



Psychology of Terrorism: A Comparative Analysis of FETO and PKK Terrorist Organizations

Terörizm Psikolojisi: FETÖ ve PKK Terör Örgütlerinin Karşılaştırmalı Analizi

A. Muhammet Banazılı¹

¹Dr., İstanbul Medeniyet Üniversitesi, a.muhammetbnzl@gmail.com, Orcid ID: 0000-0002-5088-9587

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ABSTRACT

The concept of Terrorism, which can also be described as collective acts of violence, is a problematic phenomenon that aims to convey the messages desired to be given to the society, individually or collectively, through the murder of innocent people. Illegal activities and violent methods of terrorist organizations negatively affect states in terms of political, social, economic, cultural and psychological aspects. That's why, countries fighting against terrorist organizations had to produce different policies in order to prevent the spread of terrorist organizations, such as cutting the financing flows of these organizations and recruiting new members to the organization. In this context, in order to be able to fight against terrorist organizations that harm every aspect of the economic and democratic development of countries and for state institutions to develop strategies for this, psychological analysis of these structures will prevent the emergence of new organizations with a similar structure and the attempt to fill some gaps by separatist organizations. The purpose of this paper is "what are the main motivations in terrorist behavior?" is to answer the question In this context, the analysis of the study will be made by comparing the psychological motivations of FETO, which was among the international terrorist organizations both in the State of the Republic of Turkey and abroad, which turned into a terrorist organization from a hizmet movement at the beginning, and the PKK, which was founded in 1978 as a separatist terrorist organization in its origin. In the research, descriptive technique, which is one of the qualitative data collection methods, has been used and national and international literature review will be made on the subject. As a result of the findings, it had been reveal the aspects that the terrorist organizations in question resemble psychologically and differ.

ÖZET

Kolektif şiddet hareketleri olarak da nitelendirilebilecek olan Terörizm kavramı topluma verilmek istenen mesajları bireysel veya kitlesel olarak örgütlenip masum insanların katledilmesi yoluyla iletilmesini amaçlayan sorunlu bir olgudur. Terör örgütlerinin illegal faaliyetleri ve şiddet içeren yöntemleri devletleri siyasal, sosyal, ekonomik, kültürel ve psikolojik açılardan olumsuz yönde etkilemektedir. Bundan dolayı terör örgütleriyle mücadele eden ülkeler bu örgütlerin gerek finansman akışlarını kesmek gerekse örgüte yeni üyelerin kazandırılması gibi terör örgütlerinin yayılmasını engellemek amacıyla farklı politikalar üretmek zorunda kalmışlardır. Bu bağlamda ülkelerin ekonomik ve demokratik kalkınmalarının her alanına zarar veren terör örgütleriyle mücadele edilebilmesi ve devlet kurumlarının buna ilişkin stratejiler geliştirebilmesi için bu yapılanmaların psikolojik tahlillerinin de yapılması benzer yapıdaki yeni örgütlenmelerinin ortaya çıkmasını ve bazı boşluk alanlarının bölücü örgütlenmeler tarafından doldurulması teşebbüsünü önleyebilecektir. Bu çalışmanın amacı ise "terörist davranışlarındaki temel motivasyonlar nelerdir?" sorusuna yanıt aramaktır. Bu kapsamda çalışmanın analizi gerek Türkiye

Cumhuriyeti Devleti'nde gerekse ülke toprakları dışarısında uluslararası terör örgütleri arasında yer alan başlarda hizmet hareketinden terör örgütüne dönüşen FETÖ ve 1978 senesinde orjininde bölücü terör örgütü olarak kurulan PKK'nın psikolojik motivasyonlarının karşılaştırılması ile yapılmıştır. Araştırmada nitel veri toplama yöntemlerinden olan betimsel teknik kullanılmış, konuyla ilgili ulusal ve uluslararası literatür taraması yapılmıştır. Elde edilen bulgular neticesinde söz konusu terör örgütlerinin psikolojik açıdan benzeştikleri ve ayrıştıkları yönler ortaya koyulmuştur.

