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BROKEN BONDS: FATHER ABSENTEEISM AND THE PATH TO VIOLENT EXTREMISM

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ABSTRACT

This study delves into the intricate relationship between father absenteeism, and a susceptibility to extremist ideologies leading to violent extremism. Drawing on theoretical frameworks such as social identity theory and strain theory, the research explores how father absence can propel individuals towards seeking identity and purpose through extremist groups. Empirical evidence and case studies are presented to support these findings, emphasising the significance of early intervention, positive parenting, and psychosocial support in mitigating radicalisation risks. The presence of strong social support networks emerges as a crucial resilience factor in reducing susceptibility to extremist influences. This research contributes to a deeper understanding of how family dynamics, including father absenteeism, shape individuals' vulnerability to extremist ideologies and involvement in terrorism. The study underscores the need for further exploration to unravel the nuanced role of family dynamics in radicalisation processes.

Keywords: family dynamics, fatherlessness, radicalisation, terrorism, violent extremism

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of radicalisation to violent extremism has garnered significant attention, with researchers and policymakers striving to understand the complex factors contributing to individuals' involvement in extremist activities. While the family unit has been recognised as a potential source of radicalisation, the specific role of father absenteeism in this process remains relatively underexplored.

This paper aims to examine the impact of father absenteeism on susceptibility to extremist ideologies and subsequent engagement in terrorism. Theoretical frameworks such as social identity theory and strain theory provide insights into how father absenteeism may contribute to feelings of alienation, disenfranchisement, and vulnerability to radical ideologies. Empirical research has further elucidated this link, with longitudinal studies identifying paternal absence as a predictor of extremist behaviour among at-risk youth, and case studies of known terrorists highlighting the prevalence of father absenteeism.

While not all individuals who experience paternal absence are susceptible to radicalisation, resilience factors such as strong social support networks and positive mentorship can mitigate this influence. By delving into the nuanced relationship between father absenteeism and terrorism involvement, this paper seeks to contribute to a deeper understanding of how family dynamics shape individuals' susceptibility to extremist influences.

Through a deep review of academic literature and media reports this study aims to provide valuable insights into the potential link between father absenteeism and radicalisation to violent extremism. By examining individual cases, this research endeavours to offer a nuanced perspective on the role of fathers in shaping individuals' vulnerability to extremist ideologies and involvement in terrorism. This paper is intended to be a starting point for future research and discussion on this underexplored aspect of radicalisation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The relationship between father absenteeism and criminal behaviour is well established. Research has shown that having an absent biological father at any time can impact delinquency and adult criminal behaviour (TenEyck et al., 2021). Father departure later in childhood is associated with increased delinquency in adolescence (Markowitz and Ryan, 2016). Parental absence, particularly father absence, is linked to negative pedestrian behaviours in primary school children (Meng et al., 2020). Moreover, the presence of a father figure during adolescence is likely to have protective effects, particularly for males, in both adolescence and young adulthood (Cobb-Clark and Tekin, 2014). Whilst the family unit is sometimes offered as a source of radicalisation, father absenteeism has been a topic of interest for few studies in the context of its potential link to radicalisation to violent extremism, despite more recent research focusing on the family unit. This literature review provides a concise summary of some key findings and insights from relevant research in this field.

Muna (2019) notes "that as compared to mothers, the role of father figures in countering violent extremism (CVE) has not been significantly explored. Many scholars agree that there exist many programs that empower women as agents of de-radicalization, but little attention is paid to the critical role played by father figures, or absent father figures in the radicalization

process" (p. 7). The influence of family dynamics, including father absenteeism, on the development of extremist behaviour has been examined in the context of various theoretical frameworks. According to social identity theory, individuals who lack a strong familial identity due to father absence may be more susceptible to seeking identity and purpose through extremist groups that offer a sense of belonging and purpose (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Additionally, strain theory posits that the absence of a father figure can contribute to feelings of strain and anomie (normlessness or a breakdown of moral values, standards, or guidance for an individual), which may propel individuals towards radical ideologies and behaviours (Agnew, 1992). Several articles outline how violent extremist groups operate as a support system for those affected by early life trauma (Sieckelinck et al., 2019; DeMichele et al., 2022; Mattsson & Johansson, 2020; Gould, 2021). As Lewis (2024) highlights "the coherent rules and support that appear[ed] to be much more available within extremist groups was a key pull factor in the radicalisation of young people growing up in environments where such support was *absent*. This dynamic was identified by approximately half of [Sieckelinck's, 2019] sample of 34 former extremists and their families in the Netherlands (p. 25).

