AN ANALYSIS OF ESTABLISHED TERRORIST IDENTITY IN POLITICAL AND MILITARY WINGS OF TURKISH HIZBULLAH

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The influence of the role identity expectations of Turkish Hizbullah’s leadership on actual members’ terrorist identities was documented in this dissertation. This study explored the leadership’s identity expectations from members through content analyses of four books written by major figures of Hizbullah. Those books were selected following comments of the literature and expert suggestions. Eleven identity features stood out. These content analyses also revealed that leadership had different expectations from political wing members and military wing members. The following six identity features were listed as expected more from military wing members: belief in jihad and resistance, desire for martyrdom, embracing the hierarchical structure, depersonalization, hatred against enemies of God, and aloneness. Whilst cemaat (religious congregation), being religiously educated, patience (gradualism), dedication to a Muslim brotherhood, and being politically active were listed as expected identity attributes of political wing members. Qualitative analyses investigated these identity features using the available literature and 144 handwritten reports of actual Hizbullah members.

To confirm the findings of content and qualitative analyses, quantitative analyses were conducted on the relatively representative sample (144 reports). The results of cross-tabulation and logistic regression demonstrated that two (out of 6) military wing and two (out of 5) political wing identity expectations were not manifested on actual members’ Hizbullah identities.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The lack of sociological understanding of terrorist identity poses serious problems. The recent increase in the number of incidents and fatalities in terror attacks could be considered as proof of that argument. Continued oversight in academia and sustained underestimation in countering organizations left terrorist identity understudied. This does not necessarily suggest the total absence of studies about terrorist identity in the literature. As a matter of fact, Arena and Arrigo (2006), Hudson (1999), Schweitzer and Ferber (2005), Silber and Bhatt (2007), and others were utilized extensively and paved the way for this study. However, even the ones stated were relatively insufficient in providing a satisfactory sociological elaboration for religiously motivated terrorist identity. One of the major goals of this dissertation is to fill that gap in the literature, while bringing attention to the power of terrorist identity as an entity sowing the seeds of terrorism’s future.

In this chapter, a brief overview of Turkish Hizbullah, research questions, major purposes of the study, research design, and some of the major contributions of the dissertation are presented. This research also presents some of the major problems encountered in the literature about terrorist identity in general, and the Turkish Hizbullah identity in particular.

The Turkish Hizbullah (referred as Hizbullah from now on) is a local and religiously motivated (Islamic) terrorist group in Turkey. The organization’s main goal is to replace the current secular structure in Turkey with an Islamic regime. Hizbullah was very active during 1990s. Following the 2000 police raid where the leader, Hüseyin Velioğlu was killed, the group temporarily ceased its activities. However, this period did not last too long. Uslu (2007) claims that the group is on the verge of resurrection. Hizbullah is made up of two wings. The political
wing mostly undertakes political, legal, and overt activities of the group. The military wing as a rule carries out armed activities such as planning and committing attacks on individuals, groups, and buildings.

Statement of the Problem and Research Questions

Just like any organization, the survival of terrorist organizations is highly dependent on participating and contributing individuals. Members, as providers of resources to a structured functioning body, are the most important assets for terrorist organizations (Teymur, 2007). The literature provided many explanations as to the social, psychological, and personal characteristics of the people who choose to become members and/or supporters of terrorist organizations (Arena and Arrigo, 2006; Hudson, 1999; Schweitzer and Ferber, 2005; Silber and Bhatt, 2007). Profiling and recruitment aspects of these persons have been frequently investigated. However, to this date, no study has been conducted about the already established identity features of Turkish Hizbullah.

Membership in a group and having particular roles assigned to oneself are extremely influential on an individual’s personality (Stryker and Burke, 2000). After recruiting the potential members from sympathizers, Turkish Hizbullah provides them with extra training/indoctrination followed by experimental involvement in activities. Starting with that level, they embark on the task of developing the group identity (militant extremist identity or terrorist identity). However, the literature, if not totally blind to it, has been found extremely insufficient to elaborate on that part.

