he have accepted alcohol from a friend at a party?	
Yes	Yes			NA	Drugs (alcohol)	Was there ever a time he had more than five alcoholic drinks in a row?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (cocaine)	How easy or hard would it be for him to get drugs like cocaine, LSD, or amphetamines?	
Yes	Yes			NA	Drugs (cocaine)	On how many occasions (if any) has he used cocaine or crack in his lifetime? In a 30 day timeframe?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (ecstasy)	On how many occasions (if any) has he used Ecstasy in his lifetime? In a 30 day	

						timeframe?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (family)	Have any of his brothers or sisters ever drunk beer, wine, or hard liquor?	Yes
Yes				NA	Drugs (family)	Have any of his brothers or sisters ever smoked cigarettes?	Yes
Yes				NA	Drugs (family)	Have any of his brothers or sisters ever smoked marijuana?	Yes
Yes				NA	Drugs (friends)	How many of his best friends have sold illegal drugs?	
Yes	Yes			NA	Drugs (heroin)	On how many occasions (if any) has he used Fsus in his lifetime? In a 30 day timeframe?	Yes
Yes				NA	Drugs (huffing)	On how many occasions (if any) has he sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in his lifetime? In a 30 day timeframe?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (LSD - friends)	How many of his best friends have used LSD, cocaine, amphetamines, or other illegal drugs?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (LSD)	On how many occasions (if any) has he used LSD or other hallucinogens in his lifetime? In a 30 day timeframe?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (marijuana - friends)	How many of his best friends have used marijuana?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (marijuana)	How easy or hard would it be for him to get some marijuana?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (marijuana)	How much does he think people risk harming themselves if they try marijuana once or twice? Regularly?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (marijuana)	How old was he when he first smoked marijuana?	
Yes	Yes			NA	Drugs (marijuana)	On how many occasions and with what frequency has he used marijuana? On how many occasions (if any) has he used marijuana in his lifetime? In a 30 day timeframe?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (marijuana)	Would a kid in his neighborhood be caught by the police if he or she smoked marijuana?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (methamphetamine)	On how many occasions (if any) has he taken methamphetamine (speed, crystal, crank, or ice) in his lifetime? A 30 day timeframe?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (over-the-counter)	On how many occasions (if any) has he taken over-the-counter drugs to get high? In a 30 day timeframe?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (painkillers)	On how many occasions (if any) has he taken painkillers without a doctor's order in his lifetime? A 30 day timeframe?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (prescription)	On how many occasions has he taken a prescription drug other than painkillers without a doctor's order in his lifetime? A 30 day timeframe?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (relations)	How many adults has he known personally who have gotten drunk or high?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (relations)	How many adults has he known personally who have sold or dealt drugs?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (relations)	How many adults has he known personally who have used marijuana, crack, cocaine, or other drugs?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (relations)	How wrong would most adults in his neighborhood think it is for teenagers to use marijuana?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (steroids)	On how many occasions (if any) has he taken steroids without a doctor's order in his lifetime? A 30 day timeframe?	

Yes				NA	Drugs (tobacco - friends)	How many of his best friends have smoked cigarettes?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (tobacco)	At any point, how frequently has he used smokeless tobacco?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (tobacco)	Has he ever smoked cigarettes in his lifetime? A 30 day timeframe?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (tobacco)	How easy or hard would it be for him to get some cigarettes?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (tobacco)	How much does he think people risk harming themselves if they: smoke one or more packs of cigarettes per day?	
Yes				NA	Drugs (tobacco)	How old was he when he first smoked a cigarette, even just a puff?	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Non-Violent	Extreme music, videos and movies	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Non-violent	Has peculiar discussions	
	Yes			NA	Non-violent	Hospital treatment for severe injury	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Non-violent	Interest in martial arts	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Non-violent	Suspicious credit card applications and spending	
		Unique		NA	Non-violent	Takes suspicious or unreported travel	
Yes				NA	Non-violent (health)	On a weekly basis, on how many days was he physically active for a total of at least 60 minutes per day?	
Yes	Yes			NA	Non-violent (health)	On an average school night, how many hours of sleep did he get?	
	Yes			NA	Non-violent (health)	Pregnancy or delivery complications of partner	
	Yes		Yes	NA	Non-violent (health)	Teenage pregnancy, illegitimate parenthood	
Yes				NA	Non-violent (health)	Would he ever try to gain or lose weight? Or, was he okay with himself at any size? Did he ever take any diet pills, powders, or liquids without a doctor's advice to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight? Did he ever vomit or take laxatives to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight? In a 30 day timeframe, did he go without eating for more than 24 hours or more to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight?	
	Yes			NA	Politics/Justice	Institutionalization of hypocrisy	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Relations (peer group)	Homophilic (demographically and ideologically similar/reinforcing) networks; different than out-group	
Yes				NA	Sexual Relations	Did he drink alcohol or use drugs before sexual intercourse?	Yes
	Yes		Yes	NA	Sexual Relations	Sexually transmitted diseases	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Violence	Exposure to collateral damage	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Violence	Planning how to commit acts of violence	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Violence (rhetoric)	Uses much more extreme religious or political rhetoric; rhetoric is more intense and concentrated	
	Yes		Yes	NA	Weapons	Access to weapons, specifically ready availability of guns, seen gun in home	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	NA	Weapons	Fascination with weapons (especially firearms); desires weapons, inquires about weapons of mass effects	
	Yes			NA	Weapons	Playing with toy weapons in childhood	
	Yes	Yes		NA	Weapons	Suddenly acquires weapon, supplies, or documents; stores or collects mass weapons of hazardous materials	Yes
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Character	Attracted to limited opportunities (you must wait until called)	

	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Character	Attributional Biases (i.e. tendency to infer hostility in others' behavior, especially if tends to infer hostility even when other is demonstrating benevolent or ambiguous social cues) or attribution error
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Social Structural	Character	Change in behavior, abrupt behavioral shifts, develops strange habits and new hand signs, adopts new (Western) lifestyle without relief
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Character	Entrepreneur; Does he believe he can solve most problems in his life? Does he believe his actions can improve the quality of the environment?
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Character	Experiences humiliation or subordination; perception that enemy bent on humiliating or subjugating victims; repression; oppression or persecution
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Character	Fashion self as survivalist
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Character	Fear (for cause, lives, property, of strangers)
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Character	Identity Enhancement (damaged self-concept (idealizes good self and spits out bad self))
	Yes			Social Structural	Character	Jealousy
		Unique		Social Structural	Character	Researcher/Surveyor
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Character	Self-imagined realist
		Unique		Social Structural	Character	Technician
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Character	Want for power/authority; authoritarian attitudes
	Yes		Yes	Social Structural	Character (alienation)	Failure to make an adequate social and cultural transition from family to school and work
	Yes		Yes	Social Structural	Character (family)	Hatred of adopted homes; changing custody; foster care
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Social Structural	Character (psychological)	Feeling constantly disrespected; desire for respect, recognition
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Demographic	Disaffection among an elite
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Demographic	Globalization or rapid modernization, rapid urbanization
	Yes		Yes	Social Structural	Demographic (community)	Children in neighborhoods with a high rate of female-headed families
	Yes		Yes	Social Structural	Demographic (community)	Living conditions that allow poor youths little to no private space
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Demographic (gender)	Lives in country with gender equity gap
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Social Structural	Demographic (geography)	Irredentist (territory) conviction; appeal of "ownership" of territory
	Yes		Yes	Social Structural	Demographic (geography)	Live in area with high level of gang activity; presence of documented gangs
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Social Structural	Demographic (geography)	Residing in an urban area
	Yes			Social Structural	Demographic (geography)	Settling in areas near urban ghettos
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Demographic (population)	Comes from country with minority group economic discrimination
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Demographic (population)	High migration of population, legal and undocumented or illegal; expatriates
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Demographic (population)	High population growth rates in countries with disaffected young men
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Demographic (population)	Immigration from poor states to wealthy states
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Demographic (population)	Refugee waves caused by war and repression; is refugee

	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Desire for systemic socio-economic change	
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Experience with a deteriorating university education combined with perceived economic injustice	
	Yes			Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	High concentrations of poor residents	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Improving living standards (but not fast enough), culture conflict between middle and working classes	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Inflation and unemployment, lack of economic opportunity; sudden decline of available jobs within community, youth unemployment (male)	
	Yes			Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Lack of marketable skills	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Living in Poverty, extreme economic inequality, low socioeconomic status; family on temporary assistance for needy families; food stamp program recipients; no health insurance	
	Yes			Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Low-status job, unstable job records	
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Middle to upper-middle class	
	Yes			Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Racial segregation because of economic constraints	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Relative or Economic Deprivation; increasing poverty and scarcity, unmet basic living needs	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Resource Deprivation	
	Yes		Yes	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Social exclusion due to economic reasons, classism	
	Yes			Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Unemployed Father	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Social Structural	Deviance	Involvement in "underground" [illegal] economies (ex drug trafficking, extortion, prostitution) or corruption	
Yes				Social Structural	Deviance (friends)	If any, how many of his best friends have stolen or tried to steal a motor vehicle?	
Yes	Yes		Yes	Social Structural	Drugs	How many times in has he sold illegal drugs?	Yes
	Yes			Social Structural	Non-violent	Challenges the social constructs of society	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Social Structural	Non-violent	Having more money, large amounts of money	
Yes	Yes		Yes	Social Structural	Non-violent	How many times did he change homes between kindergarten and 18 years of age?	
Yes			Yes	Social Structural	Non-violent (health)	In a 30 day timeframe, did he ever go hungry because there was not enough food in the home? Family eligible for free or reduced lunch program	
Yes				Social Structural	Non-violent (health)	On a weekly basis, how often did he eat green salad? On a weekly basis, how often would he eat carrots? On a weekly basis, how often would he eat other vegetables? On a weekly basis, how often would he eat potatoes? On a weekly basis, how often would he eat fruit?	
Yes				Social Structural	Non-violent (health)	On a weekly basis, how often would he drink a can, bottle, or glass of soda or pop, such as Coke, Pepsi, or Sprite?	
	Yes		Yes	Social Structural	Non-violent (health)	Vulnerability due to physical debilitation	
		Unique		Social Structural	Non-violent (school)	Attended university in the West	

	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Non-violent (school)	Formally educated with specialized skills; highly educated (high school or greater)	
		Unique		Social Structural	Non-violent (school)	Studied vocational and tech/natural sciences the most	
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Relations (community)	Population generally opposed to Israel; against pro-Israel stance of the US	
	Yes		Yes	Social Structural	Relations (family)	Parent Education (low)	
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Relations (peer group)	Low cost/low risk involvement into the blob (politically active utopian rejectionist counter-culture)	
	Yes	Yes		Social Structural	Technology	Belief that society was unable to keep pace with technological advances	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character	Abandonment of independence to merge with archaic omnipotent figure; difficulty distinguishing individual from group; group-induced homogenization	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Character	Admiring deviant behavior or reputation	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character	Adoption of extreme ideals or interpretation	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Character	Anxious, anxiety, emersion in culture of despair, emotional distress or depression	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Character	Assertion of "Toughness" (physical prowess, emotional detachment, willingness to resort to violence to resolve interpersonal conflict); self-efficacy perceptions (confidence in ability to act aggressively) and outcome expectations favoring aggression (believe aggression generally yields positive outcome)	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character	Childhood maladjustment; stress during childhood	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character	Creation of theories to explain unhappiness and anger	
Yes				Socioemotional	Character	Does he accept responsibility for actions when he makes a mistake or gets in trouble?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Character	Does he do his best even when he has a job he doesn't like?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Character	Does he do the opposite of what people tell him just to get them mad?	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character	Exhibits prosocial behavior, Desire for enhanced social identity and increased social standing, Extroverted	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Character	Experiences personal crisis and does not properly recover; death of friend; difficulty coping with trauma, experiences critical stressful events (esp. in year preceding activity and childhood)	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character	Extraordinary need for identity, purpose and self-worth; existential identity anxiety; desire to be heard, understood, and possibly applauded	
Yes				Socioemotional	Character	Feelings of powerlessness; when things don't go well for him, is he good at finding a way to make things better?	
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Character	Follower, easily influenced by peer pressure; would others say the person can say 'no' when someone asks him to do things he doesn't want to do?	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Character	Identity crisis or confusion; lack of positive identity; weak identity; lack of identity (ethnic); identity incompleteness; identity ambivalence	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character	Ideology as an alternative to rejection	
Yes				Socioemotional	Character	Is he able to save his money for something he really wants?	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Character	Low psychosocial maturity (low temperance, responsibility, and perspective)	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character	Personally connected with a grievance; resonates with personal experience	

Yes	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character	Poor Problem-Solving Ability and reasoning; does he try to find different solutions to a problem?	
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Character	Rushed decision-making; emphasis on feeling over thinking; would others say the person thinks through the possible good and bad results of different choices? Would others say the person is good at planning ahead? Poor at making decisions?	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character	Sense of desire to spread ideology and group influence; ideological indoctrination	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Character	Sense of self-inefficacy and low self-esteem, ego injuries	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character	Sense of solidarity with others who are seen as threatened or suffering, anger on behalf of those; identification with group perceived to be in danger	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character	Shows a sudden visual shift from radical to "normal"; switch groups	
Yes	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character	Strong sense of perseverance and patience; need to "stick it out" through the tough times; would others say that the person gives up when things get hard?	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character	Tendency to self-organize	
Yes	Yes			Socioemotional	Character	Is he generally an honest person? Does he feel it is important to be honest with his parents even if they become upset or he gets punished?	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Alienated from parents' ethnic group and national culture; homesick; isolated from family or traditional bonds or culture	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Cut ties with family and friends, anti-social behavior (predilection for anti-social behavior); withdrawal from family, friends and usual activities; exhibits sudden reclusiveness; withdrawal from mainstream; loner; develops unusual desire for privacy and secrecy	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Denial or psychic numbing	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Lack of and search for family, financial, or emotional support	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Search for companionship, loyalty, protection (attends mosque for non-religious reasons); eagerness to join new group or friends	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Social Maladjustment (shyness or peer isolation); feels marginalized with mainstream society; poor social integration; regularly feeling rejected, marginalized, or alone, especially from society; senses stigmatization in society, impaired social skills; isolation from conventional role models	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Character (body)	Physical change in appearance, Changes type of off-duty clothing, specific colors or styles of clothing	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Character (body)	Tattoos referencing group name, territory or other symbol	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Anti-Semitic beliefs and resentment of Jewish influence	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Dehumanization of victims; innocence of victims as irrelevant; capacity to suppress both instinctive and learned moral constraints against harming innocents	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Ethnic hatred toward others	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Projects simplified image of the enemy	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Religious hatred toward others	

	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Acute episode or Major mental illness; personality disorder, history of mental health problems in family, history of treatment for emotional problems	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Behavioral issues such as hyperactivity, impulsiveness, attention control, motor restlessness, lack of self-control, ADHD	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Cognitive dissonance resulting in over justification of actions	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Cognitive inflexibility	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Displaying "Messiah-Like" behavior (Belief that own person is vital to ideology's exposure and societal acceptance); narcissistic delusions of grandeur; views self as superior, aristocratic airs; self-righteous commitment or purpose	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Dramatic mood swings, experience of narcissistic rage	
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Emotional detachment from the consequences of actions; callous behavior/lacking empathy for others, lacking remorse or guilt; How many times has he done what felt good no matter what?	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Feelings of guilt and shame	
Yes			Yes	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Has he ever felt sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row? Has he ever felt so sad or hopeless that he stopped doing some usual activities?	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Social Cognitive Deficits or Cognitive Dissonance (actual vs. espoused beliefs) - displacement of centrally visible features of enemy society; high or low cognitive complexity; Superego Lacunae	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Supernatural beliefs; impaired reality testing, magical thinking	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Yearning for and fulfilling his extraordinary need for glory under the mark of selflessness; fantasize of glory	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Demographic	Is a parent him or herself	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Demographic (community)	Part of a collectivist culture; social network with high norm compliance	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Demographic (ethnicity)	Ethnic conflicts and community segregation; marginalized community or diaspora	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Demographic (ethnicity)	Specific ethnic groups immigrating into a neighborhood together and forming protection groups	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Demographic (language)	Linguistic fractionalization	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Demographic (population)	Acculturation or failures in acculturation of a newcomer population; first generation who do not fit in	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Demographic (population)	Immigrant in a neighborhood with a low concentration of immigrants	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Demographic (population)	Young member of minority in a city with large minority populations	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Demographic (population)	Influx of immigrants disrupting the norm of a homogenous community	
Yes				Socioemotional	Demographic (sexuality)	Sexuality (heterosexual?)	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Deviance	Being exposed to short term provocative situations such as being bored, angry or drunk	

						Conduct problems such as lying, stealing, hostility and destructiveness; engage in self-defeating behavior; does he believe it is okay to take something without asking if he can get away with it? Does he think it is wrong for someone to steal anything worth more than \$5?	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Deviance		Yes
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Deviance	Experiences routine boredom in life; done crazy things even if they are a little dangerous; stimulus seeking; need for high-level stimulation and risk; novelty seeking; thrill-seeker; expresses pleasure and excitement at being involved in thrilling actions	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Deviance	History of vandalism/property damage, disorderly conduct; graffiti	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Deviance	Marking or drawing on personal items, walls, symbols and other messages	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Deviance (family)	Convict Parent (father especially), parent arrested for various crimes	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Deviance (family)	Delinquent Siblings	
Yes				Socioemotional	Deviance (family)	Have any of his brothers or sisters ever been suspended or expelled from school?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Deviance (family)	If he skipped school without his parents' permission, would he be caught by his parents?	
Yes	Yes			Socioemotional	Deviance (relations)	How many adults did he know personally who have done other things that could get them in trouble with the police...?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Drugs (alcohol)	How wrong does he think it is for a teenager to drink beer, wine, or hard liquor regularly?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Drugs (alcohol)	How wrong do his parents feel it would be for him to drink beer, wine, or hard liquor regularly?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Drugs (alcohol)	How wrong would most adults in his neighborhood think it is for kids his age to drink alcohol?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Drugs (family)	Has anyone in the family ever had a severe alcohol or drug problem?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Drugs (LSD)	How wrong does he think it is for a teenager to use LSD, cocaine, amphetamines, or another illegal drug?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Drugs (marijuana)	How wrong do his parents feel it would be for him to: smoke marijuana?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Drugs (tobacco)	How wrong does he think it is for a teenager to smoke cigarettes?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Drugs (tobacco)	How wrong do his parents feel it would be for him to: smoke cigarettes?	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Non-violent	Common monitoring and exchanging of propaganda, distribution of propaganda; elicits or seeks information	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Non-violent	Possession of materials that "express sympathies to extremist behaviors/actions"	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Non-violent	Spending time hanging around on the street	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Non-violent (school)	Didactic learning	
Yes				Socioemotional	Non-violent (school)	Does he think it is sometimes okay to cheat at school?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Non-violent (school)	Does he think it is wrong for someone to stay away from school all day when their parents think they are at school?	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	Given up leisure activities	
Yes				Socioemotional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	How many times was he a leader in a group or organization?	

	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	Practice sports with religious group	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations	Childhood heroes of religious figures or revolutionaries	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations	Dependency pattern; relies on others	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations	Exposure/involvement with "charismatic leaders" or "spiritual guide," desire to embrace the intimate tutelage of a charismatic leader; idealization of messianic figure; trust only select authorities	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations	Exposure/involvement with authority figures or organizations with extreme views or radical ideology, especially those who invoke fictive kin relations; interaction with radical prison chaplains	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations	Lack of appropriate authority figures or interlocutors (legitimate religious authority)	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations	Poor treatment by authority figures, poor treatment in prison	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations	Solicits advice, encouragement, finances, training, or other resources from a person who advocates the use of unlawful violence	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Community disorganization (presence of crime, drug-selling, gangs, poor housing more so than low attachment to a neighborhood); living in a disadvantaged and residentially unstable neighborhood; nonenforcement of building violations and condemned buildings; prevalence of homeless families and individuals; absence of neighborhood watch organizations	
Yes	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Did he believe there were lots of adults in his neighborhood who he could talk to about something important?	
Yes	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Did he like the neighborhood or the area around where he lived as a teenager? Or, did he want to get out of there? Feeling unsafe in neighborhood; low neighborhood attachment	
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (community)	During an average month, how many times did he help to make sure that all people are treated fairly?	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Emergence of single-issue groups	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Families respected in the community	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Lack of protective factors or social support	
Yes	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Low Community Participation; spends hours helping friends or neighbors, volunteered to do some type of community service	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Neighborhood's legal/moral cynicism	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Presence of a competition group	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Regarded by in-group as heroic freedom fighters	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Weak Social Ties	
Yes	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Were there people in his neighborhood, or the area around where he lived, who were proud of him when he did something well? His neighbors notice when he is doing a good job and let him know about it.	
Yes	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Were there people in his neighborhood, or the area around where he lived, who would encourage him to do his best? Needs empowerment?	

Yes	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Would he have missed the neighborhood he lived in as a teenager?	Yes
	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Changes in social norms due to the generation gap	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Cultural Disillusionment (esp. cultural disappointment with trend of Western expansion)	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Culture where toughness equates with masculinity; fascination with masculinity	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Environment where conflicts among peers are expected	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Injunctive Norms (behavioral expectations reinforced by teachers and classmates), constant exposure to stereotypical attitudes, behaviors, and feelings, social "scripts" accumulated through daily interactions	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Beliefs of Mother	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Child-to-Parent Violence (Physical and Psychological); child strikes father during argument	
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did he enjoy spending time with his father?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did he enjoy spending time with his mother?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did he feel very close to his father?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did he feel very close to his mother?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did he share his thoughts and feelings with his father?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did he share his thoughts and feelings with his mother?	
Yes			Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did his parent ever have his/her body hurt from the actions by a spouse/partner? Marital conflict, domestic violence (arrests)	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did his parents ask him what he thought before most family decisions affecting him were made?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did his parents give him lots of chances to do fun things with them?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did his parents notice when he was doing a good job and let him know about it? Lack of approval from significant other person	
Yes		Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did one of his parents know where he was and who he was with when he was not at home?	
Yes			Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did people in his family have serious arguments? Did people in his family often insult or yell at each other? Would his family argue about the same things over and over? Grownups in home yell at one another	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did the family have clear rules about alcohol and drug use?	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Divorced parents	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Exposure to parental neglect, low parental reinforcement and involvement, rejection, poor monitoring and supervision of children (know whereabouts and who with); latchkey kid; lack of orderly and structured activities within the family; low parental attachment to child	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Families supportive of commitment to cause, supports activism (religious or secular)	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Family and parental conflict, poor family bonding, poor family functioning and management practices, high levels of family disruption, poor or unstable (stressful) relationship with parents, lack of positive support system at home; parental stress, maternal depression	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Family cohesiveness; family attachment, loyalty to family	

	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Family member injured or killed in fight	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Family/parent condones violence; hostile to society	
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Harsh parental punishment (maternal especially), child physical abuse, witness violence at home, parent to child violence, early childhood humiliation by parent, parent bullies/taunts/ridicules child, criminal behavior, problem parental behavior; inconsistency of punishment, child to child violence	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Having a young mother; teenage mother	
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (family)	How would his parents feel it would be for him to pick a fight with someone?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (family)	If he had a personal problem, did he feel he could ask his mother or father for help?	Yes
	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Lack of Parental Authority	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Large family size	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Living in a single-parent household with little parental support; unpaid child support	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Loss of one or both parents by 14	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Low Emotional Attachment to Parents/Caregivers	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Many children in family, forces some youths to spend time away looking for sense of family elsewhere.	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Matriarchal Family Structure (i.e. Single Mother)	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Overcontrolling parents and lack of autonomy development; overprotective	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Parental Monitoring (Too little and too much are associated with increased behavior problems among youth, including violence)	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Parent-Child Separation	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Parents know friends	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Patriarchal family structures	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Protective of younger siblings, especially sisters	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Self-esteem derived from home	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Staying out later than usual; It is 8:00 on a weeknight and he was about to go over to a friend's house when his mother asks him where he was going. He would likely...Leave the house anyway; explain what he was going to do with his friends; Not say anything and start watching TV; Get into an argument with his parent	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Upbringing in misogynistic families	
Yes			Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Were the rules in his family clear? Poorly defined rules and expectations for appropriate conduct	
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Would his parents ask if he had gotten his homework done?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Would his parents know if he did not come home on time?	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Associate actions with other desirable groups (does not need to belong to that group); has surreptitious meetings	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Attempts to create own group	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Changes friends suddenly	

	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Consider self a member of chosen group; high-identifies (feels need to identify with group and for inclusion); intense devotion to group, anaclitic devotion or emotional dependence to someone or something	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Contact with group members or people involved or suspected of involvement with extremist activity; hanging and partying with group/gang	
Yes	Yes			Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Did he ever belong to a gang or gang-like organization?	Yes
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Difficulty forming relationships; hobbled ability to establish intimate human relationships; inability to emotionally connect and form relationships; failure to fit in or failure to fulfill desire to belong to group	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Enculturation in unmonitored groups outside of the educational system's jurisdiction; exposure to gateway organizations	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Establish and maintain identity (within a gang or Ummah or through subculture); group provides industry or purpose for individual, expectation of benefit (honor and status) associated with being a member, well-defined role	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Feeling (survival, religion, social group, Ummah, etc.) is threatened, attach self to group to "survive"	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Group cohesiveness, highly developed group bonds and shared social values, tight network of youth in schools and neighborhoods; refers to friends as family	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Group or peer supporters of radical action; mobilized through group or network; pressure to participate in violent activities from peers	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Having a big problem or fight with a friend	
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	If so, did the gang have a name?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	If so, how old was he when he first belonged to a gang or gang-like organization?	Yes
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Isolation of group; limit social interactions to like-minded people or social network	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Join group through preexisting friendship over kinship; involvement with deviant or delinquent peers	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Membership in a student group during a generational conflict	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Personal or familial ties with (sometimes eight or more) group members prior to becoming member; lived or living with a gang member	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Recruitment into group is based off of the capability to participate in illegal activities	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Seeking people to "back them up" in conflicts	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Strong desire to join group or gang; wants peer acceptance	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Strong hierarchy	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Religion	Deeply religious mother	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Religion	Desire to die selfless death in the service (of Allah)	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Religion	Move in with religious friends for companionship	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Religion	Self-taught religion via Internet (Islam)	

Yes				Socioemotional	Sexual Relations	During his life, with how many people has he had sexual intercourse?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Sexual Relations	Has he ever had oral sex?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Sexual Relations	Has he ever had sexual intercourse?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Sexual Relations	How old was he when he had sexual intercourse for the first time?	Yes
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Sexual Relations	Promiscuous sexual reputation or behavior	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Sexual Relations	Sexual frustration, repression or unfulfillment; hobbled ability to attract female companionship; increased competition for desirable partners, desire for greater sexual access to females	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Sexual Relations	Sexual role uncertainties	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Sexual Relations	Sexually shy, timid, passive	
Yes				Socioemotional	Sexual Relations	When engaging in sexual intercourse, would he regularly use a condom or other protection?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Technology	As a teenager, did he know how to use a computer to do things like schoolwork, finding information, or typing papers?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Technology	Does he believe he has the right to say anything online, even if what he says hurts someone or violates someone's privacy?	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Technology	Early heavy viewing of television particularly, fast-paced, high-action, violence-laden programs	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Technology	Establishes website/blog to display extremist views	
Yes				Socioemotional	Technology	On an average school day, how many hours did he spend playing video games or using a computer?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Technology	On an average school night, how many hours did he watch TV?	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Technology	Participation in pro-extremist online community (YouTube, Web sites, journals, forums, social networking sites); Adherence to transnational, virtual (Ummah), decontextualized from culture. Exposure to radical voices on Internet and social glorification of those who die; online echo chambers	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Violence	Deep feelings of self-defense; defensive pattern; perceived oppression; personal victimization;	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Violence	Exposure to incredible threats of retaliation	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Violence	Exposure to violence; exposure and witnessing violence in the community at a young age	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Violence	Extraordinary need for vengeance; internal pressure for revenge	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Violence	History of animal cruelty	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Violence	History of violence or engaging in victimization; predilection for violence or aggression; physical force to express hostility toward others, especially from early age; unexplained bruises, injured in physical fight	
Yes		Yes		Socioemotional	Violence	How many times has someone attacked him with the idea of seriously hurting him?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence	How many times has someone threatened or injured him with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Violence	Injury seen as badge of honor	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Violence	Involvement of youth in hate crime	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Violence	Involvement of youth in homicide or assault, esp. increased usage of firearms in homicide cases; murder	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Violence	Makes excuses for delinquent behavior	

	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Violence	Military training camps or repetitive training with group forces'	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Violence	Protect someone from law enforcement	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Violence	Puts security measures in place	
	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Violence	Sudden, frequent, or increased physical fighting; fight alongside group (gang)	
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Violence	Young age at first violent incident (how old was he when he first attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?)	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence	Hypothetically, if someone he did not know pushed him while he was visiting another part of town, he would: [1] Push the person back; [2] Say 'Excuse me' and keep walking; [3] Say 'Watch where you are going' and keep walking; [4] Swear at the person and walk away.	
Yes	Yes			Socioemotional	Violence (bullying)	In a given year, how many times has he been bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased by someone?	Yes
Yes	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Violence (bullying)	In a given year, how many times has he bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence (character)	Done something dangerous because someone dared him to do it	
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence (character)	How wrong does he think it is for someone his age to attack someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	Yes
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Violence (character)	Increased risk-taking behavior	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Violence (culture)	Cultural acceptance of violence as a means to solve conflict	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Violence (culture)	Exposure to a culture of violence from media sources	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Violence (culture)	Violence ingrained in daily life; normative Beliefs Supportive of Violence, believes is legitimate to use violence to change things in society	
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence (cyber-bullying)	Did he know of someone who had been really hurt by cyberbullying?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence (cyber-bullying)	Has he ever been cyberbullied by a student who attended his school?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence (cyber-bullying)	Has he ever been electronically bullied, such as through e-mail, chat rooms, instant messaging, Web sites, or texting?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence (cyber-bullying)	Has he ever cyberbullied a student who attended his school?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence (cyber-bullying)	Would he report cyberbullying incidents, if he could do so without anyone knowing it was him?	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Announcing threats/plans to hurt others	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Demonizes others freely; externalizes problem "it's not us it's them"	
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Express hostility through indirect and verbal forms of aggression, such as "alienation, ostracism, and character defamation," uses slang and acronyms	
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Has anyone ever said something bad about his race or culture to him?	Yes
Yes	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Has he ever said something bad about someone's race or culture? With what frequency?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence (self)	As a teenager, did he ever actually attempt suicide?	
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Violence (self)	Belief that he will achieve more in death than life; obsession with legacy	
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence (self)	Has he ever seriously considered attempting suicide?	

