THE CRIMINAL AND THE TERRORIST:

A COMPARATIVE CRIMINOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF PATHWAYS INTO CRIME

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Abstract

This dissertation examines both serial killers and terrorists in the hope that a more comprehensive understanding and look into their behaviour, can help counter their deviance. As recent tragedies such as 9/11 and 7/7 demonstrate the horrific damage terrorist organisations can cause, and highlights the need to understand their behaviour. Using library based, documentary review as a basis for critical research, this work attempts to investigate and analyse both serial killers' and terrorists' pathways into crime. In demonstrating the similarities and differences between the two, this dissertation aims to decipher if a terrorist could in fact be far more analogous to a serial killer than what is often believed.

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List of Abbreviations

FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
UDA	Ulster Defence Association
IRA	Irish Republican Army

1.   Introduction

By using different criminological theories and comparing their actions, this research project aims to take a comparative look at criminals' pathways into crime. Recent terrorist attacks and threats have elevated the public's fear. Catastrophic occurrences, such as the 9/11 attacks, highlight a need to apply criminological explanations to the perpetrators' behaviour in a bid to stop future attacks.

 It has been argued that political science has had the monopoly of explanations of terrorism, followed closely by religion, making it hard to compare terrorists with other criminals. Therefore by using criminological explanations to explain acts of terrorism, their motives can then be compared to decipher the similarities and differences between the two. Gaining an understanding of a terrorist's motives and causes, can help towards creating an effective, widespread counterterrorism strategy. By understanding criminals' individual characteristics, taking into account contextual and distinct factors, better functioning crime prevention strategies could be put into place.

This research project is about pathways into criminality and a comparison of serial killers and terrorists. It is not intended to be a comprehensive history of serial murder and terrorist activity, but an attempt to understand what motivates both serial killers and terrorists, with the hope of finding a common ground between the two. The strategy put forward in this research project is the use of secondary research to establish the aims of this extended research project. This research project will first define and categorise both phenomena before going on to apply criminological theories, which are generally applied to the 'common criminal', however disregards terrorism. Further comparative analysis will then be applied to both similar and dissimilar aspects of serial killing and terrorists, leading to a conclusion which hopes to establish whether terrorists are more comparable to a serial killer than previously believed. The first chapter will examine the methods used in this research project.

In the coming chapters criminological theories that have been traditionally applied to the 'common criminal' will be applied to both terrorists and serial killers. Social disorganisation theory and strain theory coupled with psychological explanations will be used to understand their behaviour. This research project will then provide an analytical exploration into their behaviour by investigating why evil people commit random acts of kindness and their motivations in terms of religion. Before providing additional comparative analysis by examining similar and dissimilar traits such as rouses, sexual deviancy and charisma. A table will then be provided to assist in the comparison, combined with a detailed table analysis. The conclusion will then be discussed.

2.   Methodology

Methodology can be understood, in a limited sense, to mean the various kinds of methods used for gathering data (Hirsjärvi and Hurme, 1985). The method used in this research project is qualitative research which is defined as 'an inductive view of the relationship between theory and research, whereby the former is generated out of the latter' (Bryman, 2001, p264). To generate theory analysis of 'words' rather than numbers to provide effective qualitative research, however to ensure research is correct, information obtained needs to be credible. Reznik (2011) states the 'importance of promoting the aims of research, such as knowledge, truth, and avoidance of error…. prohibitions against fabricating, falsifying, or misrepresenting research data promote the truth and avoid error' allowing for credible research to be obtained.

Secondary research has been used in this research project due to the limitations in time and issues relating to researcher safety and ethics. It would have been ideal to gain information through interviews and questionnaires with offenders. It is however recognised by FBI agents and offender profilers, that unless you are a psychiatrist or a police officer who has unique access to the penal system, it is almost impossible to interview a serial killer (Berry-Dee, 2003, p6). It is even harder to gain first-hand information from terrorists due to their secrecy and nature of their attacks. Using tactics such as suicide bombs renders it impossible to gain information. The lack of access to first hand research only allows for exploration of pathways into crime to be studied through secondary research. Therefore, the only possible method would be a library based documentary review and analysis. Although no 'new' raw data will be produced, examining and evaluating existing data through journals, news reports, books, academic texts and any other significant resources would provide a valuable objective.

In addition to library based information shown above, the use of internet resources was instrumental, giving access to many documents which were otherwise unobtainable. Use of the internet allows for Up-to-date news from around the world and diversity of information. Access to online news articles and other authoritative websites allowed for additional information to be gathered for analysis. Using reputable sources, such as 'The Guardian Online', granted real time accounts of dependable knowledge. In addition 'Google Scholar' provided invaluable resources and access to a lot of information to gain wide ranging views and empirical support. Coomber (1997) highlights that 'vast population of all kinds of individuals and groups may be more easily reached than ever before, across geographical borders, and even continents'. The use of the internet is imperative to this research project as it analyses criminals across the world. This project could not have been affectively completed without the use of the internet

By using case studies, rich and detailed information is able to be obtained, analysed and then applied to different situations. Case studies allow for the research to not be affected by the researchers' preconceptions. Eisenhardt (1989, p546) states that 'constant juxtaposition of conflicting realities tends to unfreeze thinking, and so the process has the potential to generate theory with less researcher bias than theory built from incremental studies or armchair, axiomatic deduction'. Case studies allow for detailed analysis of serial killers and terrorists and enable a thorough comparison. Detailed information allows for a more sufficient analysis, therefore a more reputable theory can be established. Yin highlights that 'case studies can involve either single or multiple cases, and numerous levels of analysis' (1981, p58-65). Multiple cases are examined in this research project to get a wider range of

information however, due to the secret lives of terrorists it is problematic to obtain detailed information for analysis, resulting in multiple use of the same case study in different contexts.

Cross cultural studies will be used when analysing and comparing both serial killers and terrorists. Cross-cultural research refers to 'empirical studies carried out among members of various cultural groups who have had different experiences that lead to predictable and significant difference in behaviour' (Brislin, 1976, p1). This can help to explain whether their pathways into crime are a result of their environment and allows for further critical analysis. Cross cultural studies allow for a larger sample of criminals to be analysed however, due to the shear amount of terrorist organisations, for this research project the main focus will be on Islamic terrorism (Al-Qaida) and nationalist terrorism relating to the conflict in Northern Ireland (UDA, IRA). Furthermore, as America has the majority of serial killers many of the serial killers used are American.

The advantages of using secondary research include factors such as no ethical breaches. All information obtained is within the public domain therefore there is no issues with informed consent, additionally no human participants will be researched therefore there is no need for debriefing. When conducting first-hand research on sensitive subjects such as the victims of crime, ethical complications arise as it could induce unwanted reminiscence of their victimisation thus causing psychological harm. It is therefore 'fairer' to conduct research of secondary data, although sensitivity of the victim still needs to be accounted. There is an inability of victims of crime within this dissertation to give their informed consent however; all research will be tackled sensitively. Ignoring victimisation is ignoring the costs of not analysing terrorist and serial killer behaviour which could help counter it.

