TERRORISM AND STRAIN: AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT THAT INDIVIDUAL STRAIN AND NEGATIVE AFFECT HAVE ON VIOLENT BEHAVIOR AMONG TRAINED TURKISH HEZBOLLAH MEMBERS

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This study attempts to explore the strains that terror organization members experience prior to the training process in the organization. The primary goal of this research is to understand the relationship between the earlier experienced strains of terrorists and their violent behaviors.

In the study a Turkish Hezbollah terror organization sample \( N = 144 \) was utilized in the frame of Agnew’s (1992) general strain theory. Initially, quantitative methods, such as bivariate analysis and multivariate analysis, were utilized to identify the cumulative effect of strains on the violent behaviors of terrorists. Later, by utilizing case studies with a qualitative approach the mediating effect of negative emotions (anger, frustration, depression and fear) were identified.

This study found that among Turkish Hezbollah members, prior to joining the terrorist organization, individuals who experience higher levels of strain are more likely to perform violent acts when compared to individuals who experience lower levels of strain. This study affirmed earlier studies on strain-crime relationship. Moreover, utilized case studies support that negative emotions -specifically anger- mediate between strains and violent actions. In sum, this research retests and builds on Agnew’s theory and argues that general strain theory can help terrorism studies to understand the sources of strains of terrorists and the effect of strains on their violent behavior.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Dedicated to

my beloved wife, Semra

and the

apples of my eyes, my sons Burak and Talha.
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CHAPTER I
TERRORISM AND THE SOCIAL ORDER: AN OVERVIEW

Introduction

Terrorism has been an issue of concern for academicians, politicians, and experts in other disciplines in recent years. Specifically, 9/11 was the turning point for studies on terrorism. Terrorism, which had been seen as a national problem, proved to be a global phenomenon. However, the world was not ready to deal with it. Scholars were confused because of the technology used, and the network formed by terrorist organizations.

Instead of viewing terrorism as a national problem, it was necessary to approach terrorism in a new way. The first challenge was the way in which terrorism was defined and understood by different nations. In other words, rather than using different definitions that were based on the political needs of each country, terrorism had to be defined from an objective perspective.

Although several studies have been conducted on the reasons for engaging in terrorism, it seems more appropriate to focus on micro-level strains, which all individuals experience and try to manage. In that sense, it will be easier to understand a deviation from the norms and values, and those individuals who are looking for personal solutions to their problems. In this study, the researcher focuses on the strains of the terrorists prior to the training process in the Turkish Hezbollah terror organization and the impact that these strains have on subsequent violent terrorist behavior.

The first chapter deals with the problem of defining terrorism, and different approaches regarding the significance of social order. The history of terrorism is
presented along with a discussion of the terrorist organizations formed in Turkey. Today, the Turkish government has immense knowledge about the Turkish Hezbollah terrorist organization. Currently, the activities of the Turkish Hezbollah terrorist organization have diminished because of police operations and information gathered as a consequence of those operations carried out against the terrorist organization.

Defining Terrorism

With the start of the new millennium the world has become more aware of the threat of terrorism. However, the study of terrorism continues to suffer from the lack of a widely accepted definition. The statement “One man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter” has been problematic in the fight against terrorism. Although this concept has been discussed in the political arena, defining and conceptualizing terrorism is, in fact, a theoretical problem. This theoretical problem has key importance in the struggle (Gold, 2004; Crenshaw, 2001; Lodge, 1982; Velter & Perlstein, 1991).

Schmid and Jongman (1988) cited 120 different definitions of terrorism. Although most of them have similar concepts, nearly all academicians and politicians tend to define terrorism differently. There is no agreement between either academicians or politicians on the definition of terrorism (Schmid and Jongman, 1988).

A solid and concrete definition for terrorism is fundamental to the fight against it. Just like in any scientific research, one of the first things that a researcher needs to do is to define and conceptualize his or her research problem in order to effectively address it scientifically. Since terrorism has already become one of the most serious
global problems of modern times, a universally developed and accepted definition came to be of central importance.

In order to have a similar understanding of terrorism with the reader, the researcher had to focus on the definition of terrorism and conceptualize it. Thus, the researcher thought that overlapping concepts in those definitions can be a guide to form the basis of an agreement on the definition of terrorism. For instance, after a thorough review of the literature, the following are proven to be common concepts in many definitions whether they be institutional, national, or individual: violence, political motivation of the perpetrators, and indiscriminate target selection practices.

From this perspective, terrorism can be defined as “politically motivated violent attacks targeting civilians”. The researcher accepted this definition as the framework for this study. And that is in line with Hoffman’s perspective on terrorism. To him, terrorism is defined as “the deliberate creation and exploitation of fears through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change” (Hoffman, 1998, p.43). According to Hoffman, political aim, violence and fear are the main concepts, supporting the above argument.

In sum, attempted conceptualizations of the notion of terrorism in the social sciences have often failed because of the variable nature of the phenomenon and the diversity of approaches. However, a neutral scientific definition of the concept is necessary to have a widely accepted definition. The researcher presented his definition conceptualizing terrorism in order to have a common notion with the reader.
Early History of Terrorism

The earliest recorded terrorist groups and activities took place at the start of the first century. One of the earliest known terrorist movements was the Zealots in Jerusalem (Laqueur, 1999). The Zealots, a Jewish group, received their name from the short dagger which they used to commit murder. Zealots were active during the Roman occupation of the Middle East. They openly opposed the Roman rule and paying taxes (Teymur, 2003).

Emerging in 11th century Middle East, the “Assassins” was another extremist group that used violence in the early history of terrorism (Hurwood, 1970). “Assassins” were not allowed to run away after they killed their enemy, in order to create extra fear. Their emotionless state created the reputation of “Hashashins” (Hashish users) among their enemies (Akyol, 2000), while some groups claimed that they carried out their missions under the influence of hashish (Long, 1990). Assassins killed important enemy figures, often at the price of their own lives. This may be one of the earliest examples of suicide attacks (Hurwood, 1970; Laqueur, 1999).

The French Revolution, in the latter 18th century, was one of the bloodiest times in recorded history. In order to implement the new order, the victimization of thousands of French occurred during the French Revolution, causing fear. The term “terrorism” was used in 1795 in reference to the Reign of Terror by the Revolutionary government (Velter & Perlstein, 1991; Combs, 1997; White, 1998; Koseli, 2006; Carter, 1982).

Russian Anarchists were also active during the late 19th century. They overthrew the Russian Czar Alexander II in 1881, believing that killing the aristocrats will demolish governments. This belief helped develop the use of terrorism as a means to successful
changes in politics. Even though Russian Anarchists selected their targets and did not aim to harm innocents, this type of action soon died out and was replaced with terrorism, which targets all people (Yaroslansky, 1937).

In short, after the September 11, 2001 attacks, the world has become more aware of the threat of terrorism. However, as outlined above, “terrorism has been a dark feature of human behavior since the dawn of recorded history” (Martin, 2004, p. 2). And, in order to understand the nature of terrorism, it is necessary to first review the overarching goals of terrorism and the concepts of equality, equity, and justice, which have been commonly viewed as an excuse for terrorists’ violent actions.

Overarching Goals of Terrorism

The primary target of terrorism is the social order implemented through the consensus of the people and the belief in the goodness and the justness of the system. Along with the fear of being killed, living in a chaotic system where the predictable becomes unpredictable has an intense emotional impact on people. In conjunction with fear, terrorists’ emphasis on injustice creates new questions about the foundations of the system, which has been taken for granted. Thus, the trust that formed over centuries withers away, leaving in its place new doubts. The following section focuses on the impact of terrorism on social order and equality, equity, and justice which are commonly used synonymously.

Terrorism and the Social Order

To understand their primary goal, one could either ask the terrorists themselves,
or one could make inferences using theoretical discussions. In this section, a theoretical
discussion will be carried out to better understand their primary goal, the possible
reasons for their violent activities and the impact of those activities on the public.

Social order is the primary target of terrorism. Being extremely unhappy with the
current system, terrorists try to threaten and destroy it. Functioning social structures are
fundamental in providing and disseminating a sense of social order. The state, as a
legitimate provider of unity and order, is seen as the major actor in establishing social
order. In a state, social norms and laws are the fundamentals of social order. These
norms and laws ensure that people will act according to societal expectations (Etzioni,
2000). Therefore, disorder in the state results in increasing attacks on its legitimacy.
The peoples’ sense of political community disappears; the social contract that binds
individuals to the social structure loses its legitimacy. Chaos, or in Durkheim’s word
anomie, takes the place of social order. Instead of common values, marginal ideologies
may lead to the emergence of terrorist ideologies spread throughout societies.

Individual, Social Order, and Threats to Social Order

According to Mead (1938), the formation of the self in social life necessitates
social control. The self emerges socially and supports the unity of the group: socially
defined and symbolized reality harmonizes the individual will. “In so far as there are
social acts, there are social objects, and I take it that social control is bringing the act of
the individual into relation with this social object” (Mead, 1938, 191). By their will,
individuals differentiate themselves from others and gain a self identity (Holstein &
Gubrium, 2000). From this perspective, individuals extend the sense of self, and “me
versus not me” becomes “me and mine versus not me and not mine” (Burris & Rempel, 2004).

When their boundaries are violated or threatened by outside forces, individuals can have powerful and irrational reactions (Rozin, Nemeroff, Horowitz & Voet, 1995 and Burris & Rempel, 2004). One’s social exclusion from society and weak personal communication networks are also identified as sources of frustration and anxiety (Burris & Rempel, 2004 and Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

As to the social relations, Mead (1934) identifies two different categories of consensus-conflict relations. In the first category, intra-group consensus and extra-group conflict, individuals in the group are unified in resistance against a conflicting group as their “common enemy.” For Mead, the idea of a common enemy is essential in all social organizations. In the second category, intra-group conflict and extra-group consensus individuals react against their own group. Individuals resist their group by appealing to a superior community (Mead, 1934). It can be said that terrorist organizations also form through these conflict relations in that the common enemy chosen by terrorist organizations is the state and they react against the society that they are a part of.

In short, only within a stable society can individuals feel secure; however, terrorists kill or injure random groups of individuals who have nothing to do with those terrorist groups. They produce fear within the society as a whole and expect that such fear will weaken or threaten the stability of an existing social order. Terror is dysfunctional in social life. Continued fear weakens social relations. Consequently, terror makes the circumstances worse than before. On the macro-level, stable social
relations and equilibrium offer relief and confidence to a society. Conversely, the lack of social order results in a “rise in criminal and political violence, a loss of control over their borders, rising ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural hostilities, civil war; the use of terror against their own citizens, weak institutions, a deteriorated or insufficient infrastructure” (Rotberg, 2002, p. 58).

Inequality and Terrorism

The concept of economic and social inequality has been commonly abused by terrorist organizations. Specifically, economic strains that an individual faces are interpreted as unjust and are an indicator of inequality to the terrorists (Koseli, 2006). With the introduction of a political agenda as a solution to the perceived existing inequalities, terrorist candidates are convinced to participate in terrorist organizations’ activities. Thus, it is crucial to understand not only the concept of inequality by itself, but also similar concepts, such as injustice and inequity, and why inequality is a necessary condition in any social organization, and how it is perceived as unjust.

This part of the study will try to shed light on why and when an individual sees inequalities as unjust and unfair. Individuals tend to react against unfair behaviors and unfair conditions exerted over them, whether by using legal coping mechanisms against the perceived strains or by choosing a deviant method of behavior (Agnew, 2006). Although various studies have used economic inequalities as the only indicator of inequality, the researcher believes that other types of inequalities such as unequal distribution of goods, resources, power, or health, may have an effect on terrorism (Martin, 2004; ODI, 2006).
Perceived Unequal and Unjust Acts as Sources of Strain

Although the concepts of equality and justice have been commonly defined and studied from a macro-level perspective, the researcher believes that unequal and unjust behaviors are also sources of perceived strain. The terms equality and justice have been used to define similar situations in our daily lives; however, each concept has a specific meaning.

Furthermore, some scholars suggest that there is no relationship between equality and justice and believe that for individuals “justice has value but equality does not” (Miller, 1997, p.222). While justice is “achieved in any situation where the greatest happiness was achieved by the greatest number of people (Zajda, Majhanovich & Rust; 2006, p.3),” in its pure meaning, absolute equality can be achieved when every individual has exactly the same resources. However, this is an impossible condition to reach. All modern societies, groups, and organizations have some kind of hierarchical system and status divisions.

Understanding this reality, some scholars, such as Miller (1997) and Dworkin (1987), used equality “to indicate the respect or respects in which the speaker thinks people should be the same, or treated the same way, as a matter of justice” (Dworkin; 1987, p.223). Thus, inequality can be defined as “disparity or variability between different groups” or individuals (Martin 2004, p.2). To say it differently, “inequality is about relative differences” (Martin; 2004, p.3).

Inequality has been recognized as a class phenomenon and has been associated with property and wealth, or to be more specific, income (Philips, 1999). Earlier researchers have focused on social class and claimed that people who are
located in the lower parts of the social pyramid experience higher subjective feelings of powerlessness, which, then, leads to criminal behavior (Messner & Golden, 1992; Braithwaite, 1979).

In other words, not inequality in the normative sense, but unjust behaviors result in dissatisfactions. As Agnew (1992, 2001 and 2006) proposes, unjust behaviors are likely to lead negative emotions. Furthermore, these unjust strains can reduce social control and may lead to crime.

Violence, Crime and Terrorism as a Response to Injustice

Researchers have also found that there is a positive relationship between crime and economic inequality (Ehrlich, 1973; Naumayer, 2004; Kennedy, Kawachi, Stith, Lochner & Gupta, 1998). However, inequalities cannot be limited to economic inequality. Many other conditions, such as variation in the status of different groups and variations in access to particular goods, such as education, work, and health, may result in inequality (Martin, 2004).

Socio-economic and political inequalities may also result in violence and crime. Rioting in Malaysia in the 1960’s, civil war in Sri Lanka, uprisings in South Africa between 1976 and 1993, and insurgency in Nepal in 1996 are some examples of political violence believed to be triggered by existing inequalities (UNDP, 2004).

According to Bourdieu (1977), violence is justified under two conditions. First, if there is an actual attack against individuals, violence as a defense is used by those who are under attack. Second, as a response to other types of violence, such as symbolic
violence, it is justified by the disadvantaged groups when the oppressed group believes that they are worthless in the eyes of the dominant group (Hochschild, 1981).

Criminals may justify their violent acts by claiming that there is already an existing injustice in the world, whether this perceived injustice is due to economic problems or other reasons. Thus, people at the bottom of the pyramid may feel less loyalty to the system and may justify even terrorism, which is often driven by a sense of injustice and hopelessness (O’Neill, 2002). Moreover, the “terrorist believes that he or she is serving a greater cause that is just” (Nassar, 2005).

Historically, political movements were mostly believed to be a response to poverty, low pay, or unemployment, which are different aspects of inequalities (Philips, 1999). Terrorism, as a crime with a political agenda, may also be influenced by persisting inequalities (Borum, 2004). As a response to injustice, inequalities in political and economic arenas increase the opportunities for terrorist actions (Laqueur, 1999). New terrorist candidates are chosen from volunteers who are more likely to be the poorest members of that society (Berman, 2002; Stern, 2000). Besides, for the volunteers, terrorist cadres are more attractive than their current situation (Addison, Le Billon, & Murshed, 2002).

Furthermore, as O’Neill clearly explains:

The new international global system with its growing institutions, trade and technological capacities, can exacerbate real and perceived inequities, creating greater inequalities between and within states. Terrorists can exploit these gaps, using modern communications and jet travel to preach their ideologies, raise funds, recruit and hide (O’Neill; 2002, p.22).

The relationship between globalization and inequality should also be considered for a better understanding of how terrorists exploit global and local problems. As it is
presented in the statements of some terrorists, terrorists claim that all other individuals who think like they do have similar problems all around the world. They tend to globalize their problem or they tend to individualize it and claim the global problem as their own.

Perceptions on Global Inequality

The feeling of powerlessness and helplessness because of the increasing inequality is not a new phenomenon. However, today the issue is that while all societies emphasize these inequalities, inherent inequality seems to be increasing all around the globe. Since the 1980s, “inequality has risen in most countries and in many cases sharply” (Cornia & Court, 2001, p.1).

Globalization does not just affect economics, but it also threatens every aspect of life. Dominated by Western media, beliefs, values, preferences, globalization has a powerful impact on non-western cultures and often by the Western culture. This impact has been seen as a part of a global penetration. Western culture spreads through the world by developing communication systems. “With the internet and email, it is easy for citizens of all nations of the world to acquire information and to communicate with each other instantaneously” (Hassman & Rhonda, 2004, p.27). However, this diffusion of information is not a penetration, but a one way process. Societies that have the power of the media and technology have a greater chance to influence others.