Some research has indirectly suggested that father absenteeism can have a significant impact on an individual's susceptibility to radicalisation. A study by Kruglanski et al. (2014) found that individuals who experience paternal absence may seek alternative sources of authority and belonging, making them more vulnerable to extremist ideologies. The absence of a father figure has been associated with feelings of alienation and disenfranchisement, which are factors that can contribute to the attraction of violent extremist groups (Scremin, 2023). Bjørgo and Carlsson's (2005) research highlights that adolescent individuals involved in extremist organisations frequently exhibit deficient or entirely absent connections with their fathers, and, on a broader scale, with their familial units. A longitudinal study by Jackson and Farrington (2018) found that paternal absence during childhood was a significant predictor of later engagement in violent extremism among a sample of at-risk youth, highlighting the enduring impact of father absence on the risk of radicalisation and underlines the importance of early intervention and support for individuals affected by this factor.

Other empirical studies have also provided some further insights into the possible association between father absenteeism and radicalisation. Rezaei and Goli (2010) in their sociological study of radicalised Muslims found that those leaning toward an Islamist-jihadist worldview were more likely to say that had experienced a death in the family. Similarly, the author found that Muslim Australians more likely to be support to the idea of martyrdom and killing civilians had a huge drop in connection with family, 80.1% for the whole sample of 1034 Muslim Australians down to just 47.7% for those that agree with or are warm to the idea of martyrdom (Satterley, 2024). In a unique discussion by Muna (2019) the author outlines the role of parents in radicalisation and prevention, when discussing fatherhood, the author notes how:

"the role fathers in both recruitment and prevention of violent extremism cannot be ignored or dismissed. In many cultures [all?], the father-son relationship is defining particularly when sons become of age. Empirical literature has shown that in the cases where the father figure is absent, feelings of resentment and isolation become evident. These may at times contribute to a young person's vulnerability to recruitment into violent extremism". In South Asia, research has been published to support this claim. In the province of Swat, Pakistan,

for example, about 65% of militant boys identified between the age of 12 and 18 had absent father figures" (p. 7).

Botha (2013) made similar finds in relation to youth susceptible to al-Shaabab in Kenya and noted how:

"the phenomenon about an absent father figure resembled those of J. Post in his study of 250 West German terrorists (from the Red Army Faction and the 2 June Movement). Results of that study indicated that 25% had lost one or both parents by age 14, whereas 79% had strained family relationships—and more intriguing was the fact that 33% had a particularly negative relationship with their fathers. She further posits that many respondents among the Allied Democratic Forces (44%), Lord's Resistance Army (38%), al-Shabaab (18%), and Mombasa Republican Council (31%) had been raised without a father figure (Botha in Muna, 2019, p. 8).

Zych and Nasaescu (2022) conducted a systematic review of 33 studies on family-related risk and protective factors, the review included 14 family-factors for radicalisation. The authors found "that parental bias and mistrust towards other cultures, having extremist family members, and family conflicts, were related to more radicalization. [Whereas] high family socio-economic status, bigger family size and family commitment were related to less radicalization" (p. 3). The authors discuss how family can be both a source of protection and a potential risk for radicalisation. Furthermore, the authors highlight that families may provide protective factors such as positive parenting, resilience development, and resources, while also posing risk factors through poor resources, relationships, or undesirable ideological influence. Zych and Nasaescu suggest that families play a crucial role in preventing young people from radicalisation and recruitment to violent extremist groups. They also discuss the impact of radicalisation on families, including psychological, physical, and structural consequences such as victimisation, social isolation, and mental health issues. While their review does not explicitly state a correlation between father absenteeism and radicalisation, it does discuss the impact of family-related factors on radicalisation. The review mentions that parental involvement, supervision, and consistent parenting are related to the vulnerability of young people to radicalisation. It also suggests that children raised in extremist families are at a higher risk of becoming violent extremists themselves. Additionally, the paper emphasises the need for further research to confirm the role of family, including fathers, in understanding and preventing radicalisation.

