PERSONALITY PROFILE OF A SUICIDE BOMBER

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SUMMARY

This paper provides an overview of relevant knowledge about a complex motivation mechanism in suicide terrorists, their preferences or membership in a particular social environment, and the selection criteria for committing a terrorist attack. This study will also define the conditions under which a terrorist group would use a suicide attack instead conventional tactics. It is known that terrorist organizations are able to use certain "social" and "psychological" methods as a means of propaganda and indoctrination in order to influence these individuals. Their attacks can also act as a signal of group's determination and can additionally serve as an instrument for attracting new recruits and supporters. Understanding motives and ways of thinking of a suicide terrorist can be very complex. In order to gain a more comprehensive understanding, this analysis will cover the sphere of action and motives of terrorist leaders, which can result in additional opportunities to counter suicide-terrorism. The paper will analyze political and educational variables, as well as variables of family morality and religion compared to personal experiences that make the individual commit such acts of violence. An answer will be sought as to how much psychological understanding of persons involved in suicide attacks can help in its prevention.

Keywords: suicidal terrorism, psychology, motives, recruitment.

INTRODUCTION

The more the characteristics of human personality (individual, social, political, religious, psychological and physical) are being explored, the more the knowledge about personal, social and political characteristics of individuals becomes available to us. This can help us make more precise theoretical and practical solutions in understanding and suppressing the complex phenomenon of terrorism. Namely, every person

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has an organized, relatively permanent set of psychological traits and mechanisms within the himself/herself that influence person's interactions and adaptations to the intrapsychic, physical and social environment, and these personality traits are relatively stable elements of the personality we can define on the basis of behavior. The study of terrorism is multidisciplinary, including, among other things, areas such as religion, sociology, criminology, political science and psychology. It is necessary to consider the identity of terrorists who voluntarily commit suicide attacks or are encouraged to do so with different motivational factors. Most suicide bombers know they will lose their lives because of their target in attack, but there are individuals who are not aware of, and do not understand, the consequences of their action. Expressed intention to lose life in order to cause the death of others has turned a terrorist suicide into a powerful, very dangerous and completely unpredictable weapon. There are strategic and psychological reasons for this method, which is increasingly used by terrorist organizations today. The paper posits the hypothesis that terrorist suicide is a product of psychological implications. The paper will also analyze psychological characteristics of suicide terrorists at the individual, group and organizational level with an emphasis on the behavior of suicide terrorists as the form of psychopathology or as the reflection of the unique constellation of personality traits. There will also be consideration of the existence of a general motivational basis for participating in terrorism. Understanding the phenomenon of terrorism requires scientists and practitioners to understand that its causes, motive and the way of thinking of a suicide bomber can be very complex. Motivational analysis of suicidal terrorism is very important and is based on the assumption that heterogeneous factors are identified as key causes of this type of terrorism (trauma, humiliation, social exclusion), different ideological reasons that justify it (e.g. liberation by occupation, defense of the nation or religion) and social pressures on "candidates" for suicidal terrorism.

Suicide missions, or attacks whose success depends on the death of their perpetrators, are one of the deadliest tactics used by terrorist groups today. Personality assessments of suicide terrorists so far have relied on biographical materials extracted from secondary sources. Due to a small number of empirical psychological studies dealing with the existence of characteristic personality factors among suicide terrorists, it can be concluded that the results of the research are still controversial, untrustworthy and speculative. Suicide is a very complex phenomenon and has been in the focus of many research recently. However, in order to understand it, it is important to consider contextual factors. It is almost impossible to study the issue of suicide terrorism in an adequate way, first of all because the subject of the study is usually unavailable due to a deathly outcome and testing the motivation of a suicide bomber is almost impossible. Suicide terrorists are disproportionately recruited among well-educated people and often need complete control of their mental ability to succeed in their deadly mission.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND PERSONAL PREDISPOSITIONS

Although at first glance it seems simple, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between personality traits and other psychological variables, such as intellectual abilities and emotional expression. Almost all authors who sought to define a person, distinguish permanent and relatively stable traits from temporary psychological states. Some of them argue that a specific set of personality traits is the cause of a person's behavior, while others consider that personality is related to behavior, or that person's future behavior can be predicted based on the knowledge of one's personality (Repišti 2016: 5).