These transnational corporations also are the engines of development that “promote economic rights through investment and job creation, and civil and political rights through the creation of a stable and tolerant environment” (Rodriguez, 2004, p.7). However, today the economic gap between the rich and the poor, which promotes
inequality and the sense of unfairness in the hearts of the poor, is greater than ever. Although societies may develop rapidly, poverty and economic inequality also continue to rise (United Nations, 2003).

About one fifth of the world’s population is living on less than one dollar per day (United Nations, 2003). Furthermore, in the urban areas of the world’s poorest countries poverty is increasing dramatically, along with severe health problems such as low levels of life expectancy with high levels of infant mortality (Rodriguez, 2004).

Thanks to globalization, people all around the world are now aware of all this information. The news on human rights abuses, protests, crimes and social conflicts, along with wars, are not domestic any more. The extension of communication networks all over the world helped people become more aware of their poverty and misery, while it alienating others.

When terrorists experience a specific unjust behavior, they affirm their perception of injustice by providing similar examples from different parts of the world. “I” as a victim becomes “we,” and perhaps this perception increases the magnitude of the anger toward others.
CHAPTER II
TURKEY AND TERRORISM IN TURKEY

In this chapter, initially brief information about economic, political, educational and religious structure of Turkey will be presented. That will be followed by terrorism in Turkey and the structure of Turkish Hezbollah terror organization. The main goal of this Chapter is to provide background information about Turkish Hezbollah terror organization as the sample chosen for the purpose of this study.

History of Turkey

Geographically, Turkey is located at a point where Europe and Asia meet; although the larger part of Turkey is in Asia, about 25% of the population lives in the European part of Turkey. After the collapse of Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey was founded by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in 1923, following a war of independence. Revolutionary reforms carried out by Ataturk formed the new image of Turkey. The six pillars of Ataturk’s ideology: nationalism, populism, republicanism, revolutionism, secularism and statism have been the cornerstones of the Turkish Republic (Zurcher, 1993; Kucukcan, 2003). The westernization process, initially carried by Ataturk, still maintains its effects on modern Turkey and its citizens.

It is clear that these changes aim to carry Turkey to a better position; however, the adaptation of Turkish society to newly-implemented changes also brings new challenges. While some easily adapt to new ways of life, some resist and attempt to maintain status quo. The changing structure of Turkey and the challenges she faces
may be seen in the political, economic, religious and educational structures of Turkish society.

Economic Structure in Turkey

In the search for initial strains of terrorists, the researcher decided to identify the challenges of the Turkish society. The macro-economic problems of Turkey have also effect on individuals. Even though macro-level problems is not the subject matter of this study, it is clear that to better understand the economic strains of individuals one should have a brief knowledge about the conjuncture. Understanding the economic structure and the problems will foster understanding the micro-level economic strains.

Turkish Republic aimed to build a modern industrial economy under the vision of Ataturk (Cooper, 2002). Although the Turkish economy has suffered from high inflation rates until 2002, the inflation rate gradually decreased from three digit numbers to one digit since 2002 (Kibritcioglu, 2004).

Economic crises experienced since the formation of Turkey have also impacted society in ways such as increase in unemployment rates, negative changes in the quality of life, decrease in socioeconomic status, increase in poverty rates, and income inequality between the social classes (WHO, 1998). Unemployment also increases social stress and family problems (Petrovich, 2001).

In Turkey, transformation from an agricultural society to an industrial society created strain primarily on individuals living in rural areas (Ozkan, 2006). Traditionally, Turkish society appreciates hard-working individuals even though they earn less (Tezcan, 1974). However, with the transition to a free market economy, getting rich has
become one of the main goals of the society. Migration to bigger cities where job opportunities are prevalent has emerged as a solution for poverty, but migration has brought new strains to the lives of immigrants such as low paying jobs, unemployment, and termination of earlier relationships.

Political Structure in Turkey

Political strains of individuals are also related to the political culture formed since the formation of Turkey. The early years of Turkey passed with reforms in order to form a modern westernized country (Bayar, 1996). Thus, the early Turkish Republic mostly remained a one-party regime (Karaomerlioglu, 2006; Tanor, 1996). Turkey adopted a democratic multiparty system in 1947. The number of political parties in Turkey gradually increased since the transformation to a multi-party system. In the 2007 elections, 14 parties decided to enter general elections, although the number of existing political parties exceeds 30 (Turk, 1995; YSK, 2007).

Unfortunately, democracy in Turkey has not been stable. Turkey experienced three military interventions in 1960, 1971, and 1980 which were relatively brief (Dagi, 2001; Momayez, 1998). The Turkish military did not aim to destabilize democracy, but the intense power struggles and political instabilities paved the way to military interventions (Momayez, 1998).

Turkish citizens are highly interested in politics and want their ideology to be represented in the parliament. The high number of political parties and high voting rates are some indicators of this value. For example, in 2007, the voting rate in general elections was 84.6%, while it was 92.3% in 1983 elections (Tuncer, 2006).
Due to the high number of political parties in Turkey, the parties are elected by proportional representation with a national election threshold of 10%. The 10% threshold established to prevent ineffective coalitions and fragmentation of political parties is also problematic; the threshold causes not only over representation of a party in the parliament, but also unrepresentation of parties which were below the threshold (Tuncer, 2006).

Religious Structure in Turkey

In Turkey micro-level religious strains of religious people is related to the struggle between secular groups and non-secular groups and actions taken by these groups. Secularization of the state has been one of the main characteristics of the modernization process in Turkey. Kucukcan (2003) classifies the secularization process in Turkey into three steps: symbolic secularization, institutional secularization, and functional secularization. In the first phase Latin script, Western-style clothing, and the Gregorian calendar were adopted. In the second phase, some institutions, such as caliphate, and religious movements were abolished. Finally, in the third phase, legal and educational structures were secularized (Kucukcan, 2003).

Currently, the population in Turkey is overwhelmingly Muslim, while a small group of individuals support political Islam (Cornell, 2001). Despite this reality, being Muslim is one of the identity markers for Turks. Furthermore, the moral values of Islam are held in traditional families (Kucukcan, 2003).

Due to the French style secular structure of the state and religious values held in the society, conflicts between state and society still continue to exist. The secular
structure of the state filters both to the public institutions and private lives of individuals (Kucukcan, 2003; Hann, 2000).

While commonly accepted religious values in private life have been maintained, there is little place for religion in public life. Although a non-violent, non-extremist religious life that promotes unity among Turkish Muslims (Sinanoglu, 2006) is accepted as a way of living, privatization of religion created strain over individuals due to limitations in public life.

Educational Structure in Turkey

While education can provide problem solving skills and higher self-efficacy, problems in schools can be sources of strains (Agnew, 2006). Especially when other types of strains, such as political or religious strains, emerge as a discriminating factor due to policies held in the education system, schools may become problem creating locations.

The Republic of Turkey abolished the old education system and implemented a new modern secular system (Turan, 2000). The number of primary schools increased by 35%, secondary schools by 15%, high schools by 148% and higher educational institutions by 88% in the first decade of the Turkish Republic (Sari & Soytas, 2006). Modernization has been one of the main policies of the Turkish educational system (Kazamias & Massialas, 1965; Kocer, 1987).

Due to secularization of all institutions, religious classes were removed from the curriculum. In 1951, the first “Imam and Preacher Schools” were implemented in Turkey (Kaymakcan, 2006; Ocal, 2007). Most of Turkish society was pleased when these
schools were established; there were also some serious concerns regarding strict secularist groups. While some viewed these schools as a place where both religious and high school courses can be studied, others perceived them as a threat to the secular system (Ocal, 2007).

Also, the restriction on females wearing scarves at universities is another problem in the Turkish education system (Kucukcan, 2003). Many university faculty, assistants, and administrators were discharged for wearing scarves (Oktem, 2003). The Turkish education system witnessed various demonstrations at universities due to the violation of free will; consequently the ideological conflicts on the aforementioned issues cause ideological polarizations in public life.

Terrorism in Turkey

Terrorism in Turkey has its roots in 1960s revolutionary left-wing and right wing groups. However, terrorism has become a challenge after 1980s. Since then various terror organizations operated in Turkey and caused killings of more than 30,000 people.

Since the formation of Turkey, westernization, secularization, and democratization have been met with hostile movements of both extreme left wing and right wing groups; developments in various areas such as technology, communication systems, and educational opportunities resulted in higher expectations of the Turkish public, specifically university students who are involved in political life (Bal & Laciner, 2001). The newly implemented democratic system could not fulfill the desires of the public, and social disorder was the result of the unsatisfied expectations of the masses.
Due to the failure of the government, armed forces took control and ruled the state for eighteen months in 1960.

However, extreme leftist groups’ terror activities started in the 1960s, influenced by ongoing terror activities in Europe, and received support from Bulgaria and the eastern block countries (Shughart II, 2006). While the left wing groups functioned in the universities, right wing groups operated in religious institutions where control is harder for the government. The government’s inability to cope with spreading violence once again encouraged military force, and martial law was imposed in 1971, resulting in arrests.

Although social order and stability had been ensured by 1974 and general amnesty had been declared, soon new terrorist activities emerged with high numbers of casualties; the new government discharged most of the prisoners who later reorganized themselves as members in various institutions. Turkey was again surrounded by the brutal victimization of innocent people; between 1978 and 1979, 2400 political murders were committed. Once again, in 1980, military forces had to intervene in politics to restore order in the country (Laqueur, 1999).

As a result of this intervention, thousands of suspects and weapons were seized, while many terrorists escaped abroad and were accepted by Western European countries as refugees where they continued their activities (Shughart II, 2006). The reorganized terrorist groups initiated new armed activities and have been active since then as leftist, separatist, and right wing fundamentalist terrorist organizations (Teymur, 2003).
Revolutionary Left (Dev-Sol), a Marxist terrorist organization which split in the late 1970s and formed the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C), is one of these active terrorist organizations. The primary goal of DHKP/C is to introduce their goals and overthrow the existing political structure to implement Communism by revolution. The group murdered politicians, police and military officers, engaged in bombings, kidnapping and several attacks on United States military personnel located in Turkey. They continue to remain a threat despite the efforts of the Turkish Security Forces (Teymur, 2003; DHKC, 1998).

The rural areas of southeast Turkey faced a new threat in the 1970s. Kurdish left wing, which first appeared on the stage of Turkish politics in the late 1960s and developed in the 1970s, preferred a policy of confrontation with the system, and, in the end, some of these groups rejected all ties with the existing political system with a demand for separation from Turkey to form an independent Kurdish state in the southern part of Anatolia (Cornell, 2001; Button, 1995). Some Kurdish students who had migrated to larger cities in the west developed a new approach to the influence of Communism (A.P., 2004). The Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) terrorist organization was founded in 1978 by a group of Kurdish citizens of Turkey in Urfa, a city located in the southeastern portion of Turkey. The Marxist-Leninist ideology of the group paved their way to accept armed struggle against Turkey. The PKK identifies itself as a warrior organization and view the Turkish Republic as their enemy.

After the initial phase of organization, recruitment, and battling with other Kurdish organizations for dominance, the PKK moved to Syria and the Bekaa Valley of Lebanon in order to escape the pressures of government. The PKK set up allies in the Middle East and
found supporters elsewhere. The PKK not only fought against the Turkish Republic, but also against non-PKK Kurds in the region. More than 30,000 were killed; many of them were civilians including children and women (Ergil, 2000; A.P., 2004). Extreme, religiously-motivated groups also used terrorism and violence as means to achieve their goals. Turkey’s secular system has been viewed as a danger and an infidel way of life. Their main goal is to implement an Islamic Sharia-based state (U.S.D.S., 2003).

Turkish Hezbollah

Among different right wing terrorist groups Turkish Hezbollah has been the most active terrorist organization since early 1980s. In the late 1990s, Hezbollah attempted to widen its area of operation to cities in the western part of Turkey, especially Istanbul. The efforts of the group were seriously limited with security operations carried out against Turkish Hezbollah in early 2000s (Ozeren & Van, 2004).

The surfacing of Turkish Hezbollah goes back to early 1980s, even though there is no assured data on the origins of the Turkish Hezbollah terrorist organization. In order to establish a Sunni Muslim theocratic state, Turkish Hezbollah was initially located in the southern part of the country. Despite the fact that Turkish Hezbollah shares its name with Lebanese Hezbollah, it does not have any identified official or physical connection with Lebanese Hezbollah (USDS, 2003).

Establishing a radical Shiite Islamist theocracy in Lebanon is the central goal of Lebanese Hezbollah. Turkish Hezbollah is mainly rooted in Sunni Islam, while the ideology of Hezbollah in Lebanon is embedded in Shiite ideology. Lebanese Hezbollah has been active throughout diverse settings all around the world such as North America,
South America, Europe, and Africa as well as Lebanon. As a nationwide terrorist organization, Turkish Hezbollah has not carried out international attacks. Also, information in Turkish Hezbollah is strictly reserved for a very secret group (Ozeren & Van, 2004).

Due to its ethnic heterogeneity, Turkish Hezbollah is also recognized as the “Kurdish Revolutionary Hezbollah” (Hisbullahi Kurdi Shorishger) in northern Iraq. On the other hand, it is necessary to acknowledge that the Iranian revolution and the teachings of Ayatollah Khomeini had a major influence on and other Islamic radical groups in Turkey (Aydinli, 2000).

Turkey observed the horrible face of the exploitation of Islamic values for the benefit of terrorist activities with the emergence of Turkish Hezbollah. Even though there were some minor rebellions against the government in the past, it was the first time that religiously-motivated violence was seen as a challenge to the social order in Turkey.

Members of Turkish Hezbollah met in bookstores in the Southern cities of Turkey to share their political ideologies and to find new members for the organization in cities such as Diyarbakir, Van, Batman, and Mardin. Turkish Hezbollah primarily gathered at one bookstore, Vahdet; however, due to ideological divergence within the group and leadership struggles, Turkish Hezbollah divided into two major groups: Menzilciler (Rangers) and Ilimciler (Scientists). The Menzilciler, directed by Fidan Gungor, gathered at the Menzil bookstore, whereas the Ilimciler, directed by Huseyin Velioglu, met at the Bookstore, Ilim. Along with the leadership struggles, the differing tactics that they adapted gave speed to the separation of the group. While the Ilimciler held that armed
struggle was the only way to implement their political ideology, for the Menzilciler group, it was not the right time for radical actions and opposed the Ilimciler group. The Ilimciler group is now called Turkish Hezbollah. During the late 1980s, Turkish Hezbollah fought against the Menzilciler group in the southeastern region of Turkey. After the killing of Menzilciler leader Fidan Gungor by Ilimciler members, the clash between Ilimciler and Menzilciler was ended in 1994, but the peace was short-lived and the conflict between the groups remains today (Ozeren & Van, 2004).

Turkish Hezbollah found a new enemy immediately following their struggle for leadership; the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) terrorist organization, which is primarily located in the same region. Turkish Hezbollah started killing PKK members in the cities of Southeastern Turkey. PKK was also influential in southeast Turkey because they used cruel strategies and a dogmatic political ideology to find support for its assaults against the Turkish state (Aydintasbas, 2000). The underlying motivation behind this conflict between Turkish Hezbollah and PKK was in fact nothing more than the conflict of powers that they do not want to share; Turkish Hezbollah wanted to appear as the unique key force in the region and could not tolerate outside power. Turkish Hezbollah did not attack the state apparatus to avoid direct conflict with the state authorities, even though it had an anti-secularist ideology which conflicts with Turkey’s national ideologies (Aydintasbas, 2000). In the initial phases of the movement, Turkish Hezbollah’s aim was to have power over religious and Kurdish groups in the region, and then to gain support all over the country, thus avoiding direct confrontation with the state (Nugent, 2004).
The PKK and Turkish Hezbollah terror organizations realized that the conflict between them was an obstacle in front of their final goals. Thus, in the mid-1990s, Turkish Hezbollah steered its focus away from PKK and concentrated its attacks against the Turkish state to expand their influence in Turkey. In order to finalize the ongoing conflict between Turkish Hezbollah and PKK and to initiate new attacks against the Turkish state, two terrorist organizations signed a “cooperation protocol” in March 1993. In order to develop a nationwide collective movement before taking on the state, Turkish Hezbollah wanted to continue its struggles in the western cities of Turkey as the following stage of their agenda. The primary targets of Turkish Hezbollah were businessmen with Islamic dealings to provide financing for the organization. However, these attacks led to the destruction of the terrorist organization (Karmon, 1997).

In the struggle against the terror organization, intelligence for security forces was gathered with the successful operations carried out in 1997 and 1998 (Ozeren & Van, 2004). In March 1999, over 20,000 pages of secret Turkish Hezbollah documents were captured during the operations carried out in southeastern cities of Turkey. Additionally, some computer discs containing invaluable information about the terror organization were captured in June 1999. The information gathered ensured the success of later operations by the Turkish national police force (Zaman, 2000).