Another major problem has emanated from the shortage of theoretical insight. Terrorism as a topic might be considered as too politicized in most spheres (Teymur, 2007) even in the
academia. One might find it difficult to maintain a professional and academic distance from the expectations of funding agencies or related interest groups. Since funding for terrorism research mostly comes from institutions that might pursue actionable concrete conclusions, the abstract and more theoretical side of the phenomenon faces the constant risk of being understudied. Consequently, inadequate theoretical understanding of militant extremist identity in terrorism might encourage policy making bodies to lean towards military measures more frequently (Bergesen and Lizardo, 2004). Sometimes this situation is combined with a terror attack or attacks with dramatic consequences in terms of death and extensive property loss. Then the importance of theoretical understanding holds no chance against the public pressure for immediate military response. Although the importance of armed struggle is not denied, Uslu (2007) suggested that military achievements are mostly characterized as short term results.

Research questions.

Research questions that guided the design of this study have been developed in a way to identify and fill the gaps mentioned. These questions are as follows.

1) What kinds of identity characteristics are expected by Turkish Hizbullah from its current and new members?
2) Does the organization have different preferences in identity characteristics for its military and political wings?
3) If yes (to the second question), can that be validated?
4) Does the organization use those expected identity characteristics only in the wing assignment procedure? If not, to what extent are those identity characteristics used within the organization?
5) How are they used once the membership is activated and approved (when membership is formally announced and a new role is assigned to the new member)?

6) How does the group determine the presence of expected identity characteristics on members?

Research Design

It is a commonly known fact that members of terrorist organizations have different identity characteristics from the mainstream that encourage and also justify their activities. Those activities might involve killings of innocent and noncombatant targets (Arena and Arrigo, 2006). This fact paved the way for this study. The research design is developed to elaborate on that fact. There are three major goals of the research design: (1) To reveal identity expectations of the Turkish Hizbullah from its members, (2) to expose that leadership has different identity expectations from each wing, and (3) to validate the findings (1 and 2) using a reasonably representative data set.

The research design is strategized in a way not only to reveal the leadership’s different identity expectations from members, but also to validate the accuracy of them. This study consisted of three separate analyses: Content, qualitative, and quantitative analyses. In the content analysis, Hizbullah’s own literature is analyzed to discern the leadership’s identity expectations from members (Bagasi, 2004; Gungor, 1997; Guzelsoy, 1996; Savas, 2006). After reviewing that literature, it became clear that the leadership’s expectations were different in nature for each wing. In the qualitative analysis, those identity characteristics were listed and interpreted using the statements of actual members along with Hizbullah literature (Chapter 4
Additionally, quantitative analyses have also been performed separately for political and military wings to verify the qualitative findings. The results are demonstrated in Chapter 6.

Significance of the Research

This dissertation differs from many other studies on the Turkish Hizbullah because of its sociological framework. Other studies tended to focus more on psychological states of individual members. They also had a tendency to ignore or underutilize the sociological ways of understanding this organization. This limited perspective leads to developing strategies that only deal with terrorists, while leaving terrorism and the social reasons paving the way for terrorism untouched or understudied at best (Turk, 1982; Koseli, 2006; and Laqueur, 1977).

Most terrorist organizations inhabit different groups within their structures. Turkish Hizbullah has political and military wings. The literature suggested that the leadership has different role identity expectations from members of each wing (Bagasi, 2004; Gungor, 1997; Guzelsoy, 1996; and Savas, 2006). These differences are believed to be worth studying. Understanding them has the potential to help better comprehend the group, predict its capabilities, measure the level of threat it poses, and consequently develop a more effective strategy against it.

Although several other scholarly studies have been conducted on the Turkish Hizbullah, the literature did not suggest any that specifically focused on established group identity. If not all, most of them were inclined to limit their scopes mainly to profiling and/or recruitment phases. As a matter of fact, the main distinction of this dissertation comes from its starting point which follows the recruitment and goes well beyond the profiling as well. Therefore, this
dissertation is the first attempt aimed at a better understanding of the already formed Turkish Hizbullah identity.