More recent research has focused upon adverse childhood experiences (ACE) (Logan et al., 2024) or trauma (Lewis et al., 2024). Logan found that both left-wing extremists and right-wing extremists experienced childhood adversity, with a significant percentage experiencing four or more adverse childhood experiences (ACE) during their first eighteen years of life – 70% of their sample experienced "caregiver loss" where the caregivers were separated or divorced (p. 62). Other factors such as "physical neglect" and "caregiver incarceration" were extant, providing further evidence of parental (father) absence. Lewis (2024) highlights a study by Speckhard and Ahkmedova (2006) and their analysis of 34 Chechen suicide terrorists:

"Interviews with family members and associates highlighted that 27 of these individuals had experienced trauma prior to joining a group that advocated terrorism, and that many had

'changed dramatically first in response to the traumatic death of a loved one followed by their seeking out of their own accord a radical religious organization. In these cases it appeared that the individual was distraught following a traumatic loss and felt an overwhelming need for answers, comfort, substitute family ties, and the promise and means that were offered to him in these organizations to work toward enacting social justice (from their point of view)— albeit not through normally recognized channels—but by becoming terrorists" (p. 27).

Lewis (2024) refers to these pre-radicalisation factors as "proximal trauma" and concludes that "these proximal forms of trauma may play a role in accelerating radicalisation processes towards violent action, although it is difficult to infer causality" (p. 29).

Speckhard and Ellenberg (2020) report in their sample of 220 current or former members of ISIS, the three most prominent (of the eleven) adverse childhood experiences the individuals faced were "prior trauma", "parental separation/divorce" and "deceased parent". Another study by Böckler et al. (2018) highlights the family environment as a significant context for trauma emergence. Their analysis of terrorist offenders, forming the Developmental Pathway of School Attackers and Terrorist Attackers, identifies various risk factors at the family level, such as "illness and death of significant others", divorce, and a "familial atmosphere characterized by emotional indifference and a lack of parental involvement" (Böckler et al., 2018, p. 11). These studies do not focus specifically on father absenteeism, they do however provide us some insight and highlight the broader factors that surround father absenteeism.

It is important to note that not all individuals who experience paternal/father absence are at risk of radicalisation and many or most individuals involved in terrorist groups do have a father in their lives, however, the underlying social and psychological experience is perhaps sometimes similar, as Muna (2019) outlines, "it is critical to note that these feelings [rejection and lack of belonging] can be experienced even in situations where both parents are present" (p. 8). Resilience factors, such as strong social support networks and positive mentorship, can mitigate the impact of father absenteeism on an individual's susceptibility to extremist influences (Masten & Barnes, 2018). Interventions that focus on strengthening family relationships and providing psychosocial support to individuals affected by paternal absence have shown promise in reducing the risk of radicalisation (Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2010).

Thus, there is little research focusing specifically on father absenteeism and its link to radicalisation to violent extremism and terrorism, this underscores the need for a comprehensive understanding of the role of family dynamics, particularly the role or absence of the father in shaping individuals' vulnerability to extremist influences.

METHODOLOGY

This study involves a thorough review of available sources, including academic literature and media reports. It focuses on examining the family dynamics of known terrorists, with a specific emphasis on the relationship between father absenteeism and the subsequent involvement of individuals in extremist activities. The data is gathered through an extensive analysis of the family backgrounds of numerous individuals involved in terrorist acts, encompassing a wide range of cases from different geographical locations and ideological

affiliations. This is done through search engines, academic libraries, Google Scholar, and the authors' physical book library.

The methodology employs a qualitative approach to identify and analyse the influence of father absenteeism on the radicalisation and involvement in terrorism of the individuals under study. The research involves the systematic collection and examination of information related to the family backgrounds of the subjects, with a particular emphasis on instances of parental divorce (almost always leading to less father involvement), the death of fathers, or the absence of fathers due to other reasons. This information is then analysed to draw connections between father absenteeism and the subsequent radicalisation and engagement in terrorist activities by the individuals.

By integrating individual case studies with existing literature, this research aims to provide a deeper understanding of the potential link between father absenteeism and its impact on individuals' susceptibility to extremist ideologies and involvement in terrorism. Additionally, the study highlights the most prominent Western terrorist attacks of this century to see if the factor of father absenteeism appears instructive.

LIMITATIONS

The approach of examining the relationship between father absenteeism and terrorism involvement has several limitations:

1. Causality: The study may struggle to establish a direct causal link between father absenteeism and terrorism involvement. While it can identify correlations, other factors such as socio-economic conditions, political and religious beliefs, and personal experiences may also heavily contribute to individuals' radicalisation and involvement in terrorism. We cannot overlook the influence of other significant factors, such as peer networks, online propaganda, and individual psychological vulnerabilities.