Terrorism is a complex phenomenon, consisting of social, psychological, ideological, religious and political motives and behaviors that intertwine with each other. Although terrorism is much more than a collection of individual acts, one must understand personality, i.e. a terrorist, and factors (e.g. comrades, ideologists) that cause motivation for terrorism (Krstić 2015). It is known that there is no universal profile of a terrorist personality; they are expressed in all forms and formed on a psychological basis, and a personality profile, as well as the current situation in society or state, can significantly accelerate terrorism in a particular context (Kruglanski and Fishman 2006). Terrorist behavior is probably always determined by a combination of innate, biological, early developmental and cognitive factors, temperaments, environmental influences and group dynamics (Victoroff 2005). In the operational definition of terrorism, psychodynamic characteristics of individual terrorists are observed, using concepts of individual and group psychology (Akhtar 1999).

The phenomenon of suicidal terrorism is analyzed on three levels. The individual level considers motives, development phases and characteristics of a temperament that can encourage the readiness of an individual to participate in suicide missions. At the group level, processes with social influence, the construction of common realities and ideological value systems are being considered. Finally, the organizational level considers strategic and tactical aspects of suicide terrorism in terms of the analysis of end-uses. It is proposed that all three levels should be taken into consideration as they contribute to the insight into the phenomenon of suicidal terrorism (Kruglanski et al. 2008). The question arises as to why individuals sacrifice their own interests to participate in violent collective actions? Participation is costly and risky for an individual, and collective success leads to non-selective collective benefits (Ginges and Atran 2009). As individuals climb up on the "scale of terrorism," they will have less and less choices, until the only possible outcome is the destruction of others, themselves or both themselves and others (Moghaddam 2005). What is happening to people who will become terrorists, but who have not shown any tendency towards violent terrorist behavior yet?[1] The personality defect model says that people who become terrorists develop pathological traits before they become terrorists and that these qualities encourage a person to become a terrorist. It would be almost

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[1] Simply put, terrorist behavior is means by which an individual achieves a goal. In fact, targeted behavior is not unique to terrorists and even to people. It is more similar to animal behaviour (Kruglanski et al. 2013).

impossible to conduct a prospective study to determine these pre-terrorist causality characteristics and their effects (Martens 2004).

What drives the individual to commit acts of violent extremism? Is the process of radicalization towards violent extremism and terrorism for an individual different from group radicalization? Can indicators be identified to indicate whether an individual is on the path of violent extremism and, if so, how can the terrorism of a lone attacker be prevented? Concerns have significantly increased in the light of foreign fighters returning to their home countries and the Counter-Terrorism Project (CLAT) was aimed at answering these questions through the analysis of data related to attempts and successful instances of European lone terrorists. Prior to this project, several scientists conducted research in this field, but due to the lack of reliable empirical data, they could not give a concrete answer on the characteristics of the perpetrators. Nevertheless, a number of unverified assumptions and allegations on the alleged "terrorist personality" were circulating in the public domain. Another often mentioned feature of a lone terrorist is that he (rather than her) has serious mental problems and that they are key drivers of violent, irrational and immoral acts. It should be noted that the largest part of suicide bombers is not socially isolated (from family and friends) and that a negligible part of them have mental disorders. Do single actors prefer the strategy of a lonely action or are they forced to do so after being denied by terrorists' networks (perhaps as a result of a certain personality or behavior that is considered a risk to the security of the group)? Alternatively, do terrorist organizations deliberately recruit these individuals as part of a "lonely action" strategy, within "Jihad without Leaders", to reduce the risk of disclosure by the authorities? In order to provide answers to these questions, data on biographical variables have been collected which enable confirmation or elimination of various assumptions and stereotypes. Variables are: age, sex, education and school leaving, employment, status in society, offspring, social isolation indices, previous criminal sanctions, indication of previous physical violence, evidence of drug use, indications of mental health disorders, diagnosis and treatment, indications of a significant event in life (Van Zuijdewijn and Bakker 2016).

