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The Amoctate of David (Ali) Sonboly

Criminological consideration of the fact in Munich

on July 22, 2016

Assessment

for the Bavarian State Criminal Police Office

February 2018

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The Amoctate of David (Ali) Sonboly

Introductory remarks on the act and the situation

David (Ali) Sonboly, born on April 20th, 1998, planned a long time on July 22nd, 2016 Multiple killings committed in Munich. He started killing in a McDonald's restaurant In the Munich Olympic shopping center (OEZ) a total of nine people and five injured more people heavy with gunshots. Numerous other people have been through that Happened traumatized and mentally impaired.

The act took place in a nervous climate with an initially unexplained situation. It was initially a Terrorist attack based on the Paris pattern cannot be ruled out, after which several locations in Munich may have been attacked by several perpetrators. ¹ In Munich it came off briefly after the fact to the first breaking news and special broadcasts about a possible terrorist situation several crime scenes in Munich. There was talk of several perpetrators with long guns who at had been seen in various parts of the city. In a short time a huge one locked Police presence around the Olympic Center from downtown. The subway traffic was set, people hid in shops. The television showed pictures heavily armed police officers taking people to safety. In the social Networks rolled over the rumors and alleged sightings of perpetrators and Explosions. With differently serious, but consistent reporting, the

Events repeated without the exact circumstances being clarified. Doctors became for Emergency call to the clinics, people did not reach each other. First against

At midnight it was clear that the act was carried out by an 18-year-old, mentally suspicious individual perpetrator was committed and it was not an Islamist motivated perpetrator. The Police assumed a murder, which turned out to be correct.

The unclear situation in the first few hours and the possibility of terrorist acts like in Paris in November 2015 called special reports and an enormous uncertainty of the Population. As a result there were further acts of terrorism and an abundance of Threats and announcements. And there is a new phenomenon for Germany: Terrorists and gunmen learn from each other how to analyze the planning of the crime

¹ The terrorist attack in Paris by Islamist terrorists took place on November 13, 2015.

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David (Ali) Sonboly clearly showed. ² Future situations will be with the same Be faced with a dilemma like in Munich: In the first few hours you can't do anything assess how many perpetrators, with what motivation, at what locations will perpetrate. Both a rampage and a terrorist attack concern the same thing Initial situation. A perpetrator tries so many people out of generalized hate motivation to kill as possible (amoklage) or try one or more perpetrators off ideologically underlying hate motivation to kill as many people as possible (terrorist situation). In both Cases arises a highly dangerous situation, because arbitrarily selected victims and the Rescue workers are exposed to fatal attacks. The situation should not be in terrorist situations only more dangerous if several crime scenes are selected in a close temporal context but also from a prognostic point of view because of the choice of weapon. Terrorists with possible logistical support from a group of perpetrators will have the opportunity to Having powerful weapons and explosives at your disposal are also military Training and handling protective equipment is conceivable. In the case of the gunmen it is Use of war weapons in the future not excluded, but because of the more difficult Access less likely.

2Bannenberg, tv diskurs 4/2016, pp. 40-43.

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Summary

The perpetrator is a typical young gunman who took other perpetrators as models and identified with these and with the idea of a rampage. He was in a considerable way Thinking, feeling, behavior and relationships with other people psychopathologically noticeable. The typical elements of this personality disorder can also be found in others Gunmen, especially among the other young gunmen: Emotionally cold, no empathetic, very vulnerable and in the feeling that everyone else is constantly attacked and hurt to become, at the same time, very narcissistic, of his own greatness and Convincing superiority over others. Its hate, anger, and killing Revenge fantasies were broad; he specifically turned down juvenile migrants, however with a specific ethnic direction. He was particularly hostile about Turkish, German-Turkish and Albanian young people, with massive devaluations to both male and female young people. Both played Victim experiences in school in grades 5 to 7 as well as disappointments with regard to it

on the only girl (a German-Turkish woman) whom he had feelings towards, a role. His inability to maintain social relationships was particularly evident in his behavior the chat remarks made to the 16-year-old whom he wanted to please. Although they are For some time in the summer of 2014 he engaged in chat conversations with him, he destroyed them himself beginning friendly (chat) relationship through strange behavior and mediated uttered massive insults towards their peers. When she made contact in September 2014 broke off, his decision to act is likely to have entered the next phase and the concrete considerations for the implementation of an amoctate began. Towards her he responded to inquiries about what else could be concluded from his behavior: He had no future plans or even dreams and desires. His school efforts were not serious and his statement that he wanted to study remained empty and like himself was conscious, formulaic. Beyond the specifically xenophobic hate speech however, his thoughts of hate were directed against a number of other people and am End against society in general. The perpetrator had throughout his school days pronounced performance problems, but managed the transfers up to one year. At rather below average intelligence he was overwhelmed for years. He held himself however, for superior and did not recognize his deficits, but made the respective

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School and individual teachers are responsible for bad grades. A negative fact in its development was that incredibly time-consuming and very Directed hours of playing first person shooters and PC games, which is not just about Loss of time in other skills such as academic endeavors, Leisure activities and social contacts led, but almost a practice in the later Factual situation. He particularly liked to play specific first-person shooters with gunmen Proportions and, interestingly, has been made more common by online gamers of the same age his hateful killing fantasies blocked. His announcements were numerous and have also been considered troubling by their peers for a significant period of time perceived. However, the police were not involved at any point. Informed Adults in child and adolescent psychiatry, for example, played the violent fantasies as negligibly and neither conducted a review of possible preparations for the crime nor did they specifically address the killing fantasies. The parents stood the Personality development of her son - as in the cases of the other young gunmen

also - helpless towards. They accepted his pronounced social isolation, his time-consuming study of first-person shooters and lived next to her son, but without closer Binding.

David (Ali) Sonboly on a right-wing extremist individual perpetrator, so one (only) ideologically to want to reduce motivated perpetrators (right-wing terrorist, right-wing extremist "lone wolf"), does not do justice to the case and the personality of the perpetrator. There is a demarcation from It is not always easy for amocrats and ideologically influenced individual perpetrators (terrorists) (see A. Breivik). Here, however, lie the typical broad fantasies of hate and violence Amoktätters before who hated other people in addition to swastikas and fascination with Hitler and identified with gunmen. The deal with swastikas and Hitler was also no stranger to other gunmen. They admired the greatest killer of all time and could find themselves in the tirades of hatred, which apply to large parts of humanity, find again. In addition, the written legacies that can be found on the Internet offer Eric Harris, one of the perpetrators at Columbine High School on April 20, 1999, was prone to crime until today possibilities of identification. It is also about the inhuman ones social Darwinist elements and their own supposed grandiosity with which such Views are shared (humanity is overrated; natural selection; godlike Imaginations). The psychopathology in the form of the (narcissistic) personality disorder with Paranoid elements formed the basis for Sonboly's completely exaggerated ambition,

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to be included in the rankings of murder perpetrators. He didn't just hate specifics Migrants, but in the end everyone. Without the psychologically disturbed personality development amoctates are not to be understood. The motives are not rationally understandable, but arise from the psychopathological point of view of the perpetrator, supposedly rejected by everyone and wanting to "take revenge" for it. This generalized hatred of an offender arises through years of intensive study of relevant perpetrators and deeds and the desire Gaining lasting attention in the media and on the Internet. If nothing if successful in life, at least the deed should never be forgotten. Like himself in one Chat carried out seven months before the act (they talked about terrorists and Breivik):
"If you look closely you can see that these people were simply killing people Not. You're not doing it because of IS. They just want attention. ... It is also that Fear of the terrorists. Everything has its reason for the respective person. The most

what they get from it is attention. "

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errors in the original text.

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I. The act on July 22, 2016 in Munich

On July 22, 2016 at around 5:51 p.m., 18-year-old David (Ali) Sonboly started in Hanauer Street in Munich in the fast-food restaurant McDonald's with fatal intent towards young people shoot. He killed in McDonald's and on Hanauer Strasse in the area of the OEZ a total of nine people and injured five others, some seriously. Around 8:26 p.m. he shot himself when he was caught by police officers.

At the start of the act, he aimed at a group of unfamiliar men and women Young people with a migration background. He had six teenagers around a table had gathered in McDonald's, already observed. In the nearer preliminary phase to the deed was looking for Sonboly used the McDonald's toilet on the 1st floor three times between 5:08 pm and 5:50 pm up and went back and forth on this floor. At one near the toilet Little by little, six young people who the perpetrator did not know were seated at the table. Around 17:23 (Victim 1) and (victim 2) arrived around 5:28 pm (victim 3) and (victim 4) and against 5:42 pm (victim 5) and (victim 6). The six had made an appointment and were talking, one Order has not yet been placed. Suddenly the perpetrator stepped out of the toilet and shot the youth of this group. Within 18 seconds, all six of several were Shots hit. The 15-year-old Hungarian citizen (victim 1) died immediately from two headshots. The 14-year-old German born in Munich Turkish nationals (victim 3) died instantly from a head and trunk shot. On the 15-year-old German-Turkish citizen born in Munich (victim 4) the perpetrator fired six shots. The victim died from the two head and four torso shots. The 14-year-old German citizen (victim 5), born in Munich, died of three Torso shots. The perpetrator took aim and shot the two girls, waving to the left and shot at the two boys (victim 1) and (victim 4) to head back to the right pan of girls. Also the 14-year-old stateless person born in Munich (victim 6) was hit. She suffered four gunshot wounds in the head, neck, torso and hand and died after emergency medical care from the bullet in the hospital 7:13 pm. The 13-year-old (victim 2), born in Munich, citizenship not known, was seriously injured by two shots. One shot hit the jaw as a bullet. The second shot penetrated his chest. The boy survived with life-threatening ones Injuries after he was able to get to safety on the outside stairs.

After the offense began with five dead and one seriously injured, the perpetrator went to the Ground floor and left the McDonald's in order to target him on Hanauer Strasse shoot unknown people. Looking towards the electronics store Saturn and the Entering and exiting the underground car park, he aimed at a car with Polish license plates and damaged the vehicle. The Polish driver was not injured. Then he shot one Car that just stopped at the exit barrier of the parking garage. The 47-year-old German Driver was uninjured. On the sidewalk at the level of the entrance to the underground car park, the 17th

year old Greek nationals born in Munich (victim 7) from four shots met. (Victim 7) was on the terrace of the McDonald's when the first Shots rang out. Together with his sister he fled over a fence in the direction Saturn, where he met the perpetrator. Sonboly hit him with three shots in the hand, im Abdomen and thigh so that he fell to the floor. The perpetrator gave another Headshot at the youngster lying on the ground, what the sister observed has been. She then ran away in a panic and dislocated her shoulder as she escaped and twisted his foot. Her brother died in the hospital at 7:58 pm. On the The perpetrator shot the 27-year-old German (victim 8) on the sidewalk and hit him in the back near the spine. The shot came from the stomach and life-threatening ones occurred internal injuries. The victim remained motionless and the perpetrator walked on. (Sacrifice 8) was found lying on the street by rescue workers and taken to a clinic. Immediately afterwards, Sonboly shot a Turkish wife and mother of two in the Chest. The bullet through was fatal. The one on the sidewalk near the underground car park existing 60-year-old German married nationals (victim 9) suffered a He was shot through the thigh and was initially treated in the clinic for eight days. Because of an incipient sepsis, he was again in a clinic for two weeks in September 2016. At the The perpetrator shot the 44-year-old from behind at the subway exit at the level of the Saturn market married (victim 10) (born in Kosovo, unknown nationality), whose Both lower legs were shot through. Together with her husband and the three of them She was able to escape to the Saturn market for children and survived. The perpetrator shot at the Sidewalk on the 19-year-old German (victim 11) and hit him from behind with five Bullets in the trunk and thighs. The victim collapsed and died.

The perpetrator slowly crossed Hanauer Strasse and went to the main entrance of the OEZ. He was seen changing the magazine. He met on the ground floor of the OEZ the 20-year-old Kosovar national (victim 12) who was born in Munich and who

the perpetrator had passed. Sonboly shot the back from the side at close range Head, torso and a witness watched Sonboly take another headshot gave up the victim lying on the ground. The seriously injured young man could still get in dragging a shop trying to give him first aid. However, he died in the

Poor of a woman.

It was 5:55 p.m. Sonboly walked past several O EZ shops and shot them Window fronts. On a covered bridge in the direction of the parking garage, he shot one 68-year-old German. The shots missed her and she was uninjured. Right away then Sonboly fired at people at random, shot the magazine empty and reloaded it. Nobody was injured here. He shot two cars in the parking garage. He was now from a store manager working in the O EZ who tried to protect motorists from the shooter to warn, seen. The witness saw Sonboly fire several shots backwards and screamed. He was able to promptly give police officers an indication of the walking direction The perpetrator because he saw that he was going down to the second parking level.

On the parking deck there was now a dispute between Sonboly and a resident in the result of which the perpetrator fired a few shots at the 56-year-old German and at the same time the Neighbors, a 46-year-old Bosnian, suffered a splinter injury from a ricochet taught. The perpetrator continued to shoot at office windows, behind which he was a 56-year-old German office workers. He missed the man. In the middle of the parking deck there was now a clash with the police who shot off the Submachine gun fired on Sonboly, but missed. The culprit ducked, lost two Cell phones and disappeared. It was 6:03 p.m.

In those few minutes - from 5:51 p.m. to 6:03 p.m. - Sonboly had nine people fatally injured, five people seriously and numerous others injured in other ways. Many people were shocked and traumatized because of the fatal shots from the Experiencing closeness, enduring the fear of death, panicking and fleeing Injuries sustained.

Until 8:26 p.m., the perpetrator was largely in hiding. He was several times in the Spotted near. In the meantime he changed his black T-shirt to a blue one. Both T-Shirts were labeled irrelevant (Uncle Sam and Chill). Most likely he had stayed in the basement of buildings that are close together. He was against

20:26 from several police officers coming out of a building on the street discovered. He threw his backpack towards the police officer and was hit multiple times

asked to put down the weapon. Sonboly called out to the police several times to tell them to shoot him, which they didn't. He then shot himself in the left temple. The location of the suicide was near the former secondary school (Toni-Pfülf) that the perpetrator had visited.

At the time of the crime, the perpetrator was not under the influence of alcohol or psychotropic drugs.

Took during the killing phase of the incident between 5:51 p.m. and 6:03 p.m.

Numerous witnesses came true to the perpetrator during or between the firing of the shot

Made statements. He said among other things:

"Because of you, I had to suffer in Germany for seven years."

"Because of you I suffered in Germany for seven years."

"Your own fault, they bullied me."

"I went through it for seven years."

"I've done what I've wanted for eight years."

"Your asses are your own fault, you bullied me!"

"I've waited for this seven years!"

"Now I fuck you all, I fuck you all!"

"Turks in Germany! I'm not a Kanake, I'm German! "

"I hate you Muslims!"

"You brought death into the country!"

"Fuck Turks! I'm German!"

"I'm German - I was born here, because of the fucking Kanaks I do that!"

"I was in psychiatry."

Some have heard during the shot at the girls that he "*Allahu Akbar*" said Has.

As a witness later stated, who had heard the end, Sonboly should also be in the Phase shortly before his suicide said something to the police officers: "*Shoot! But before I go I have something else to get rid of! I am not an Islamist, not a Salafist. I was receiving treatment for mental health problems. It had to happen!*"

As for the statements made during the firing of the gunshots, these are for murderers atypical. Basically, in other cases, the perpetrators were described as rigid, without Facial expressions, without uttering, calm in the movements, but emotionally immobile. Nobody has said something. Small deviations were seen, for example, with Robert Steinhäuser, who ended up too alleged to have said to a teacher: "It's over for today." During the act he said nothing.