'Moral integrity of the researcher is a critically important aspect of insuring that the research process and a researcher's findings are trustworthy and valid' (Hessebiber, 2005, p86). False information could cause psychological harm therefore moral integrity is imperative. All secondary information and studies will be referenced accordingly so there are no issues with plagiarism, or false information. This research project aims to compare evil and dangerous people, conducting first-hand research such as interviews and observation is too hazardous; therefore secondary research has been used. Secondary research allows for research to be carried out affectively however, without any risk to the researcher.

To provide an authentic research project issues, of validity need to be examined. To keep the research valid, measures to eradicate researcher bias need to be put in place. Interpretation must be valid and integrity evidenced. 'Evidence should substantiate investigators' interpretations to guard against distortion or conjecture' (Maxwell, 1996). By paying attention to incompatible data the threat of invalid information can arise and therefore needs to be avoided. Due to little information on the subject of this research project creativity is important as it enhances innovation, challenging traditional thinking. However, 'all creativity must be grounded within the scientific process' (Thorne, 1997). The disadvantages of using secondary research are that all information comes from a second party, which could prove questionable. Therefore secondary research needs to be scrutinized, examining the reliability of its origins. Secondly issues of out of date information can arise when conducting secondary research, therefore the use of up to date news articles is imperative to provide valuable research.

3.   Definitions

To provide context and a comprehensive analysis of serial killers and terrorist behaviour, these recurring themes and concepts, firstly, need to be defined.

3.1 Serial killers

Serial killing is defined in terms of time and the number of victims; this allows the phenomenon to be separated from other forms of multiple murders such as spree killers. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Behavioural Science Unit, define serial murder as 'three or more separate events with an emotional cooling-off period between homicides, each murder taking place at a different location' (Ressler, Burgess & Douglas, 1988, p139). This definition can allow complications for example, if a killer murdered three or more people with an emotional cooling-off period at the same location, by definition the killer would not be defined as a serial killer. Also definitional problems arise as it does not state how long the emotional cooling-off periods has to be. David Wilson professor of criminology provides a simpler definition stating 'the murderer would have to have killed 'three or more victims in a period of greater than 30 days' (Wilson, 2007, p34). This definition allows for the separation of other killers such as spree killer attacks, attacks such as the tragedy that struck Dunblane Primary School on 13th March 1996 when a gunman shot dead 16 five and six-year-olds and their teacher (Scraton, 2007, p82). Although the murderer killed far more than three children, it did not take place over a period of three days, therefore the gunman Thomas Hamilton is a spree killer rather than a serial killer.

3.2 Terrorists

Defining terrorists is equally problematic, to the extent that an international accepted definition can never be agreed on; as the well-known statement conveys 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter'. However, terrorist's objectives are to target and kill civilians; therefore even if their aims are for national liberation or political aims and their goals are authentic they are still terrorists, not freedom fighters. The establishment of a wildly accepted definition is essential to combating terrorism and creating affective counter terrorist strategies. Therefore for the purpose of comparison this research project defines terrorism as, the aim to create a political change though means of grave fear, violence and intimidation, more often attacks are designed to create mass casualties to intensify their political message.

It is clear from definitions that acts of terrorism and multiple murders differ, as although defining serial killing can be problematic, we are fully unable to create a common definition of terrorism. It is therefore self-evident that these two phenomena differ. Suleyman states in *Understanding Terrorism* 'that the lack of common definition of terrorism as a concept has been the focus of many scholars, interstate relations and international organisations' (Suleyman, 2007). Suleyman's research further highlights that problems arise in the definition of terrorism as it seems to depend on one's moral judgement.

As stated above difficulties arise in defining both serial killers and terrorists due to their ambiguities however; the ones provided above are affective for this research project. It would seem from analysis of these definitions that terrorists' violence erupts from a motivation of political change. However, within the serial killer definition there is no mention of motivations leading to the view that serial killers kill for the sake of killing, or in fact enjoy the pain they inflict. This is a big difference between terrorists and serial killers, it seems that terrorists have a 'reason' for their violence; although their motives aren't rational it's a reason nonetheless, and they use this to justify their violent behaviour. What these definitions seem to portray is that serial killers kill people because they enjoy it and it feels good, whereas terrorists believe they kill because it is essential to their cause. To prove a wider scope to be analysed in addition to definitions, typologies are provided below.

4.   Typologies

By establishing the typologies of serial killers and terrorists a larger range of information is able to be analysed. This will be provided after the different typologies are determined.

4.1 Serial killer

As shown above, difficulties arise in the definition of a serial killer; this may be due to the lack of typologies created to define between types of serial murder. Holmes and De Burger (1988) however, do provide a comprehensive examination based on interviews and analysis of over 400 cases of serial murder. From their research they deciphered four types of serial murderer (Wilson, 2007, p38). The hedonistic killer, the person motivated by power and control, the visionary killer and the person on a mission. Below shows a table of Holmes and De Burgers typology.

Table 1

Hedonistic	The thrill of the kill drives the killer; he enjoys the excitement and kills because of it. The thrill becomes the be all and end all.
Power/Control	The killer gains pleasure from sexual assaults carried out on the victims, this excitement arises from the perception that the victim is completely powerless to the killer and he can do whatever he wants. He enjoys the control 'he' holds over the helpless victims, who have no means to stop him.
Visionary	The killer is driven by the 'voices' in his head, this may also include visions and proves catalytic to his behaviour driving the killer to kill. The voices may be perceived to arise from demons or god.
Mission	The killer has a self-imposed mission to eliminate a certain group of people, such as prostitutes. The killer is not influenced by any other means he just aims to remove a certain identifiable group from society.

Adapted from: Holmes & De Burger (1988); Wilson (2007.p38)

4.2 Terrorist

As with serial killing, terrorism is problematic to define. However, with the typologies laid out greater understanding of the phenomenon is possible. Gus Martin (2010) in his book *Understanding Terrorism* groups them into five categories.

Table 2

State Terrorism	'Terrorism from above'. State terrorism is committed by governments against their supposed enemies. Can be both directed externally against rivals in the international domain or internally against domestic enemies.
Dissident Terrorism	'Terrorism from below'. This category includes groups fighting against government and religious groups. Any non-state organisations.
Religious Terrorism	Violence motivated by their perceived one true faith, they believe that their 'god' has commanded the terrorist violence for the greater good and is therefore defendable.
Criminal Terrorism	Terrorism motivated by the prospect of 'profit' both personal earning and to support their movement.
International Terrorism	Targets are nominated due to their value and international interest. International terrorism arises in both their home country and over state boundaries.