	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Violence (self)	Self-sacrifice	
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence (sexual)	Did he ever have a partner in a dating or serious relationship who pressured him into having sex when he didn't want to?	Yes
Yes	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Violence (sexual)	Did his partner in a dating relationship ever hit, slap, or physically hurt him on purpose? Violence in intimate adolescent relationships	Yes
	Yes	Yes		Socioemotional	Violence (sexual)	Forces women to cover themselves, to not leave the house, and to remain apart from men	
Yes			Yes	Socioemotional	Violence (sexual)	Has he ever been physically forced to have sexual intercourse when he did not want to?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence (sexual)	Has he ever been sexually harassed?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence (sexual)	Has he ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who always wanted to know his whereabouts?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Violence (sexual)	Has he ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who called him names or put him down verbally?	Yes
	Yes			Socioemotional	Violence (sexual)	Violence faced by women in society	
	Yes			Socioemotional	Weapons	Arms races within groups (for self-defense, respect)	
Yes				Socioemotional	Weapons	How many of his best friends carried a handgun?	Yes
Yes			Yes	Socioemotional	Weapons	How many times would he carry a handgun in a year?	Yes
Yes			Yes	Socioemotional	Weapons	How many times would he carry a weapon other than a handgun?	Yes
Yes	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Weapons	How many times would he have taken a weapon other than a handgun to school?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Weapons	How old was he when he first carried a handgun?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Weapons	If he carried a handgun without his parent's permission, would he have been caught by his parents?	
Yes	Yes		Yes	Socioemotional	Weapons	How many times would he have taken a handgun to school?	Yes
Yes				Socioemotional	Weapons (character)	How wrong did he think it was for a teenager to take a handgun to school?	
Yes				Socioemotional	Weapons (family)	Did any of his brothers or sisters ever take a handgun to school?	

Appendix B – El-Khalifi’s Independent Variables

When	SDT Category	IV Category	Independent Variable
Both	Institutional	Character	Absolutist moral polarization; believes in speaking and acting for a group and for a higher, more sensitive form of universal justice; sees world in starkly polar terms, dualistic Manichean perspective, everything either good or evil; exaggerated distinction between what is PURE and IMPURE, ideals of a pure or just society; scrupulous attention to what is permitted and what is prohibited
After	Institutional	Character	Adherence to convention or strong set of principles; commitment to revolution or cause; does the person stand up for what they believe, even when it is unpopular to do so?
After	Institutional	Character	Being faced with difficult moral choices
After	Institutional	Character	Belief that mission will do more good than bad; motivated by profound sense of altruism, desire to benefit kin and social group
After	Institutional	Character	Cognitive political extremism
Before	Institutional	Character	Does he ignore rules that get in his way? Acts of open defiance
After	Institutional	Character	Moral outrage, outrage at attack on defenseless or ill-equipped opponent (whether kittens or a country)
Before	Institutional	Character (ethnicity)	Racial or ethnic discrimination or prejudice faced by youth, xenophobic discrimination; complains about bias
Both	Institutional	Character (psychological)	Believes in conspiracy theories to the point of paranoia, imagines vast conspiracies of evil; interpretation of events through extremist prism
Before	Institutional	Character (psychological)	Difficulty controlling emotions like anger, hostile; resentment, temper, increased loss of temper, frustration or aggression, increasing disillusionment
Both	Institutional	Character (psychological)	Easily influenced by distortions in the media; selective exposure to media; senses stigmatization in media; psychological effect of global violence, exposure to violence in mass media
After	Institutional	Character (psychological)	Intolerance of ambiguity, need for certainty and uniformity; low tolerance for perceived deviance from belief; intolerance to others
Before	Institutional	Demographic (geography)	Geographic boundaries based on ethnicity/race/religion
Before	Institutional	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Lives in country with communication capabilities gap
Before	Institutional	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Witness or victim of rich countries attempting to control resources in other countries (particularly against oil-based economies)
Before	Institutional	Deviance	History of Discipline problems/frequent conflict with authority
Before	Institutional	Deviance (family)	How wrong would his parents feel it would be for him to steal anything worth more than \$5?
Before	Institutional	Deviance (school)	Truancy and dropping out of school; problems in school
Before	Institutional	Non-violent	Alters choice of reading materials in personal area
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Did he believe he had lots of chances to be a part of class discussions or activities?

Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Did he feel safe at his school? Disruptive or dangerous school environment; violence and crime in schools
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Does he think he can do well in school if he wants to?
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Low Bonding or commitment to school
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Social Strains at schools (pressure for social or intellectual success)
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	How many times did he participate in school or non-school extra-curricular activities? How many sports teams?
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	Were there lots of chances for students in his school to get involved in sports, clubs, and other school activities outside of class? Were there sports teams or other extracurricular activities for teenagers available in his community?
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Attention to discrimination and armed conflicts around the world
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Desire mass destruction to replace corrupt world with pure new social order
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Did he regularly read about issues affecting the public and politics?
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Disenfranchisement; denial of civil liberties; inability to participate in political institutions; lack of opportunity for political participation; perception that conventional political activity does not work or produce results; removal of local agenda by government
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Failed institutions; disintegration of traditional authority structures; discrimination in justice system; failure of the juvenile justice system
After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Hatred of injustice
After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Ideologization of group discontent; rise of aggressive fundamentalist groups (cults, religious)
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Ineffectual law enforcement that fails to fulfill a variety of roles
After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Lack of respect for state sovereignty, distrust institutions
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Listens to compromising speeches by public figures; exposure to propaganda exploiting politics
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Political discontent/marginalization/alienation; underrepresented
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Politically charged environment
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Rejection of democratic principles; above society's rules
Both	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Views acts and statements by hostile out-groups as provocative; (specific to terrorism) displeasure at the proximity of American troops near sacred Islamic sites, violence against Muslims; perceived schism between Islam and West; western support for oppressive regimes
Before	Institutional	Relations	Grievances by a subgroup of society (i.e. ethnic minority)
Both	Institutional	Relations (community)	Public or parental sympathy for a cause (could be radical)

Before	Institutional	Religion	Failure to distinguish between legitimate religious expressions and extremism
Before	Institutional	Religion	How often would he attend religious services or activities?
Before	Institutional	Religion	Intensification of beliefs
Before	Institutional	Religion	Legalistic interpretation of religion (Islam)
Before	Institutional	Religion	Little knowledge of religion (Islam)
Before	Institutional	Religion	Sudden interest in religion; interest for everything religion; possible turn from secular devotion to religious
Before	Institutional	Religion (violence)	Conviction that violence is divinely commanded and theologically justified
After	Institutional	Violence	Fight in Self-defense, driven by desperation to violence; sees self as reluctant warrior; view of no other choice; believe it is okay to beat people up if they start the fight
After	Institutional	Violence	Seeks more involvement in the fight
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Belief that violence against state or its symbols is not inherently immoral
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Explicit approval of suicide terrorism or acts against civilians
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Expresses a political, religious, or ideological obligation to engage in unlawful violence
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Expressions of "support for radical extremist causes or leaders"
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Obsession in talking about the injustices of the West and Israel against Muslims; verbally indicates hatred for the U.S. and/or the Constitution
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Speaks about seeking revenge (avenge government injustices)
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	View that terrorism is necessary, defensive, and urgent against an offensive enemy
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Views violence as a great equalizer
Before	NA	Demographic	Unmarried
Before	NA	Demographic (age)	Age
Before	NA	Demographic (ethnicity)	What race is he? Member of a minority race?
Before	NA	Demographic (gender)	Gender
Before	NA	Demographic (language)	Speak multiple languages
Before	NA	Demographic (language)	What language was used most often in his home growing up?
After	NA	Deviance	Conduct surveillance or reconnaissance; practice counter-surveillance or operational security; new interests in public or government facilities; tests security
After	NA	Deviance	Deploying assets/getting into position
Before	NA	Drugs	Drug or substance use, abuse
Before	NA	Drugs (alcohol)	How much does he think people risk harming themselves if they: take one or two drinks of an alcoholic beverage nearly every day?
Before	NA	Drugs (alcohol)	Underage, would he have accepted alcohol from a friend at a party?

Before	NA	Drugs (cocaine)	How easy or hard would it be for him to get drugs like cocaine, LSD, or amphetamines?
Before	NA	Drugs (cocaine)	On how many occasions (if any) has he used cocaine or crack in his lifetime? In a 30 day timeframe?
Before	NA	Drugs (ecstasy)	On how many occasions (if any) has he used Ecstasy in his lifetime? In a 30 day timeframe?
Before	NA	Drugs (LSD - friends)	How many of his best friends have used LSD, cocaine, amphetamines, or other illegal drugs?
Before	NA	Drugs (marijuana)	How easy or hard would it be for him to get some marijuana?
Before	NA	Drugs (marijuana)	How much does he think people risk harming themselves if they try marijuana once or twice? Regularly?
Before	NA	Drugs (marijuana)	On how many occasions and with what frequency has he used marijuana? On how many occasions (if any) has he used marijuana in his lifetime? In a 30 day timeframe?
Before	NA	Drugs (relations)	How many adults has he known personally who have gotten drunk or high?
Before	NA	Drugs (relations)	How many adults has he known personally who have sold or dealt drugs?
Before	NA	Drugs (relations)	How many adults has he known personally who have used marijuana, crack, cocaine, or other drugs?
After	NA	Non-Violent	Extreme music, videos and movies
Before	NA	Non-violent	Suspicious credit card applications and spending
After	NA	Non-violent	Takes suspicious or unreported travel
Before	NA	Non-violent (health)	On an average school night, how many hours of sleep did he get?
Before	NA	Non-violent (health)	Would he ever try to gain or lose weight? Or, was he okay with himself at any size? Did he ever take any diet pills, powders, or liquids without a doctor's advice to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight? Did he ever vomit or take laxatives to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight? In a 30 day timeframe, did he go without eating for more than 24 hours or more to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight?
Before	NA	Politics/Justice	Institutionalization of hypocrisy
After	NA	Relations (peer group)	Homophilic (demographically and ideologically similar/reinforcing) networks; different than out-group
After	NA	Violence	Planning how to commit acts of violence
After	NA	Violence (rhetoric)	Uses much more extreme religious or political rhetoric; rhetoric is more intense and concentrated
After	NA	Weapons	Fascination with weapons (especially firearms); desires weapons, inquires about weapons of mass effects
After	NA	Weapons	Suddenly acquires weapon, supplies, or documents; stores or collects mass weapons of hazardous materials
Both	Social Structural	Character	Attracted to limited opportunities (you must wait until called)
Before	Social Structural	Character	Attributional Biases (i.e. tendency to infer hostility in others' behavior, especially if tends to infer hostility even when other is demonstrating benevolent or ambiguous social cues) or attribution error
Before	Social Structural	Character	Change in behavior, abrupt behavioral shifts, develops strange habits and new hand signs, adopts new (Western) lifestyle without relief

Both	Social Structural	Character	Entrepreneur; Does he believe he can solve most problems in his life? Does he believe his actions can improve the quality of the environment?
Before	Social Structural	Character	Experiences humiliation or subordination; perception that enemy bent on humiliating or subjugating victims; repression; oppression or persecution
After	Social Structural	Character	Fear (for cause, lives, property, of strangers)
Before	Social Structural	Character	Identity Enhancement (damaged self-concept (idealizes good self and spits out bad self))
Before	Social Structural	Character	Jealousy
Before	Social Structural	Character	Want for power/authority; authoritarian attitudes
Before	Social Structural	Character (alienation)	Failure to make an adequate social and cultural transition from family to school and work
Before	Social Structural	Character (psychological)	Feeling constantly disrespected; desire for respect, recognition
Before	Social Structural	Demographic	Disaffection among an elite
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (gender)	Lives in country with gender equity gap
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (geography)	Residing in an urban area
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (population)	High population growth rates in countries with disaffected young men
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (population)	Immigration from poor states to wealthy states
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (population)	Refugee waves caused by war and repression; is refugee
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	High concentrations of poor residents
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Inflation and unemployment, lack of economic opportunity; sudden decline of available jobs within community, youth unemployment (male)
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Lack of marketable skills
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Living in Poverty, extreme economic inequality, low socioeconomic status; family on temporary assistance for needy families; food stamp program recipients; no health insurance
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Low-status job, unstable job records
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Racial segregation because of economic constraints
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Relative or Economic Deprivation; increasing poverty and scarcity, unmet basic living needs

Before	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Resource Deprivation
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Social exclusion due to economic reasons, classism
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Unemployed Father
Before	Social Structural	Deviance	Involvement in “underground” [illegal] economies (ex drug trafficking, extortion, prostitution) or corruption
Before	Social Structural	Drugs	How many times in has he sold illegal drugs?
Before	Social Structural	Non-violent	Challenges the social constructs of society
After	Social Structural	Non-violent	Having more money, large amounts of money
Before	Social Structural	Non-violent	How many times did he change homes between kindergarten and 18 years of age?
Before	Social Structural	Non-violent (health)	In a 30 day timeframe, did he ever go hungry because there was not enough food in the home? Family eligible for free or reduced lunch program
Before	Social Structural	Relations (family)	Parent Education (low)
After	Social Structural	Relations (peer group)	Low cost/low risk involvement into the blob (politically active utopian rejectionist counter-culture)
After	Socioemotional	Character	Abandonment of independence to merge with archaic omnipotent figure; difficulty distinguishing individual from group; group-induced homogenization
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Admiring deviant behavior or reputation
After	Socioemotional	Character	Adoption of extreme ideals or interpretation
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Anxious, anxiety, emersion in culture of despair, emotional distress or depression
Both	Socioemotional	Character	Assertion of “Toughness” (physical prowess, emotional detachment, willingness to resort to violence to resolve interpersonal conflict); self-efficacy perceptions (confidence in ability to act aggressively) and outcome expectations favoring aggression (believe aggression generally yields positive outcome)
After	Socioemotional	Character	Creation of theories to explain unhappiness and anger
After	Socioemotional	Character	Does he accept responsibility for actions when he makes a mistake or gets in trouble?
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Exhibits prosocial behavior, Desire for enhanced social identity and increased social standing, Extroverted
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Experiences personal crisis and does not properly recover; death of friend; difficulty coping with trauma, experiences critical stressful events (esp. in year preceding activity and childhood)
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Extraordinary need for identity, purpose and self-worth; existential identity anxiety; desire to be heard, understood, and possibly applauded
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Feelings of powerlessness; when things don't go well for him, is he good at finding a way to make things better?

Both	Socioemotional	Character	Follower, easily influenced by peer pressure; would others say the person can say 'no' when someone asks him to do things he doesn't want to do?
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Identity crisis or confusion; lack of positive identity; weak identity; lack of identity (ethnic); identity incompleteness; identity ambivalence
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Ideology as an alternative to rejection
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Is he able to save his money for something he really wants?
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Personally connected with a grievance; resonates with personal experience
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Poor Problem-Solving Ability and reasoning; does he try to find different solutions to a problem?
Both	Socioemotional	Character	Rushed decision-making; emphasis on feeling over thinking; would others say the person thinks through the possible good and bad results of different choices? Would others say the person is good at planning ahead? Poor at making decisions?
Both	Socioemotional	Character	Sense of desire to spread ideology and group influence; ideological indoctrination
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Sense of self-inefficacy and low self-esteem, ego injuries
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Sense of solidarity with others who are seen as threatened or suffering, anger on behalf of those; identification with group perceived to be in danger
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Strong sense of perseverance and patience; need to "stick it out" through the tough times; would others say that the person gives up when things get hard?
Before	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Alienated from parents' ethnic group and national culture; homesick; isolated from family or traditional bonds or culture
After	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Cut ties with family and friends, anti-social behavior (predilection for anti-social behavior); withdrawal from family, friends and usual activities; exhibits sudden reclusiveness; withdrawal from mainstream; loner; develops unusual desire for privacy and secrecy
Before	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Lack of and search for family, financial, or emotional support
Before	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Search for companionship, loyalty, protection (attends mosque for non-religious reasons); eagerness to join new group or friends
Before	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Social Maladjustment (shyness or peer isolation); feels marginalized with mainstream society; poor social integration; regularly feeling rejected, marginalized, or alone, especially from society; senses stigmatization in society, impaired social skills; isolation from conventional role models
Before	Socioemotional	Character (body)	Physical change in appearance, Changes type of off-duty clothing, specific colors or styles of clothing
After	Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Anti-Semitic beliefs and resentment of Jewish influence
After	Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Dehumanization of victims; innocence of victims as irrelevant; capacity to suppress both instinctive and learned moral constraints against harming innocents
After	Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Ethnic hatred toward others
After	Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Projects simplified image of the enemy

After	Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Religious hatred toward others
Before	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Behavioral issues such as hyperactivity, impulsiveness, attention control, motor restlessness, lack of self-control, ADHD
After	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Cognitive inflexibility
Both	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Displaying "Messiah-Like" behavior (Belief that own person is vital to ideology's exposure and societal acceptance); narcissistic delusions of grandeur; views self as superior, aristocratic airs; self-righteous commitment or purpose
Before	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Dramatic mood swings, experience of narcissistic rage
Both	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Emotional detachment from the consequences of actions; callous behavior/lacking empathy for others, lacking remorse or guilt; How many times has he done what felt good no matter what?
Before	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Feelings of guilt and shame
Before	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Has he ever felt sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row? Has he ever felt so sad or hopeless that he stopped doing some usual activities?
After	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Yearning for and fulfilling his extraordinary need for glory under the mark of selflessness; fantasize of glory
Before	Socioemotional	Demographic (ethnicity)	Ethnic conflicts and community segregation; marginalized community or diaspora
Before	Socioemotional	Demographic (language)	Linguistic fractionalization
Before	Socioemotional	Demographic (population)	Acculturation or failures in acculturation of a newcomer population; first generation who do not fit in
Before	Socioemotional	Demographic (population)	Immigrant in a neighborhood with a low concentration of immigrants
Before	Socioemotional	Demographic (sexuality)	Sexuality (heterosexual?)
Before	Socioemotional	Deviance	Being exposed to short term provocative situations such as being bored, angry or drunk
Before	Socioemotional	Deviance	Conduct problems such as lying, stealing, hostility and destructiveness; engage in self-defeating behavior; does he believe it is okay to take something without asking if he can get away with it? Does he think it is wrong for someone to steal anything worth more than \$5?
Both	Socioemotional	Deviance	Experiences routine boredom in life; done crazy things even if they are a little dangerous; stimulus seeking; need for high-level stimulation and risk; novelty seeking; thrill-seeker; expresses pleasure and excitement at being involved in thrilling actions
Before	Socioemotional	Drugs (alcohol)	How wrong do his parents feel it would be for him to drink beer, wine, or hard liquor regularly?
After	Socioemotional	Non-violent	Common monitoring and exchanging of propaganda, distribution of propaganda; elicits or seeks information

After	Socioemotional	Non-violent	Possession of materials that “express sympathies to extremist behaviors/actions”
Before	Socioemotional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	Given up leisure activities
Before	Socioemotional	Relations	Lack of appropriate authority figures or interlocutors (legitimate religious authority)
After	Socioemotional	Relations	Solicits advice, encouragement, finances, training, or other resources from a person who advocates the use of unlawful violence
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Did he believe there were lots of adults in his neighborhood who he could talk to about something important?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Did he like the neighborhood or the area around where he lived as a teenager? Or, did he want to get out of there? Feeling unsafe in neighborhood; low neighborhood attachment
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Emergence of single-issue groups
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Families respected in the community
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Lack of protective factors or social support
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Low Community Participation; spends hours helping friends or neighbors, volunteered to do some type of community service
After	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Regarded by in-group as heroic freedom fighters
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Weak Social Ties
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Were there people in his neighborhood, or the area around where he lived, who were proud of him when he did something well? His neighbors notice when he is doing a good job and let him know about it.
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Would he have missed the neighborhood he lived in as a teenager?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Changes in social norms due to the generation gap
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Cultural Disillusionment (esp. cultural disappointment with trend of Western expansion)
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Culture where toughness equates with masculinity; fascination with masculinity
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Environment where conflicts among peers are expected
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Injunctive Norms (behavioral expectations reinforced by teachers and classmates), constant exposure to stereotypical attitudes, behaviors, and feelings, social “scripts” accumulated through daily interactions
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Beliefs of Mother
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did he feel very close to his father?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did he feel very close to his mother?

Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did he share his thoughts and feelings with his mother?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did the family have clear rules about alcohol and drug use?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Exposure to parental neglect, low parental reinforcement and involvement, rejection, poor monitoring and supervision of children (know whereabouts and who with); latchkey kid; lack of orderly and structured activities within the family; low parental attachment to child
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Families supportive of commitment to cause, supports activism (religious or secular)
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	How would his parents feel it would be for him to pick a fight with someone?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Parental Monitoring (Too little and too much are associated with increased behavior problems among youth, including violence)
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Parent-Child Separation
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Patriarchal family structures
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Self-esteem derived from home
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Upbringing in misogynistic families
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Associate actions with other desirable groups (does not need to belong to that group); has surreptitious meetings
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Changes friends suddenly
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Consider self a member of chosen group; high-identifies (feels need to identify with group and for inclusion); intense devotion to group, anaclitic devotion or emotional dependence to someone or something
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Contact with group members or people involved or suspected of involvement with extremist activity; hanging and partying with group/gang
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Did he ever belong to a gang or gang-like organization?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Difficulty forming relationships; hobbled ability to establish intimate human relationships; inability to emotionally connect and form relationships; failure to fit in or failure to fulfill desire to belong to group
Both	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Establish and maintain identity (within a gang or ummah or through subculture); group provides industry or purpose for individual, expectation of benefit (honor and status) associated with being a member, well-defined role
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Feeling (survival, religion, social group, ummah, etc.) is threatened, attach self to group to “survive”
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Group cohesiveness, highly developed group bonds and shared social values, tight network of youth in schools and neighborhoods; refers to friends as family
Both	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Group or peer supporters of radical action; mobilized through group or network; pressure to participate in violent activities from peers
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Isolation of group; limit social interactions to like-minded people or social network

After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Personal or familial ties with (sometimes eight or more) group members prior to becoming member; lived or living with a gang member
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Seeking people to “back them up” in conflicts
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Strong desire to join group or gang; wants peer acceptance
Before	Socioemotional	Religion	Deeply religious mother
After	Socioemotional	Religion	Desire to die selfless death in the service (of Allah)
Before	Socioemotional	Religion	Self-taught religion via Internet (Islam)
Before	Socioemotional	Sexual Relations	Promiscuous sexual reputation or behavior
After	Socioemotional	Technology	Participation in pro-extremist online community (YouTube, Web sites, journals, forums, social networking sites); Adherence to transnational, virtual (Ummah), decontextualized from culture. Exposure to radical voices on Internet and social glorification of those who die; online echo chambers
Before	Socioemotional	Violence	Deep feelings of self-defense; defensive pattern; perceived oppression; personal victimization;
Before	Socioemotional	Violence	Exposure to violence; exposure and witnessing violence in the community at a young age
After	Socioemotional	Violence	extraordinary need for vengeance; internal pressure for revenge
Before	Socioemotional	Violence	History of animal cruelty
Before	Socioemotional	Violence	History of violence or engaging in victimization; predilection for violence or aggression; physical force to express hostility toward others, especially from early age; unexplained bruises, injured in physical fight
Before	Socioemotional	Violence	How many times has someone threatened or injured him with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?
Before	Socioemotional	Violence	Involvement of youth in homicide or assault, esp. increased usage of firearms in homicide cases; murder
After	Socioemotional	Violence	Military training camps or repetitive training with group forces'
After	Socioemotional	Violence	Young age at first violent incident (how old was he when he first attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?)
Before	Socioemotional	Violence (character)	How wrong does he think it is for someone his age to attack someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?
Before	Socioemotional	Violence (character)	Increased risk-taking behavior
Before	Socioemotional	Violence (culture)	Cultural acceptance of violence as a means to solve conflict
Both	Socioemotional	Violence (culture)	Violence engrained in daily life; normative Beliefs Supportive of Violence, believes is legitimate to use violence to change things in society
After	Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Announcing threats/plans to hurt others
After	Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Demonizes others freely; externalizes problem “it's not us it's them”
After	Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Express hostility through indirect and verbal forms of aggression, such as “alienation, ostracism, and character defamation,” uses slang and acronyms

After	Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Has he ever said something bad about someone's race or culture? With what frequency?
After	Socioemotional	Violence (self)	Belief that he will achieve more in death than life; obsession with legacy
After	Socioemotional	Violence (self)	Self-sacrifice

Appendix C – Chesser’s Independent Variables

When	SDT Category	IV Category	Independent Variable
Before	Institutional	Character	Absolutist moral polarization; believes in speaking and acting for a group and for a higher, more sensitive form of universal justice; sees world in starkly polar terms, dualistic Manichean perspective, everything either good or evil; exaggerated distinction between what is PURE and IMPURE, ideals of a pure or just society; scrupulous attention to what is permitted and what is prohibited
Before	Institutional	Character	Adherence to convention or strong set of principles; commitment to revolution or cause; does the person stand up for what they believe, even when it is unpopular to do so?
After	Institutional	Character	Ambivalence toward authority; challenges the words of recognized leader (like imam)
After	Institutional	Character	Being faced with difficult moral choices
After	Institutional	Character	Belief that mission will do more good than bad; motivated by profound sense of altruism, desire to benefit kin and social group
After	Institutional	Character	Cognitive political extremism
Before	Institutional	Character	Does he ignore rules that get in his way? Acts of open defiance
Before	Institutional	Character	General conservatism
After	Institutional	Character	High levels of motivation, highly goal oriented
After	Institutional	Character	Moral outrage, outrage at attack on defenseless or ill-equipped opponent (whether kittens or a country)
Before	Institutional	Character	Right-wing militarism; fascination with militarism and uniforms
Before	Institutional	Character	Would he permit a friend to steal?
Before	Institutional	Character (ethnicity)	Racial or ethnic discrimination or prejudice faced by youth, xenophobic discrimination; complains about bias
Before	Institutional	Character (locus of control)	Desire to convert or recruit others to cause; seeks to impose convictions and moralities on others
After	Institutional	Character (psychological)	Believes in conspiracy theories to the point of paranoia, imagines vast conspiracies of evil; interpretation of events through extremist prism
Before	Institutional	Character (psychological)	Difficulty controlling emotions like anger, hostile; resentment, temper, increased loss of temper, frustration or aggression, increasing disillusionment
Before	Institutional	Character (psychological)	Easily influenced by distortions in the media; selective exposure to media; senses stigmatization in media; psychological effect of global violence, exposure to violence in mass media
Before	Institutional	Character (psychological)	Intolerance of ambiguity, need for certainty and uniformity; low tolerance for perceived deviance from belief; intolerance to others
Before	Institutional	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Witness or victim of rich countries attempting to control resources in other countries (particularly against oil-based economies)
After	Institutional	Deviance	Does he like to see how much he can get away with? Need to test one's boundaries
After	Institutional	Deviance	If ever, how old was he when he was first arrested?
After	Institutional	Deviance (school)	Truancy and dropping out of school; problems in school
Before	Institutional	Non-violent	Alters choice of reading materials in personal area

Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Academic Failure or Poor Achievement; repeating a grade; decline in school performance; what were his grades like last year (poor?)? Less educated?
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Did he believe he had lots of chances to be a part of class discussions or activities?
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Did he feel safe at his school? Disruptive or dangerous school environment; violence and crime in schools
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Does he think he can do well in school if he wants to?
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	How often would he come to classes without his homework finished?
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Low Bonding or commitment to school
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Social Strains at schools (pressure for social or intellectual success)
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	How many times did he participate in school or non-school extra-curricular activities? How many sports teams?
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	Were there lots of chances for students in his school to get involved in sports, clubs, and other school activities outside of class? Were there sports teams or other extracurricular activities for teenagers available in his community?
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	As a teenager, did he use his political voice as a result of reading about politics, political campaigns, etc.?
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Attention to discrimination and armed conflicts around the world
After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Desire mass destruction to replace corrupt world with pure new social order
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Did he regularly read about issues affecting the public and politics?
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Disenfranchisement; denial of civil liberties; inability to participate in political institutions; lack of opportunity for political participation; perception that conventional political activity does not work or produce results; removal of local agenda by government
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Frustration at government defense expenditures, government spending
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Hatred of injustice
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Ideologization of group discontent; rise of aggressive fundamentalist groups (cults, religious)
After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Ineffectual law enforcement that fails to fulfill a variety of roles
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Lack of respect for state sovereignty, distrust institutions
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Listens to compromising speeches by public figures; exposure to propaganda exploiting politics
After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	March or demonstrate against occupation
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Political discontent/marginalization/alienation; underrepresented
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Politically charged environment
After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Rejection of democratic principles; above society's rules

After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Views acts and statements by hostile out-groups as provocative; (specific to terrorism) displeasure at the proximity of American troops near sacred Islamic sites, violence against Muslims; perceived schism between Islam and West; western support for oppressive regimes
After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Witness to harsh police reaction to protest group or brutality; poor relationship with law enforcement
Before	Institutional	Relations	Grievances by a subgroup of society (i.e. ethnic minority)
After	Institutional	Relations (community)	Attends rallies for extremist causes
Before	Institutional	Relations (community)	Public or parental sympathy for a cause (could be radical)
Before	Institutional	Religion	Abiding or deep commitment to their faith; high affective valence regarding an ideological issue
Before	Institutional	Religion	Failure to distinguish between legitimate religious expressions and extremism
After	Institutional	Religion	How often would he attend religious services or activities?
After	Institutional	Religion	Intensification of beliefs
Before	Institutional	Religion	Interest in theology
Before	Institutional	Religion	Legalistic interpretation of religion (Islam)
Before	Institutional	Religion	Little knowledge of religion (Islam)
Before	Institutional	Religion	Recent religious convert
Before	Institutional	Religion	Sudden interest in religion; interest for everything religion; possible turn from secular devotion to religious
Before	Institutional	Religion (violence)	Conviction that violence is divinely commanded and theologically justified
After	Institutional	Violence	Fight in Self-defense, driven by desperation to violence; sees self as reluctant warrior; view of no other choice; believe it is okay to beat people up if they start the fight
After	Institutional	Violence	Organizes protests inspired by extremist ideology; involved in events that give cause for concern (violent clashes)
After	Institutional	Violence	Seeks more involvement in the fight
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Belief that violence against state or its symbols is not inherently immoral
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Explicit approval of suicide terrorism or acts against civilians
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Expresses a political, religious, or ideological obligation to engage in unlawful violence
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Expressions of "support for radical extremist causes or leaders"
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Obsession in talking about the injustices of the West and Israel against Muslims; verbally indicates hatred for the U.S. and/or the Constitution
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Seeks to legitimize views by expressing indignation over conditions in society
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Speaks about seeking revenge (avenge government injustices)
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	View that terrorism is necessary, defensive, and urgent against an offensive enemy
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Views violence as a great equalizer
After	NA	Demographic	Multiple surnames at same address

Before	NA	Demographic (age)	Age
Before	NA	Demographic (gender)	Gender
After	NA	Demographic (language)	Speak multiple languages
After	NA	Deviance	Conduct surveillance or reconnaissance; practice counter-surveillance or operational security; new interests in public or government facilities; tests security
After	NA	Deviance	Suspicious pattern
After	NA	Deviance (friends)	If any, how many of his best friends have been arrested?
Before	NA	Drugs (alcohol)	How much does he think people risk harming themselves if they: take one or two drinks of an alcoholic beverage nearly every day?
Before	NA	Drugs (family)	Have any of his brothers or sisters ever smoked marijuana?
Before	NA	Drugs (marijuana)	How much does he think people risk harming themselves if they try marijuana once or twice? Regularly?
Before	NA	Drugs (relations)	How many adults has he known personally who have gotten drunk or high?
Before	NA	Drugs (tobacco)	How much does he think people risk harming themselves if they: smoke one or more packs of cigarettes per day?
Before	NA	Non-Violent	Extreme music, videos and movies
Before	NA	Non-violent	Has peculiar discussions
Before	NA	Non-violent	Hospital treatment for severe injury
After	NA	Non-violent	Interest in martial arts
After	NA	Non-violent	Takes suspicious or unreported travel
Before	NA	Non-violent (health)	On a weekly basis, on how many days was he physically active for a total of at least 60 minutes per day?
After	NA	Non-violent (health)	On an average school night, how many hours of sleep did he get?
After	NA	Politics/Justice	Institutionalization of hypocrisy
After	NA	Relations (peer group)	Homophilic (demographically and ideologically similar/reinforcing) networks; different than out-group
After	NA	Violence	Planning how to commit acts of violence
Before	NA	Violence (rhetoric)	Uses much more extreme religious or political rhetoric; rhetoric is more intense and concentrated
Before	NA	Weapons	Fascination with weapons (especially firearms); desires weapons, inquires about weapons of mass effects
Before	NA	Weapons	Playing with toy weapons in childhood
After	Social Structural	Character	Attracted to limited opportunities (you must wait until called)
After	Social Structural	Character	Attributional Biases (i.e. tendency to infer hostility in others' behavior, especially if tends to infer hostility even when other is demonstrating benevolent or ambiguous social cues) or attribution error
Before	Social Structural	Character	Change in behavior, abrupt behavioral shifts, develops strange habits and new hand signs, adopts new (Western) lifestyle without relief
After	Social Structural	Character	Entrepreneur; Does he believe he can solve most problems in his life? Does he believe his actions can improve the quality of the environment?

Before	Social Structural	Character	Experiences humiliation or subordination; perception that enemy bent on humiliating or subjugating victims; repression; oppression or persecution
After	Social Structural	Character	Fashion self as survivalist
Before	Social Structural	Character	Identity Enhancement (damaged self-concept (idealizes good self and spits out bad self))
Before	Social Structural	Character	Researcher/Surveyor
After	Social Structural	Character	Self-imagined realist
After	Social Structural	Character	Technician
After	Social Structural	Character	Want for power/authority; authoritarian attitudes
Before	Social Structural	Character (alienation)	Failure to make an adequate social and cultural transition from family to school and work
Before	Social Structural	Character (psychological)	Feeling constantly disrespected; desire for respect, recognition
Before	Social Structural	Demographic	Globalization or rapid modernization, rapid urbanization
After	Social Structural	Demographic (geography)	Irredentist (territory) conviction; appeal of "ownership" of territory
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (geography)	Residing in an urban area
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Desire for systemic socio-economic change
After	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Inflation and unemployment, lack of economic opportunity; sudden decline of available jobs within community, youth unemployment (male)
After	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Lack of marketable skills
After	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Living in Poverty, extreme economic inequality, low socioeconomic status; family on temporary assistance for needy families; food stamp program recipients; no health insurance
After	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Low-status job, unstable job records
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Middle to upper-middle class
After	Social Structural	Deviance	Involvement in "underground" [illegal] economies (ex drug trafficking, extortion, prostitution) or corruption
Before	Social Structural	Non-violent	Challenges the social constructs of society
Before	Social Structural	Non-violent	How many times did he change homes between kindergarten and 18 years of age?
After	Social Structural	Non-violent (health)	Vulnerability due to physical debilitation
Before	Social Structural	Non-violent (school)	Attended university in the West

After	Social Structural	Non-violent (school)	Formally educated with specialized skills; highly educated (high school or greater)
After	Social Structural	Relations (community)	Population generally opposed to Israel; against pro-Israel stance of the US
Before	Social Structural	Relations (peer group)	Low cost/low risk involvement into the blob (politically active utopian rejectionist counter-culture)
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Abandonment of independence to merge with archaic omnipotent figure; difficulty distinguishing individual from group; group-induced homogenization
After	Socioemotional	Character	Admiring deviant behavior or reputation
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Adoption of extreme ideals or interpretation
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Anxious, anxiety, emersion in culture of despair, emotional distress or depression
After	Socioemotional	Character	Assertion of "Toughness" (physical prowess, emotional detachment, willingness to resort to violence to resolve interpersonal conflict); self-efficacy perceptions (confidence in ability to act aggressively) and outcome expectations favoring aggression (believe aggression generally yields positive outcome)
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Childhood maladjustment; stress during childhood
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Creation of theories to explain unhappiness and anger
After	Socioemotional	Character	Does he accept responsibility for actions when he makes a mistake or gets in trouble?
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Does he do his best even when he has a job he doesn't like?
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Does he do the opposite of what people tell him just to get them mad?
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Exhibits prosocial behavior, Desire for enhanced social identity and increased social standing, Extroverted
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Experiences personal crisis and does not properly recover; death of friend; difficulty coping with trauma, experiences critical stressful events (esp. in year preceding activity and childhood)
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Extraordinary need for identity, purpose and self-worth; existential identity anxiety; desire to be heard, understood, and possibly applauded
After	Socioemotional	Character	Feelings of powerlessness; when things don't go well for him, is he good at finding a way to make things better?
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Follower, easily influenced by peer pressure; would others say the person can say 'no' when someone asks him to do things he doesn't want to do?
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Identity crisis or confusion; lack of positive identity; weak identity; lack of identity (ethnic); identity incompleteness; identity ambivalence
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Ideology as an alternative to rejection
After	Socioemotional	Character	Is he able to save his money for something he really wants?
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Low psychosocial maturity (low temperance, responsibility, and perspective)
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Personally connected with a grievance; resonates with personal experience
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Poor Problem-Solving Ability and reasoning; does he try to find different solutions to a problem?

Before	Socioemotional	Character	Rushed decision-making; emphasis on feeling over thinking; would others say the person thinks through the possible good and bad results of different choices? Would others say the person is good at planning ahead? Poor at making decisions?
After	Socioemotional	Character	Sense of desire to spread ideology and group influence; ideological indoctrination
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Sense of self-inefficacy and low self-esteem, ego injuries
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Sense of solidarity with others who are seen as threatened or suffering, anger on behalf of those; identification with group perceived to be in danger
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Shows a sudden visual shift from radical to “normal”; switch groups
After	Socioemotional	Character	Strong sense of perseverance and patience; need to “stick it out” through the tough times; would others say that the person gives up when things get hard?
After	Socioemotional	Character	Tendency to self-organize
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Is he generally an honest person? Does he feel it is important to be honest with his parents even if they become upset or he gets punished?
After	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Alienated from parents' ethnic group and national culture; homesick; isolated from family or traditional bonds or culture
Before	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Cut ties with family and friends, anti-social behavior (predilection for anti-social behavior); withdrawal from family, friends and usual activities; exhibits sudden reclusiveness; withdrawal from mainstream; loner; develops unusual desire for privacy and secrecy
After	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Denial or psychic numbing
Before	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Lack of and search for family, financial, or emotional support
Before	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Search for companionship, loyalty, protection (attends mosque for non-religious reasons); eagerness to join new group or friends
Before	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Social Maladjustment (shyness or peer isolation); feels marginalized with mainstream society; poor social integration; regularly feeling rejected, marginalized, or alone, especially from society; senses stigmatization in society, impaired social skills; isolation from conventional role models
Before	Socioemotional	Character (body)	Physical change in appearance, Changes type of off-duty clothing, specific colors or styles of clothing
After	Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Anti-Semitic beliefs and resentment of Jewish influence
After	Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Dehumanization of victims; innocence of victims as irrelevant; capacity to suppress both instinctive and learned moral constraints against harming innocents
After	Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Ethnic hatred toward others
After	Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Projects simplified image of the enemy
After	Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Religious hatred toward others

Before	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Acute episode or Major mental illness; personality disorder, history of mental health problems in family, history of treatment for emotional problems
Before	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Behavioral issues such as hyperactivity, impulsiveness, attention control, motor restlessness, lack of self-control, ADHD
After	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Cognitive dissonance resulting in overjustification of actions
Before	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Cognitive inflexibility
After	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Displaying "Messiah-Like" behavior (Belief that own person is vital to ideology's exposure and societal acceptance); narcissistic delusions of grandeur; views self as superior, aristocratic airs; self-righteous commitment or purpose
Before	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Dramatic mood swings, experience of narcissistic rage
After	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Emotional detachment from the consequences of actions; callous behavior/lacking empathy for others, lacking remorse or guilt; How many times has he done what felt good no matter what?
After	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Feelings of guilt and shame
Before	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Has he ever felt sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row? Has he ever felt so sad or hopeless that he stopped doing some usual activities?
Before	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Social Cognitive Deficits or Cognitive Dissonance (actual vs. espoused beliefs) - displacement of centrally visible features of enemy society; high or low cognitive complexity; Superego Lacunae
After	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Supernatural beliefs; impaired reality testing, magical thinking
After	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Yearning for and fulfilling his extraordinary need for glory under the mark of selflessness; fantasize of glory
After	Socioemotional	Demographic	Is a parent him or herself
Before	Socioemotional	Demographic (community)	Part of a collectivist culture; social network with high norm compliance
Before	Socioemotional	Demographic (ethnicity)	Ethnic conflicts and community segregation; marginalized community or diaspora
Before	Socioemotional	Demographic (sexuality)	Sexuality (heterosexual?)
Before	Socioemotional	Deviance	Being exposed to short term provocative situations such as being bored, angry or drunk
Before	Socioemotional	Deviance	Conduct problems such as lying, stealing, hostility and destructiveness; engage in self-defeating behavior; does he believe it is okay to take something without asking if he can get away with it? Does he think it is wrong for someone to steal anything worth more than \$5?
Before	Socioemotional	Deviance	Experiences routine boredom in life; done crazy things even if they are a little dangerous; stimulus seeking; need for high-level stimulation and risk; novelty seeking; thrill-seeker; expresses pleasure and excitement at being involved in thrilling actions
Before	Socioemotional	Deviance	History of vandalism/property damage, disorderly conduct; graffiti

Before	Socioemotional	Deviance	Marking or drawing on personal items, walls, symbols and other messages
Before	Socioemotional	Deviance (family)	Delinquent Siblings
Before	Socioemotional	Deviance (family)	If he skipped school without his parents' permission, would he be caught by his parents?
Before	Socioemotional	Deviance (relations)	How many adults did he know personally who have done other things that could get them in trouble with the police...?
Before	Socioemotional	Drugs (alcohol)	How wrong does he think it is for a teenager to drink beer, wine, or hard liquor regularly?
Before	Socioemotional	Drugs (alcohol)	How wrong would most adults in his neighborhood think it is for kids his age to drink alcohol?
Before	Socioemotional	Drugs (family)	Has anyone in the family ever had a severe alcohol or drug problem?
Before	Socioemotional	Drugs (LSD)	How wrong does he think it is for a teenager to use LSD, cocaine, amphetamines, or another illegal drug?
Before	Socioemotional	Drugs (tobacco)	How wrong does he think it is for a teenager to smoke cigarettes?
After	Socioemotional	Non-violent	Common monitoring and exchanging of propaganda, distribution of propaganda; elicits or seeks information
After	Socioemotional	Non-violent	Possession of materials that "express sympathies to extremist behaviors/actions"
Before	Socioemotional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	Given up leisure activities
After	Socioemotional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	How many times was he a leader in a group or organization?
Before	Socioemotional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	Practice sports with religious group
Before	Socioemotional	Relations	Childhood heroes of religious figures or revolutionaries
Before	Socioemotional	Relations	Exposure/involvement with "charismatic leaders" or "spiritual guide," desire to embrace the intimate tutelage of a charismatic leader; idealization of messianic figure; trust only select authorities
Before	Socioemotional	Relations	Exposure/involvement with authority figures or organizations with extreme views or radical ideology, especially those who invoke fictive kin relations; interaction with radical prison chaplains
After	Socioemotional	Relations	Lack of appropriate authority figures or interlocutors (legitimate religious authority)
After	Socioemotional	Relations	Poor treatment by authority figures, poor treatment in prison
After	Socioemotional	Relations	Solicits advice, encouragement, finances, training, or other resources from a person who advocates the use of unlawful violence
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Did he believe there were lots of adults in his neighborhood who he could talk to about something important?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Did he like the neighborhood or the area around where he lived as a teenager? Or, did he want to get out of there? Feeling unsafe in neighborhood; low neighborhood attachment

Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	During an average month, how many times did he help to make sure that all people are treated fairly?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Emergence of single-issue groups
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Families respected in the community
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Lack of protective factors or social support
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Low Community Participation; spends hours helping friends or neighbors, volunteered to do some type of community service
After	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Presence of a competition group
After	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Regarded by in-group as heroic freedom fighters
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Weak Social Ties
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Would he have missed the neighborhood he lived in as a teenager?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Changes in social norms due to the generation gap
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Cultural Disillusionment (esp. cultural disappointment with trend of Western expansion)
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Environment where conflicts among peers are expected
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Injunctive Norms (behavioral expectations reinforced by teachers and classmates), constant exposure to stereotypical attitudes, behaviors, and feelings, social "scripts" accumulated through daily interactions
After	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Beliefs of Mother
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did he enjoy spending time with his father?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did he enjoy spending time with his mother?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did he feel very close to his father?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did he feel very close to his mother?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did he share his thoughts and feelings with his father?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did he share his thoughts and feelings with his mother?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did his parent ever have his/her body hurt from the actions by a spouse/partner? Marital conflict, domestic violence (arrests)
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did his parents ask him what he thought before most family decisions affecting him were made?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did his parents give him lots of chances to do fun things with them?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did his parents notice when he was doing a good job and let him know about it? Lack of approval from significant other person

Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did people in his family have serious arguments? Did people in his family often insult or yell at each other? Would his family argue about the same things over and over? Grownups in home yell at one another
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did the family have clear rules about alcohol and drug use?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Divorced parents
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Exposure to parental neglect, low parental reinforcement and involvement, rejection, poor monitoring and supervision of children (know whereabouts and who with); latchkey kid; lack of orderly and structured activities within the family; low parental attachment to child
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Family and parental conflict, poor family bonding, poor family functioning and management practices, high levels of family disruption, poor or unstable (stressful) relationship with parents, lack of positive support system at home; parental stress, maternal depression
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Family cohesiveness; family attachment, loyalty to family
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Harsh parental punishment (maternal especially), child physical abuse, witness violence at home, parent to child violence, early childhood humiliation by parent, parent bullies/taunts/ridicules child, criminal behavior, problem parental behavior; inconsistency of punishment, child to child violence
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Lack of Parental Authority
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Low Emotional Attachment to Parents/Caregivers
After	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Matriarchal Family Structure (i.e. Single Mother)
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Overcontrolling parents and lack of autonomy development; overprotective
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Parental Monitoring (Too little and too much are associated with increased behavior problems among youth, including violence)
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Parent-Child Separation
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Parents know friends
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Protective of younger siblings, especially sisters
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Self-esteem derived from home
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Were the rules in his family clear? Poorly defined rules and expectations for appropriate conduct
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Would his parents ask if he had gotten his homework done?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Would his parents know if he did not come home on time?
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Associate actions with other desirable groups (does not need to belong to that group); has surreptitious meetings
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Attempts to create own group

After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Changes friends suddenly
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Consider self a member of chosen group; high-identifies (feels need to identify with group and for inclusion); intense devotion to group, anaclitic devotion or emotional dependence to someone or something
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Contact with group members or people involved or suspected of involvement with extremist activity; hanging and partying with group/gang
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Did he ever belong to a gang or gang-like organization?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Difficulty forming relationships; hobbled ability to establish intimate human relationships; inability to emotionally connect and form relationships; failure to fit in or failure to fulfill desire to belong to group
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Enculturation in unmonitored groups outside of the educational system's jurisdiction; exposure to gateway organizations
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Establish and maintain identity (within a gang or Ummah or through subculture); group provides industry or purpose for individual, expectation of benefit (honor and status) associated with being a member, well-defined role
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Feeling (survival, religion, social group, Ummah, etc.) is threatened, attach self to group to "survive"
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Group cohesiveness, highly developed group bonds and shared social values, tight network of youth in schools and neighborhoods; refers to friends as family
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Group or peer supporters of radical action; mobilized through group or network; pressure to participate in violent activities from peers
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Isolation of group; limit social interactions to like-minded people or social network
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Join group through preexisting friendship over kinship; involvement with deviant or delinquent peers
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Membership in a student group during a generational conflict
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Personal or familial ties with (sometimes eight or more) group members prior to becoming member; lived or living with a gang member
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Recruitment into group is based off of the capability to participate in illegal activities
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Strong desire to join group or gang; wants peer acceptance
After	Socioemotional	Religion	Deeply religious mother
After	Socioemotional	Religion	Desire to die selfless death in the service (of Allah)
Before	Socioemotional	Religion	Self-taught religion via Internet (Islam)
After	Socioemotional	Sexual Relations	Sexual frustration, repression or unfulfilment; hobbled ability to attract female companionship; increased competition for desirable partners, desire for greater sexual access to females
Before	Socioemotional	Technology	As a teenager, did he know how to use a computer to do things like schoolwork, finding information, or typing papers?
After	Socioemotional	Technology	Does he believe he has the right to say anything online, even if what he says hurts someone or violates someone's privacy?

Before	Socioemotional	Technology	Early heavy viewing of television particularly, fast-paced, high-action, violence-laden programs
After	Socioemotional	Technology	Establishes website/blog to display extremist views
Before	Socioemotional	Technology	On an average school day, how many hours did he spend playing video games or using a computer?
Before	Socioemotional	Technology	Participation in pro-extremist online community (YouTube, Web sites, journals, forums, social networking sites); Adherence to transnational, virtual (Ummah), decontextualized from culture. Exposure to radical voices on Internet and social glorification of those who die; online echo chambers
After	Socioemotional	Violence	Deep feelings of self-defense; defensive pattern; perceived oppression; personal victimization;
After	Socioemotional	Violence	Exposure to incredible threats of retaliation
Before	Socioemotional	Violence	Exposure to violence; exposure and witnessing violence in the community at a young age
After	Socioemotional	Violence	Extraordinary need for vengeance; internal pressure for revenge
After	Socioemotional	Violence	History of violence or engaging in victimization; predilection for violence or aggression; physical force to express hostility toward others, especially from early age; unexplained bruises, injured in physical fight
After	Socioemotional	Violence	Injury seen as badge of honor
Before	Socioemotional	Violence	Makes excuses for delinquent behavior
After	Socioemotional	Violence	Protect someone from law enforcement
After	Socioemotional	Violence	Puts security measures in place
Before	Socioemotional	Violence	Young age at first violent incident (how old was he when he first attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?)
Before	Socioemotional	Violence (bullying)	In a given year, how many times has he bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?
After	Socioemotional	Violence (character)	How wrong does he think it is for someone his age to attack someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?
Before	Socioemotional	Violence (character)	Increased risk-taking behavior
After	Socioemotional	Violence (culture)	Cultural acceptance of violence as a means to solve conflict
After	Socioemotional	Violence (culture)	Exposure to a culture of violence from media sources
After	Socioemotional	Violence (culture)	Violence ingrained in daily life; normative Beliefs Supportive of Violence, believes is legitimate to use violence to change things in society
After	Socioemotional	Violence (cyber-bullying)	Has he ever been electronically bullied, such as through e-mail, chat rooms, instant messaging, Web sites, or texting?
After	Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Announcing threats/plans to hurt others
After	Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Demonizes others freely; externalizes problem "it's not us it's them"
After	Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Express hostility through indirect and verbal forms of aggression, such as "alienation, ostracism, and character defamation," uses slang and acronyms
Before	Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Has anyone ever said something bad about his race or culture to him?
After	Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Has he ever said something bad about someone's race or culture? With what frequency?

After	Socioemotional	Violence (self)	Belief that he will achieve more in death than life; obsession with legacy
After	Socioemotional	Violence (self)	Self-sacrifice
After	Socioemotional	Violence (sexual)	Forces women to cover themselves, to not leave the house, and to remain apart from men

Appendix D – Snow’s Independent Variables

When	SDT Category	IV Category	Independent Variable
After	Institutional	Character	Absolutist moral polarization; believes in speaking and acting for a group and for a higher, more sensitive form of universal justice; sees world in starkly polar terms, dualistic Manichean perspective, everything either good or evil; exaggerated distinction between what is PURE and IMPURE, ideals of a pure or just society; scrupulous attention to what is permitted and what is prohibited
After	Institutional	Character	Adherence to convention or strong set of principles; commitment to revolution or cause; does the person stand up for what they believe, even when it is unpopular to do so?
After	Institutional	Character	Ambivalence toward authority; challenges the words of recognized leader (like imam)
Before	Institutional	Character	Being faced with difficult moral choices
Before	Institutional	Character	Belief that mission will do more good than bad; motivated by profound sense of altruism, desire to benefit kin and social group
After	Institutional	Character	Cognitive political extremism
Before	Institutional	Character	Does he ignore rules that get in his way? Acts of open defiance
Before	Institutional	Character	High levels of motivation, highly goal oriented
After	Institutional	Character	Right-wing militarism; fascination with militarism and uniforms
Before	Institutional	Character	Would he permit a friend to steal?
Before	Institutional	Character (ethnicity)	Racial or ethnic discrimination or prejudice faced by youth, xenophobic discrimination; complains about bias
After	Institutional	Character (locus of control)	Desire to convert or recruit others to cause; seeks to impose convictions and moralities on others
Before	Institutional	Character (psychological)	Difficulty controlling emotions like anger, hostile; resentment, temper, increased loss of temper, frustration or aggression, increasing disillusionment
After	Institutional	Character (psychological)	Intolerance of ambiguity, need for certainty and uniformity; low tolerance for perceived deviance from belief; intolerance to others
After	Institutional	Deviance	Bulk purchases of cigarettes or other counterfeit goods
Before	Institutional	Deviance	Does he like to see how much he can get away with? Need to test one's boundaries
Before	Institutional	Deviance	History of Discipline problems/frequent conflict with authority
Before	Institutional	Deviance	If ever, how old was he when he was first arrested?
Before	Institutional	Deviance (family)	How wrong would his parents feel it would be for him to draw graffiti, write things, or draw pictures on buildings or other property?
Before	Institutional	Deviance (school)	If ever, how many times in a year was he suspended from school? Expelled?
Before	Institutional	Deviance (school)	Truancy and dropping out of school; problems in school

Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Academic Failure or Poor Achievement; repeating a grade; decline in school performance; what were his grades like last year (poor?)? Less educated?
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Did he believe he had lots of chances to be a part of class discussions or activities?
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Did he feel safe at his school? Disruptive or dangerous school environment; violence and crime in schools
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Does he think he can do well in school if he wants to?
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Low Bonding or commitment to school
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (school)	Parent involvement in school
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	How many times did he participate in school or non-school extra-curricular activities? How many sports teams?
Before	Institutional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	Were there lots of chances for students in his school to get involved in sports, clubs, and other school activities outside of class? Were there sports teams or other extracurricular activities for teenagers available in his community?
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	As a teenager, did he use his political voice as a result of reading about politics, political campaigns, etc.?
After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Disenfranchisement; denial of civil liberties; inability to participate in political institutions; lack of opportunity for political participation; perception that conventional political activity does not work or produce results; removal of local agenda by government
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Failed institutions; disintegration of traditional authority structures; discrimination in justice system; failure of the juvenile justice system
After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Ideologization of group discontent; rise of aggressive fundamentalist groups (cults, religious)
After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Ineffectual law enforcement that fails to fulfill a variety of roles
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Lack of democratic institutions; lack of freedom
After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Lack of respect for state sovereignty, distrust institutions
After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Political discontent/marginalization/alienation; underrepresented
Before	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Rejection of democratic principles; above society's rules
After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	views acts and statements by hostile out-groups as provocative; (specific to terrorism) displeasure at the proximity of American troops near sacred Islamic sites, violence against Muslims; perceived schism between Islam and West; western support for oppressive regimes
After	Institutional	Politics/Justice	Witness to harsh police reaction to protest group or brutality; poor relationship with law enforcement
Before	Institutional	Relations	Grievances by a subgroup of society (i.e. ethnic minority)

After	Institutional	Religion	Abiding or deep commitment to their faith; high affective valence regarding an ideological issue
Before	Institutional	Religion	How often would he attend religious services or activities?
After	Institutional	Religion	Intensification of beliefs
After	Institutional	Religion	Legalistic interpretation of religion (Islam)
Before	Institutional	Violence	Fight in Self-defense, driven by desperation to violence; sees self as reluctant warrior; view of no other choice; believe it is okay to beat people up if they start the fight
After	Institutional	Violence	Organizes protests inspired by extremist ideology; involved in events that give cause for concern (violent clashes)
After	Institutional	Violence	Seeks more involvement in the fight
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Explicit approval of suicide terrorism or acts against civilians
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Expresses a political, religious, or ideological obligation to engage in unlawful violence
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Expressions of "support for radical extremist causes or leaders"
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Speaks about seeking revenge (avenge government injustices)
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	View that terrorism is necessary, defensive, and urgent against an offensive enemy
After	Institutional	Violence (rhetoric)	Views violence as a great equalizer
Before	NA	Character (body)	High testosterone levels
Before	NA	Demographic (age)	Age
Before	NA	Demographic (ethnicity)	What race is he? Member of a minority race?
Before	NA	Demographic (gender)	Gender
Before	NA	Deviance	Arrested, spent time in prison, esp. if juvenile; served longer than average sentence
After	NA	Deviance	Conduct surveillance or reconnaissance; practice counter-surveillance or operational security; new interests in public or government facilities; tests security
After	NA	Deviance	Deploying assets/getting into position
Before	NA	Deviance	History of petty crime
Before	NA	Deviance	Suspicious pattern
Before	NA	Deviance (friends)	If any, how many of his best friends have been arrested?
After	NA	Deviance (friends)	If any, how many of his best friends have been suspended from school?
After	NA	Drugs	Availability and use of drugs in the neighborhood; perceived availability of drugs
After	NA	Drugs (alcohol)	How easy would it have been for him to get some beer wine, or hard liquor?
After	NA	Drugs (cocaine)	How easy or hard would it be for him to get drugs like cocaine, LSD, or amphetamines?
After	NA	Drugs (friends)	How many of his best friends have sold illegal drugs?