Some asked about certain people, but in a calm tone, without suspicion irritate. For the perpetrators, the decision to act was clear, they had long emotions prepared and carried out the deed in silence. It was different with Sonboly. These hateful ones Exclamations during the commission of the offense can be interpreted to mean that he does had a great need for subjective justification during the act. Although he was also years had thoughts of hate before and hinted at the act, it seemed to be a problem for him actually carry out the deed. Basically at every stage of the killing he felt the need to make sure. Should he actually "Allahu Akbar", this shows the even greater cynicism. He was not an Islamist and did not want to be understood that way either. So the statements can only be considered evil Understand cynical sacrifice devaluations (in the sense of: "There you Muslim women have what you want."). The content of the other statements is to be understood as justifications of violence. He had an extreme worldview and especially Turks and German-Turks were him hated. Here, however, there are also irrational elements of generalization, because he didn't even know his specific victims by sight. This also applies to the statements that he is been bullied and waited for revenge for years. Since he's neither his bullies from the Grades 5 through 7 still encountered the victims doing something with possible bullying had an irrational worldview with generalized hatred. The reference to the On another point, far from the victims, psychiatry points to what it is Sonboly actually mattered: Just for himself and the needs of his disturbed people

Personality. No victim had anything to do with him. The few he invited to the crime scene (um killing them or witnessing his cruel actions) had not come, which didn't stop him from killing. That was not the point. He was obsessed with the idea of becoming famous with an amoktat and not with any one, but with THE German amoktat, which should cost at least 17 victims (puns in Nicknames with the number 17 (17hunter and others - Robert Steinhäuser had on April 26th, 2002 in Erfurt 16 people murdered, Tim Kretschmer in Winnenden and Wendlingen 15 people).

You can also see that there is no clear message of this act. During the ideological motivated perpetrator calls his "Allahu Akbar" and is repeatedly and clearly recognized as an Islamist, he also sends a clear Islamist message to all potential victims and the Society. The right-wing extremist who leaves a swastika and xenophobic slogans are roaring, clearly ideologically recognizable and sending one right-wing extremist message. ^{4th} Sonboly just couldn't from the numerous witnesses be clearly classified because his utterances did not match and he next Migrants also Germans and in addition to young people also older people with fatal intent attack. The reference to his German nationality, his origin from the Neighborhood and stay in psychiatry confusion. So what happened at It is typical of amocrats: The environment does not even begin to understand why this person is other shoots. Because there is no clear message. ⁵

The change of crime scene is also noticeable during the course of the crime, which indicates several aspects (Inspiration from special first-person shooters, recent terrorist acts and significant Matches in particular with the fact in Winnenden and Wendlingen who made him particularly interested).

The choice of weapon and the enormous amount of ammunition are very typical. The high number of Victim results from the use of a firearm. Also the termination of the killing after one certain time is not uncommon. When choosing the date of the offense, the anniversary of the offense can be used cannot be denied in Norway (July 22, 2011).

⁴Other phenomena may not be included here, as they differ in terms of phenomenology and perpetrator profile:

Serial offenders who want to remain undetected (at least when the offense is committed) (NSU trio) or individual offenders, who commit a series of murderous acts (such as the "laser man" John Ausonius, Gellert, Tamas: Der Laser man. From elite student to serial offender. Leipzig 2007 (original Stockholm 2002). This is what happens here Role model of the Turner Diaries ("Andrew McDonald": The Turner Diaries, since 1978).

⁵See also below (VII.) Briefly on Hate Crimes.

At the time of the crime, the young gunmen were not responsible either through alcohol, Drugs or medication affected. This is also a typical one Observation. These perpetrators prepare psychologically for their act for many months and want to especially experience the act, which is why they do not consume any disinhibiting substances.

The ending is also typical. That he asked the police officers to shoot him is implicated fear of doing, being in pain, and possibly surviving. What about

The victims lack empathy, the cowardly perpetrators feel even more sorry for themselves pronounced.

II. What are Amoctates?

Young gun killers up to the age of 23 form a specific group of phenomena and differentiate between them the personality and execution of other offenders who commit homicides.

The deeds are very rare. The specific risk factors allow in most cases early detection and intervention because the perpetrators hints at their plans before the act do.

Amoctates are “ intentional, attempted or completed multiple killings of the type of mass murder, which is usually a lone perpetrator out of anger, hatred and vengeance attacked certain or arbitrarily selected victims. The perpetrator aims for fame or attention and often commits suicide following the offense. Young perpetrators up to Age 23 years differ from the more heterogeneous group of adults. At a core group of young perpetrators found personality problems that determine the offense are. The quiet, withdrawn, but always somewhat strange loner has one deep feeling of foreignness, feels hurt and disregarded, identifies with Perpetrators and finally staged his act as revenge for subjectively experienced insults. Schizotypic, paranoid and narcissistic aspects dominate. The perpetrators are not impulsive, aggressive or antisocial. ” ^{6th}

The case shows very typical elements from the core area of young gunmen. In one more as a three-year empirical research project funded by the BMBF, was a total census of young gunmen up to the age of 23, a comparison group of young people Offenders with multiple homicides and a partial survey of 40 cases of adult murderers performed. ^{7th}

After a long period of time, the Munich case was again a case of a boy Amoctete (see the overview in Table 1). The young offenders were up to the age of

23 years of age as young adults because they were typically very immature and differentiated from

6 Bannenberg / Bauer / Kirste, Forensische Psychiatrie, Psychologie, Kriminologie 4/2014, p. 229, easy here modified; Bannenberg final report 2017.

7 For amocutures in general and with case studies, see the relevant publications in the bibliography.

clearly differentiated from the adult offenders. Not all perpetrators committed the act on one School, however, was interesting for the Munich case that the perpetrator after intellectual Dealing with Winnenden and thus making the crime scene a public place in the school Chose downtown for his act. Several aspects are likely to play a role here. Not only that he expected more attention here, but also his specific one Target group (young migrants) to be found in any case. He dealt with acts of terrorism and thus an inspiration from images of deeds in public space can be assumed will. He was also so specific about his favorite computer games and movies and game matrix shaped that individual elements in the real course of action with virtual Elements match (literally *run a rampage* over a certain distance in public space, through buildings, over a parking deck - matrix! - through underground garages, the not rational change of clothes). It also played a role that he hoped to be less easily overwhelmed by the police. Ultimately there is for the place of chosen suicide a proximity to school.

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III. Results of an empirical research project: Young gun killers

In June 2016, the BMBF-funded interdisciplinary research project TARGET (Act and case analyzes of highly expressive targeted violence) and here the sub-project Gießen: Criminological analysis of amocures (juvenile and adult perpetrators of Multiple killings, threats of amok) completed. The final report and several detailed publications on the project were published in 2017. ^{8th}

Gun killers are usually single perpetrators who are high due to a spectacular multiple homicide Want to attract attention. Young and adult murderers show some Similarities, but also differences. ⁹

According to the interdisciplinary empirical analysis of almost all the murderous acts of young perpetrators (up to 23 years of age) in Germany dating back to the early 1990s, it has been shown that the core group of young offenders (19 cases, 19 offenders) has specific characteristics. A total of 33 cases with 35 young offenders were analyzed Attempted or completed multiple kills. 19 cases can be viewed as core cases 14 other cases serve as a comparison group, as they differ in perpetrator personality, Differentiate between motive and approach.

⁸The final report on the Giessen project is available on the professorship's homepage. Please refer also the references, most recently Bannenberg / Bauer Rechtsmedizin 2017, p. 154 ff., p. 162 ff.

⁹This article is limited to the young perpetrators. Results on adult offenders can be found in Final report, Bannenberg 2017.

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Table 1: Core group of young amok perpetrators (total survey)

	Case place	Date of act	Lone perpetrator	Gender	age
1	Koblenz	08/24/1992	Yes	male	23
2	Bad Kreuznach	December 25, 1994	Yes	male	22nd
3	Koserow / Stralsund	July 3rd / 4th, 1997	yes	male	17th
	Columbine High School	April 20, 1999	two	male	17/18
4th	Bad Reichenhall	11/01/1999	Yes	male	16
5	Meissen	11/09/1999	Yes	male	15th
6th	Brannenburg	March 16, 2000	Yes	male	16
7th	Eching / Freising	02/19/2002	Yes	male	22nd
8th	Erfurt	04/26/2002	Yes	male	19th
9	Coburg	07/02/2003	Yes	male	16
10	Ansbach	01/30/2006	Yes	male	16
11	Emsdetten	11/20/2006	Yes	male	18th
12	Ticino	13/01/2007	two perpetrators	male	17th
13	Winnenden / Wendlingen	03/11/2009	Yes	male	17th
14	Bonn / St. Augustin	May 11, 2009	Yes	Female	16
15	Ansbach	09/17/2009	Yes	male	18th
16	Ludwigshafen	02/18/2010	Yes	male	23

			Assessment		
17 Ballenstedt	11/09/2011	Yes	Female	13	
18 Hagen / Lüdenscheid	January 11, 2013	Yes	male	16	
19 Wernigerode	02/26/2013	Yes	Female	15th	
20 Munich	07/22/2016	Yes	male	18th	

The Columbine High School act serves as a relevant reference act that was relevant to almost all of the perpetrators.

The Munich case was not investigated as part of the Target project.

Among the acts analyzed are those that have become particularly well known in the media Deeds from Erfurt, Emsdetten and Winnenden / Wendlingen. The quantitative and qualitative Case analyzes are based on criminal files and evidence, the perpetrators' testimonies and interviews

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with perpetrators and victims as well as the social environment. Own psychiatric psychological assessments (diagnoses, relevance of psychopathology and prognoses) made, although the findings of existing psychiatric reports considered, but also critically acknowledged or rejected. In the case of an interview or multiple conversations and correspondence with a perpetrator, it was easiest to have one of your own create a psychiatric diagnosis according to the current diagnostic manuals. Was the culprit deceased, the assessment of the personality was more complex and difficult, but not impossible, as some perpetrators had also written extensive personal reports over the years. If the perpetrator died by suicide after the act, the assessment was made Personality by way of psychological autopsy.

Assigning the cases to a core group of amocures does not mean that there are none There are differences between the acts and the perpetrators. In essence, however, the perpetrators have very many Similarities, particularly in the perpetrator personality (loner, strange, narcissistic, insultable) and in the planning and execution of the crime. The offender all are not impulsive or aggressive. This is a relevant finding because one of the Person who commits or attempts multiple homicides may expect to be with Violent crime or aggression is noticeable. That was not the case. At most they showed some on closer inspection conceal aggressive actions (for example, there was a perpetrator in Prior to being noticed by the police for illegally using a gas pistol or a

another bullied younger students without this being noticed or reported). At few were markedly sadistic parts, those in the execution of acts and fantasies, too in self-testimonies, were clearly expressed.

Of the 19 perpetrators in 19 cases (in one case two perpetrators acted together, one perpetrator tried twice to perform an act) were all male but two. The two girl¹⁰ differed in their personality structure and their fascination for that Subject amok not from the boys. At most one can assume that the first Acted 13-year-old who tried again at another school when she was 15 to get classmates killing, insofar as was typically female, as she was right with ineffective means of crime showed hesitant in carrying out the act and finally let himself be quickly overwhelmed. she had in both cases no firearms available, but fantasized about them.

¹⁰ To Bannenberg, 2013.

20th

The social background of the perpetrators was mostly inconspicuous, the families belonged to him Middle class, were often financially well off and there was no "broken home" Relationships with violence and social neglect. Parents were usually around that Well their children - most of the perpetrators had siblings - worried. However, for later offenders usually have a special relationship. The family members lived by externally intact facade side by side and a relationship of trust between the later perpetrator to parents or siblings did not exist. The siblings, especially the more sensitive ones Sisters, often noticed the ambivalence of their brother, whom they on the one hand as strange, interested in amok, inaccessible and closed, overwhelmed at school, without friends and girlfriend, obsessed with computers, but also as lonely and perceived needy. But they also saw their parents as helpless towards their brother. The later ones The perpetrators mostly attended high schools, but were overwhelmed in terms of performance. Some were at a difficult stage shortly before they started their vocational training, but they did not considered suitable for themselves. It was noticeable that none of the perpetrators had any future plans and career aspirations. That played in the diaries and activities that were partly over are documented for a long period of time.

Of the 19 young offenders in the core group, eight offenders killed themselves (seven have

shot himself after the act, one later killed himself in the penal system), four tried, including three who provoked the arriving police officers and almost got shot (attempt at suicide by cop). The other eight perpetrators have had suicidal thoughts at different times. Of the 16 perpetrators of the 14th Cases in the comparison group, on the other hand, (only) one after the act itself killed.

If the perpetrators use firearms, the number of victims is typically higher. With the young The difference in the use of the type of weapon used by the core group was extreme weight. Of the nine acts in which the perpetrators responded to other means of crime (slashing and Stabbing weapons, incendiary devices, gas pistols and alarm pistols) resulted in six deaths. In five cases no one was killed and in the four cases the outcome was fatal In two cases there are two victims, in two other cases one each. Injured became more people. In the ten acts in which the young perpetrators firearms used, there were 44 deaths (!). In two cases no one had been killed in two cases each one victim, in two further cases two victims and in one case three and

four victims. The two extreme acts were Erfurt at 16 and Winnenden / Wendlingen at 15 shot victims. The number of people shot is also far higher than that of Injured the comparison group. For example, one perpetrator shot a victim but injured six more difficult. As a rule, the young perpetrators attacked those who were not properly secured Firearms in the household that the father or another relative than Sports marksman owned. Alternatively, they used cutting and stabbing weapons and incendiary devices.

Table 2: Agents of crime - core group of young amateurs - 19 cases (19 perpetrators)

	Use of firearms	Other means of crime
Number of cases	10	9

Number of dead

44

6th

The Munich act confirms the special importance of the use of firearms. Takes

If you add the fact, there were 53 deaths in 11 cases and none in 9 cases

Firearms use six dead.

These young gunmen commit a planned multiple homicides because they are considered strange

Loners are psychopathologically conspicuous and a bundle of motives of anger, hatred and

Develop thoughts of revenge that are not rationally based. The personality shows

narcissistic and paranoid traits, that is, the young (mostly male)

Offenders are extremely vulnerable, but not impulsive or aggressive. You often feel

humiliated and badly treated without the environment being able to understand this and

begin to look online for role models and outlets for their anger. You ponder for a long time

about hatred, "revenge" and a grandiose murder, develop pronounced violence and

Killing fantasies and in particular take place at Columbine High School

(April 20, 1999), which can be found in various forms on the Internet, is still a possibility

identification. This shows that there are also typical youth aspects of these acts: The

Staging of the deed and the self-stylization as a victim of revenge, what with reality

22nd

has nothing in common is a typical youth facet of these acts. That's why those in the

The public often misunderstood first-person shooters, violent videos and the cause

Hateful song lyrics as well as the gun affinity also have a special meaning as

Inspiration and reinforcement for the already existing violent fantasies and play one

Role in self-expression of those who are unsuccessful in real life, overwhelmed and themselves

constantly offended perpetrators. In some cases, media coverage is deliberately planned.

Common to the more heterogeneous group of adult gunmen is the high one

Identify the significance of the suicide or attempted suicide after the offense. It is about

here not about depressive despair, but about staging one's own grandiosity.

The perpetrator demonstrates his power and hatred of society and / or especially

attacked groups with a high profile multiple homicides, followed by suicide.

