

# MODELLING THE DRIVERS OF GRIEVANCE-FUELLED VIOLENCE

A MULTIFACETED ANALYSIS OF LONE-OFFENDER MOTIVATIONS



ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR EMILY CORNER

POLIS: THE CENTRE FOR SOCIAL POLICY RESEARCH, THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY



# MODERN TERRORISM

**“FROM TODAY, ASIO WILL BE CHANGING THE LANGUAGE WE USE TO TALK ABOUT THE VIOLENT THREATS WE COUNTER... WHY ARE WE MAKING A CHANGE? PUT SIMPLY, IT’S BECAUSE THE CURRENT LABELS ARE NO LONGER FIT FOR PURPOSE; THEY NO LONGER ADEQUATELY DESCRIBE THE PHENOMENA WE’RE SEEING.”**

**MIKE BURGESS, DIRECTOR OF ASIO (FEBRUARY 2021)**

# MODERN TERRORISM

THERE ARE PRE-EXISTING STRUCTURES AND ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTING, SHAPING AND USING SUCH IDEOLOGIES TO EXERT INFLUENCE ON INDIVIDUALS AS MEMBERS AND FOLLOWERS.

AT ONE END OF THE SPECTRUM, ORGANISATIONS ASSUME PARA-MILITARY AND QUASI-GOVERNMENTAL FORMS, BUT AT THE OTHER END OF THE SPECTRUM THERE IS A WIDER GREY AREA, INCLUDING INDIVIDUALS INSPIRED TO COMMIT ACTS OF VIOLENCE.

BINDER AND KENYON (2023)



Sydney siege inquest: Man Haron Monis was a 'psychopathic lone wolf terrorist'

**Should We Allow Mentally Ill 'Lone Wolves' To Call Themselves A Terrorist?**

**Mental health issues, not Islam, is why man shot Philly cop, lawyer says**

**Stephen Paddock: Vegas suspect a high-roller and 'psychopath'**

**Fervent jihadist or suicidal refugee: the many faces of Bavarian bomber**

“THE MOST DANGEROUS CRIMINALS ARE THE ASSASSINS OF RULERS. THEY MAY BE SANE, INSANE OR PARTIALLY INSANE, OR SIMPLY MONSTROUS CRIMINALS. THEY MAY BE DEGENERATES WITH CERTAIN PECULIAR TRAITS, AS INSTABILITY, AND THE CONTINUAL CHANGING OF THEIR OCCUPATION AND HABITATION. THEY ARE USUALLY VAIN, IRRITABLE, IMPULSIVE AND MYSTICAL, AND ARE EASILY INFLUENCED BY SURROUNDINGS. THEY ARE USUALLY PROUD OF THEIR CRIME, PROTEST WITH INDIGNATION IF CALLED INSANE, AND USUALLY SHOW GREAT COURAGE ON THE SCAFFOLD, CLINGING TO THEIR IDEAS OR DELUSIONS UNTIL THE END.”

MACDONALD (1912)

# PERFORMATIVE VIOLENCE



**WHAT IS CONSIDERED POLITICAL DEPENDS ON GLOBAL POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES.**

**WHEN TRADITIONAL IDEOLOGIES LOSE APPEAL, ALTERNATIVES ARE ATTRACTIVE FOR THOSE SEEKING MEANING.**

**NOT NECESSARILY AGAINST POLITICAL SYSTEM BUT USED TO GAIN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.**

**MANY BUILD NARRATIVE TO SUIT MOTIVATION.**



**LONE ACTOR  
TERRORISM**

**MASS  
MURDER**

**INSIDER  
THREAT**

**INVOLUNTARY  
CELIBACY**

**GANG  
VIOLENCE**

**HATE CRIME**

**IPV**

**FIXATION**

**STALKING**

**FAMILY  
VIOLENCE**



WHY DOES IT HAVE TO BE EITHER/OR?

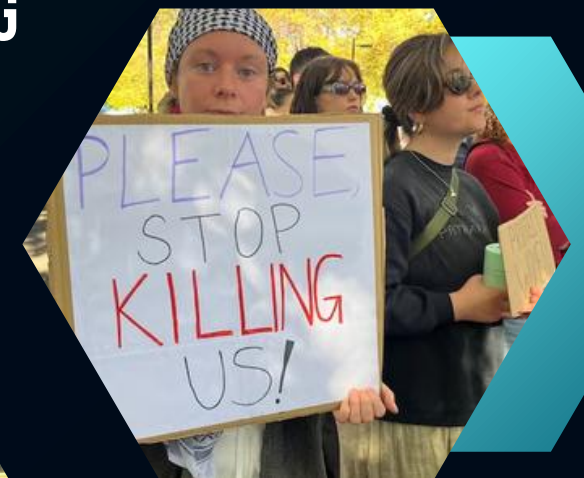


“CURRENT TYPOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS DESIGNED FOR EACH OFFENCE TYPE IMPLY UNIQUE MOTIVATIONS FOR EACH OFFENCE FRAMEWORK; I.E., LONE ACTOR TERRORISTS ARE MOTIVATED BY EXTREMIST IDEOLOGY, SCHOOL SHOOTERS AND WORKPLACE ATTACKERS BY INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT IN EDUCATIONAL OR WORKPLACE SETTINGS, OR VIOLENT INCELS BY MISOGYNIST BELIEFS AND A DESIRE FOR REVENGE AGAINST WOMEN...

DELINEATING SUCH OFFENDERS AS HAVING DIFFERENT MOTIVATIONAL IMPETUSES DUE TO EXISTING CATEGORISATIONS ESSENTIALLY REFLECTS OTHERS' ATTRIBUTION OF BEHAVIOUR RATHER THAN DISENTANGLING THE ACTUAL OFFENCE MOTIVATIONS.”

EBBRECHT AND LINDEKILDE (2023).





**VIOLENCE OCCURRING ACROSS DIFFERENT CONTEXTS CAN BE THOUGHT ABOUT WITH A CONSISTENT FRAMING DUE TO SIMILAR UNDERLYING MOTIVATIONS: INJUSTICE, LOSS, INJURY, VICTIMISATION, AND RESULTING EMOTIONAL STATES: RESENTMENT, OUTRAGE, BLAME, REVENGE.**

**GRIEVANCE-FUELLED VIOLENCE IS A PARADIGM REFERRING TO VIOLENCE PERPETRATED BY INDIVIDUALS WITH COMPLEX GRIEVANCES.**

**GRIEVANCES MAY BE RELATED TO PERSONAL PERCEIVED PERSONAL INJUSTICES OR RELATED TO INJUSTICES PERCEIVED AS DONE TO OTHERS.**

**SOME INSTANCES OF THE MENTIONED FORMS OF VIOLENCE MAY BE CONSIDERED GRIEVANCE-FUELLED VIOLENCE.**

**THE UNIFYING CONCEPT OF GRIEVANCE-FUELLED VIOLENCE OFFERS A POTENTIAL FRAMEWORK FOR CO-CONSTRUCTED KNOWLEDGE ACROSS ACADEMIC AND PRACTICAL FIELDS THAT HAVE LARGELY DEVELOPED SEPARATELY FROM EACH OTHER IN TERMS OF THEORY, RESEARCH, AND PRACTICE (COOPER ET AL., 2023).**

# A QUICK NOTE ON GRIEVANCE



**GRIEVANCE MAY REFER TO AN EVENT OR CIRCUMSTANCE THAT PROVOKES A PERSON TO FEEL AGGRIEVED. THIS MAY BE AN ACTUAL OR PERCEIVED WRONGDOING OR UNFAIRNESS, AND EITHER DISTAL OR PROXIMAL IN TIME.**