Adapted from: Martin (2010)

4.3 Table analysis

Both tables (1 and 2) of typologies effectively show the 'types' of both serial killers and terrorists, and although there are other typologies these tables show comprehensively inspirations and categorises them appropriately. What these typologies show is that there are differences in the boundaries in which the 'criminal' strikes. Many of the categories within the terrorist typologies highlight that their ideologies stretch universally, whereas there is no indication of 'place' in the typologies of serial killers as they have regional convictions. Many serial killers have defined geographic areas of operation; killing within their comfort zone. FBI reports show that these comfort zones are often 'defined by an anchor point, for example place of residence, employment or residence of relative' (FBI). Although there are serial killers who are transient, many are stable which differs from many terrorists. Terrorist networks are located worldwide, targeting people internationally and aiming to gain as much attention as possible.

To analyse terrorists and serial killers behaviour and what led them into a life in crime, the next chapter attempts to apply criminological explanations to both serial killers and terrorists. Previously criminological theories have not been used to explain terrorist behaviour; however the aim of this research project is to compare both their motivations and pathways into crime, which can be completed with the use of criminological theory.

Below, Johnny Adair, former member of the terrorist organisation the UDA and Stephan Griffiths, more commonly known as 'the crossbow cannibal' will be theorised.

5.   The social disorganisation theory – Johnny Adair VS Stephan Griffiths

5.1 Johnny Adair

Shared behavioural explanations of both terrorists and serial killers have in the past been overlooked and therefore adequately applying criminological theories to both is a phenomenon that needs to be further explored. Social disorganisation theory has frequently been used to explain criminal behaviour. This theory however, is often overlooked when it comes to applying it to terrorist behaviour.

Johnny Adair was a political terrorist who grew up on Shankill Road, Northern Ireland during the conflicts. Growing up in a small terrace house with 6 siblings, his mother and father were poor and his father struggled to support the family. As Adair grew older he took charge of the C Company which derived from the UFF, the military wing of the UDA (Adair, 2009, p257.) The C Company had one main aim; to retaliate to Catholic IRA attacks on Protestants. The UDA was classified as a terrorist group in August 1992, however to this day Adair still sees himself as a freedom fighter.

Johnny Adair grew up in a neighbourhood surrounded by violence. Consequently he was subjected to violence from a young age which desensitised him from the terror. Adair recalls the violence; speaking of listening to gun fire from his bed at night 'it was frightening and exciting at the same time' (Adair, 2009, p5). Adair's upbringing was troubled; he was raised in a disadvantaged neighbourhood which accepted crimes and acts of violence. This therefore allows for The Social Disorganisation theory to explain his terrorist behaviour. The Social Disorganisation Theory states that your surroundings affect your behaviour more than your individual characteristics. This relates to Adair's criminality as his acts of terrorism were committed in his close, surrounding neighbourhoods. Adair watched numerous criminal acts without witnessing the penal consequences that should have been applied. Auguste Comte states that it is not material interests that promote criminal acts it is the lack of moral authority persuading them to do otherwise. Additionally stating that without the creation of moral authority human beings will not strive to reach the perfection they inherently desire. (Comte, 1976, p111)

One of the most important theories to arise from the Chicago School was The Social Disorganisation Theory. Sociologists working at the University of Chicago deciphered that growing up in negative conditions, would undeniably affect peoples' lives and could be the catalysts that lead to a life of criminality.

Adair grew up in violent conditions where every day the fear of a politically motivated terrorist attack loomed; this therefore led to himself inflicting terror on others. The social disorganisation theory states that it makes more 'sense' to take into account environmental factors when it comes to explaining deviant behaviour. Johnny Adair witnessed Protestants within the UDA retaliating to IRA attacks which he later would organize himself. If Adair was not subjected to these conditions, or his social environment positively changed, his behaviour could have been exceedingly different. Adair was exiled to Scotland, this indivertibly positively changed his environment and although there are a few attempts on his life, he isn't constantly subjected to the presence of paramilitaries, which altered his violent behaviour consequently leading to him to leave his terrorist life behind him.

5.2 Stephan Griffiths

The Social Disorganisation Theory can also be used to explain self-made serial killer Stephan Griffiths. Stephan Griffiths was a shy criminology student who fashioned himself into a serial killer, naming himself 'the crossbow cannibal', for the sole purpose of becoming famous. Griffiths' friends described him as "never having a steady relationship with women" and that he did not have any contact with his family. They assumed this was due to a rift (Dixon, 2011, p6). The Guardian highlights the fact that Griffiths felt abandoned by his family; his own mother did not initially recognise him in a photo (TheGuardian, 2010). Social disorganisation theory highlights that delinquency arises due to the absence or breakdown of communal institutions. In Griffiths' case it would be the breakdown of his family. Having a stable family would have allowed Griffins to develop a cooperative relationship, allowing for future stable relationships to be formed.

Without a stable family relationship Griffiths was further unable to develop stable relationships with women and was always seen as a bit of a 'loner'. Griffiths was further denied an organised upbringing when he left home at 18. He lost contact with his family for over 20 years (MailOnline, 2010), without a stable home he wasn't able to develop communal bonds within a geographic proximity. In 1997 Griffiths moved into Holmfield court in the Bradford red light district, a year after a brutal murder took place in the very building. Griffiths was used to the area, he had lived there many years and knew both the murderer and the murder victim. Dixon recognised that Stephan Griffiths knew the area well and 'fitted comfortably into this troubled and sleazy twilight world' (Dixon, 2011, p11). Griffiths did not gain communal bonds when he was young, however seemed to have acquired them in a place filled with delinquency

Griffiths living quarters were a breeding ground for crime. Dixon points out that "despite the best efforts of the housing association, it had never ceased to be a venue for night time sexual encounters (Dixon, 2011, p14). Furthermore, the brutal murder of Caroline; a local prostitute in the very building could have contributed to Griffiths' behaviour. According to social disorganisation theory, place matters more than individual characteristics. Griffiths was surrounded by prostitutes, crime and murder and consequently went on to murder three prostitutes within the area.

It would seem that both Johnny Adair's and Stephan Griffith's behaviour stemmed from their very different violent backgrounds. It is clear from analysis that their environments acted as catalysis to their behaviour, even though they endured dissimilar forms of violence. If both of their childhoods had been stable and organised it is likely that both Adair and Griffiths would not have chosen a life of crime. The analysis shows that environment affects the pathways in to crime of both the serial killer and the terrorist. To Gain further insight into the pathways of crime in the next chapter strain theory will be applied to Johnny Adair and Theodore Bundy.

6.   Strain theory – Johnny Adair VS Theodore Bundy

Many criminological theories were designed to explain criminal acts such as robbery and violence. It is therefore quite difficult to apply these theories to terrorists' behaviour. However, in regards to political violence, Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham have dealt with crimes against the state and the act of 'sedition' (Natarajan, 2011.p.26). Their research was prompted by the eighteenth century's revolutionary movements. However, criminology has not commonly been directed at political violence, Ruggiero (2005, p.35) states that 'since 9/11 criminology has again taken interest in political crimes and has led to many theory's that are more commonly applied to crimes such as burglary and violence now being directed at political violence'. One theory that can be used to explain both common criminality and acts of terrorism is the strain theory.