The act of suicide terrorism shows full commitment of an individual to the group and its mission, which can be used in the future to inspire others. Although each operation sacrifices one individual, it also allows the organization to recruit many future candidates. In the end, all potential negative consequences associated with the attack (such as the deaths of civilians) mitigate the logic based on the fact that the state is so brutal that its victims (perpetrators of violence) have no other way to express their anger than to sacrifice themselves. They consciously and spectacularly die for one another and for what is perceived as a common good in alleviating difficult political and social reality of the community in which they live (Bloom 2006: 25–26). Moreover, Azam (2005) models suicidal terrorism as a kind of intergenerational wealth transfer in which attackers are trying to protect future generations through a current victim.

Three key elements are needed for suicide terrorist attacks: strongly motivated individuals, access to organizations whose goal is to create suicide bombers and

a community that glorifies perpetrators as heroes and accepts their acts as noble acts of resistance. Three main types of these individuals have been identified: those who act because of religious beliefs, others who want revenge for the death of a family member or a close friend due to the consequences of hostile behavior, and those exploited by an organization with small financial rewards or promises of a better life after death. Also, some studies dealt with the role of religious beliefs and cultures that trigger suicide attacks, which are interpreted as an instrument of redemption, self-sacrifice of honor for those who feel powerless and humiliated (Butorac 2011: 16–17).

In this context, the paradoxical fact is that family members who no longer have progeny, who do not have anything to contribute to their families and whose treatment is costly and financially burdensome (elderly members of the family) almost never commit suicide attacks. In addition, some researchers suggest that the selection of relatives also explains why terrorists sacrifice their lives to serve organizations, even if their families do not benefit from that. According to this theory, the tendency to sacrifice for parents can extend to others who are considered "fictitious", such as members of the organization, but this hypothesis seems not to be supported by evidence. Most terrorists decide to lose their lives in action before they join an organization and not after, and a suicide attack is often the first and only terrorist attack in which they participate. This strongly suggests that they are not primarily motivated by social connections with "family" or "fraternity" between terrorists, because these individuals were essentially strangers when they decided to deliberately lose their lives (Lankford 2015: 2–7).

Literature in the field of psychology tends to construct a psychological profile of a suicide bomber, which is not an easy task. Suicide is traditionally viewed as a characteristic of individualistic societies in which the integration of the individual into society is lacking. Durkheim's concept of altruistic suicide (Durkheim 1951) inspired by religious sacrifice seems to be too simple to explain the issue of suicidal terrorism in the present. He states that people "enter" terrorism in order to fight the alleged, unjust treatment or attempt to open the door for social mobility (Naqvi, Kazim and Huma 2011). However, individuals with special personality traits are encouraged to commit terrorist acts, especially individuals with a tendency to externalize (Post 2001). The personality defect model is based on the assumption that terrorists have fundamental and pathological deficiencies in their personality structure, usually associated with "harmful feeling" towards themselves and in psychiatric writings these defects are said to be the result of unconscious powers in their personality (Ruby 2002).

Similarly, Post et al. (2009) argue that "understanding the psychology of suicidal terrorism will necessarily have to be rooted in the psychology of conventional terrorism", but a more fundamental research suggests that there are fundamental psychological differences among thousands of terrorists who risk their lives for a higher goal. In fact, many suicide terrorists have almost no significant previous experience in terrorism. Several suicide bombers were arrested and successfully listened to, and their organizations did not simply "crash" because of that (Lankford 2014).