Table 3: Comparison group of young perpetrators (multiple killings)

Case	place	Date of offense	of single perpetrator	Gender	Age
1	Florstadt	March 9, 1991	two perpetrators	Male	17th
2	Mecklenburg	9/26/1998	yes	male	20th
3	Stendal	May 20, 2000	yes	male	18th
4th	Faithful	09/18/2001	yes	male	14th
5	Melle	10/11/2001	yes	male	20th
6th	Weimar	12/20/2001	yes	Female	19th
7th	Heidenheim	12/19/2003	yes	male	17th
8th	Berlin	05/26/2006	yes	male	16
9	Ulm	07/10/2006	yes	male	20th
10	Kaiserslautern	09/07/2009	yes	male	23
11	Bremen	12/18/2009	yes	male	21
12	Eislingen	April 9, 2009	two perpetrators	male	18 & 19
13	Friesoythe	05/01/2010	yes	male	19th
14	Memmingen	May 22, 2012	yes	male	14th

The perpetrators and acts of the comparison group differ significantly from amoctides. Just one of the perpetrators (suspected of having a psychosis, in treatment for years) subsequently killed himself the act (killing three people and threatening others) itself. A

Another schizophrenic committed a spontaneous act in the delusional state in which he acted on five people Intention to kill started. He had been given a counterproductive drug, his

Broke out again. Typically most perpetrators had this

Group criminal motives (greed, domination, power over the victim) or lived sadistic and sexually deviant fantasies in the context of multiple killing. she attempted to evade prosecution following the crime. Your

Personality can, in rare cases, be pronounced psychopathic and narcissistic

described, but in most cases as dissocial (little or no empathy, Indifference to the interests of others, persistent and early norm-violating, manipulative). In one case there was an impulse act by an uncontrolled youth, the killed two people without having planned to do so. In one strange case, one had young man developed considerable amok fantasies for years and was also known to the police become. Years later he shifted his killing fantasies to a teacher whom he was following significant stalking with over 20 knife wounds planned. The Memmingen case appeared to be a typical rampage at first, but it turned up later than just a few days Previously decided act of a 14-year-old who was angry at the breakup of his girlfriend answered that he came to school with a firearm, fired a few shots, but in injured no one in a packed cafeteria. Only later did an exchange of fire take place with the police, who gave up the moment he was shot. He had did not engage in amok and came from a very problematic family.

IV. Biography of David Ali Sonboly - motives and causes of the act

1. Family

David Ali Sonboly was born on April 20th, 1998 in Munich. His parents settled in the year

1997 from Iran (Tehran) to Germany. He has a brother who is four years his junior. The family moved several times in Munich and improved from an economic point of view considers the lifestyle and the residential area. The father is more independent Taxi operator, the mother worked temporarily. Seen from the outside, it is a successful integration.

His parents tried to have a harmonious family life. There were no negatives Educational practices or even abnormalities that can be identified with a so-called "broken home" connects. On closer inspection, however, there was a certain helplessness of the parents in the Regarding the personal development and behavior of their son David (Ali). Sonboly was born as Ali and rejected that name as "inferior". From the age of majority in In 2016 he changed his name to David. He spoke to his parents about this fact, enforced the decision just as independently as previous behavior. With there were few activities together with the father, but quite a few visits to Tehran, last in 2015. The visit to a sports hall with a picture which shows David (Ali) shooting with a rifle. The unknown coach of this Iranian sports center praised David (Ali) for his good Shooting performance, which made son and father equally proud. The problematic one The father did not become aware of any component of these skills. This is interesting here Parallel to some other German rampage cases, in which the fathers also only have one had a superficial relationship with their son. But if you shared something, it was that Interest in shooting and firearms. The father did not even begin to draw Suspicion, despite the years of extremely problematic behavior (Most time-consuming first-person shooter games and social incompetence among those in need of treatment mental disorders) of the son knew.

25th

It was noteworthy that David (Ali) got his driver's license (April 2016). interested in Unlike other young people, however, he did not show his own vehicle at all. To at this point his plan to commit the deed had long been established.

The problem was that David (Ali) did not live *with* his family, but *next to* them, like everyone else other gunmen too. He hardly spoke, he could not stand physical touch,

he was strangely obsessive about his daily chores and you never got there approach him. Nobody in the small family knew what really moved him. After school David (Ali) retired to his room and stayed there for hours. He didn't like it when someone walked into his room and he was essentially spending his time alone in the Room in front of the computer. That he has been on (his first Steam account at the age of nine!) an incredible amount of time with the computer, especially not age-appropriate first-person shooters did not go unnoticed. It was known that he was neither a girlfriend who still had friends. The father probably took some schoolmates as "Friends" Ali's true, mother and brother not.

His younger brother reported that it was normal for Ali to retire to his room, Seldom shared meals and barely spoke. Parents recognized that he had been from early childhood had emotional deficits, he could not comfort anyone or himself even as a toddler empathize emotionally with another person. The father blamed them for many difficulties school problems, which he saw as remediable. The years of cognitive Overstrained the slightly below-average talented son escaped the parents who gave him also wanted to see some of them as gifted. Bullying in grades 5 - 7 too did not tell David (Ali) to his parents. Only at the end did he tell his father, who then justified the son's change of school with this fact. Since 2010 David (Ali) is in psychotherapeutic treatment after first contacts to in 2007 to a psychiatrist. Very problematic issues emerged here early on Personality developments and the parents generally reacted passively and in denial. This attitude can also be found in the parents of other people who run amok. What's interesting is that too a peer who knew David (Ali) from computer games and from school, one Tages (about a year and a half before the crime) was so worried that he approached his father because he felt that David (Ali) was mentally disturbed and needed help. Last was The father called from another schoolmate on the day of the crime, but it was closed by then late.

26th

These family relationships are typical of the families of the gunmen. The son introduces solitary life alongside other family members, assumes hardly takes part in joint activities and visits and leads a double life on the Internet.

2. School

Sonboly never enjoyed going to school and was always a mediocre to poor student. In elementary school (2004 to 2007) he fell due to immature behavior, restlessness, lack of Concentration, walking around the classroom and making uncontrolled statements. In the early testimonials, the assessment of his behavior is negative (poor student, switches off, reacts unpredictably, can only follow simple tasks, incomprehensible expression in German etc.). It was already noticeable here that he showed behavioral problems; he didn't want to be with others. Improved in the course of primary school Behavior and performance a bit, but the impression that he was already outweighed was overwhelmed at the time. The problems in German were profound, he got frequent Outbursts of anger. With an average grade of 3.66, he switched from the basic to the Secondary schools.

From 2008 to 2011 (grades 5 to 8) he attended a secondary school that he hated. In the In the fifth grade, it remained with an average grade of 3.50 for the secondary school recommendation. In in sixth grade he was seen as making an effort, but it remained difficult. He got for own misconduct from minor violations to massive insults and one Fight in the fall of 2011 references. During this time there was also repeated bullying and Violence against him, which was hidden from the teachers and parents (first the police Investigations into this case revealed more details). In 2012 he had in common filed a criminal complaint with his father for assault by classmates and the Father wrote an angry letter to the school discussing the bullying that was inflicted on him his son had only reported at this point.

He then switched to a private school, repeated the ninth grade and completed im Year 2012/13 with a grade between 3 and 4 additional exams to get the To successfully obtain a secondary school certificate. The change to a middle school in 2013/14 now brought a positive development. Got better marks and must have done a lot have been motivated and achieved a qualifying with an average of 2.7

Graduation. Things went even better in the 10th grade in the 2014/15 school year, when he was hard-working, motivated and conscientiously described and was even class representative. He obtained the Secondary school leaving certificate in July 2015 with grades between 3 and 2 (in German 4).

Then, however, the positive phase broke off; in July 2015 he attended a month-long one Preparatory course for the FOS and applied for the FOS with little chance of success. A The preliminary course was not favorable in terms of performance. In this time after secondary school and the The attempted transition to FOS also resulted in severe psychological abnormalities with a two-month inpatient placement in psychiatry and a subsequent one outpatient therapy.

It is interesting that sometimes things went a little better at school. He was even in grade 10 Class representative and seemed motivated. His school performance improved. As soon as but this subsided and he again suffered defeats in the preliminary course for the FOS had to, his thoughts of hate and interest in the subject increased again immediately Amok, which clearly shows that the Amoktat a way out of demands general bot. Because of his narcissistic personality, he found it difficult to criticize bear. His own eyesight was also considerably clouded. He kept in numerous records himself clearly superior and also said that his abilities exceeded those of - especially Turkish - classmates by far. It had nothing to do with reality. His Skills in German and other subjects were modest.

If you also consider the enormous amount of time he spent playing computer games, it is rather surprising that it is not earlier and also more clearly to a school-based Failure came.

Although it is initially noticeable that the date of the 7/22/16 is very close to the final cancellation the FOS (7/20/16) is, there is no connection here. The plans were already made advanced for over a year and Sonboly was playing at school at this point no longer matter. Realistic plans for the future, which he attached to attending the technical college could have made did not exist for him. He was in for the first time in June 2015 Winnenden. His intensive preoccupation with gunmen had long since begun.

3. Bullying

In grades 5 - 7 (8) Sonboly became male by some of the then Secondary school classmates bullied. It took place over a long period of time Massive insults took place, he was also beaten, slapped in the face and it was him tripped. One particular incident took place in physical education class when his clothes were wet have been done. Among the perpetrators at the time was a Serb who was also at the time of the crime showed the typical behavior of an aggressive bully. He had left school for one BVJ and is considered aggressive and uncontrolled. It was from Sonboly under the Fake account "Selina Akim" was asked to come to McDonald's at 4 pm and didn't know who was behind it. But then he left with a whole troop young violent men to McDonald's, which says everything about his character.

In the testimony he later stated that he was in 6th - 8th grade with Ali at the secondary school to have been together. You couldn't stand each other. He played his aggressive Shares and those of his equally aggressive classmates significantly and said, he and his friends were more respected by the class community, while Ali was more likely with the teachers. Ali also insulted him and the others, and he often had said: "I'll blow you up!", "You should all be killed!". But nobody did taken seriously.

Overall, the impression arises that Ali is definitely bullying and hostile in the Secondary school in grades 5 to 7 or up to grade 8, in particular - but not only - from some young migrants. Ali himself was the (rarer) type of provocative victim for using strong expressions and insults to the boys ("Turkish son of a bitch" and the like). He did not defend himself physically, but with counter-insults, as testimony of some classmates attest. Also a teacher in a later school says Ali often felt attacked and bullied, even when laughing at little things has been. He saw a lot of supposed bullying. The therapist who knew him best also recognized the problematic parts of the behavior and said that he had tried to him to make it clear that it cannot go well if you approach classmates as want to go to war.

There was no evidence of bullying in the other schools. Sonboly was enormously ailing and had thoughts of hatred for years. Above all, he evaluated Turks and boys Undercut and girls with revealing clothes extremely off. He justified his amoctate partly with the bullying experienced, but this was not due to the violent and aggressive incidents in the secondary school can be traced back. With a psychological one dysfunctional personality like Sonboly is bullying in grades 5 to 7 in a sense "Grist on the mills" and is inflated forever resentful. Own shares in the Seeing conflict was not possible for him. His vulnerability allowed the aspect of bullying become a big topic with which he justified his plans for the crime. It also plays a role that gunmen basically feel like victims, what justification the amoctate is highly relevant. In the texts available on the Internet about murder perpetrators this topic is very much in the foreground. However, empirical research shows that in Germany only four of the perpetrators actually bullying or even just a few Had experienced violence at school and their own behavior was often harsh and was derogatory towards other young people. But the legend of the sacrifice lives on. Eric Harris (Columbine, see below), who was extremely hateful, and others People despised and threatened and damaged in a hidden way is still valid today in the "Fan scene" as a victim of bullying although he was anything but that.

4. Social contacts - no friends, no girlfriend

From the statements made to a peer (Esma) ¹¹ in more than 60-page chats in 2014 as well as from his own statements in the Bastian chat, one can assume that Sonboly wanted a girlfriend. He met Esma in the Wing Tsun Club in 2012 and had little contact with her in real life. The conversations show, however, that he likes would have been friends with her. In 2013 there were incidents in which Esma was unknown to her Young people who were in contact with Sonboly via the social network were massive was insulted. In the summer of 2014 there were long conversations between the two, that were on a comradely level. They talked about their stay in Turkey of the girl, daily school issues and eventually it got problematic. Sonboly did not approve of some attitudes of a girl, which met with Esma objections. It got bizarre when he got back from the insults allegedly by the other

¹¹ It is a pseudonym to protect the personality.

Young people spoke and at the same time insults on social networks against Esma again started. Sonboly now presented himself to Esma as someone who she was before the attack who will "save" aggressive young people. He pretended contact and influence on this To have people. The people he invented insulted their peers, however continued and Esma asked Sonboly several times in vain to finally take action will. It was then probably clear to her that Sonboly was behind it and broke it Contact in September 2014. Here the relevant planning phase actually began. Sonboly himself had destroyed the friendship that had started. It must have been clear to him (as can be seen from the dialogues) that Esma was friendly but not intimate Relationship with him sought. They didn't meet either. So he reacted as always: he devalued her to feel better. For this he chose the indirect way of supposedly others through the social network.

Later, in 2015, he wrote her (as Neo - she knew this name) again for her birthday and under the name "AmokläuferZ", which cannot be identified for them, with cryptic abbreviations, which she simply deleted.

Even the casual contact with classmates or computer players cannot be considered Denote friendships. The schoolmate who had known him since elementary school was in casual contact with him through online computer games until the end, but had been in since At the end of 2014 at the latest he was very distant because of the threats, amok fantasies and Hate tirades no longer endured. Also this peer had unsuccessful contact with the Sonboly's father and his concern that Ali was mentally ill and needed Help, uttered. Sonboly was not interested in closer relationships with other people, even though he was was quite able to enter into casual relationships, as well as the acquaintances with the younger Ahmed ^{12th} from the clinic or to some classmates.

5. "Leisure behavior" - computer games and their role

David (Ali) Sonboly had no friends or girlfriend. He was well with some Schoolmates and acquaintances in contact, but one spent next to school

shared time only when playing computer games. Also stopped on social networks
Sonboly made contact with some people. The sporting activity in the Wing Tsun Club ended

^{12th}
It is a pseudonym to protect the personality.

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after a short time in 2012. He was largely alone at home in his room and did not maintain close social contacts or joint activities. He didn't go out. In He gave the family no information about his solitary activities. If he does that Leaving the house, he gave no information about the goal or plan. When he travels carried out to visit Winnenden or to buy the firearm (of which the parents had no idea), his absence at home was clearly noticeable. But he explained himself not towards the parents.

The concern with the computer and especially with first person shooters (see 10. below) was extremely time-consuming. One can hardly speak of leisure behavior, since he is the Performance area in favor of its time consuming computer comprehension long ago neglected. He went to school regularly, so he didn't skip that Classes. However, he was likely to have been mentally absent frequently during class.

6. Matrix and the Viruses

The Matrix movie played a huge role in Sonboly's thinking. Even with the murder victim Bastian Bosse (Emsdetten, November 20, 2006) played the main character "Neo".

The 1999 film Matrix, starring Keanu Reeves in the lead role after its appearance a certain cult status as a "cyber science fiction thriller". On The cover says about the content of the film: "The hacker Neo is run over the Internet by someone mysterious underground organization. The head of the group - the one sought Terrorist Morpheus - lets him in on a terrifying secret: reality as we do it experience is only an illusory world. In truth, people have long since become one eerie virtual power dominated - the matrix, whose agent Neo is already in his sights have." (This film was later followed by sequels that were less successful were. There is also a Playstation 2 version). You can watch certain films on your PC Play interactive scenes (and with that, of course, a stronger engagement with the film

cause). Sonboly was very strongly inspired by Neo, he called himself in various variants in Play Neo, also in what's app chats and forums. It doesn't appear that he is
 Could no longer distinguish between reality and film, but he often spoke and wrote of Neo, the Matrix and Virus. There was no schizophrenia here, no delusion and none
 Mixing the reality with the virtual world before, but a typical youth (but

extreme) Identification and reevaluation of the meaning of the film in its own real content for David Ali Sonboly.