One of the major findings of this dissertation was the discovery of the power of role identity features imposed on individuals to strengthen their wing identities as political wing or military wing members. This was significant in two ways. First, to date, it is the first time that this has been studied for this terrorist organization. Second, this endeavor enhances our understanding of the inner functioning of Hizbullah in a more scientific manner. This feature of the dissertation is believed to be very important to providing actionable insights for policy making bodies, combating agencies, and even for academia. Also, the research design of this dissertation could also be replicated on other terrorist groups in general, and on religiously motivated ones such as Al Qaeda in particular.

The literature about the terrorist identity of the Turkish Hizbullah suggested that the group, especially when compared with secular terrorist groups from the same region like Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan (PKK) [Kurdish Workers Party], holds unique views on group identity (Bagasi, 2004; Gungor, 1997; Guzelsoy, 1996; Savas, 2006). Hizbullah wishes to form separate identities for both wings that derive their operating energy from sacred external resources. Hizbullah believes that each member needs to distinguish sacred religious entities or respected major figures as their sole reference points for supporting the group (Guzelsoy, 1996 and Gungor, 1997). In other words, the group does not see itself as the one and only source for inspiration. As a matter of fact, Hizbullah considers itself only as an approved means to achieve higher Islamic goals (establishing Islamic rule in Turkey and eventually in the world). To Arena and Arrigo (2006), studying impacts of these types of symbols (reference points) on terrorist identity is particularly important.
One of the major reasons for Hizbullah to refrain from asserting itself as the only reference point, and for claiming only to be a just tool (means) could be hidden behind its intensions for not alienating its members and sympathizers from the organization. Naturally, terror acts bear the seeds of the destruction of the philosophy behind terrorism (Arena and Arrigo, 2006). To avoid the claim of being the only approved means to achieve higher Islamic goals, the group manages to divert possible criticisms coming from in-group members towards those external and sacred reference points. The critiquing of them poses the risk of conflicting with Islam. That situation makes the group relatively free in its choice of means to achieve their versions of Islamic goals. As a matter of fact, credit card crimes, distortion, kidnapping of rich businessman and holding them for ransom, torture, killing of innocent (even children, women, and noncombatant individuals) are widely used by the group for money-raising purposes. Islam opposes these crimes and under no circumstances approves of such acts (Bilmen, 1949).

Following the argument above, it is evident that terrorism cannot be considered or classified as a regular crime (Black, 2004; and Sutherland and Cressey, 1978). However, this does not necessarily mean that the sources and reasons of terrorism are extremely complicated. Terrorism is proven to be a social phenomenon the root causes of which are deep in the social texture of its supporting environment (Turk, 1982; Koseli, 2006; and Cooper, 2001). The military approach is relatively incompetent to identify and come to terms with those aspects of terrorism. It also poses the risk of reducing it to a regular crime. To that end, this study was designed in a way to avoid the overuse of military measures, and to place the majority of the emphases on theoretical understanding of terrorism as a social phenomenon.

Another contribution of the study has been the discovery of the overuse of symbols on Hizbullah identity. The group basically categorizes symbols in two distinct groups. 1) Some of
them are used as the source for inspiration and encouragement, such as jihad, Prophet Muhammad’s life, patience, pilgrimage, the belief, and martyrdom. 2) Others are used to ward off members from risky encounters that might lead up to questioning the group’s activities; such as secular ideology, out-group members (infidels, PKK members, and the government of Turkey), the nation state, non-practicing Muslims, etc. Symbols take on the role of identity agents that filter members’ way of interpreting their environments and structure their interactions with others. However, it should also be noted that some of the interpretations of these symbols might be asserted differently for political and military wing members. For instance, the meaning of martyrdom has different connotations to both wing members. For a military wing member, martyrdom is presented as highly praised ultimate goal. However, for a member of political wing, while it is still praised, postponing martyrdom is appreciated more by God since there is plenty of work that needs to be done for Islam in this world.