After	NA	Drugs (LSD - friends)	How many of his best friends have used LSD, cocaine, amphetamines, or other illegal drugs?
After	NA	Drugs (marijuana - friends)	How many of his best friends have used marijuana?
After	NA	Drugs (marijuana)	How easy or hard would it be for him to get some marijuana?
Before	NA	Drugs (marijuana)	Would a kid in his neighborhood be caught by the police if he or she smoked marijuana?
After	NA	Drugs (relations)	How many adults has he known personally who have gotten drunk or high?
After	NA	Drugs (relations)	How many adults has he known personally who have sold or dealt drugs?
After	NA	Drugs (relations)	How many adults has he known personally who have used marijuana, crack, cocaine, or other drugs?
After	NA	Drugs (tobacco - friends)	How many of his best friends have smoked cigarettes?
After	NA	Drugs (tobacco)	How easy or hard would it be for him to get some cigarettes?
After	NA	Non-Violent	Extreme music, videos and movies
After	NA	Non-violent	Has peculiar discussions
Before	NA	Non-violent	Hospital treatment for severe injury
After	NA	Non-violent	Suspicious credit card applications and spending
After	NA	Non-violent	Takes suspicious or unreported travel
Before	NA	Non-violent (health)	On a weekly basis, on how many days was he physically active for a total of at least 60 minutes per day?
After	NA	Non-violent (health)	On an average school night, how many hours of sleep did he get?
Before	NA	Non-violent (health)	Pregnancy or delivery complications of partner
After	NA	Relations (peer group)	Homophilic (demographically and ideologically similar/reinforcing) networks; different than out-group
Before	NA	Violence	Planning how to commit acts of violence
After	NA	Violence (rhetoric)	Uses much more extreme religious or political rhetoric; rhetoric is more intense and concentrated
After	NA	Weapons	Access to weapons, specifically ready availability of guns, seen gun in home
After	NA	Weapons	Fascination with weapons (especially firearms); desires weapons, inquires about weapons of mass effects
After	NA	Weapons	Suddenly acquires weapon, supplies, or documents; stores or collects mass weapons of hazardous materials
Before	Social Structural	Character	Attracted to limited opportunities (you must wait until called)
After	Social Structural	Character	Attributional Biases (i.e. tendency to infer hostility in others' behavior, especially if tends to infer hostility even when other is demonstrating benevolent or ambiguous social cues) or attribution error
Before	Social Structural	Character	Change in behavior, abrupt behavioral shifts, develops strange habits and new hand signs, adopts new (Western) lifestyle without relief
After	Social Structural	Character	Entrepreneur; Does he believe he can solve most problems in his life? Does he believe his actions can improve the quality of the environment?

Before	Social Structural	Character	Experiences humiliation or subordination; perception that enemy bent on humiliating or subjugating victims; repression; oppression or persecution
Before	Social Structural	Character	Fashion self as survivalist
After	Social Structural	Character	Identity Enhancement (damaged self-concept (idealizes good self and spits out bad self))
After	Social Structural	Character	Jealousy
After	Social Structural	Character	Self-imagined realist
After	Social Structural	Character	Want for power/authority; authoritarian attitudes
Before	Social Structural	Character (psychological)	Feeling constantly disrespected; desire for respect, recognition
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (community)	Living conditions that allow poor youths little to no private space
After	Social Structural	Demographic (geography)	Irredentist (territory) conviction; appeal of "ownership" of territory
After	Social Structural	Demographic (geography)	Live in area with high level of gang activity; presence of documented gangs
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (geography)	Residing in an urban area
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (population)	Comes from country with minority group economic discrimination
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	High concentrations of poor residents
After	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Inflation and unemployment, lack of economic opportunity; sudden decline of available jobs within community, youth unemployment (male)
After	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Lack of marketable skills
After	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Living in Poverty, extreme economic inequality, low socioeconomic status; family on temporary assistance for needy families; food stamp program recipients; no health insurance
After	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Low-status job, unstable job records
Before	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Racial segregation because of economic constraints
After	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Relative or Economic Deprivation; increasing poverty and scarcity, unmet basic living needs
After	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Resource Deprivation

After	Social Structural	Demographic (poverty/economy)	Social exclusion due to economic reasons, classism
After	Social Structural	Deviance	Involvement in “underground” [illegal] economies (ex drug trafficking, extortion, prostitution) or corruption
After	Social Structural	Drugs	How many times in has he sold illegal drugs?
After	Social Structural	Non-violent	Having more money, large amounts of money
Before	Social Structural	Non-violent (health)	Vulnerability due to physical debilitation
Before	Social Structural	Non-violent (school)	Formally educated with specialized skills; highly educated (high school or greater)
Before	Social Structural	Relations (peer group)	Low cost/low risk involvement into the blob (politically active utopian rejectionist counter-culture)
After	Socioemotional	Character	Abandonment of independence to merge with archaic omnipotent figure; difficulty distinguishing individual from group; group-induced homogenization
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Admiring deviant behavior or reputation
After	Socioemotional	Character	Adoption of extreme ideals or interpretation
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Anxious, anxiety, emersion in culture of despair, emotional distress or depression
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Assertion of “Toughness” (physical prowess, emotional detachment, willingness to resort to violence to resolve interpersonal conflict); self-efficacy perceptions (confidence in ability to act aggressively) and outcome expectations favoring aggression (believe aggression generally yields positive outcome)
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Childhood maladjustment; stress during childhood
After	Socioemotional	Character	Does he accept responsibility for actions when he makes a mistake or gets in trouble?
After	Socioemotional	Character	Exhibits prosocial behavior, Desire for enhanced social identity and increased social standing, Extroverted
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Experiences personal crisis and does not properly recover; death of friend; difficulty coping with trauma, experiences critical stressful events (esp. in year preceding activity and childhood)
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Extraordinary need for identity, purpose and self-worth; existential identity anxiety; desire to be heard, understood, and possibly applauded
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Feelings of powerlessness; when things don't go well for him, is he good at finding a way to make things better?
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Follower, easily influenced by peer pressure; would others say the person can say 'no' when someone asks him to do things he doesn't want to do?
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Identity crisis or confusion; lack of positive identity; weak identity; lack of identity (ethnic); identity incompleteness; identity ambivalence
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Ideology as an alternative to rejection
After	Socioemotional	Character	Is he able to save his money for something he really wants?
After	Socioemotional	Character	Low psychosocial maturity (low temperance, responsibility, and perspective)

After	Socioemotional	Character	Poor Problem-Solving Ability and reasoning; does he try to find different solutions to a problem?
After	Socioemotional	Character	Rushed decision-making; emphasis on feeling over thinking; would others say the person thinks through the possible good and bad results of different choices? Would others say the person is good at planning ahead? Poor at making decisions?
After	Socioemotional	Character	Sense of desire to spread ideology and group influence; ideological indoctrination
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Sense of self-inefficacy and low self-esteem, ego injuries
Before	Socioemotional	Character	Tendency to self-organize
After	Socioemotional	Character	Is he generally an honest person? Does he feel it is important to be honest with his parents even if they become upset or he gets punished?
Before	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Alienated from parents' ethnic group and national culture; homesick; isolated from family or traditional bonds or culture
After	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Cut ties with family and friends, anti-social behavior (predilection for anti-social behavior); withdrawal from family, friends and usual activities; exhibits sudden reclusiveness; withdrawal from mainstream; loner; develops unusual desire for privacy and secrecy
Before	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Lack of and search for family, financial, or emotional support
Before	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Search for companionship, loyalty, protection (attends mosque for non-religious reasons); eagerness to join new group or friends
After	Socioemotional	Character (alienation)	Social Maladjustment (shyness or peer isolation); feels marginalized with mainstream society; poor social integration; regularly feeling rejected, marginalized, or alone, especially from society; senses stigmatization in society, impaired social skills; isolation from conventional role models
After	Socioemotional	Character (body)	Physical change in appearance, Changes type of off-duty clothing, specific colors or styles of clothing
After	Socioemotional	Character (body)	Tattoos referencing group name, territory or other symbol
After	Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Dehumanization of victims; innocence of victims as irrelevant; capacity to suppress both instinctive and learned moral constraints against harming innocents
After	Socioemotional	Character (enemy)	Projects simplified image of the enemy
After	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Cognitive inflexibility
After	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Displaying "Messiah-Like" behavior (Belief that own person is vital to ideology's exposure and societal acceptance); narcissistic delusions of grandeur; views self as superior, aristocratic airs; self-righteous commitment or purpose
After	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Dramatic mood swings, experience of narcissistic rage

After	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Emotional detachment from the consequences of actions; callous behavior/lacking empathy for others, lacking remorse or guilt; How many times has he done what felt good no matter what?
Before	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Has he ever felt sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row? Has he ever felt so sad or hopeless that he stopped doing some usual activities?
Before	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Social Cognitive Deficits or Cognitive Dissonance (actual vs. espoused beliefs) - displacement of centrally visible features of enemy society; high or low cognitive complexity; Superego Lacunae
Before	Socioemotional	Character (psychological)	Yearning for and fulfilling his extraordinary need for glory under the mark of selflessness; fantasize of glory
After	Socioemotional	Demographic	Is a parent him or herself
After	Socioemotional	Demographic (community)	Part of a collectivist culture; social network with high norm compliance
Before	Socioemotional	Demographic (ethnicity)	Ethnic conflicts and community segregation; marginalized community or diaspora
Before	Socioemotional	Demographic (population)	Young member of minority in a city with large minority populations
Before	Socioemotional	Demographic (sexuality)	Sexuality (heterosexual?)
After	Socioemotional	Deviance	Being exposed to short term provocative situations such as being bored, angry or drunk
Before	Socioemotional	Deviance	Conduct problems such as lying, stealing, hostility and destructiveness; engage in self-defeating behavior; does he believe it is okay to take something without asking if he can get away with it? Does he think it is wrong for someone to steal anything worth more than \$5?
Before	Socioemotional	Deviance	Experiences routine boredom in life; done crazy things even if they are a little dangerous; stimulus seeking; need for high-level stimulation and risk; novelty seeking; thrill-seeker; expresses pleasure and excitement at being involved in thrilling actions
After	Socioemotional	Deviance	History of vandalism/property damage, disorderly conduct; graffiti
After	Socioemotional	Deviance	Marking or drawing on personal items, walls, symbols and other messages
Before	Socioemotional	Deviance (family)	If he skipped school without his parents' permission, would he be caught by his parents?
After	Socioemotional	Deviance (relations)	How many adults did he know personally who have done other things that could get them in trouble with the police...?
Before	Socioemotional	Drugs (alcohol)	How wrong do his parents feel it would be for him to drink beer, wine, or hard liquor regularly?
Before	Socioemotional	Drugs (alcohol)	How wrong would most adults in his neighborhood think it is for kids his age to drink alcohol?
After	Socioemotional	Drugs (LSD)	How wrong does he think it is for a teenager to use LSD, cocaine, amphetamines, or another illegal drug?
Before	Socioemotional	Drugs (marijuana)	How wrong do his parents feel it would be for him to: smoke marijuana?

After	Socioemotional	Drugs (tobacco)	How wrong does he think it is for a teenager to smoke cigarettes?
Before	Socioemotional	Drugs (tobacco)	How wrong do his parents feel it would be for him to: smoke cigarettes?
After	Socioemotional	Non-violent	Common monitoring and exchanging of propaganda, distribution of propaganda; elicits or seeks information
Before	Socioemotional	Non-violent	Spending time hanging around on the street
After	Socioemotional	Non-violent (school)	Does he think it is wrong for someone to stay away from school all day when their parents think they are at school?
After	Socioemotional	Non-violent (sports or extracurricular)	How many times was he a leader in a group or organization?
After	Socioemotional	Relations	Exposure/involvement with “charismatic leaders” or “spiritual guide,” desire to embrace the intimate tutelage of a charismatic leader; idealization of messianic figure; trust only select authorities
After	Socioemotional	Relations	Exposure/involvement with authority figures or organizations with extreme views or radical ideology, especially those who invoke fictive kin relations; interaction with radical prison chaplains
Before	Socioemotional	Relations	Lack of appropriate authority figures or interlocutors (legitimate religious authority)
After	Socioemotional	Relations	Poor treatment by authority figures, poor treatment in prison
After	Socioemotional	Relations	Solicits advice, encouragement, finances, training, or other resources from a person who advocates the use of unlawful violence
After	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Community disorganization (presence of crime, drug-selling, gangs, poor housing more so than low attachment to a neighborhood); living in a disadvantaged and residentially unstable neighborhood; non-enforcement of building violations and condemned buildings; prevalence of homeless families and individuals; absence of neighborhood watch organizations
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	During an average month, how many times did he help to make sure that all people are treated fairly?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Emergence of single-issue groups
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Families respected in the community
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Lack of protective factors or social support
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Presence of a competition group
After	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Regarded by in-group as heroic freedom fighters
After	Socioemotional	Relations (community)	Weak Social Ties
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Culture where toughness equates with masculinity; fascination with masculinity
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Environment where conflicts among peers are expected

Before	Socioemotional	Relations (culture)	Injunctive Norms (behavioral expectations reinforced by teachers and classmates), constant exposure to stereotypical attitudes, behaviors, and feelings, social “scripts” accumulated through daily interactions
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Beliefs of Mother
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Did the family have clear rules about alcohol and drug use?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	How would his parents feel it would be for him to pick a fight with someone?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Large family size
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Many children in family, forces some youths to spend time away looking for sense of family elsewhere.
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Overcontrolling parents and lack of autonomy development; overprotective
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Parental Monitoring (Too little and too much are associated with increased behavior problems among youth, including violence)
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Parents know friends
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Protective of younger siblings, especially sisters
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Self-esteem derived from home
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (family)	Were the rules in his family clear? Poorly defined rules and expectations for appropriate conduct
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Attempts to create own group
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Changes friends suddenly
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Consider self a member of chosen group; high-identifies (feels need to identify with group and for inclusion); intense devotion to group, anaclitic devotion or emotional dependence to someone or something
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Contact with group members or people involved or suspected of involvement with extremist activity; hanging and partying with group/gang
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Did he ever belong to a gang or gang-like organization?
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Difficulty forming relationships; hobbled ability to establish intimate human relationships; inability to emotionally connect and form relationships; failure to fit in or failure to fulfill desire to belong to group
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Enculturation in unmonitored groups outside of the educational system's jurisdiction; exposure to gateway organizations
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Establish and maintain identity (within a gang or Ummah or through subculture); group provides industry or purpose for individual, expectation of benefit (honor and status) associated with being a member, well-defined role
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Group cohesiveness, highly developed group bonds and shared social values, tight network of youth in schools and neighborhoods; refers to friends as family

Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Group or peer supporters of radical action; mobilized through group or network; pressure to participate in violent activities from peers
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	If so, did the gang have a name?
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	If so, how old was he when he first belonged to a gang or gang-like organization?
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Isolation of group; limit social interactions to like-minded people or social network
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Join group through preexisting friendship over kinship; involvement with deviant or delinquent peers
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Personal or familial ties with (sometimes eight or more) group members prior to becoming member; lived or living with a gang member
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Recruitment into group is based off of the capability to participate in illegal activities
After	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Seeking people to “back them up” in conflicts
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Strong desire to join group or gang; wants peer acceptance
Before	Socioemotional	Relations (peer group)	Strong hierarchy
Before	Socioemotional	Religion	Deeply religious mother
After	Socioemotional	Sexual Relations	During his life, with how many people has he had sexual intercourse?
After	Socioemotional	Sexual Relations	Has he ever had sexual intercourse?
After	Socioemotional	Sexual Relations	Promiscuous sexual reputation or behavior
After	Socioemotional	Sexual Relations	Sexual frustration, repression or unfulfilment; hobbled ability to attract female companionship; increased competition for desirable partners, desire for greater sexual access to females
Before	Socioemotional	Violence	Deep feelings of self-defense; defensive pattern; perceived oppression; personal victimization;
After	Socioemotional	Violence	extraordinary need for vengeance; internal pressure for revenge
Before	Socioemotional	Violence	History of violence or engaging in victimization; predilection for violence or aggression; physical force to express hostility toward others, especially from early age; unexplained bruises, injured in physical fight
After	Socioemotional	Violence	How many times has someone attacked him with the idea of seriously hurting him?
After	Socioemotional	Violence	How many times has someone threatened or injured him with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?
After	Socioemotional	Violence	Injury seen as badge of honor
Before	Socioemotional	Violence	Involvement of youth in homicide or assault, esp. increased usage of firearms in homicide cases; murder
Before	Socioemotional	Violence	Protect someone from law enforcement
After	Socioemotional	Violence	Puts security measures in place
Before	Socioemotional	Violence	Sudden, frequent, or increased physical fighting; fight alongside group (gang)

Before	Socioemotional	Violence	Young age at first violent incident (how old was he when he first attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?)
Before	Socioemotional	Violence	Hypothetically, if someone he did not know pushed him while he was visiting another part of town, he would: [1] Push the person back; [2] Say 'Excuse me' and keep walking; [3] Say 'Watch where you are going' and keep walking; [4] Swear at the person and walk away.
Before	Socioemotional	Violence (bullying)	In a given year, how many times has he been bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased by someone?
Before	Socioemotional	Violence (bullying)	In a given year, how many times has he bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?
Before	Socioemotional	Violence (character)	How wrong does he think it is for someone his age to attack someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?
Before	Socioemotional	Violence (character)	Increased risk-taking behavior
Before	Socioemotional	Violence (culture)	Cultural acceptance of violence as a means to solve conflict
Before	Socioemotional	Violence (culture)	Violence ingrained in daily life; normative Beliefs Supportive of Violence, believes is legitimate to use violence to change things in society
After	Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Announcing threats/plans to hurt others
After	Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Demonizes others freely; externalizes problem "it's not us it's them"
After	Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Express hostility through indirect and verbal forms of aggression, such as "alienation, ostracism, and character defamation," uses slang and acronyms
Before	Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Has anyone ever said something bad about his race or culture to him?
Before	Socioemotional	Violence (rhetoric)	Has he ever said something bad about someone's race or culture? With what frequency?
Before	Socioemotional	Violence (sexual)	Violence faced by women in society
After	Socioemotional	Weapons	How many of his best friends carried a handgun?
After	Socioemotional	Weapons	How many times would he carry a handgun in a year?
After	Socioemotional	Weapons	How many times would he carry a weapon other than a handgun?

Appendix E

2011 Fairfax County Youth Survey Report Regression Analysis Results

2011: Q36 How many times have you changed homes since kindergarten?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q1 How old are you?	.057	.017	.082	3.279	.001
Q8 What were your grades like last year?	-.042	.013	-.028	-3.199	.001
Q10 How often do you come to classes without your homework finished?	-.070	.016	-.035	-4.279	.000
Q12 I can do well in school if I want to.	-.037	.014	-.020	-2.663	.008
Q13 My teacher notices when I am doing a good job and lets me know about it.	.040	.012	.025	3.360	.001
Q17 Are there sports teams or other extracurricular activities for people your age available in your community?	-.078	.014	-.044	-5.575	.000
Q18 How many times have you participated in school or non-school extra-curricular activities?	-.022	.005	-.034	-4.022	.000
Q19 How many times have you volunteered to do community service?	-.029	.007	-.038	-4.441	.000
Q23 Done crazy things even if they are a little dangerous.	.036	.008	.046	4.426	.000
Q24 It is important to be honest with your parents even if they become upset or you get punished.	.035	.014	.023	2.622	.009
Q25 There are lots of adults in my neighborhood I could talk to about something important.	-.113	.010	-.089	-11.258	.000
Q26 I think it is okay to take something without asking if you can get away with it.	-.059	.014	-.036	-4.163	.000
Q37 During the past 30 days, how often did you go hungry because there was not enough food in your home?	.084	.013	.047	6.246	.000
Q41 Your parent has had his/her body hurt from actions by a spouse/partner.	.090	.014	.050	6.436	.000
Q42 If I had a personal problem, I could ask my mom or dad for help.	.038	.012	.028	3.217	.001
Q45 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	.056	.020	.022	2.730	.006
Q59 Have you ever belonged to a gang?	-.193	.062	-.024	-3.092	.002
Q60 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who always wanted to know your whereabouts?	-.071	.027	-.021	-2.638	.008
Q67 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row that you stopped doing some usual activities?	-.093	.022	-.035	-4.246	.000
Q78 Think back over the last two weeks. How many times have you had five or more alcoholic drinks in a row?	-.074	.020	-.041	-3.677	.000
Q85 On how many occasions (if any) have you sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in your lifetime?	-.048	.018	-.027	-2.644	.008
Q95 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken painkillers without a doctor's order in your lifetime?	.047	.015	.035	3.124	.002
Q115 Which of the following best describes you?	-.037	.013	-.020	-2.848	.004

Q124 During the past 7 days, how many times did you eat potatoes?	.022	.008	.020	2.643	.008
Q129 During the past 12 months, on how many sports teams did you play?	-.026	.009	-.024	-2.831	.005
Q131 How often do you perform the following activity: Recycle things such as newspapers, cans, and glass?	.104	.014	.059	7.235	.000
Q132 How often do you perform the following activity: Turn off lights and electrical appliances when not in use?	-.105	.016	-.049	-6.363	.000
Q134 How often do you perform the following activity: Conserve water in your home or yard?	.068	.014	.040	4.960	.000
Q137 During an average week, how many hours do you spend helping friends or neighbors...	.025	.008	.026	3.161	.002
Q145 People who know me would say this...Giving up when things get hard for me is...	-.028	.009	-.024	-3.128	.002
Q151 You are looking at the CDs in the music store with a friend. You look up and see her slip a CD under her coat...	.025	.008	.023	3.157	.002
Q155 How honest were you in filling out this survey?	-.045	.016	-.021	-2.864	.004
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	.283	.019	.121	14.694	.000
Q7 What language do you use most often at home?	.216	.023	.073	9.470	.000

2011: Q37 During the past 30 days, how often did you go hungry because there was not enough food in your home?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	.058	.011	.044	5.381	.000
Q8 What were your grades like last year?	-.045	.007	-.053	-6.323	.000
Q11 I know how to use a computer to do things like schoolwork, finding information, or typing papers.	.032	.009	.026	3.716	.000
Q12 I can do well in school if I want to.	.029	.008	.028	3.881	.000
Q14 I feel safe at my school.	-.040	.007	-.041	-5.474	.000
Q15 On an average school day, how many hours do you watch TV?	.008	.003	.020	2.770	.006
Q16 On an average school day, how many hours do you play video or computer games or use a computer...	.011	.003	.029	3.930	.000
Q18 How many times have you participated in school or non-school extra-curricular activities?	-.008	.003	-.023	-2.798	.005
Q24 It is important to be honest with your parents even if they become upset or you get punished.	.036	.007	.042	4.942	.000
Q26 I think it is okay to take something without asking if you can get away with it.	.023	.008	.025	3.001	.003
Q28 Doing my best even when I have to do a job I don't like.	-.018	.005	-.027	-3.282	.001
Q29 I am able to save my money for something I really want.	.020	.005	.029	4.108	.000
Q35 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to: smoke marijuana?	.049	.011	.042	4.617	.000
Q36 How many times have you changed homes since kindergarten?	.025	.004	.044	6.246	.000
Q38 People in my family often insult or yell at each other.	.070	.007	.096	9.680	.000
Q41 Your parent has had his/her body hurt from actions by a spouse/partner.	.083	.008	.081	10.821	.000
Q42 If I had a personal problem, I could ask my mom or dad for help.	-.047	.006	-.063	-7.395	.000
Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?	.041	.007	.051	5.885	.000
Q52 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?	.038	.009	.034	4.133	.000
Q53 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	-.009	.003	-.027	-2.985	.003
Q54 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: said something bad about your race or culture?	.009	.003	.025	2.998	.003
Q55 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: sexually harassed you?	.014	.004	.024	3.136	.002
Q56 How many times in the past year has a parent or adult in your household done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, or ridiculed you?	.017	.004	.039	4.954	.000
Q60 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who always wanted to know your whereabouts?	-.040	.015	-.021	-2.717	.007
Q66 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?	-.019	.007	-.023	-2.716	.007

Q67 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row that you stopped doing some usual activities?	-.061	.012	-.041	-5.121	.000
Q70 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they: smoke one or more packs of cigarettes per day?	-.033	.008	-.035	-4.309	.000
Q77 On how many occasions (if any) have you had beer, wine, or hard liquor during the past 30 days?	-.040	.010	-.052	-3.951	.000
Q78 Think back over the last two weeks. How many times have you had five or more alcoholic drinks in a row?	.051	.011	.049	4.660	.000
Q81 On how many occasions (if any) have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in your lifetime?	.070	.018	.048	3.966	.000
Q92 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	-.125	.043	-.030	-2.889	.004
Q104 How old were you when you first had more than a sip or two of beer, wine, or hard liquor (vodka, whiskey or gin)?	-.007	.002	-.028	-3.104	.002
Q119 During the past 30 days, did you go without eating for 24 hours or more to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight?	-.106	.021	-.037	-4.967	.000
Q122 During the past 7 days, how many times did you eat fruit?	-.010	.003	-.025	-3.051	.002
Q123 During the past 7 days, how many times did you eat green salad?	.012	.004	.024	2.962	.003
Q131 How often do you perform the following activity: Recycle things such as newspapers, cans, and glass?	.052	.008	.052	6.659	.000
Q136 I believe that my actions can improve the quality of the environment.	-.025	.007	-.026	-3.289	.001
Q140 During the last 12 months, how many times have you...stood up for what you believe, even when it's unpopular to do so?	-.017	.004	-.037	-4.339	.000
Q144 People who know me would say this...Being good at planning ahead is...	.011	.004	.020	2.652	.008
Q155 How honest were you in filling out this survey?	.040	.009	.033	4.691	.000
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	.056	.011	.042	5.254	.000
Q7 What language do you use most often at home?	.044	.012	.026	3.514	.000

2011: Q38 People in my family often insult or yell at each other.

Coefficients					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q2 What grade are you in?	-.053	.021	-.046	-2.589	.010
Q15 On an average school day, how many hours do you watch TV?	.018	.003	.032	5.890	.000
Q20 How often do you attend religious services or activities?	-.013	.004	-.016	-3.162	.002
Q26 I think it is okay to take something without asking if you can get away with it.	.023	.008	.018	2.902	.004
Q33 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to: drink beer, wine, or hard liquor regularly?	.019	.007	.017	2.620	.009
Q37 During the past 30 days, how often did you go hungry because there was not enough food in your home?	.072	.007	.052	9.680	.000
Q39 We argue about the same things in my family over and over.	.337	.006	.342	52.151	0.000
Q40 People in my family have serious arguments.	.329	.007	.329	49.276	0.000
Q41 Your parent has had his/her body hurt from actions by a spouse/partner.	.079	.008	.056	10.143	.000
Q42 If I had a personal problem, I could ask my mom or dad for help.	-.072	.006	-.069	-11.089	.000
Q53 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	.008	.003	.018	2.615	.009
Q56 How many times in the past year has a parent or adult in your household done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, or ridiculed you?	.060	.004	.097	17.046	.000
Q85 On how many occasions (if any) have you sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in your lifetime?	-.032	.010	-.023	-3.197	.001
Q112 The last time you had sexual intercourse, did you or your partner use a condom?	.062	.022	.038	2.769	.006
Q152 It is 8:00 on a weeknight and you are about to go over to a friend's house when your mother asks you where you are going...	.025	.007	.017	3.471	.001
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	-.046	.011	-.025	-4.324	.000

2011: Q39 We argue about the same things in my family over and over.