Huseyin Velioglu, the leader of Turkish Hezbollah Terror Organization, was found dead in the Beykoz district of Istanbul after a security operation in 2000. This incident led security forces to get new information from this cell and thus weaken the remaining Turkish Hezbollah elements. Today, there is no known violent activity of the Turkish
Hezbollah. Its members are either in prison, or left the organization, while some others are still trying to form a new structure (Cnnturk, 2008).

The Ideology of Turkish Hezbollah

For Turkish Hezbollah the struggle is between the unquestionable “rights” and “wrongs” which create antagonistic feelings against people who do not think like them. Turkish Hezbollah chooses to clash with all groups they consider to have departed from what they believe or the correct way of Islam. Thus, they are also in disagreement with other Islamic groups.

The fundamentals of Turkish Hezbollah stem from the threat of the modern Kharijites or Hariciler. The initial uprising against the rulers of the Islamic world was started by the rigid doctrines defended by the Hariciler. Kharijites classifies all human beings in two distinct categories: true Muslims and nonbelievers. They declared jihad, “holy war,” against all nonbelievers and apostate Muslims. They legitimized the use of any means to get rid of all others different from themselves (Ozeren & Van, 2004).

The secular system in Turkey is not only a danger for the existence of Turkish Hezbollah, but also a cause for their violent actions; the final goal of Turkish Hezbollah is to overthrow the secular system in Turkey in order to form a state which is lined by strictly interpreted Islamic rules with an extremist religious ideology (Nugent, 2004; Aydintasbas, 2000).

The Structure of the Turkish Hezbollah Terrorist Organization

In the struggle against the terror organization, intelligence for security forces was
gathered with the successful operations. These operations led security forces to gain information from terrorist cells. Police was able to identify the structure and how they operate as a terrorist organization.

Among the Turkish Hezbollah, each position in the organization is identified and defined clearly according to the roles given to each member among the structure of Turkish Hezbollah. The three major levels in the hierarchical structure of the organization are categorized as the Leadership, Top Council, which is called Sura, and Lower-Level, or city, Council (Ozeren & Van, 2004).

The Leadership is the first level in the hierarchical structure of Turkish Hezbollah. The leadership is shared between the spiritual leader and the political leader. The main function of the spiritual leader is to motivate the terrorists with religious ideas and support their activities. It is obvious that the spiritual leader does not have influence or control over decision-making or execution of the terror acts. The activities of the organization are carried out by the political leader. The political leader has the power to change or modify the directions of operations. Although the two positions are not generally carried out by one person, Huseyin Velioglu, as the unquestionable leader, served as both the political and the spiritual leader (Ozeren & Van, 2004).

The Top Council, or Sura, is composed of high-ranked political and military leaders in the hierarchical structure of Turkish Hezbollah. The main function of the Top Council is to discuss and make important decisions about the organization’s political and military actions (Ozeren & Van, 2004).

In the local cities and towns a structure parallel to the Top Council is adapted to the Lower-Level Council; the hierarchical structure is shared between the political and
military divisions. The military wing is responsible for the armed operations of the Turkish Hezbollah. The military leader is responsible of carrying out the armed operations, whether in the Top Council or the Lower-level Council. The military wing is composed of unit leaders and operation teams or units. Unit leaders control three military operation teams within each lower-level, or city, council. The city leader supervises these unit leaders and unit leaders channel city leaders’ orders to the operation teams. Operation teams are the smallest structure in the hierarchical rank of military wing. Operation teams are typically composed of two to six members. Operation teams are regulated with extreme secrecy. A member of an operation team does not have any information about the members of another operation team; they do not even have information about their team members (Ozeren & Van, 2004).

The main goal of the political wing is to recruit new members and to diffuse the teachings of Turkish Hezbollah to the community around them. The political wing leader of Turkish Hezbollah is also a member of the Top Council. The duty of the high-ranking officials is to boost the operations of the organization and to construct relations with the public. At the same time, Turkish Hezbollah radicals also have the duty to recruit new members and to use propaganda in schools. Commonly, public units are structured in and around villages, neighborhoods, and mosques. However, public units do not have any influential role in the decision-making process within the structure of Turkish Hezbollah (Ozeren & Van, 2004).

Methods of Operations used by Turkish Hezbollah

In the basement of a terrorist cell, 10 tortured and killed Turkish Hezbollah
victims and video tapes of torturous interrogations and identification cards were found. Also 70 corpses of missing persons and videotaped interrogations of victims in numerous additional terrorist cells were identified (AANA, 2000).

In 2007, 20 Turkish Hezbollah members found guilty of 71 killings, 90 wounding, several bombings and kidnappings between 1992 and 1994 (Sabah, 2007). Captured Turkish Hezbollah members confessed that arson, shootings, kidnappings, beatings, assaults using meat cleavers, and attacks with acid on women who do not dress in an Islamic manner are regular activities of Turkish Hezbollah (Ozeren & Van, 2004).

Kidnapping for ransom, or for other reasons, is one of the favored methods used in the operations of Turkish Hezbollah. They choose PKK members, a Marxist-Leninist terrorist organization in Turkey, other religious organization members, and businessmen as their targets. These kidnappings typically ended in brutal torture and death. Some victims were tied up and suffocated. Others were buried alive and left to die pitilessly (Morris, 2000).
CHAPTER III
UNDERSTANDING TERRORISM FROM A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

Terrorism has not been a subject matter of sociological theory. However, different approaches have been adapted to question the problem of terrorism. In this chapter three different approaches will be presented initially. Even though these theoretical approaches have not been empirically tested, they may shed light on our understandings.

Later, the theoretical grounds of general strain theory will be presented. The indirect influence of Durkheim (1984) on general strain theory and Merton’s (1968) impact on Agnew (1992) and his general strain theory will be explained. Also, Agnew’s (1992) critiques of Merton’s macro-level approach to strain will be discussed. After explaining Agnew’s (1992) general strain theory and its components in detail, the theory will be extended to the study of terrorism.

Instrumental Approach to Terrorism: Rational Choice Theory

Even though there is not a direct adoption from either sociology or criminology, some political scientists such as Crenshaw (1983, 1981) viewed terrorism as a strategic choice of terrorists. They proposed that terrorists use violence as an instrument to achieve their political goals. Furthermore terrorism is a strategic choice to achieve desired political goals after a cost and benefit calculation (Brannan, et al., 2001; McCormick, 2003). In other words, instrumental approach theorists emphasize the
rationale of terrorists and the benefits that they can attain by terror activities (McCormick, 2003).

All sociologists accept that people act rationally in some extent, but human action also involves non-rational components. In terms of terrorism, some academicians (McCormick, 2003; Crenshaw, 1981; Hudson, 1999; Laqueur, 1977) claim that terrorists are aware of their actions and carry out their activities to reach their desired goals. To better understand their approach in sociological terms one should have brief information about rational choice theory.

Starting with Weber (1920), Malinowski (1922) Mauss (1925) and Parsons (1937) looked at the rational actions of individuals. Rational choice theorists accept that all human actions are purely rational. Homans (1974) proposed the framework of the theory and later Blau (1964), Coleman (1973), and Cook (1977) extended the theory.

According to rational choice theorists the rational individual calculates the cost and the benefit of their action (Collins, 1994). Rational choice theory has also found a place in criminology. Criminals also calculate the cost, or in other words punishment and the benefits of their action. For example, Cornish and Clarke (1986) suggested that criminals rationally make calculations before they decide to violate the law. As Crenshaw (1981) states, “as purposeful activity, terrorism is the result of an organization’s decision that it is a politically useful means to oppose a government.”

However, socio-political environment plays an important role in their decisions (Crenshaw, 1981; Hudson, 1999). Crenshaw (1981) labels these environmental conditions as “permissive factors.” Inequality, injustice, and poverty can be cited as some of these environmental conditions (Laqueur, 1977). To be more specific,
Crenshaw (1981) classifies these “permissive factors” in two categories. “Preconditions” as situational factors increase sympathy towards terror organizations, while “precipitants” are direct motivations for individuals.

Terror organizations do not only carry out their actions as a rational choice, but also aim to provoke the system by claiming that the state is using an unbalanced power against them (Crenshaw, 1981). Trying to change political power, or policies, they also polarize the citizens (Crenshaw, 1983; Laqueur, 1977).

It seems that instrumental approach suggests a short-term solution to terrorism, because both the political power and terror organizations should act instantly according to current socio-political environment and should respond to actions of conflicting party. Rationality of both group and their well-matched reactions are crucial in their success against one another. However, it is clear that human beings do not always act rationally. Organizational approach to terrorism suggests the irrational aspect of individuals in their actions. Moreover unlike instrumental approach, organizational approach does not overlook to individuals’ involvement in the process.

Organizational Approach to Terrorism: A Middle Range Theory on Terrorism

While some academicians focus on the relation between the state and the terrorist organization like instrumental approach theorists do, some others tend to focus on the internal dynamics of the terror organization. The organizational approach focuses on the effect of the terror organization on their members. This approach suggests that it is not the commitment of the members, but the collective decision of the organization is
influential on their actions (Hudson, 1999). Thus, to understand terrorism, one should focus on the structural features of the terror organization (McCormick, 2003).

According to Janis (1972), individuals' freewill replaces with the will of the organization, which, finally, produces irrational acts such as violence against others. According to Janis (1972), terror organization encourages the individual and rationalizes their actions to justify violence. As Crenshaw (2000) proposes violence carried out by terrorists can better be explained by accepting the influence of social structure formed in the organization. An isolated life inside the organization leads individuals to conform to the social structure and reject outside influences (Wasmund, 1986). In contrast to instrumental approach, organizational approach suggests that regardless of the cost of their action, terrorists serve for the good of the organization (Crenshaw, 2000). Organizational approach as a middle range theory focus on the social structure of terror organizations; however, micro-level approach seems to be necessary to a better understanding of how each member acts and what they individually feel.

Micro-Level Approach to Terrorism: Frustration-Aggression Theory

Frustration-aggression theory was initially proposed by Dollard et al. (1939). For Dollard et al, frustration always leads to aggression and aggression always results from frustration. He claimed that frustration is a necessary condition for aggression. Homans’ (1974) aggression-approval proposition also emphasizes a similar approach. For Homans (1974, p.37) “when a person’s action does not receive the reward he expected, or receives punishment he did not expect, he will become angry.”
However, Burnstein and Worchel (1962) criticized Dollard (1939) and claimed that frustration sometimes increases aggression, but not every time. Berkowitz (1978, 1988) expanded Dollard's proposal and suggested that frustration paves the grounds for aggression, while the magnitude of the negative emotion should be considered.

Buss (1963) conducted an experiment on male and female university students to test whether “the strength of the resulting aggressive inclination would be in direct proportion to the strength of the non-fulfilled desires” (Berkowitz, 1989, p.64). He concluded that frustration causes aggression even though the reward given to the subjects during the experiment was not an actual one.

Gurr (1970) argued that if the expectations are greater than the achievements, frustration occurs, which finally turns into anger and violence. For Gurr (1970), the necessary precondition for violent civil conflict is relative deprivation that is the difference between the value expectations and the capabilities of the individual. Also, Margolin (1977, 273-4) supports Gurr and claims that “much terrorist behavior is a response to the frustration of various political, economic, and personal needs or objectives.”

In 2004, another study was conducted by Nachmias. Nachmias, (2004) studied frustration-aggression theory on 1987 and 2000 Palestinian uprisings. Utilizing case studies as his methodological approach, Nachmias, (2004) observed the relationship between growing frustration and type of resistance in the camp. He claimed that individuals in the camp shift from being a potential terrorist to being an actual terrorist who performs violent behaviors as a relief from experienced frustration in the camp. He concluded that failure to achieve valued goals may cause violence.
In sum, the instrumental approach to terrorism views the relationship between state and terror organization as a struggle for power. Terror organizations consciously terrorize the citizens to manipulate the politics of the legal system. For terrorists the rationale behind violent acts is to weaken the existing legal system and to set up the suitable conditions for their political goal. Instrumental approach seems to neglect the possibility that individuals may act irrationally.

Organizational approach to terrorism claims that terror organizations are not very different from legal business organizations in terms of their social structure. Internal dynamics have a great impact on individuals’ decisions. The social structure formed inside a terror organization forms a pressure over the individual. The decisions carried out by the organization are in fact not the decisions of individuals, but the decision of the organization as a whole. In other words, in contrast to instrumental approach, organizational approach claims that irrational violent acts are the decisions of the social structure.

Frustration-aggression theory suggests that goal blockage causes frustration which finally turns into aggression. The aggression formed may lead to violent behaviors. Frustration-aggression theory views the problem from a micro-level and includes the emotional aspect of human beings. However, it is clear that goal blockage does not necessarily result in frustration and frustration may not always result in aggression. Also, as Agnew (2006) postulates, there may be legal ways to elevate the negative emotions. Individuals may find socially acceptable ways to cope with negative feelings.
Theoretical Grounds of General Stain Theory

From a macro-level approach it can be said that terrorist groups use violence as a means to achieve their political goal. Moreover, if an individual is placed in the military wing he/she will be organizationally pressured to act violently. However, micro-level influences should not be neglected in terrorism studies. This study will adopt Agnew’s general strain theory to terrorism. General strain theory postulates that experienced strains lead to negative emotional states which increase the likelihood of crime as a possible response (Agnew, 2006).

Adopting general strain theory to the study of terrorism, this study focuses on the micro-level influences. General strain theory can help the researcher to identify the relation between earlier strains of terrorists and their violent behaviors. This section focuses on the theoretical grounds of general strain theory. The researcher will also explain why general strain theory may provide better explanations for terrorism.

The Influence of Durkheim on the Development of General Strain Theory

The roots of general strain theory go far back to classical sociological theory. Even though Durkheim focused on macro sociology, his theoretical approach on anomie influenced Merton (1968). Like Durkheim (1984), Merton (1968) was also a macro sociologist and his studies on crime and anomie (Strain Theory), later, was expanded by Agnew (1992) as a micro-level approach (General Strain Theory).

Durkheim’s initial discussions on anomie and its relation to crime triggered a new approach to crime. One of Durkheim’s major interests was to explain variations in norms and in what caused individuals to follow those norms. He employed a
functionalist paradigm to form theories about social change, suicide, deviance and
crime. He viewed society as a whole, much like a living organism. Within that wholeness,
deviation from the rules and crime are natural parts of that society. For Durkheim (1984)
crime is a social fact, and as such, was an inevitable element of all societies.

Furthermore, Durkheim (1984) argued that crime is functional and a necessary
condition in any given society, since “it is bound up with the fundamental conditions of
all social life, and by that very fact it is useful, because these conditions of which it is a
part are themselves indispensable to the normal evolution of morality and law”
(Durkheim, 1964, p.70). In other words, individuals may carry different characters, and
some of them may have a deviant one which may lead to innovative actions. Durkheim
claimed that the collective reactions should not be hostile to social change. If these
reactions are too strong to avoid crime, these reactions will also be strong against
innovative actions. From this perspective, crime is advantageous in a society as far as it
helps society to maintain itself and evolve.

In his book, *The Division of Labor in Society*, Durkheim (1984) chose law as the
external index for his analysis of social solidarity. Durkheim tries to understand the
social structure and its effect on individuals. More specifically, for Durkheim (1984) the
punishment type in a society is related to how society views and responds to crime. As
a consequence of his methodological approach, his study led him to focus on crime as
an act of denial of social solidarity. Durkheim (1984, p.80) defined crime as an act,
which “offends strong and defined states of the collective conscience.”

While Durkheim claimed that crime is functional for the society, he realized that a
high rate of crime is problematic. For Durkheim *anomie* is the condition where norms
are lacking, or unclear. When collective conscience fails, for Durkheim, the result is a state of anomie. Durkheim claimed that anomie (normlessness), leads to deviant behavior, including crime.

Durkheim discussed the concept of anomie in his books *The Division of Labor in Society* and *Suicide*. According to Durkheim, the state of anomie can be the result of several conditions. As the social regulations over individuals break down and individuals are set free from those restraints, people will try to satisfy their personal appetites. Infinite insatiability of people produces dissatisfaction and conflict (Durkheim, 1984).

Durkheim (1984) proposed that rapid changes in the social structure result in the breaking down of social regulations, by forming an anomic environment. He claims that the “changes have been produced in the structure of our societies in a very short time... the functions which have been disrupted in the courses of the upheaval have not had the time to adjust themselves to one another” (Durkheim, 1984, p.408).

Moreover, Durkheim had a holistic approach to society. His views led him to adopt a macro-level approach. Rather than focusing on individuals, he was more concerned about how society functions. Durkheim’s (1984) works influenced Merton (1968). More specifically, Merton (1968) focused on similar concepts, such as crime and anomie. Merton (1968) expended Durkheim’s concept of anomie and formed his “strain theory”. Durkheim’s influence on Agnew (1992) was not a direct influence. Studying crime Agnew (1992) expanded Merton’s (1968) strain theory.

Merton’s Influence on the Development of General Strain Theory

Durkheim’s definition of anomie is too vague for Merton (1968). In illustration of
the theory of anomie, Merton (1968) argues that anomie occurs when society or the social structure holds high ideals or values for all its members, yet some members of that society are structurally barred from living up to those ideals. Thus the social structure becomes the major cause of anomie, which Merton relabels as "strain".