Before 2001, expert discussions on the causes of this type of terrorism were divided into two explanations: religious fanaticism and mental illness. In the years after 2001, a new study of a person who became a suicide bomber showed that virtually no one can be diagnosed as mentally unstable, that many were religiously motivated and one of the most striking motives was that the majority came from communities that resist the foreign military occupation (Al Qaeda) (Pape 2005). Nevertheless, despite the temptation to identify sets of characteristics that could lead to participation or susceptibility to extremist behavior, age is the only common variable that can be consistently found in suicide terrorists, with the largest number of them being between 18 and 30 years old. Such individuals have often developed good interpersonal skills, as well as strict self-discipline (Skeffington 2009). Discussing the early hypothesis that terrorism is directed towards psychopathology or that terrorists have a specific "problematic" personality profile, one should take into account the hypothesis that the decision of individuals involved in the attack depends on the situation and that there are general "underlying causes" (economic, political or educational) which drive many people towards terrorism. It is then necessary to analyze the difference between "root causes" and "contributing factors", as they can significantly influence the readiness of individuals to engage in terrorism, arguing that a large part of terrorists are in the service of a wide motivational force, looking for personal significance, anchored in a collectivist ideology (whether political, ethnonationalist or religious) that informs and shapes individuals on how to increase their social value by committing acts of terrorism (Kruglanski and Fishman 2009).

When it comes to the extremist (fanatic) way of thinking, it can be described as: "A fixed mental attitude or predisposition that predetermines the response of one person and the interpretation of the situation, a pattern of beliefs, feelings, thoughts and motivations mobilized under mitigating conditions" (Stankov, Saucier and Knezevic 2010). Terrorist acts are not the product of mental illness (hence, experts often state that "terrorists are built, they are not born" and that terrorism comes from social conditions and circumstances not from individual personality traits (Saucier et al. 2009)).

As a form of understandable human behavior, terrorism has fundamental psychological aspects, relying on its own subjective rationality and based on beliefs about its usefulness and ethical justification (Kruglanski et al. 2014). Despite its efficiency and frequency, this form of terrorism remains a rare manifestation of political violence practiced by certain groups located in certain conflict zones and it is almost always used by groups with "conventional" attacks (Piazza 2008). "The unique explanation of the causes of terrorism neglects the fact that terrorist activity interacts with individual psychology and the outside environment: the process of joining a terrorist group or suicide varies depending on the group's typology, motivational elements vary from country to country, and even from organization to organization" (Ozeren 2007). People give their lives because of a personal or political goal, including religious promises, cultural expectations from early development, and patriotism. Others include payments to the family of a person if the mission succeeds or causing damage to the family if the mission fails (Reid 2003).

Suicide attacks are like a syndrome that encourages searching for certain causes: internal (personal traits) and/or external (poverty and political oppression). In other words, suicidal terrorism can be viewed as a direct consequence of some social or psychological disorders (De la Corte 2014). In 1990, Ariel Merari concluded that: "Suicide terrorism, like any other suicide, is basically individual, rather than a group phenomenon and it is made by people who want to die for personal reasons." A decade later, this author transferred the accent from an individual to the organizational level of the analysis, and states that "the key to creating a terrorist suicide is a group process, and this is an organizational rather than an individual phenomenon, as no case of this type of terrorism carried out on a personal impulse has been recorded" (Kruglanski and Golec 2005).

INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL TRAITS OF SUICIDE TERRORISTS

One line of research involves attempts to determine who, at the individual level, implements suicide attacks, and it is assumed that those who decide to blow themselves up must make an irrational decision, because why would perfectly healthy and rational people decide to kill themselves? These explanations have proved pointless, as most scholars claim that suicide bombers are not irrational, but they decide to become suicidal terrorists for various social, organizational, economic, religious and other reasons (Horowitz 2015). There is a widespread opinion that groups and individuals who kill innocent victims in order to achieve their political goals must be fanatics, as no psychologically "normal" individual could render unscrupulous violence against innocent civilians, especially women and children (Post 1987: 3). Leistedt cites Silke and Moghaddam in his work, claiming that not all suicide terrorists are "mentally challenged". They did not show signs of mental disorder and were apparently able to rationally think about many of the issues they were asked about, while Merari states that they are a minority among voluntary suicide bombers (Leistedt 2013). In the end, if a potential suicide attacker needs to be profiled, Merari's findings are recommended for independent individuals. Such an individual is often shy, socially marginal, a follower, not a leader, a loner, an outsider, with a history of failure in school or at work, or is feeling that he will disappoint his parents and family (Bongar, Kugel and Kendrick 2014). Though terrorists often make horrible acts, they can rarely be considered classic psychopaths. Terrorists usually adhere to principles and attitudes of a particular ideology, maintaining connections with other people (mainly terrorists) (Martens 2004). Researchers who have studied the relationship between psychopathology and terrorism are almost unanimous in concluding that mental illnesses and abnormalities are usually not critical and crucial factors in terrorist behavior; on the contrary, many studies have found that the prevalence of mental illness among imprisoned terrorists is low or lower than in general population (Borum 2010). Regarding Chechen female suicide terrorists included in the study, none of them had a serious personality disorder before deciding to join a terrorist group. However, and not less important, they have all experienced deep personal