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	-.096	.012	-.051	-8.316	.000
Q9 I think sometimes it is okay to cheat at school.	.019	.007	.017	2.584	.010
Q10 How often do you come to classes without your homework finished?	-.029	.010	-.018	-3.013	.003
Q15 On an average school day, how many hours do you watch TV?	-.011	.003	-.019	-3.424	.001
Q17 Are there sports teams or other extracurricular activities for people your age available in your community?	.030	.008	.021	3.688	.000
Q21 I ignore rules that get in my way.	.043	.007	.039	6.027	.000
Q24 It is important to be honest with your parents even if they become upset or you get punished.	-.029	.008	-.024	-3.635	.000
Q25 There are lots of adults in my neighborhood I could talk to about something important.	-.020	.006	-.020	-3.408	.001
Q29 I am able to save my money for something I really want.	.016	.005	.017	3.100	.002
Q32 I try to find different solutions to the problem.	-.029	.008	-.021	-3.592	.000
Q38 People in my family often insult or yell at each other.	.377	.007	.371	52.151	0.000
Q40 People in my family have serious arguments.	.339	.007	.334	47.844	0.000
Q42 If I had a personal problem, I could ask my mom or dad for help.	-.036	.007	-.034	-5.232	.000
Q67 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row that you stopped doing some usual activities?	-.045	.013	-.022	-3.548	.000
Q80 On how many occasions (if any) have you used marijuana during the past 30 days?	.021	.008	.022	2.604	.009
Q130 On an average school night, how many hours of sleep do you get?	-.011	.004	-.015	-2.669	.008
Q133 How often do you perform the following activity: Try to cut down on the amount of trash and garbage you create?	.028	.008	.021	3.547	.000
Q140 During the last 12 months, how many times have you...stood up for what you believe, even when it's unpopular to do so?	.013	.004	.021	3.155	.002
Q145 People who know me would say this...Giving up when things get hard for me is...	.014	.005	.015	2.642	.008
Q152 It is 8:00 on a weeknight and you are about to go over to a friend's house when your mother asks you where you are going...	.024	.007	.017	3.232	.001
Q7 What language do you use most often at home?	-.035	.013	-.015	-2.642	.008

2011: Q40 People in my family have serious arguments.

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	.078	.011	.042	6.947	.000
Q14 I feel safe at my school.	-.020	.008	-.015	-2.612	.009
Q38 People in my family often insult or yell at each other.	.349	.007	.350	49.276	0.000
Q39 We argue about the same things in my family over and over.	.322	.007	.327	47.844	0.000
Q41 Your parent has had his/her body hurt from actions by a spouse/partner.	.147	.008	.104	18.433	.000
Q42 If I had a personal problem, I could ask my mom or dad for help.	-.049	.007	-.047	-7.250	.000
Q53 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	.011	.003	.022	3.209	.001
Q56 How many times in the past year has a parent or adult in your household done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, or ridiculed you?	.029	.004	.046	7.793	.000
Q67 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row that you stopped doing some usual activities?	-.055	.012	-.027	-4.403	.000
Q68 During the past 12 months, did you ever seriously consider attempting suicide?	-.059	.016	-.023	-3.685	.000
Q130 On an average school night, how many hours of sleep do you get?	-.017	.004	-.025	-4.295	.000
Q134 How often do you perform the following activity: Conserve water in your home or yard?	-.024	.008	-.018	-3.044	.002
Q148 I know of someone who has been really hurt by cyberbullying.	-.019	.005	-.020	-3.650	.000
Q150 I have the right to say anything I want online, even if what I say hurts someone or violates someone's privacy.	-.025	.006	-.023	-4.042	.000

2011: Q43 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q9 I think sometimes it is okay to cheat at school.	.074	.015	.033	4.844	.000
Q12 I can do well in school if I want to.	-.069	.016	-.024	-4.172	.000
Q14 I feel safe at my school.	.055	.016	.021	3.459	.001
Q15 On an average school day, how many hours do you watch TV?	.027	.007	.024	4.123	.000
Q16 On an average school day, how many hours do you play video or computer games or use a computer...	.019	.006	.018	3.031	.002
Q20 How often do you attend religious services or activities?	.040	.009	.026	4.659	.000
Q21 I ignore rules that get in my way.	.089	.014	.042	6.165	.000
Q22 Done something dangerous because someone dared you to do it.	.064	.011	.043	5.651	.000
Q26 I think it is okay to take something without asking if you can get away with it.	.096	.017	.038	5.674	.000
Q28 Doing my best even when I have to do a job I don't like.	.044	.012	.024	3.686	.000
Q35 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to: smoke marijuana?	-.060	.023	-.019	-2.591	.010
Q42 If I had a personal problem, I could ask my mom or dad for help.	.041	.014	.020	2.909	.004
Q44 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	.233	.006	.246	36.335	.000
Q45 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	.107	.024	.027	4.483	.000
Q46 How many times in the past year have you attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.239	.017	.095	14.181	.000
Q49 How many times in the past year have you carried a weapon other than a handgun.	.032	.010	.022	3.165	.002
Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?	-.103	.015	-.048	-6.810	.000
Q53 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	.348	.006	.369	53.785	0.000
Q56 How many times in the past year has a parent or adult in your household done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, or ridiculed you?	.060	.008	.049	7.847	.000
Q58 How many times have you driven a car or other vehicle when you had been drinking alcohol?	.067	.021	.021	3.235	.001
Q63 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who pressured you into having sex when you didn't want to?	.183	.052	.021	3.493	.000
Q65 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	-.113	.014	-.061	-7.832	.000

Q66 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?	.357	.015	.154	23.305	.000
Q67 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row that you stopped doing some usual activities?	.092	.026	.023	3.539	.000
Q68 During the past 12 months, did you ever seriously consider attempting suicide?	.119	.033	.023	3.548	.000
Q69 During the past 12 months, did you ever actually attempt suicide?	.183	.061	.018	2.984	.003
Q74 Have you ever smoked cigarettes in your lifetime?	.081	.026	.036	3.106	.002
Q75 How often have you smoked cigarettes during the past 30 days?	-.114	.034	-.029	-3.377	.001
Q78 Think back over the last two weeks. How many times have you had five or more alcoholic drinks in a row?	-.077	.024	-.027	-3.211	.001
Q85 On how many occasions (if any) have you sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in your lifetime?	.116	.022	.042	5.387	.000
Q100 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	.203	.073	.024	2.770	.006
Q115 Which of the following best describes you?	-.050	.015	-.018	-3.307	.001
Q138 During the last 12 months, how many times have you...been a leader in a group or organization?	.028	.008	.022	3.435	.001
Q142 During the last 12 months, have you used your political voice as a result of reading about politics, political campaigns...	.101	.026	.022	3.884	.000
Q149 I would report cyberbullying incidents, if I could do so without anyone knowing it was me.	.093	.012	.045	7.742	.000
Q150 I have the right to say anything I want online, even if what I say hurts someone or violates someone's privacy.	-.087	.013	-.041	-6.746	.000
Q152 It is 8:00 on a weeknight and you are about to go over to a friend's house when your mother asks you where you are going...	.043	.015	.015	2.816	.005
Q2 What grade are you in?	-.093	.017	-.041	-5.587	.000
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	.099	.022	.027	4.432	.000

2011: Q44 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q2 What grade are you in?	.128	.049	.054	2.633	.008
Q3 Gender?	.368	.026	.096	14.284	.000
Q8 What were your grades like last year?	.056	.017	.023	3.232	.001
Q9 I think sometimes it is okay to cheat at school.	.163	.017	.069	9.743	.000
Q17 Are there sports teams or other extracurricular activities for people your age available in your community?	.102	.018	.035	5.595	.000
Q20 How often do you attend religious services or activities?	.041	.009	.025	4.284	.000
Q22 Done something dangerous because someone dared you to do it.	.071	.012	.046	5.704	.000
Q26 I think it is okay to take something without asking if you can get away with it.	.075	.019	.028	4.033	.000
Q33 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to: drink beer, wine, or hard liquor regularly?	.047	.018	.019	2.661	.008
Q41 Your parent has had his/her body hurt from actions by a spouse/partner.	-.059	.018	-.020	-3.202	.001
Q43 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	.277	.008	.262	36.035	.000
Q46 How many times in the past year have you attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.119	.019	.044	6.324	.000
Q49 How many times in the past year have you carried a weapon other than a handgun.	.065	.011	.042	5.875	.000
Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?	-.054	.017	-.024	-3.237	.001
Q52 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?	-.134	.022	-.042	-6.107	.000
Q53 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	-.030	.008	-.030	-3.908	.000
Q54 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: said something bad about your race or culture?	.317	.007	.309	45.979	0.000
Q55 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: sexually harassed you?	.068	.010	.042	6.584	.000
Q60 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who always wanted to know your whereabouts?	.112	.035	.020	3.167	.002
Q64 During the past 12 months, have you ever been electronically bullied, such as through e-mail, chat rooms, instant messaging, Web sites, or texting?	.116	.039	.022	2.982	.003
Q66 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?	.153	.017	.062	8.870	.000
Q70 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they: smoke one or more packs of cigarettes per day?	.052	.018	.019	2.798	.005
Q74 Have you ever smoked cigarettes in your lifetime?	-.122	.029	-.051	-4.216	.000

Q75 How often have you smoked cigarettes during the past 30 days?	.104	.037	.025	2.786	.005
Q76 On how many occasions have you had beer, wine, or hard liquor to drink in your lifetime?	.038	.013	.036	3.007	.003
Q85 On how many occasions (if any) have you sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in your lifetime?	-.073	.024	-.025	-3.050	.002
Q100 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	-.226	.080	-.025	-2.823	.005
Q105 How old were you when you first began drinking alcoholic beverages regularly, that is, at least once or twice a month?	-.022	.007	-.027	-3.092	.002
Q114 Have you ever had oral sex?	-.137	.038	-.030	-3.620	.000
Q116 Which of the following are you trying to do about your weight?	-.032	.010	-.021	-3.096	.002
Q128 During the past 7 days, on how many days were you physically active for a total of at least 60 minutes per day?	-.016	.006	-.019	-2.819	.005
Q129 During the past 12 months, on how many sports teams did you play?	.048	.012	.028	3.986	.000
Q134 How often do you perform the following activity: Conserve water in your home or yard?	.076	.018	.027	4.167	.000
Q139 During the last 12 months, how many times have you...helped make sure that all people are treated fairly?	-.032	.009	-.025	-3.447	.001
Q149 I would report cyberbullying incidents, if I could do so without anyone knowing it was me.	.067	.013	.031	5.055	.000
Q150 I have the right to say anything I want online, even if what I say hurts someone or violates someone's privacy.	-.101	.014	-.045	-7.071	.000
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	-.178	.025	-.046	-6.998	.000

2011: Q45 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q1 How old are you?	.025	.006	.094	4.040	.000
Q2 What grade are you in?	-.067	.013	-.118	-5.037	.000
Q8 What were your grades like last year?	-.071	.005	-.122	15.227	.000
Q36 How many times have you changed homes since kindergarten?	.007	.003	.018	2.730	.006
Q42 If I had a personal problem, I could ask my mom or dad for help.	.012	.004	.023	2.864	.004
Q43 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	.010	.002	.039	4.469	.000
Q46 How many times in the past year have you attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.115	.005	.179	22.607	.000
Q47 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?	.114	.007	.130	15.331	.000
Q48 How many times in the past year have you taken a handgun to school?	.118	.011	.092	10.965	.000
Q52 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?	.028	.006	.037	4.718	.000
Q53 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	-.005	.002	-.023	-2.599	.009
Q57 Have you ever been physically forced to have sexual intercourse when you did not want to?	.049	.018	.020	2.716	.007
Q58 How many times have you driven a car or other vehicle when you had been drinking alcohol?	-.018	.006	-.023	-2.951	.003
Q59 Have you ever belonged to a gang?	-.128	.022	-.041	-5.732	.000
Q69 During the past 12 months, did you ever actually attempt suicide?	-.057	.019	-.022	-3.045	.002
Q73 How frequently have you used smokeless tobacco during the past 30 days?	.046	.008	.040	5.611	.000
Q74 Have you ever smoked cigarettes in your lifetime?	.048	.008	.085	6.054	.000
Q75 How often have you smoked cigarettes during the past 30 days?	-.040	.010	-.041	-3.971	.000
Q77 On how many occasions (if any) have you had beer, wine, or hard liquor during the past 30 days?	.020	.007	.037	2.933	.003
Q81 On how many occasions (if any) have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in your lifetime?	.042	.012	.042	3.622	.000
Q90 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken methamphetamine (speed, crystal, crank, or ice) in the past 30 days?	.111	.024	.048	4.666	.000
Q91 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in your lifetime?	-.077	.018	-.043	-4.159	.000
Q92 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	.201	.028	.071	7.106	.000
Q96 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken painkillers without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	-.048	.011	-.041	-4.325	.000

Q97 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken a prescription drug other than painkillers without a doctor's order in your lifetime?	-.030	.006	-.048	-4.791	.000
Q100 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	-.064	.022	-.030	-2.930	.003
Q107 Have you ever had sexual intercourse?	-.147	.053	-.131	-2.758	.006
Q108 How old were you when you had sexual intercourse for the first time?	-.029	.005	-.130	-6.026	.000
Q122 During the past 7 days, how many times did you eat fruit?	.008	.002	.032	3.980	.000
Q127 During the past 7 days, how many times did you drink a can, bottle, or glass of soda or pop, such as Coke, Pepsi, or Sprite?	.007	.002	.022	3.115	.002
Q131 How often do you perform the following activity: Recycle things such as newspapers, cans, and glass?	.021	.005	.031	4.172	.000
Q136 I believe that my actions can improve the quality of the environment.	-.015	.005	-.023	-3.081	.002
Q149 I would report cyberbullying incidents, if I could do so without anyone knowing it was me.	.009	.004	.018	2.585	.010
Q153 You are visiting another part of town and you do not know any of the people your age there...	-.012	.004	-.022	-3.345	.001
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	.025	.007	.027	3.588	.000

2011: Q47 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q32 I try to find different solutions to the problem.	.013	.005	.017	2.768	.006
Q35 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to: smoke marijuana?	.046	.007	.051	6.774	.000
Q45 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	.109	.007	.095	15.331	.000
Q46 How many times in the past year have you attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.072	.005	.097	14.290	.000
Q48 How many times in the past year have you taken a handgun to school?	.550	.010	.373	56.289	0.000
Q49 How many times in the past year have you carried a weapon other than a handgun.	.082	.003	.198	28.568	.000
Q50 How many times in the past year have you taken a weapon other than a handgun to school?	.015	.006	.019	2.617	.009
Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?	-.017	.004	-.028	-3.836	.000
Q52 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?	.062	.006	.072	10.660	.000
Q58 How many times have you driven a car or other vehicle when you had been drinking alcohol?	.017	.006	.019	2.824	.005
Q59 Have you ever belonged to a gang?	-.186	.022	-.052	-8.525	.000
Q71 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they: smoke marijuana regularly?	.016	.004	.032	3.857	.000
Q73 How frequently have you used smokeless tobacco during the past 30 days?	-.029	.008	-.022	-3.623	.000
Q74 Have you ever smoked cigarettes in your lifetime?	-.039	.008	-.061	-5.123	.000
Q75 How often have you smoked cigarettes during the past 30 days?	.041	.010	.036	4.089	.000
Q78 Think back over the last two weeks. How many times have you had five or more alcoholic drinks in a row?	.021	.007	.026	2.998	.003
Q81 On how many occasions (if any) have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in your lifetime?	.043	.011	.039	3.858	.000
Q82 On how many occasions (if any) have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in the past 30 days?	-.094	.019	-.043	-4.910	.000
Q83 On how many occasions (if any) have you used cocaine or crack in your lifetime?	.083	.015	.057	5.703	.000
Q84 On how many occasions (if any) have you used cocaine or crack in the past 30 days?	-.074	.025	-.027	-2.921	.003
Q93 On how many occasions (if any) have you used heroin in your lifetime?	.127	.020	.066	6.173	.000
Q99 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in your lifetime?	.044	.013	.035	3.421	.001
Q101 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken over-the-counter drugs to get high in your lifetime?	-.041	.008	-.043	-5.145	.000

Q107 Have you ever had sexual intercourse?	-.183	.052	-.142	-3.499	.000
Q108 How old were you when you had sexual intercourse for the first time?	-.020	.005	-.081	-4.376	.000
Q110 During the past 3 months, with how many people have you had sexual intercourse?	.038	.006	.072	5.837	.000
Q111 Did you drink alcohol or use drugs before you had sexual intercourse the last time?	-.047	.017	-.067	-2.718	.007
Q130 On an average school night, how many hours of sleep do you get?	-.008	.002	-.021	-3.333	.001
Q145 People who know me would say this...Giving up when things get hard for me is...	.009	.003	.018	3.043	.002

2011: Q48 How many times in the past year have you taken a handgun to school?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q21 I ignore rules that get in my way.	-.010	.003	-.023	-3.262	.001
Q28 Doing my best even when I have to do a job I don't like.	.009	.002	.025	3.584	.000
Q45 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	.054	.005	.070	10.965	.000
Q46 How many times in the past year have you attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.010	.003	.019	2.746	.006
Q47 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?	.263	.005	.388	56.289	0.000
Q49 How many times in the past year have you carried a weapon other than a handgun.	-.038	.002	-.136	-19.072	.000
Q55 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: sexually harassed you?	.007	.002	.025	3.814	.000
Q57 Have you ever been physically forced to have sexual intercourse when you did not want to?	-.038	.012	-.020	-3.133	.002
Q58 How many times have you driven a car or other vehicle when you had been drinking alcohol?	.043	.004	.070	10.293	.000
Q59 Have you ever belonged to a gang?	-.093	.015	-.038	-6.137	.000
Q60 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who always wanted to know your whereabouts?	.022	.007	.022	3.364	.001
Q70 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they: smoke one or more packs of cigarettes per day?	.010	.003	.021	3.050	.002
Q77 On how many occasions (if any) have you had beer, wine, or hard liquor during the past 30 days?	-.014	.005	-.035	-3.164	.002
Q79 On how many occasions (if any) have you used marijuana in your lifetime?	-.014	.003	-.064	-4.740	.000
Q80 On how many occasions (if any) have you used marijuana during the past 30 days?	.029	.003	.081	8.642	.000
Q82 On how many occasions (if any) have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in the past 30 days?	-.059	.013	-.039	-4.433	.000
Q84 On how many occasions (if any) have you used cocaine or crack in the past 30 days?	.092	.018	.048	5.212	.000
Q85 On how many occasions (if any) have you sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in your lifetime?	-.020	.004	-.036	-4.443	.000
Q86 On how many occasions (if any) have you sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in the past 30 days?	-.028	.009	-.023	-2.977	.003
Q89 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken methamphetamine (speed, crystal, crank, or ice) in your lifetime?	.027	.010	.026	2.634	.008
Q90 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken methamphetamine (speed, crystal, crank, or ice) in the past 30 days?	-.062	.016	-.035	-3.850	.000
Q91 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in your lifetime?	.046	.012	.033	3.720	.000

Q94 On how many occasions (if any) have you used heroin in the past 30 days?	.248	.022	.111	11.180	.000
Q95 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken painkillers without a doctor's order in your lifetime?	-.019	.004	-.049	-5.375	.000
Q100 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	.050	.015	.031	3.411	.001
Q107 Have you ever had sexual intercourse?	.116	.036	.133	3.211	.001
Q109 During your life, with how many people have you had sexual intercourse?	-.014	.003	-.052	-4.291	.000
Q110 During the past 3 months, with how many people have you had sexual intercourse?	.018	.004	.050	4.014	.000
Q128 During the past 7 days, on how many days were you physically active for a total of at least 60 minutes per day?	-.003	.001	-.018	-2.664	.008
Q129 During the past 12 months, on how many sports teams did you play?	.008	.002	.026	3.707	.000
Q130 On an average school night, how many hours of sleep do you get?	.006	.002	.024	3.782	.000
Q66 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?	.008	.003	.018	2.581	.010
Q50 How many times in the past year have you taken a weapon other than a handgun to school?	.188	.004	.340	49.050	0.000

2011: Q49 How many times in the past year have you carried a weapon other than a handgun?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	.153	.017	.061	8.882	.000
Q8 What were your grades like last year?	-.034	.011	-.021	-2.977	.003
Q10 How often do you come to classes without your homework finished?	-.051	.014	-.024	-3.529	.000
Q15 On an average school day, how many hours do you watch TV?	-.014	.005	-.018	-2.850	.004
Q23 Done crazy things even if they are a little dangerous.	.068	.007	.080	9.473	.000
Q43 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	.015	.005	.022	2.834	.005
Q44 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	.029	.005	.044	5.875	.000
Q46 How many times in the past year have you attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.064	.013	.036	5.108	.000
Q47 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?	.510	.018	.212	28.568	.000
Q48 How many times in the past year have you taken a handgun to school?	-.498	.026	-.140	-19.072	.000
Q50 How many times in the past year have you taken a weapon other than a handgun to school?	.810	.013	.412	60.310	0.000
Q52 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?	.073	.015	.035	4.986	.000
Q59 Have you ever belonged to a gang?	-.363	.054	-.042	-6.689	.000
Q62 During the past 12 months, did your boyfriend or girlfriend ever hit, slap, or physically hurt you on purpose?	-.291	.047	-.038	-6.119	.000
Q72 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they: take one or two drinks of an alcoholic beverage nearly every day?	-.031	.009	-.023	-3.283	.001
Q76 On how many occasions have you had beer, wine, or hard liquor to drink in your lifetime?	.049	.008	.071	5.829	.000
Q78 Think back over the last two weeks. How many times have you had five or more alcoholic drinks in a row?	-.098	.017	-.050	-5.587	.000
Q93 On how many occasions (if any) have you used heroin in your lifetime?	-.137	.051	-.030	-2.674	.007
Q94 On how many occasions (if any) have you used heroin in the past 30 days?	.301	.080	.038	3.755	.000
Q95 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken painkillers without a doctor's order in your lifetime?	.084	.013	.059	6.413	.000
Q97 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken a prescription drug other than painkillers without a doctor's order in your lifetime?	.046	.015	.027	3.047	.002
Q105 How old were you when you first began drinking alcoholic beverages regularly, that is, at least once or twice a month?	-.020	.005	-.036	-4.174	.000
Q123 During the past 7 days, how many times did you eat green salad?	-.032	.006	-.034	-4.938	.000

Q128 During the past 7 days, on how many days were you physically active for a total of at least 60 minutes per day?	.010	.004	.019	2.688	.007
Q129 During the past 12 months, on how many sports teams did you play?	-.038	.008	-.034	-4.764	.000
Q130 On an average school night, how many hours of sleep do you get?	-.016	.006	-.017	-2.653	.008
Q136 I believe that my actions can improve the quality of the environment.	.039	.012	.021	3.218	.001
Q138 During the last 12 months, how many times have you...been a leader in a group or organization?	.016	.006	.018	2.649	.008
Q140 During the last 12 months, how many times have you...stood up for what you believe, even when it's unpopular to do so?	.017	.006	.020	2.685	.007
Q145 People who know me would say this...Giving up when things get hard for me is...	-.035	.008	-.028	-4.567	.000
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	-.072	.017	-.029	-4.287	.000
Q7 What language do you use most often at home?	-.055	.020	-.017	-2.756	.006

2011: Q50 How many times in the past year have you taken a weapon other than a handgun to school?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q46 How many times in the past year have you attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.060	.006	.067	9.639	.000
Q47 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?	.024	.009	.019	2.617	.009
Q48 How many times in the past year have you taken a handgun to school?	.606	.012	.335	49.050	0.000
Q49 How many times in the past year have you carried a weapon other than a handgun.	.201	.003	.395	60.310	0.000
Q72 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they: take one or two drinks of an alcoholic beverage nearly every day?	.012	.005	.017	2.567	.010
Q73 How frequently have you used smokeless tobacco during the past 30 days?	.026	.010	.016	2.576	.010
Q74 Have you ever smoked cigarettes in your lifetime?	.025	.010	.032	2.612	.009
Q77 On how many occasions (if any) have you had beer, wine, or hard liquor during the past 30 days?	.030	.008	.041	3.767	.000
Q79 On how many occasions (if any) have you used marijuana in your lifetime?	.015	.005	.038	2.851	.004
Q80 On how many occasions (if any) have you used marijuana during the past 30 days?	-.036	.006	-.056	-6.031	.000
Q81 On how many occasions (if any) have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in your lifetime?	.064	.014	.047	4.588	.000
Q85 On how many occasions (if any) have you sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in your lifetime?	.025	.008	.026	3.194	.001
Q89 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken methamphetamine (speed, crystal, crank, or ice) in your lifetime?	-.051	.018	-.027	-2.821	.005
Q91 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in your lifetime?	-.068	.022	-.027	-3.019	.003
Q92 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	.092	.034	.023	2.666	.008
Q96 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken painkillers without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	.060	.014	.036	4.391	.000
Q97 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken a prescription drug other than painkillers without a doctor's order in your lifetime?	-.031	.008	-.036	-4.173	.000
Q99 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in your lifetime?	-.049	.016	-.032	-3.103	.002
Q100 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	.090	.026	.030	3.404	.001
Q102 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken over-the-counter drugs to get high in the past 30 days?	.088	.021	.032	4.249	.000
Q103 How old were you when you first smoked a cigarette, even just a puff?	-.008	.003	-.024	-2.732	.006
Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?	-.021	.006	-.028	-3.828	.000

Q52 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?	.046	.007	.043	6.306	.000
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2011: Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	.057	.011	.034	5.054	.000
Q9 I think sometimes it is okay to cheat at school.	-.023	.007	-.022	-3.107	.002
Q12 I can do well in school if I want to.	.025	.008	.019	3.148	.002
Q14 I feel safe at my school.	-.033	.008	-.026	-4.213	.000
Q37 During the past 30 days, how often did you go hungry because there was not enough food in your home?	.045	.008	.036	5.885	.000
Q41 Your parent has had his/her body hurt from actions by a spouse/partner.	.044	.008	.034	5.428	.000
Q43 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	-.024	.003	-.053	-7.021	.000
Q44 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	-.010	.003	-.024	-3.237	.001
Q46 How many times in the past year have you attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.321	.008	.271	40.485	0.000
Q47 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?	-.046	.012	-.029	-3.836	.000
Q50 How many times in the past year have you taken a weapon other than a handgun to school?	-.037	.010	-.028	-3.828	.000
Q52 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?	.460	.009	.330	51.137	0.000
Q53 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	.080	.003	.185	24.332	.000
Q54 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: said something bad about your race or culture?	.023	.003	.051	7.242	.000
Q56 How many times in the past year has a parent or adult in your household done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, or ridiculed you?	.024	.004	.042	6.493	.000
Q57 Have you ever been physically forced to have sexual intercourse when you did not want to?	-.184	.029	-.040	-6.345	.000
Q60 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who always wanted to know your whereabouts?	-.065	.015	-.027	-4.188	.000
Q61 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who called you names or put you down verbally?	-.067	.022	-.020	-3.054	.002
Q62 During the past 12 months, did your boyfriend or girlfriend ever hit, slap, or physically hurt you on purpose?	-.095	.031	-.019	-3.039	.002
Q63 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who pressured you into having sex when you didn't want to?	.075	.025	.019	2.966	.003
Q65 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	.035	.007	.040	4.954	.000
Q66 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?	-.026	.008	-.024	-3.416	.001

Q67 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row that you stopped doing some usual activities?	-.050	.013	-.027	-3.966	.000
Q75 How often have you smoked cigarettes during the past 30 days?	-.049	.016	-.027	-2.999	.003
Q77 On how many occasions (if any) have you had beer, wine, or hard liquor during the past 30 days?	.033	.011	.034	3.070	.002
Q84 On how many occasions (if any) have you used cocaine or crack in the past 30 days?	-.137	.042	-.030	-3.271	.001
Q91 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in your lifetime?	-.078	.030	-.023	-2.626	.009
Q92 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	.221	.046	.042	4.859	.000
Q106 How old were you when you first smoked marijuana?	-.009	.003	-.026	-2.682	.007
Q110 During the past 3 months, with how many people have you had sexual intercourse?	-.029	.011	-.034	-2.729	.006
Q120 During the past 30 days, did you take any diet pills, powders, or liquids without a doctor's advice to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight?	.088	.033	.016	2.672	.008
Q145 People who know me would say this... Giving up when things get hard for me is...	.017	.005	.020	3.260	.001
Q148 I know of someone who has been really hurt by cyberbullying.	-.014	.005	-.017	-2.766	.006
Q154 You are at a party at someone's house, and one of your friends offers you a drink containing alcohol...	.017	.006	.020	3.095	.002
Q7 What language do you use most often at home?	.043	.013	.020	3.263	.001