6.1 Johnny Adair

A criminological theory that can relate to both terrorists and serial killers is Robert Merton's 'Anomie theory' or 'strain theory'. This theory follows the Chicago Sociologist School in disregarding the idea that individual characteristics cause crime. Merton rejects David Emile Durkheim's theory that states that human goals were natural and argues that criminal behaviour is socially learned (Merton, 1938, p119). Adair grew up amongst many paramilitaries 'they roamed the streets to protect our community' (Adair, 2009, p7). Adair found the paramilitaries captivating, but the need for the soldiers highlights the inadequacy of regulations which led to the warping of Adair's perceptions. Adair's surroundings gave him the perception that he needed to be involved in terrorist activity to ensure the safety of his neighbourhood. Violence within Adair's surroundings arose due to the opposing views of the IRA and the UDA, the UDA supporting Northern Ireland being part of the United Kingdom and the IRA opposing.

 Robert Merton would further explain Adair's Behaviour as one of the 5 outcomes of strain; rebellion. Robert Merton outlines five possible outcomes of individuals who are unable to legitimately achieve their aspirations (Merton, 1938, p122). Adair was unable to stop the IRA peacefully due to the nature of their attacks. The use of violence was therefore seen as necessary for his cause. Johnny Adair not only rejected the views of the IRA, he aimed to change the whole social system to reject Catholics and their goals. This behaviour is a classic example of what Merton calls 'rebellion'. However as Adair was raised in a happy family one could assume that his terrorist behaviour could have been avoided .Although his family was poor, Adair attended school, which could have helped him achieve any goals later in life.

Robert Merton's theory not only applies to terrorist residing in Northern Ireland but also Al-Qaida, who not only reject their own social system but westernised systems, aiming to convert the whole world to Islam and follow the 'sharia law' (BBC, 2009).Consequently rationalising the murder of anyone who do not believe in their irrational views. However, from analysis it would seem that Robert Merton's explanation of rebellion only explains visible crime committed by the poorer community; he did not take into account white collar crimes rendering his theory reductionist. Nevertheless, Merton's stage of 'rebellion' effectively explains Adair's terrorist's behaviour.

6.2 Theodore Bundy

Ted Bundy's childhood was controversial and strained due to his illegitimate birth. Bundy was made to believe his mother was his sister and his grandparents were his parents. Bundy was fraught with confusion throughout his childhood due to his relationship with his 'sister' who treated him like a son. His suspicions were confirmed that he was in fact the illegitimate son of his sister. Bundy recognised the strain society would place upon him; the 'bastard boy' and his mum who bore a child out of wedlock (Michaud & Aynesworth 2000, p.18). Being excluded from this 'normal' society could have led to his criminality. The strain Bundy felt to fit into the social norms, which Robert Merton defines as material wealth, could explain Ted Bundy's stealing as a teenager. Bundy was the prime suspect in a couple of burglaries and also became a regular thief. This did not however seem to be adequate for Bundy, who strived for more. Bundy therefore enrolled into university and although he dropped out many times, he went on to gain a degree in psychology and an impeccable job with the Washington State Republican Party. However, despite all this Bundy was still unsatisfied with the goals he had achieved and went on to enrol into the University of Utah to study Law, but later dropped out. Not long after this, Bundy went on to brutally murder over 30 women (TheGuardian, 2009), it seems Ted Bundy knew how to achieve the goals of society however, choose not to. Robert Merton would class Bundy as an innovator as Bundy was intellectually able to achieve the culturally defined goals of society and knew how to, however he turned to criminality instead which consequently led to what Robert Merton would call Rebellion.

Despite Bundy being an illegitimate child, up until his first murder he seemed to follow the norms of society; such as the establishment of a healthy relationship with a female, receiving an education and acquiring a job. However, traits of rebellion have risen throughout his life. Examples of such included petty theft and suspected burglary as a child. Bundy was also leading two lives, dating two separate women. In murdering his first victim, Bundy completely disregarded the existing social system. Although Bundy rejected the 'social norms' with acts of multiple murder and necrophilia, it seems he did not strive to change the social system and its goals. Whereas terrorists aim to change the system it seems serial killers such as Ted Bundy just reject it.

7.   Psychological explanations

When an atrocious act is committed an idealistic view is put forward that the criminal is merely insane. That no one in their right mind could perform these acts of terror; this chapter will give an insight into the minds of terrorists and serial killers to see if they really are psychopaths.

7.1 Terrorists

When it comes to explaining terrorism, a common conjecture that a number of people possess is that 'terrorism is a manifestation of insanity or mental illness or that terrorism is the signature of a lunatic fringe' (Martin, 2010, p72). This suggests that terrorist behaviour is only adopted by deranged individuals. Merari (1990) states that '[a]s far as

we know, most terrorists feel that they are doing nothing wrong when they kill and injure people. They seem to share a feature of the psychological condition known as antisocial personality disorder, or psychopathic personality disorder, which is reflected by an absence of empathy for the suffering of others'. Although terrorists' behaviour does arise from an abnormal psychological process they are not clinically insane. Terrorists distance themselves from their opponents with the egotistical view that 'I'm right' and 'you're wrong'. This view allows them to carry out violent attacks and multiple murders, without the feeling of remorse. Putting forward the view that terrorists are merely insane. Martin however, suggests that 'although some explanations of collective violence stress psychological abnormality among its participants, studies on this issue suggest that in general they are psychologically normal and rational as the average person' (2010, p71).

However, most 'rational' people would not order the slaughter of thousands of people so what leads a seemingly rational person to commit heinous attacks needs to be answered. The answer could lie within their environment; they seek improvement within their location. Terrorists' psychological motivations for their behaviour may arise from their frustration with their life and the 'need' for revenge for the alleged cause of their circumstances. This, patterned with the projection of belligerent motivations on others, creates the dangerous outlook of 'us versus them'. The establishment of this view dehumanises their perceived opponent and allows for attacks with no repentance. Although Gus Martin states that 'research has not found a pattern of psychopathology among terrorists' (Martin, 2010, p73) there is evidence of some psychosocial commonalities. Walter Reich, in *The Origins of Terrorism* draws attention to the study of 250 West German terrorists, which found a 'high incidence of fragmented families' (Reich, 1990, p28).It was found that 79% recorded severe conflict, many had suffered a loss of a parent and one in three had been convicted in the juvenile court (p28).

Along with individual psychological explanations of terrorism, their pathways into crime can also be explained at a group level. Within certain territories political violence is an expected occurrence. This, patterned with certain individuals' need to be in a group, leads the person's social status to be defined by group approval. Group members then rationalise their actions and continue terrorist behaviour as, without a group goal, the group would not exist. Gus Martin states that group success 'threatens the psychological well-being of its members' (Martin, 2010, p74). However, as highlighted above, terrorists do not demonstrate serious psychopathology. It is therefore possible to generalise psychological causes of pathways in terrorists' behaviour. It is self-evident that terrorists' behaviour rises from the oppressed wanting power over others; in a bid to increase their own self-esteem. Most poignant however, are the group level explanations. It seems that terrorist groups overpower individualism, using methods to unify and coheres behaviour.