trauma. This level of psychological traumatization is very likely one of the deepest leading motivational factors that prompted these women in the spin of a terrorist ideology. Speckhard and Akhmedova, found that 17 out of 26 Chechen female suicide terrorists graduated from high school (Speckhard and Akhmedova 2006).

In addition to the demographic attribution that most suicide bombers are mostly young men, no stable set of demographic, psychological, socioeconomic and religious variables can be found that can be causally related to the personality of suicide bombers or socio-economic causes. With the exception of a few rare cases, there is no obvious link between violent militant activity and personality disorder; most suicide bombers are normal from a psychological point of view and are deeply integrated into society. Labels like crazy, bad, sick, psychologically and morally injured can be exploited in a political context, but they do not promote our understanding of the causes of suicide terrorism that can be used to implement preventive responses. On the contrary, they prevent us from discovering its true nature, purpose and causes (Hassan 2010). It seems that the image of a suicide terrorist is quite different from the available data on terrorists in general, because a suicide bomber is more independent economically and usually more educated (Berman and Laitin 2006).

Indeed, the living environment is still a key factor, but more effort is needed to understand this. Suicide terrorists perceive themselves and their actions as heroic, brave and noble (Silke 2015). Krueger and Malečková (2003) mention the possibility that terrorist organizations choose those operatives with developed skills and that economic deprivation is not the main determinant for terrorist mobilization: the evidence provides little room for optimistic opinion that the reduction of poverty or increase in educational level would significantly reduce international terrorism, which suggest that any link between poverty, education and terrorism is indirect, complicated and probably rather weak (Bueno de Mesquita 2005).

A strategic approach to suicidal terrorism refers to the interaction of actors, i.e. to their awareness that actions of one actor affect outcomes of the other, where each of them acts on the basis of the conviction of a completely and precisely anticipated actions (reactions) of another actor. Therefore, the final outcome is conditioned by both his/her own actions and actions of others. According to the strategic model of analysis, terrorism is based on the logic of causing consequences, on its ability to force the government to concessions and to confront it with the consequences of the failure to meet terrorists' demands. The logic of a suicide terrorist strategy is simple: the opposing groups will inflict so much damage that will override their interests for resistance, which will lead to the acceptance of terrorists' demands. This is a form of political coercion, and the question of the rationality of this type of terrorism is also the subject of scientific-expert discussions (Bilandžić and Grubić 2012: 66).

MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS AS DRIVERS FOR ACTION

There are many motives for suicide attacks: religious beliefs, nationalistic ideologies or obedience to charismatic and authoritarian leaders. The modus operandi can be distinguished from case to case, whether one or more terrorists, or male or female, are involved in the attack. Goals can also be different: government officials, military targets, economic potentials, public transport vehicles, places where a large number of people are gathered, etc. (Schweitzer 2001). Maile and associates describe suicide bombers as "true violent believers" or individuals who are "committed to ideology or a belief system that glorifies suicide as a legitimate means of achieving a certain goal" (Maile et al. 2010).

Krueger and Maleckova (2002) consider that the primary motivation of suicide terrorists is the result of their passionate support to the ideas and goals of their movement. These individuals are obviously not motivated by individual economic gain, although it is possible that the promise of payment to their families can increase the willingness of some to participate in suicidal terrorism missions (Krueger and Malečková 2003). How is it possible that people who obviously do not have a mental disorder, commit violent and cruel suicide? Based on the difference between the cause of suicide and the driver for a suicide, it can be argued that suicide in the context of terrorism is based mainly on suicide-related processes, not on personal stress. Within this assumption, suicidal terrorism is examined in terms of enthusiastic determination to achieve the goal, ideological anger, glorification of fasting, heavenly rewards, materialistic benefits for families, induced dissociative processes, and linguistic mediation (Orbach 2004).