2011: Q52 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q1 How old are you?	.023	.008	.064	2.959	.003
Q2 What grade are you in?	-.045	.016	-.061	-2.790	.005
Q11 I know how to use a computer to do things like schoolwork, finding information, or typing papers.	.024	.007	.022	3.554	.000
Q14 I feel safe at my school.	-.019	.006	-.022	-3.220	.001
Q22 Done something dangerous because someone dared you to do it.	.015	.004	.030	3.514	.000
Q35 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to: smoke marijuana?	.028	.008	.026	3.252	.001
Q37 During the past 30 days, how often did you go hungry because there was not enough food in your home?	.024	.006	.027	4.133	.000
Q44 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	-.015	.002	-.048	-6.107	.000
Q45 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	.042	.009	.032	4.718	.000
Q47 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?	.097	.009	.084	10.660	.000
Q49 How many times in the past year have you carried a weapon other than a handgun.	.018	.004	.038	4.986	.000
Q50 How many times in the past year have you taken a weapon other than a handgun to school?	.046	.007	.049	6.306	.000
Q54 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: said something bad about your race or culture?	.018	.002	.056	7.414	.000
Q55 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: sexually harassed you?	.022	.003	.043	6.278	.000
Q56 How many times in the past year has a parent or adult in your household done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, or ridiculed you?	.010	.003	.025	3.601	.000
Q58 How many times have you driven a car or other vehicle when you had been drinking alcohol?	.039	.008	.037	5.140	.000
Q59 Have you ever belonged to a gang?	-.088	.027	-.021	-3.239	.001
Q60 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who always wanted to know your whereabouts?	.031	.012	.018	2.655	.008
Q64 During the past 12 months, have you ever been electronically bullied, such as through e-mail, chat rooms, instant messaging, Web sites, or texting?	.072	.013	.043	5.571	.000
Q65 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	.029	.005	.047	5.456	.000
Q66 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?	.023	.006	.030	4.032	.000
Q68 During the past 12 months, did you ever seriously consider attempting suicide?	-.036	.012	-.021	-2.890	.004
Q69 During the past 12 months, did you ever actually attempt suicide?	-.153	.023	-.045	-6.738	.000

Q73 How frequently have you used smokeless tobacco during the past 30 days?	-.039	.010	-.026	-3.895	.000
Q82 On how many occasions (if any) have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in the past 30 days?	.147	.024	.057	6.123	.000
Q93 On how many occasions (if any) have you used heroin in your lifetime?	.081	.026	.036	3.154	.002
Q96 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken painkillers without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	.037	.014	.024	2.680	.007
Q99 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in your lifetime?	.063	.016	.044	3.972	.000
Q100 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	-.078	.027	-.028	-2.921	.003
Q103 How old were you when you first smoked a cigarette, even just a puff?	.007	.003	.025	2.681	.007
Q110 During the past 3 months, with how many people have you had sexual intercourse?	.034	.008	.055	4.160	.000
Q120 During the past 30 days, did you take any diet pills, powders, or liquids without a doctor's advice to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight?	-.083	.025	-.021	-3.315	.001
Q145 People who know me would say this...Giving up when things get hard for me is...	-.015	.004	-.025	-3.777	.000
Q152 It is 8:00 on a weeknight and you are about to go over to a friend's house when your mother asks you where you are going...	-.019	.006	-.020	-3.346	.001
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	-.026	.008	-.022	-3.067	.002
Q7 What language do you use most often at home?	-.027	.010	-.018	-2.666	.008
Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?	.267	.005	.372	51.137	0.000

2011: Q53 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	.240	.025	.062	9.719	.000
Q8 What were your grades like last year?	.042	.016	.017	2.572	.010
Q14 I feel safe at my school.	-.156	.017	-.055	-9.287	.000
Q18 How many times have you participated in school or non-school extra-curricular activities?	.021	.007	.020	3.024	.003
Q24 It is important to be honest with your parents even if they become upset or you get punished.	.049	.017	.019	2.864	.004
Q26 I think it is okay to take something without asking if you can get away with it.	-.067	.018	-.025	-3.775	.000
Q30 When things don't go well for me, I am good at finding a way to make things better.	.046	.014	.022	3.349	.001
Q31 I feel as if I can solve most problems in my life.	.064	.013	.033	5.090	.000
Q37 During the past 30 days, how often did you go hungry because there was not enough food in your home?	-.050	.017	-.017	-2.985	.003
Q38 People in my family often insult or yell at each other.	.043	.017	.021	2.615	.009
Q40 People in my family have serious arguments.	.052	.016	.025	3.209	.001
Q41 Your parent has had his/her body hurt from actions by a spouse/partner.	-.083	.018	-.028	-4.694	.000
Q43 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	.375	.007	.353	52.921	0.000
Q44 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	-.027	.007	-.027	-3.908	.000
Q45 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	-.067	.026	-.016	-2.599	.009
Q46 How many times in the past year have you attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	-.145	.018	-.053	-8.047	.000
Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?	.383	.016	.166	24.332	.000
Q54 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: said something bad about your race or culture?	.223	.007	.216	32.993	.000
Q55 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: sexually harassed you?	.096	.010	.059	9.692	.000
Q56 How many times in the past year has a parent or adult in your household done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, or ridiculed you?	.104	.008	.080	12.877	.000
Q60 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who always wanted to know your whereabouts?	.088	.034	.016	2.589	.010
Q61 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who called you names or put you down verbally?	-.161	.048	-.020	-3.346	.001
Q64 During the past 12 months, have you ever been electronically bullied, such as through e-mail, chat rooms, instant messaging, Web sites, or texting?	-.392	.037	-.073	-10.596	.000

Q65 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	.362	.015	.184	24.063	.000
Q66 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?	-.185	.016	-.075	-11.270	.000
Q67 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row that you stopped doing some usual activities?	-.134	.027	-.031	-4.893	.000
Q68 During the past 12 months, did you ever seriously consider attempting suicide?	-.271	.035	-.050	-7.697	.000
Q89 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken methamphetamine (speed, crystal, crank, or ice) in your lifetime?	-.174	.053	-.031	-3.321	.001
Q90 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken methamphetamine (speed, crystal, crank, or ice) in the past 30 days?	.214	.083	.022	2.562	.010
Q94 On how many occasions (if any) have you used heroin in the past 30 days?	-.324	.115	-.027	-2.810	.005
Q99 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in your lifetime?	-.131	.046	-.028	-2.860	.004
Q107 Have you ever had sexual intercourse?	.485	.187	.102	2.589	.010
Q115 Which of the following best describes you?	.082	.016	.027	5.109	.000
Q116 Which of the following are you trying to do about your weight?	-.044	.010	-.029	-4.455	.000
Q129 During the past 12 months, on how many sports teams did you play?	-.051	.011	-.030	-4.483	.000
Q139 During the last 12 months, how many times have you...helped make sure that all people are treated fairly?	.027	.009	.021	3.051	.002
Q140 During the last 12 months, how many times have you...stood up for what you believe, even when it's unpopular to do so?	.044	.009	.033	4.923	.000
Q148 I know of someone who has been really hurt by cyberbullying.	-.064	.011	-.033	-5.709	.000
Q149 I would report cyberbullying incidents, if I could do so without anyone knowing it was me.	-.044	.013	-.021	-3.519	.000
Q150 I have the right to say anything I want online, even if what I say hurts someone or violates someone's privacy.	.056	.014	.025	4.084	.000
Q155 How honest were you in filling out this survey?	-.082	.020	-.023	-4.149	.000
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	-.322	.024	-.084	-13.315	.000
Q7 What language do you use most often at home?	-.132	.029	-.027	-4.595	.000

2011: Q54 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: said something bad about your race or culture?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	.251	.026	.067	9.669	.000
Q13 My teacher notices when I am doing a good job and lets me know about it.	-.066	.015	-.026	-4.245	.000
Q14 I feel safe at my school.	-.082	.018	-.030	-4.627	.000
Q15 On an average school day, how many hours do you watch TV?	-.025	.007	-.022	-3.447	.001
Q20 How often do you attend religious services or activities?	.027	.010	.017	2.802	.005
Q25 There are lots of adults in my neighborhood I could talk to about something important.	-.036	.013	-.018	-2.733	.006
Q26 I think it is okay to take something without asking if you can get away with it.	-.049	.019	-.019	-2.636	.008
Q29 I am able to save my money for something I really want.	.045	.012	.023	3.783	.000
Q32 I try to find different solutions to the problem.	-.057	.018	-.020	-3.131	.002
Q33 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to: drink beer, wine, or hard liquor regularly?	-.052	.018	-.022	-2.955	.003
Q37 During the past 30 days, how often did you go hungry because there was not enough food in your home?	.053	.018	.019	2.998	.003
Q44 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	.320	.007	.329	45.979	0.000
Q53 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	.246	.007	.254	32.993	.000
Q55 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: sexually harassed you?	.086	.010	.055	8.274	.000
Q62 During the past 12 months, did your boyfriend or girlfriend ever hit, slap, or physically hurt you on purpose?	-.258	.072	-.023	-3.599	.000
Q66 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?	.058	.017	.024	3.357	.001
Q67 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row that you stopped doing some usual activities?	-.110	.029	-.026	-3.847	.000
Q69 During the past 12 months, did you ever actually attempt suicide?	.187	.068	.018	2.740	.006
Q70 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they: smoke one or more packs of cigarettes per day?	.061	.019	.023	3.312	.001
Q71 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they: smoke marijuana regularly?	-.040	.015	-.022	-2.564	.010
Q74 Have you ever smoked cigarettes in your lifetime?	.087	.029	.038	3.012	.003
Q75 How often have you smoked cigarettes during the past 30 days?	-.131	.038	-.032	-3.496	.000
Q79 On how many occasions (if any) have you used marijuana in your lifetime?	-.040	.016	-.036	-2.589	.010
Q84 On how many occasions (if any) have you used cocaine or crack in the past 30 days?	.268	.096	.027	2.791	.005

Q85 On how many occasions (if any) have you sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in your lifetime?	.066	.024	.023	2.719	.007
Q86 On how many occasions (if any) have you sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in the past 30 days?	-.184	.051	-.029	-3.638	.000
Q93 On how many occasions (if any) have you used heroin in your lifetime?	-.218	.077	-.032	-2.824	.005
Q94 On how many occasions (if any) have you used heroin in the past 30 days?	.318	.121	.027	2.626	.009
Q115 Which of the following best describes you?	-.052	.017	-.018	-3.103	.002
Q130 On an average school night, how many hours of sleep do you get?	-.033	.009	-.023	-3.574	.000
Q134 How often do you perform the following activity: Conserve water in your home or yard?	-.048	.018	-.017	-2.634	.008
Q140 During the last 12 months, how many times have you...stood up for what you believe, even when it's unpopular to do so?	.058	.009	.045	6.161	.000
Q142 During the last 12 months, have you used your political voice as a result of reading about politics, political campaigns...	-.085	.029	-.018	-2.950	.003
Q147 People who know me would say this...Thinking through the possible good and bad results of different choices...	.033	.011	.020	2.953	.003
Q148 I know of someone who has been really hurt by cyberbullying.	-.041	.012	-.022	-3.489	.000
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	.673	.025	.181	26.900	.000
Q7 What language do you use most often at home?	.183	.030	.039	6.068	.000
Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?	.121	.017	.054	7.242	.000
Q52 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?	.163	.022	.052	7.414	.000

2011: Q55 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: sexually harassed you?

Coefficients^a

Survey Questions	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q2 What grade are you in?	-.129	.034	-.088	-3.780	.000
Q3 Gender?	-.217	.018	-.091	-11.940	.000
Q14 I feel safe at my school.	-.033	.012	-.019	-2.695	.007
Q37 During the past 30 days, how often did you go hungry because there was not enough food in your home?	.039	.012	.022	3.136	.002
Q44 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	.034	.005	.055	6.584	.000
Q48 How many times in the past year have you taken a handgun to school?	.106	.028	.032	3.814	.000
Q52 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?	.097	.015	.049	6.278	.000
Q53 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	.052	.005	.085	9.692	.000
Q54 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: said something bad about your race or culture?	.042	.005	.067	8.274	.000
Q56 How many times in the past year has a parent or adult in your household done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, or ridiculed you?	.048	.006	.060	8.132	.000
Q57 Have you ever been physically forced to have sexual intercourse when you did not want to?	-.715	.046	-.110	-15.427	.000
Q60 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who always wanted to know your whereabouts?	-.145	.025	-.043	-5.847	.000
Q61 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who called you names or put you down verbally?	-.202	.035	-.041	-5.714	.000
Q62 During the past 12 months, did your boyfriend or girlfriend ever hit, slap, or physically hurt you on purpose?	-.296	.050	-.041	-5.887	.000
Q63 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who pressured you into having sex when you didn't want to?	-.529	.040	-.094	-13.145	.000
Q65 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	.113	.011	.093	10.076	.000
Q68 During the past 12 months, did you ever seriously consider attempting suicide?	-.073	.026	-.022	-2.830	.005
Q69 During the past 12 months, did you ever actually attempt suicide?	-.225	.048	-.033	-4.695	.000
Q70 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they: smoke one or more packs of cigarettes per day?	.033	.013	.020	2.568	.010
Q92 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	-.315	.073	-.043	-4.302	.000
Q94 On how many occasions (if any) have you used heroin in the past 30 days?	.250	.085	.033	2.948	.003

Q99 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in your lifetime?	.111	.034	.039	3.315	.001
Q100 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	-.189	.056	-.034	-3.366	.001
Q108 How old were you when you had sexual intercourse for the first time?	-.056	.012	-.098	-4.600	.000
Q110 During the past 3 months, with how many people have you had sexual intercourse?	.080	.017	.067	4.689	.000
Q114 Have you ever had oral sex?	-.108	.027	-.039	-4.074	.000
Q119 During the past 30 days, did you go without eating for 24 hours or more to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight?	-.100	.036	-.020	-2.776	.006
Q121 During the past 30 days, did you vomit or take laxatives to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight?	-.161	.052	-.022	-3.090	.002

2011: Q56 How many times in the past year has a parent or adult in your household done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, or ridiculed you?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	-.147	.022	-.050	-6.558	.000
Q10 How often do you come to classes without your homework finished?	.050	.019	.020	2.686	.007
Q14 I feel safe at my school.	.088	.015	.040	5.770	.000
Q24 It is important to be honest with your parents even if they become upset or you get punished.	-.062	.015	-.032	-4.026	.000
Q26 I think it is okay to take something without asking if you can get away with it.	-.054	.016	-.026	-3.316	.001
Q32 I try to find different solutions to the problem.	-.042	.016	-.019	-2.715	.007
Q37 During the past 30 days, how often did you go hungry because there was not enough food in your home?	.075	.015	.034	4.954	.000
Q38 People in my family often insult or yell at each other.	.254	.015	.158	17.046	.000
Q40 People in my family have serious arguments.	.113	.015	.070	7.793	.000
Q41 Your parent has had his/her body hurt from actions by a spouse/partner.	.177	.016	.078	11.082	.000
Q42 If I had a personal problem, I could ask my mom or dad for help.	-.183	.013	-.108	-13.732	.000
Q43 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	.054	.007	.066	7.850	.000
Q53 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	.085	.007	.110	12.877	.000
Q55 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: sexually harassed you?	.073	.009	.058	8.132	.000
Q68 During the past 12 months, did you ever seriously consider attempting suicide?	-.234	.032	-.056	-7.341	.000
Q69 During the past 12 months, did you ever actually attempt suicide?	-.390	.059	-.046	-6.618	.000
Q82 On how many occasions (if any) have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in the past 30 days?	-.169	.062	-.027	-2.707	.007
Q85 On how many occasions (if any) have you sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in your lifetime?	.061	.021	.026	2.918	.004
Q99 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in your lifetime?	-.116	.041	-.032	-2.804	.005
Q110 During the past 3 months, with how many people have you had sexual intercourse?	-.060	.021	-.040	-2.846	.004
Q121 During the past 30 days, did you vomit or take laxatives to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight?	-.376	.064	-.041	-5.869	.000
Q146 People who know me would say this... Knowing how to say 'no' when someone wants me to do things...	.028	.009	.022	2.914	.004
Q152 It is 8:00 on a weeknight and you are about to go over to a friend's house when your mother asks you where you are going...	.090	.014	.039	6.227	.000
Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?	.094	.014	.053	6.493	.000

Q52 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?	.068	.019	.028	3.601	.000
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2011: Q57 Have you ever been physically forced to have sexual intercourse when you did not want to?

Coefficients^a

Survey Questions	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	.012	.003	.033	4.241	.000
Q14 I feel safe at my school.	.005	.002	.019	2.622	.009
Q41 Your parent has had his/her body hurt from actions by a spouse/partner.	-.010	.002	-.034	-4.684	.000
Q45 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	.008	.003	.020	2.716	.007
Q46 How many times in the past year have you attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.009	.002	.035	4.282	.000
Q48 How many times in the past year have you taken a handgun to school?	-.014	.004	-.027	-3.133	.002
Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?	-.012	.002	-.054	-6.345	.000
Q55 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: sexually harassed you?	-.018	.001	-.115	-15.427	.000
Q58 How many times have you driven a car or other vehicle when you had been drinking alcohol?	-.012	.003	-.038	-4.804	.000
Q62 During the past 12 months, did your boyfriend or girlfriend ever hit, slap, or physically hurt you on purpose?	.034	.008	.030	4.297	.000
Q63 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who pressured you into having sex when you didn't want to?	.186	.006	.215	29.979	.000
Q68 During the past 12 months, did you ever seriously consider attempting suicide?	.014	.004	.027	3.451	.001
Q69 During the past 12 months, did you ever actually attempt suicide?	.053	.008	.051	7.085	.000
Q76 On how many occasions have you had beer, wine, or hard liquor to drink in your lifetime?	.005	.001	.051	3.670	.000
Q78 Think back over the last two weeks. How many times have you had five or more alcoholic drinks in a row?	.013	.003	.045	4.381	.000
Q80 On how many occasions (if any) have you used marijuana during the past 30 days?	.006	.002	.034	3.152	.002
Q81 On how many occasions (if any) have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in your lifetime?	.020	.005	.050	4.263	.000
Q82 On how many occasions (if any) have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in the past 30 days?	-.033	.008	-.042	-4.130	.000
Q84 On how many occasions (if any) have you used cocaine or crack in the past 30 days?	-.036	.011	-.037	-3.455	.001
Q93 On how many occasions (if any) have you used heroin in your lifetime?	.027	.008	.040	3.200	.001
Q99 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in your lifetime?	-.019	.005	-.044	-3.676	.000
Q107 Have you ever had sexual intercourse?	.205	.022	.455	9.516	.000
Q108 How old were you when you had sexual intercourse for the first time?	.030	.002	.336	15.530	.000

Q112 The last time you had sexual intercourse, did you or your partner use a condom?	-.044	.006	-.135	-7.531	.000
Q113 The last time you had sexual intercourse, what one method did you or your partner use to prevent pregnancy?	.010	.002	.070	4.368	.000
Q115 Which of the following best describes you?	-.007	.002	-.023	-3.513	.000
Q119 During the past 30 days, did you go without eating for 24 hours or more to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight?	.016	.006	.021	2.861	.004
Q120 During the past 30 days, did you take any diet pills, powders, or liquids without a doctor's advice to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight?	.024	.008	.020	2.855	.004

2011: Q59 Have you ever belonged to a gang?

Coefficients^a

Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q35 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to: smoke marijuana?	-.012	.002	-.049	-5.426	.000
Q36 How many times have you changed homes since kindergarten?	-.003	.001	-.022	-3.092	.002
Q45 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	-.014	.002	-.043	-5.732	.000
Q46 How many times in the past year have you attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	-.008	.002	-.037	-4.489	.000
Q47 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?	-.021	.002	-.075	-8.525	.000
Q48 How many times in the past year have you taken a handgun to school?	-.022	.004	-.053	-6.137	.000
Q49 How many times in the past year have you carried a weapon other than a handgun.	-.007	.001	-.057	-6.689	.000
Q52 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?	-.006	.002	-.026	-3.239	.001
Q58 How many times have you driven a car or other vehicle when you had been drinking alcohol?	-.011	.002	-.042	-5.199	.000
Q60 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who always wanted to know your whereabouts?	.013	.003	.033	4.260	.000
Q62 During the past 12 months, did your boyfriend or girlfriend ever hit, slap, or physically hurt you on purpose?	.023	.006	.026	3.615	.000
Q63 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who pressured you into having sex when you didn't want to?	.016	.005	.023	3.074	.002
Q65 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	.004	.001	.027	2.821	.005
Q78 Think back over the last two weeks. How many times have you had five or more alcoholic drinks in a row?	.007	.002	.031	2.938	.003
Q81 On how many occasions (if any) have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in your lifetime?	-.014	.004	-.046	-3.811	.000
Q84 On how many occasions (if any) have you used cocaine or crack in the past 30 days?	-.022	.009	-.029	-2.609	.009
Q85 On how many occasions (if any) have you sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in your lifetime?	-.008	.002	-.037	-3.791	.000
Q90 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken methamphetamine (speed, crystal, crank, or ice) in the past 30 days?	-.029	.008	-.039	-3.661	.000
Q91 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in your lifetime?	.026	.006	.046	4.331	.000
Q92 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	-.056	.009	-.062	-6.000	.000
Q100 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	-.029	.007	-.044	-4.108	.000
Q101 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken over-the-counter drugs to get high in your lifetime?	-.007	.003	-.028	-2.757	.006

Q108 How old were you when you had sexual intercourse for the first time?	.011	.002	.156	7.026	.000
Q113 The last time you had sexual intercourse, what one method did you or your partner use to prevent pregnancy?	-.013	.002	-.116	-7.047	.000
Q153 You are visiting another part of town and you do not know any of the people your age there...	.005	.001	.028	4.153	.000

2011: Q60 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who always wanted to know your whereabouts?

Coefficients^a

Survey Questions	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q8 What were your grades like last year?	.012	.004	.027	3.436	.001
Q22 Done something dangerous because someone dared you to do it.	-.008	.003	-.029	-3.151	.002
Q23 Done crazy things even if they are a little dangerous.	-.007	.002	-.030	-3.166	.002
Q24 It is important to be honest with your parents even if they become upset or you get punished.	-.011	.004	-.025	-3.029	.002
Q30 When things don't go well for me, I am good at finding a way to make things better.	.009	.003	.024	3.139	.002
Q36 How many times have you changed homes since kindergarten?	-.005	.002	-.018	-2.638	.008
Q37 During the past 30 days, how often did you go hungry because there was not enough food in your home?	-.010	.004	-.019	-2.717	.007
Q44 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	.005	.002	.026	3.167	.002
Q48 How many times in the past year have you taken a handgun to school?	.028	.008	.028	3.364	.001
Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?	-.014	.003	-.035	-4.188	.000
Q52 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?	.012	.005	.021	2.655	.008
Q53 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	.004	.002	.023	2.589	.010
Q55 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: sexually harassed you?	-.013	.002	-.043	-5.847	.000
Q59 Have you ever belonged to a gang?	.072	.017	.030	4.260	.000
Q61 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who called you names or put you down verbally?	.251	.010	.174	24.480	.000
Q62 During the past 12 months, did your boyfriend or girlfriend ever hit, slap, or physically hurt you on purpose?	.114	.015	.053	7.718	.000
Q63 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who pressured you into having sex when you didn't want to?	.156	.012	.094	13.193	.000
Q67 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row that you stopped doing some usual activities?	.038	.006	.049	6.491	.000
Q76 On how many occasions have you had beer, wine, or hard liquor to drink in your lifetime?	-.007	.003	-.036	-2.660	.008
Q81 On how many occasions (if any) have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in your lifetime?	.033	.009	.044	3.790	.000
Q84 On how many occasions (if any) have you used cocaine or crack in the past 30 days?	.059	.020	.031	2.988	.003
Q95 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken painkillers without a doctor's order in your lifetime?	-.019	.004	-.049	-4.738	.000

Q99 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in your lifetime?	-.027	.010	-.032	-2.737	.006
Q100 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	.049	.017	.030	2.986	.003
Q101 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken over-the-counter drugs to get high in your lifetime?	.019	.006	.029	3.048	.002
Q108 How old were you when you had sexual intercourse for the first time?	.010	.004	.058	2.719	.007
Q109 During your life, with how many people have you had sexual intercourse?	-.016	.004	-.060	-4.367	.000
Q111 Did you drink alcohol or use drugs before you had sexual intercourse the last time?	-.058	.013	-.123	-4.323	.000
Q114 Have you ever had oral sex?	.081	.008	.098	10.416	.000
Q127 During the past 7 days, how many times did you drink a can, bottle, or glass of soda or pop, such as Coke, Pepsi, or Sprite?	-.006	.002	-.022	-3.226	.001
Q129 During the past 12 months, on how many sports teams did you play?	-.010	.002	-.031	-3.907	.000
Q137 During an average week, how many hours do you spend helping friends or neighbors...	-.007	.002	-.025	-3.377	.001
Q144 People who know me would say this...Being good at planning ahead is...	-.006	.002	-.019	-2.682	.007
Q148 I know of someone who has been really hurt by cyberbullying.	.010	.002	.028	4.011	.000

2011: Q61 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who called you names or put you down verbally?

Coefficients^a

Survey Questions	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	.026	.004	.054	7.003	.000
Q34 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to: smoke cigarettes?	-.015	.004	-.033	-3.987	.000
Q41 Your parent has had his/her body hurt from actions by a spouse/partner.	-.012	.003	-.032	-4.403	.000
Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?	-.007	.002	-.026	-3.054	.002
Q53 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	-.004	.001	-.029	-3.346	.001
Q55 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: sexually harassed you?	-.009	.002	-.042	-5.714	.000
Q60 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who always wanted to know your whereabouts?	.124	.005	.178	24.480	.000
Q62 During the past 12 months, did your boyfriend or girlfriend ever hit, slap, or physically hurt you on purpose?	.333	.010	.224	33.023	.000
Q63 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who pressured you into having sex when you didn't want to?	.144	.008	.125	17.419	.000
Q64 During the past 12 months, have you ever been electronically bullied, such as through e-mail, chat rooms, instant messaging, Web sites, or texting?	.024	.006	.036	4.325	.000
Q92 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	-.064	.015	-.042	-4.248	.000
Q96 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken painkillers without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	.020	.006	.032	3.337	.001
Q98 On how many occasions (if any) have you a prescription drug other than painkillers without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	-.024	.006	-.034	-3.728	.000
Q105 How old were you when you first began drinking alcoholic beverages regularly, that is, at least once or twice a month?	-.004	.001	-.036	-3.622	.000
Q112 The last time you had sexual intercourse, did you or your partner use a condom?	-.056	.008	-.131	-7.395	.000
Q113 The last time you had sexual intercourse, what one method did you or your partner use to prevent pregnancy?	.011	.003	.062	3.913	.000
Q114 Have you ever had oral sex?	.019	.005	.033	3.435	.001
Q119 During the past 30 days, did you go without eating for 24 hours or more to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight?	.027	.007	.026	3.624	.000
Q140 During the last 12 months, how many times have you...stood up for what you believe, even when it's unpopular to do so?	-.004	.001	-.024	-2.913	.004

Q145 People who know me would say this...Giving up when things get hard for me is...	-0.006	.002	-.024	-3.447	.001
Q148 I know of someone who has been really hurt by cyberbullying.	.006	.002	.025	3.580	.000

2011: Q62 During the past 12 months, did your boyfriend or girlfriend ever hit, slap, or physically hurt you on purpose?

Coefficients^a

Survey Questions	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	-.011	.003	-.032	-3.965	.000
Q11 I know how to use a computer to do things like schoolwork, finding information, or typing papers.	-.007	.002	-.024	-3.398	.001
Q34 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to: smoke cigarettes?	.008	.003	.026	3.031	.002
Q35 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to: smoke marijuana?	-.013	.003	-.045	-4.872	.000
Q49 How many times in the past year have you carried a weapon other than a handgun.	-.007	.001	-.053	-6.119	.000
Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?	-.005	.002	-.027	-3.039	.002
Q54 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: said something bad about your race or culture?	-.003	.001	-.031	-3.599	.000
Q55 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: sexually harassed you?	-.006	.001	-.045	-5.887	.000
Q57 Have you ever been physically forced to have sexual intercourse when you did not want to?	.029	.007	.033	4.297	.000
Q59 Have you ever belonged to a gang?	.030	.008	.027	3.615	.000
Q60 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who always wanted to know your whereabouts?	.028	.004	.060	7.718	.000
Q61 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who called you names or put you down verbally?	.165	.005	.247	33.023	.000
Q63 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who pressured you into having sex when you didn't want to?	.025	.006	.033	4.328	.000
Q69 During the past 12 months, did you ever actually attempt suicide?	.035	.007	.038	5.022	.000
Q73 How frequently have you used smokeless tobacco during the past 30 days?	.009	.003	.022	2.933	.003
Q75 How often have you smoked cigarettes during the past 30 days?	-.014	.004	-.040	-3.751	.000
Q80 On how many occasions (if any) have you used marijuana during the past 30 days?	.010	.002	.061	5.424	.000
Q81 On how many occasions (if any) have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in your lifetime?	.014	.004	.038	3.139	.002
Q86 On how many occasions (if any) have you sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in the past 30 days?	-.018	.005	-.033	-3.540	.000
Q90 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken methamphetamine (speed, crystal, crank, or ice) in the past 30 days?	.032	.009	.039	3.626	.000
Q93 On how many occasions (if any) have you used heroin in your lifetime?	-.045	.008	-.075	-5.754	.000
Q94 On how many occasions (if any) have you used heroin in the past 30 days?	.069	.012	.066	5.559	.000

Q96 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken painkillers without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	- .013	.004	-.031	-3.105	.002
Q97 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken a prescription drug other than painkillers without a doctor's order in your lifetime?	.008	.002	.035	3.322	.001
Q99 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in your lifetime?	- .013	.005	-.033	-2.620	.009
Q103 How old were you when you first smoked a cigarette, even just a puff?	.003	.001	.034	3.169	.002
Q110 During the past 3 months, with how many people have you had sexual intercourse?	- .008	.002	-.048	-3.212	.001
Q114 Have you ever had oral sex?	.015	.004	.040	3.971	.000
Q151 You are looking at the CDs in the music store with a friend. You look up and see her slip a CD under her coat...	.003	.001	.020	2.919	.004

2011: Q63 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who pressured you into having sex when you didn't want to?