The film is about the "chosen one". Sonboly certainly considered himself such a person. The film opens with the computer-mad pale loner Neo (the name under which the hacker acts in the virtual world), the one in real life an inconspicuous employee a computer company. Its screen briefly lights up with the following message: "The Matrix has you." Neo becomes a figure of identification for Sonboly. The initially confused Neo is contacted by people who ask him to follow them. One of the main characters who attractive Trinity says to him at the beginning: "I know who you are. I know what you are doing I know why you sit at your computer night after night. ... "; here it becomes clear that Sonboly is in a similar situation. After all sorts of esoteric things Swagger asks Trinity rhetorically: "What is the Matrix? She will find you when you have it want."

Neo is personable, sensitive, vulnerable, confused here. In the scene after the conversation with Trinity comes to a confrontation with the unpleasant reality. A superior says coldly to pale, nervous, ill-dressed Thomas Anderson (Neo): "You have a problem, Mr. Anderson. You think you're special. Someone for whom none Rules apply. ... If an employee has a problem, the company has a problem (it acts a computer company¹³). Either you will be at your seat on time from now on or They are looking for a new job." Here, too, there are similarities to Sonboly's life situation available.

In the near future, Neo is called by Morpheus, he leaves the warning: "You are after you." There is an escape scene with fear and danger, with Neo through Agent is arrested in an office. These raise the charge of a double life: "For some, you're Thomas Anderson; in your other life you are known as Neo,

the big hacker. "Neo escapes after being bugged and has one that night
Nightmare. Now Morpheus calls him and says: "You are the chosen one." Neo meets at the
Connection with companions of Morpheus and is taken hostage in a car. Man
removes the creepy bug and Neo realizes that his nightmare was a reality.

¹³ Remember that besides delivering newspapers at Sonboly, a vacation job was doing a
Job to his cousin's computer company.

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Now Morpheus, the one sought by all the world, appears; with sunglasses and a black one
Mantel he has a conversation with Neo: "You have felt it all your life
something is wrong in the world. You don't know what, but it's there like a splinter in yours
Head that drives you crazy. Do you know what I'm talking about? "

Neo: "From the Matrix."

Morpheus: "Do you want to know what exactly it is? The matrix is omnipresent, it surrounds
us ... It is an illusory world that you are led to believe in order to tell you about the truth
distract. "

Neo: "What truth?"

Morpheus: "That you are a slave, Neo. Like everyone else, you were born into slavery and
live in a prison ... a prison for your mind. Unfortunately it is
hard to explain to anyone what the matrix is. Everyone has to experience it for themselves. "

In the following scene Neo has to decide whether he wants to "stay stupid" or whether he does
want to know what the matrix is. By choosing a red capsule, he decides for
the latter.

Next comes esoteric talk of no great meaning and obnoxious physical talk
Transformation.

Neo wakes up in the future. He wakes up and is part of a computer program. You want
hack the matrix. The world is desolate, empty and gone. What happened? To
At the beginning of the 21st century, humanity was in a euphoric mood ("we

admired our own intelligence ”). There has been an upsurge in AI and new ones Machinery. “We don't know who then started the war, us or them. In any case we were the ones who darkened the sky. ”The machines are now using Humans as a source of energy in mass breeding in fields.

Neo asks, "What is the matrix?"

Morpheus: “Control. The matrix is a computerized dream world that is created was made to keep us under control. That is the truth, the reality. ”

Neo is reluctant to believe that.

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Morpheus states that the Oracle said, “When the Matrix was born, there was one too Chosen one who sets others free. He alone has the ability to control the matrix after his death to destroy and set everyone free. ”Morpheus believes that Neo is the chosen one and says him that.

Now a training in numerous skills and fighting techniques begins and Neo becomes like programmed a computer. There's a little bit of the rest of the world in the real People live.

In the meantime, agents have kidnapped Morpheus. The agent does:

“I've made an interesting discovery since I've been in the Matrix. It struck me when I was trying to classify your species. You are not really in the strict sense Mammals. Every type of mammal on this planet instinctively develops a natural one Balance with your surroundings, but you humans do not. You move into certain area and multiply until all natural resources are exhausted. And the the only way to survive is to spread to another area. THERE'S ANOTHER ORGANISM ON THIS PLANET THAT MOVES EXACTLY. YOU KNOW, WHICH ONE? THE VIRUS. MAN IS A DISEASE. THE BOIL THIS PLANET. YOU ARE LIKE THE PLAGUE. And we are the cure. ”

Sonboly certainly found his virus template in this “favorite film”, which he determined Foreign groups and girls broadcast. He didn't take over the whole crude matrix

History of the film in an uncritical way, but some elements. He identified himself with the “chosen one”, with Neo, he also developed his own world of enemy images. For him the viruses were Turks, German-Turks, Turkish women and German-Turkish women as well Albanians in particular, but also people who are not into his worldview fit (it could be girls who were already revealingly dressed with fashion preferences or physically acting male adolescents). The entire statements about viruses some Psychotherapists puzzled him were his enemy. Here it is not about delusions, but about thoughts of hate, caused by the film, but also by Breivik (destroy all Muslims in Europe), gunmen like Eric Harris and Bastian Bosse (Columbine, destroy everyone you hate - natural selection, humanity is overrated^{14th}), the

¹⁴ These terms were used by Eric Harris to express his hatred and fantasies about killing care for. The terms reached the Internet via the “Columbine Documents” and were also used by others Taken rampage. There is a self-made video from Bosse (Emsdetten) in which he does this

Bullies from back then (classmates in grades 5 - 7 in the secondary school) as well as the specific first person shooters were inspired.

For him, the solution is: The “chosen one” (Sonboly has called himself “Neo” for years) kills young people, first young migrants of the special enemy group, with a firearm in an extreme act of violence. He keeps attacking young and old men and women any, whether migrant or not. Here he is Neo in a black coat, but also David-Ali from several first-person shooters with its special mission. There are takeovers Manhunt2 and other games. The film's trailer scene plays towards the end of the film the roof. Elements of these virtual worlds can indeed be clearly found (scene Car park roof).

He ended up calling himself NeoGer. (Here we can only speculate whether it is a Abbreviation for Germany acts, to a certain extent the German Neo, the German amocter.)

In adolescence, temporary identifications with movie characters are not unknown Years of strange dealing with certain media, intensely with oneself is connected, but it is extreme and was also noticed by other murderers. So could about Vann very well show how the "NIU School Shooter" Steve Kazmierczak in the run-up to the Did this at Northern Illinois University on Valentine's Day 2008 from some film series

was obsessed with adopting their style.

15th

7. Psychopathological abnormalities

Sonboly had had psychological problems since 2007 and had had since then (around the age of nine Years) contacts with psychotherapists and psychiatrists who lasted to the end in the 2015 and 2016 were even very intense.

At the beginning in the years 2007 to 2009 there were speech therapy examinations and school-based Problems. The first contacts were made in the psychiatric practice of Dr. (Dr. 1) and Dr. (Dr. 2) instead of (2007 - 2009). In addition to these few contacts, there was also in 2013 Dates in which ADHD with appropriate medication and

Messages spread. In Bosse's diary, there is an identification with Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold. The Finnish gunman Auvinen (2007) wore a t-shirt with this message (humanity is overrated and referred to Columbine and Harris in the suicide note. 15 May 2011.

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later diagnosed with a social phobia. Also the bullying and the unadjusted Social behavior was the focus of the early conversations. It was about the diagnostics Clarification of abnormalities typical of young people such as adjustment disorders, ADHD and Developmental disorders.

The psychotherapist Dr. (Dr. 3), in which he was a total of 55 outpatients Therapy hours spent. Between January 13, 2010 and February 8, 2010 the Graduate psychologist (Dr. 3) Preliminary talks with Sonboly. From 03.03.2010 to 21.06.2010 Therapy sessions took place. In this first therapeutic contact were Problematic behaviors and perspectives of Sonboly were discussed. After that one appeared To have improved. From November 13, 2012 to December 11, 2012, however, were due to If the problem behavior is again evident, longer therapeutic efforts are considered. Further discussions then took place from July 24, 2013 to June 22, 2015. The last contact had Dr. (Dr. 3), who finally recommended inpatient accommodation, on 09/28/2015. Thereafter, Sonboly declined further contact with Dr. (Dr. 3).

The recommended inpatient accommodation took place in the period from 29.07. - 09/22/2015 in one

Clinical center. Here was Dr. (Dr. 4) treating psychiatrist. She advocated one longer inpatient accommodation, which Sonboly and his parents disagree with were. She was supported by a qualified social pedagogue who mainly did the Treat social behavior and the time-consuming computer game problem therapeutically should.

After September 28, 2015, Dr. (Dr. 5) the outpatient therapy following the inpatient accommodation. There were four dates in 2015 and seven dates in the year 2016 took place. Dr. (Dr. 5) prescribed the drugs Abilify and Mirtazapine, the Sonboly took some time, but then because of weight problems, tiredness and concern discontinued the side effects listed in the package insert.

From October 15, 2015 to February 15, 2016 there was an investigation for autism in one specialized outpatient clinic. In February 2016, autism was taken for granted.

Most recently there was a single appointment in the university clinic (children's and Adolescent psychosomatics). One denied the diagnosis of a social phobia, but saw urgent need for treatment.

Overall, the known psychological abnormality has lasted for almost ten years very relevant. Even if the diagnoses differ and both at the beginning the early one Age with the possibility of developmental disorders as well as different accents of the Therapists were found to have a substantial behavioral and fundamental behavior Personality accent that indicated therapeutic need. The recommendations who pointed early towards the development of social skills and group training, were basically not implemented. It wasn't just David Ali Sonboly's rejection that played a role here a role but also that of his parents, who in very different situations acted denying. This coincides with observations made by other parents of gunmen. One puts the psychologically conspicuous accents on performance impairments or pushes they even to third parties (bullying). This is repeated with the son and later perpetrator Behavior that the parents already showed to some extent: One denies the real problems of the pronounced mental disorders, fends off the psychiatric problem and pushes

Blame third parties for it.

Towards the end of the preparations for the crime (end of 2015, 2016) Sonboly was in his submissions no longer as open towards the psychiatrist as in the inpatient placement in Fall 2015 or in the therapy talks with Dr. (Dr. 3).

The psychopathological development remained in particular Dr. (Dr. 3) not hidden. He noticed the problems of the sprawling computer gaming, which not only was far too time consuming but also had problematic content that glorified violence. Sonboly was already showing killing fantasies back then, loved the virtual first-person shooter worlds and was in his Social behavior difficult. The killing fantasies were directed against fellow men early on general, also explicitly against the brother or against classmates. Goal of early therapies was above all a reduction in PC games and the development of social skills. Dr. (Dr. 3) saw the narcissistic traits with hostile and socially phobic behavior. Man wanted to strengthen his self-worth and clarify the issue of the matrix and the viruses, by who Sonboly was fascinated by. Dr. (Dr. 3) also recognized phases. He saw that the state of the Young people always related to certain events. If it went well, it improved his condition, when things went badly, frustrations, behavior disorders and to amok fantasies and death threats. Saw a specific danger to himself or others Dr. (Dr. 3) never, he later also considered autism to be incorrect. He only saw a few Autism points as fulfilled, also a psychosis-related development (but no

Psychosis). He self-critically admitted that after the fact some things were assessed differently must. It should also be noted, however, that Dr. (Dr. 3) the increasing problem in autumn In 2015 no longer found out. In 2013, however, he saw Sonboly's "bad thoughts" clearly, the "strong social withdrawal", the "massive personality disorder" and the negative relevance of the first person shooter. He knew about "stark comments", "extremely aggressive Thoughts "(slaughter classmates, watch brother die falling from loft bed). Dr. (Dr. 3) knew about the specific background of the school disappointment, including that of the Parents. The father tried for a while to withhold the PC from his son, but it didn't succeeded in the long run. Dr. (Dr. 3) saw a relationship disorder with clearly distorted social perception, paranoid and narcissistic traits as well as hostile and socio-phobic behavior. Only on the subject of the matrix did he take an unclear position

(close to psychosis because he does not have the potential delusion of an idea of a matrix could exclude). It was not a question of a psychosis (see 6. above), which Dr. (Dr. 3) ultimately did not accept. Dr. (Dr. 3) also knew about hatred of foreigners. He realized also very good the provocative character of Sonboly and his contribution to the Insults and hostilities that he experienced at school. Dr. (Dr. 3) stated, Ali did not respond when spoken to. When he felt pressured he insulted foreigners extremely and became racist. He then threatened wildly and withdrew extremely into his first-person shooter world. If it went well, he could But also giving up your attitude, making contacts and even becoming a class representative.

In inpatient accommodation (directly after failure in school in the preliminary class of the FOS) from 29.7. - 9/22/2015 stood for Dr. (Dr. 4) the topic of matrix and viruses in Foreground. When asked, he clearly did not appear psychotic to her. However, she knew also of hostile and xenophobic statements and swastikas. She denied the possible danger to others. The social pedagogue supporting them knew about the fears of Fellow patients before Sonboly, however, denied the relevance of the amok fantasies and played down their seriousness.

It was noticeable that six young fellow patients at the time were uncomfortable or threatening Perceived content in Sonboly's utterances. A male youth noticed different behaviors Sonboly and saw that he was painting swastikas. A Young people heard statements with shootings, first-person shooters, bullying, but Sonboly thought they were a lovely guy. Four other youths saw some of the threatening signs

more clearly and took them more seriously. Ahmed, who was later in contact with Sonboly also chatted with him about relevant topics such as Breivik, IS, Islamist terror and attacks in Paris, he knew about Sonboly's concern Guns, amok and death and also criticized him in many places. When it got too much for him he no longer answered. He tried to get Sonboly out of the subject and the extreme Dissuade point of view. He also knew of Sonboly's hints in the case of school Failure. In the end, however, he was neither privy to crime planning nor did he perform an act seriously for possible.

Three teenage girls were significantly more concerned. You often heard Ali say he was wanted to be called "AmokläuferZ", that he spoke of amok, made death threats (I'll kill you all!) that he painted swastikas and spoke positively of Hitler. she contacted the therapists concerned, but they "explained away" these concerns and didn't take it seriously. They justified Sonboly's talk with the bullying he had experienced (!) and didn't ask. The three girls could not be reassured, they wanted to out of fear to be picked up by the parents.

The perpetrators often know themselves that they are mentally disturbed and that their thoughts of hate and Killing fantasies are not normal. It was no exception here.

In 2014 he said to Esma: "I want to tell you that I am not completely healthy."

On the one hand, Sonboly may have hoped that he would get help in psychiatry. He was more often voluntarily in treatment and he did not keep his killing thoughts a secret. But he was not seriously questioned. On the other hand, the thought of doing the deed was become very strong. The further the crime planning progressed, the more it was about them Implementation of the act. He (correctly) did not accept the diagnosis of autism; here is too suspect that he had the impression that he could not be helped. To a stationary one Neither he nor his parents were ready for accommodation at this point. A Compulsory placement because of endangering others was not considered at any point.

The narcissistic aspect of his mental disorder also left him towards the end (2015/2016) heading for action. He then refused any further psychotherapy.

It is tragic, but not uncommon in the rare cases of amoktats, that the Psychiatrists and psychologists in child and adolescent psychiatry, although violence and Killing fantasies known but not classified as relevant. Concrete is to

differentiate: The long first contact with Sonboly, Dr. (Dr. 3) registered the Threats and killing fantasies certainly and classified them as questionable. By doing last year, however, he had no more contact with David (Ali) because he refused and a release from confidentiality also failed. This would have to replace the Psychiatrists and psychologists among each other. Miss Dr. (Dr. 4) were those problematic parts of Sonboly's behavior are also not unknown. However, she said no

a third-party hazard, even though co-patients are currently in the inpatient facility. Were very worried and had expressed this. After that, Sonboly kept his plans hidden.