7.2 Serial killers

Psychological explanations for terrorist behaviour are scarce as it seems terrorism is not motivated by insanity or extreme irrational thoughts. However, due to media fascination and the rise in 'True Crime' books, the sanity of serial killers has been continually questioned. Psychological explanations for serial killing offer two main reasons for the phenomenon: Anti-social personality disorder such as psychopathy, and developmental conflicts such as childhood trauma. When it comes to analysing serial killers, issues of childhood trauma and violence often occur. The table in Chapter 11 offers four examples of infamous serial killers whom had a troubled childhood however, there are many more.

Ressler, Burgess & Douglas (1988) found that offenders often experience childhoods of physical and emotional abuse, caretaker instability, and perceptions of unfair treatment within the family. One can also include cases such as Harvey Louis Carignan, who was an illegitimate child, never knowing his father and being shuffled pillar to post by his negligent mother. Carignan suffered from a facial twitch and bed wetting up to the age of thirteen. By the age of 22 Carignan committed his first murder and was eventually being convicted of three. Arthur John Shawcross created imaginary friends as he was bullied from a young age and was said to have a complex mother-son relationship' (Berry-Dee, 2003, p36). His mother switched from molly coddling to harsh punishment; leading him to believe his mother was rejecting him, Shawcross eventually was charged with the murder of 13 people including children. Michael Bruce Ross was raised by a borderline schizophrenic mother who spent time in mental hospitals. His mother blamed him for ruining her life and punished him as a result. The mother has been described as 'the mother from hell' (p, 118).

When analysing serial killers the question of whether the serial killer is a psychopath often arises, as a 'normal' person could not commit those terrible acts. Dennis Rader killed 10 people from 1974 to 1991 (Philbin & Philbin, 2009, p139). Rader is more commonly known as BTK a self-given nick-name meaning ,'bind, torture, kill' .Rader then mysteriously stopped killing after 1991 however, in 2004 Rader started sending anonymous letters to the police stating he was the killer. It would seem his anxiety to take credit for his acts became too much. He was proud of his actions; in his eyes it was his greatest accomplishment and he needed gratification for his crimes. The police eventually caught Dennis Rader arresting him on February 5, 2005 (p.139).

 Many believe that serial killers are unable to hold stable relationships, that they are loners and live in the shadows. This is however a myth, many serial killers such as Dennis Rader live normal lives. Rader was married with two children and held a normal job. Psychopaths and serial killers 'wear a mask of sanity over what are often hideously distorted features' (Richmond cited in Whitelaw, 1979). They wear a mask because if they looked and acted like killers, they would be apprehended immediately. Dennis Rader's 'mask' protected him from any potential suspicions that he could have been a psychopath. However, once apprehended, his mental state soon became clear. He showed no remorse for his heinous actions and displayed a distinct lack of emotion in the court room.

 It has been theorised by many psychologists that psychopathy can arise from a troubled childhood and, as highlighted in the previous paragraph, a distressing childhood is present in the majority of serial killers. The powerlessness the serial killer feels as a child prevails into adulthood, with catastrophic consequences. While serial killers feel defenceless against people, terrorists feel defenceless against governments and their oppressive regimes. Consequently serial killers go on to kill other people and terrorists kill their oppressors. From analysis it is clear that many serial killers are psychopaths whereas terrorists are not. However, being a psychopath does not make crimes such as BTKs any more justifiable. Medical statistics suggest that as many as 5% of people display psychopathic or sociopathic personality disorders; not all of which become serial killers (Mann, WebMD). In the next chapter serial killers and terrorists will be analysed in relation to their random acts of kindness.

8. Analysing random acts of kindness- Harold Shipman VS Osama Bin Laden

Both serial killers and terrorists are seen as cold calculating evil beings. This sentiment however makes it hard to offer explanations as to why both have been known to help others. Random acts of kindness seem to arise in both serial killers and terrorists. Be it Arthur John Shawcross spending hours with his grandmother he so adored. He was described as a 'thoughtful and kind lad' (Berry-Dee, 2003, p37) yet went on to kill 13 human beings; including the rape and murder of children, or the 64 year old women with a large family including 38 grandchildren who she cared for deeply. She went on to blow herself up after the death of her grandchild and the destruction of her home (Schurman-Kauflin, 2008). To provide a deeper insight into evil beings committing kind acts, Harold Shipman and Osama Bin Laden will be analysed below.

8.1 Harold Shipman

Harold shipman was seen as a kind and caring doctor, who only used morphine to ease his patients' pain. He worked as a doctor healing many and was respected by over 3,000 patients (BBC, 2004). However, on January 31st 2000, Harold Shipman was found guilty of 15 murders and sentenced to life imprisonment; with a recommendation to never be released. Many speculate Harold Shipman had Munchausen syndrome by proxy however, when researching into his past and possible pathways into crime his relationship with his mother and her untimely death comes into play. Shipman witnessed his mother die a slow painful death due to lung cancer at the age of 43. During the last days of her life Harold witnessed his mother's pain being alleviated with the administrating of morphine by doctors (TheGuaridan, 2004). Shipman could have viewed what was the unnecessary murder of his patients, as him providing them with help. Just as the doctors had done to his mother many years ago, Shipman viewed his actions as a means to ease his patients' pain.

The death of his mother may have pushed Shipman into an 'angel of death' role, however it seems likely that shipman's obsession with power could have also affected his behaviour. Detective chief inspector Mike Williams stated that 'I've listened to the interviews, and he certainly wanted to control and dominated the interview and the officers. Furthermore John Pollard a coroner who worked with Shipman commented on Shipman's crimes, stating that 'The only valid possible explanation for it is that he simply enjoyed viewing the process of dying and enjoyed the feeling of control over life and death, literally over life and death' (BBC, 2004). These statements however do not account for the 3,000 plus patients who Shipman aided.

8.2 Osama Bin Laden

Harold Shipman had over 3000 patients who he treated well and who respected him (BBC, 2004). These acts of kindness contrast his murderous behaviour. This however this is a common trait in both terrorists and serial killers. Osama Bin Laden was a multimillionaire from Saudi Arabia; he could have lived a very comfortable life however, gave up a life of wealth to lead "armed Islamic militants in an international holy war" (Landau, 2001, p13). He claimed to have 'traded' this life due to his religious beliefs, which consequently led to him starting a holy war against Americans and Jews.

Bin laden has been called the world's most dangerous terrorist (pg13). However, not unlike the 3000 patients that Harold Shipman treated with kindness. Bin laden has been said to be generous; donating his money to the destitute. In addition to his generosity, people who viewed Osama Bin Laden as a Freedom Fighter may take the stance that he was a revolutionary leader. These individuals may also respect Bin Laden for successfully rising to his high position, within an international terrorist network. To many, Bin Laden was a sign of hope and change to the world, whereas to others he was an atrocious man. Bin Laden's strange acts of kindness were not the only humane act to be shown by a terrorist. Al-Zarqawi , a militant Islamic, promised his sisters hand in marriage to a fellow fighter who, after being severely wounded in an explosion, feared he would never be able to have a wife. (Schurman-Kauflin, 2008).