Many suicide bombers belong to upper middle class, have higher education and come from successfully integrated families living in the West. On the other hand, higher level of unemployment allows terrorist organizations to recruit more educated, mature and experienced suicide bombers, who in turn attack more important targets (Benmelech et. al. 2009). Kavanag (2011) found that higher education combined with poverty is a predictor for eventual participation in self-rule missions and operations among Hezbollah recruits. Therefore, in order to increase the chances of a successful mission, terrorist organizations give preference to more educated suicide candidates who require a high level of intuition, ability to adapt quickly and have strong skills (Kugel et al. 2014).

Suicidal terrorism, similar to conventional terrorism, is a complex phenomenon with different aspects more or less widely accepted among researchers of this type of terrorism. Different explanations include personal and group motives, environmental conditions and their interactions. In addition, research into the phenomena of suicidal attacks that are systematic in the use of individual, organizational and structural levels of analysis are rare, and many studies are limited to only two levels of analysis. The first level of analysis, individual, is designed to identify personal motives of various actors involved. This level should focus not only on the perpetrator of a suicide attack, but also on other actors who are part of a terrorist organization (Moghadam 2005: 10–11). Suicide terrorism is not just a war tactic, it exceeds po-

litical goals it is intended to serve, creates its own logic and transforms the culture of those who practice it (Brooks 2002).

Educated, psychologically healthy and normal individuals have priority in recruiting, and it is found that they are the ones who want to join (Corner and Gill 2015). More educated people would be more vulnerable to social pressure, especially students who live far from their families, who tend to create a closed circuit with other students (Bélanger et al. 2014). Martyrdom operations are very "successful" at the social level. For many collectives, martyrs are heroes and heroes offer a collective type of social good, which represents the symbol, event and reason for the glory of social cohesion and the maintenance of the collective cause. The success of the outcome is put aside in favor of the current individual success, which the collective celebrates together. Individuals get martyrdom, collectives get their heroes, organizations survive and they all fight together against a "long war" and maintain their goal (Acosta 2016). This discussion may include cases such as Sika's bodyguards who committed the Indira Gandhi assassination and did not attempt to defend themselves from police forces or Tamil tigers carrying a cyanide capsule around their necks and killing themselves before they allowed themselves to be captured by the police.[2] Pape uses education as a sign of a prominent proletarian relationship, and in these models education is taken as an exogenous characteristic influencing the likelihood of an educated person to become a terrorist because they are directly relevant to the issues that the author sets out in this chapter, can potentially contribute to a more comprehensive picture of the factors that motivate suicide bombers and the terrorists in general to perform their actions (Azam 2012).

CONCLUSION

There is no unambiguous answer or individual motivation that could fully explain why people become terrorists and, accordingly, the processes and ways of doing so are quite complex and diverse. During seventies and eighties of the 20th century, many psychologists, sociologists, political scientists and academics sought to systematically collect data on terrorists in order to construct profiles based on different parameters. The most important and most reliable profiles use independent socio-demographic variables such as race and gender, while others have sought to define a terrorist through psychopathological or socio-economic measurements and analyzes. The paper analyzes psychological profiles of suicide terrorists, which can help assess trends, motivation, potential behavior and actions that could deter or prevent behavior, as well as reveal vulnerabilities that would help fight terrorists. Terrorists are motivated not only by psychological factors, but also by political, social, religious and economic factors, and these factors differ significantly. Consequently,

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[2]   The biographies of Palestinian terrorists analyzed by Berrebi (2007) suggest that most of these individuals were first tested in non-suicidal actions before they became Shahids, so in some cases suicide terrorism can be viewed as the final phase of successful terrorist training (Azam 2012).