2. Sample Bias: The research focuses on known terrorists, which may introduce a sample bias. This approach may not capture individuals who were at risk of radicalisation but did not engage in terrorist activities. Therefore, the findings may not be generalisable to a broader population. Additionally, media reports or academic sources do not always include information about known terrorists' family background. However, more high-profile terrorist attacks appear to subject the perpetrators to more scrutiny, leading to an overrepresentation of high-profile, sometimes larger terrorist attacks in the sample.

3. Ethical Considerations: Ethical considerations regarding the privacy and dignity of individuals and their families were taken into account, and only publicly available information was used in the analysis.

These limitations should be considered when interpreting the findings of the study, and future research should aim to address these challenges to provide a more nuanced understanding of the factors contributing to terrorism involvement. The methodology employed a qualitative research approach, combining an in-depth analysis of individual cases with existing scholarly sources. A thorough review of available sources, including academic literature and media reports, ensured a robust foundation for the research findings and analysis.

RESULTS

The Appendix presents a list of 90 case studies of known terrorists, examining the potential correlation between their involvement in terrorism and father absenteeism resulting from the divorce of their parents or the death of their father prior to radicalisation. It is important to note that some case studies may include multiple individuals, such as brothers.

Among the 90 case studies, 27 individuals, or 30%, experienced the death of their father, with 6 of those 27 individuals also having experienced the divorce of their parents. The remaining 63 individuals, or 70%, encountered the separation or divorce of their parents, or some form of reported father absenteeism.

Additionally, Table 1 provides a list of the 11 most prominent or high-profile Western based terrorist attacks of this century. This list includes the attack date and name, the number of reported known terrorists involved, the known number of deceased fathers of those terrorists, and the known number of instances of father absenteeism. It is important to note that if a father was reported to have died and divorced the mother or was absent for some reason, it was not counted twice; rather, it was counted as the father having died, under the assumption that this had a greater impact. It is highly anticipated that if more were known about the individuals for which no data were found, it would be likely that more father absenteeism would be found – these are marked 'unknown'. Where the father of the terrorist was found (reported) to be alive, a '0' was recorded.

Six of the eleven terrorist attacks involved some sort of father absenteeism. For instance, the September 11, 2001, attacks consisted of two sets of brothers, both of which had experienced the death of their father. A similar case was observed in the 2015 Paris attacks and the Charlie Hebdo shooting of the same year, where a set of brothers involved in each, had also experienced the death of their father. In contrast, the Boston Marathon brothers did not experience the death of their father but encountered his absence as he was reportedly in and out of the United States due to being in prison.

Table 1. Most Prominent Western Terrorist Attacks of this Century

Date	Attack Name	Known Number of Terrorists	Known Number of Terrorists Father Died	Known Number of Terrorists Father Absent
2001	September 11 Attacks	19	5	2
2004	Madrid Train Bombings	12+	Unknown	Unknown
2005	London 7/7 Bombings	4	2	1
2015	Paris Attacks	9	3	2
2016	Brussels Bombings	3	0	Unknown
2017	Manchester Arena Bombing	1	0	Unknown
2016	Nice Truck Attack*	1	0*	0*
2017	Stockholm Truck Attack	1	Unknown	Unknown
2017	Westminster Bridge Attack	1	1	N/A
2015	Charlie Hebdo Shooting	3	3	1
2013	Boston Marathon	2	0	2

*Experienced his own divorce and family issues before the attack.

DISCUSSION

This paper sheds light on the intricate relationship between family dynamics, particularly father absenteeism, and susceptibility to extremist ideologies leading to violent extremism. These initial findings underscore the critical role of early intervention, positive parenting, and psychosocial support in mitigating the risk of radicalisation. While not all

individuals with absent fathers are prone to radicalisation, resilience factors like robust social support networks play a pivotal role in reducing susceptibility to extremist influences.

Theoretical Frameworks and Implications

According to social identity theory, individuals derive a sense of identity and belonging from their social groups. In the case of father absenteeism, individuals may lack a strong familial identity, leading them to seek identity and purpose through extremist groups that offer a sense of camaraderie and belonging. Extremist groups may provide an alternative source of identity for individuals who feel disconnected due to the absence of a father figure. Moreover, strain theory posits that individuals experience strain when they are unable to achieve socially valued goals through legitimate means. The absence of a father figure can contribute to feelings of strain and alienation, pushing individuals towards seeking alternative sources of authority and belonging, such as extremist ideologies. Father absenteeism may exacerbate feelings of disenfranchisement, making individuals more vulnerable to radicalisation.