**GRIEVANCE MAY REFER TO THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STATE OF BEING OR FEELING AGGRIEVED WITH INTERACTING PERCEPTUAL, COGNITIVE, EMOTIONAL, AND BEHAVIORAL COMPONENTS. A PERSON MAY NOT NECESSARILY HAVE SUFFERED AN ACTUAL GRIEVANCE TO FEEL AGGRIEVED, ALTHOUGH THEY WILL USUALLY AT LEAST PERCEIVE THEMSELVES TO HAVE.**

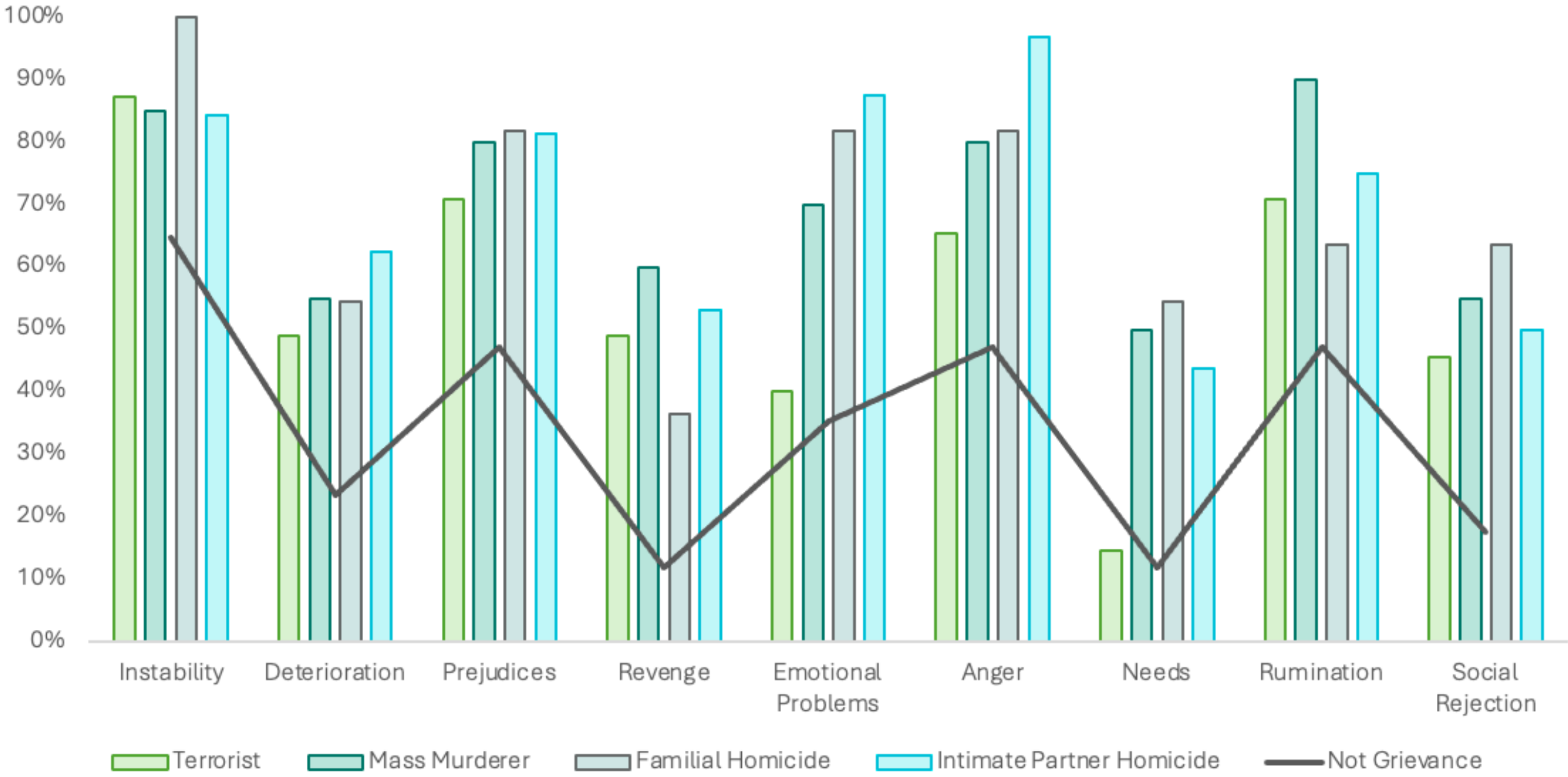


**GRIEVANCE MAY RELATE TO THE ACTIONS TAKEN, AND REMEDIES SOUGHT, TO COMMUNICATE AND FIND A RESOLUTION THAT SATISFIES THE AGGRIEVED PERSON, WHICH MAY INCLUDE THREATS AND VIOLENCE.**



**MOST PEOPLE WITH A GRIEVANCE DO NOT RESORT TO AN EXTERNAL PROCESS TO RESOLVE IT.**

# Offence Type Comparison



## EQUIFINALITY

MULTIPLE PATHWAYS TOWARDS GRIEVANCE DEVELOPMENT AND SUBSEQUENT VIOLENCE.

INDIVIDUALS WITH VERY DIFFERENT INITIAL SITUATIONS WILL EXPERIENCE A WIDE RANGE OF FACTORS WHICH INTERACT TO CONTRIBUTE TO EACH INDIVIDUAL'S PATHWAY.

## MULTIFINALITY

DIFFERENT PEOPLE WITH SIMILAR INITIAL SITUATIONS MAY EXPERIENCE DIFFERENT OUTCOMES, AND THE IMPACT OF EXPERIENCING A SINGLE FACTOR MAY IMPACT UPON AN INDIVIDUAL'S PATHWAY IN VERY DIFFERENT WAYS.

**Risk Factor Mental Gymnastics**

X and Y are associated

Interpret as causal

---

**Causal Inference Mental Gymnastics**

Specify an identification strategy

Draw a directed acyclic graph

X and Y are d-separated given W

Given causal consistency, exchangeability, positivity, no measurement error, a random sample of the target population, ...