However, social institutions do not avail everyone equal opportunities to achieve economic success. Merton argues that social disorder and anomie result from individuals struggling to live up to the cultural value of success, but with no or with inadequate institutional means, whereby they find different methods to achieve the cultural goal, even if it is through crime. For Merton (1968), strain results from the disjuncture between goals & means. This strain, then, leads to patterns of adaptation.

Merton (1968) introduces five types of individual adaptation to the established cultural goals. The first, and most common type of adaptation according to Merton, is conformity. The conformist internalizes the cultural goals, and at the same time society offers him/her the sufficient institutional means to realize the same goals. That is to say, social structure is functional for the conformist. However, the dysfunctional face of the same structure is visible from the other side whereby some individuals of the same population are denied adequate institutional means to achieve the high ideals. It is from this other side of structure that individuals choose to adapt to the cultural goals in a disruptive manner.

Merton (1968) cites four additional adaptation types. One of them is the innovator who internalizes the cultural values but is denied the institutional means to achieve the same goals. The innovator adapts by reaching the goals through any means possible, including crime. Merton (1968) describes the third type of adaptation as that of the
ritualist who refuses the cultural goals but internalizes the institutional means, thus working diligently hard in acknowledgement of his/her position in society. Merton (1968) also refers to the retreatists who reject both the cultural goals and the institutional means by declining to take any action, such as the drug dealer or drunkard. Merton’s (1968) fifth adaptation type is the rebellious who refuses both the cultural goals and the institutional means, yet seeks alternative goals and means.

Agnew’s Critiques of Merton’s Macro-Strain Theory

Merton’s strain theory has been criticized on a number of points. Here three of these criticisms will be given. According to Agnew (1985, p.152), one most important problem with the strain theory was about “the disjunction between aspirations and expectations.” According to Merton (1968) delinquency should be greater, if an individual has higher goals and lower expectations. However, Agnew (1985) claims that delinquency is higher when both goals and expectations are low. Empirical studies usually focus on the disjunction between aspirations and expectations for occupational, educational or monetary goals (Elliot & Voss, 1974; Gold, 1963, Hirschi, 1969). This disjunction is assumed to be the cause of frustration and strain. However, the results show that when the effects of aspirations and expectations are controlled, disjunctions are not related to crime.

Another problem with macro-strain theory was about social class. For Merton, if culturally valued goals are overemphasized in society and expectations decrease, crime rates should increase within that society; however, for Agnew, data does not support this hypothesis (Johnson, 1979; Thornberry & Farnworth, 1982; Krohn et al., 1980).
According to Merton (1968), delinquency should be higher in the lower class, because they are less likely to achieve economic goals. Agnew (1985) criticizes Merton (1968) by claiming that the relation between class and delinquency is under question. Also, crime seems to be prevalent in the middle class (Agnew, 1985).

The third problem with the strain theory is that individuals tend to behave less delinquent after adolescence. Agnew (2006) explanation of his critique focuses on two areas. Initially, adolescents experience more strains which may result with crime (Agnew, 2006). They may experience antagonistic reactions from their parents, teachers and peers which are uncommon for adults. Adolescents live in a more demanding social environment which creates more stress when compared to adults. Also, adolescents desire to live like adults, but are often prevented to do so.

Secondly, “adolescents are more likely to cope with their problems in a criminal manner” when compared to adults (Agnew; 2006, p.117). Agnew explains his criticism with poor social skills of adolescents, their irresponsibility, lower constraints, having less resource, lower social support and social control, and association with delinquent peers (Agnew, 2006). Agnew expanded the extent of Merton’s strain theory by including factors beyond economic success that cause strain, including social status, individual’s future expectations, and relations with other criminals (Agnew et al., 1996).

While Agnew (1992) was criticizing the strain theory, instead of abandoning it, he decided to expand the theory. Agnew’s general strain theory is an important development in theoretical explanation of crime. The next section will describe general strain theory.
In 1992, Agnew first introduced his micro-level general strain theory, which has undergone several revisions (1996, 2001, 2002, 2004), but essentially claims that crime is largely the result of feelings of aggression and frustration that emerges from experiencing strain. As previously stated, Agnew argues that there are additional sources of strain beyond economics. Specifically, Agnew (2006) classifies the types of strains that individuals face in three different categories:

1. Failure to achieve positively valued goals
2. Presentation of negative stimuli
3. Removal of positive stimuli

Figure 1 shows the central propositions of Agnew’s general strain theory and their relation to crime. Three major types of strains create negative emotions which finally, increase the likelihood of criminal behavior.

1. Failure to Achieve Positively Valued Stimuli

The first category of strain identified by Agnew (1992) is failure to achieve
positively valued stimuli. This type of strain is the result of an individual's failure to achieve positively valued goals. If the individual faces some obstacles, these positively valued goals turn into strain. According to Agnew, this type of strain is made up of three factors.

The first one is the disjunction between aspirations and expectations, which has been already studied by Merton (1968), Cohen (1955), and Cloward and Ohlin (1960). It is based on the idea that there are goals and values which are accepted by the whole society, but are not available to every member of that society (Agnew, 1992). For example, for these individuals some socially accepted values, such as physical attractiveness or being intelligent may not be achievable. This situation may create strain.

The second factor is the disjunction between expectations and actual achievements. According to Agnew (1992), when the actual achievement of an individual does not meet with his or her earlier expectations, strain increases. Income expectations which are largely related to reference groups can be given as an example for the disjunction between expectations and actual achievements. Agnew (1992) bases this strain on justice literature.

The third factor is strain that is the result of the disjunction between just/fair results and actual results. According to Agnew (1992), this type of strain occurs when actual results that a person faces are not the just and fair results that the individual believes to be fair. For Agnew (1992), equity theories also support this kind of strain. The strain is the result of the comparison of one’s expected rewards with his/her rewards, and the individual’s judgment of the fairness of the outcome (Agnew, 1992).
For example, after a hard work, individuals expect to have a good salary like other people do. If a hardworking individual earns less than others, he or she may think that the result is unfair and unjust. This may, in turn, result in negative emotions.

Even though some studies on aggression (Bandura, 1973; Zillman, 1979) neglect the relationship between crime and failure to achieve positively valued stimuli, and suggest that as a predictor of crime “the blockage of goal-seeking behavior” is relatively weak, especially when the goal has not been experienced earlier (Agnew; 1992, p.57). Thus, Agnew (1992) proposes that strain should be measured by taking all three sources of strains into account. Moreover, a cumulative effect of the three sources of strain is a suggested way for measurement (Agnew, 2006).

2. The Removal of Positively Valued Stimuli

The second category of strain identified by Agnew (1992) is the removal of positively valued stimuli. Agnew (1992, p.58) defines positively valued stimuli as reduction of “positive reinforcement previously administered to an individual.” This loss could appear in different forms in the life events of an individual. For example, the death of a loved one, the loss of a boyfriend or a girlfriend, or a moving to a new city may also cause strain for an individual (Agnew, 1992).

For Agnew (1992), when an individual experiences this type of strain, they may be drawn to engaging in criminal behavior in order to prevent the removal of positively valued stimuli, get back what was lost, or seek revenge on people who are responsible of the removal. Although previous studies do not directly show this relation (Paternoster and Mazerolle, 1994), experiments conducted by Bandura (1973) and Van Houten
(1983) indicate that there is a relation between “stressful life events, which include the loss of positive stimuli,” and crime (Agnew, 1992, p.58).

3. The Presentation of Negative Stimuli

The final category of strain identified by Agnew (1992) is strain that is the result of the presentation of negative stimuli. According to Agnew (1992), examples of negative stimuli include negative school experiences, child abuse, neglect, criminal victimization, adversive relations with parents and friends, neighborhood problems, and homelessness. Crime may occur when an individual attempts to escape from or tries to avoid a negative stimuli. For example, due to negative relations with family or peers adolescents may try to avoid the strain by joining a gang. It may also occur when the individual attempts to terminate the negative stimuli and seek revenge on the perceived responsible party (Agnew, 1992).

Cumulative Effects of Strain

Not all strains have similar effects on individuals. The magnitude of strains, the varying perceptions of the individuals and their association with social control form differing levels of pressure on individuals. Therefore, Agnew (2006) argues that some types of strains are more likely to cause crime when compared to others. For instance, disrespectful and aggressive treatments and intimidation of values, goals, needs and activities of individuals may result with voluntary criminal activities.

Furthermore, Agnew (2006, p.89) contends that whether or not “individuals respond to strains with crime depends not only on the types of strains they experience,
but also on the characteristics of the individuals and their environments.” For instance, strains are more likely to emerge if the individual has low levels of social control, low social attachment, and less condemnation of criminal activities.

Agnew also classifies these strains according to cohort groups in terms of age. Juveniles are more likely to be effected from parental rejection, harsh discipline, negligence, negative school experiences and abusive friendships, while adults are more likely to experience strains, if they are unemployed, working in secondary labor markets and experiencing marital problems. Also, criminal victimization, goal blockage, homelessness, discrimination and living in poor communities have negative effects on individuals and more likely to increase criminality (Agnew, 2006).

As some specific types of strains increase the likelihood of crime, experiencing different strains simultaneously also raise the probability of criminal behavior. In other words, experiencing several strains generate intense negative emotions which reduces one’s ability to cope in legal ways (Agnew, 2006).

Negative Emotions

Agnew (1992) differentiated his general strain theory from other strain theories by including negative emotion as an affective variable. According to Agnew (2006, p.35), “the experience of strains increases the likelihood that individuals will experience a range of negative emotional states.” Agnew (2006) classifies these negative emotions which may lead to crime as anger, frustration, depression, jealousy, envy and fear. These negative emotions “create pressure on individuals to engage in corrective action, they reduce the ability to cope in a legal manner, they reduce the perceived cost of the
crime and/or they create a disposition for crime” (Agnew, 2006, p.35). For Agnew (2006) among these negative emotions the most crucial one, which is more related to crime, is anger. He claimed that individuals become frustrated or angry as they blame on people for their negative relationships and circumstances.

The relationship between frustration, aggression and crime has been studied by many scholars (Dollard, Doob & Miller, 1939; Miller, 1941; James, 1985; Cohen, 1955). Although Agnew (2006) claims that frustration is a form of anger, scholars have viewed frustration as an anger-producing negative emotion. In other words, frustration precedes aggression. For example, Dollard, Doob and Miller (1939) hypothesized that “the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression”. Here, frustration is specified as a response to a barred goal that finally necessitates aggression. Thus, frustration is a reaction that results from blocking of desired goals. Finally, it is accepted that frustration always leads to aggression. However, these claims were too general to make frustration both a necessary and sufficient condition for aggression. It can be said that frustration does not cause aggression in every condition.

For Miller (1941), frustrations do not cause antagonistic or aggressive outbreaks by necessity. Potential outbreaks may already exist and are being suppressed or may emerge with alternative actions. Miller rephrased the hypothesis as, “Frustration produces instigations to a number of different types of response, one of which is an instigation to some form of aggression” (Miller, 1941, p.342). Thus, according to Miller, (1941), frustration initiates behavior that may or may not be antagonistic or aggressive, and any antagonistic or aggressive behavior that occurs is caused by frustration. In
other words, frustration is not a sufficient, but a necessary, condition for hostility and aggression (Zillmann, 1979).

Bandura and Walters (1959) presented that violent youths may behave aggressively not because of childhood frustrations, but that their aggressive behaviors may be due to developed aggressive dispositions through the modeling of their aggressive parents. Similarly, some common factors among terrorists, such as socio economic status of their families, may cause violent actions not so much because of their poverty, but because they are so affected from the inequalities that s/he they faced once. The individual may be largely deprived of his or her earlier non-aggressive ways of conduct and choose violence as the only effective means left to influence the behavior of others as s/he desires. However, it is not acceptable to claim that “the person who kills generally does so because he has been frustrated” (Berkowitz, 1962, p.318).

Research supports that when individuals believe that attacks are targeting themselves, frustration becomes a potent inducer of aggression, especially if these attacks are recognized as arbitrary, unjustified, intentional, or unmitigated instead of accidental or acceptable (Cohen, 1955; Zillmann & Cantor, 1976). Research also supports Agnew’s argument that when a goal is blocked, or barred, individuals may show reactions such as disappointment, annoyance, or anger. When joined with personal attack, goal blockage is likely to evoke feelings of annoyance and anger, which finally increase the likelihood of antagonistic and aggressive reactions. (Zillmann, 1979)

In conclusion, strains are likely to cause negative emotions. Some of these negative emotions can be cited as anger, frustration, fear and depression (Agnew,
In turn, these negative emotions are likely to cause deviance or criminal behavior, because individuals try to avoid these feeling by corrective actions (Agnew, 2006). The next section will discuss the coping strategies as a response to negative emotions.

Coping Strategies

Although individuals experience certain types of strain and may have negative emotions, it is still possible that strained individuals will refrain from committing crime. In fact, Agnew contends that criminality is only one of several coping mechanisms individuals may employ to deal with feelings of stress caused by failure to achieve positively valued stimuli, the removal of positively valued stimuli, and/or the presence of negative stimuli. Agnew (2006) classifies these coping strategies into three categories which are behavioral, cognitive, and emotional.

Behavioral coping strategies can be both criminal and non-criminal when individuals try to “protect or retrieve those things they value, terminate or escape from aversive treatment, or achieve their goals” (Agnew, 2006, p. 90). For example, juveniles who want to escape from an undesirable school environment may illegally skip school or they may try transferring to a new school.

Criminality as a coping mechanism becomes a temporary, but an effective solution (Agnew, 2006). In the short-term, criminal behavior may help individuals to obtain money, or status. Criminality can also help individuals to escape from negative treatments of others. Finally, criminal behaviors satisfy some of the desires such as revenge or feeling better (Agnew, 2006). However, criminal behavior is not a good
solution for long-term. The results of criminal behaviors are negative and may initiate new strains (Agnew, 2006).

Second, in order to ignore or reduce the importance of strains individuals may use cognitive coping strategies including ignoring, or minimizing the importance of their strains. For example, individuals who have monetary strains may reduce the importance of money by convincing themselves that money is not really important.

Third, individuals may 'employ emotional coping strategies that act directly on the negative emotions created by strains" (Agnew, 2006’ p. 90). Individuals may try to alleviate the negative emotions through criminal or non-criminal methods. These methods may include physical exercise, listening to music, meditation or using illegal drugs. Also, taking revenge through vandalism or assaults makes people feel better, which may be accepted as a way to alleviate negative emotions (Agnew, 2006).

Agnew also realizes that an individual may use more than one coping strategy against strain. Furthermore, Agnew claims that the effectiveness of the coping strategy varies by the type of strain examined. Legal behavioral coping strategies may reduce negative emotions, but other types of strategies may not be as effective in reducing strain and crime. Moreover, there may be correlation between levels of stress and coping strategies (Agnew, 2006). Studies on the effectiveness of coping strategies show mixed results, and more research is necessary for clarification (Compas et al., 2001; Harnish et al., 2000). Not every coping strategy is effective on all types of strains. For example, religion as a coping strategy for the loss of a loved one is effective, while it does not have effect on interpersonal problems (Mattlin et al., 1990).
Empirical Support

Only a few researchers have directly tested all of the propositions of general strain theory (Agnew, 2006). Most tests of the theory have centered their attention on varying aspects of the theory, such as the relation between strains, anger and deviance, (Mazerolle & Piquero, 1997; Mazerolle et al., 2000); gender (Agnew & Brezina, 1997) or racial discrimination (Jang & Johnson, 2003) as sources of strain.

Agnew and White (1992) tested the effect of the major types of strain on deviance. They used data from a sample of 1,380 New Jersey adolescents. They hypothesized that strains have effect on delinquency and drug use. They found mixed support for GST. Specifically, they found that negative life events and having adverse relationships were associated with and increased risk of deviance among adolescents. They realized that general strain theory could explain the relation between delinquency and drug use.

Paternoster and Mazerolle (1994) replicated Agnew and White’s (1992) study with National Youth Survey Wave 7. They concluded that strains have significant effect on property crimes and violence. Furthermore strains were related to depression. However, the relation between depression and crime was true only for males, but not for females. In their study, they found support for the positive effect of strain on deviance.

In order to extend general strain theory Mazerolle et al, (2000) utilized data from a sample of high school adolescences in the 1990s. They focused on the relationships between strain, anger, and delinquency. They found out that strains may even have direct effects on violence. Furthermore they claimed that anger operates through strains.
In another study, Aseltine, Gore, and Gordon (2000) included anger and frustration as a mediator and found some support for general strain theory. They found only limited support for the negative emotions as the mediator between strains and violent behavior. The results of their study suggested that there was a link between anger and violent behavior, while they failed to present a support between negative emotions and drug use.