We could also think about the meaning of life as a symbol. Islam attributes highest values and meanings to life especially to innocent lives (Bilmen, 1949). Yet, absolute adherence to pure Islamic teachings on the sacredness of life does not serve Hizbullah’s goals. Therefore, along with many others, the meaning of life needs to be reformed. After new reinterpretations, the loss of human lives because of the group’s activities becomes casualties of war and permissible side-effects of a just struggle to establish Islamic rule in Turkey. Group members develop identities even at the risk of conflicting with mainstream Islamic teachings about life. This challenge gives group members a feeling of uniqueness especially when combined with justifying arguments supported by respected religious scholars who are also in-group members. In short, uncovering the fact that Hizbullah had reinterpreted the meanings of some major Islamic concepts with symbolic value and used the newly coined meanings to maintain group identity are considered as
another contribution of this research. Also, since identity is related to established group membership, studying identity will reveal the important key elements that explain the group’s influence over new members. Knowing this will strengthen the hands of policy makers and countering bodies (Enders and Sandler, 1993) in their endeavors of developing working strategies against Hizbullah.

Lastly, the ways how Hizbullah uses members’ identity features are also worth studying. The literature revealed that Hizbullah is a role based organization (Cakir, 2001 and Teymur, 2007). Roles are distributed by the leadership through careful evaluations of the present identity characteristics of each member (Cakir, 2001). Members’ commitments to the assigned roles are carefully measured to determine future role assignments within the ranks of Hizbullah (Bagasi, 2004 and Savas, 2006). Put differently, individual characteristics of members become essential determinants of in-group role distribution. As stated in the following chapter, identity theory assumes that assigned roles are the most important factors in maintaining a participating in-group identity (Stryker and Burke, 2000).

An Overview of Turkish Hizbullah

*Early years.*

Hizbullah or Hezbollah is an Arabic word meaning “the party of Allah (God).” According to Bagasi (2004), “the Cemaat\(^1\) of Hizbullah is a Muslim group, which is Kurdistan originated, Kurdistan centered, and is an organization a majority of its members has Kurdish origins” (p. 55). Bagasi refers to southeast and eastern regions of Turkey. The group’s belief structure is strictly embedded within the radical interpretation of Islam against the secular

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\(^1\) The Turkish version of an Arabic word referring to any gathering of Muslims where the main purpose is to pray together. Also, people who share similar Islamic perspectives are a cemaat. Hizbullah addresses itself only as “cemaat”, and claims no other titles. Cemaat is very similar to religious congregation in Christian terminology.
structure of Turkey. Hizbullah denounced this secular structure, and called for its replacement with Islamic rule. On its onset, it started as a very cohesive organization. However, later on, the group included conglomeration of many small and fractured units.

Hizbullah was founded by Hüseyin Velioğlu in the following years of Iranian Revolution of 1979 (Bagasi, 2004). Cakir (2001), Uslu (2007) and Ozeren and Voorde (2004) also confirm that. Bagasi (2004) asserts that the group does not have any ties with the Lebanon-based Hezbollah, and the Iranian government. Unlike them, the Turkish Hizbullah is a Sunni organization. However, this does not necessarily mean that the group is not sympathetic to the 1979 Revolution (İnkılap as Turkish Hizbullah calls it). Bagasi (2004) believes that “no sectarian or nationality difference should and could stop the joy of commemorating a country that managed to achieve such a great triumph: Islamic revolution” (p. 242). To prove the absence of organic ties with Iran, Bagasi (2004) claims that if Iranians deviate from the path of the revolution, that would not change the groups perspective on the revolution itself, but it may change their perception of the Iranian government, to which, again, the group does not claim any allegiance (pgs. 26-28).