Nowadays, the phenomenon of terror and terrorism maintains its actually as an international problem of serious importance despite various measures being taken. Although the concepts of terror and terrorism are frequently used by the masses, it has not been possible to draw a common definition boundary. The acceleration of the operation carried out in the fight with terrorism, especially between the 20th and 21st centuries, has revealed that the struggle to be made in this area is insufficient just by the policies produced by the states individually, and that it is necessary to act collectively with international platforms to overcome this problem. However, the problem of terror and terrorism not merely harms the socio-economic fabric of the countries but the psychological problems of the problem in question are of critical importance. As a matter of fact, examining this phenomenon in terms of the people and groups/masses who committed terrorist acts will enable certain determinations to be made in terms of the psychology of terrorism.

The question of terrorism is one of the issues that occupy the world agenda and Turkey the most. Indeed, the Republic of Turkey continues to struggle with organizations such as the Secret Armenian Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), DHKP-C, Al-Qaeda, DAESH, PKK and FETO derived organizations as well as organizations that exploit religion (Uzun, 2003). In fact, terrorist organizations are in a position to make both political, sociological, psychological and theological analyzes. So, it should be evaluated by considering the data of all disciplines that are far from reductionism while the subject is being handled. Otherwise, reductionist approaches may cause misunderstanding or incomplete understanding of the subject (Cengil and Aydın, 2014, p. 51). In this respect, terrorist organizations and their actions are major examples in explaining the psychology of terrorism more purely. Also, the most important factor that determines the scope of terror and terrorism is to be able to reveal the socio-psychological causes of the concepts and phenomena in question (Baharççek and Tuncel, 2011, p. 5). In this paper, firstly, after the national and international literature on terror, terrorism and terrorism psychology to research the terrorist behaviors of FETO and PKK terrorist organizations were compared in the context of terrorism psychology.

1. CONCEPTS AND THEORIES: TERROR AND TERRORISM

The etymology of the concept of terror is based on the Latin language and is derived from the root "terrere". Tahat's an acts of threat and violence carried out against innocent people in an unconscious and uncontrolled manner by arousing a sense of fear in the society (Ateş and Banazılı, 2019, pp. 708-709). The concept of terrorism is also explained in the Anti-Terror Law (TTK) No. 3713. According to this law terror it is defined as "all kinds of actions and actions taken by the person or persons who are members of an organization with the aim of endangering the survival of the State of the Republic of Turkey, trying to weaken the state authority and disrupting the public order and general health by any of the destructive, deterrent and lethal methods" (TMK, 1991, act. 1). The concept of terrorism, on the other hand, is a strategy approach that includes systematic, uninterrupted and systematic acts of terror in order to achieve political aims (Baharççek, 2000, p. 13). According to varied description terrorism; threatening to use violence by deliberately trying to intimidate the masses for the strategic or political aims they want to achieve by the state or a group (Ergil, 1991, p. 171). Therefore, the concepts of terror and terrorism do not actually have the same meanings. Terror refers to "action" while terrorism refers to "discourse" (Güçlü, 2014, p. 102). That's why, the key and most important function in terrorism is "political purpose".

The origins of terrorism, which is not a modern phenomenon, date back to B.C. For instance, German Cimbric tribe in Roman society, which is known as Terror Cimbricus, created acts of fear to undermine the social order in 105 BC. Similarly, other examples of terrorism shows that the assassination actions of the Assassins led by Hasan Sabbah against the Ayyubids, Abbasids and Great Seljuks between 1090-1275. However, the emergence of terrorism as a concept is based on the French Revolution, which is a relatively recent date. After the French Revolution, the period under the rule of the Jacobins for about a year was called the Reign of Terror term and entered the official dictionary records of the French Academy in 1798 (Ağır and Tekin, 2021, pp. 7-8). The Industrial Revolution, which is an important turning point in the history of terrorism, especially in the 20th century, with the rise of totalitarianism and acts of violence, the experience of state terrorism also left its mark on the term (Chaliand and Blin, 2016, p.115).