Coefficients^a

Survey Questions	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	.019	.003	.044	5.624	.000
Q14 I feel safe at my school.	.006	.002	.021	2.863	.004
Q24 It is important to be honest with your parents even if they become upset or you get punished.	.006	.002	.024	2.864	.004
Q41 Your parent has had his/her body hurt from actions by a spouse/partner.	.007	.002	.022	3.072	.002
Q43 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	.004	.001	.030	3.479	.001
Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?	.006	.002	.025	2.966	.003
Q55 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: sexually harassed you?	-.017	.001	-.097	-13.145	.000
Q57 Have you ever been physically forced to have sexual intercourse when you did not want to?	.247	.008	.213	29.979	.000
Q59 Have you ever belonged to a gang?	.032	.010	.022	3.074	.002
Q60 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who always wanted to know your whereabouts?	.059	.004	.098	13.193	.000
Q61 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who called you names or put you down verbally?	.111	.006	.128	17.419	.000
Q62 During the past 12 months, did your boyfriend or girlfriend ever hit, slap, or physically hurt you on purpose?	.039	.009	.030	4.328	.000
Q65 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	-.006	.002	-.026	-2.759	.006
Q80 On how many occasions (if any) have you used marijuana during the past 30 days?	.013	.002	.062	5.678	.000
Q106 How old were you when you first smoked marijuana?	-.003	.001	-.037	-3.263	.001
Q107 Have you ever had sexual intercourse?	.116	.025	.222	4.657	.000
Q108 How old were you when you had sexual intercourse for the first time?	.006	.002	.063	2.911	.004
Q111 Did you drink alcohol or use drugs before you had sexual intercourse the last time?	.028	.008	.100	3.428	.001
Q114 Have you ever had oral sex?	.015	.005	.030	3.149	.002
Q121 During the past 30 days, did you vomit or take laxatives to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight?	.031	.009	.024	3.321	.001
Q146 People who know me would say this...Knowing how to say 'no' when someone wants me to do things...	.007	.001	.041	5.303	.000
Q152 It is 8:00 on a weeknight and you are about to go over to a friend's house when your mother asks you where you are going...	.007	.002	.020	3.153	.002

2011: Q64 During the past 12 months, have you ever been electronically bullied, such as through e-mail, chat rooms, instant messaging, Web sites, or texting?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	.021	.005	.029	4.271	.000
Q15 On an average school day, how many hours do you watch TV?	.006	.001	.028	4.521	.000
Q16 On an average school day, how many hours do you play video or computer games or use a computer...	-.007	.001	-.034	-5.488	.000
Q33 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to: drink beer, wine, or hard liquor regularly?	-.009	.003	-.020	-2.752	.006
Q44 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	.004	.001	.022	2.982	.003
Q46 How many times in the past year have you attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.010	.004	.019	2.688	.007
Q53 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	-.015	.001	-.081	-10.596	.000
Q61 Have you ever had a partner in a dating or serious relationship who called you names or put you down verbally?	.041	.009	.028	4.325	.000
Q65 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	-.195	.003	-.526	-73.306	0.000
Q67 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row that you stopped doing some usual activities?	.039	.005	.049	7.285	.000
Q68 During the past 12 months, did you ever seriously consider attempting suicide?	.043	.007	.042	6.147	.000
Q85 On how many occasions (if any) have you sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in your lifetime?	-.013	.005	-.024	-2.908	.004
Q86 On how many occasions (if any) have you sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in the past 30 days?	.036	.010	.029	3.793	.000
Q94 On how many occasions (if any) have you used heroin in the past 30 days?	.062	.023	.027	2.715	.007
Q98 On how many occasions (if any) have you a prescription drug other than painkillers without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	.023	.008	.022	2.731	.006
Q119 During the past 30 days, did you go without eating for 24 hours or more to lose weight or to keep from gaining weight?	.025	.010	.016	2.599	.009
Q140 During the last 12 months, how many times have you...stood up for what you believe, even when it's unpopular to do so?	-.005	.002	-.019	-2.695	.007
Q148 I know of someone who has been really hurt by cyberbullying.	.040	.002	.111	18.260	.000
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	.023	.005	.032	4.750	.000
Q52 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?	.023	.004	.038	5.571	.000

2011: Q66 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q16 On an average school day, how many hours do you play video or computer games or use a computer...	.008	.003	.017	2.619	.009
Q22 Done something dangerous because someone dared you to do it.	.015	.005	.024	2.890	.004
Q37 During the past 30 days, how often did you go hungry because there was not enough food in your home?	-.020	.007	-.017	-2.716	.007
Q43 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	.076	.003	.178	22.940	.000
Q44 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	.027	.003	.068	8.870	.000
Q46 How many times in the past year have you attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.075	.008	.068	9.346	.000
Q48 How many times in the past year have you taken a handgun to school?	.043	.017	.020	2.581	.010
Q53 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	-.036	.003	-.090	-11.270	.000
Q65 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	.380	.006	.476	61.442	0.000
Q67 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row that you stopped doing some usual activities?	.036	.012	.021	2.963	.003
Q69 During the past 12 months, did you ever actually attempt suicide?	.082	.029	.019	2.853	.004
Q74 Have you ever smoked cigarettes in your lifetime?	-.035	.012	-.036	-2.849	.004
Q75 How often have you smoked cigarettes during the past 30 days?	.058	.016	.034	3.635	.000
Q79 On how many occasions (if any) have you used marijuana in your lifetime?	.021	.007	.045	3.166	.002
Q84 On how many occasions (if any) have you used cocaine or crack in the past 30 days?	.227	.040	.054	5.610	.000
Q86 On how many occasions (if any) have you sniffed glue, breathed (huffed) the contents of an aerosol spray can in the past 30 days?	.090	.021	.034	4.190	.000
Q97 On how many occasions (if any) have you taken a prescription drug other than painkillers without a doctor's order in your lifetime?	-.034	.010	-.032	-3.479	.001
Q98 On how many occasions (if any) have you a prescription drug other than painkillers without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	.063	.019	.027	3.334	.001
Q99 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in your lifetime?	.067	.020	.036	3.325	.001
Q100 On how many occasions (if any) have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	-.115	.034	-.032	-3.394	.001

Q111 Did you drink alcohol or use drugs before you had sexual intercourse the last time?	-.074	.027	-.071	-2.705	.007
Q127 During the past 7 days, how many times did you drink a can, bottle, or glass of soda or pop, such as Coke, Pepsi, or Sprite?	.012	.004	.021	3.298	.001
Q131 How often do you perform the following activity: Recycle things such as newspapers, cans, and glass?	.023	.008	.019	2.828	.005
Q145 People who know me would say this...Giving up when things get hard for me is...	.017	.005	.022	3.415	.001
Q148 I know of someone who has been really hurt by cyberbullying.	-.015	.005	-.019	-3.005	.003
Q149 I would report cyberbullying incidents, if I could do so without anyone knowing it was me.	.038	.006	.044	6.807	.000
Q150 I have the right to say anything I want online, even if what I say hurts someone or violates someone's privacy.	-.050	.006	-.055	-8.328	.000
Q153 You are visiting another part of town and you do not know any of the people your age there...	-.015	.006	-.016	-2.716	.007
Q51 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: attacked you with the idea of seriously hurting you?	-.024	.007	-.026	-3.416	.001
Q52 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: threatened or injured you with a weapon such as a gun, knife, or club?	.037	.009	.029	4.032	.000
Q54 How many times in the past year has anyone done any of the following TO YOU: said something bad about your race or culture?	.010	.003	.025	3.357	.001

2012 Fairfax County Youth Survey Report Regression Analysis Results

2012: Q34 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to take a handgun to school?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q11 I know how to use a computer to do things like schoolwork, finding information, or typing papers.	.022	.006	.025	3.336	.001
Q16 There are lots of chances for students in my school to get involved in sports, clubs, and other school activities outside of class.	-.022	.007	-.028	-3.345	.001
Q18 I feel safe at my school.	-.029	.006	-.042	-4.862	.000
Q27 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have used LSD, cocaine, amphetamines, or other illegal drugs?	-.026	.007	-.037	-3.499	.000
Q29 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have carried a handgun?	.092	.011	.077	8.268	.000
Q31 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have stolen or tried to steal a motor vehicle?	.118	.013	.088	9.415	.000
Q35 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to steal anything worth more than \$5?	.109	.006	.164	17.226	.000
Q37 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to attack someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.105	.007	.130	14.205	.000
Q38 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to stay away from school all day when their parents think they are at school?	.021	.006	.036	3.507	.000
Q39 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to drink beer, wine, or hard liquor regularly?	.033	.006	.071	5.324	.000
Q40 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to smoke cigarettes?	.017	.006	.029	2.579	.010
Q42 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to use LSD, cocaine, amphetamines, or another illegal drug?	.104	.009	.120	12.092	.000
Q60 Have you ever belonged to a gang?	-.280	.105	-.081	-2.670	.008
Q63 How many times in the past year have you carried a weapon other than a handgun?	.040	.004	.090	10.422	.000
Q64 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?	.083	.009	.086	9.270	.000
Q68 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	.035	.009	.033	3.900	.000
Q76 You are visiting another part of town and you do not know any of the people your age there... What would you say or do?	-.015	.004	-.024	-3.274	.001
Q78 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they smoke one or more packs of cigarettes per day?	-.024	.007	-.030	-3.617	.000
Q80 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they smoke marijuana regularly?	.018	.006	.037	2.837	.005
Q92 On how many occasions have you used cocaine or crack in the past 30 days?	-.052	.019	-.025	-2.712	.007
Q97 On how many occasions have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	.074	.021	.026	3.487	.000
Q101 On how many occasions have you taken over-the-counter drugs to get high in the past 30 days?	.080	.015	.044	5.457	.000

Q128 Would a kid in your neighborhood be caught by the police if he or she carried a handgun?	-.024	.005	-.048	-5.093	.000
Q150 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to smoke marijuana?	.025	.010	.026	2.597	.009
Q171 If you carried a handgun without your parents' permission, would you be caught by your parents?	-.054	.005	-.096	10.108	.000
Q188 I believe that my actions can improve the quality of the environment.	.020	.006	.029	3.466	.001
Q202 I have the right to say anything I want online, even if what I say hurts someone or violates someone's privacy.	-.014	.004	-.026	-3.169	.002

2012: Q60 Have you ever belonged to a gang?

Coefficients^a

Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q9 How many days of school have you missed because you skipped or cut?	-.002	.000	-.013	-5.719	.000
Q29 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have carried a handgun?	-.004	.001	-.012	-4.483	.000
Q30 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have sold illegal drugs?	-.002	.001	-.010	-3.197	.001
Q31 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have stolen or tried to steal a motor vehicle?	-.010	.001	-.025	-9.472	.000
Q33 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have dropped out of school?	.004	.001	.012	4.866	.000
Q34 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to take a handgun to school?	-.002	.001	-.006	-2.670	.008
Q38 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to stay away from school all day when their parents think they are at school?	.002	.001	.011	3.901	.000
Q45 I think it is okay to take something without asking if you can get away with it.	.001	.001	.007	2.645	.008
Q61 How old were you when you first belonged to a gang?	-.034	.001	-.125	-33.595	.000
Q62 If you have ever belonged to a gang, did the gang have a name?	.472	.002	.848	211.846	0.000
Q63 How many times in the past year have you carried a weapon other than a handgun?	-.002	.000	-.014	-5.781	.000
Q64 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?	-.003	.001	-.009	-3.523	.000
Q65 How many times in the past year have you sold illegal drugs?	.002	.001	.012	4.494	.000
Q68 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	-.005	.001	-.017	-7.148	.000
Q83 How often have you smoked cigarettes during the past 30 days?	-.004	.001	-.012	-4.214	.000
Q86 Think back over the last two weeks. How many times have you had five or more alcoholic drinks in a row?	.002	.001	.010	3.339	.001
Q87 How many times have you driven a car or other vehicle when you had been drinking alcohol?	-.003	.001	-.007	-3.181	.001
Q88 On how many occasions have you used marijuana in your lifetime?	.002	.000	.019	3.743	.000
Q96 On how many occasions have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	-.011	.001	-.019	-8.165	.000
Q97 On how many occasions have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	-.005	.002	-.006	-2.903	.004
Q100 On how many occasions have you taken a prescription drug other than painkillers without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	.003	.001	.009	3.621	.000
Q101 On how many occasions have you taken over-the-counter drugs to get high in the past 30 days?	.003	.001	.007	2.900	.004

Q102 How old were you when you first smoked marijuana?	-.001	.000	-.010	-2.583	.010
Q107 How old were you when you first got arrested?	.002	.000	.011	4.932	.000
Q108 How old were you when you first carried a handgun?	.003	.000	.014	6.035	.000
Q110 Have you ever had sexual intercourse?	-.006	.002	-.016	-2.668	.008
Q182 During the past 30 days, how often did you go hungry because there was not enough food in your home?	-.002	.000	-.007	-3.410	.001
Q188 I believe that my actions can improve the quality of the environment.	.001	.000	.007	3.068	.002
Q203 How honest were you in filling out this survey?	-.001	.001	-.006	-2.650	.008

2012: Q63 How many times in the past year have you carried a weapon other than a handgun?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q16 There are lots of chances for students in my school to get involved in sports, clubs, and other school activities outside of class.	.037	.014	.021	2.565	.010
Q26 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have used marijuana?	-.033	.011	-.042	-3.048	.002
Q29 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have carried a handgun?	.131	.025	.049	5.361	.000
Q32 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have been arrested?	-.104	.020	-.053	-5.271	.000
Q33 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have dropped out of school?	.081	.025	.028	3.263	.001
Q34 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to take a handgun to school?	.196	.019	.088	10.422	.000
Q37 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to attack someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.056	.016	.031	3.430	.001
Q39 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to drink beer, wine, or hard liquor regularly?	.035	.014	.034	2.563	.010
Q48 How many times have you done what felt good no matter what?	-.012	.004	-.022	-2.819	.005
Q49 How many times have you done something dangerous because someone dared you to do it?	.051	.009	.054	5.379	.000
Q50 How many times have you done crazy things even if they are a little dangerous?	.038	.008	.051	4.904	.000
Q60 Have you ever belonged to a gang?	-.1334	.231	-.172	-5.781	.000
Q62 If you have ever belonged to a gang, did the gang have a name?	.646	.124	.150	5.196	.000
Q64 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?	.590	.019	.272	30.766	.000
Q65 How many times in the past year have you sold illegal drugs?	.118	.014	.081	8.547	.000
Q67 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	.033	.005	.057	6.199	.000
Q78 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they smoke one or more packs of cigarettes per day?	.040	.015	.022	2.710	.007
Q82 Have you ever smoked cigarettes in your lifetime?	.101	.021	.066	4.709	.000
Q84 ...had beer, wine, or hard liquor in your lifetime?	.035	.009	.058	3.921	.000
Q88 On how many occasions have you used marijuana in your lifetime?	.031	.012	.046	2.667	.008
Q90 On how many occasions have you used marijuana during the past 30 days?	-.037	.014	-.031	-2.650	.008
Q98 On how many occasions have you used heroin in the past 30 days?	.201	.041	.038	4.845	.000
Q103 How old were you when you first smoked a cigarette, even just a puff?	-.020	.007	-.032	-2.895	.004
Q107 How old were you when you first got arrested?	.065	.011	.045	5.729	.000
Q108 How old were you when you first carried a handgun?	.090	.012	.062	7.754	.000

Q109 How old were you when you first attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.075	.009	.065	8.390	.000
Q121 On an average school night, how many hours of sleep do you get?	-.021	.006	-.027	-3.375	.001
Q132 How many adults have you known personally who in the past year have used marijuana, crack, cocaine, or other drugs?	.048	.011	.046	4.330	.000
Q152 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to draw graffiti, write things, or draw pictures on buildings or other property?	-.048	.018	-.023	-2.672	.008
Q154 Have any of your brothers or sisters ever drunk beer, wine, or hard liquor?	-.037	.014	-.030	-2.696	.007
Q171 If you carried a handgun without your parents' permission, would you be caught by your parents?	-.076	.012	-.060	-6.404	.000
Q183 How often do you recycle things such as newspapers, cans, and glass?	-.035	.013	-.022	-2.702	.007
Q188 I believe that my actions can improve the quality of the environment.	.043	.012	.029	3.462	.001

2012: Q64 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q27 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have used LSD, cocaine, amphetamines, or other illegal drugs?	-.030	.007	-.041	-4.261	.000
Q29 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have carried a handgun?	.222	.010	.180	21.344	.000
Q30 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have sold illegal drugs?	-.053	.007	-.077	-7.472	.000
Q31 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have stolen or tried to steal a motor vehicle?	.068	.012	.049	5.650	.000
Q33 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have dropped out of school?	.054	.011	.041	5.081	.000
Q34 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to take a handgun to school?	.075	.008	.073	9.270	.000
Q39 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to drink beer, wine, or hard liquor regularly?	-.030	.006	-.063	-5.074	.000
Q49 How many times have you done something dangerous because someone dared you to do it?	-.011	.004	-.026	-2.808	.005
Q60 Have you ever belonged to a gang?	-.351	.100	-.098	-3.523	.000
Q61 How old were you when you first belonged to a gang?	-.153	.012	-.159	12.643	.000
Q62 If you have ever belonged to a gang, did the gang have a name?	-.262	.054	-.131	-4.880	.000
Q63 How many times in the past year have you carried a weapon other than a handgun?	.110	.004	.238	30.766	.000
Q65 How many times in the past year have you sold illegal drugs?	.110	.006	.163	18.571	.000
Q66 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	.012	.003	.039	4.394	.000
Q67 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	-.009	.002	-.033	-3.845	.000
Q68 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	.048	.008	.043	5.642	.000
Q69 How many times in the past year has anyone bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	-.010	.002	-.037	-4.272	.000
Q73 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?	.022	.006	.027	3.507	.000
Q90 On how many occasions have you used marijuana during the past 30 days?	-.023	.006	-.042	-3.851	.000
Q91 On how many occasions have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in the past 30 days?	-.045	.016	-.025	-2.888	.004
Q94 On how many occasions have you used methamphetamine in the past 30 days?	.078	.018	.031	4.318	.000
Q96 On how many occasions have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	.063	.016	.030	3.865	.000
Q99 On how many occasions have you taken painkillers without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	.038	.009	.034	4.318	.000
Q100 On how many occasions have you taken a prescription drug other than painkillers without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	-.028	.009	-.025	-3.199	.001

Q101 On how many occasions have you taken over-the-counter drugs to get high in the past 30 days?	.061	.014	.033	4.382	.000
Q106 How old were you when you first got suspended from school?	-.016	.004	-.033	-4.304	.000
Q108 How old were you when you first carried a handgun?	.146	.005	.220	30.166	.000
Q114 During the past 7 days how many times did you eat fruit?	-.006	.002	-.021	-2.610	.009
Q129 How wrong would most adults in your neighborhood think it is for kids your age to use marijuana?	.021	.007	.027	2.860	.004
Q132 How many adults have you known personally who in the past year have used marijuana, crack, cocaine, or other drugs?	-.013	.005	-.028	-2.788	.005
Q133 How many adults have you known personally who in the past year have sold or dealt drugs?	.037	.007	.052	5.263	.000
Q152 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to draw graffiti, write things, or draw pictures on buildings or other property?	.027	.008	.028	3.446	.001
Q153 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to pick a fight with someone?	-.016	.006	-.024	-2.843	.004

2012: Q66 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?

Coefficients ^a					
Summary Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	-.094	.025	-.029	-3.699	.000
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	.162	.024	.051	6.669	.000
Q8 Putting them all together, what were your grades like last year?	.080	.017	.038	4.702	.000
Q10 How often do you come to classes without your homework finished?	-.091	.020	-.034	-4.562	.000
Q12 I can do well in school if I want to.	-.051	.018	-.020	-2.842	.004
Q18 I feel safe at my school.	.051	.018	.022	2.818	.005
Q23 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row...	.125	.026	.035	4.801	.000
Q26 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have used marijuana?	.044	.015	.037	2.967	.003
Q28 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have been suspended from school?	.043	.017	.021	2.562	.010
Q37 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to attack someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.071	.022	.026	3.163	.002
Q46 I ignore rules that get in my way.	.048	.016	.025	2.912	.004
Q47 I do the opposite of what people tell me to just to get them mad.	.121	.015	.062	8.208	.000
Q49 How many times have you done something dangerous because someone dared you to do it?	.051	.013	.036	3.958	.000
Q51 I like to see how much I can get away with.	.066	.015	.036	4.308	.000
Q56 I feel as if I can solve most problems in my life.	-.057	.013	-.036	-4.421	.000
Q57 I try to find different solutions to the problem.	.047	.018	.019	2.626	.009
Q64 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?	.119	.027	.037	4.394	.000
Q65 How many times in the past year have you sold illegal drugs?	.086	.019	.039	4.543	.000
Q67 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	.249	.007	.284	35.257	.000
Q68 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	.140	.027	.039	5.215	.000
Q69 How many times in the past year has anyone bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	.308	.007	.371	46.678	0.000
Q70 How many times in the past year has anyone said something bad about your race or culture?	-.031	.007	-.037	-4.638	.000
Q72 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	-.169	.017	-.087	-9.862	.000
Q73 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?	.407	.020	.155	20.674	.000
Q102 How old were you when you first smoked marijuana?	-.028	.009	-.037	-3.115	.002
Q109 How old were you when you first attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.093	.012	.054	7.597	.000

Q129 How wrong would most adults in your neighborhood think it is for kids your age to use marijuana?	-.120	.024	-.047	-5.084	.000
Q134 How many adults have you known personally who in the past year have done other things that could get them in trouble with the police...?	.048	.018	.023	2.598	.009
Q167 Do you enjoy spending time with your mother?	.062	.024	.029	2.580	.010
Q200 I know of someone who has been really hurt by cyberbullying.	.029	.011	.019	2.670	.008
Q201 I would report cyberbullying incidents, if I could do so without anyone knowing it was me.	.073	.013	.040	5.699	.000
Q202 I have the right to say anything I want online, even if what I say hurts someone or violates someone's privacy.	-.084	.013	-.045	-6.263	.000

2012: Q67 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	.318	.029	.087	10.824	.000
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	-.151	.028	-.042	-5.365	.000
Q16 There are lots of chances for students in my school to get involved in sports, clubs, and other school activities outside of class.	.065	.023	.022	2.851	.004
Q22 I think sometimes it is okay to cheat at school.	.156	.019	.071	8.376	.000
Q30 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have sold illegal drugs?	.104	.026	.040	3.963	.000
Q49 How many times have you done something dangerous because someone dared you to do it?	.072	.015	.045	4.796	.000
Q63 How many times in the past year have you carried a weapon other than a handgun?	.084	.014	.049	6.199	.000
Q64 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?	-.121	.032	-.033	-3.845	.000
Q66 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	.335	.010	.294	35.257	.000
Q69 How many times in the past year has anyone bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	-.047	.008	-.050	-5.738	.000
Q70 How many times in the past year has anyone said something bad about your race or culture?	.291	.007	.313	40.304	0.000
Q72 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	-.075	.020	-.034	-3.779	.000
Q73 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?	.263	.023	.088	11.391	.000
Q74 You are looking at the CDs in the music store with a friend...What would you do now?	-.030	.011	-.018	-2.584	.010
Q76 You are visiting another part of town and you do not know any of the people your age there...What would you say or do?	.068	.016	.029	4.393	.000
Q87 How many times have you driven a car or other vehicle when you had been drinking alcohol?	.174	.034	.038	5.061	.000
Q96 On how many occasions have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	-.311	.060	-.040	-5.195	.000
Q97 On how many occasions have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	.250	.074	.023	3.370	.001
Q98 On how many occasions have you used heroin in the past 30 days?	.279	.066	.031	4.227	.000
Q100 On how many occasions have you taken a prescription drug other than painkillers without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	.093	.033	.022	2.840	.005
Q109 How old were you when you first attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.041	.014	.021	2.885	.004
Q112 Have you ever had oral sex?	-.193	.045	-.043	-4.284	.000
Q125 How easy or hard would it be for you to get some marijuana?	.052	.017	.034	2.994	.003
Q135 How many adults have you known personally who in the past year have gotten drunk or high?	.029	.010	.024	2.818	.005

Q145 I would like to get out of my neighborhood or the area around where I live.	-.055	.018	-.027	-3.073	.002
Q172 If you skipped school without your parents' permission, would you be caught by your parents?	.049	.019	.022	2.655	.008
Q179 People in my family often insult or yell at each other.	.064	.019	.031	3.264	.001
Q186 How often do you conserve water in your home or yard?	.064	.021	.024	3.112	.002
Q188 I believe that my actions can improve the quality of the environment.	.051	.020	.020	2.602	.009
Q199 People who know me would say thinking through the possible good and bad results of different choices before I make decisions is...	.043	.013	.027	3.402	.001
Q201 I would report cyberbullying incidents, if I could do so without anyone knowing it was me.	.050	.015	.024	3.388	.001
Q202 I have the right to say anything I want online, even if what I say hurts someone or violates someone's privacy.	-.056	.016	-.027	-3.610	.000

2012: Q68 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q8 Putting them all together, what were your grades like last year?	-.042	.005	-.071	-7.695	.000
Q24 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have smoked cigarettes?	-.014	.005	-.032	-2.866	.004
Q28 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have been suspended from school?	.070	.005	.124	13.125	.000
Q29 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have carried a handgun?	.035	.011	.031	3.260	.001
Q30 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have sold illegal drugs?	-.041	.007	-.065	-5.687	.000
Q31 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have stolen or tried to steal a motor vehicle?	.055	.012	.043	4.503	.000
Q32 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have been arrested?	.033	.009	.040	3.792	.000
Q34 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to take a handgun to school?	.032	.008	.034	3.900	.000
Q37 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to attack someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	-.023	.007	-.030	-3.150	.002
Q57 I try to find different solutions to the problem.	.019	.006	.028	3.322	.001
Q60 Have you ever belonged to a gang?	-.721	.101	-.221	-7.148	.000
Q61 How old were you when you first belonged to a gang?	-.061	.012	-.069	-4.905	.000
Q62 If you have ever belonged to a gang, did the gang have a name?	.254	.054	.140	4.662	.000
Q64 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?	.049	.009	.054	5.642	.000
Q65 How many times in the past year have you sold illegal drugs?	.045	.006	.073	7.408	.000
Q66 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	.014	.003	.051	5.215	.000
Q71 During the past 12 months, have you ever been electronically bullied...?	.046	.013	.033	3.564	.000
Q72 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	.028	.005	.051	5.090	.000
Q73 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?	.036	.006	.048	5.576	.000
Q76 You are visiting another part of town and you do not know any of the people your age there...What would you say or do?	-.018	.004	-.032	-4.306	.000
Q82 Have you ever smoked cigarettes in your lifetime?	.025	.009	.038	2.647	.008
Q86 Think back over the last two weeks. How many times have you had five or more alcoholic drinks in a row?	.028	.009	.037	3.291	.001
Q88 On how many occasions have you used marijuana in your lifetime?	.016	.005	.057	3.183	.001
Q90 On how many occasions have you used marijuana during the past 30 days?	-.026	.006	-.051	-4.251	.000
Q91 On how many occasions have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in the past 30 days?	.043	.016	.026	2.675	.007

Q98 On how many occasions have you used heroin in the past 30 days?	-.058	.018	-.026	-3.184	.001
Q100 On how many occasions have you taken a prescription drug other than painkillers without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	-.033	.009	-.032	-3.720	.000
Q102 How old were you when you first smoked marijuana?	-.009	.003	-.040	-2.988	.003
Q103 How old were you when you first smoked a cigarette, even just a puff?	-.009	.003	-.033	-2.863	.004
Q106 How old were you when you first got suspended from school?	.159	.004	.355	44.843	0.000
Q108 How old were you when you first carried a handgun?	-.021	.005	-.034	-4.088	.000
Q109 How old were you when you first attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.013	.004	.026	3.207	.001
Q112 Have you ever had oral sex?	.033	.012	.030	2.648	.008
Q113 Which of the following best describes you?	.013	.005	.019	2.593	.010
Q142 How many times have you changed homes since kindergarten?	.010	.003	.026	3.403	.001
Q152 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to draw graffiti, write things, or draw pictures on buildings or other property?	.022	.008	.026	2.837	.005
Q157 Have any of your brothers or sisters ever taken a handgun to school?	.033	.011	.042	2.915	.004
Q158 Have any of your brothers or sisters ever been suspended or expelled from school?	-.038	.009	-.057	-4.386	.000
Q189 During an average week, how many hours do you spend helping friends or neighbors...	-.009	.003	-.024	-2.692	.007
Q203 How honest were you in filling out this survey?	.039	.007	.046	5.939	.000

2012: Q69 How many times in the past year has anyone bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?