This dilemma can only be solved in future if forensic psychiatrists are involved in the Clarification of danger after threatening statements are experienced in such cases be integrated. In addition, child and adolescent psychiatry like the Normal psychiatry over the harbingers of the rare amocates (and terrorist Individual acts) be informed.

The behavior was also strange, under false identities various dialogues between To pretend to other people who were supposed to be about him (the Bastian chat has another meaning, see below).

Here he was probably also interested in finding out how others think of him. Furthermore it was an unusual way of making one's intentions known without being open Way to express. It also outweighs the narcissistic component over one possible call for help, wanting to know that the act was prevented by a third party. He plays ultimately with the others, pretending that David (Ali) was wrongly suspected, planning a rampage and "refutes" the assumptions, but brings the issue close to the others.

This was also found in some other amocoids, but not so pronounced in any of them.

8. Development into a murder victim - first thoughts, planning and execution of the crime

The first thoughts about killing people and an amocate go back a long way. Hateful statements and announcements that they wanted to kill everyone were Registered in school, chats and with psychotherapists. In grades 5 to 7 fall into

Controversial insults that are already disparaging, accompanied by statements, kill everyone to want. These first statements were not yet a sign of preparation for the crime, because they came about in heated situations. But they already showed fundamental problems at. As a young student, Sonboly was unable to resolve conflicts, relationships and

Forming bonds and was certainly also full of social anxiety. But he also provoked with xenophobic sayings. At the same time he looked and felt strange to the others look strange and different in society.

He set up his first Steam account back in 2007, when he was still in elementary school.

So one can assume that the mental escape is not age-appropriate

Computer games began very early and that his anger here went largely unnoticed let out, but also initiated a pattern of incompetent social behavior that always was further strengthened. So he practiced virtually for the later deed, because he was dealing with the characters identified by responding to his own impotence and anger with virtual killing. At Real-world learning of social skills fell by the wayside in these activities.

The secondary school period was certainly a problematic phase and because of the bullying that missing friends as well as the performance problems a time when there was already a pertinent Problem behavior loomed. However, his personality developed from childhood problematic. The enormous vulnerability in everyday situations and the self-image of a good one The student who is superior to the other encountered the reality of the assessment at best satisfactory, rather just sufficient area. Even the early psychotherapeutic ones Efforts brought the deficits (expression, language, incomprehensible articulation, Behavioral problems) clearly expressed without any noticeable improvement entered. He was also not only certain of his deficits in school and social behavior to some extent consciously, he also constantly felt strange and different.

In the first psychotherapy sessions (with Dr. 3) the hateful thoughts were already noticed. He was but only 12 years old and there were development issues. Therapy solved his problem Not. Rather, problem behavior intensified during puberty and it was now (2012/13) more frequent death threats and hatred.

The problem of not having a girlfriend, even though he is with the Esma of his own age Had met in 2012 in the Wing Tsun Club, would have liked to be close friends, headed one further escalation. From September 2014, he must have the idea of a "normal"

Interested in murderers.

As early as the end of 2014, he began to deal intensively with other acts and murderous criminals (see also under 12.). He visited Winnenden, dealt with the act in Emsdetten, intensely with Columbine, of course, with some American gunmen. The Information is quickly available when the interested party begins to familiarize themselves with relevant issues Internet sites to deal with.

In 2015 he still had a sense of achievement at school, but that was of no relevance more, since a further school path or a professional orientation is of no interest to him has been. He started looking at gun accessibility, did some research on other terrorist perpetrators and was so busy. The burden of The approaching act and his killing fantasies were still noticeable. During this time the increasing mental crisis and he also spent two months in the inpatient Psychiatry.

9. Self-testimonials

There are numerous self-testimonies in different forms, as with other amocrats mostly too. This includes consciously written thoughts to justify the act as well Messages for posterity. Also the pictures of other perpetrators, either saved, changed, rearranged or underlaid with music and messages in videos, belong to such self-testimonies because they indicate the intensive referral, but also the Meaning that the perpetrators now want to achieve themselves. In some cases these were used only for Imagination and imagination of how and when the deed should be carried out on whom. Such materialized, i.e. written down, fantasies play an important role in the Radicalization. The perpetrator can enjoy his violent fantasies to make himself big and feel powerful. He can imagine how he will commit the act and what the consequences will be will have. He can line up with previous offenders, and has with all of that Notions of size that are subjectively satisfactory, like a perpetrator in an interview, also clearly carried out. But at some point the fantasies are no longer enough. The many testimonials then serve for more concrete preparation. The perpetrator leaves the imagination bit by bit become more real. He also struggles with the question of whether he will really be able to use his thoughts

put into action. The hateful texts with killing intentions also serve this purpose.

In some cases, statements made to peers should be understood as a call for help, partly but also simply an expression of the time-consuming dealing with an amoctate, that has already mastered thinking.

Sonboly's deliberately left message on the formatted hard drive had the Function of justification when a decision has already been made shortly before the inspection of the Did. The file was the only one that could be found immediately on this PC. Under the name: "I will now wipe out every German Turk no matter who saved it.docx ", was the content in short: *"The bullying will pay off. The suffering that was done to me will be returned. "*

The police should definitely find the file. From all the others Files and voice messages on other hard drives, cell phones, laptops and Storage media, partially readable files and texts in a different form But the result was a much more comprehensive picture of the hatred of a young mentally disturbed boy People.

"My fight with people"

In April 2015 he had already written the text: "My struggle with people". On two Pages shows the psychopathological side of Sonboly very well. He addressed his Being different, feeling strange: *"Since the 3rd grade I noticed that I am different, behave differently ... "* ¹⁶

He took up the thoughts of Bastian Bosse (Emsdetten, see under 12.) (victims of society).

And he glorified himself while at the same time ascribing unreal blame to others: *"In from childhood i was a very kind, hyperactive person ... well alas, i guess not that my life has any coincidence, I got off the beaten track. The pressure that Ms. R. (...) gave me from class 3-4 changed my behavior towards the future ... "*

Then began massive xenophobic and misanthropic devaluations, in which he presented himself as a victim (the Bosnian woman whose family he was going to wipe out, the fat Afghan woman with 12 siblings ...). The matrix was also mentioned here as a matter of course. He claimed to have been bullied from day one, which is not true

¹⁶ Sonboly's texts contain numerous errors, the original text is excerpted here reproduced.

but illuminates his pronounced vulnerability and personality. He was sickly and extremely resentful to exaggerate one's own importance. The hate speech was both expressing anger and trying to feel better about yourself. After a few sentences in the confused hate pamphlet he came up with the alleged victims Tim K. and Bastian B. to speak and indulged in dripping self-pity. He mourned the loss of the acquaintances (classmates with whom he had often played computer games, but who had distanced his hateful tirades from him) to at the same time on the matrix, revenge and to pass billing. Again hatred followed, which is reflected in the outward appearance of people of the same age girls and boys and attached to ethnic devaluations. He mentioned that useless of educational and therapeutic efforts and announced: *"Mine attention will far exceed the case of Tugce Albayrak anyway, because mine anger will be immeasurable. "*

"My manifesto. The Redeemer. The vengeance on those on my conscience to have"

Another text on July 24th, 2015 (almost a year before the act). The two-page text "My Manifest. The Redeemer. The revenge on those who have me on their conscience" shows the crude mixture of psychopathology, the hatred, the justification of thoughts of amok and the reference to certain foreigners whom he equates with viruses.

"The revenge on those ..." . Subjectively, this clearly shows the motive of the offenders narcissistically disturbed personality, objective is the mix of elements he cites, not rational.

"Not a day goes by without my plan of vengeance ..." he let himself be hateful of former people classmates and generalized his rejection of the people in the district "Hasenbergel" with the comparison that the district is infected with the "virus": *"The foreign subhumans with mostly Turkish-Balkan roots rule crime and are responsible for the destabilization of the district. they have one below average IQs are very aggressive ... "* This is the style that continues.

"So now I come to the main part of my text, namely the investigation of this cockroaches, subhumans, people I will execute. "

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The text stops after a few comments about the viruses.

These statements show in a very clear form his thoughts of hate, violence and Killing fantasies that are based on a narcissistic feeling of superiority. Besides, he is Obsessed a year before the act and is in the middle of the planning phase. Here he must express his anger and hatred in order to move forward with further planning float.

The **third short text** contains the following passage:

"My anger will split you as if the San Andreas rift breaks open. One energy is released, the equivalent of nearly quadrillion atomic bombs. "

In fact, he is interested in maximum attention.

Bastian-Chat (19., 20.07.2016)

The Bastian chat is particularly interesting. The police investigation did not yield any References to a real existing Bastian or Sebastian, also no "amok-Cell ". This confirms the assumption that the chat was something else. In the entire development of the Sonboly had a tendency to give rise to many thoughts as a voice message or in recordings. His few social contacts took place less in personal conversations than in various chats. Besides, he had strange habit of appearing under false identities on multiple occasions.

The Bastian chat shows that a real Bastian does not exist. Rather, it is all alone to David Sonboly, who is here with himself in the dialogue between David and Bastian last Make decisions for action. Bastian is not chosen by chance, it is To a certain extent, it is about the spirit of Bastian Bosse, who after his act on November 20, 2006 in Emsdetten took his life and on the Internet through his diary extracts and Video sequences "live on". The original testimonials from Bosses justify his to this day Notoriety in the amok fan scene because he sent them to some people before the act and this made it onto the Internet and continues to spread to this day and can be set. The diary section owned by Sonboly was on one

obscure fan page, which also has the real name of Bastian's perpetrator in Sebastian adulterated.

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The "chat" created on July 19, 2016, just a few days before the crime, is about Lovesickness, hatred, revenge (towards girls and adolescents in general) and about Justification of the act. The peculiar style forms (plural, asserted Existence of groups - bonds to Breivik and the Unabomber (on this in a moment) and the fan Scene on Steam).

"David, are you there?" The supposed dialogue begins (you feel at the beginning again of the movie Matrix). David reports at the beginning that he had the film "Green Mile" and that he liked this film to suddenly focus on *"German Turks"* to pass. "Bastian", (Sonboly) replies: *"... now you've got yourself from ours Movement a little isolated, I know how it feels I know. Your 350 bullets enough for the final kick-off. Is it the German-Turkish girl again for you drops again in your cave?"* ¹⁷

This part alone gives something about the thinking of the

Sonboly price. On the one hand, he tries the detached yet naively peculiar style Bastian Bosses, which becomes clear in the diary and (farewell) video, for others are also influenced by his own style. At Sonboly you can feel the youth Immaturity and at the same time anger, hatred and the inability to be rejected by the girl Process Esma. This sentence refers to "our movement". In order to a group movement in the sense of group perpetrators is not meant by gunmen, but the fan scene that is present on the Internet and which is largely seen as encouraging Sympathizer scene is to be understood. The scene is important to be sure of and in eternal repetition the supposed justification of the deeds as revenge on the To thematize society. "I know how it feels" is the hint of it deceased Bastian (Bosse), who committed suicide after his act. "Final impetus" - this is In the figurative sense, the justification of the act is addressed again, which Sonboly (like Breivik) targeted a special group (Muslims) to be attacked. Here is But through the dialogue with yourself, there is no real propaganda in the game, but one Confirmation before the act. The enemy group "German Turks" is now becoming special understandable. The immature Sonboly cannot forgive her peer Esma for being had never gotten involved with him and then after the last long chat conversation I had

September 2014 also went very clearly at a distance. He clearly lets in on revenge irrationally from: *"I want to take revenge on all those who have killed themselves and that because of reasons where I myself go insane. But this girl has it*

¹⁷All errors in the original.

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I don't think it deserves it. " " Bastian "sums it up: *" Everything because of her? " " Because you had feelings for her? "* So Sonboly is aware of his problematic approach, at the same time but his amok plan was about to begin after intensive preparation and procurement of weapons Execution. He now devalued his peers and sank into self-pity. He mentioned 850 pages (which of course didn't even begin to exist; Sonboly's "Manifesto" is two full pages long, other pamphlets of their own are similar). Now there was talk of *"Islamic converting sacks"* that should be attacked. However, the unique Sonboly will carry out the deed alone, because *"Our others Members have already given up "*. Again a break in the text and a complaint follows Chat conversations with her peer Esma in 2014 that were broken off by her. *"You set all your hopes for this girl and you were only disappointed."* Again the devaluation follows: It is now about the *"German-Turkish Alewititn"*, the *"your punishment get to be felt very hard "*. The devaluations are now mixed with the Adolescents from school, in between he indulges in self-pity again. He gave you also blame her for *"shooting games every day"*. Again takes place after longer Devaluations of the swing to amok. He puts himself in the spotlight as great: *"after As always, your killing spree will raise many questions ... "* A change takes place in the plural and a detached theatrical style. The talk of *"OPs"* (operations) has no real content, it arises from his imagination and has the reason for the deed justify. If he is supposedly acting in concert with several, it cannot be wrong be. All sorts of set pieces that he has dealt with are attached here (Choice of words partly from Bosses diary; truck = Nice; bombs; drugs Kanaken, McDonald's = also parts of the real crime plan). Whole teams are invented that are to oppose the *"asylum seekers"*. It also sounds like bonds from Breiviks Comments on: *"It all cost me 4.5 years ..."*

Towards the end it is only about one *thing* again: *"The monkey from the Toni Pfülf School who will*

to be one of the most powerful in Germany. " After many pages of comments about the Peers and massive devaluations of others *"Salafists, Kanaks, Economic refugees...* " the solution is found: He against everyone and he saves the world and is admired. He thinks about whether or not she should die. Ultimately, the *"Alawite toad"* think about it and go on living because fate wanted it that way.

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Towards the end there are also hateful mentions of the young people who banned him from playing online (and some of which he threatened on the day).

The whole fictitious dialogue shows in an impressive way that the unwounded "Defeat", not being able to win the girl over, a much stronger driving force is as general hatred of foreigners or even the bullying, which in these last days none Role played. It's about the narcissistically boundless adolescent who justifies his act. The effort involved in preparing this final document shows that Need for support and justification. Having thoughts of hate alone for years Sonboly hadn't gotten into the killing readiness he needed to get the deed really done execute. That is exactly why he wrote the text.

The use of the plural, the "we-form", in some utterances in chats is interesting and especially in the Bastian chat.

This way of pretending that you stand for an entire group of like-minded people is different Cases known: The notorious Una bomber Theodore Kaczynski, whose "Manifesto" Anders Behring Breivik ^{18th} served as a template and was adopted from this almost verbatim, uses the "we-form". Presumably as an unstable and highly intelligent young man radicalized through strange psychological experiments at Harvard ^{19th} Kaczynski had After a successful start as a mathematician, lived a hermit life in the forest and between 1978 and his arrest in 1996, a number of letter bombs, especially on Universities and an airline sent (hence the name Un (iversity) and a (irline) bomber). Three people were killed and many injured. He later has an 83-page Justification written, especially against scientific progress directs. ²⁰ Breivik has many from this work, dubbed "Manifest" by the media

copied coherent passages and only the words "Leftism" against him more agreeable words like "cultural Marxism" and "multiculturalism" exchanged. Interesting is that he must have dealt intensively with Kaczynski. He didn't just take over identical passages, but above all the "we" style, which is its own pamphlet irregularly pervades and the idea of a group. Kaczynski had a group "FC" invented Breivik the Knights Templar. Above all, however, Kaczynski's high intelligence seems

¹⁸ Bannenberg, FS für Wolter, 2013, p. 1205 ff.

¹⁹ Chase, Harvard and the Making of the Unabomber. The Atlantic June 2000 (Parts 1-4);

www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/issues/2000/06/chase.htm.