Hizbullah did not assume armed struggle until 1991. Following that year, Hizbullah underwent a drastic transformation into which “armed struggle was not only approved but also encouraged and considered as the only effective means in jihad” (1991 and on) (Bagasi, 2004, p. 45). The group has been extremely active between 1980 and 2000. After the 2003 Istanbul

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2 A graduate of a distinguished and very influential college in Turkey (Political Science department from where majority of governors and district governors do graduate). He was killed in a police raid in January 17, 2000 and from then on, was addressed as the “Martyred Guide” by group members. And also Bagasi dedicates his or her book to him for not only forming and maturing the group, but also sacrificing his life for it.

3 Turkish (Kurdish) Hizbullah consists of members of mostly Kurdish origin and belong to Sunni branch of Islam. However, Iran as a country has a different nationality, language, culture, and the majority of its population is Shiite, a different branch of Islam.
attacks targeting two synagogues, the English Consulate-General, and HSBC bank, the group’s name has started to gain coverage on media again.

Composition of members and the sources of the enmity towards the PKK.

Due to group’s demographic characteristics, Turkish Hizbullah is also called by many as the Kurdish Hizbullah. A majority of the captured or suspected group members have Kurdish origins and cluster in south-eastern cities where the Kurdish population is denser. The group is known as the Turkish Hizbullah only due to its geographic presence within the borders of Turkey. At the group’s onset, new recruits had been trained along with PKK recruits in joint training camps. However, later on deep animosities sparked off between the two groups, and they turned their guns at each other (Cakir, 2001). Many tie this development to Turkish government’s strategy of getting rid of them together (Cakir, 2001; Cicek, 2000; and Farac, 2002). To Hizbullah, the major source for conflict between the groups actually came from PKK’s opposition to religion in general and Islam in particular. PKK is a separatist Marxist-Leninist terrorist organization with the specific purpose of establishing a Kurdish state in Turkish soil (Yayla, 2005). However, the Kurdish (Turkish) Hizbullah is not a separatist group. Its major goal is to convert the secular political system in Turkey into a religious system controlled by Islamic Shari’a (Islamic law) (Bagasi, 2004).

Hizbullah has been very active and influential in the southeastern part of Turkey. The group claims that they received major public support because it was seen as a response and alternative to PKK by the people. Bagasi (2004) also believes that a vast majority of the Kurds are conservative people who “do not see eye to eye with the godless ideology of PKK” (p. 59). Some claimed that the group enjoyed the leverage of state help, in terms of arms training, arms
supply, and freedom from prosecution. The group strongly denied these allegations and claimed that these were the lies deliberately made by the Turkish government to prevent the group from a possible resurrection after the 2000 blow. Bagasi (2004) also thinks that rival groups helped disseminate these lies since they see Hizbullah as the major threat to their dominance in the region.

*Shifting relationship with Turkey.*

However, it is a known fact that starting from its early years, the group avoided direct confrontation with Turkish police, army, and other state institutions in the region (Bagasi, 2004). Throughout Turkey, Hizbullah mostly targeted ideologically opposed (anti-Islamist) or rival groups, whether they have Islamic backgrounds (the Menzilciler, and İzzettin Yıldırım’s Group) or Marxist-Leninist outlooks (mostly PKK and also others with similar tendencies). Bagasi (2004) claims that “they did not spare the governments of Turkey and maintained a clandestine and silent confrontation with them between 1995 and 2000” (p. 117). Therefore, it would be safe to argue that since its creation after 1979 up until 1995, the group did not pursue either overt or covert confrontation with Turkey. And after the 2000 police raid targeting its leaders, this fight became open to the public. Naturally, this stirred many arguments as to the group’s so-called ties with the Turkish state. Some researchers claim that the state (Turkey) knew about their activities but chose not to interfere since Hizbullah’s fight was mainly against the PKK and Menzilciler. Aras and Bacik (2002) estimate that “Hizballah killed more than 500 members of the PKK and members of other Kurdish organizations, including Kurdish journalists, intellectuals, politicians, clearly in the interest of the state” (p. 153).
Another debatable support for this argument centers on the then governor of Batman, a city in southeastern part of Turkey. He approved the purchase of 2.8 million U.S. dollars worth of weapons in 2000. They were lost during their transportation to the city. Although not definitely proven so far, Aras and Bacik (2002) use this as an example of the arguable support from the state. However, the group fervently opposed those allegations, and in many instances Hizbullah declared that, due to its secular and anti-Islamic practices since 1920s, they see Turkey as the biggest enemy, even more dangerous than the Marxist-Leninist PKK (Bagasi, 2004). In their defense, right before the clashes with PKK and others, Hizbullah claims that they had contacted with them many times to prevent the fights just because only the state would benefit from it (Bagasi, 2004). As a matter of fact, the group addresses Turkey as TC. This is the abbreviated version of Türkiye Cumhuriyeti (Republic of Turkey). However, culturally the state is believed to be sacred and using abbreviations for its full name is considered to be a major insult. Additionally, they see the PKK’s and Menzilciler’s accusations against Hizbullah as being an apparatus of the state as one of the major reasons to wage war against them.