Broidy (2001) conducted factor analysis in her test of general strain theory. She used 32 negative emotions as the mediator between strain and delinquency. She concluded that anger is a mediator between strains and deviance, and strains increases the likelihood of deviance. In this study major types of strains were related to negative emotions; however, both illegal and legal coping mechanisms were chosen.

Utilizing previously collected data from seven federal judicial districts, Langton and Piquero (2006) tested general strain theory on white-collar crimes. Participants of this study were convicted white-collar offenders. Langton and Piquero (2006) concluded that general strain theory was useful in the explanation of white-collar crimes. As a limitation of their study and Piquero (2006) remind the reader that the type of strains and negative emotions at work may be different than other types of study environments and results may be limited to white-collar crimes.

Drapela (2006) tested the effect of negative emotion on drug use among panel eighth graders in the United States in 1988. She claimed that studies on strain and drug use relations are not effective on measuring the effect of negative emotions as mediators. Utilizing data from three waves of the National Education Longitudinal Study, she concluded that her findings supported earlier studies (such as - cites; however, the
relationship between strain, negative emotion, and drug use is more complex than Agnew’s suggestion, when the effect of gender is considered.

Jang (2007) looks at the gender differences among African Americans by using general strain theory. He concludes that when faced with strain, African American men are more likely to commit crime compared to African American women. Also, another finding of his study is self-directed emotions are less likely to result in criminal behavior.

In conclusion, research generally finds support for Agnew’s propositions that there is an association between strain, negative emotions (including anger and frustration), and crime. Initially, Agnew and White (1992) tested general strain theory and found support for it. Later, various studies, which are mentioned above, retested the same theory. In these studies negative emotions as mediators were also included. Among these negative emotions, primarily, anger has been selected and tested as the mediator between strain and violent behavior (Aseltine, Gore, & Gordon, 2000; Mazerolle et al, 2000; Broidy, 2001).

Extending GST to the Study of Terrorism

Although there are some theoretical answers in terrorism literature to the question what leads terrorists to act violently while other terrorists do not engage in violent terrorist activities, none of them have been empirically tested (Juergensmeyer, 2001). Adopting Agnew’s (1992) general strain theory, this study expends the theory and tries to find answer to the aforementioned question. Initially, individuals’ joining a terrorist organization as a coping mechanism will be question and later violent behaviors of terrorists will be discussed in the framework of general strain theory.
According to Agnew (2006, p.112) “adolescents are more likely to associate with delinquent peers.” Negative behaviors which lead adolescents to crime are more common between peers. On average terrorists are between 20 and 25 years old (Russell & Miller, 1977; Taylor & Quayle, 1994; Taylor, 1988; Hudson, 1999; Juergensmeyer, 2001). Their recruitment to terrorist organization occurs in younger ages. They are more likely to join terror organizations in high school ages (Teymur, 2003). It seems that strains experienced in younger ages lead adolescents to associate with these terrorists groups.

Moreover, as Agnew (2006, p.100) proposes “association with criminal others and beliefs favorable to crime increase the likelihood of criminal coping.” As individuals deviate from the values and norms of that society, they associate with criminals and their beliefs. It can be said that individuals associate with terrorists (criminal others). In turn, they also engage in terrorist groups’ belief systems, or in other words, their political motivation. Finally, involvement in their belief systems may foster criminal coping.

Agnew (2006) also postulates that criminal groups tend to form in deprived communities. Individuals living in deprived communities experience strains, which may lead them criminal coping. Terrorism studies also focus on inequality, poverty and monetary problems as one of the reasons of terror activities. Such strains may also lead individuals to associate with terrorist groups. Moreover, according to Agnew (2006, p.43), “chronic or repeated strains increase the likelihood of joining a criminal group.” It is more likely to witness such chronic strains in deprived communities.

Even though this discussion may be expanded, the main concern of the researcher was the leading factor for violence carried out by terrorists. It is clear that
joining a terrorist group may elevate the strains experienced by those individuals; however, joining a terrorist group leads individuals to associate with their ideology. This ideological association may also promote and justify violence.

For Agnew (2006) strains in high magnitude are likely to produce strong negative emotions such as anger, frustration or depression. Agnew (2006, p.59) presents three factors as the characteristics of perception of magnitude. The first characteristic is “the degree or the size of the strain.” Although it is not always possible to measure the degree and the size of the strain, it can be said that terrorists who experience strains in higher degree may try to cope with their strains by violent actions. For example, terrorists who lost their loved ones during a police or military operation may have intense negative emotions against security forces. This anger may lead them to join military wing in a terrorist group and to carry out violent acts.

The second characteristic of perceived magnitude is the “duration frequency, recency and expected duration of the strain” (Agnew; 2006, p.60). For example, an individual who lives under severe poverty for a long time may lose his or her hope for the future. The continuous strain may be high in magnitude for the individual. Blaming the existing unfair political system, he may see the destruction of the system as a solution to his strain.

The third characteristic of perceived magnitude is the “centrality of the strain” (Agnew; 2006, p.60). Centrality is about whether the strain intimidates the core values and the main goals of the individual. If a terrorist assumes that the existing system is damaging his core values which are indispensable for him, this strain may create strong
negative emotions such as anger against the system. Carrying out violent actions to
avoid the threat may elevate the perceived strain.

Moreover Agnew (2006) claims that justification is a way for individuals for their
violent behaviors. Terrorists may also justify their violent actions due to severe strains
which they experience. In addition, unjust strains may lead to anger which is commonly
associated with violence, specifically “other-directed crimes” (Agnew; 2006, p.61).

Agnew (2006) also specifies some factors which have effect on strains favorable
to crime. “Extreme stressors” disrupt the usual activities of individuals (Agnew; 2006,
p.165). Also, these stressors are more likely to be seen as unjust. Individuals
experiencing extreme stressors may have little to lose if they engage in crime. The
pressure formed by these stressors may lead persons to criminal coping. Traumatic
events, such as torture may lead individuals to criminal coping and violence against the
state.

Perception of inequality forms when an individual makes comparison between
him and others. For Agnew (2006) economic inequality contributes to crime rates.
Specifically economic inequalities are common in developing countries (Agnew, 2006).
As it was implied earlier, chronic poverty, economic deprivation may foster strong
negative emotions which may lead individuals to join terrorist groups and carry out
violent actions against the system which they assume as the responsible of their
deprivation.

Finally, “cultural values and beliefs” define the conditions and particular events as
unjust or severe (Agnew; 2006, p.167). Economic inequality, academic failure,
humiliation and lose of honor are some examples of these cultural values.
Juergensmeyer (2000) also identifies humiliation as a factor initiating violence and terrorism.

In conclusion, it seems that general strain theory can be extended to terrorism studies. Empirical tests of general strain theory reveal that there is a relation between strains and violent behavior. Moreover, negative emotions mediate between strains and violent behaviors. It seems that general strain theory may shed light to the violent actions of terrorists.

Different types of strains were selected in this study. Agnew’s (1992) classification of strains was the framework during the selection of strains. The cumulative effect of strains on violence is analyzed. Even though it was not possible to measure the magnitude of the perceived strains, the researcher also applied a qualitative analysis to present the relation between strains and negative emotions, and negative emotions and violent behaviors. The following chapter will focus on research questions and hypotheses in the framework of general strain theory.
CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Introduction

The initial goal of this study was to identify whether individual strain and negative emotionality experienced prior to joining a terrorist organization have an effect on whether an individual engages in violent acts after becoming a terrorist. Research supports that experience of strain may result in reactions, such as disappointment, annoyance, or anger, but it generally will not provoke interpersonal antagonism or aggression (Cohen, 1955; Zillmann & Cantor, 1976). Also, when joined with personal attack, strains are likely to evoke feelings of annoyance and anger, which finally increase the likelihood of antagonistic and aggressive reactions (Agnew, 1992; Cohen, 1955; Zillmann, 1979; Zillmann & Cantor, 1976).

Agnew’s general strain theory was utilized to find out whether the strains experienced by terrorists have an effect on their violent acts. Among various theories General Strain Theory, a micro level theory, seems more fitting when the characteristics of the data set were taken in to consideration. Although Agnew did not perform research on terrorism, terrorism can be categorized as a form of organized crime. Terrorist groups as illegal organizations carry out different illegal activities parallel to different criminal groups. Drug trade, arms smuggling, kidnappings, and money laundering can be cited among these illegal activities other than violent attacks against civilians (Dandurand & Chin, 2004).

The link between organized crime and terrorism was explained in earlier chapters; however, the point is all these activities are illegal and are different forms of
crimes. Moreover, being a member of a terror organization in and of itself is a criminal activity in many countries, including Turkey (USA Patriot Act, Turkish Penal Code, article 220). Of course this should be proven by some evidences. The researcher’s aim is not to focus on such kind of issues, but violent acts of members of Turkish Hezbollah terror organization.

Agnew (2006) also focuses on criminal groups. For him, association with criminal groups results in disposition to delinquency. Agnew (2006) suggests that association with criminal others increase the likelihood of criminal coping. Agnew and White's (1992) initial test on the relation between strain and delinquency may shed light to this study.

According to Agnew and White (1992) strain measures specified in general strain theory have a considerable effect on delinquency. Agnew and White (1992) performed a cross-sectional analysis utilizing the Rutgers Health and Human Development Project data set with 1,380 respondents from New Jersey. However, they could not completely explore all relations within the three categories of general strain theory (Gullion, 2006). Agnew and White (1992) claimed that the data was limited to test their hypotheses fully. They could only used eight different measures of strain (Negative life events, life hassles, negative relations with adults, parental fighting, neighborhood problems, unpopularity with negative sex, occupational strain and clothing strain).

In their study, Agnew and White (1992) tested the central hypotheses of general strain theory. The initial hypothesis was the positive relation between strains and delinquency, while the second hypothesis was the negative effect of delinquent friends and self-efficacy on strains. They found out that negative life events and life hassles
were the most effective strains on delinquency and the effect of strains is likely to increase when individuals associate with delinquent friends.

A similar approach was held in this study to test the first hypothesis of Agnew and White (1992). However, social control variables which were about the second hypothesis were not utilized. In this study, the strains of terrorists were identified from their life histories and the cumulative effect of strains on their violent acts was analyzed. The predicted relationship between strains and violent acts are also supported with case studies to illustrate the effect of negative emotions as mediators.

To be more clear, a list of research questions and hypotheses held are given below.

Research Questions

1. In the framework of Agnew’s general strain theory, prior to the training process in terrorist organizations, what were the strains of terrorist candidates?

2. Is there a relationship between the strains that the terrorists experienced before joining the terror organization and their later violent acts?

3. In the framework of Agnew’s general strain theory, do the negative emotions of terrorists mediate between their strains and their violent behaviors?

Hypotheses

The relationship between the strain and the types of the initial contact was analyzed in the frame of the hypotheses held below;

H1: Among Turkish Hezbollah members, individuals who experienced higher levels of strain prior to joining the terrorist organization were more likely to perform violent acts once terrorists when compared to individuals who experienced lower levels of strain.

H2: Negative emotions will mediate the relationship between strains and violent acts.
Hypothesis 1

According to Agnew (1992), the strain is the result of the comparison of one’s expected rewards with his/her rewards and the individual’s judgment of the fairness of the outcome (Agnew, 1992). Economic, religious, educational and political strains are assumed to be some of these problems. When personal goals are blocked individuals are likely to be involved in criminal activities.

For Agnew (1992), the strain felt by the individual could lead the individual to criminal behavior when the individual attempts to prevent its removal, retrieve what was lost, or seek revenge on people who are responsible for the removal. The researcher assumed that these types of strains may create immediate frustration and anger. Therefore, individuals may involve in violence when their loved ones are lost in a combat against law enforcement.

Strains also emerge when the individual tries to escape from, avoid or terminate strains and may seek revenge from the perceived responsible party (Agnew, 1992). These types of strains are more likely to occur in family relations in situations such as parental rejection, child abuse, or parental punishment (Agnew, 1992). Interestingly, police enforcement which exercises the laws is the initial authority that criminals encounter. Criminals who try to avoid legal punishment commonly experience conflict with police enforcement where they may expect to face with unfriendliness. Furthermore, individuals may experience different type of strains close together in time. Experiencing multiple strains is likely to produce negative emotions and limit the ability to cope with them in legal manner (Agnew, 2006). Also, it not uncommon to observe strains causing other types of strains (Agnew, 2006). Beside that, repetition of the same
type of strain may increase the likelihood of criminal behavior. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 suggests a cumulative effect of strains on the likelihood of criminal behavior. Cumulative effect of strains is the effect of the total number of strains experienced by a terrorist. Even though some of selected strains may be high in magnitude than others, it was not possible to measure the magnitude of strains due to data constrains. Measuring the cumulative effect of strains was also suggested by Agnew (2006). Agnew (2006) proposed that strains related to crime should be identified and should be combined into a single scale.

Also, Agnew, (2006) does not suggest a direct relation between strains and crime. Strains initially cause negative emotions and those negative emotions may result in delinquency (Agnew, 2006). Initially, the researcher hypothesized a direct relation to identify the relation between strains and violent behaviors of terrorists. Negative emotion as a mediator is also hypothesized to fully test general strain theory. Hypothesis 2 puts negative emotions between the strains of terrorists and their violent behaviors.

Hypothesis 2

Agnew (1992) proposes that strains cause negative emotions which may increase the likelihood of criminal behavior. This hypothesis aims to explore the relationship between strain, negative emotions and violent behavior, or in other words, the mediating effect of negative emotions proposed by Agnew (1992). Detailed information about negative emotion has already been presented in earlier chapters. However, it is beneficial to support the hypothesis with earlier studies which affirm
Agnew’s theory. These three studies support that some types of strain are likely to produce anger, and that anger is related to criminal coping. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was formed in the frame of Agnew’s (1992) general strain theory and these three studies which retest general strain theory.

Broidy’s (2001) retest of general strain theory partially supported Agnew’s proposal. Broidy (2001) utilizes data from a sample of 896 undergraduate students surveyed in 1995. While she found that strains perceived as unfair produce anger, strains produced due to goal blockage had negative effect on anger. For Agnew (2006) also strains seen as unjust are more likely to produce anger, while he views anger as the most effective negative emotion which can produce criminality.

In Jang and Johnson’s (2003) research also anger was the primary negative emotion which produced illegal behaviors. In their empirical test of general strain theory, Jang and Johnson’s (2003) focus on inner-directed negative emotions such as depression and anxiety, and outer-directed negative emotions such as anger. They apply Agnew’s (1992) theory to African Americans claiming that they are strained by economic factors and racism. The data was gathered from National Survey of Black Americans which was completed in 1980 among 2,107 respondents. This study reveals that directedness should be included into the conceptualization of negative emotions. Moreover, Jang and Johnson’s (2003) suggest that negative emotions other than anger should not be neglected in future tests of general strain theory.

Similarly, Piquero and Sealock (2000) retested general strain theory utilizing a sample of 150 respondents on probation from mid-Atlantic state in USA. They aimed to identify the relationship between strain, negative emotions (anger and depression) and
criminality. Piquero and Sealock (2000) claimed that anger had positive effect on aggressive behaviors. According to aforementioned studies it seems that anger is the most effective negative emotion even though Agnew (2006) cites some other negative emotions such as depression and fear.

In these three studies fear or depression did not show positive relation with crime. In contrast, some results showed that the cited negative emotions may reduce the probability of criminal behavior, because they may be inner-directed negative emotions (Piquera & Sealock, 2000; Broidy, 2001).

Studies testing the strain, negative emotion and crime relationship are limited in number. The researcher is aware of the problems such as the measurement of the magnitude of the negative emotion, the measurement of the degree or the size of the strain in testing hypothesis 2. Such problems led the researcher to take a different path. Hypothesis 2 will be supported by utilizing a case study approach. The researcher believes that case studies are more efficient when such exploratory purposes are held. The relevant statements of terrorists will be analyzed after the analysis of the relationship between strain and crime.

In conclusion, this study applies general strain theory to terrorism studies. Terrorists as individuals experience strains which may lead them to act violently. Hypothesis 1 was formed to identify the relationship between strains and violent acts. However, this relationship needs explanation with an explanatory Hypothesis. Hypothesis 2 was formed to explain the mediating effect of negative emotions in the framework of general strain theory. The retest of general strain theory on a sample of terrorist group may expand both the theory and terrorism literature. This new approach
to terrorism issues may optimize our understanding of why terrorists perform violent acts against others.
CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the quantitative and qualitative methods employed to answer the research questions presented in the study. Specifically, a micro-level cross-sectional data set taken from the archives of the Turkish National Police was utilized. This data set includes detailed demographic information as well as life histories of 144 known terrorists operating within Turkey between 1992 and 1996. For purposes of the current study, only members of the Turkish Hezbollah were examined ($N = 144$).

Even though the number of respondents is limited to 144, the uniqueness of the sample allows for both a quantitative and qualitative design. Initially, the characteristics of the sample and how the sample was obtained will be presented. Later, the variables which were included in this study will be explained under the topic of “Measures.” That will be followed by a discussion concerning the research design.