²⁰ Theodore *Kaczynski* : "Industrial Society and Its Future", in German: "FC The industrial society and their future = The Unabomber Manifesto.

(this should have an IQ between 155 and 167) been a reason for Breivik to be to deal with it and still rise above it.

Breivik's pamphlet ("2083" ²¹) is a pseudoscientific Justification of his act. ^{22nd}

If one disregards inspiration from the Breivik pamphlet, the use of the plural an increase in the importance of oneself to the content. It's not like that though It is assumed that Sonboly knew that the police had enormous investigative powers on the Identification of the supposed Bastian and the amok groups, but that he would use wanted to make himself more meaningful when using the plural in the imagination, can be accepted. The subordination of whole groups of like-minded people who will follow and commit similar deeds is a pipe dream of Eric Harris been (Columbine) and is typically found in gunmen.

Sonboly mentioned the movie "The Green Mile" a few days before the crime. This film doesn't have any great relevance, but he is the model for the peculiar consideration, the girl Esma shouldn't die, but "live with her guilt".

however, in the perpetrator's twisted perception, it will be responsible for his alleged misfortune blamed. This detail also shows the severe mental disorder.

This chat is interesting. Sonboly knew Ahmed, who was about two years his junior, from the inpatient child and adolescent psychiatry and they stayed after the termination of Measure in contact. Sonboly indicated here that he was dealing with Breivik and Amok deals. At these points with larger monologues, however, Ahmed switched himself off. A relevant passage in this mention of Breivik took place at the turn of the year 2015/16. He realized that moderating tones had no effect on Sonboly. Knew of the planning of the crime he didn't know anything about the hateful thoughts. This is also because he was one of those the negative and threatening expressions of the Sonboly knew, but didn't take them seriously.

²¹ The entire text is over 1,500 pages long and can be found in various places on the Internet.

²² Bannenberg, FS for Wolter 2013, p. 1205 ff.

Chat with Riaz

When chatting with the Lebanese Riaz, who is the same age, both can be hateful and derogatory over Turks. The young person was not involved in the planning of the crime.

10. First person shooter

Sonboly was an enthusiastic first-person shooter player in a very time-consuming way. He spent a lot of time in front of the computer as a loner with little social contact.

In addition to his obscure activities to create numerous false identities and underneath communicating, activities in social networks and dealing with factual content he played first person shooter. He set up his first Steam account in 2007 (when he was from nine years of age). The police investigation could make the tremendous time it was before mainly spent with first-person shooter games, sometimes even documented. So he played that alone Game Counter Strike ²³ almost 5,000 hours in the online version.

In addition, there is playing the CD-ROM variants of this game, but also playing other first person shooters, such as the saved versions, online game credentials or the Prove statements made by some fellow players. Here are some specific preferences and

also differences to other players of the same age.

Grand Theft Auto is a computer game series that first appeared in 1997²⁴ and 2013 in the A critical look at the GTA V series²⁵ called "Fantasialand for intensive offenders" where torture could be practiced as a cruel end in itself. The designation comes from the American criminal offense "serious motor vehicle theft". The Plots in the five episodes of the series deal with a male main character criminal history aiming for a criminal career in a big city. The Details consist of criminal and violent acts as well as derogatory Generalizations of Ethnic Groups. The player obtains the solutions to the missions with the help of weapons and vehicles that are used for violent actions. It are several side missions that the player can additionally fulfill and thereby

²³ On the content of Counter Strike, for example www.spieletipps.de/game/counter-strike and [BPJS-Aktuell from 2002](#) as well as the game description in Wikipedia.

²⁴ For the game description see Wikipedia.

²⁵ David Hugendick, Zeit Online from September 26, 2013.

Rewards achieved. One of these side missions is running rampages (Rampages). "The player must then within a given time with a specified Weapon kill a certain number of rival gang members." ²⁶ "Another Adventure "is the opportunity to start the fight with the police for as long as possible to survive. In the game versions of GTA there are some elements that are different in the course of the crime Find deed of July 22, 2016. There is a roof scene (as with Matrix). Increase at GTA criminal acts the wanted level, which in turn by the player through disguise or the reaching of a hiding place can be reduced. If you look at how the The perpetrator Sonboly in fact, one understands the roof scene just as little rationally as the useless T-shirt change. The templates can be found in games like this (and Matrix), practiced for years and without a rational sense.

The first person shooter Manhunt (and its follow-up version Manhunt2)²⁷ is an indexed, i.e. an in Game prohibited in Germany under Section 131 of the Criminal Code, which in no way prevents young people from to attain and play this. It was one of Sonboly's favorite games.

Manhunt is about a main character, the convicted male criminal James Earl Cash facing execution. A director captivates the judiciary and achieves it

Release of Cash, who is then to work for the director in snuff films. He has the pointless task of killing people in the most brutal way possible in front of the camera. One thing that is noticeable is one that Sonboly may have noticed: Up Wikipedia is informed about the game Manhunt that a mother in Britain played the game for influencing the 17 year old offender who turned her 14 year old Killed son, blamed.

Manhunt2 (also indexed) is about the “Dixmoor sanatorium for criminals Insane “in 2012, which opened the power failure after a thunderstorm Has to record security gates. Here begins a crude story in which the Disoriented and amnesiac Daniel doesn't know who he is. Together with the Inmate Leo escapes Daniel. Both reach what was then Daniel's house, which is now one Ruin is. With medication, Daniel gradually remembers, a "top scientist" of a secret project that had the task of establishing a military program for Implement brainwashing and mind control to become the perfect assassin

²⁶See the game description on Wikipedia.

²⁷details about the game and other aspects are shown in Wikipedia.

create. With a brain implant, the assassin personality can communicate with everyone fighting skills can now be implanted in any human being. It puts found that Daniel tested this implant on himself years ago. It went wrong and Daniel could now with the assassin personality (Leo) implanted into himself communicate. Leo's personality was dominant and started a rampage through them City. You can play the game as a “good” person (Daniel) or “bad” person (Leo) and runs amok.

It is interesting here that Manhunt2 not only made the amok idea attractive for Sonboly and further promoted, but that there were similarities with his other preferences that were in the showed further behavior in the real world. Manhunt2 has similarities with the Plot from matrix on. The fact that one fights against numerous others as the chosen one is The subject of most first-person shooters. In addition to the explicit practice of the The game idea added to the rampage that one person was competing with an imaginary second lies. This virtual split in personality has for gunmen like Sonboly in the

Development phase, however, has its own relevance. Yes, he sensed the idea of an act was present (the "bad" Sonboly) and real life (school, passing exams, growing up - the development of the "good" David Ali Sonboly) into one Contest occurred. These games were in a sense a template for his own life, too if he could quite separate the virtual and real world. In his Bastian chat this will be Pattern particularly clear. He is Bastian and David at the same time, but gives one Dialogue between two different people. He is strengthening himself in his Determination and justification for the act.

The game "Hatred" was published in 2015 and in Germany in 2016 because of Inhuman depictions of violence are prohibited.²⁸ The game is about you Gunman who senselessly slaughters as many people as possible; celebrating the Violence is the only purpose, which led to numerous critical evaluations (amok simulator among others).

In several contexts, Sonboly said he wanted to be called "AmokläuferZ" (in inpatient placement in psychiatry). He called himself in his numerous Player names and nicknames AmokläuferZ or SonGukuZ and similar. Also used he has several passwords with the suffix "z" or "Z" and variants of Amok and Son-

²⁸ About the content of the game and the other aspects of Wikipedia.

Goku. The origin comes from the game Dragon Ball Z, a Japanese anime series. It is about defending against seemingly overpowering attackers who strive for supremacy or want to take revenge. The group of "Z-warriors" around Son Goku faces these challenges opposite.²⁹ Here, too, there is a subtle reference to the games in the comments Amoctate in Erfurt (April 26, 2002).

So the irrational games had in their entirety - together with the intensive ones Dealing with gunmen - a relevance for the development of his troubled Personality that ultimately resulted in the simpler variant (amoctate). Ultimately the negative destructive act - the act with subsequent suicide - is easier than (how Sonboly called it) the "struggle with people" and life. Growing up with all the demands that society makes in diverse situations is the

arduous variant in which, from a subjective point of view, a lot of injuries and exertion threaten. A "success" is also a long way off. Sonboly didn't want to expose himself to that.

He chose the quick "success".

The behavior of the other players should also be mentioned. Sometimes Sonboly played computer games together with other male peers. They knew him from school. There

It became clear that Sonboly preferred specific games and not interested in others

showed (e.g. Minecraft, League of Legends). Sonboly was noticed negatively because he often

Made inappropriate remarks or "felt hatred" as a teenager would

expressed. One of the young people (Jan ^{30th} who had created their own server)

Sonboly more often banned because he provoked or teased, as reported by fellow players. Including

said Sonboly:

"They belong gassed"

"I'll kill them all" (which he said very often)

"You will all see"

A peer had even spoken to Sonboly's father on the phone and asked him to call Ali

Searching for help.

²⁹ On the content of the Wikipedia game series.

^{30th} It is a pseudonym to protect the personality.

Tom ³¹ said of Sonboly: "Normally he was calm, but when playing in TS he was always aggressive. "Roman ³² confirmed that because of Ali's statements in TS, the

To tell father or even to go to the police: "In retrospect you think

how stupid we actually were. "Ali said things that were very violent. One would have

wondered if he hadn't even thought how it worked. He would have an ideal image of himself

that did not agree with reality. So he would have been a good student

want what he wasn't. He would have sought attention. In real life he is not

was aggressive, but in the TS he was completely different, he really turned it up. The

Peers had also registered Sonboly's inappropriately killing interests. novel

recognized this by the fact that Sonboly wrote on Steam that he was the reincarnation of Tim Kretschmer and he called themselves AmokhunterZ or AmokläuferZ.

Jan was very attentive and also recognized the disturbed side of Ali's personality quite good: he accepted the early signs, the interest in amok, the interest in perpetrators and Breivik, the subject of amok and threats true, he knew about Ali's hatred of the Turks and the role Esma's distance played for Ali: "Because nothing came of it" (with Esma and Ali), "became his hatred only increased," said Jan. He knew about the repulsive images that Ali was in Group sent to the hateful comments, including from numerous fake accounts. At the time, Jan didn't take any of this seriously either, although he was Sonboly's father once contacted. When the shots rang out, Jan, who lived in the immediate vicinity, knew but immediately who the perpetrator is and said to his mother that it was Ali. As the mother of this questioned as absurd, Jan stated that he had been threatened by Ali for a long time (and a other peers also). On today's day (July 22nd, 2016) he was between 13 and 14 Clock in the TS has been threatened; Ali would have said: "I'll shoot you all!" Via a fake Account he received an invitation. During the interrogation, Jan suspected that Ali was the Got a gun in the darknet and that Bastian and Ali were one person.

11. Amok fan groups and confidants

The amok fan scene is a special group of sympathizers who are predominantly frolic on the online gaming platform Steam. There are also individual homepages or Comments from particularly active fans on YouTube videos and you can be sure that

³¹ It is a pseudonym to protect the personality.

³² It is a pseudonym to protect the personality.

comments from certain people after every similarly publicized act of this particular scene. It was the same here. Sonboly was among others on Steam active and came with "groups" (such as "Tim Kretschmer Memorial", "AmokZ") in Contact who admire the gunmen and accordingly with deeds, names and Know the details quite well. Typically for a sympathizer scene, only one is planning here A fraction of those interested do an act themselves, the others are verbal and propagandistic as well as playing down and justifying. In these groups, the predominant attitude

Gunmen are justified victims of bullying and victims of society, its otherness one does not accept. Reality doesn't matter. The problem with these scenes is that they encourage and encourage those who are willing to act. They also provide material and Details of other acts of violence.

The group names and profile names of the actors speak for themselves: Columbine Mafia, trench coat Mafia, Jeff way ³³, References to Eric (Harris) = Reb and Dylan (Klebold) = VoDKa, "Free Anders Breivik", "2083", "Hitman for Hire" ³⁴ and many more

There are references to strange websites on which half-informed (fans) the Pay homage to previous perpetrators: Tim Kretschmer Memorial (with illustrative material on other Deeds and perpetrators), pages on which the diary of Bastian Bosse in excerpts can be downloaded (with the name of the perpetrator incorrectly referred to as Sebastian becomes), again and again Columbine and combinations of perpetrators and acts.

Through these contacts there was an exchange with, among others, "diabolicpsychopath", who with Sonboly was in contact and fortunately was discovered before the commission of the crime could.

12. Identification

The perpetrator dealt extensively (especially in 2015 and 2016) with acts of violence and Gunmen. These were typical acts with a high identification effect on others Murderers are recognizable, but also subjective preferences.

³³ murder perpetrators 2005.

³⁴ Reference to Columbine.

In Langman's book, Amok im Kopf, some pages were marked in yellow. Here he should have not read the whole book from cover to cover either, but it can be assumed that certain things particularly interested him. Langman handled both on the yellow marked pages as later in detail the act and the perpetrators of Columbine. This act Sonboly was very interested. But he also wondered about the connection between

Amok thoughts / amoktaten and mental disorders, as in others

Context shows when he is chatting with statements about himself that he is not normal, faced. Almost all other murderers had / have this feeling of strangeness, the feeling of being strange, of being different, is also discussed more often. They researched possible disorders (manic-depressive, psychopath, narcissistic) and owned leaflets of child and adolescent psychiatry. Sometimes they were in psychiatric or psychotherapeutic treatment. This is marked on the Langman Pages mentioned.

Steam and the fan scene

This scene (on this already above 11.) and especially the exchange with other people who are inclined to act like "diaboli psychopath" had a strengthening and intensifying effect on Sonboly.

Sonboly dealt with the following gunmen in more detail.

Tim Kretschmer, deed on March 11, 2009 in Winnenden and Wendlingen

The perpetrator killed 15 people. The first crime scene was the one previously visited by the perpetrator Albetville Realschule. This is where the first act of the act took place. The perpetrator attacked Schoolgirls (primarily) in two selected classrooms, but also schoolchildren and Teachers. He shot the caretaker and the arriving police officers. After an escape from the building he shot a gardener from the adjoining psychiatric clinic who took a car driver hostage and ordered him to go in the direction of Stuttgart or the motorway entrance Munich to drive. The hostage steered the car into a ditch at the driveway. Located here the industrial area Wendlingen, where there were more dead and injured and one There was an exchange of fire with the police. The perpetrator killed himself about three hours after the start of the

Acted with a headshot. In the end, 15 people were dead and many more injured. The Perpetrator used a Beretta.

Sonboly identified with Kretschmer in a significant way. He dealt in Internet with the fact and the culprit and visited one of the weird fan sites that turned out to be Memorial issue. Sonboly described himself as the rebirth of Kretschmer and used the name of the perpetrator Tim Kretschmer in different spellings as a nickname and Password and the nickname of Kretschmer (JawsPredator). He traveled to twice Winnenden to get a closer look at the crime scene of March 11, 2009 (school) to watch. He visited the cemetery and the grave of some victims and took pictures. He was also at the memorial ceremony in Winnenden on the anniversary of the crime on March 11, 2016. On The fan page contains pictures of Kretschmer, including falsified pictures. One finds also references to other people running amok there (Steinhäuser; Weise; Cho; Columbine - Harris and Klebold).

Robert Steinhäuser, act on April 26, 2002 in Erfurt

Robert Steinhäuser was fascinated by Columbine and killed 16 in Gutenberggymnasium People. He primarily attacked teachers, but also killed the secretary, a student and a police officer. In the end he shot himself. He used a Glock.