Schurman-Kauflin highlights two theories in which to defeat evil. The first being 'love can overcome hate'. This theory believes that trust can be built with kindness, creating hope for a change in behaviour. The second theory is not as optimistic; stating ' evil can only be destroyed if killed' no matter of the circumstances evil can't be stopped, regardless of the compassion the evil being will kill (Schurman-Kauflin, 2008). The debate of which theory prevails has been long running however, these random acts of kindness shows that some of the most evil beings in the world can show some forms of compassion and there is hope of love overcoming hate.

9.   Religious motivators

In light of attacks such as 9/11, terrorist group al-Qaida and their fundamentalist Islamic views have received worldwide recognition. Understanding what drives someone to commit horrendous attacks in the name of something that is supposed to be holy allows the same analysis of the religious motivations that drive serial killers.

9.1 Osama Bin Laden

To analyse religious motivators for terrorism one needs to evaluate one of the most infamous terrorists, Osama Bin Laden. Osama Bin Laden was born in Saudi Arabia in 1957 and was the seventh son of a billionaire construction worker. He is said to have fifty brothers and sisters. Bin Laden had a privileged upbringing and was raised as a devout Wahhabi. He attended the same schools as Saudi royalty and was regarded as an average student. Bin laden's main interest at university was religion and he was involved in activities such as interpreting the Quran. Whilst doing so it is possible Bin Laden started to develop his fundamentalist views. Furthermore during education, Bin Laden attended after school religious political meetings held by the Muslim Brotherhood. (Jacquard, 2002, p14). After eventually gaining a degree in civil engineering, Bin Laden completed his formal education. At age seventeen his first marriage was arranged and Bin Laden went on to eventually marry four times; to women each of different nationalities.

 Between 1986 and 1988 Osama Bin Laden resided mostly in Afghanistan; building six Al Qaeda camps. Osama bin Laden, Al-Qaeda leader, was driven by the belief that U.S. foreign policy had oppressed, murdered, and abused Muslims in the Middle East. He also stated that only the establishment of sharia law would 'set things right' (Molson, 2010, p.153) calling for the rejection of socialism communism pan-Arabism and democracy. It would seem Osama Bin Laden's background and surroundings helped build his fundamentalism which led to extremism. He was raised in a predominately Muslim area and although the majority of these Muslims were peaceful, he twisted this peaceful religion and went on to murder thousands. Examination of Osama Bin Laden's category of terrorism and his Islamic beliefs will be analysed below, with relation to his religious motivators.

 FBI typology suggests there are three sub categories of international terrorism, centred on the structural organization of each group. The three categories are 'Loosely Affiliated Extremists', 'Formal Terrorist Organizations' and 'State Sponsors of Terrorism'. This highlights the first category of international terrorism; Loosely Affiliated Extremists. These are regarded as Sunni Islamic extremists and their members include Osama Bin Laden and the individuals who follow his Al-Qaeda organization .Osama Bin Laden and his followers are radically motivated by both religious and political beliefs. They are dedicated to the fundamentalist ideologies of Jihad, which promote violence against 'the enemies of Islam in order to over throw all governments not ruled by conservative Islamic law' (Perlmutter, 2004, p83). Bin Laden committed mass murder in the name of religion and believed all his heinous acts of murder were honourable .The Ayatollah Khomeini goes to the extent of twisting the Islamic beliefs stating that "If one allows the infidels to continue playing their role of corrupters on Earth, their eventual moral punishment will be all the stronger. Thus, if we kill the infidels in order to put a stop to their corrupting

activities; we have indeed done them a service" (Brinkley, 2006, p6). It is therefore obvious that terrorists motivated by religious means will go to any length to put forward their message and even delude themselves into believing that they are doing, what they call 'western infidels' a favour.

9.2 Peter Sutcliffe

Religion is not a common motivator for serial killing. There are however some occasions where it does take place. Peter Sutcliffe came from a working class background and went on to live a menial life; jumping from job to job in short lived menial occupations. Peter Sutcliffe was otherwise known as the 'Yorkshire ripper' and was charged with the murder of thirteen prostitutes and the attempted murder of a further seven (Weir, 2011, p316). Sutcliffe killed these prostitutes due to the voices in his head, which he believed to have been 'God. Peter Sutcliffe believed he was 'the instrument of God's wrath on Earth and waged a holy war against immorality' (Kulbarsh, 2011, p1). He deluded himself into believing his crimes were the word of God and his murders were a form of divine retribution. He spoke of his experiences in court stating 'I remember getting a message from the grave...I thought the message on the gravestone was a direct message telling me it was the voice of Jesus speaking to me... I felt for some reason i have been chosen to hear the words of God....I heard a voice which kept saying i had got to go on with a mission and it had a purpose. It was to remove the prostitutes' (Reznek, 2010, p166). It would seem that the Yorkshire Ripper had been motivated by religion, mixed with delusional hallucinations. From the analysis it would seem that cases, such as Peter Sutcliffe, are rare and religious motivators are scarce in terms of stimuli for multiple killing. There have however, been a handful of cases where by the killer mutilated the corpse. This mutilation could be regarded as ritualistic and be related to religions such as Satanism. In the next chapter a further comparative analysis will be provided highlighting different motivations, rouses and tactics of both serial killers and terrorists.

10.   Further comparative Analysis of serial killers and terrorist behaviour

To gain a deeper understanding of terrorist and serial killer behaviour, further analysis of tactics and charismatic traits which allow for their behaviour will be examined.

10.1   Rouses

Although criminological theories have not always been applied to terrorism, there have been similarities in tactics between criminal acts and acts of terrorism. This can be seen in the serial killer Ted Bundy. Bundy had a troubled past, he was made to believe that his birth mother was actually his sister. Finding out that his sister was actually his mother traumatised Bundy greatly and stunted his ability to form empathetic relationships. In fact it may have been the etiology of his violent behaviour. Bundy's life experiences led him to deviate from socially acceptable behaviour and he learnt to fulfil his needs though deviant behaviour. Bundy raped and murdered over thirty women (the exact amount unknown) and also practiced necrophilia. This can be seen as the major form of control over the victim and expresses the need for Bundy to have power. Volunteering at numerous political campaigns and even attending law school, he 'lived a life with no observable hints and sexual psychopathology in their subconscious' (Carich, Fisher & Kohut, p.6).