Sample

The sample for this study includes 144 members of the Turkish Hezbollah. The data was derived from original hand-written reports which were obtained as an outcome of anti-terrorist operations by the Turkish National Police in and around Istanbul, Ankara, Diyarbakir and Malatya. The original hand-written reports were completed by members of the Turkish Hezbollah at the request of their terrorist leaders.

The data set is neither a result of police interrogation, nor is it considered testimony. Rather, these documents are internal reports of the terrorist organization. The rationale behind collecting information from their members was to aid the internal...
communication of the Turkish Hezbollah and to learn more about their members in order to use them in the most efficient manner.

The researcher was granted access to documents after the names of terrorists were removed. The subjects have not met with the researcher and there is no contact with human subjects. It is impossible for the researcher to identify the respondents. The researcher applied for IRB approval to University of North Texas Institutional Review Board prior to initiating the research on February 7, 2007, application number 07-035. The study has been determined to qualify for an exemption from further review by the University of North Texas Institutional Review Board.

Measures

The primary goal of the current study is to examine the effect of strain and negative affect on violence among terrorists. As it was mentioned earlier, in this study, general strain theory was applied to the study of terrorism. General strain theory is testable when individual-level measures of strain are available. Here, the relationship between the individual strains of terrorists and their violent acts was analyzed. As such, the unit of analysis in the study is the individual.

Along with the socio-demographic characteristics of terrorists, both the individual strains of terrorists and their violent acts were derived from the questionnaire prepared by terrorist leaders. The total number of questions asked in these Turkish Hezbollah documents is 20. Although the aim of the Turkish Hezbollah leaders in administering this questionnaire was to increase the efficiency of the organization, questions which were prepared to elicit detailed information about their life histories helped the
researcher to identify the individual strains and their violent acts. Questions in those
documents can be classified into 6 categories.

1. Questions related to the respondent’s socio-demographic characteristics
2. Questions related to the respondent’s life history before joining a terrorist
   organization
3. Questions related to the motives of respondent’s decision to join a terrorist
   organization
4. Questions related to the respondent’s family and relatives
5. Questions related to relations of the respondent with the terrorist organization
6. Questions related to activities of the respondent in the terrorist organization

Not all of the respondents answered all questions in the documents. Thus, the
researcher left them as missing in the data coding process.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Demographic information on the 144 members of the Turkish Hezbollah is
presented in Table 1, including information on age (in years), gender (0 =female; 1 =
male), education (1 = 8 grade or less; 2 = Some high school; 3 = High school graduate;
4 = Some college; 5 = College graduate; 6= Graduate studies), marital status (0 =
unmarried; 1 = married), economic situation (1 = Very bad; 2 = Bad; 3 = Average; 4 =
Good; 5 = very good), and employment status (0 = unemployed; 1 = employed).

As depicted in Table 1, the average age of terrorists in the sample was 23.59 ($M$
= 22; $SD = 5.492$). Male terrorists constituted the majority of the sample (99.3%), with
only 1 member being female. Almost one-third (30%) of the terrorists were married.
Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of Turkish Hezbollah (N=144)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 20</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 21 to 25</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 26 to 30</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31 to 35</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 35 to 48</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - Male</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - Female</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 8 grade or less</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - Some high sch.</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - High sch. grad.</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - Some college</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - College grad.</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - Grad. studies</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - Married</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - Unmarried</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic situation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - Very bad</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - Bad</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - Average</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - Good</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - Very good</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - Employed</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - Unemployed</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost half (44.7%) of the terrorists reported having only an eighth grade education or less, while a similar proportion (42.6%) reported having graduated from high school. Only 4.3% of the Hezbollah members had a college degree. None of the
members had an advanced graduate degree. For purposes of the quantitative analysis, education was treated as an ordinal variable (range 1 – 6) with higher numbers indicative of more education ($M = 2.33; SD = 1.282$).

Finally, an almost even split was found when employment status was examined, with 52.6% of the terrorists indicating they were unemployed and 47.4% signifying they were employed. When asked about their economic status, the majority of the respondents (60.1%) declared their economic situation as “average” to “good.” Very few terrorists claimed their economic situation was “very good” (3.0%) or “very bad” (15.0%). It should be noted that economic status is their perceived status, or in other words, their sense of relative deprivation. Economic status is not an absolute measure of their wealth or poverty.

Violent Behavior

Regardless the motivation of terrorist organizations, violence is one of the common means used to accomplish their goals. Schmid and Jongman’s (1988) study shows that 108 out of 120 definitions employ the words “violence” and “use of force” as their most common elements. However, even though terrorist organizations use violence to create public fear, not all terrorists engage in violent activities. As is well known, terror organizations generally have a political wing and a military wing. While the political wing engages in setting the goals, public relations, and recruitment, the military wing carries out the violent activities of the terror organization (Ozeren & Van de Voorde, 2004). As the political wing tries to gain support from the public, they stay away from engaging in violent activities which may estrange the public from them. Thus, political
wing members do not engage in violent acts even though they play a vital role in the terrorist organization.

For purposes of the current study, a dichotomous dependent variable was created to capture whether or not the terrorists had engaged in violence (illegal demonstrations resulting with vandalism, hijacking, beatings, assaults with meat cleaver, stabbing, shooting and bombing) after having joined the terrorist organization (0 = did not engage in violence as a terrorist; 1 = engaged in violence as a terrorist). As depicted in Table 2, nearly two-thirds (63.6%) of all terrorists had partaken in some form of violent behavior after having become a member of the Turkish Hezbollah.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Later violent activities</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - Yes</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - No</td>
<td>37.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Strain

The current study includes an index variable indicative of individual levels of strain experienced prior to joining the terrorist organization. Several steps were taken in order to obtain the composite strain variable used. First, a comprehensive list of negative life experiences representative of general strain was developed. This list was guided by Agnew’s (1992) general strain theory and includes: (1) Failure to achieve economic goals, (2) Failure to achieve political goals, (3) Failure to achieve educational goals, (4) Failure to achieve religious goals, (5) Loss of a valued one, (6) Migration to

Second, the life histories were qualitatively examined to identify strains experienced by each terrorist prior to joining the terrorist organization. These strains were then organized into nine categories listed above. For instance, phrases such as, “I could not earn enough, so I moved to another city to look for a better job,” “I used to steal in order to support my family,” or “We have an overcrowded family; if my father had not worked we would have suffered more” were coded as “failure to achieve economic goals.” Phrases such as, “I also worked for a political party for some time, but their political agenda was not satisfying and I decided to leave them,” “I attended some political demonstrations,” or “I used to enter political discussions with others, but there was no end” were coded as “failure to achieve political goals.” Expressions such as, “Unfortunately I was not a successful student in the school,” “I failed to pass the university exam, although I wanted to continue my education,” or “I asked for help from others in order to pass the classes, but I couldn’t” were coded as “failure to achieve educational goals.” Phrases such as, “I felt I cannot perform my religion’s regulations as I wanted to under those circumstances,” “I actively served in a sect for sometime, but that sect was not satisfying,” or “I wanted to read and understand the Holy Book, but my father did not allow me to read it” were coded as “failure to achieve religious goals.” The death of a family member, relative, or a close friend mentioned by the respondent was coded as “the death of a valued one.” Respondents’ previous migrations to bigger cities from their hometowns were coded as “migration to bigger cities.” Unlawful police treatments, unjust sentencing, false accusations and being a victim of a crime were
coded as “victimization.” Problems with instructors, school administration, punishments and dismissals were coded as “negative school experiences.”

Table 3

*Independent Variables* (N=142)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variable</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Failure to achieve economic goals [St1]</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to achieve politic goals [St2]</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to achieve educational goals [St3]</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to achieve religious goals [St4]</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The death of a valued one [St5]</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration [St6]</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victimization [St7]</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverse relationships [St8]</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative school experiences [St9]</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Strain</td>
<td>2.1056</td>
<td>0.09199</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third, a cumulative index variable indicative of individual levels of strain was composed by summing together the previously mentioned variables (see Table 3). Higher values indicate a higher amount of strain experienced prior to joining the terrorist organization (with a range of 0 to 9, \( M = 2.106, \) \( SD = 0.09 \)). It seems that overall strain (\( M = 2.106 \)) seems to be low. The researcher only included the expressed strains in
their statements by the terrorists. It is possible to say that some terrorists might have solely mentioned strains which are high in magnitude or central to their goals.

Finally, in order to avoid uncertainties about reliability, a second researcher also coded some of the nominal variables. A coding sheet with rows which consist of names of the variables and columns which consist of the categories of the variable was formed. Later, 15 cases were randomly selected. Along with the researcher, another person coded these cases to the coding sheet. Cohen’s Kappa coefficients were computed to assess the reliability of the strain variables utilized in the current study.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Cohen’s Kappa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Failure to achieve economic goals [St1]</td>
<td>0.762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to achieve political goals [St2]</td>
<td>0.667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to achieve religious goals [St3]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to achieve educational goals [St4]</td>
<td>0.722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The death of a valued one [St5]</td>
<td>0.815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration [St6]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victimization [St7]</td>
<td>0.59.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverse relationships [St8]</td>
<td>0.727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative school experiences [St9]</td>
<td>0.706</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fleiss (1981) suggests that if $\kappa$ is smaller than .40, there is a poor agreement, if $\kappa$ is equal to or bigger than .40 and smaller or equals .75 there is a good agreement, and if the value of $\kappa$ is higher than .75 there is an excellent agreement between the researchers. As depicted in Table 4, this analysis yielded Kappa Coefficients of .595 or
higher indicating there is a good agreement between the researchers. Among 9 variables researchers had 3 excellent agreements and 6 good agreements.

Control Variables

In addition to examining the impact of strain on violence, several control variables were included in the current study (see Table 1). They include subject demographics such as age (in years), marital status (0 = Unmarried, 1 = Married), and education (1 = 8 grade or less, 2 = Some high school, 3 = High school graduate, 4 = Some college, 5 = College graduate, 6 = Graduate studies).

The age variable was determined by subtracting the date of birth from the date of survey conducted As Agnew (2006) clearly presents, adolescents experience higher amount of strains when compared to children and adults. It seems that age as a control variable should not be excluded from any crime study.

The marital status variable was constructed as a dichotomous variable as unmarried and married. It was assumed that marriage may reduce the risk of violent behaviors. According to Agnew (2006) marital problems may cause crime and violence in the family; however, he also reminds the reader that when social and emotional bonds are weak, it becomes easier to engage in criminal activities. In other words, social bonds formed due to a marriage may influence the decisions of individuals (Sampson & Laub, 1993). When individuals worry about hurting their partners as a consequence of their violent behaviors and when they have more to lose as a family member, they may engage in violence less than unmarried individuals.
The final control variable was the education level of the terrorists. Even though some individuals may experience during their education period, skills and knowledge gained during their education may reduce to utilize violence as a coping mechanism. Indeed according to Agnew (2006) when individuals experience some kind of strains, poor problem-solving skills and weak belief in their self-efficacy may result with criminal act.

Analytical Strategy Used in Quantitative Analysis

This section explains the analytical strategy utilized during the analysis. Initially, quantitative analysis was utilized in the framework of Agnew’s (1992) general strain theory. The strains which may cause violent activities after joining the terror organization were analyzed. Like many other individuals, terrorists also experience various strains which may lead them to frustration and aggression and eventually to carry on violent acts. The relationship between the strains and the violent activities of terrorists was analyzed in reference to Hypothesis 1; Among Turkish Hezbollah members, prior to joining the terrorist organization, individuals who experience higher levels of strain are more likely to perform violent acts when compared to individuals who experience lower levels of strain, and Hypothesis 2; Negative emotions will mediate the relationship between strains and violent acts.

Initially, the strains which were viewed as the disliked conditions by terrorists were identified, and later experienced strains were summed up for each case to analyze the cumulative effect of strains on violent acts of terrorists. Froggio and Agnew’s (2007) differentiation of subjective strains from objective strains was crucial in during the
conceptualization of the variable. “Objective strains refer to events and conditions that are disliked by most people who have experienced them, while subjective strains refer to events and conditions that are disliked by the people who have experienced them” (Froggio & Agnew, 2007, p.81). This study examines the subjective strains of Turkish Hezbollah members before joining the organization. According to Froggio and Agnew (2007) subjective strains are more likely to result with negative emotions. Thus, they are more strongly associated with criminal behavior. To be more specific, subjective evaluation of a same event may be different for each individual. Because differing personalities, values, goal and experiences may influence individuals’ perceptions in different ways.

In order to measure strain according to general strain theory (Agnew, 1992), a cumulative index composed of ten different variables was developed as the independent variable. This measure is considered to represent a count of strainful events. Thus, higher values represent the presence of more strainful events. The highest value is 10, while the lowest value is 0. The items included in the index are failure to achieve economic goals, failure to achieve political goals, failure to achieve educational goals, failure to achieve religious goals, loss of a valued one, migration to another city, victimization, child abuse, adverse relationships, and negative school experiences.

SPSS 14 was utilized in the process of analysis. Hypothesis 1 which suggests a positive relation between experienced strains and violent behaviors was tested by both bivariate and multivariate statistical techniques. Primarily, the researcher identified the relation between strains and violent behavior, thus bivariate statistical techniques was
utilized. However, the conditioning effect of certain control variables on the independent and dependent variables was also an issue of concern.

Multivariate statistical techniques allow the researcher to utilize more than two variables in the analysis. Some control variables can be included into the equation in multivariate analysis. The introduction of control variables helps the researcher to identify whether the relationship between two variables continue to exist when another variable is introduced to the equation. Also, the joint effect of independent variables on the dependent variable can be measured by multivariate analysis. Thus, such concerns led the researcher to utilize multivariate statistical technique along with the bivariate analysis.

Also, some control variables were included in the analysis. Respondents’ age, marital status and education level might have an effect on their decisions. More specifically, the researcher assumed that as individuals get older their coping strategies with strains may show variation. Married individuals may experience less strain compared to unmarried respondents due to their stable life, or it is also possible to say that their coping strategies and decisions might be affected from their responsibilities to their families. Also, it is assumed that educated individuals may be more likely to cope with their strains.

The dependent variable, later violent acts, is a dummy variable with two categories; 1 representing the existence of later violent acts and 0 representing the absence of later violent acts. In order to test the Hypothesis 1, Among Turkish Hezbollah members, prior to joining the terrorist organization, individuals who experience higher levels of strain are more likely to perform violent acts when compared
to individuals who experience lower levels of strain, initially, bivariate analyses
independent sample \( t \)-test and chi square test were utilized. Secondly, multivariate
analysis was utilized.

Analytical Strategy Used in Qualitative Analysis

The purpose of qualitative analysis was to clarify the relation between strains and
violent acts. The qualitative analysis was a complementary analysis to qualitative
analysis. Negative emotions worded by terrorists clarify the relation between strain and
violent act. This section explains the analytical strategy utilized during qualitative
analysis.

In his general strain theory, Agnew (1992) suggests an indirect relationship
between strains and crime. According to Agnew (1992) experienced disliked events
create negative emotions. Individuals try to find ways to release their negative emotions
by using different coping mechanisms. These coping mechanisms may either be legal
or illegal criminal acts.

The quantitative analysis allows the researcher to identify the relationship
between strains and the violent acts. However, this analysis should be supported by a
second analysis to suggest a significant relationship between strain, negative emotions
and violent act chain. General strain theory postulates that strains do not directly result
with crime, but strains may cause negative emotions. Individuals try to cope with these
negative emotions by legal or illegal coping mechanisms. In other words, criminal
behavior is chosen as a way to reduce the level of negative emotions (Agnew, 2005). In
this study the researcher identified these negative emotions from the statements of
terrorists. Thus, the researcher decided to conduct a qualitative analysis to support the initial quantitative analysis.

Initially, the researcher listed negative emotions which are conducive to crime (Agnew, 2006). These negative emotions are anger, frustration, malicious envy, jealousy, depression, fear, terror, panic, anxiety, shame and alienation (Agnew, 2006). Agnew argues that among these negative emotions anger, frustration, jealousy, malicious envy, depression and fear are the major types of negative emotions. In this study, the researcher identified anger, frustration, depression and fear. These negative emotions are conceptualized according to Agnew’s definition.

Unjust treatments by others generally result with anger which is related with feelings of power and wish to correct injustice, while goal blockage or unfulfilled desires cause frustration. (Agnew, 2006). Disliked conditions may result with depression as a negative emotion. When people believe that they are powerless to stop these disliked conditions, they may feel fear (Agnew, 2006).

After conceptualization narrated negative emotions were identified from the statements of terrorists. This involved several steps. First, among the 144 cases utilized in the quantitative portion of this study, 41 were identified as containing some sort of narratives related to negative affect. In some cases negative emotions were expressed in a few words, making the causal link between strains and crime difficult to determine. The second step involved a more detailed review of these 41 cases searching for descriptive narratives related to negative affect. This resulted in the identification of 6 cases. These 6 cases were selected for further analysis because terrorists clearly describe the link between the experienced strain which results with
negative emotions, and their violent acts as the result of these negative emotions. The criterion in the selection process of cases was to get the maximum amount of information relevant to the purpose of the study (Marriam, 1998). Therefore, the researcher’s sampling strategy was to select the cases which general strain theory can shed light.