Instruments

IPW

Semiparametric

AIPW

parametric g-formula

TMLE

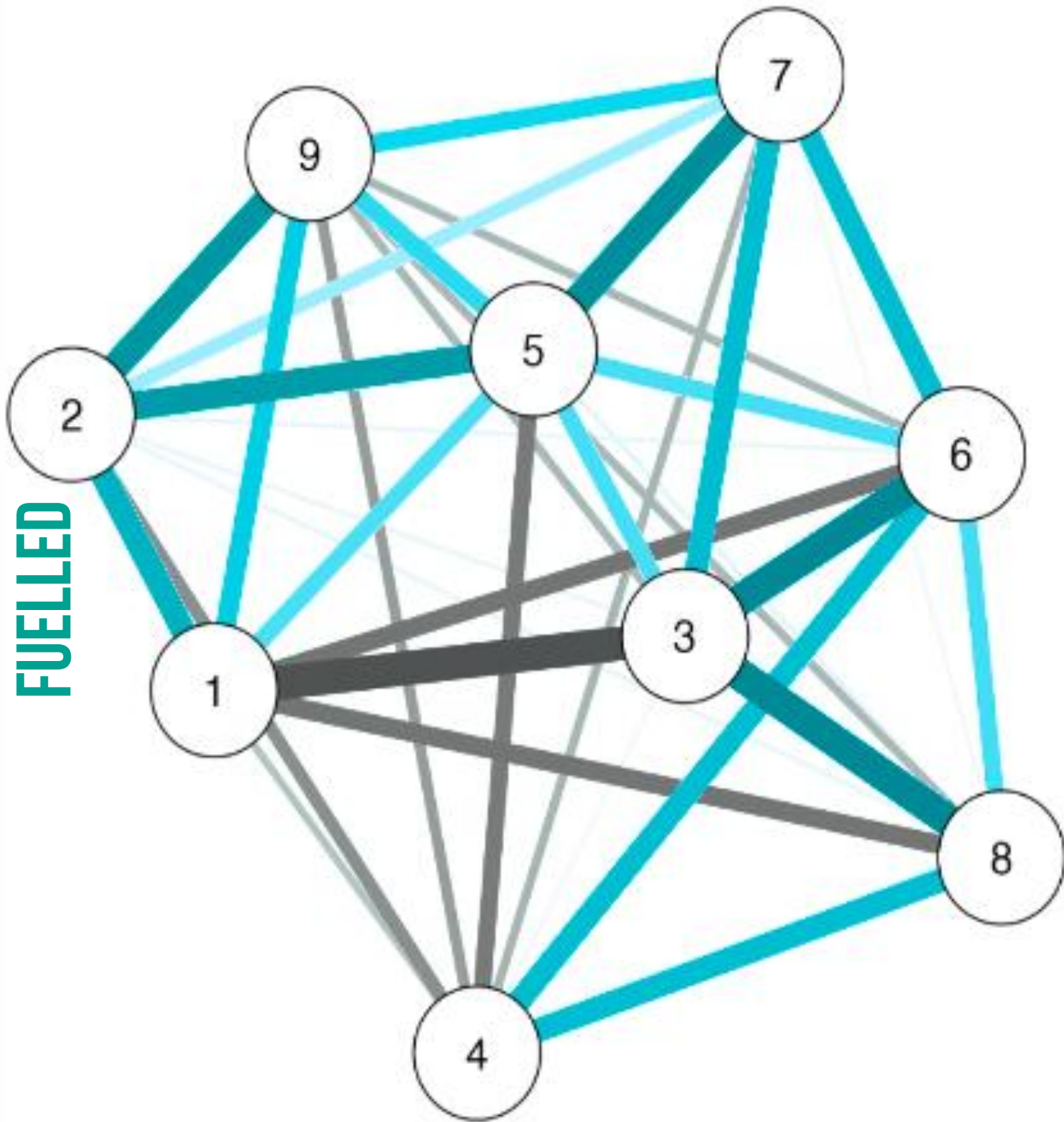
SUTVA

Hedge by saying there is likely some U

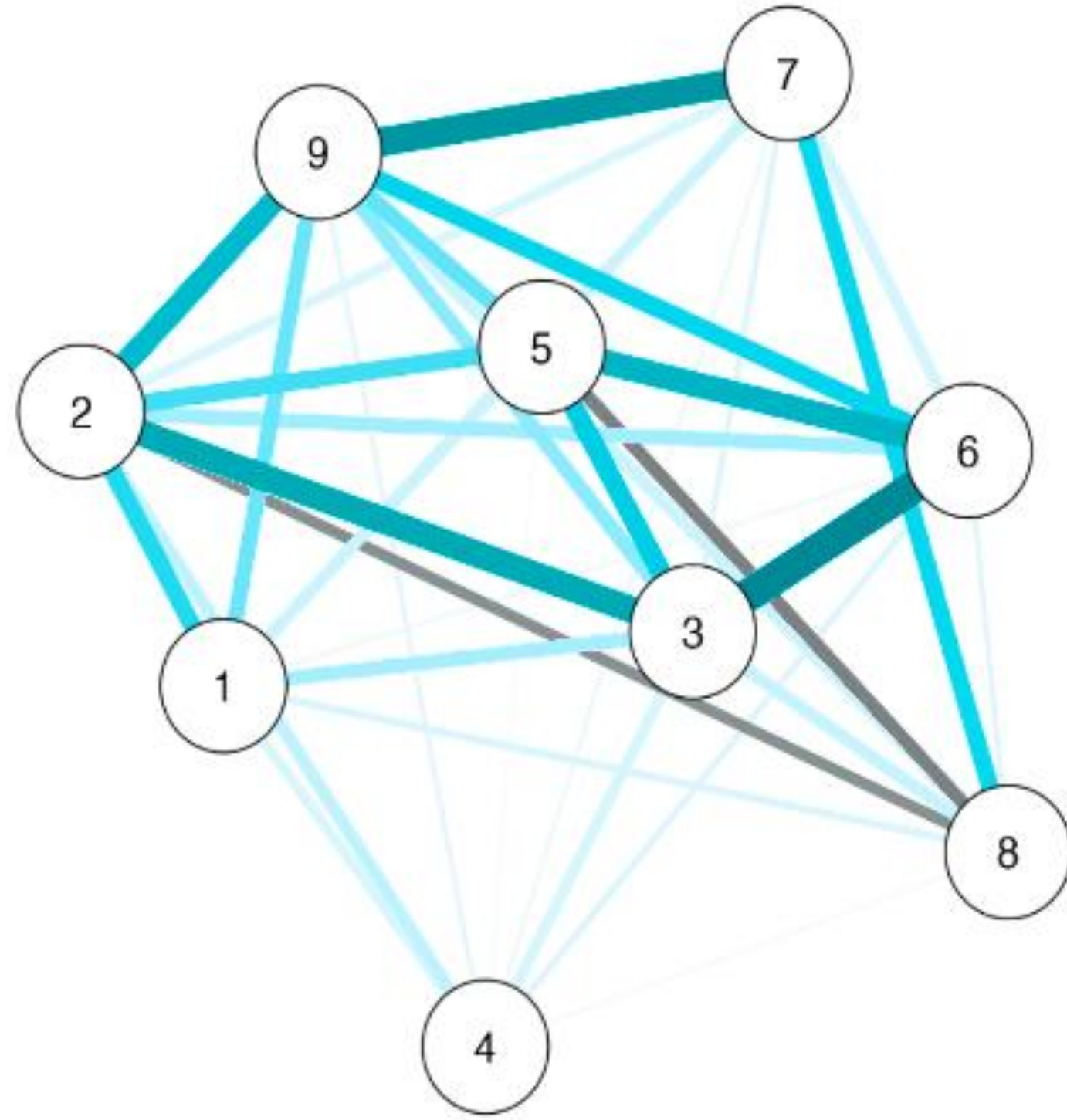
2 pages of limitations

NON-GRIEVANCE

FUELLED

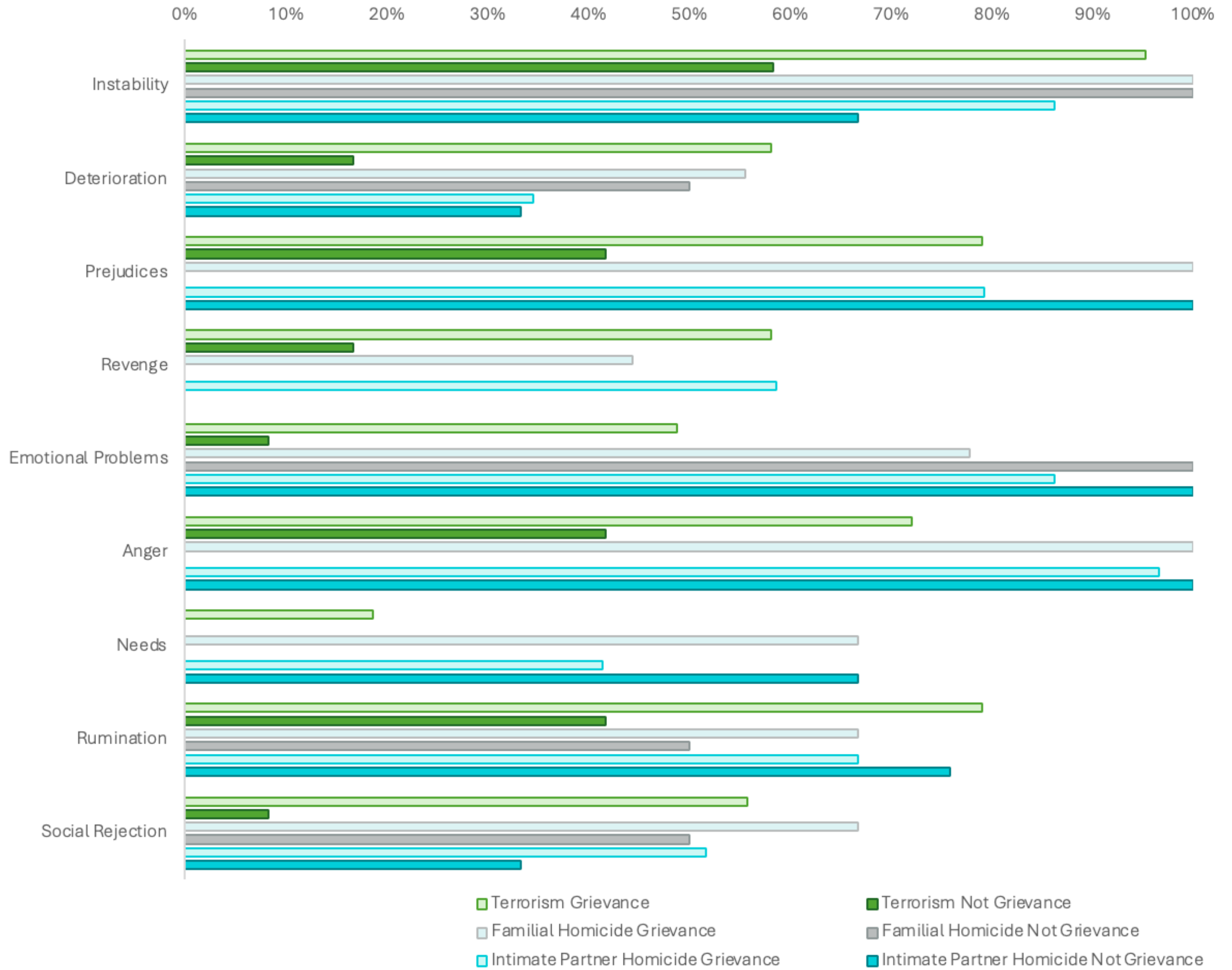


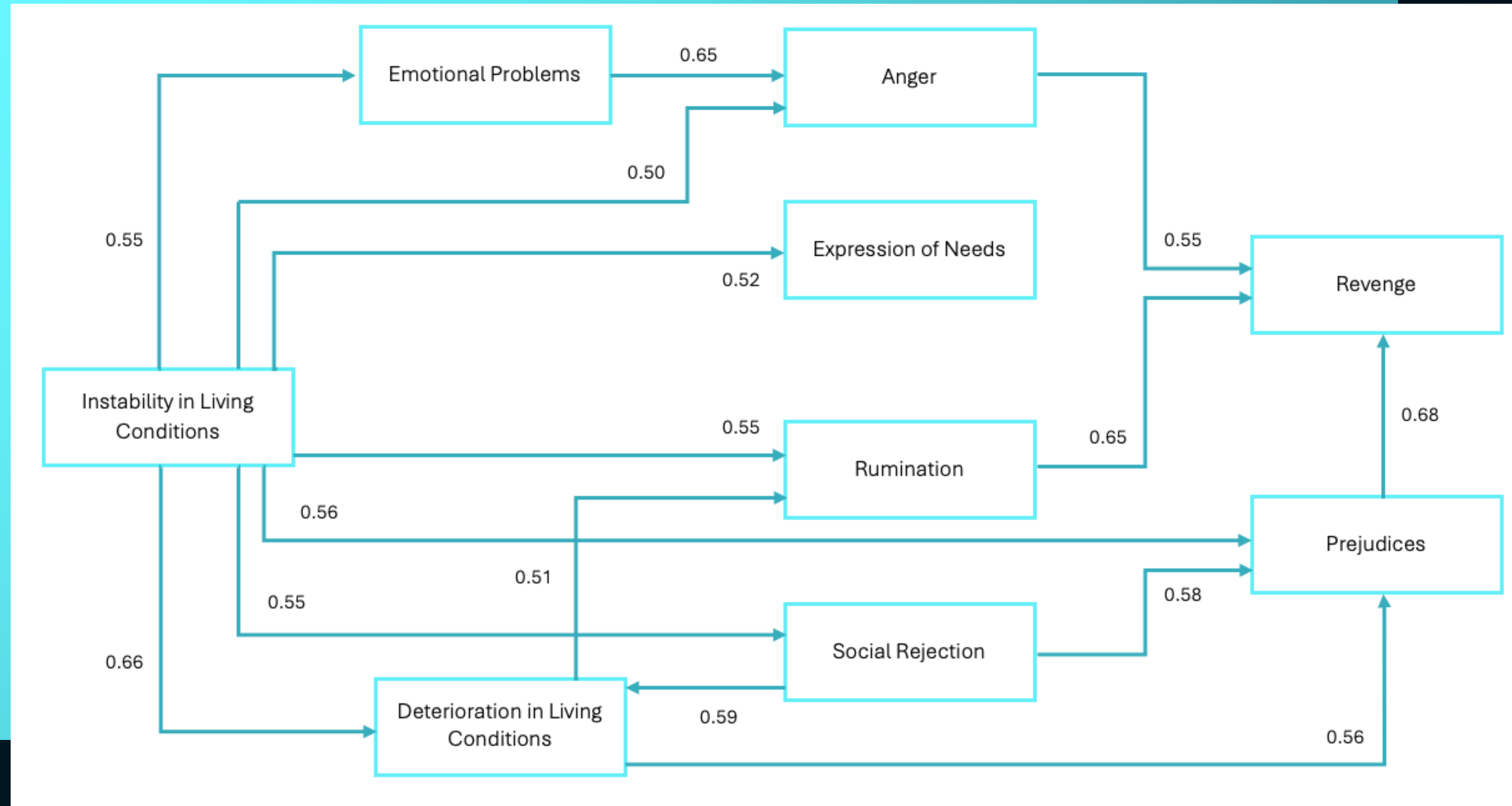
GRIEVANCE FUELLED



1 = INSTABILITY, 2 = DETERIORATION, 3 = PREJUDICES, 4 = REVENGE, 5 = EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS, 6 = ANGER, 7 = NEEDS, 8 = RUMINATION, 9 = SOCIAL REJECTION  
BLUE = POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP, GREY = NEGATIVE RELATIONSHIP