the motivations and ideologies of ethno-separatist, anarchist revolutionary, religious fundamentalists and new religious terrorist groups also differ significantly. Among politicians, psychologists and sociologists, there is a consensus that there is actually no universal type of a terrorist, and therefore a suicide bomber. Psychological traits of terrorists can be as diverse as in the general population in any sphere of everyday life and there seems to be no indication of any personal characteristics that would enable the authorities to identify this type of terrorism and implement preventive measures. Academic discussions continue to put emphasis on the psychology of suicide terrorists, with the unique view that they are psychologically healthy individuals who are primarily engaged in altruistic sacrifice to serve their family, organization or mission, while some advocates of this view claim that suicide attackers actually respond to their position as a victim. Scientists began to differentiate reasons for joining, staying and leaving terrorist organizations, finding that motivations can be different at each stage and they are not even necessarily related to one another.

Suicide terrorists are similar to the general population in terms of education, socioeconomic status, psychological traits and do not show any socially non-functional attributes or suicidal symptoms. They do not show fear of the enemy or do not express "hopelessness" because of the lack of life alternatives that are in line with economic rationality. The psychological profiling of suicide terrorists so far has not been so successful. There are many reasons to explain why terrorist groups consider suicide bombing so useful. The bombers can direct their attacks to the target more clearly and even the most advanced armies face difficulties in competing with them in this regard. The attacker rarely survives, and therefore the main source of information is usually not available. Both profiles have not been sufficiently explored to provide a serious explanation of their behavior. By understanding the psychological mechanism of suicide bombing, better strategies to combat it will be developed.

Although the discussed psychological factors of terrorism in this paper are treated separately, they are inextricably intertwined. By understanding basic requirements and facilitators for suicide attacks better prediction and design of future policies to fight suicide terrorism will become possible. If terrorist profiling is possible, it would be an appropriate method for preventing future attacks, as it will maximize the effectiveness of allocation of prophylactic resources, thereby increasing the likelihood of intercepting a terrorist attack. It is also important to use profiling of suicide bombers in parallels and similarities in biographical records of terrorists, and then get insight into the root causes of suicide terrorism. The lack of ultimate success in the development of a suicide profile based on race, gender, age, pathology, psychology and socioeconomic factors should include interdisciplinary approaches to the research of these specific groups in order to discover and establish prevention measures, which will obviously be a difficult task. Suicide attack is one of the most effective tactics of terrorism and although it is important to identify tactics of this type of terrorism in terms of how they are being implemented, it is more important to understand recruitment and training processes for suicide attacks. Identifying these methods will allow law enforcement staff to develop new tactics to combat it.

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PROFIL LIČNOSTI BOMBAŠA SAMOUBOJICE

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SAŽETAK

U radu se daje pregled relevantnih spoznaja o složenom motivacijskom mehanizmu kod terorista samoubojica, njihovim sklonostima ili pripadnosti određenom društvenom okruženju i kriterijima odabira za izvršavanje terorističkog napada. Također se definira pod kojim će uvjetima teroristička skupina radije koristiti samoubilački napad nasuprot konvencionalnim taktikama. Poznato je da su terorističke organizacije sposobne koristiti neke „socijalne" i „psihološke" metode kao sredstvo propagande i indoktrinacije u cilju utjecaja na ove pojedince. Njihovi napadi također mogu poslužiti kao znak određivanja skupine i mogu dodatno poslužiti kao instrument za privlačenje novih novaka i pristaša. Razumijevanje motiva i načina razmišljanja terorista samoubojice može biti vrlo složeno. Da bi se dobio sveobuhvatniji pogled, analiza treba obuhvatiti sferu djelovanja i motive terorističkih lidera, čime se mogu otvoriti dodatne mogućnosti da se suprotstavi samoubilačkom terorizmu. U radu se analiziraju varijable političkog i obrazovnog faktora, te obiteljskog morala i vjere u usporedbi s osobnim iskustvima onoga što pogađa pojedinca da izvrši takva djela nasilja. Traži se odgovor koliko psihološko razumijevanje osoba uključenih u samoubilačke napade može pomoći u prevenciji.

Ključne riječi: suicidalni terorizam, psihologija, motivi, zapošljavanje.