It is necessary to examine the ideologies of terrorists in order to exactly understand the theories of terrorism. In this context, terrorism ideologies are classified in different ways as Anarchism, Nihilism, Nationalism, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Religious Terrorism, Capitalism and Liberalism, as a general, when looking to these arguments (Caşın, 2008, pp. 393- 402):

There is an extended historical link between anarchism and terrorism. According to the approach, which was put forward by the Russian anarchist Kropotkin, it is bad for people to rule over each other. That's why all state authority must be destroyed. The remarkable example between nihilism and terrorism seems to be in the case of the American Weatherman group. Working with a certain value system this group tends to destroy the status quo since they perceive it as hypocritical, pharisee and deceptive. Relationship between nationalism and terrorism explain cases that African countries and the Basque region. Masses in African countries are organized around tribal ties and borders rather than a specific territory or nationalism phenomenon. The groups begin to emerge in case of potential hazard and attempt to form a nation. In the Basque region, terrorists introduced themselves to the public as national independence fighters with starting emergence of national identity.

It is general opinion that the ideological foundations of terrorist organizations around the world stems from the views of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Marx, Lenin and Engels claimed that the natural movement of history would be accelerated by armed struggle, violence and thus terror were inevitable in societies based on Marxism and Leninism. The name communism has been associated with terrorism. Another dynamic that causes the emergence of the phenomenon of terrorism is Terrorism of Religious Origin. The developments in Iran and the Middle East in recent years have caused the phenomenon of religious terrorism to enter the world agenda. Yet, it is an improper perception that religious-based terrorism is attributed only to Islamic states. It is also seen that Christian religious motivations are behind the events that took place in Karabakh, the Balkans and in different places (Crenshaw, 2000, p. 412). Capitalism-Liberalism based terrorism is explained by the fact that oil companies in the USA, Germany and England turn into violations and conflicts in other countries as a result of conflicts of interest.

When looking to international theories that try to explain terrorism, it is seen that three approaches stand out. These are realist, liberal and critical theories. According to realist theorists, terrorism is seen as the attempts of non-state organizations against the established order. They suppose that it is more important to achieve success as a result of the struggle with terrorism rather than whether or not civil liberties are violated (Gibbs, 2010, p. 171). Liberal theorists thought that in some ways about terrorism just as realists. So, liberal theorists have not neglected the moral dimension of terrorism by considering terrorism as non-state groups. But, liberals differed from the realist approach in terms of not violating human rights and freedoms in challenge-terrorism strategies (Forsberg, 2009, p. 198). Terrorism is considered as the killing of unarmed and defenseless civilians by non-state actors in the critical theory. According to the thesis, however, they viewed state terrorism as more hazardous than non-state groups because of its greater compelling capacities (Egerton, 2009, p. 57).

2. TERRORISM PSYCHOLOGY: TERRORIST BEHAVIOR, SOURCES, REASONS

There are more than 109 definitions made in the literature on terrorism and the psychology of terrorism. The reasons why the conceptual boundaries of the psychology of terrorism cannot be plainly drawn and there are different approaches that terrorist behaviors are rather heterogeneous, each thinker deals with the subject within his own discipline and "who the terrorist is or "according to who? will be described (Hoffman, 1998, p. 43). However, two definitions that correspond to this border uncertainty are used more in the terrorism literature. Terrorism is aggressive acts against civilians according to the primary definition. Secondly, terrorists change the behavior of the target audience in a way that suits the terrorist's own interests by influencing the target audience so as to achieve their political aims (Laqueur, 1999, pp. 86-88).

Acting with a mass spirit is among the important characteristics of terrorists. Individual thoughts and choices dissolve and disappear due to the fact that individuals behave with group psychology in the mass. The individual, who loses her/his reasoning and prudence abilities in the group, can act unconsciously in order to reach the goal of the bystander (Caşın, 2008, p. 377). Therefore, "we" discourses begin to become more dominant instead of the concept of "me". In this context, it is important to compare terrorist organizations with different structures in order to analyze the psychology of terrorism. It's possible to understand terrorists and the psychological dynamics of terrorism when approached in this way (Davis and Weinberg, 1989, p. 84).