Ted Bundy was an intelligent man and liked challenges; this led to him preying on the difficult target of pretty, middle class college girls. Knowing he needed to make himself appear vulnerable to gain the trust from the girls, he wore a cast and made a production of being badly hurt. This was in a bid to make his victims feel sorry for him (Schurman-Kauflin, 2008). This ruse was successful as he was able to get close to the considerate victims, which eventually led to their unfortunate deaths. Terrorists have taken note of this technique and adopted it into their own violent political campaigns. 'They believe in the mantra that people are fundamentally unaware of danger and likely to overlook security risks when dealing with the weak' (Schurman-Kauflin, 2008). This plan has seemed to work for terrorists. During the bomb attack on Election Day, of polling stations in Iraq, terrorists used a disabled child as a suicide bomber. The child was allowed to get close to targets due to their seemed vulnerability (Thisislondon, 2005). Other techniques include disguising themselves as medical patients, gaining access into countries they wish to attack with fake Hispanic identities and modelling their behaviour on other killer's effective behaviour (Schurman-Kauflin, 2008).

Another way terrorists mimicked Ted Bundy's guise of being vulnerable, was the attack of a hospital where United States solders were handing out food and toys to Iraq children (MSNBC, 2005). Terrorists would steal toys to make them into bombs, or other harmful substances, then plant them in the hope a US solder will find them in the search for injured children. This shows similarities in both serial killers and terrorists; they both analyse the situation, wait for an opening and if a weakness is exposed, they use it to their advantage.

10.2   Charisma

Further similarities and differences arise in relation to charisma. Charisma can be a very attractive attribute however; there is a dark side to charisma. Osama Bin Laden has been described as many things including 'evil', 'manipulative' and 'a hero'. One thing for certain however, is that he had charismatic leadership skills. An important characteristic of a strong and charismatic leader is the ability to influence others and a strong sense of personal responsibility. Bin Laden puts forward the visualization for an 'improved future', recruiting members with enrolment videos to help his cause. Osama Bin Laden as the charismatic commander was an attractive recruitment incentive to the Mujahedeen (Jacquard, 2001, P.4). To gain a global audience there is a need for a charismatic leader to guide. Coupled with a violent message this is only possible with media power. Terrorists such as Osama Bin Laden are willing to use whatever means possible to leave their message. As they see it, 'the end justifies the means'.

Theodore Bundy was described as exceptionally charismatic and handsome, charming innocent collage girls with his 'boyish' good looks. Bundy's charisma allowed him to manipulate his victims into trusting him. He did not look or act like a monster in his exterior persona. John Wayne Gacy, although not handsome, was charismatic during his clown act, where he lured people into a false sense of security. Charismatic serial killers are able to lure their targets into their victimisation, whereas uncharismatic serial killers tend to choose vulnerable targets; such as prostitutes who provide anonymity for the killer and an elevated chance that no-one will report them missing. In addition to the rouses and charisma, similarities and differences arise with sexual deviance; this will be examined in the next chapter.

10.3   Sexual deviancy

Both terrorists and sexual serial killers both use rape as a weapon to dominate their victims, 'Each year there are 1000 reported rapes by paramilitary in Northern Ireland' (Schurman-Kauflin, 2008). One 16 year old girl was raped, beaten and tied to a lamppost for the mere fact that she broke up with the son of an IRA commander. Acts such as this send a chilling message to the enemy and their local community. Despite being common, sexual violence within terrorist organisations is almost completely hidden and the least discussed aspect of it. Dr Deborah Schurman-Kauflin states that 'those who show an interest in terror groups coupled with a propensity to attack females are more likely to join terror organizations than those who do not have this propensity' (Schurman-Kauflin, 2008). Male dominance is evident in terrorist groups particularly in organisations such as Al Qaeda. This draws sexual deviants into extremist organisations and can prove to be an explosive deadly mix that breeds psychopaths.

Terrorists such as Islamic fundamentalists, twist holy scriptures and interpret them incorrectly, including segments from the Qur'an such as 'Therein are bashful virgins whom neither man nor jinee(demon)will have touched before. Which of your lords blessing would you deny?'(Koran, 55:56-57). Some interpret this as instructing violence and sexual assault. Whether using sexual assault for power or condoning it as God's word, perpetrators only partake in this behaviour because of their own deviancy and because they want and enjoy it. This is both a common act in terrorists and serial killers.

Serial killers who both kill and sexually assault their victims have been described as committing the 'ultimate crime'. Serial sex homicide is relatively new in terms of

homicide. Ressler Burgess and Douglass developed a conceptual framework for understanding sexual homicide stating different interacting components. What seems to arise from their framework is how 'formative events' affect the serial murderer events 'include direct trauma (physical and/or sexual abuse and indirect trauma (witnessing family violence) (Ressler, Burgess, Douglas, 1992, p71). The child is not protected during or in recovery from the trauma 'his external environment does not address the negative consequences of the event' (Ressler, Burgess, Douglas, 1992, p71).It is thought that the child develops different thought patterns, leading to the development of fantasies, due to the trauma. These fantasies play out before and during attacks, driving the serial killers twisted feelings. Other aspects of conceptual framework include psychological and social explanations which have been previously addressed.

Similarities arise during acts of degradation. Both serial killers and terrorists cover their faces or the victims face; David Parker Ray covered both the victim's mouth and eyes during his brutal attacks. In a film Parker Ray created, a victim who was lucky to escape with her life named Kelli Garrett, is seen tied down on a weight bench with 2 inches of duct tape over her mouth and eyes (Fielder, 2010, p213). By covering their faces, or the victims, they are able to create more fear and their anonymity remains intact. This can also be seen in videos from Al-Qaida, whose faces are fully covered with balaclavas. This further shows that both serial killers and terrorists want and need to create fear. Sexual deviancy is present in both serial killers and terrorists. Sexual deviants seek out terror groups which hold traits, such as dominance over females, to act out their twisted fantasies. Serial killers use sexual gratification to drive their acts of violence. There is however opportunity rapists, who give into sexual deviancy because other are. The Beslan school hostage crisis, highlights how when given a chance sexual deviancy can breed. Armed separatist militants sieged a school in Russia; they stormed the school with incendiary rockets and other heavy weapons, demanding an end to the Chechen War. The armed militants held over 1100 people hostage including children (BBC NEWS, 2004). Over half of the hostages were killed, but what was so shocking about the attack was the brutal rape of the women and children. The violation of the innocent victims had nothing to do with their cause, it would seem that opportunity struck and they indulged in their sick fantasies.

This differs from sexual serial killers who are motivated by their fantasies and kill for sexual fulfilment. Although in different forms, it seems that in some cases both serial killers and terrorists can be labelled as sex offenders. In the next chapter a table of traits of both serial killers and terrorists is displayed.

11.   Table

To illustrate aspects of serial killers and terrorists activities, the table below has been developed to simply categorise characteristics such as an intimate or detached method of murder. Establishing these features within a table, a larger sample of information is provided allowing for a better analysis.