The relationship between father absenteeism and criminal behaviour is of course well established, this paper provides some initial findings that indicate this may also extend to violent extremism. An interesting question that arises in relation to religiously motivated terrorism is, are the individuals seeking their father figure in the form of the god of Abraham? Does this alleviate feelings of strain and anomie whilst providing moral and behavioural authority often delivered by a father? This, however, may be a sociological factor relating to religion more generally and out of the scope of this paper. More research is needed, and it also appears that this trend of father absenteeism is prevalent among non-religiously motivated terrorism also, as highlighted in the literature above and many case studies below.

Policy and Intervention Strategies

Understanding the link between father absenteeism and radicalisation is crucial for developing effective prevention strategies. Interventions focusing on strengthening family relationships, providing psychosocial support, and fostering positive male mentorship can help reduce the risk of radicalisation. Policymakers should consider the role of family dynamics in counterterrorism efforts and prioritise initiatives that address familial vulnerabilities associated with radicalisation.

Future Research Directions

What is out of the scope of this paper is the literature that focuses upon what fathers provide in the family unit, particularly in relation to young boys and men that cannot be easily replicated when absent (Farrell and Gray, 2018; Reeves, 2022). This is a useful impetus for future research that should delve deeper into the mechanisms through which father absenteeism influences susceptibility to extremist ideologies. Qualitative insights from in-depth interviews or deeper case studies could provide a more nuanced understanding of this relationship. Longitudinal studies tracking individuals' trajectories from childhood experiences of father absence to involvement in extremist activities would offer valuable insights into the long-term impact of family dynamics on radicalisation risk.

CONCLUSION

This paper provides valuable insights into the potential link between father absenteeism and susceptibility to radicalisation to violent extremism. By examining the influence of family dynamics, particularly the absence of fathers, it contributes to a deeper understanding of factors shaping individuals' vulnerability to extremist ideologies.

The integration of theoretical frameworks such as social identity theory and strain theory offers a nuanced perspective on how father absenteeism may contribute to feelings of alienation and vulnerability to radical ideologies. Empirical research, including longitudinal studies and case studies of known terrorists, has further elucidated this link, suggesting a significant association between paternal absence during childhood and later engagement in violent extremism.

While not all individuals who experience paternal absence are susceptible to radicalisation, resilience factors such as strong social support networks and positive mentorship can mitigate this influence. This highlights the importance of interventions focused on strengthening family relationships and providing psychosocial support to individuals affected by paternal absence.

By examining individual cases and empirical research findings, this research offers insights into the potential role of father absenteeism in shaping vulnerability to extremist influences. However, further research is needed to confirm and expand upon these findings. The study raises important questions about the nuanced interplay between family dynamics, including the role or absence of fathers, and susceptibility to radicalisation.

While this paper contributes to our understanding of this underexplored aspect of radicalisation, it is intended as a starting point for future research and discussion. Additional studies, particularly longitudinal and cross-cultural investigations, are necessary to establish causal relationships and develop a more comprehensive understanding of the complex factors contributing to radicalisation processes. This research highlights the need for continued exploration of family dynamics, including the impact of father absenteeism, in shaping vulnerability to extremist ideologies and involvement in terrorism.

APPENDIX

Terrorists who have experienced father absenteeism

1. **Osama bin Laden**: The divorce of his parents and the death of his father, Mohammed bin Laden, were influential factors in Osama bin Laden's life and may have contributed to his later involvement in terrorism.

2. **The Boston Marathon Brothers (Tamerlan and Dzhokhar Tsarnaev):** The Tsarnaev brothers experienced the absence of their father, who was reportedly in and out of the United States due to being in prison.

3. **Timonthy McVeigh:** Oklahoma City bomber, his parents divorced at age 10.

4. **Mohamed Merah:** The perpetrator of the 2012 Toulouse and Montauban shootings in France, Merah's radicalisation was influenced by his fractured family background, including his parents divorced when he was five years old**.**

5. **Anders Behring Breivik:** The perpetrator of the 2011 Norway attacks, Breivik's parents' divorce when he was a child has been cited as a factor that contributed to his radicalisation and extremist actions.