Columbine High School, April 20, 1999; Perpetrators Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold

For a description of the crime see Bannenberg³⁵. The original files are indeed were posted on the Internet by Jefferson County Police early after the crime (11,000 at the time Sheet of files, later 30,000 sheets). These files contain over 1,000 original pages Inscriptions, drawings and other personal testimonies of the perpetrators (Columbine Documents). It was very problematic that this act received enormous media attention and a 45-minute original recording of the crime in the school cafeteria ins

³⁵ Bannenberg: School shootings: Is the escalation dynamic of targeted violence imperative? Boy and adult gunmen from a criminological point of view. In: Greuel, L., Petermann, A. & Boetticher, A. (Eds.): Power - coercion - violence (?) Sexual violence and killing crime in a forensic context. Lengerich 2015, pp. 155-180 (with further references).

Internet, which shows both perpetrators in action. That cafeteria video is in to this day numerous fan videos illustrative material for those inclined to act. They were also feature film-like Documentaries filmed about the fact. It is about THE amoctate, the deed, the sad one Gained fame and to this day of great importance for the identification of those inclined to act is.

Bastian Bosse, Emsdetten, November 20, 2006

The act of 18-year-old Bastian Bosse at the comprehensive school in Emsdetten on November 26th 2006 was planned as a "massacre" with many deaths. Bosses ended up hurting the caretaker, Pupils and teachers with shots, signal paint and then ignited self-made ones Smoke bombs in the school building, in which smoke ventilation was initially not possible. As a result, numerous other people, including the police officers who intervened, became the exposed to acrid smoke. Nobody was killed. The boss's deed is therefore for others Offender relevant because videos and his "diary" (justifications of the act) as well as positive Comments on Columbine on the Internet are still available. Its pronounced Addressing the allegedly justified act at Columbine High School and his Admiration for Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold has the consequence that action declined Dealing with people extensively with both acts and the fantasies of hate and killing take over. To this day there is a fan scene that is more or less familiar with Bastian Bosses and his thoughts was. The wrong name "Sebastian" suggests that fans constantly disseminate the "diary entries" without personal knowledge. Short Before the offense began, Bosse had operated a website with justifications for violence his "diary" was sent to friends who made these records known on the Internet have made. Bosse was also a Matrix fan and - like Sonboly - partially pretended to be himself the name Neo. At the same time, he got upset when others called him "Neo" has been. This narcissistic attitude (wanting to be great individually and about everyone to raise others) was also shown elsewhere. He said in different situations: "I am God" and took over a saying from Eric Harris. To this he said he be the advancement of Eric. The generalized inhuman remarks of Eric Harris took over Bosse in full.

So the boss's act did not because of the number of victims, but because of the virtual ones
Self-portraits meaning to this day.

Anders Behring Breivik, Oslo and Utoya July 22, 2011

Sonboly owned several pictures and videos of Breivik and spoke about him in chats
Peers and sometimes had a Facebook profile picture of Breivik what others
Young people found it very strange. Choosing a profile picture is typically one
Signs of identification with the person depicted, which is not the case here
Involvement of the police resulted.

He probably chose the date of the crime deliberately, it was the fifth anniversary of the
Attack in Oslo and Utoya (July 22, 2011). Also the cocky name of his
two-sided messages of hatred to posterity with "Manifest" indicates a takeover of
Breivik's thoughts. Breivik left a pamphlet of hatred and justification
of his deeds with a volume of over 1,500 pages ("2083").

Jeffrey Weise, Red Lake, Minnesota, 03/21/2005

The gunman is mentioned on the Tim Kretschmer Memorial page and pictures of him
can be seen in special killer fan videos. Langman also points out in his book
"Amok in the head" in a way on one of the yellow marked pages. So must
this perpetrator may have come into the focus of Sonboly. Jeffrey Weise also showed interest
Hitler and the Nazi regime. ³⁶

Andreas Lubitz, German Wings

The recording of a picture of Andreas Lubitz, who was killed by a hijacked
Aircraft committed by locking the cabin doors as a pilot and intervening
other prevented is interesting. Sometimes Sonboly had a certain affinity with
Flies, although this topic did not play a major role in his life (alleged

³⁶On the "murderpedia" page there is a comprehensive description of the perpetrator.

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Hobby model flight, picture Day of Flight, comments to Esma in a chat). It Perhaps it is more a concern with the act of Lubitz, which by no means was an “extended suicide”, that is, a suicide in the foreground in which the suicide occurred accepts to drag other people to their deaths. The psychologically problematic Lubitz was on the verge of being denied a flight license for medical reasons and wanted to answer Avenge airline (employer) and society. Offenders always know who are their own kind.

Virginia Tech, offender Seoung-Hui CHO, act on April 16, 2007

Sonboly had a picture of Cho. The 23-year-old Seoung-Hui CHO celebrated on April 16, 2007 a devastating rampage at Virginia Tech. He shot 32 people and then shot himself in the head. The native South Korean came in He moved to the USA with his parents at the age of eight and was considered to be psychologically highly conspicuous described. He couldn't bear to be physically touched by anyone was extremely reserved and full of social anxiety. One went partly from depression out. Cho, however, had a hidden fascination for amocures and, in particular, the deed of Columbine High School on April 20, 1999. His thoughts of hate were pronounced and were vis-à-vis students and lecturers in behavior, texts and e-mails clear. The crime is still present on the Internet today, because the crime recorded a large number of victims had and pictures of Cho in a martial hateful pose with a weapon and a military one Outfit are available. ³⁷

Sonboly's numerous usernames and passwords speak volumes: Godlike16, Glockrage16, 9mmhunter, hunter17, timkretschmer, Vodka (nickname of Dylan Klebold, Columbine and many more)

³⁷ An investigative report of the fact is available on the Internet: Virginia Tech Review Panel: Mass Shootings

Acts of terrorism

He also searched the Internet for information on other more recent acts, both of Terrorist acts around Paris (attacks of November 13, 2015, St. Denis), Nice, Orlando, the Attack in Würzburg on July 18, 2016, as well as other acts of violence such as Viernheim. He was interested in relevant topics (shooting, 9 mm, suicide, hopelessness, Depression, SEK, Glock, weapons, looked for modes of action of ammunition, brainstem and headshot and scouted the crime scenes: Saturn, OEZ, Boomerang, streets).

The involvement with other amocrats in this intensity was with other amocrats also present and plays an important role in identification and preparation on your own deed. If you imagine the development of a murder victim as a long lasting one Radicalization before that from first thoughts on hatred and developing amok When killing fantasies become more directed and specific, this is the crucial phase that of identification. In this phase the later offender begins to imagine that he has a lot in common with perpetrators, that he shares their experiences and feelings and just as these perpetrators belong to an allegedly elitist minority who do not agree with others has a lot in common. The justifications of the deed are mentally driven (one is Humiliated, despised, laughed at and bullied by others, nobody would accept you like that as one is, everything falls into the lap of others). The devaluations of others and begin Hate and violence fantasies towards special groups as well as the general public. At dealing with other offenders one sees great similarities and the outcome of the years of attention or even supposed "immortality" on the Internet. The The manner of referral is also relevant. The pictures of the perpetrators become Anticipating one's own meaning and "importance". Music and videos always of the same design that the perpetrators have been consuming since Columbine unfold an enormous one Effectiveness also in everyday situations, in which the music and pictures through the Shoot head. The search for a role model is typical for young people, but the subject is Not. Young people identify with numerous media characters and "celebrities", but can mostly emerge from these pubertal extremes in their growing up split off. The murderers, however, identify with the destructive idea of running amok

their personality disorder in dangerous ways. Will not get through this dynamic Outsiders (police, judiciary, psychiatry) radically interrupted, the act is committed. Out These fragments of identification also explain numerous other abnormalities such as

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such as the choice of player names, nicknames and passwords, the profile pictures in Facebook and elsewhere as well as the obsession with the subject of death and amok, the others certainly notices.

13. Attention, envy and hatred

The violent emotional reactions to Tugce Albayrak are very strange, but they show two things. He envied her the media attention to a great extent (this is an expression of the narcissistic disorder). That Tugce A. was a victim and not a perpetrator didn't bother him, because he hated Turkish (of Turkish origin) girls and took this case as an opportunity to himself to express negatively about them over and over again. This behavior is irrational and only as an expression Understand the mentally disturbed personality of Sonboly.

A peer (novel) reported that Ali was extremely angry with Tugce and had her Insulted and insulted to the worst ("none of us could understand that"). He said Ali didn't like Turks. He liked to provoke, that sometimes got out of hand (and Ali was almost always the reason for the anger).

14. Right-Wing Statements

At Sonboly, the drawn swastikas were noticed at times. Especially in the stationary Some people noticed this negatively. His xenophobic statements were known to a number of people, which was more likely to cause trouble when he in the classroom, in chats or in TS, massive insults and Uttered hateful messages. In his saved voice messages and some himself written texts (which others did not know before the act) he became very expressive drastic.

In psychiatry, therapists had also become known to be xenophobic
Took views with violent wording.

In the act, too, he made hateful remarks about Turks, Muslims and
Foreigners do not return.

The right-wing statements or written statements and drawings by
Swastikas also have a relevance and meaning with other murderers.

In particular, the following gunmen, with whom Sonboly had dealt, also showed here

Abnormalities (Columbine, Eric Harris; Jeffrey Weise; perpetrators who, in turn, strongly on Harris
and Columbine referenced, such as Auvinen 2007 ("Sturmgeist 89"), Bastian Bosse). Other

German gun killers had also shown such interests (Martin P., November 1, 1999, Bad
Reichenhall; Adam L., February 19, 2002 Eching and Freising). Also the perpetrator from Brannenburg
had a certain closeness because an acquaintance he spent time with was in the neo-Nazi
Scene was active and both practiced gotcha games in the forest and indulged in hate speech.

The significance of the fascination with Hitler is best seen in the texts of Eric Harris.

It was never about these loners considering joining a right-wing extremist group
to connect. The meaning lies in the shared contempt of other people and in the
Seek maximum attention with the act. That is why Hitler is the greatest for them
Killer of all time. And a narcissist compares himself to the greatest at best.

Sonboly did not visit right-wing extremist sites, did not associate with right-wing extremists

People and was certainly not a supporter of the right-wing extremist scene. Found in his possession

the 2010 youth trivial novel "The Neo-Nazi" by Damaris Kofmehl. This

Sonboly wrote the book, bursting with physical violence and flat dialogues
without relevance. The processes described here were not his world.

15. Violence and killing fantasies and allegations of crime

The allegations were numerous. Both towards their peers in school and
Chats, online computer games in TS and comments on social networks

many people were aware of Sonboly's hatred thoughts, of his extreme ones xenophobic tirades, in which repeatedly execute and wipe out the Speech was. On the Steam page, his announcements were very intense. Here you have it but typically dealing with users who seldom inform the police. The one too Adolescents who were planning amoctures only got into a criminal complaint after Sonboly's act Police visor. Sonboly wrote the two-page text "My struggle with people" sent to some youngsters. In psychotherapy and in inpatient accommodation In the psychiatric ward, the announcements that they wanted to kill everyone were noticed. He kept this

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also not hidden at all. However, these statements were not taken seriously. He demanded that other young people to call him "gunman". Especially in the last phase, when four Young people who were specifically concerned and were afraid would be a critical demand and Clarification was necessary. Sonboly also threatened some people more often that he would become everyone kill, including the person concerned. This was also presented as a threat felt. On the other hand - as with the other amoctures - they were taken Announcements not serious because Sonboly was ultimately not trusted to do the deed.

16. Firearms and Darknet

The lone perpetrator Sonboly had illegally obtained his firearm on the Darknet, a Glock 17 including 300 rounds of ammunition. The access to the firearm via the Darknet was atypical. The choice of weapon and the amount of ammunition, on the other hand, is typical, but access is typical Not. So far, young offenders have mostly resorted to possession of firearms in the household and were not actively trying to get hold of a firearm. But the Darknet corresponds to that Personality; you don't have to come into direct contact with arms sellers to to get hold of a firearm, but plans everything anonymously over the network. Just that Handover of the gun after the agreement took place here in the real world. With the first Media reports it became clear that in the Munich act the procurement of Firearm was made via the Darknet. The problem with this fact is that a Abundance of subsequent amok threats by young and adult people, not just these Possibility of access to a firearm, but that actually involves the police

finds the appropriate software on the computers.

17. Concrete crime planning and execution

With the fake account "Selina Akim", which was meticulously and painstakingly created and had collected numerous "friends", most of which were Sonboly's inventions (but not only), should be a large number of people whom the perpetrator personally knew and disapproved of or only symbolically belonged to his target group of young migrants, to two potential crime scenes are lured: To McDonald's and to the Boomerang restaurant, the both popular and typical meeting places for Munich youth from the neighborhood and above were out. It can also be assumed that it was clear to the perpetrator not to kill everyone

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can. Some people from the target group should therefore also view the from the perspective of the Be the perpetrator's grandiose killing incident. For some specific people, the Attempt to order her to the scene of the crime, unclear: with the former fellow patient Ahmed had Sonboly met right before the crime and spent nearly an hour. When he gave him the Wanted to show the contents of his backpack, both were disturbed and it never came back. In Regarding Ahmed, it can be assumed that it was a kind of farewell talk, not that Should result in the death of the young person. He probably wanted to show Ahmed what he was for was able. The same could be for Jan and Erol ³⁸ apply, however there was here from point of view the perpetrator has an - irrational - hate motivation, as he repeatedly criticizes the critical and was also exposed to distant expressions and behaviors from both of them (Ban on the computer games because of the unbearable hateful tirades of Sonboly).

Like other assassins, Sonboly had a favored group of enemies: he hated young migrants of a specific ethnic group. Other murder perpetrators primarily wanted teachers and meet teachers or girls, sometimes they wanted to meet everyone in theirs Revenge (former) school and thus there were typical similarities in the choice of victims. The group of victims attacked first had a special subjective meaning for the perpetrators. Either individuals were found here who, from the perpetrator's point of view, necessarily die should or a special group (teachers or one or more specific School classes, school, peers from school). With the victims there was no conflict relationship, but from the point of view of the perpetrator the motivation for this group

to symbolically extinguish or punish. After the first attacks, everyone was regular Person who happened to meet the perpetrator at acute risk. Especially if the If the perpetrator had firearms, the potential for damage was particularly high.

His victims were alien to him, at best he had it symbolically - on the first attack young migrants and some of the previous bullies in general.

Sonboly did not have a closed ideological worldview. He had no - only - right-wing extremist xenophobic worldview, but had one for a long time generalized hatred of all developed. He particularly hated some groups of foreigners In the end, however, he rejected most people and in his act made it clear Expression. He shot the middle-aged German as well as the 14-year-old Migrant and the mother of several children. He hated everyone else and saw himself as a victim to that

³⁸ It is a pseudonym to protect the personality.

is justified to kill. All the motivation and justification for the killing was crude, inhuman and based on a narcissistically disturbed personality development of a young person who cannot cope with life. Its years of time consuming Diving into virtual worlds and computer games has its sense of reality twisted when there is the recurring order to kill in the games. To yourself not having to face the reality that would have made him realize that he was not school perspective, no significant social contacts regardless of gender and can't bond with a girl, he turned to some extent the tables. Instead of recognizing your shortcomings and striving to be Change behavior (which only shows through in small rudiments in rare moments), He hatefully accused everyone else of being to blame for his misfortune (They have me bullied; You brought death into the land; I hate Muslims; You have me to that made who I am; I was in psychiatric treatment, it had to come like this ...). The is typical of the narcissistically disturbed personality.