The ambiguity in the concept of terrorism makes it difficult to draw a definite line about what the motivations that determine terrorist behaviors comprise. However, Jeff Victoroff, who has prepared many important studies in the field of terrorist behaviors, has categorized terrorist behaviors with 11 different variables and classifications. These ones following:

Table 1. Dimensions of Terrorist Behavior

Variables	Classification
The number of perpetrator	Individual or Groups
Supporter/Stakeholders	State or Person
Authority Relationship	State or anti/side-establishment
Location	Local or International
Military Status	Civil, Military or Semi-military
Spiritual motivation	Secular or prayerful
Financial motivation	Public or Private
Political ideology	Left/socialist, Right/fascist or Anarchist

Hierarchical role	External supporter, leader, member, middle manager
Willingness to die	Suicidal or not-suicidal
Target	Ownership, Electronic datas, environment, person or mass
Used method	Bombing, assassination, kidnapping, rape, burning, bioterrorism, cyber terrorism

Source: (Victoroff, 2005, p. 5).

On the other hand, it may be possible to obtain information about the motivations of terrorist organizations and their members when the academic literature on the sources and causes of terrorism psychology is examined. "What are the sources of terrorism?" It was tried to find an answer to the question with the participation of experts and public administrators on the subject at the meeting on "Fighting Terrorism for Humanity" held in Washington on September 22 in 2003. It was stated that, contrary to the general belief, poor people did not join terrorist organizations and these people were more involved in political uprisings or rebellion. The economic status of those who participated in terrorist activities was generally at the middle or upper-middle level. In addition, it was stated that terrorist behaviors were mostly experienced in developed and developing countries and democratic countries as well as underdeveloped countries in this meeting (Bjorgo, 2003, pp. 9-11). In fact, the findings obtained at meeting concluded that the essence aims of terrorist groups were to achieve political and ideological goals and to create a strong group identity rather than acquiring economic benefits.

Whether terrorists have psychological disorders has been the subject of discussion in several researchs. For example, in a study on terrorist behaviors as social psychology how the "deviant behaviors" of terrorist organization members began to develop, it was revealed that individual's feelings of loneliness, desire to be independent, dogmatism and self-actualization stemmed from their aspiration (Lawal, 2002, p. 24). These behaviors and disorders may cause the person to harm other people by entering into collective memberships in the long term. As a result of a number of researches, it was stated that, with some exceptions, such interpretations were wrong and that most of the terrorists did not have any psychological disorders. Terrorism researchers have stated that cases of psychopathology are pretty rare among terrorists. It is thought that more complexes have an effect here. There are people who are unstable, undiscovered, but at the same time looking for a way of leadership, self-talk and fame among the terrorists (Demirli, 2011, p. 68). As a result of the situation, there is the sense of injustice embedded in the logic of the terrorist, and the idea that something must be changed in order to eliminate them and that she/he should also take part in this change. Such thoughts lead to the emergence of fanatics who risk death for the fiction and ideals they create within themselves. They join terrorist groups in order to keep up with social life (Tarhan, 2017). Al-Akhtar's (1999, pp. 350-355) in study dealing with the psycho-dynamics of the leaders and members of the terrorist organization, in his interviews with Christian, Jewish and Islamic clergy; terrorist ringleaders generally suffer from psychological traumas but are charismatic leaders; he saw its members as young people who had experienced severe traumas in their past lives and who had the potential to overcome the psychological effects they experienced by killing other people outside the group. Whole terrorist attacks have been tried to be justified by exploiting religious doctrines.