6. **Brenton Tarrant:** The perpetrator of the Christchurch Mosque shootings, Tarrant experienced the suicide death of his father, his background also includes: his parents' separation and an abusive stepfather.

7. **The Train brothers'** complex relationship with their father, Ronald Train, and their troubled family dynamics, as well as their involvement in the Wieambilla shootings, 2022. The brothers cut ties with their father in their early 20s.

8. **Abdul Lathief Jameel Mohamed:** One of the suicide bombers in the 2019 Sri Lanka Easter bombings, Abdul Lathief Jameel Mohamed experienced the death of his father 10 years before the attacks.

9. **Tashfeen Malik:** The female perpetrator in the 2015 San Bernardino attack had a strained relationship with her father, who was reportedly estranged from the family.

10. **Rizwan Farook:** Male perpetrator of the 2015 San Bernardino attack, parents reportedly divorced when he was a child. The divorce occurred in 2006, and Rizwan Farook was around 14 years old at the time.

11. **Aafia Siddiqui:** Aafia Siddiqui, an MIT-educated Pakistani neuroscientist, became increasingly radicalised and allegedly involved with al-Qaeda after the death of her father.

12. **Dylann Roof:** The Charleston church shooter who carried out a racially motivated attack. Roof's parents divorced when he was around five years old, and he subsequently lived with his mother.

13. **John Allen Muhammad:** one of the perpetrators of the 2002 Beltway sniper attacks in the Washington, D.C. area. Reports indicate that Muhammad had a strained relationship with his father and experienced his absence during his formative years.

14. **John Walker Lindh**: Known as the "American Taliban," Lindh converted to Islam in his teenage years. His parents divorced when he was young, and he struggled with the subsequent family dynamics.

15. **Richard Reid (Shoe Bomber):** Richard Reid, who attempted to detonate explosives in his shoes on a flight in 2001, had a difficult childhood marked by his parents' divorce. Richard had become estranged and angry at age 11 after his parents' divorce.

16. **Amedy Coulibaly:** Involved in the Charlie Hebdo shooting in Paris in 2015, Coulibaly had a troubled childhood with his parents divorcing when he was young, and his father died.

17. **Michael Adebolajo:** One of the perpetrators of the 2013 murder of British soldier Lee Rigby, Adebolajo had a tumultuous family history. His parents divorced, and he converted to Islam in his teenage years.

18. **Zacarias Moussaoui: Moussaoui,** involved in the 9/11 attacks, experienced family turmoil, including his parents' divorce.

19. **Khalid Sheikh Mohammed:** As the principal architect of the 9/11 attacks, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed had a complex family background. His father passed away when he was young, and his mother remarried multiple times.

20. **Nidal Hasan:** Nidal Hasan, the perpetrator of the Fort Hood shooting in 2009, faced family challenges, including his parents' divorce.

21. **Aafia Siddiqui:** Aafia Siddiqui, convicted for attempting to murder U.S. servicemen, experienced a turbulent family life. Her parents divorced, and she faced personal struggles, including mental health issues.

22. **Bilal Hadfi:** One of the suicide bombers involved in the 2015 Paris attacks. His parents divorced, and his father died. "Hadfi suffered from the loss of his father which changed him completely, leading him to become outspoken in expressing his radical views".

23. **Akhmed Chatayev:** Chatayev, involved in the 2016 Istanbul airport attack, had a troubled family history with his parents divorcing when he was young.

24. **Mohammed Bouyeri:** Responsible for the assassination of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh, Bouyeri came from a broken family background. His parents divorced, and he grappled with identity issues as a second-generation immigrant in the Netherlands.

25. **Mehdi Nemmouche:** Nemmouche, responsible for the 2014 Brussels Jewish Museum shooting, had a difficult upbringing marked by family troubles, including his parents' divorce.

26. **Omar Mateen:** The perpetrator of the Pulse nightclub shooting in Orlando, Omar Mateen had a tumultuous family life. His parents divorced, and he struggled with his own relationships.

27. **Omar Khadr: A** Canadian citizen, and Guantanamo Bay detainee, faced family disruptions, including his parents' divorce. He was captured as a teenager in Afghanistan and accused of participating in terrorism.

28. **Aqsa Mahmood:** Aqsa Mahmood, a Scottish woman who joined ISIS, experienced her parents' divorce, and struggled with the cultural clash between her Scottish identity and her Pakistani heritage.