11.1 Table 3

Name	Confirmed victims	Suspected victims	Country	Intimate or detached killing	Sexual Assault	Background/ childhood
John Wayne Gacy	33	33	United States	Intimate	Yes	-Alcoholic father who often beat him and his mother. -Subjected to physical and mental abuse from his father throughout his life.
Kenneth Alessio Bianchi	12	15	United States	Intimate	Yes	-Shuffled from home to home -Emotionally deprived and damaged
Ted Bundy	37	50+	United States	Intimate	Yes	-Grew up believing his mother was his sister
David Parker Ray	14	60	United States	Intimate	Yes	-Abused by father -Raised by grandfather
Bin Laden	2,977	3500	Saudi Arabia	Detached	Unknown	- Born into a rich family
Johnny Adair	Unknown	Unknown, however suspected to have killed many catholic IRA members.	Northern Ireland	Detached	No	-Grew up in the northern Ireland conflicts. -Came from a poor background - surrounded by violence
Abu Musab al-Zarqawi	Unknown	1000+ of Shias and US forces	Jordan	Detached	Unknown	-Was involved In street violence as a child

12.   Table 3 Analysis

The table shows a correlation between serial killers and intimate killings. This contrasts terrorists who use detached methods such as bombs. The American Psychiatric Association, states that 'victims of serial killers are more often strangled, beaten or knifed rather than shot' (American Psychiatric Association, 1987, p484). This is due to the close interaction of the contact weapon which can often reflect the motivation of the killer in terms of sexual gratification. The majority of serial killers are sexual sadists and share traits such as dissociative ego states, narcissistic traits and anti-social behaviour. They become aroused by the act of murder and power they have over the victim. Although this differs from terrorists' motives they do share similar traits. Depraved sexual sadists such as David Parker Ray filmed the atrocities he committed to women, thus creating more humiliation and fear. This is not unlike terrorists who film their brutal behaviour, in a bid to show their power and spread their beliefs.

What can be linked to intimate killings is the concept of power. The serial killer typologies show the power/control serial killer who gains sexual gratification from the power they hold over the helpless victim. The power/control serial killer uses intimate methods of murder to relish in in the victims pain and to watch them die. Terrorists are not motivated by the pleasure of killing; they want to kill but are not driven by the 'intimacy'. There are terrorists who torture and kill however, to truly get their message out; a larger measure of destruction needs to be accomplished. This can be seen in attacks such as 9/11 and the continuous suicide bombs inflicted on the Middle East.

What is also apparent is the difference in victims. Although as explained above serial killers' kills are more intimate, it is clear that terrorists' attacks create a greater number of victims. Osama Bin Laden killed nearly 3000 people in only one of his attacks. Even though he did not metaphorically 'pull the trigger', he indirectly murdered them. This does not make him any less a multiple murderer. To determine how deprived a serial killer is, many focus on their number of victims and methods. The same is not true with terrorists such as Bin Laden. The table shows that Bin Laden has killed over 3000 people however, the exact number in unknown due to his indirect methods of murder. This does not make him any less responsible or deprived. The graph shows that John Wayne Gacy killed 33 people; this could seem insignificant compared to Bin Laden's murder of over 3000 however, the loss of one life is not any less meaningful than the loss of many. The death of any human life at the hands of another is an atrocious act of wrongdoing and making a terrorist and a serial killer just as criminal as one another.

Another aspect of the table relates to their upbringing. Ressler, Burgess & Douglas (1988) found that both types of offenders often experienced childhoods of physical and emotional abuse, as well as perceptions of unfair treatment within the family. This can be clearly seen on the table and all serial killers used in previous chapters have a positive correlation with childhood abuse or an unstable upbringing. Although this is not 100% the same as terrorists, many terrorists did have a volatile upbringing or were born into extremism .Due to the violence surrounding them and their community. The table therefore shows both similar and dissimilar aspects of terrorism and serial killing throughout their criminal career, and their pathway to it.

13.   Conclusion

It seems plausible to claim that the actions of criminals are associated with their past and present situations, relating with and within their 'individual variation'. Despite this not all individuals will act the same within the same location. This leads to the accountability of an individual's characteristics, in relation to their pathways into crime (predispositions /social bonds and attachments) as motivations for criminality. Davison however, argues that the 'direct cause of social acts like crime is the *reason* (or motivation) a person has for committing the act' (Davison cited in Wikstrom & Sampson, 2003, p123) traditionally being the criminals desires. These desires include the notion of security, financial gain and respect. Post, Sprinzak and Denny (2002) interviewed 35 incarcerated terrorists; many of which spoke of the positive reinforcement they received from joining terror groups. 'Families of terrorists who were wounded, killed or captured enjoyed a great deal of economic aid and attention. And that strengthened popular support for the attacks' (p177) their financial and security desires were met when they participated in violence. In addition to positive reinforcement indirectly causing offending behaviour is a motivation for criminality. Ideology is rife in Middle Eastern cultures which has an impact on others beliefs, wishes and considerations. This can indirectly lead to criminal behaviour, further showing the influence your surroundings can have.

Terrorists can feel resentful that their lives do not resemble what they desire. They watch their community and family suffer while others relish in more than they need. They feel hopeless and desperate which leads to irrational thinking, this thinking drives extremism. Although highlighted in a previous chapter, psychopathy is rarely present in terrorists. They do however feel the need to be accepted. They feel alone in the world and that no one will save them. This coupled with support from society, breeds terrorists. They hope that by joining a terrorist organisation, they can escape from the society they fear or disagree with. They join even if it means death. Twisted scriptures lead the terrorist to believe his actions will bring peace or 'save' others. However, they recognise that using peaceful methods will not suffice. Being non-violent against violence is impossible. Although terrorists tend to view their actions as necessary, they do inflict terror, pain and death upon many innocents making them cruel ruthless criminals.

Whereas terrorists are rising up against governments and countries, serial killers differ by keeping it personal. As highlighted in above chapters, serial killers tend to have violent and volatile childhoods. This coupled with psychopathy, can cause highly damaging effects. They take their anger out on people who represent the person who hurt them. Ted Bundy's victims shared the same trait of brown hair; representing to him the brown haired female who once broke his heart. Serial killers enjoy watching the life leave someone's eyes and enjoy the power they hold over the victim. This is what drives them to kill and kill again. Terrorists kill as they view it as necessary to their cause, no matter how irrational that cause may be. A painful childhood or a life within an oppressive regime does not make them any less accountable for their actions. The murder of three thousand is not any more criminal than the murder of one. Many are abused and do not go on to abuse. Similarly thousands live in awful conditions, surrounded by starvation and violence, and do not become terrorists. For the majority violence is not the answer however, for the few giving into their dark side seems like the easier option.

It is clear that one of the main similarities between terrorists and serial killers is their desire to strike fear into the victims and the victims' families. They lure their victims into false senses of security and strike. Whether it is with a knife or the detonation of the explosive vest they are wearing. They both share traits that are cold and calculating, relishing in the fear they create. They have a need and want to destroy human life. Both are as deadly and as criminal as one another and need to be stopped. The threat of terrorism is growing worldwide and the dangers of serial killers have dated back to the 15th century. In examining why these criminals commit these crimes and how their pathway in life led to this behaviour there is hope to counter it.

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