# Grievance Fuelled vs Non Grievance Fuelled





## NEXT PHASE (CURRENT)

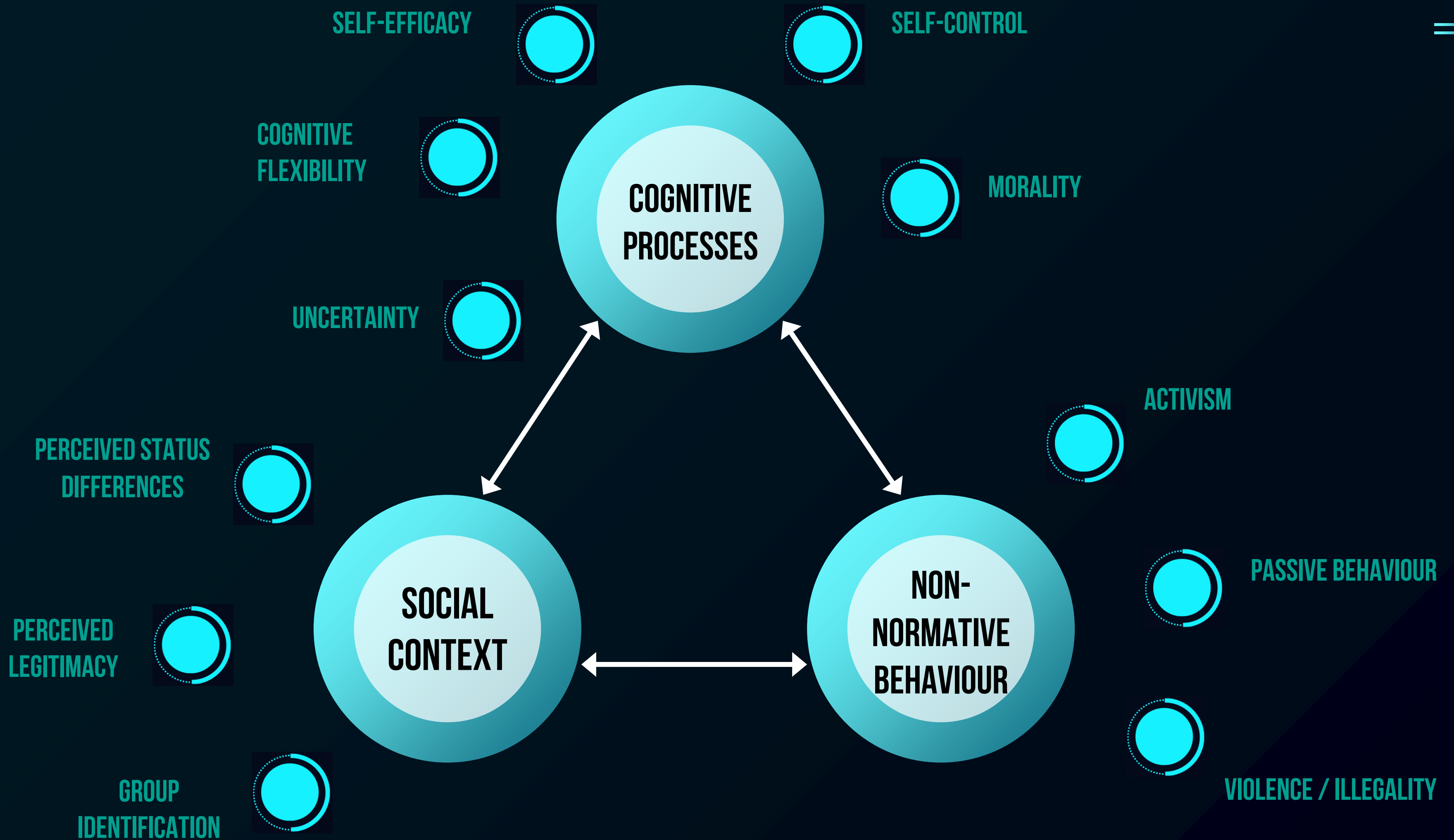
- **SURVEY DELPHI OF U.S. STATE AND FEDERAL ORGANISATIONS (PREVENTING VIOLENT EXTREMISM, TERRORISM, HATE CRIME, FAMILIAL VIOLENCE, INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE, STALKING, FIXATION (INCLUDING VIOLENCE TOWARD PUBLIC FIGURES), WORKPLACE VIOLENCE, VIOLENCE TOWARD LAW ENFORCEMENT AND THE MILITARY, AND SCHOOL-BASED VIOLENCE).**
  - **WAVE 1: 195 AGENCIES (215 INDIVIDUALS) CONTACTED - 46 RESPONSES (21.3%).**
  - **WAVE 2: 215 INDIVIDUALS CONTACTED - 24 RESPONSES (11.1%).**
- **CASE INFORMATION GATHERING - 635 CASES OF TERRORISM, HATE CRIME, FAMILIAL HOMICIDE, INTIMATE PARTNER HOMICIDE, SPREE KILLING, NON-SPECIFIED GRIEVANCE-RELATED VIOLENCE.**
  - **ALL CASES PRIMARILY DRIVEN BY GRIEVANCE.**
  - **USE OF CODEBOOK DEVELOPED FROM DELPHI TO GENERATE EXTENSIVE DATASET.**
- **NATIONALLY REPRESENTATIVE GENERAL POPULATION SURVEY (4,000) USING SCALES THAT MATCH ELEMENTS OF CASE CODEBOOK.**