29. **Sharif Mobley:** Mobley, an American involved in terrorism activities, faced family challenges, including his parents' divorce.

30. **Ziad Jarrah:** 9/11 attacker. Parents divorced, experienced family disruption.

31. **Ahmed al-Ghamdi:** 9/11 attacker. Father died when he was young.

32. **Hamza al-Ghamdi:** 9/11 attacker. Father died when he was young.

33. **Mevlut Mert Altintas:** Altintas, who assassinated the Russian ambassador to Turkey, experienced family issues, including the death of his father.

34. **David Coleman Headley:** Involved in the planning of the 2008 Mumbai attacks, Headley's family life was marked by his parents' divorce.

35. **Zachary Adam Chesser:** Chesser, known for attempting to join Al-Shabaab and for threatening the creators of "South Park," experienced family disruptions due to his parents' divorce.

36. **Talha Asmal:** Talha Asmal, a British teenager who became the UK's youngest suicide bomber in Syria, had a family background marked by divorce.

37. **Mohammad Sidique Khan (7/7 London bomber):** One of the perpetrators of the 7/7 London bombings, Khan's family life was affected by his parents' divorce and death of their father.

38. **Rizwan Khan:** Brother of Mohammad Sidique Khan. Rizwan and Sadiq Khan, involved in the 7/7 London bombings, experienced family disruptions, including the death of their father.

39. **Naser Jason Abdo:** Abdo, who planned an attack on Fort Hood in 2011, faced family disruptions, including his parents' divorce.

40. **Naveed Haq:** Perpetrator of the Seattle Jewish Federation shooting in 2006, Haq experienced family disruptions due to his parents' divorce.

41. **James Elshafay and Shahawar Matin Siraj :** Plotters of a foiled bombing plot in New York in 2004, both Elshafay and Siraj faced family challenges, including the death of Elshafay's father and Siraj's parents' divorce.

42. **Shahawar Matin Siraj:** as above.

43. **Ismail Haniyeh:** A prominent figure in Hamas, Haniyeh experienced family challenges, including the death of his father.

44. **Ahmed Omar Saeed Sheikh:** Involved in the kidnapping and murder of journalist Daniel Pearl, Sheikh had a complex family background, including his parents' divorce.

45. **Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab (Underwear Bomber):** Attempted to detonate explosives on a flight in 2009, Abdulmutallab's family faced disruptions, including his parents' divorce.

46. **Amine El Khalifi:** Planned to carry out a suicide bombing at the U.S. Capitol, El Khalifi faced family difficulties, including his parents' divorce.

47. **Omar Ismail Mostefai:** One of the attackers in the 2015 Paris Bataclan theater massacre, Mostefai faced family challenges, including his parents' divorce.

48. **Ahmad Khan Rahimi:** Convicted for the Chelsea bombing in 2016, Rahimi faced family disruptions, including his parents' divorce.

49. **Yassin Salhi:** Perpetrator of the 2015 Saint-Quentin-Fallavier attack, Salhi's parents divorced, contributing to his troubled family life.

50. **Reda Hame:** Involved in the 2015 Thalys train attack, Hame faced family challenges, including the death of his father.

51. **Ayoub El Khazzani:** Attempted to carry out an attack on a Thalys train in 2015, El Khazzani faced family difficulties, including his parents' divorce.

52. **Bilal Abdullah (Glasgow Airport attack):** Involved in the attempted 2007 Glasgow Airport attack, Abdullah faced family challenges, including his parents' divorce.

53. **Mikael Davud:** Part of a group planning a terrorist attack in Denmark, Davud experienced family disruptions, including his parents' divorce.

54. **Hasan Karim Akbar:** Perpetrator of the 2003 Camp Pennsylvania attack during the Iraq War, Akbar faced family challenges, including his parents' divorce.

55. **Mohamed Osman Mohamud:** Attempted to detonate a bomb at a Christmas tree lighting ceremony in 2010, Mohamud faced family challenges, including his parents' divorce.

56. **Said and Cherif Kouachi (Charlie Hebdo attackers):** The Kouachi brothers, involved in the Charlie Hebdo shooting in 2015, faced family challenges, including the death of their father. Their radicalisation was influenced by extremist ideologies.

57. **Brahim Abdeslam:** One of the perpetrators of the 2015 Paris attacks, Abdeslam faced family challenges, including the death of his father.