The young loners usually go through radicalization up to the planning of the crime Phases in which they spend months, some years, with other perpetrators, especially Deal with amocrats and imagine committing an act yourself. It is also typical

that self-testimonies are made in order to exaggerate one's own importance. All perpetrators of the core group, like the Munich perpetrator, were also psychopathologically conspicuous; This is in a way, the key to understanding these rare acts. Young gun killers perceive their environment as hostile, they feel constantly offended and attacked and insufficient attention. In this respect, the subject of bullying is also typical. However, explained not bullying the act. The Munich perpetrator did not take revenge on tormentors either, but had long since developed a hatred of society ("revenge on everyone"). With those in the project Target investigated perpetrators, there were very few perpetrators who were bullying or committed years before the offense Had had to experience violence at school. Usually there was no bullying. However, the personality is highly vulnerable and sees everyday experiences (e.g. also a teacher's question about homework) as an incredibly humiliating imposition. These feelings do not become impulsive, aggressive or even constructively objective answered. The later perpetrator eats up all injuries that he subjectively perceives in and accumulate these feelings. Anger about it gives rise to hatred and contempt for all others until there is no way out and a grandiose destructive act gives the solution

seems to be. The psychological pre-conspicuousness, the suicide and ultimately the suicide after the Deeds are typical.

The chaos and the enormous media coverage after the fact with many dead are characteristic of amoktat and play an important role in the fantasies of the perpetrators. They want the attention, enjoy their role when heavily armed police forces move out and people get into fear and panic. In videos that were previously inclined to act Consume intensely, these elements are always to be found and a perpetrator confirmed in one Interview: "Because of me, not only the police came, but the SEK." And to the panicked Victims and bereaved: "These are the trophies". The problem has been increasing since 2016 the sprawling media coverage with follow-up acts and a multitude of threats due to the real possibility of terrorist attacks, as is evident not least from the attack in Berlin from December 2016 shows.

Rational is not comprehensible for outsiders, like a perpetrator the enormous one Can get media attention, although he himself did not through his suicide

more realizes a lot of it. This is by no means mutually exclusive, because the perpetrators are studying - like Sonboly - other acts and their representation on the Internet for years. You know,

that at least one thing has succeeded in her life: on the Internet with a terrible deed to become immortal and inspire others.

V. Early detection, threat management and Prevention options

After intensive media coverage of assassinations and assassinations, there are two different groups encouraged to issue threats: The large group of harmless “free riders” who pretend to issue threats and cause them

Enjoy attention anonymously or openly. The significantly smaller group of those with a tendency to act already has killing fantasies and is being used for further planning by reporting stimulated. Here, a threat or announcement of action is more indirect, reserved and ambiguous. The narcissistic abuser vacillates between announcing his own great

Action and restraint so as not to attract attention too early. The announcements are with Identification with amateurs and a fascination with the possibility of one's own

To explain the execution of the act. This perpetrator does not want to threaten, he wants to carry out the deed. In the Gun killers usually plan for a long time and enjoy their fantasies for many months.

As early as 2002, empirical studies were carried out as a result of the American amoktat carried out and made recommendations, both in English and German

were published like in almost all German crisis plans of the federal states

are included. ³⁹ Back then, the "Safe School Initiative" found 10 main features that led to

Clarification of the risk of amok, especially in schools and municipalities

should find. Some of these characteristics are still applicable today. Some have to

according to the results of the investigation of the German cases in the TARGET project

be revised. ⁴⁰ At the time, it was mainly assumed that there was no perpetrator profile, what

so is not durable. There is a special perpetrator profile. It was further assumed that

Perpetrators have significant loss experiences in advance, which is also not the case

lets hold. Important elements have already been recognized by the Safe School Initiative and

are still valid: Amoktats are not impulsive, unplanned acts. The perpetrators quit

³⁹ Vossekuil et al., 2002; The crisis plans are usually made by the state ministries of education or by Interior and culture ministries drafted jointly and distributed to the schools. Education is provided So-called crisis teams at schools, who clarify a danger after threats of amok or warning behavior are responsible.

⁴⁰ In the project, over 140 cases of amok threats were empirically investigated in addition to the amok attacks. A Group of dangerous perpetrators could be identified on the basis of specific criteria, see final report 2017. In addition, Bannenberg, ZIS 5/2011, 300 ff.

their deeds beforehand, mostly with indirect hints, less with direct ones

Threats. There are further warning signs in advance, such as intensive preoccupation with deeds and

Guns, perpetrators often feel that they are victims of bullying, and many express suicidal intent. ⁴¹

So-called threat management only comes into play when there are threats or alarming ones

Statements become known. It is not considered *to* be any kind of checklist after which

Students are checked.

Specific risk factors can therefore be named and are as follows:

Risk factors Dangerousness for young gunmen

- ▶ Typical: Male, up to 23 years old, more often German without a migration background, social

inconspicuous, tends to go to grammar schools and secondary schools, but still more likely
School failure, poor performance

- ▶ Social withdrawal and contact difficulties (one of the two perpetrators is dominant)
- ▶ Psychopathologically conspicuous (narcissistic, paranoid elements, vulnerable, feels not recognized, thoughts of suicide in addition to intentions to kill; Minority psychopathic, sadistic)
- ▶ Resentment, anger, hatred and killing fantasies (rather with staged multiple killing: "all should die ")
- ▶ Not impulsive, not criminally suspicious, no open aggression and violence
- ▶ Spends a lot of time on the Internet and often also with first-person shooters
- ▶ Often fascination with weapons; fascinated by death and by murderers / assassins
- ▶ Identification with murderers via the Internet (the fact that the crime is highly significant Columbine High School on April 20, 1999 ⁴²)
- ▶ Desire to use firearms (availability of firearms is great
Risk factor for the implementation of the crime plan)
- ▶ Indication of the crime plans on the Internet or in the social environment (less direct Threat, if indirect); long planning (months to years)
- ▶ Date of the offense can be random or based on a trigger / relevant date

These criteria can be used to clarify the risk of committing a murderous act by the police,
Psychiatry and schools are used. It is important that, especially in schools, for the

⁴¹ Vossekuil et al., 2002, p. 31 ff.

⁴² The act at Columbine High School from 1999 still serves as a strong means of identification today, see Bannenberg, in Greuel / Petermann / Boetticher (Ed.) 2015, p. 155 ff.

wider context but also general sensitivity and attention in society
exists for corresponding statements and the police are informed. Remain lone perpetrators
otherwise "under the radar".

To understand the possibilities of preventing an amoctate (or even one
terrorist attack by a lone perpetrator) it is important to consider the radicalization

Process. A model has been described for lone terrorist perpetrators

⁴³ that on

The following is transferable: At the beginning there is a personal resentment, anger and anger

any circumstances. The Internet is looking for an outlet, but also for like-minded people searched. In the perpetrators (whether murderous or terrorist) a person inclined to act finds the possibility identification. Depending on personal preferences, especially avenging figures are included here corresponding generalized justification for violence chosen. Only then does the Act planning phase. Whether and when the crime is committed is often a coincidence. Play it though "Triggers", such as media coverage of another crime or the one here Anniversary of another act, matter. A willingness to act does not arise from today tomorrow. The perpetrators think long and hard about an act and it usually takes months concrete action plans begin. In these phases, statements about planned ones fall Intentions, not because the perpetrators want to threaten, but because they like the issue are obsessed that their utterances and intentions "slip out", so to speak. This was also confirmed by a perpetrator in an interview: "I was so full of thoughts at the time of Columbine and my act of being careful what I say and when. I had two Faces: One for the mother and the school and one, I was the culprit. "

⁴³ Hamm / Spaaj, 2015.

VI. Could the act in Munich have been prevented?

The act could possibly have been prevented if the numerous indications

Announcements, killing fantasies and threats had come to the knowledge of the police. If the announcements were made known, they would have all the information about the potential Perpetrators have to gather together his internet activities and computers in particular need to analyze to determine the extent of the plans and preparations. If this would have occurred cannot be judged after the fact. The procedure in the case of the confidant and potential sideline offenders in Baden-Württemberg is just as optimistic like numerous other investigations in the context of risk assessments in Germany. If the dynamics of the preparations for the act are interrupted, the act becomes the Usually not committed later.

So one asks about the benefit of a time-consuming analysis of the crime and the perpetrator after the Act, the answer is clear: an accurate classification of the planned or committed act in the underlying phenomenon offers chances of prevention through early detection. By comparing perpetrators and threatening persons, it can be deduced that perpetrators like Threatening potential perpetrators in the run-up to acts of violence and acts of terrorism and leave warning signs. These conveyed threats and announcements from the Intentional acts have a specific reason. On the one hand, the perpetrators want to make sure that they become immortal with their act, so a subjective message must be given. On the other hand do they want to commit the act and not be discovered beforehand. In the months before an act however, they are hardly able to think of anything else than that "Slipping out" of threats, hatred and allegations of crime explained. In this behavior murder perpetrators and lone terrorist perpetrators are similar. However, the Attention in society, police, psychiatric hospitals and especially schools to the To perceive and classify signals.

But you can also see very well that a "wrong track" has no preventive relevance. If you had the Munich gunman in the run-up alone on swastikas and responds to xenophobic hate messages, one would have guessed one right-wing extremist background rather a group involvement and accepted

of course not found. The perpetrator was neither on right-wing extremist websites, nor active in relevant forums, and certainly not sought contact with right-wing groups, if only because he never had a group act in mind. His personality was always

solitary and his crime plan is accordingly directed towards a single act. Alone To focus on the right-wing extremist issue would be far too short-sighted here. David Ali Sonboly was never identified with right-wing extremists, but rather amoctoists. From terrorists (especially lone perpetrators) he let himself be with regard to the *Inspire deed execution* . Only Germans had a deeper meaning for *identification* and American gunmen, not even Breivik.

As the German gunman, he wanted to become immortal with at least 17 dead.

VII. The Munich Amoctate - neither hate crime nor right-wing terrorism

1. Hate crime

The Hate Crime concept is based on the assumption that people from group-related prejudices become victims and that this double object becoming one Victim has particularly negative consequences. The victim doesn't just have to endure an act of violence, but is selected as a victim because he or she belongs to a group to which the perpetrator or perpetrators belong aim symbolically. As a rule, hate crime is a group act. The culprit or the perpetrators signal to the victim group that further attacks are due to a property attached to or ascribed to the victim (ethnicity, religion, political attitudes) selected. So there is no conflict or personal relationship that does that Victims can possibly influence so as not to become victims. The other problem is the character of invitation to other people inclined to act, inherent in such an act. The Hostility should not only be directed against the concrete victim, but also one signal to the whole group that they will also in the future because of an abstract property can become a victim. So hate crimes can primarily be seen as an embassy crime understand.⁴⁴

In the case of acts of violence out of ideological, e.g. right-wing extremist motivation, everyone is Definition elements typically met. Amoctates all have a certain hate crime Component, but do not quite meet the theoretical concept. Not all murderers send the same hate messages in a directed manner and cannot be generalized. hate is the only thing that unites them. More specifically, however, one of them hates girls and women especially the other teacher and the third young person his age.

In addition, gunmen generally reject society. Your act is more or less staged and the open rampage concept of the police PDV-100 (a rampage is short said before when the perpetrator tries to kill as many people as possible in a short time) is suitable for adapting operational behavior to the situation from a police point of view. A There is currently no ideologically motivated act.

⁴⁴ Bannenberg / Rössner / Coester, in Egg (Ed.) 2006, p. 17 ff. ; Coester 2008.

Amoktaten has a certain encouraging character, but not in the sense of the typical victim and perpetrator groups, but on an individual level. A gunman inspires another to plan his deed as well and to take over elements. The But the motivation is different here. The psychopathological loner with the narcissistic Greatness itself recognizes itself in the predecessor. A gunman always wants to be alone to be great, definitely not next to another or even several others. Also is that Personality that of a loner and social outsider who himself constantly sees them as a victim of society. That doesn't go with group action.

2. Right-wing terrorism

A distinction must be made between right-wing extremism and right-wing terrorism. So much for the typical one Variant of group acts is meant, a murder victim is categorically different. There are some right-wing extremist individual perpetrators, but again these perpetrators are different from the Gun killers through their directed ideology and specific choice of victims.

For example, if you look at the Reker assassin (2015), the difference to the Murderer clearly. This assassin had a specific enemy image. He was earlier Member of a right-wing comradeship, which was over for many years. As alone He was a living 45-year-old man with failed relationships for over two years before the crime unemployed and watched the influx of refugees with suspicion. Here was now his right-wing extremist ideology. He made politicians for choosing refugees To let it flow "uncontrolled" to Germany was responsible and found its special Enemy image in today's Cologne mayor. He wanted her with a long one Killing Rambo knives and assumed to be able to set an example. He held it up an election campaign event in the city center with a powerful stab with the knife down and assumed to have killed her. Now other people came from different places Parties approached him and he also attacked them with the knife. This wasn't before planned and was not accompanied by intent to kill at the moment the act was carried out. Third people were not attacked at all. He let the police arrest him and called aloud: "I did it for you! I did it for Germany! You will become one to me Be grateful for the day. "

The Breivik case is complex. You can't just assume a right-wing extremist even if the hatred of Islam was particularly in the foreground with Breivik. ⁴⁵

3. The police definition system politically motivated crime (PMK)

The definition system PMK was introduced on 1.1.2001 and since then in 2002, 2004 and Modified in 2015/2016. It wants the political motivation that triggered the crime to come to the fore put. The point of this system seems on the one hand to be the allocation of the Responsibility to be oriented towards police processing. Is relevant to the police especially the distinction between state security offenses and other offenses. On the other hand, the information about the development is probably more motivated by extremists Deeds a role, with the problem of delimitation in the case of overlapping and new occurring phenomena is seen.

Be differentiated

- Politically motivated crime
- Politically motivated violent crime
- terrorism

The definition of politically motivated crime is very broad. Criminal offenses should be recorded in appreciation of the circumstances of the act and / or the attitude of the perpetrator
Clues that they can

- Should influence the democratic decision-making process, the achievement or Preventing political goals from serving or opposing the realization of political goals
Make decisions,
- are directed against the free democratic basic order ...,
- through the use of force or preparatory actions aimed at foreign
Endanger the interests of the Federal Republic of Germany,

⁴⁵ See in detail the case analysis in Bannenberg, FS Wolter, 2013, pp. 1205 - 1222 with others Evidence.

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- against a person because of his / her imputed or actual political Attitude, attitude and / or commitment, nationality, ethnicity, Skin color, religion, belief, social status, physical and / or mental disability or impairment, sexual orientation and / or sexual Identity or external appearance are directed and the act is thus in There is a causal relationship or, in this context, is against an institution / thing or aligns an object.

In addition, the state security offenses are recorded.

The terms politically motivated violent crime and terrorism grasp this Subdivision and supplement them with the specific offenses.

If one considers Sonboly's deed and the defining features, there is neither here State protection offense, the first three variants (influencing political Formation of will, attack on the free democratic basic order, endangerment foreign affairs). The very broad definition that refers to victim-related group characteristics turns off, could be checked. As in the case of the hate crime concept, there are murderers Parts of this abstract selection of victims appear more frequently, pronounced in Sonboly in the Xenophobia. But what if this amoctate were included in the system? won? On closer inspection and analysis you can see that despite the pronounced hatred, the focus is on the psychopathology of the individual perpetrator and not its political message or agitation. This remains unclear because the hate on End hits everyone.

If the perpetrator had survived, there would be the large criminal chamber here, but not the State Security Senate been responsible. Essentially, it would have been about the application of Section 21 StGB, namely, whether there was a personality disorder, how pronounced it was and whether one from this a possibly reduced capacity to be responsible (ability to control) with the consequence placement in a psychiatric hospital (Section 63 of the Criminal Code).

Otherwise it would be a conviction for multiple accomplished and attempted The murder has gone, depending on the decision, whether juvenile justice or Adult criminal law would have been applied, varied in terms of punishment

would. The (reserved) preventive detention might also be closed been decided.

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To classify rare acts such as amoktat as ideological does not do justice to the phenomenon and also shows no benefit.

Early detection of these acts is specific to the
Threat management and hazard forecasting, not state security.

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