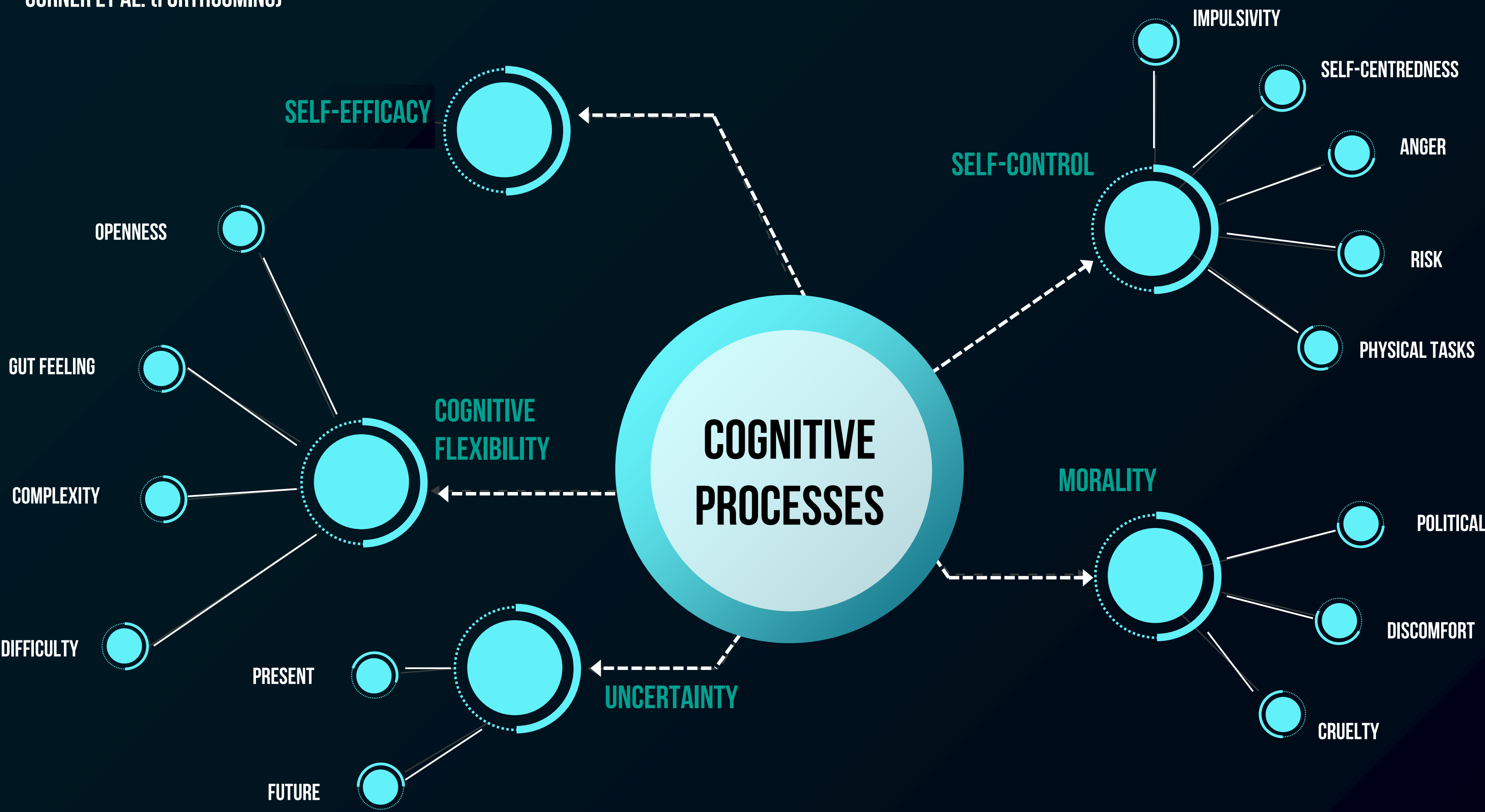


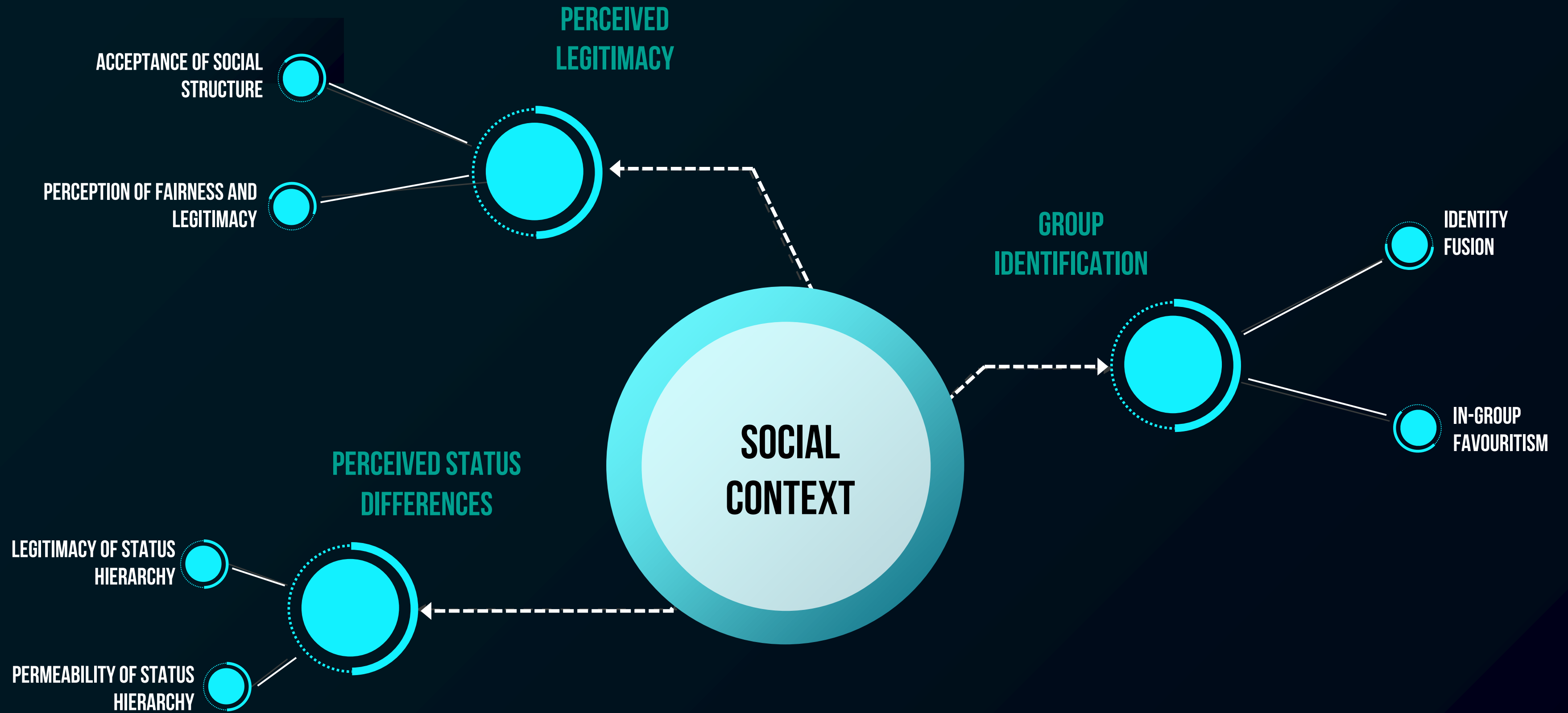
# LOOKING DEEPER THAN RISK FACTORS

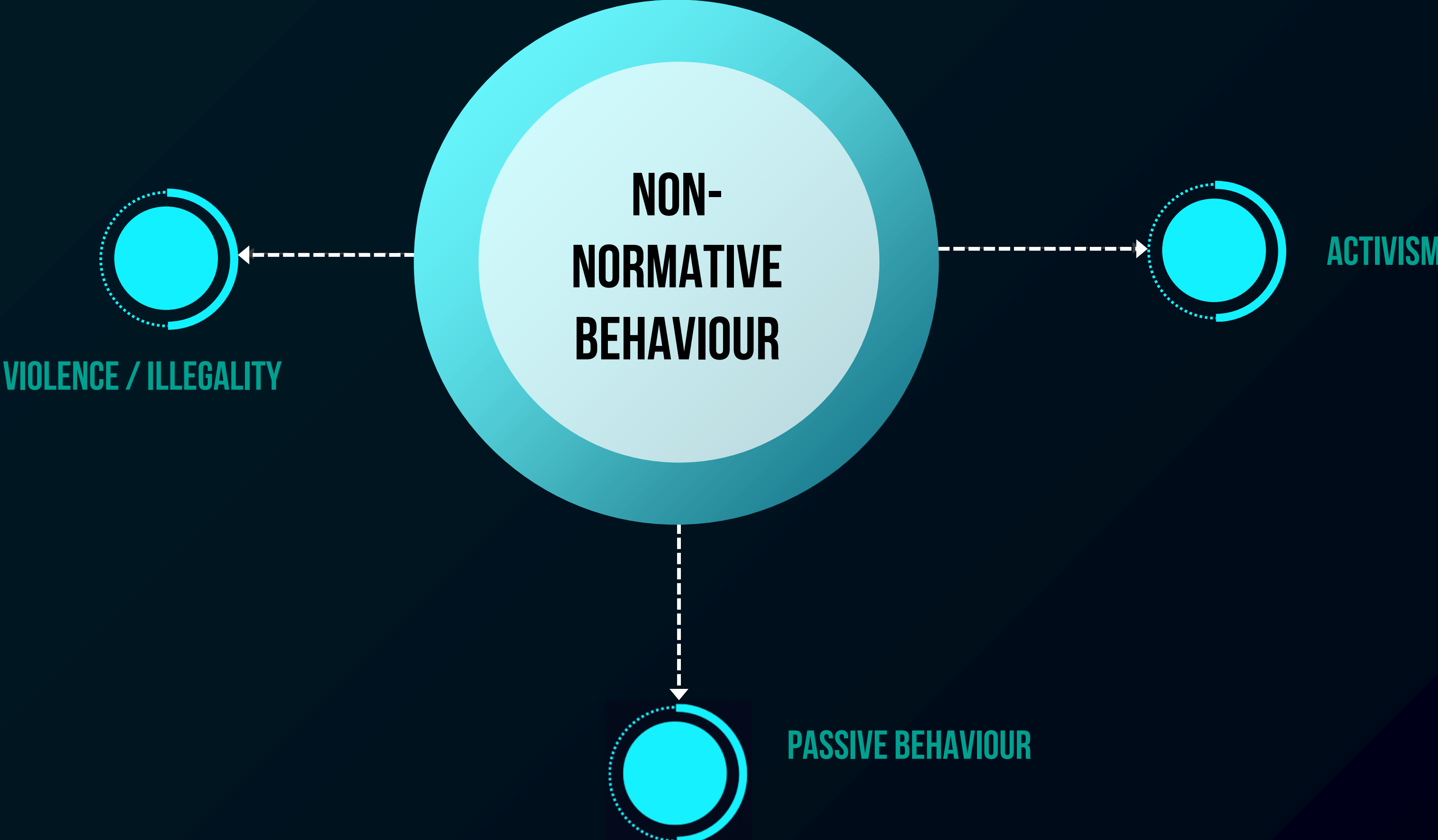






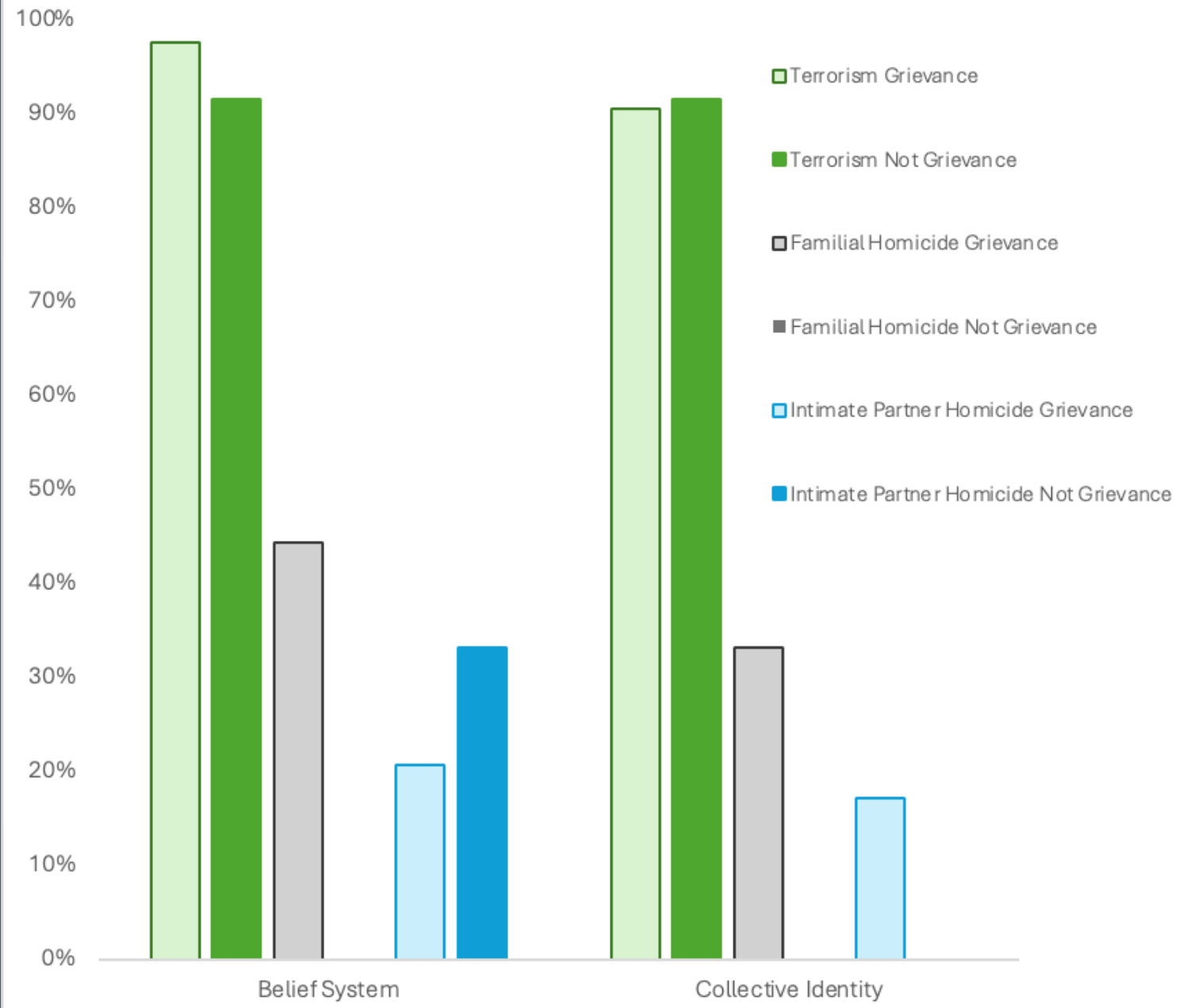


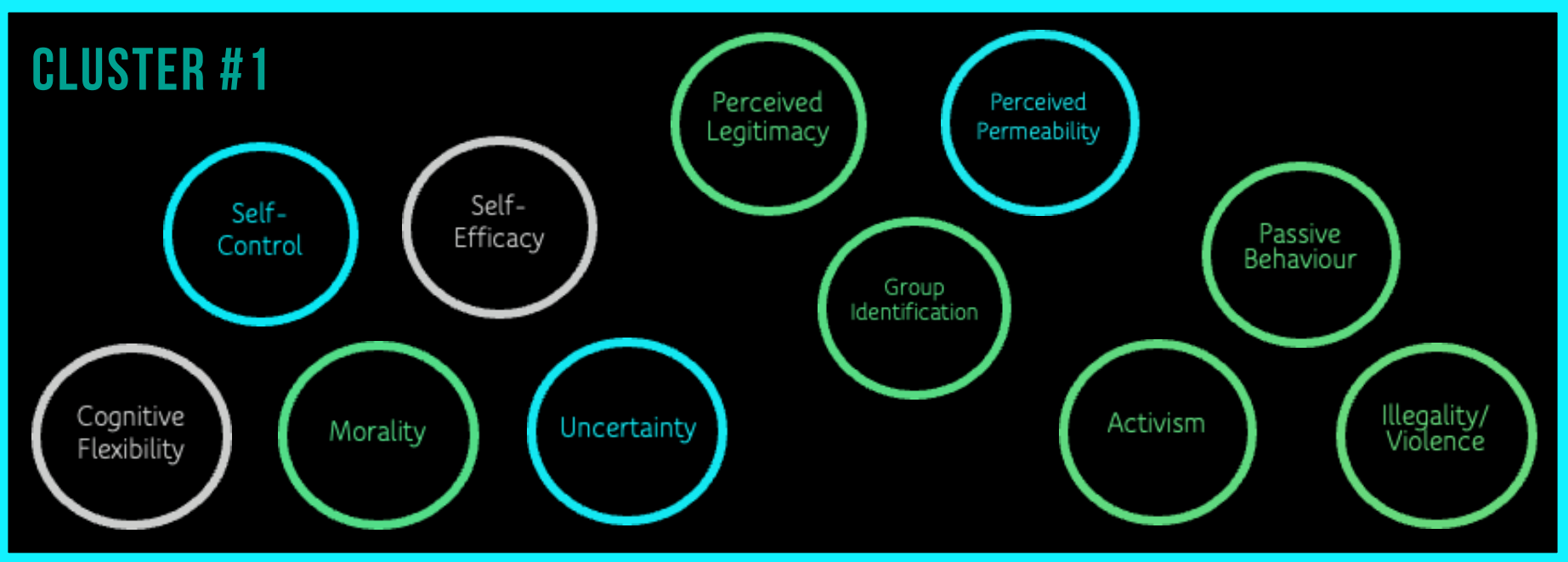






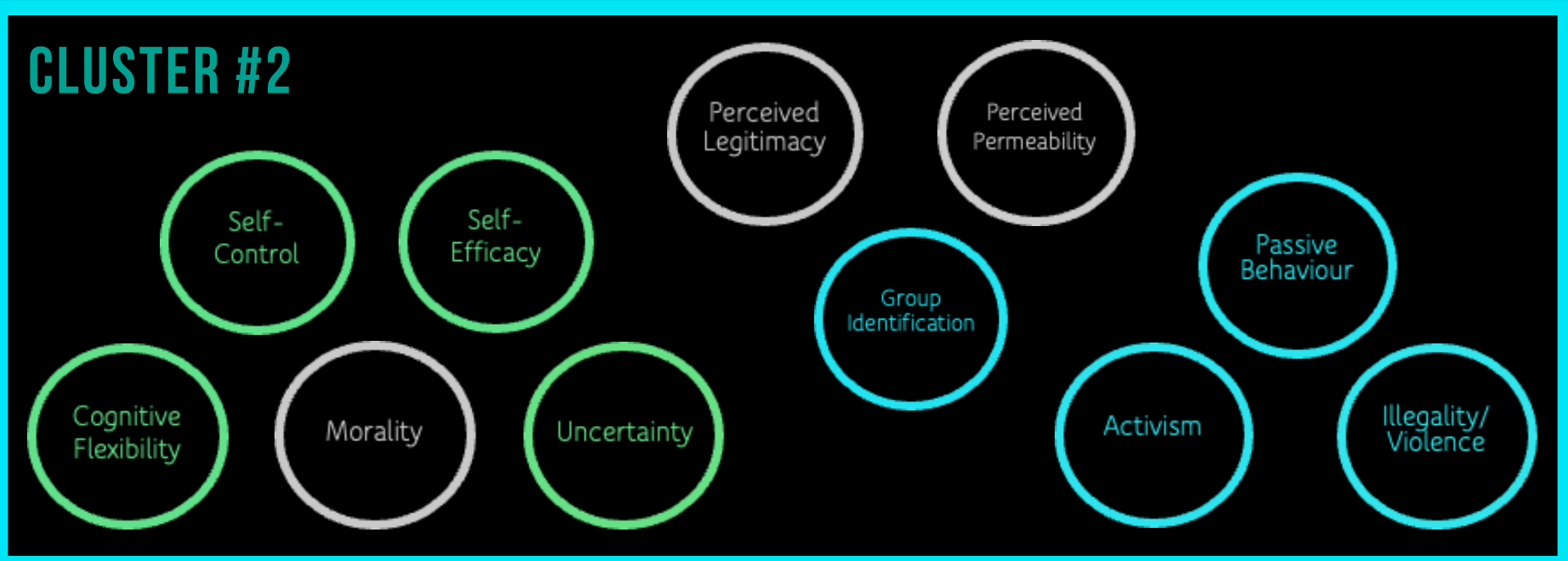
## Offence Type Comparison





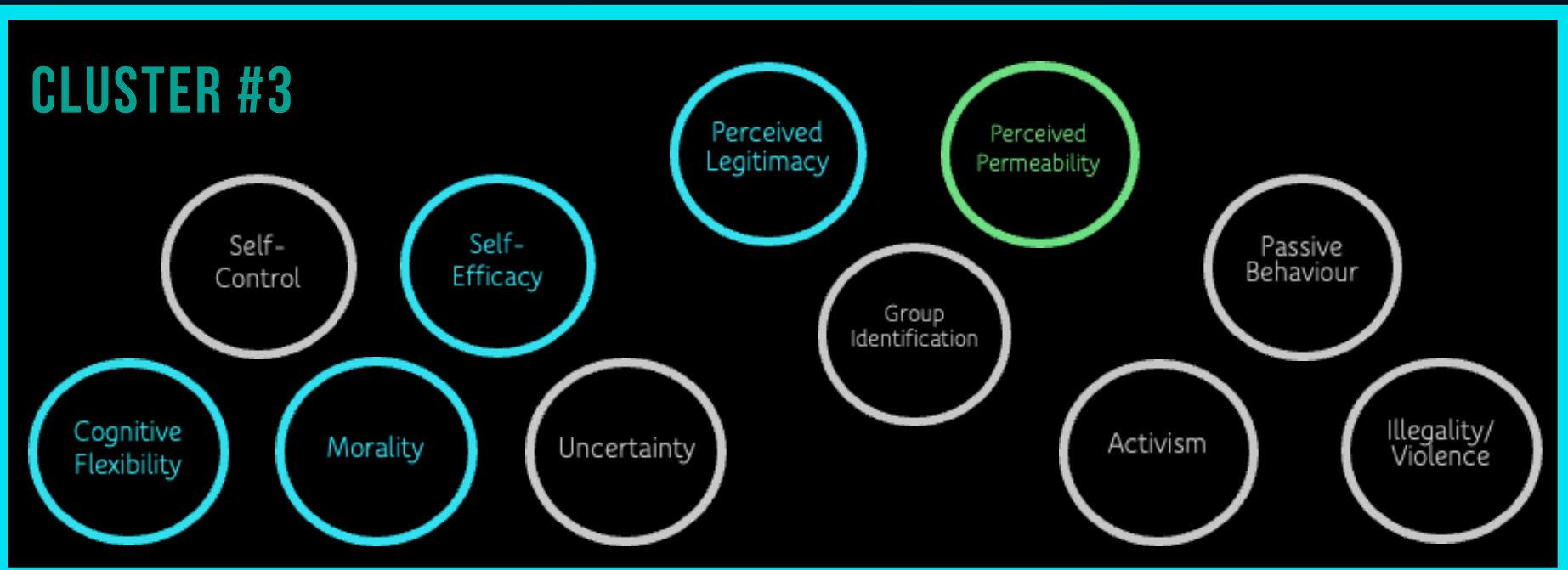
## COGNITIVE PROCESSES

- **COGNITIVE FLEXIBILITY:** HIGHER SCORE = GREATER COGNITIVE FLEXIBILITY.
- **SELF-CONTROL:** HIGHER SCORE = LOWER SELF-CONTROL.