In conclusion, the strategy chosen for the analysis aimed to apply general strain theory to terrorism studies. Thus, the strategy was formed in the framework of general strain theory. While a quantitative analysis was designed to identify the link between strains and violent acts, qualitative analysis was utilized to identify the effect of strains on negative emotions and the effect of negative emotions on violent acts.
CHAPTER VI
RESULTS

Several hypotheses were presented in this study that set out to test the relationship between individual strain and violence among members of the Turkish Hezbollah. Distinctively, this study examines whether individual strain and negative emotionality has an effect on engagement in violent acts among terrorists. The hypotheses examined are guided by Agnew’s (1999, 2005) General Strain Theory. In order to test each of these hypotheses, a series of bivariate and multivariate statistics were generated that examined the impact of individual factors on the dependent variable included in the study. In addition, a qualitative analysis was carried out to examine the mediating effect of negative emotionality on the relationship between strain and violence.

Bivariate Relationships

Independent sample t-tests and chi-square tests were utilized to determine which variables were statistically related to whether a respondent engaged in violence after joining the terrorist organization (Table 5). Three variables were found to be significantly related to an individual engaging in violent acts after joining the terror organization, including strain, education and prior violent behavior.
Table 5

*Differences in performing violent acts by individual characteristics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Performed violent acts (n = 91)</th>
<th>Did Not Perform violent acts (n = 51)</th>
<th>Test Statistic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strain (mean)</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td><em>t (140) = -5.09</em>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (mean)</td>
<td>24.17</td>
<td>22.70</td>
<td>*t (126) = -1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education level (mean)</td>
<td>1.87</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td><em>t (138) = 4.14</em>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried (percentage)</td>
<td>78.4</td>
<td>65.9</td>
<td>$\chi^2 (1) = 2.44$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior violent behavior</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>$\chi^2 (1) = 10.9***$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N = 142 respondents.*

***p < .001, **p < .01, and *p < .05, one-tailed.

Specifically, it was found that terrorists who had engaged in violent acts after joining the terrorist organization had experienced strain to a greater degree ($M = 2.43$, $SD = 1.13$) than terrorists who had not performed violent acts after joining the terrorist organization ($M = 1.53$, $SD = .76$; *t* = -5.09, *df* = 140, *p* < .01). Terrorists who had performed violent acts were also less educated ($M = 1.87$, $SD = 1.16$) than terrorists who had not performed violent acts ($M = 2.67$, $SD = 1.07$; *t* = 4.14, *df* = 138, *p* < .001). Having engaged in violence prior to joining the terrorist organization was also significantly related to violent actions as a terrorist member. Terrorists who had committed violent acts prior to joining the terrorist organization were more likely to perform violent acts after joining the terror organization” (23.1%) compared to terrorists who did not perform earlier violent acts (7.7%, $\chi^2 = 10.9$, *df* = 1, *p* < .001).
While terrorists who performed violent acts after joining the terrorist organization were more likely to be unmarried (78.4%) compared to terrorists who did not perform violent acts (65.9%); however, these differences were not statistically significant. Finally, while terrorists who performed violent acts after joining the terrorist organization were more likely to be older (64.08%) compared to terrorists who did not perform violent acts (35.92%); also, these differences were not statistically significant.

Logistic Regression Modeling

The overarching goal of this study is to demonstrate the utility of applying Agnew’s general strain theory to the study of terrorism. It was hypothesized that among Turkish Hezbollah members, prior to joining the terrorist organization, individuals who experienced higher levels of strain are more likely to perform violent acts when compared to individuals who experience lower levels of strain. Subsequently the researcher estimated a logistic regression model to examine the effect of individual-level predictors on a terrorist’s log odds of having engaged in violent behavior after joining a terrorist organization. Logistic regression is typically used when the dependent variable is dichotomous, as is the case with the current study. Variables included in the binary logistic model were strain, age (in years), education, and marital status (0 = unmarried, 1 = married). Results of the model (Table 6) reveal at least one of the variables in the model has a statistically significant effect on the likelihood of engaging in violent actions after joining the terror organization ($\chi^2 (6) = 41.43, p < .001$).

In support of hypothesis one, strain was significantly related to violence. Individuals who had experienced more strain were more likely to have engaged in
violent actions after becoming members of a terrorist organization \( (B = .988, \text{ Odds ratio} = 2.686) \). Additionally, education and prior violence were also significantly related to violence. Terrorists who were more educated were less likely to engage in violent activities \( (B = -.549, \text{ Odds ratio} = .578) \). Finally, having engaged in violence prior to joining the terrorist organization was also found to be significantly related to partaking in violence as a terrorist \( (B = 1.647, \text{ Odds ratio} = 5.197) \).

Table 6

Logistic Regression Estimates Predicting the Probability of Violent Acts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>( B )</th>
<th>Odds Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strain</td>
<td>.988*** ( \text{(2.76)} )</td>
<td>2.686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior violence</td>
<td>1.647** ( \text{(0.831)} )</td>
<td>5.197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.029 ( \text{(0.053)} )</td>
<td>1.030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>-.266 ( \text{(0.642)} )</td>
<td>.765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.549*** ( \text{(0.218)} )</td>
<td>.578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-.942 ( \text{(1.319)} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2 log likelihood</td>
<td>116.046</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model ( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>41.425</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudo-( R^2 ) (Cox-Snell)</td>
<td>.290</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* \( p \leq .05 \)  ** \( p \leq .01 \)  *** \( p \leq .001 \)

In sum, support was found for hypothesis one. Specifically, bivariate statistics revealed significant differences were found in levels of strain experienced, with terrorists
who engaged in violence indicating higher levels of individual strain. This difference held up statistically controlling for other variables (including age, marital status, education and prior violent behavior). Results from the binary logistic regression model revealed that individuals who experienced higher levels of strain were more likely to engage in violent actions once a member of a terrorist organization compared to individuals who experienced lower levels of strain. Furthermore, for each additional strain reported, the odds of engaging in a violent act increase by 2.70 ($B = .988, p < .001$).

Qualitative Analysis

The relationship between strains and violent activities was significant. However, this result still needs to be supported by another analysis to claim that strains are the sources of negative emotions which lead to violent activities. Thus, a qualitative analysis was also conducted illustrate the relationship.

A qualitative analysis of the life histories of each of the terrorists was conducted to examine the mediating effect of negative emotionality on the relationship between strain and violence.

Among the 144 Turkish Hezbollah member interviews that were analyzed, 41 of them indicated a relationship between strain experienced, negative emotionality, and violent acts committed once they became a member of the Turkish Hezbollah. To illustrate this relationship, 6 cases were selected. During the evaluation the main concern of the researcher was the cases with the maximum amount of information related to the purpose of the study (Merriam, 1998). The relationship between strain, negative affect, and violence are clear in the following statements given by terror organization members.
Anger

Anger is the most significant negative emotional reaction in the framework of general strain theory (Agnew, 2006). Anger arises when a person blames others. Anger heightens the level of perceived damage and forms a desire for revenge which is justifiable in the eyes of others. Agnew (1992) explains this kind of strain as “removal of positively valued stimuli.” When a loved one dies, the individual may feel anger and antagonism against people whom he thinks are responsible for the loss. Anger becomes a mediator between the strain and violent actions. In other words, anger increases the likelihood of an illegal outcome (Broidy, 2001).

Case 1: A twenty-one year old, white, male high school graduate Turkish Hezbollah member clearly explains his feelings and states:

I was reading some books related to religion when I was in high school, but I did not have any information about religious movements. With the help of my friend and my cousin, I was introduced to the group [name of terror organization] and we started learning their political view. I got bored because there was no action in the 1980s. Thus, I quit taking political trainings. For some time I lived away from the group. I went to Istanbul and worked in a workshop. Three months later my elder brother called me. And a day later after that call, I learned that my younger brother was killed and has become a martyr. With his death my commitment and my trust in our ideology strengthened. I felt a grudge and hatred against infidels. After that there was only victory or martyrdom against blasphemy. I rejoined the group after my younger brother’s martyrdom. I made several operations in [name of area]. Some of the operations that I carried out were stabbings, beatings, and assaults with a meat cleaver.

As illustrated by Case 1, the respondent did not have earlier violent acts in his statements. Although he had earlier contacts with the organization, he was uninterested with the ideology of the organization, but looking for action. He was nearly forming a working class status for himself until he was informed by the death of his younger brother. His loss of a loved one created strong negative emotions, specifically anger.
against other people whom he believed to be responsible for the death of his younger brother. He did not just decide to join the terrorist organization, but also he wanted to take revenge. Also it is possible to say that he saw the organization as a means to take revenge from the responsible of his bother’s killing.

Case 2: Having been born into a politically radical family, a white, male, twenty-year-old high school graduate Turkish Hezbollah member personalizes and identifies the strains of others as his own. He explains his radicalization process and states the negative stimuli that he experienced:

My family was a religious family and I had a revolutionary teacher in medrese where I learned the spirit of making war against the infidels. I learned that Muslims were living under very harsh conditions; they had been tortured and slaughtered. I always felt sorry for them. Sometimes I thought ‘why don’t Muslims come together and rebel against the infidels?’ Why do they accept to stay silent even though they experience torture and exploitation? That’s why my hatred against the infidels increased day-by-day. I was also wondering about Muslims in Afghanistan and Philistine; and even there was a time that I wanted to go to Afghanistan…

There was a restaurant in [name of area] and they were serving alcohol. Banks of people were going there. I was very angry. We planned to bomb the restaurant. Under these harsh conditions I could only find a fire bomb. My friends decided not to bomb the restaurant. I was eager to do that, but the police found the bomb after I placed it. Happily this incident has become a reason for its shut down.

Still my life was not different than the lives of infidels; finally, I decided to join this blessed group… I was taken under custody due to the shooting of [person’s name]; after several trials I was released. I was also taken under custody due to the shooting of [another person’s name], once again there was no proof and I was set free.

Two different strains can be identified from the statements listed in Case 2. First, during his radicalization process, he identifies himself with the oppressed groups. He feels sympathy for them. However, this sympathetic approach leads him to feel the sorrows of the oppressed. This may not be termed as a strain, if the researcher had
accepted an objective strain point of view. However, his unconditional sympathetic attitude led to the diffusion of the strain which finally created negative emotions.

Second, alcohol consumption as a forbidden act according to his religion, and people’s clear stumbles to perceived sins is a presented negative stimulus for him. His clear statement of anger results with an unsuccessful bombing of a restaurant.

**Case 3:** The following is a statement of a thirty-two year old, white, male Turkish Hezbollah member who had experienced both frustration and anger in different times.

My father was a prayer leader, so I learned many things from him and he sent me to a medrese to learn more about religion. I went there for 7 years, but every thing was patchy. I wanted to learn the canon law and commentary, but they were teaching me grammar and literature. These ‘misters’ [ridiculing his teachers] were gathering every night, eating and putting on their flesh. I could not accept these. I did not want to fall into their pitiful position and I moved to Istanbul and I started to work in a workshop. After the martyrdom of my elder brother I decided to join this group. I took office in beatings and public demonstrations.

The respondent in Case 3 was initially sent to an illegal religious school where his needs were not considered by his instructors. He seems eager to learn more about religion, while he was blocked from achieving his goals. His critique and humiliation of his teachers is a response to his negative emotions. Although he tries to form a standard lifestyle, his brother’s death had a great impact on his feelings and he decides to join a terrorist organization and carry out violent acts against the public.

The Impact of Repetitive Strain on Anger

According to Agnew (2006, p.42) some “repeated strains reduce levels of social control.” Individuals can not cope with their strains by themselves. Agnew (2006) argues
that these repeated strains lead individuals to see criminal organizations as an environment where they can find solutions to their strains.

Case 4: The next case is an illustration of strains, frustration-aggression and violent act relationship which started at an early age and continued for a long time. The respondent, 21 year-old white male, committed crimes prior to joining the terror organization and carried on his violent acts after joining the organization. It is important to state that some of his strains are due to the conflict between religious norms, which are sacred for him, and profane daily life occurrences.

When I was 13 I ran away from home without the permission of my parents. I went to Istanbul where my uncle and my elder brother live. My elder brother took me to a whorehouse there. When I saw the nude women I got out from there. I was very angry at my elder brother. A week later I returned to my hometown.

In 1988 I moved to Istanbul and started working. I met with a man (he was a pimp) there. He told me that there is a girl, she saw you, and liked you. He invited me to have sexual relations with her. I beat him. I have never seen him again. 6 months later I moved back to my hometown and stayed there for a while. (He cites several locations where he moved to work but he was unsuccessful in each case and returns his hometown.) I also had several fights with my employers. Once, I stabbed a person who was immoral in his behaviors. Finally, I decided to stay in my hometown.

I had always close feelings to religion. My cousin introduced the group to me. I believed that I could find trustworthy people in this group. I participated in 24 different operations, public demonstrations, and stabbings. In the incident of slaughtering of a vagrant, a witness told the police that I was there and the police questioned me.

Starting in his early adolescent, the respondent in Case 4 was continuously blocked from his goals. Moreover, out-of-marriage sexual intercourse is valued as immoral in his culture, has been the barrier for him in different instances. As a response to this goal blockage, he experienced his first negative emotions, frustration and anger, toward his elder brother. Although he did not reflect his initial anger toward him,
reoccurrences of similar events seem to increase his level of frustration and anger. Finally, he attacks a person that he perceives as immoral. Deciding to stay in his hometown, he joins the terror organization where he could find people with similar characteristics and carry on his violent actions during his membership.

The Impact of Injustice and Anger

According to Agnew (2006, p.65) “strains are likely to be seen as unjust when they involve in the voluntary and intentional violation of a justice rule.”

Such kind of violation contributes to negative emotions, specifically, anger.

Case 5: Another Turkish Hezbollah member juxtaposes his earlier violent behaviors and later explains his standing against injustice:

I used to like watching movies of every kind. I was hanging around with bums. We were also taking tributes from people in front of the school and if they did not pay we were beating them. I had a friend called bastard [name]. Sometimes he was stabbing people if they rejected giving money.

He accounts several adventures with this friend and then finally explains why he chose to join the organization and how his view led him to violence:

Before, I had not any relations with other organizations. I liked this organization because you were always against oppression. Specifically groups standing against the cruelty carried out by PKK (a Marxist-Leninist terror organization in Turkey) had influenced my decision. Group’s revival against these bums raised my attention and I decided to be a member of this organization. I believe justice should be maintained what ever the cost is. Personally, I took office in the shooting of infidel [person’s name] and several beatings.

The PKK terror organization has been a problem for all individuals who live in the southern part of Turkey. PKK asks for tributes, hijacks individuals for money and as a way of recruitment, and looks for support through coercion in its
environment. Like many individuals, the respondent in case 5 experiences strain he feels are unjust.

The Impact of Depression, Fear and Anger

Depression and fear as negative emotions may also lead to crime. According to Agnew (2006, p.34) “depressed people feel powerless or unable to alter the disliked state of affairs.” Similarly, after experiencing a disliked event, people also may feel relatively powerless to stop it and as a result they may also experience fear. Anxiety, panic, and terror are all related to fear (Agnew, 2006).

Case 6: The comments of another Turkish Hezbollah member, who was a twenty-two year old undergraduate, represent this view:

I have never committed big sins; however I had a regular life. I was working very hard in my job and I believed in the deceptive face of the world. Until I had a heart attack, I continued to live like this. The unexpected death threat, the impact of the fear of death on me and the anxiety of afterlife led me to make a new decision; I decided to choose a new path in my life and I joined to the group to save my afterlife. With the invaluable knowledge I have gained in the organization, I am ready to spread our ideology and act against the infidels. Up to now I carried different operations, mostly public demonstrations.

The threat of death as a strain leads the respondent to experience depression, fear, and anxiety all at the same time. His first response is to change his life course. In his perspective this change may bring meaning to his limited life time. In Agnew’s words (2006, p.35), it is a “psychological escape from problems.” After joining the Turkish Hezbollah, he manages to cope with his strain by carrying out less serious crimes such as public demonstrations.
Conclusion

The cumulative effects of strain on the violent behaviors of terrorists were analyzed. Initially, a bivariate analysis between the selected variables was conducted. Strain, education level, and earlier violent acts of terrorists were significant. Secondly a logistic regression was utilized to confirm the results of the initial test. The logistic regression also confirmed the initial test results. The results of both analyses were not different than what was suggested by the literature. Specifically, among introduced control variables education had a significant negative effect of violent acts of terrorists. As the education levels of terrorists increases, terrorists are less likely to perform violent acts. Also, earlier violent acts of terrorists had a positive effect on their later violent acts.