The family background that triggers the psychology of terrorism, that is, joining a separatist or harmful terrorist organization is also effective. Being a member of a subcultural family, experiencing intense domestic violence, or growing up in a low-income family are factors that make it easier to join terrorist organizations (Bollinger, 1985, p. 388). American psychiatrist David Hubbard has conducted studies to determine which psychological characteristics of terrorists are. Hubbard argued that terrorists have five common characteristics. These ones (Hubbord, 1970): **i.** Violence suffered by the children of a father who frequently drinks alcohol, **ii.** A strict religious mother, **iii.** Timidity, shyness, and passivity, **iv.** The overprotective attitude of terrorists, who are sisters, towards their siblings and **v.** Lack of social achievement.

John Horgan, who author of "The Psychology of Terror", put forward that several reasons for resorting to terrorism and listed them as follows (Horgan, 2005, pp. 36-37): **a.** Ideological Reasons, **b.** Disrupting the Developing Order and The Idea of Establishing a New World, **c.** Domination Over People, **ç.** Seeing Terrorism as Adventure and Excitement, **d.** Spiritual Allegiance to the Terrorist Group and **e.** The Desire for Self-Realization. Ferrucati and Bruno's (1981) theirs research on right-wing terrorist organizations in Italy determined that members of terrorist organizations have nine different characteristics. These ones: **a.** Confusion against authority, **b.** Insufficient insight, **c.** Commitment to common thinking and activities, **ç.** Being collective in action, **d.** No sexual identity conflicts, **e.** Thinking extreme, **f.** Destructiveness and vandalism, **g.** Little or no education level, **ğ.** Adherence to violent sub-culture norms and gun fetishes.

Turkish psychiatrist Vamık Volkan's, who has important analyzes and studies in the fields of political psychology, trauma psychology and terrorism psychology studies and findings on the psychology of terrorism are quite remarkable. In this sense, Volkan analyzed terrorist behaviors and terrorism psychology as follows (Volkan, 2013, pp. 421-450):

- Terrorism is implicitly linked to problems associated with large group identity. That is, the main aim of terrorists can be innocent people, politicians, opinion leaders or governments in their own countries.
- An atmosphere of fear is created in the society in order to both eliminate the opposition inside and instill fear in the enemy. The purpose here is that terrorists want to dominate their identity over society.

- Terrorist groups forms their own special "subgroup tents". The establishment of an atmosphere of peace means that the terrorist subgroup loses its identity.
- Members of terrorist organizations must be reliable and loyal to their leader. These are necessary for the terrorist group to be effective.
- Volkan suggested that a traumatic events experienced in the family or in the circle of friends will affect person's life story and make her/him feel ready to become a terrorist internally.
- Terrorist organization leaders want to create a family atmosphere in their cells. Thus, a strong sense of belonging is created for the terrorist of the future.
- Terrorists can be person both who are loved by their environment and who use aggressive violence around them.
- Become a member of terror as a potential cure for ethnic wounds. One seeks to find some kind of "victory".

3. COMPARISON OF FETO AND PKK TERROR ORGANIZATIONS IN TERMS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL

The Gulen movement (FETO) has been able to obtain qualified and capable human resources from the people it has trained and given importance to education and educational institutions since its establishment. The Gulen movement brought these human resources to high-level public positions in different state institutions and organizations such as the judiciary, civil service, medicine, military and academia. Ultimately, with the coup attempt of 15 July 2016, it left the *hizmet movement*² and revealed that it was a putschist parallel state structure. Of course, with the intense struggle of the Republic of Turkey (Ateş and Akpınar, 2017, p. 2). Several sources argue that the reason why the FETO ringleader attaches importance to education and training institutions is that he could not continue his education life due to the lovelessness and psychological violence he experienced from his family in his early years and youth, and therefore Gulen attached importance to the education branch (Altun and Yalçın, 2020).