- **MORALITY:** LOWER SCORE = HIGHER WILLINGNESS TO VIOLATE NORMS.
- **SELF-EFFICACY:** HIGHER SCORE = HIGHER SELF-EFFICACY.
- **UNCERTAINTY:** HIGHER SCORE = GREATER INTOLERANCE TO UNCERTAINTY.



## SOCIAL CONTEXT

- **PERCEIVED LEGITIMACY:** HIGHER SCORE = HIGHER LEVEL OF SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION AND ACCEPTANCE OF SYSTEM LEGITIMACY.
- **PERCEIVED PERMEABILITY:** HIGHER SCORE = GREATER PERCEPTION OF PERMEABILITY OF SYSTEM HIERARCHY.
- **GROUP IDENTIFICATION:** HIGHER SCORE = HIGHER SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION.



## NON-NORMATIVE BEHAVIOUR

- **PASSIVE BEHAVIOUR:** HIGHER SCORE = HIGHER WILLINGNESS TO CONDUCT PASSIVE ACTIVISM.
- **ACTIVISM:** HIGHER SCORE = HIGHER WILLINGNESS TO CONDUCT ACTIVISM.
- **ILLEGALITY/VIOLENCE:** HIGHER SCORE = HIGHER WILLINGNESS TO CONDUCT ILLEGAL/VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR.

GREY = LOWEST MEAN SCORE, BLUE = HIGHEST MEAN SCORE





WHAT DOES ALL OF THIS MEAN FOR ME?



THANK YOU