Coefficients ^a					
Summary Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	.199	.031	.052	6.503	.000
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	-.383	.029	-.100	-13.161	.000
Q7 What language do you use most often at home?	-.148	.034	-.031	-4.360	.000
Q8 Putting them all together, what were your grades like last year?	-.055	.021	-.022	-2.656	.008
Q9 How many days of school have you missed because you skipped or cut?	-.034	.013	-.019	-2.655	.008
Q16 There are lots of chances for students in my school to get involved in sports, clubs, and other school activities outside of class.	.065	.024	.020	2.722	.007
Q18 I feel safe at my school.	-.176	.022	-.062	-8.074	.000
Q23 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row...	-.333	.031	-.079	-10.671	.000
Q56 I feel as if I can solve most problems in my life.	.092	.015	.049	5.963	.000
Q64 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?	-.140	.033	-.036	-4.272	.000
Q66 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	.447	.010	.371	46.678	0.000
Q67 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	-.051	.009	-.048	-5.738	.000
Q70 How many times in the past year has anyone said something bad about your race or culture?	.299	.008	.305	39.790	0.000
Q71 During the past 12 months, have you ever been electronically bullied...?	-.536	.049	-.089	-10.993	.000
Q72 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	.425	.020	.181	20.818	.000
Q73 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?	-.205	.024	-.065	-8.538	.000
Q85 ...had beer, wine, or hard liquor during the past 30 days?	-.076	.029	-.031	-2.590	.010
Q93 On how many occasions have you sniffed glue, breathed the contents of an aerosol spray can...in the past 30 days?	.130	.048	.019	2.728	.006
Q97 On how many occasions have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	-.256	.077	-.023	-3.328	.001
Q113 Which of the following best describes you?	.079	.018	.028	4.320	.000
Q137 My neighbors notice when I am doing a good job and let me know about it.	-.055	.019	-.025	-2.884	.004
Q177 My parents ask if I have gotten my homework done.	.049	.018	.020	2.726	.006

Q179 People in my family often insult or yell at each other.	.062	.020	.028	3.059	.002
Q192 During the last 12 months, how many times have you stood up for what you believed, even when it was unpopular to do so?	.055	.011	.041	4.959	.000
Q194 During the last 12 months, have you used your political voice as a result of reading about politics, political campaigns...	-.082	.029	-.019	-2.778	.005
Q200 I know of someone who has been really hurt by cyberbullying.	-.118	.013	-.063	-9.022	.000
Q202 I have the right to say anything I want online, even if what I say hurts someone or violates someone's privacy.	.089	.016	.040	5.477	.000
Q203 How honest were you in filling out this survey?	-.085	.025	-.023	-3.457	.001

2012: Q70 How many times in the past year has anyone said something bad about your race or culture?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	.206	.033	.053	6.264	.000
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	.719	.031	.184	23.205	.000
Q7 What language do you use most often at home?	.150	.037	.031	4.087	.000
Q8 Putting them all together, what were your grades like last year?	.093	.022	.036	4.176	.000
Q18 I feel safe at my school.	-.074	.024	-.026	-3.129	.002
Q43 It is alright to beat up people if they start the fight.	.061	.018	.030	3.364	.001
Q51 I like to see how much I can get away with.	-.080	.020	-.036	-4.038	.000
Q66 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	-.052	.011	-.042	-4.638	.000
Q67 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	.365	.009	.340	40.304	0.000
Q69 How many times in the past year has anyone bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	.348	.009	.341	39.790	0.000
Q71 During the past 12 months, have you ever been electronically bullied...?	.148	.053	.024	2.798	.005
Q72 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	.093	.022	.039	4.159	.000
Q77 You are at a party at someone's house, and one of your friends offers you a drink containing alcohol. What would you say or do?	.046	.016	.023	2.894	.004
Q87 How many times have you driven a car or other vehicle when you had been drinking alcohol?	-.121	.038	-.025	-3.140	.002
Q98 On how many occasions have you used heroin in the past 30 days?	-.284	.074	-.029	-3.837	.000
Q104 How old were you when you first had more than a sip or two of beer, wine, or hard liquor?	-.022	.008	-.028	-2.755	.006
Q112 Have you ever had oral sex?	.154	.050	.032	3.064	.002
Q118 During the past 7 days how many times did you eat other vegetables?	.030	.010	.024	2.846	.004
Q123 How easy or hard would it be for you to get some cigarettes?	.047	.017	.028	2.786	.005
Q134 How many adults have you known personally who in the past year have done other things that could get them in trouble with the police...?	.103	.024	.040	4.318	.000
Q139 There are lots of adults in my neighborhood I could talk to about something important.	-.056	.020	.000	-2.802	.005
Q163 My family has clear rules about alcohol and drug use.	.061	.023	.023	2.653	.008
Q192 During the last 12 months, how many times have you stood up for what you believed, even when it was unpopular to do so?	.039	.012	.029	3.286	.001

2012: Q71 During the past 12 months, have you ever been electronically bullied...?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	.016	.005	.025	3.073	.002
Q23 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row...	.044	.005	.062	8.082	.000
Q25 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have tried beer, wine, or hard liquor when their parents didn't know about it?	-.007	.003	-.032	-2.569	.010
Q65 How many times in the past year have you sold illegal drugs?	.012	.004	.027	2.942	.003
Q68 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	.020	.006	.028	3.564	.000
Q69 How many times in the past year has anyone bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	-.016	.001	-.098	-10.993	.000
Q70 How many times in the past year has anyone said something bad about your race or culture?	.004	.001	.024	2.798	.005
Q72 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	-.206	.003	-.524	-64.907	0.000
Q108 How old were you when you first carried a handgun?	-.011	.003	-.025	-3.213	.001
Q112 Have you ever had oral sex?	.021	.008	.027	2.608	.009
Q174 Do you share your thoughts and feelings with your mother?	-.014	.004	-.040	-3.410	.001
Q175 Do you share your thoughts and feelings with your father?	.011	.004	.033	2.811	.005
Q194 During the last 12 months, have you used your political voice as a result of reading about politics, political campaigns...	.017	.005	.023	3.261	.001
Q200 I know of someone who has been really hurt by cyberbullying.	.034	.002	.110	15.025	.000

2012: Q72 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q28 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have been suspended from school?	-.026	.008	-.025	-3.132	.002
Q57 I try to find different solutions to the problem.	.038	.009	.031	4.300	.000
Q61 How old were you when you first belonged to a gang?	-.068	.019	-.042	-3.517	.000
Q62 If you have ever belonged to a gang, did the gang have a name?	-.282	.085	-.085	-3.315	.001
Q66 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	-.042	.004	-.082	-9.862	.000
Q67 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	-.014	.004	-.031	-3.779	.000
Q68 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	.068	.013	.037	5.090	.000
Q69 How many times in the past year has anyone bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	.072	.003	.170	20.818	.000
Q70 How many times in the past year has anyone said something bad about your race or culture?	.014	.003	.033	4.159	.000
Q71 During the past 12 months, have you ever been electronically bullied...?	-1.148	.018	-.450	64.907	0.000
Q73 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?	.414	.009	.308	44.515	0.000
Q83 How often have you smoked cigarettes during the past 30 days?	.065	.019	.031	3.509	.000
Q87 How many times have you driven a car or other vehicle when you had been drinking alcohol?	-.043	.015	-.021	-2.905	.004
Q96 On how many occasions have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	-.069	.026	-.020	-2.705	.007
Q106 How old were you when you first got suspended from school?	-.018	.006	-.022	-3.034	.002
Q108 How old were you when you first carried a handgun?	-.028	.008	-.025	-3.500	.000
Q109 How old were you when you first attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	-.017	.006	-.019	-2.710	.007
Q111 The last time you had sexual intercourse, did you or your partner use a condom?	.079	.026	.052	3.040	.002
Q119 During the past 7 days how many times did you drink a can, bottle, or glass of soda or pop, such as Coke, Pepsi, or Sprite?	.011	.004	.018	2.694	.007
Q124 How easy or hard would it be for you to get drugs like cocaine, LSD, or amphetamines?	.027	.010	.023	2.814	.005
Q130 How wrong would most adults in your neighborhood think it is for kids your age to drink alcohol?	.028	.010	.027	2.845	.004
Q174 Do you share your thoughts and feelings with your mother?	-.026	.010	-.028	-2.614	.009
Q200 I know of someone who has been really hurt by cyberbullying.	-.026	.005	-.033	-4.778	.000
Q201 I would report cyberbullying incidents, if I could do so without anyone knowing it was me.	-.018	.006	-.020	-2.867	.004

2012: Q73 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q22 I think sometimes it is okay to cheat at school.	.019	.007	.027	2.831	.005
Q23 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row...	.034	.011	.025	3.053	.002
Q32 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have been arrested?	.032	.012	.029	2.763	.006
Q47 I do the opposite of what people tell me to just to get them mad.	.017	.006	.023	2.663	.008
Q64 How many times in the past year have you carried a handgun?	.041	.012	.033	3.507	.000
Q66 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	.075	.004	.196	20.674	.000
Q67 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	.036	.003	.107	11.391	.000
Q68 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	.064	.011	.047	5.576	.000
Q69 How many times in the past year has anyone bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	-.026	.003	-.082	-8.538	.000
Q72 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	.307	.007	.412	44.515	0.000
Q81 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they take one or two drinks of an alcoholic beverage nearly every day?	.026	.006	.037	4.250	.000
Q90 On how many occasions have you used marijuana during the past 30 days?	.033	.008	.048	4.029	.000
Q91 On how many occasions have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in the past 30 days?	.055	.021	.025	2.578	.010
Q93 On how many occasions have you sniffed glue, breathed the contents of an aerosol spray can...in the past 30 days?	.065	.017	.030	3.833	.000
Q96 On how many occasions have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	.066	.022	.025	2.988	.003
Q97 On how many occasions have you taken steroids without a doctor's order in the past 30 days?	.201	.027	.056	7.342	.000
Q101 On how many occasions have you taken over-the-counter drugs to get high in the past 30 days?	-.056	.019	-.024	-2.944	.003
Q107 How old were you when you first got arrested?	-.019	.007	-.023	-2.831	.005
Q109 How old were you when you first attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.021	.005	.032	4.069	.000
Q124 How easy or hard would it be for you to get drugs like cocaine, LSD, or amphetamines?	-.022	.008	-.025	-2.580	.010
Q158 Have any of your brothers or sisters ever been suspended or expelled from school?	-.033	.012	-.037	-2.885	.004
Q201 I would report cyberbullying incidents, if I could do so without anyone knowing it was me.	.030	.005	.043	5.403	.000
Q202 I have the right to say anything I want online, even if what I say hurts someone or violates someone's privacy.	-.018	.006	-.026	-3.190	.001

2012: Q109 How old were you when you first attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q23 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row...	-.076	.018	-.037	-4.176	.000
Q28 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have been suspended from school?	.036	.012	.031	3.023	.003
Q29 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have carried a handgun?	-.074	.024	-.032	-3.168	.002
Q32 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have been arrested?	.056	.019	.033	2.947	.003
Q37 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to attack someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.272	.016	.174	17.518	.000
Q43 It is alright to beat up people if they start the fight.	.044	.010	.047	4.550	.000
Q55 When things don't go well for me, I am good at finding a way to make things better.	.027	.010	.027	2.657	.008
Q61 How old were you when you first belonged to a gang?	.207	.027	.115	7.687	.000
Q63 How many times in the past year have you carried a weapon other than a handgun?	.069	.008	.079	8.390	.000
Q66 How many times in the past year have you bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased someone?	.045	.006	.079	7.597	.000
Q67 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	.015	.005	.029	2.885	.004
Q68 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	.060	.019	.029	3.207	.001
Q72 How many times in the past year have you been cyberbullied by a student who attends your school?	-.033	.012	-.029	-2.710	.007
Q73 How many times in the past year have you cyberbullied a student attending your school?	.057	.014	.038	4.069	.000
Q76 You are visiting another part of town and you do not know any of the people your age there...What would you say or do?	-.029	.009	-.024	-3.061	.002
Q85 ...had beer, wine, or hard liquor during the past 30 days?	.047	.017	.040	2.751	.006
Q91 On how many occasions have you used LSD or other hallucinogens in the past 30 days?	.166	.035	.049	4.767	.000
Q92 On how many occasions have you used cocaine or crack in the past 30 days?	-.138	.041	-.033	-3.377	.001
Q106 How old were you when you first got suspended from school?	.072	.008	.078	8.680	.000
Q107 How old were you when you first got arrested?	.061	.011	.048	5.630	.000
Q108 How old were you when you first carried a handgun?	.118	.011	.094	10.619	.000
Q124 How easy or hard would it be for you to get drugs like cocaine, LSD, or amphetamines?	.046	.014	.035	3.344	.001
Q133 How many adults have you known personally who in the past year have sold or dealt drugs?	.051	.015	.039	3.310	.001
Q134 How many adults have you known personally who in the past year have done other things that could get them in trouble with the police...?	.034	.013	.028	2.691	.007
Q135 How many adults have you known personally who in the past year have gotten drunk or high?	-.018	.006	-.029	-2.869	.004

Q153 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to pick a fight with someone?	.050	.013	.039	3.923	.000
Q200 I know of someone who has been really hurt by cyberbullying.	-.027	.008	-.031	-3.598	.000

2012: Q142 How many times have you changed homes since kindergarten?

Coefficients^a

Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q1 How old are you?	.054	.019	.077	2.772	.006
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	.217	.022	.092	9.679	.000
Q7 What language do you use most often at home?	.199	.026	.069	7.621	.000
Q8 Putting them all together, what were your grades like last year?	-.059	.016	-.038	-3.721	.000
Q12 I can do well in school if I want to.	-.046	.017	-.024	-2.786	.005
Q23 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row...	-.083	.024	-.032	-3.468	.001
Q43 It is alright to beat up people if they start the fight.	.056	.013	.046	4.364	.000
Q59 How many times have you volunteered to do community service?	-.027	.008	-.035	-3.473	.001
Q68 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	.086	.025	.033	3.456	.001
Q74 You are looking at the CDs in the music store with a friend...What would you do now?	.036	.009	.033	3.931	.000
Q82 Have you ever smoked cigarettes in your lifetime?	.086	.027	.051	3.179	.001
Q114 During the past 7 days how many times did you eat fruit?	-.019	.007	-.027	-2.664	.008
Q122 How easy or hard would it be for you to get some beer, wine, or hard liquor?	-.045	.011	-.043	-3.942	.000
Q126 Would a kid in your neighborhood be caught by the police if he or she smoked marijuana?	.048	.017	.038	2.853	.004
Q134 How many adults have you known personally who in the past year have done other things that could get them in trouble with the police...?	.049	.017	.032	2.889	.004
Q136 If I had to move, I would miss the neighborhood I now live in.	-.185	.016	-.146	11.857	.000
Q139 There are lots of adults in my neighborhood I could talk to about something important.	-.079	.014	-.064	-5.492	.000
Q140 There are people in my neighborhood, or the area around where I live, who are proud of me when I do something well.	-.049	.017	-.039	-2.950	.003
Q146 There are people in my neighborhood, or the area around where I live, who encourage me to do my best.	-.059	.016	-.045	-3.726	.000
Q153 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to pick a fight with someone?	.058	.017	.036	3.428	.001
Q154 Have any of your brothers or sisters ever drunk beer, wine, or hard liquor?	.074	.017	.055	4.265	.000
Q176 Do you feel very close to your father?	-.075	.019	-.059	-3.850	.000
Q177 My parents ask if I have gotten my homework done.	-.052	.014	-.035	-3.780	.000
Q183 How often do you recycle things such as newspapers, cans, and glass?	.093	.016	.053	5.697	.000
Q189 During an average week, how many hours do you spend helping friends or neighbors...	.028	.009	.030	3.063	.002
Q190 During the last 12 months, how many times have you been a leader in a group or organization?	.022	.008	.027	2.743	.006
Q202 I have the right to say anything I want online, even if what I say hurts someone or violates someone's privacy.	.042	.012	.030	3.347	.001

Q203 How honest were you in filling out this survey?	-.055	.019	-.025	-2.880	.004
Q179 People in my family often insult or yell at each other.	-.040	.016	-.030	-2.603	.009

2012: Q157 Have any of your brothers or sisters ever taken a handgun to school?

Coefficients ^a					
Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	-.019	.006	-.016	-3.021	.003
Q23 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row...	-.016	.006	-.013	-2.568	.010
Q40 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to smoke cigarettes?	-.015	.005	-.021	-3.084	.002
Q68 How many times in the past year have you been suspended from school?	.019	.006	.015	2.915	.004
Q84 ...had beer, wine, or hard liquor in your lifetime?	.011	.003	.035	3.836	.000
Q94 On how many occasions have you used methamphetamine in the past 30 days?	-.042	.014	-.014	-3.016	.003
Q96 On how many occasions have you used Ecstasy in the past 30 days?	-.037	.012	-.015	-2.972	.003
Q102 How old were you when you first smoked marijuana?	.006	.002	.022	2.839	.005
Q108 How old were you when you first carried a handgun?	.016	.004	.020	4.101	.000
Q125 How easy or hard would it be for you to get some marijuana?	.010	.004	.020	2.655	.008
Q132 How many adults have you known personally who in the past year have used marijuana, crack, cocaine, or other drugs?	.017	.004	.029	4.524	.000
Q150 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to smoke marijuana?	.028	.007	.024	3.985	.000
Q154 Have any of your brothers or sisters ever drunk beer, wine, or hard liquor?	.107	.004	.161	23.912	.000
Q155 Have any of your brothers or sisters ever smoked marijuana?	.173	.006	.229	31.218	.000
Q156 Have any of your brothers or sisters ever smoked cigarettes?	.125	.006	.164	22.548	.000
Q158 Have any of your brothers or sisters ever been suspended or expelled from school?	.372	.006	.441	65.509	0.000
Q160 Has anyone in your family ever had a severe alcohol or drug problem?	-.046	.007	-.032	-7.012	.000
Q184 How often do you turn off lights and electrical appliances when not in use?	.014	.005	.013	2.714	.007

2012: Q179 People in my family often insult or yell at each other.

Coefficients^a

Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	-.060	.013	-.034	-4.635	.000
Q47 I do the opposite of what people tell me to just to get them mad.	.037	.008	.035	4.961	.000
Q67 How many times in the past year have you said something bad about someone's race or culture?	.012	.004	.025	3.262	.001
Q69 How many times in the past year has anyone bullied, taunted, ridiculed, or teased you?	.011	.004	.024	3.042	.002
Q79 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they try marijuana once or twice?	-.020	.008	-.025	-2.594	.009
Q128 Would a kid in your neighborhood be caught by the police if he or she carried a handgun?	-.020	.007	-.022	-2.789	.005
Q132 How many adults have you known personally who in the past year have used marijuana, crack, cocaine, or other drugs?	.022	.008	.025	2.849	.004
Q142 How many times have you changed homes since kindergarten?	-.012	.005	-.016	-2.603	.009
Q143 Are there sports teams or other extracurricular activities for people your age available in your community?	.021	.007	.020	2.890	.004
Q152 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to draw graffiti, write things, or draw pictures on buildings or other property?	.040	.013	.023	3.161	.002
Q159 The rules in my family are clear.	-.038	.010	-.031	-3.999	.000
Q160 Has anyone in your family ever had a severe alcohol or drug problem?	-.053	.014	-.024	-3.840	.000
Q164 My parents notice when I am doing a good job and let me know about it.	-.026	.010	-.028	-2.718	.007
Q166 My parents ask me what I think before most family decisions affecting me are made.	-.031	.008	-.031	-3.967	.000
Q169 If I had a personal problem, I could ask my mom or dad for help.	-.026	.009	-.026	-2.819	.005
Q170 My parents give me lots of chances to do fun things with them.	-.025	.009	-.024	-2.768	.006
Q176 Do you feel very close to your father?	-.037	.011	-.039	-3.433	.001
Q180 We argue about the same things in my family over and over.	.325	.008	.328	41.752	0.000
Q181 People in my family have serious arguments.	.362	.008	.360	45.741	0.000
Q187 How often do you buy biodegradable or recyclable products?	.027	.009	.022	2.991	.003
Q202 I have the right to say anything I want online, even if what I say hurts someone or violates someone's privacy.	-.023	.007	-.022	-3.340	.001

2012: Q180 We argue about the same things in my family over and over.

Coefficients^a

Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q2 What grade are you in?	.074	.023	.066	3.140	.002
Q3 Gender?	-.072	.013	-.041	-5.367	.000
Q21 I have lots of chances to be a part of class discussions or activities.	.028	.011	.019	2.604	.009
Q23 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row...	-.058	.014	-.030	-4.226	.000
Q37 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to attack someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	-.043	.012	-.029	-3.655	.000
Q44 It is important to be honest with your parents even if they become upset or you get punished.	-.028	.010	-.022	-2.935	.003
Q46 I ignore rules that get in my way.	.023	.009	.021	2.598	.009
Q47 I do the opposite of what people tell me to just to get them mad.	.021	.008	.020	2.722	.007
Q54 I am able to save my money for something I really want.	.021	.006	.023	3.502	.000
Q57 I try to find different solutions to the problem.	-.039	.009	-.029	-4.156	.000
Q74 You are looking at the CDs in the music store with a friend... What would you do now?	.014	.005	.017	2.721	.007
Q75 It is 8:00 on a weeknight and you are about to go over to a friend's house... What would you do now?	.026	.009	.018	2.983	.003
Q121 On an average school night, how many hours of sleep do you get?	-.019	.005	-.028	-4.104	.000
Q163 My family has clear rules about alcohol and drug use.	.025	.009	.021	2.667	.008
Q167 Do you enjoy spending time with your mother?	-.040	.013	-.034	-3.143	.002
Q170 My parents give me lots of chances to do fun things with them.	-.029	.009	-.027	-3.074	.002
Q171 If you carried a handgun without your parents' permission, would you be caught by your parents?	.022	.009	.021	2.613	.009
Q177 My parents ask if I have gotten my homework done.	.036	.008	.032	4.587	.000
Q178 Would your parents know if you did not come home on time?	.026	.008	.024	3.271	.001
Q181 People in my family have serious arguments.	.335	.008	.330	40.248	0.000
Q185 How often do you try to cut down on the amount of trash and garbage you create?	.031	.009	.025	3.367	.001
Q193 In the past 30 days, how often have you read about issues affecting the public, politics...	-.023	.009	-.018	-2.606	.009
Q197 People who know me would say giving up when things get hard for me is...	.021	.006	.025	3.696	.000
Q179 People in my family often insult or yell at each other.	.348	.008	.346	41.752	0.000

2012: Q181 People in my family have serious arguments.

Coefficients^a

Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	.064	.013	.037	4.952	.000
Q23 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row...	-.048	.013	-.025	-3.576	.000
Q37 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to attack someone with the idea of seriously hurting them?	.048	.012	.032	4.154	.000
Q56 I feel as if I can solve most problems in my life.	.022	.007	.026	3.368	.001
Q75 It is 8:00 on a weeknight and you are about to go over to a friend's house... What would you do now?	.023	.009	.016	2.709	.007
Q145 I would like to get out of my neighborhood or the area around where I live.	.024	.008	.024	3.015	.003
Q147 How often do you attend religious services or activities?	-.013	.005	-.017	-2.699	.007
Q160 Has anyone in your family ever had a severe alcohol or drug problem?	-.101	.014	-.046	-7.252	.000
Q166 My parents ask me what I think before most family decisions affecting me are made.	-.023	.008	-.023	-2.964	.003
Q168 Do you enjoy spending time with your father?	-.042	.011	-.041	-3.894	.000
Q170 My parents give me lots of chances to do fun things with them.	-.023	.009	-.022	-2.590	.010
Q173 Do you feel very close to your mother?	-.041	.012	-.039	-3.501	.000
Q174 Do you share your thoughts and feelings with your mother?	.030	.010	.031	2.984	.003
Q185 How often do you try to cut down on the amount of trash and garbage you create?	-.029	.009	-.024	-3.268	.001
Q196 People who know me would say being good at planning ahead is...	-.015	.005	-.020	-2.910	.004
Q200 I know of someone who has been really hurt by cyberbullying.	-.034	.006	-.040	-6.097	.000
Q179 People in my family often insult or yell at each other.	.367	.008	.369	45.741	0.000
Q180 We argue about the same things in my family over and over.	.317	.008	.321	40.248	0.000

2012: Q182 During the past 30 days, how often did you go hungry because there was not enough food in your home?

Coefficients^a

Survey Question	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Q3 Gender?	.033	.013	.026	2.636	.008
Q4 & Q5 Combined - Race	.049	.012	.038	4.007	.000
Q11 I know how to use a computer to do things like schoolwork, finding information, or typing papers.	.025	.010	.022	2.560	.010
Q12 I can do well in school if I want to.	.047	.009	.046	5.260	.000
Q23 During the past 12 months, did you ever feel so sad or hopeless almost every day for two weeks or more in a row...	-.099	.013	-.070	-7.653	.000
Q33 How many of your best friends (up to 4) have dropped out of school?	.068	.017	.039	4.012	.000
Q42 How wrong do you think it is for someone your age to use LSD, cocaine, amphetamines, or another illegal drug?	-.037	.013	-.032	-2.849	.004
Q44 It is important to be honest with your parents even if they become upset or you get punished.	.024	.009	.026	2.626	.009
Q51 I like to see how much I can get away with.	-.023	.008	-.032	-3.051	.002
Q55 When things don't go well for me, I am good at finding a way to make things better.	-.029	.007	-.041	-4.015	.000
Q62 If you have ever belonged to a gang, did the gang have a name?	.240	.085	.092	2.815	.005
Q78 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they smoke one or more packs of cigarettes per day?	-.032	.010	-.029	-3.174	.002
Q79 How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they try marijuana once or twice?	.023	.007	.039	3.042	.002
Q87 How many times have you driven a car or other vehicle when you had been drinking alcohol?	.049	.015	.030	3.294	.001
Q98 On how many occasions have you used heroin in the past 30 days?	.073	.028	.023	2.560	.010
Q101 On how many occasions have you taken over-the-counter drugs to get high in the past 30 days?	-.062	.022	-.025	-2.805	.005
Q110 Have you ever had sexual intercourse?	.124	.039	.075	3.180	.001
Q111 The last time you had sexual intercourse, did you or your partner use a condom?	.099	.026	.084	3.826	.000
Q113 Which of the following best describes you?	.034	.008	.036	4.497	.000
Q115 During the past 7 days how many times did you eat green salad?	.013	.005	.027	2.758	.006
Q117 During the past 7 days how many times did you eat carrots?	.014	.005	.027	2.801	.005
Q118 During the past 7 days how many times did you eat other vegetables?	-.011	.004	-.028	-2.836	.005
Q119 During the past 7 days how many times did you drink a can, bottle, or glass of soda or pop, such as Coke, Pepsi, or Sprite?	.016	.004	.033	3.913	.000
Q134 How many adults have you known personally who in the past year have done other things that could get them in trouble with the police...?	.024	.009	.028	2.587	.010

Q136 If I had to move, I would miss the neighborhood I now live in.	.031	.008	.045	3.648	.000
Q138 I like my neighborhood, or the area around where I live.	-.029	.010	-.037	-2.819	.005
Q145 I would like to get out of my neighborhood or the area around where I live.	.024	.008	.034	3.162	.002
Q151 How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to steal anything worth more than \$5?	.049	.014	.034	3.440	.001
Q161 When I am not at home, one of my parents knows where I am and who I am with.	-.033	.010	-.036	-3.459	.001
Q169 If I had a personal problem, I could ask my mom or dad for help.	-.026	.009	-.035	-2.883	.004
Q170 My parents give me lots of chances to do fun things with them.	-.032	.009	-.042	-3.673	.000
Q178 Would your parents know if you did not come home on time?	-.028	.008	-.035	-3.685	.000
Q179 People in my family often insult or yell at each other.	.025	.008	.035	3.041	.002
Q181 People in my family have serious arguments.	.031	.008	.043	3.757	.000
Q183 How often do you recycle things such as newspapers, cans, and glass?	.047	.009	.049	5.269	.000
Q189 During an average week, how many hours do you spend helping friends or neighbors...	.013	.005	.025	2.605	.009
Q197 People who know me would say giving up when things get hard for me is...	.031	.005	.049	5.668	.000
Q202 I have the right to say anything I want online, even if what I say hurts someone or violates someone's privacy.	-.025	.007	-.033	-3.692	.000
Q60 Have you ever belonged to a gang?	-.538	.158	-.115	-3.410	.001

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