The PKK terrorist organization was founded by Abdullah Öcalan in 1978, who is the ringleader. Although the organization showed the reason for its establishment to be ideological and organizational problems of the left view at first, later it turned into a revolutionary violence organization between 1979-1984 and continues to carry out terrorist acts until today. Likewise, although the PKK has emerged from the Kurdish political movement, it carries out separatist activities by gathering its political demands under the upper ideal of "independent Kurdistan". As a matter of fact, this ideal was established as a terrorist organization by resorting to terrorism and acts of armed violence (Bakan and Yıldırım, 2021, p. 213). Öcalan, who is seen as the so-called leader of the PKK, wants his past, ideology and ideas to be accepted by the members of the organization and the PKK terrorist organization identity to be shaped within his characteristics. The use of adjectives such as "önder", "başkan" among other terrorist members within the organization stems from the fact that the members of the organization see themselves as a superhuman being. Indeed, Öcalan's supporters are young and in inadequate financial condition, and the number of uneducated people is high, making it easier for Öcalan to establish his leadership claims on this bystander (Sökmen, 2012, pp. 77-81).

In order to be able to combat with terrorism, it is necessary to analyze the motivation roots well. Because the human mind varies from situation to situation. So as to understand the underlying causes of terrorism, it is useful to look at mankind's feelings, behaviors, reactions to events and their habits in the fight against terrorism. Therefore, it is also important how the members of the terrorist organization are motivated (Çitlioğlu, 2009, p. 10). What's more, to analyze the complex social phenomena caused by terrorism, it is necessary to deal with the social, cultural, political, psychological, religious, methodological and social complexity areas dealing with migration (De Tombe, 2009, pp. 28-29). For this reason, it has been tried to convey how the terrorist organizations discussed in this research psychologically manipulate their supporters, in general, in the table below.

Table 2. Similar and Different Features of FETO and PKK

SIMILARITIES		DIFFERENCES	
FETO	PKK	FETO	PKK
Parallel structuring (by infiltrating in state bodys)	Parallel structuring (via KCK)	Exploits religion terrorism	Ethnic separatist terrorism
Reaching large audiences with strong communication (Low-income or Anatolian person)	Residents in the East and Southeast and those who migrated to the West from these regions	Denying or covering up terrorist attacks	Acknowledging terrorist attacks or uploading them to another cover extension like TAK.
Deified Leader (Belief that Gulen will become the Mahdi)	Punish or kill who disobey his orders	Strategies for recruiting young militants to the organization (young people, businessmen, politicians, bureaucrats with	Often through the use of violence and pressure on young people

² It was found appropriate to use the word *hizmet movement* instead of the word service movement in the research. Because the concept of hizmet movement was identified with this organization for a while.

		emotional intimacy and tolerance.)	
Pragmatist/Machiavellian Approach (Modernist approach, discourses against the Islamic faith)	Using the concepts of gender equality, ecology and radical democracy	Using religious motifs in terms of motivation conditions	Using ethnic motifs in terms of motivation condition
Overseas structures (recruit young members to the organization)	Smuggling drugs and weapons through diasporas	Ideologically spreading to the whole base	Ideologically spreading to Leninist and Marxist base
Using mass media for terrorist propaganda (Samanyolu T.V.)	Using mass media for terrorist propaganda (med T.V.)	The method of resorting to violence when losing power (17-25 December process and 15 July coup attempt)	Always maintaining the atmosphere of fear and not being able to stop the armed actions

Source: (Gürses, 2007, pp. 65-75; Bakan and Yıldırım, 2021, pp. 222-226).

Similar and different aspects of both terrorist organizations in terms of system, communication, discourse, leader typology, target audience, approaches and action methods have been tried to be shown in the table above in general terms. It is obvious that both terrorist organizations have put in place different instruments in order to influence the psychology of the masses. So, its seen that they act by using religious beliefs. Tried to have a direct effect on human psychology by manipulating mass media and press mediums. Moreover, its understood that both terrorist organizations triggered social violence when they could not achieve their goals. The ultimate intention of the terrorist organizations is to try to infiltrate the state mechanism by influencing the psychology of their supporters. In addition to the tables above, the main motivations of FETO and PKK terrorist organizations can be explained as follows:

From the perspective of FETO; the terror organization has frequently performed to the method of propaganda in order to expand its fields of activity since its establishment. Religious duties were frequently used throughout the whole area when the organization was active in order to gain organizational trust and reputation in the propaganda process (Karlı, 2019, p. 190). To gain social trust the terror organization had applied to a wide range of mass media mediums which includes magazines, television and newspapers. There is unquestioning obedience to the so-called leader of the organization. As a matter of fact, this is the primary process in the radicalization of the actors of the organization (FETÖ Çalıştay Raporu, 2017: 10). Relationships within the organization are created by exploiting religious values. Getting promotion in the organizational hierarchy is possible with “esotericism”. So, social and religious life is shaped by the interpretations of the organization leader. The aim is to acquire juveniles with social belonging and social identity (Demirden, 2019, p. 53). Additionally, the concept of “acquaintance” is important for this terrorist organization. According to radicalization theories, the intensity of one's relations with family, relatives and friends is effective in the process of being a member of a terrorist organization (Borum, 2004, p. 20). If one's closeness with friends or other social factors is tight, then it is difficult for these persons to radicalize. For this reason, FETO cut off the previous life relations of their new members and even gave them new names and new identities that only each other could recognize with the go into FETO (FETÖ Çalıştay Raporu, 2017, p. 12).

From the perspective of PKK; the terrorist group carries out its ideological propaganda both by creating fear traumas on the society through weapons and by activities in the political field. The purpose of the PKK's aspiration to perpetuate the psychology of fear/wear out the society is to show that the organization is strong by weakening the state, family, mass and tribes (Özcan, 1999, pp. 177-178). That is to say armed propaganda and ethnic separatist activities are maintained. So, education is important for the PKK. The members of the organization are brainwashed through education and the propaganda of the organization can be carried out easily as the leader wants. The training is routinely carried out with reading camps organized (Mete, 2020, p. 121). It is possible to say that in these trainings, ideological terminologies are presented that will glorify the so-called leader of the organization, hypnotize individuals, where real happiness and economic comfort can be achieved through participation in a terrorist organization and a strong ethnic identity can be built in the way. The PKK is trying to control non-governmental organizations as well. For instance, The organization carries out its activities abroad via front organizations and non-governmental organizations. For instance, to mobilize Kurdish nationalism and to convey to European countries the perception that the PKK is the only force defending the Kurds all symbols of the organization were placed in the German Democratic Kurdish Community Center (NAV-DEM) established in Germany and the Ahmet Kaya Cultural Center in Paris (Bayraklı et al., 2019, pp. 9-10).

4. CONCLUSION

The concepts of terror and terrorism is a problematic phenomenon faced by developed, developing and underdeveloped countries. Themain goal is to attack or kill innocent people so as to achieve the goals of such separatist organizations and to spread violence to whole areas of social life. These actions, which can be described as collective acts of violence, affect life with its political, social, economic, cultural and psychological dimensions. That's why, there is a need for a detailed analysis of the dimensions of terrorism and its sources.

Terror and terrorism phenomena were tried to be analyzed in the context of terrorism psychology (terrorist behavior) in this paper. According to the terrorist organization structure the motivations, variables and categorizations in the formation of terrorist behaviors varies. Psychological mechanisms are frequently used to increase the number of members, to expand the sphere of influence in the society and to keep themselves in the forefront of the public. In this context, it is possible to list the psychological motivations of FETO and PKK terrorist organizations as follows:

FETO Psychology:

- The distinction between “me” and “us” in the organization is rather evident. The meaning of me is lost when joining to terror organization. This is because that individual and family values, norms, ideas and perceptions take places meaningless when participate into the organization. Hence, these concepts are among the substantial elements in acquiring a novel identity.
- The organization gained the legitimacy of activities with the so-called "charity" works it carried out. Accordingly, link up with inhabitants in both domestic and abroad especially “victim”, “orphans”, “aidless” youth mass. Likewise, reaching to financial impossibility person is an efficient method for the organization.
- To put psychological control mechanisms on the members of the organization is another method used by FETO. This control triggered especially at a young age in the dormitory of the organization. It is aimed to remove the members of the organization from social life and bring them closer with the methods of reward and punishment.
- Ceremonies and symbols are other factors that can help in the socio-psychological analysis of FETO. Especially, they organized among with football matches, religious speech meetings and some dinner organizations aimed to keep the relations between the members of the organization strong and to make the FETO cells actively operate. Symbols, which with religious and historical meanings, were also abused by FETO. To illustrate, the organization has tried to be a respectful organization portrait by building sculptures and by hanging pictures of Turkish Islamic and State leaders on the wall.
- On the other hand, it has been promised that the organization will be given the titles of "*abi*", "*abla*" and "*imam*" to take their place among the hierarchy of the organization on the condition of unconditionally fulfilling the mission and vision of the organization. The members of the organization were presented as privileged, important and influential people in the society compared to others through these promises. It has been tried to create a perception that organization's members are an important part of the organization and that they will be respected people by giving these “status” to the members of the organization experiencing an inferiority complex/complicity.
- Taken in the context of psychoanalytic theory, it is stated that Gulen has a strict and authoritarian father who commands just what he wants to be (Karşlı, 2019, p. 1189). For this reason, probably, Gulen's "cursing" against the operations carried out to overthrow FETO and, of course, his attempted coup on July 15 in 2016 when he realized that he would not be able to gain above the state hierarchy. Consequently, it can be argued that the family infrastructure, in which these behaviors are brought up, may also be effective.

PKK Psychology:

- There is unconditional loyalty to the so-called leader of the organization. Loyalty and dependence on the so-called leader is constantly expressed in the media organs of the organization, and Öcalan's authority cannot be questioned decisively. Supernatural abilities have been attributed to him with adjectives such as "*başkan*" or "*önder*".
- The organization tries to manipulate mass psychology by making “demagogy” and “agitating” discourses to the bystander it addresses. To illustrate, Öcalan's in one of speeches depicted that “you are bulkheaded!”, “you are punk!”, “you don't know what is discipline-order!”. The aim here is to augment the motivation of the organization by humiliating its bystander (Çürükkaya, 1994, p. 61).
- During childhood and adolescence is prioritized because of the mass that exhibits neurotic (insecurity/restlessness) behaviors. The group attempts to gain new members to the organization with the promises of glory, fame, financial gain, social status, a new identity and meeting their psychosocial needs.
- There are ventures of wearing down the society and the state over ethnic issues by claiming that their rights and freedoms are violated in a society where a certain group is a minority. The “perception of exclusion” is constantly repeated with PKK linked press and media organs. Thus, a channel is opened for the radicalization who sympathize to the organization.
- The cost of the attack to be taken is taken into account and the lowest cost fear and violence strategies are developed. The most appropriate fear and violence strategy is to control operations on mass psychology. These attacks are mostly carried out by directing conventional weapons to civilians and law enforcers (Çeşme, 2011, pp. 38-40).

As a result of the analysis of the psychological motivations of both terrorist organizations in the research, several suggestions can be made about the precautions to be taken. It is necessary to explain to the public, both at home and abroad, through different channels, that the psychology of victimization created by FETO and PKK on people by politicizing religion is a false perception. To prevent the psychological radicalization of terrorist organizations, this issue should be investigated in detail by establishing new institutions. Biographical analyzes of the so-called leaders of such terrorist organizations should be done well. Because making this analysis will be able to offer clues about the psychological health of the other members of the group. Therefore, it is suggested that the phenomenon of terrorism can be solved by sociological and psychological endeavor as well as military efforts. It will be possible with empirical and experimental studies to be made on the subject and novel public policies to be created.

AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

Statement of Research and Publication Ethics: This study has been prepared in accordance with scientific research and publication ethics.

Ethics Committee Approval: Since this research does not include analyzes that require ethics committee approval, it does not require ethics committee approval.

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