Instead of presenting a direct relation between strains and crime, Agnew proposed negative emotions as mediators. The relationship between strains, negative emotions and criminal activities are presented with a qualitative analysis. Among six case studies all statements of terrorists support this relationship. Although the life stories, strain types, negative emotions, the magnitude of the negative emotions and criminal acts are different from each other. Agnew’s suggestion of negative emotions as mediators stands to be true. It seems that, as Agnew (2006) proposes, anger is highly related to criminal activity when compared to other types of negative emotions. The magnitude of the negative emotions could not be tested; however, emotional intensity of the statements gives us a hint about the relationship. Also as strains become repetitive and continuous, the relationship becomes more prevalent. Table 7 shows the distribution of expressed negative emotions among six cases.
Table 7

*Distribution of Negative Emotions among Selected Cases*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Case 1</th>
<th>Case 2</th>
<th>Case 3</th>
<th>Case 4</th>
<th>Case 5</th>
<th>Case 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anger</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frustration</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Depression</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
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</table>
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION

Introduction

This study was conducted to understand the causes of terrorism and reasons behind one’s decision to join terror organizations. Initially, this study attempted to clarify that terrorism threatens the social order and creates new grounds for its existence through forming an illusion of an unjust system. Secondly, utilizing Agnew’s (1992) general strain theory, this study attempted to explore the strains of terror organization members prior to the training process in the organization and their relation with the violent acts performed by the terrorists.

The goal of this chapter is to review the study and to discuss the limitations, implications, and areas for future research. The review will cover a discussion of the study, how the research was carried out, a summary of the findings and their relation to the hypotheses. Presented limitations are about the sampling, measures and analysis itself. Finally, this chapter argues for further research into the field of terrorism. Although researchers argue similar issues related to crime, arguments regarding terrorism are limited to a theoretical framework. However, some statistical areas of future research in the area of terrorism are also acknowledged in this study.

Review of the Study

Terrorism has been a trouble for many societies. Various studies have been conducted in order to understand the phenomenon from different aspects. It is clear that terrorism threatens the social order in the society. The destabilization of the social
order by terrorist organizations may result in malfunctioning or over-functioning of these subsystems in the society, which will in turn disturb every individual within that society. Terrorism that threatens the survival of the system weakens the existing social order. Moreover, due to any possible reason, dysfunctioning of the system and lack of social order in the society may create frustration and aggression between the members of that society. When the social order is threatened, it paves the ways for frustration and the illusion of an unjust system. In other words, terror activities build up new grounds for the recruitment of new members.

It is assumed that individuals tend to react against unfair behaviors and conditions exerted over them, whether by using legal or illegal coping mechanisms. Although various studies have used economic inequalities as the only indicator of inequality, this study believed that other types of inequalities, such as unequal distribution of goods, resources, and power, as well as health may have effects on terrorism (Martin, 2004; ODI, 2006).

According to Bourdieu (1977) violence is justified under two conditions. First, if there is an actual attack against individuals, violence is justified as a defense used by those who are under attack. Second, as a response to other types of violence, such as symbolic violence, it is justified by the disadvantaged groups when the oppressed group believes that they are worthless for the dominant group (Hochschild, 1981). Thus, terrorist may justify their violent acts by claiming that there is an already existing injustice in the world, whether this perceived injustice is due to economic problems or others (Juergensmeyer, 2001). Also, negative emotions “create pressure on individuals to engage in corrective action, they reduce the ability to cope in a legal manner, they
reduce the perceived cost of the crime and/or they create a disposition for crime” (Agnew, 2006, p.35).

Strains that an individual faces are interpreted as unjust and an indicator of inequality for the terrorists. With the introduction of a political agenda as a solution to existing inequalities perceived, terrorist candidates are convinced to participate in a terrorist organization’s legal or illegal activities.

Agnew’s (1992) general strain theory was chosen as the frame of this study, because individual’s experience of strain may result in reactions such as disappointment, annoyance, or anger, and, when joined with personal attack, strains are likely to evoke feelings of anger, which finally increase the likelihood of antagonistic and aggressive reactions (Agnew, 1992; Cohen, 1955; Zillmann, 1979; Zillmann & Cantor, 1976).

Studies of general strain theory are limited. Furthermore many of these studies fail to present the relationship between strains, negative emotions and crime. Utilizing Agnew’s general strain theory, this study shows the relationship both using quantitative and qualitative analyses. For exploratory purposes the researcher asked the initial research question to identify the strains of terrorists prior to their violent acts. The second research question focuses on the cumulative effect of strains on the violent acts of terrorists, while the final research question aims to explore the mechanism of the relationship. Quantitative analysis was conducted to present the cumulative effect of strain on violent behaviors of terrorists, while qualitative analysis constructed the relationship with the introduction of negative emotion as a mediator.
Both qualitative analysis and quantitative analyses support each other. Moreover, case studies affirm the strain and violent act relation.

**Summary of Findings**

The cumulative effect of strains on violent behaviors of terrorists was analyzed in chapter VI. The researcher concluded that among Turkish Hezbollah members, prior to joining the terrorist organization, individuals who experience higher levels of strain are more likely to perform violent acts when compared to individuals who experience lower levels of strain. The results of the analysis were not different than what was suggested by the literature. This study affirmed earlier studies on strain-crime relationship.

Among introduced control variables education had a significant negative effect of violent acts of terrorists. As the education levels of terrorists increases, terrorists are less likely to perform violent acts. Also, earlier violent acts of terrorists had a positive effect on their later violent acts.

As to the negative emotions, presented case studies show that anger, frustration, depression and fear serve as mediators in the strain-crime relation. However, earlier studies revealed that there is a significant positive relation between anger and crime, while other negative emotions had negative effects on criminal behavior.

**Contribution of Findings**

Agnew’s general strain theory has not ever been retested on a terrorist group. One of the contributions of this study is extending the theory to a new area. The results affirmed the strain-crime relation for the terrorist group.
Another contribution of this study is on the studies of cumulative effect of strains. Instead of looking for relationships between specific types of strains and crimes, Agnew suggests measuring the cumulative effect of strains. Thus this study analyzed the cumulative effect of strains on violent acts and proposed that as the number of experienced strains increase, terrorists are more likely to perform violent acts. Also case studies revealed that repeated strains increase the likelihood of crime.

Another contribution of this study is on Agnew’s general strain theory. According to Agnew (2006, p.35) “the experience of strains increases the likelihood that individuals will experience a range of negative emotional states.” Agnew (2006) classifies these negative emotions, which may lead to crime, as anger, frustration, depression, jealousy, envy and fear. These negative emotions “create pressure on individuals to engage in corrective action, [they] reduce the ability to cope in a legal manner, [they] reduce the perceived cost of the crime and/or they create a disposition for crime” (Agnew, 2006, p.35). However, empirical tests of negative emotions only agree on the effect of anger on crime (Drapela, 2006). This study reveals that along with anger there is a relationship between frustration, depression and fear. The violent acts are not just due to the negative emotions, but in some of the cases terrorists imply their need for revealing those negative emotions and change their life styles. In a sense they are looking for meaning in their lives and decide to join the terrorist organization, in where they learn the ideology and violent behavior. Thus it can be said that negative emotions other than anger indirectly have effect on violent behavior.

Another contribution of this study is on terrorism theories. Terrorism theories are limited in number and most of them are adapted from other criminology theories.
Terrorists are not different than other individuals. They have expectations, problems and strains which result in negative emotions. However, these may be higher in magnitude when compared to others. General strain theory opens a new window to terrorism theories.

Future Research

The study presented the cumulative effects of strains on violent behaviors of terrorists. When repeated or experienced close together in time, strains are more likely to generate violent acts. However, the data utilized in this study is limited to Turkish Hezbollah Terror organization. Similar studies should be conducted with different data sets in order to test the results of this study.

It seems that anger is the primary source of violent behavior. However, other types of negative emotions are also likely to generate crime. As Drapela (2006, p.767) proposes “inner-directed negative emotions (such as depression)” and fear should be studied. If these studies fail to identify the negative effect of these emotions, they should be excluded from the propositions of general strain theory.

Also, due to the data limitation the researcher could not measure the magnitude of the negative emotions. Case studies partially revealed the magnitude of the negative emotions. In order to find out the most effective strains that generate negative emotions with higher magnitudes, future researchers should find more detailed data, where this kind of measurement is possible.

General strain theory seems fitting to terrorism studies. This new approach to terrorism should be challenged and retested. Research on the strains of terrorists
should be studied in different societies and cultures. Although quantitative analysis and the qualitative analysis support each other in this study, qualitative analysis can be a good start to test the relationship.

It is evident that this information about terror groups can only be found in governmental documents, which are unavailable to researchers. Thus, government organizations should work with researchers and open their data to them for more effective analyses.

Limitations of the Study

Despite the uniqueness of this study, some limitations exist. One of the main limitations of this study is the availability of better data. However, it is clear that the uniqueness of the study also comes from this limitation. A study on terrorism necessitates actual data collected in the field. The danger is obvious; thus, the researcher used secondary data.

This study also has the limitation of research conducted with secondary data. Secondary data may not contain all the information that a researcher is looking for. The data utilized in this study was not a result of academic survey constructed for research. However, answers provided by the respondents showed consistency and the researcher was able to form categories according to those answers.

Another limitation of this study is that the researcher could not measure the magnitude of the strains. Agnew (2006) suggests that after determining the most effective strains cumulative effect of strain can be measured. It was not possible to
measure the strength of strains from the available data. In the analysis the researcher measured the cumulative effect of strains on the violent acts of terrorists.

Also, one possible limitation of this study is that strain may not be accurately measured through all possible relations. Although attempts were made to operationalize strains according to Agnew’s (1992) classification and specific examples of his own, it is possible that this study did not effectively tap into the essence of strains.

Policy Implications

The ultimate goal of this study was to prevent terrorism by understanding its causes. Experienced strains may influence individuals’ behaviors. Thus, the best way to prevent crime and terrorism is to find new policies to reduce the sources of strains.

Agnew’s general strain theory may present a new approach to struggle against crime and terrorism. The central propositions of the theory can be a guide to the solution of the problem. From this perspective policy implications may be categorized under three topics:

1. Policies that should be developed to reduce the predictable strain sources. This study reveals if people face with less strain, they are less likely to become involved in violence. Thus, the initial step should be to create new policies which will reduce the predictable strain sources. For example, economic strains lead individuals to migrate to bigger cities where they can find new job opportunities. Migration brings new problems and becomes a new strain source for individuals. Therefore, it is necessary to form new policies to solve monetary problems. The biggest economic project in Turkey, which will find solutions to unemployment in rural areas, was initiated in the 1980s. Twenty-one billion dollars have already been spent for the Southeastern Anatolian Project. In order
2. Policies that should be developed to increase the ability to cope with strains in legal manners. According to Agnew (2006) it is possible to cope with strains in a legal manner when they experience strains. Thus, new policies should be created to increase the abilities of individuals to cope with strains in socially accepted ways. Education system can play a vital role in coping with negative emotions and strains. Students should be viewed with their social environments and teachers should identify and help the students to deal with their strains. Consultants in the schools may help more effectively to these efforts. After school programs can be another measure. Informing families about the possible threats by school authorities may be more effective than informing them through law enforcements. School authorities can empathetically share the strains of families, and try to reduce the negative emotions of both the students and their parents by telling them the alternative ways or opportunities that they have. Agnew (2006) suggests parent-training programs to reduce the strains experienced in families. These programs are to teach families how to resolve conflicts, how to discipline children.

3. Policies that should be developed to reduce the effect of crime on society. Crime also has both moral and economic impacts on society. If the existing system is
perceived as unjust with its practices, displeasure among people will spread in the whole society. Thus, criminal justice system should perform well to satisfy the society. In this perspective, Agnew (2006) suggests criminal justice system should adapt new approaches such as restorative justice which is more likely to be seen as just.

The struggle against terrorists is the duty of law enforcement, but the struggle against terrorism is the duty of all institutions. In that sense, the society may find solutions to some of those strains experienced by the members of that society. In a centralized government, like in Turkey, the initial step should also be taken by the governmental institutions. This study also revealed that as individuals become more educated they are less likely to commit violent acts. Although this may be a long term solution for terrorism, the researcher realized that struggle against terrorism can be initiated by schools.

The education system has an organic structure, which may diffuse to every part of society. Any implemented policy can be performed nationwide. Therefore, the education system can be a key player in this struggle. Schools should not only be seen as the places where students take courses. Not only in-class activities, but also outside activities play a vital role when students create their social environment and initiate new relationships. Indirect supervision can be formed through after school programs. Ways to cope with strains should be taught to students by forming after school programs or including some programs to the curriculum. It is clear that human life is full of strains. It is the responsibility of their families and the school to make them ready to the problems that they may face in the future.
It is evident that the education system is only one of the instruments that can be utilized against crime and terrorism. Every institution, every organization, every individual should realize their responsibilities to their society in order to create an orderly life for themselves. In other words, instead of acting as a strain producing mechanism, these institutions and organizations should work as strain reducing mechanisms.

The policy implications of this study resonate in the simple fact that individuals who experience strains are also human and they need human relations. Instead of looking for illegal ways to cope with their strains, legal ways should be open to all individuals. As Agnew (2006) proposes goal blockage and discrimination based on some characteristics may cause strain. Governments should be aware of such strains and their consequences. Future policy should show an effort to understand the sources of strains and try to find solutions for the good of society. General strain theory is only one of the ways to approach the problem of terrorism; however, different approaches should also be utilized in order to prevent terrorism.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it appears that hypotheses held by the researcher were supported by the data, while a more detailed study is necessary to test the effect of negative emotions. Although limitations do exist, the study provided unique results. One of the important findings of this study is that experienced strains of terrorists prior to joining a terror organization have effects on their violent acts. The result is not different than what Agnew and White (1992) claim. Individuals who experience higher levels of strain are more likely to commit crime. Strain measures specified in general strain theory have a
considerable effect on delinquency. Also this study revealed that some control variables, such as education and earlier violent behaviors have effect on individuals' later violent acts. Even though Agnew (2006) claims that education system may act as a strain producing mechanism for juveniles, it is clear that as individuals get more educated, they are less likely to involve in violence. It seems schooling also helps individuals to learn legal coping mechanisms.

In addition, when earlier violent behaviors are included to the equation, this study reveals that individuals who had prior violent acts are more likely to involve in violence, when compared to individuals who have not involved in prior violence. Recidivism studies may shed more light on the issue.

The qualitative analyses conducted in this study show that negative emotions mediate between the strains and violent acts (Hypothesis 2). Agnew (2006) cites negative emotions such as anger, depression and fear. In some studies fear or depression did not show positive relation with crime (Jang and Johnson, 2003; Piquero and Sealock, 2000; Broidy, 2001). However, Jang and Johnson’s (2003) suggest that negative emotions other than anger should not be neglected in future tests of general strain theory. In this perspective, Aseltine, Gore, and Gordon (2000) included anger and frustration as a mediator and found some support for general strain theory. This study concluded that negative emotions, specifically anger, serve as mediators in the strain-crime relation.

As a micro-level approach, Agnew’s general strain theory opens a new window to terrorism studies. Along with macro-level approaches, this study holds that micro-level approaches should not be neglected. To understand the underlying reasons behind
terrorism both approaches should be exhausted. General strain theory can help to understand the micro-level problems of individuals and remind policy makers that they should not neglect the problems which seems specific to individuals.
APPENDIX

DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES INCLUDED IN ANALYSES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Descriptive Variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Age of the respondent (in years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The age variable was determined by subtracting the date of birth from the date of survey conducted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Biological sex of the respondent (0 = Female, 1 = Male).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Marital status of the respondent (0 = Unmarried, 1 = Married)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Level</td>
<td>The highest level of education that the respondent achieved (1 = Very bad, 2 = Bad, 3 = Average, 4 = Good, 5 = Very good).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Status</td>
<td>The perceived economic status of the respondent (1 = Eight grade or less, 2 = Some high school, 3 = High school graduate, 4 = Some year in college, 5 = College graduate, 6 = Graduate studies).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Status</td>
<td>The work status of the respondent (0 = Unemployed, 1 = Employed).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Variables Used in The Analysis</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strain</td>
<td>Total number of experienced strains (Scale) May range between 0 and 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Age of the respondent (in years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The age variable was determined by subtracting the date of birth from the date of survey conducted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Marital status of the respondent (0 = Unmarried, 1 = Married)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Level</td>
<td>The highest level of education that the respondent achieved (1 = Very bad, 2 = Bad, 3 = Average, 4 = Good, 5 = Very good).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earlier violent acts</td>
<td>Violent acts of terrorists performed before joining the terror organization (0 = No, 1 = Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later violent acts</td>
<td>Violent acts of terrorists performed after joining the terror organization (0 = No, 1 = Yes)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES


Cooper, M. (2002). The legacy of Atatürk: Turkish political structures and policy-making. *International Affairs, 78*(1), 115-128.