58. **Salah Abdeslam:** Brother of Brahim. One of the perpetrators of the 2015 Paris attacks, Abdeslam faced family challenges, including the death of his father.

59. **Harun Causevic:** Arrested in 2015 for plotting a terrorist attack in Melbourne, Causevic's family background reportedly included issues related to parental divorce.

60. **Sevdet Ramadan Besim:** Involved in a planned terrorist attack in Melbourne, Besim's family life included his parents' divorce. He was convicted for planning a terrorist act.

61. **Wail al-Shehri and Waleed al-Shehri:** 9/11 hijackers, the brothers Wail and Waleed al-Shehri came from a large family. Their father died when they were young.

62. **David Hicks:** Australian Taliban fighter. Father left him at age 10.

63. **Ajmal Kasab:** Involved in the 2008 Mumbai attacks, father died when he was young.

64. **Alexander Ciccolo:** Ciccolo was arrested on weapons charges and was reportedly planning to attack students in a university and live stream the executions. Contentious divorce at age five; mother had full custody.

65. **Eric Harroun:** Parents divorced when he was nine; troubled U.S. military career; fought with rebel groups in Syria; faced legal consequences upon return.

66. **Colleen LaRose (Jihad Jane):** Parents divorced when she was three; involved in a terrorist plot; arrested and faced legal consequences.

67. **Emanuel Lutchman:** Father was not involved in his life; arrested for planning a terrorist attack and expressing support for ISIS.

68. **Antonio Martinez (Muhammad Hussain):** Lived with only his mother; attempted to bomb a military recruitment centre in Catonsville, Maryland.

69. **José Padilla (Abdullah al-Muhajir):** Father did not play an active role in his life; convicted on charges related to plotting a "dirty bomb" attack and providing support to Al-Qaeda.

70. **Jamie Paulin-Ramirez:** Parents divorced; faced legal consequences for providing material support to terrorists.

71. **Derrick Shareef:** Parents divorced; a male role model was absent in Shareef's life according to his mother; he was arrested for planning a grenade attack on a shopping mall in Illinois.

72. **Bryant Neal Vinas:** Parents divorced; convicted for providing material support to Al-Qaeda and participating in a rocket attack on U.S. forces in Afghanistan.

73. **Germaine Lindsay:** Badly affected by parents' divorce in 1994; participated as one of the suicide bombers in the 7/7 bombings in London in 2005.

74. **Nadir Soofi:** Parents divorced; involved in the attempted attack on the "Draw Muhammad" cartoon contest in Garland, Texas, in 2015.

75. **Abu Musab al-Zarqawi:** Father died when he was a boy; prominent figure in militant activities and founder of Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad, later becoming associated with Al-Qaeda in Iraq.

76. **Ayman al-Zawahiri:** An Egyptian physician and longtime deputy of Osama bin Laden, later becoming the leader of Al-Qaeda. His father died when he was a young man.

77. **Khalid Masood (Adrian Russell Elms):** Perpetrator of the 2017 Westminster Bridge attack in London. His father died when he was a child.

78. **Ilich Ramírez Sánchez (Carlos the Jackal):** A Venezuelan terrorist and convicted murderer. His father died when he was young.

79. **Khalid Ali-M Aldawsari:** Attempted to carry out terrorist attacks in the United States. His father passed away while he was young.

80. **Hafiz Saeed:** A Pakistani militant and founder of Lashkar-e-Taiba. His father passed away when he was young.

81. **Safaa Boular:** Safaa Boular was found guilty of plotting an attack as part of the UK's first all-female terror cell. Her family was dysfunctional, and her parents divorced when she was six.

82. **Mohammad Youssuf Abdulazeez:** Was responsible for the 2015 Chattanooga shootings, which killed five people. His parents divorced.

83. **David Courtailler** and his brother…

84. **Jermone Courtailler** were convicted in the Netherlands in 2004 for involvement in the 2001 plot to bomb the US Embassy in Paris. Both experience the divorce of their parents.

85. **Foued Mohamed-Aggad:** Participation in the attack in Bataclan 2015 Paris attacks. His parents got divorced, he got alienated particularly from his father.

86. **Rashid Mberesero:** Tanzanian national and a terror convict, who was sentenced to a life imprisonment by a Kenyan court in July 2019, grew without a father for 20 years, after his parents separated following persistent marital misunderstandings.

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