With the January 17, 2000 police crackdown on the group, the archives of terrorist attacks and activities (video tapes, voice recordings, reports, names and addresses of its members, etc) were confiscated by the police. That development nearly pushed the group to an early end (Nugent, 2004). Because of this blow, the group ceased its activities temporarily, and underwent many structural transformations adjusting itself to new terrorism. It was later revealed that the police were making a routine check on that Beykoz house in Istanbul without a prior intelligence. They accidentally found out that the house was inhabited by Hüseyin Velioğlu, the

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4 PKK called the group “hizbul-contra” and used it in their journals and pamphlets to gain public support against Hizbullah. Contra as a term is used to identify groups with organic state ties in Turkey.
leader of Hizbullah and two other top figures of the group: The group’s Marmara and Aegean5 Imam6 Edip Gümüş, and military wing lieutenant Cemal Tutar. Velioğlu was killed during the raid while Gümüş and Tutar were captured alive. Police had visited the house during an investigation of the credit card use of a kidnapped Kurdish businessman Mehmet Şehit Avcı (Netbul, 2007). Since the unauthorized use of credit cards of kidnapped persons has long been believed as one of Hizbullah’s major monetary sources, Istanbul police naturally had suspected of Hizbullah, but definitely did not expect to find the group’s masterminds in that house.

The period following the 2000 police attacks.

During the next two years, the group declared an unofficial unilateral ceasefire. Nearly one thousand arrests were made, and the group was significantly pacified. Following the crackdown, in ensuing investigations, police have exhumed more than 70 bodies that were brutally tortured and some of them had been buried alive (Aydintasbas, 2000). A majority of these bodies were believed to belong to rich Kurdish businessmen and women, who were kidnapped and tortured for extortion reasons. Additionally, some of the opponents of the group and other important information sources were also kidnapped and interrogated before sharing similar fates. Police confiscated video tapes of the so-called interrogations, and sent them to autonomous investigating bodies consisted of parliament members coming from each political party represented in the parliament. Right after watching the contents, they were very quick in prohibiting the dissemination of these tapes due to their grotesque nature. However, the public had the opportunity to read some of the transcripts of the videotapes. The interrogation of Konca

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5 Two of Turkey’s seven official geographic regions, others are Blacksea, Central Anatolia, Eastern Anatolia, Southeast Anatolia, and lastly South Anatolia (Akdeniz Bolgesi) regions.

6 Religious persons who are mainly in charge of leading the routine prayers.
Kuriş, one of the then leading feminist thinkers, shocked, angered, and stirred up pity among the Turkish public (Uslu, 2007).

Currently the group is in its phase of reemergence. Bagasi’s book (2004) is considered as an attempt not only to gain new members, but also to gather old and alienated ones due to group’s publicized violent activities in late 1990s and early 2000 (Uslu, 2007 and Teymur, 2007). Bagasi (2004) states that he has written his book just for “revealing the lies that were placed on Hizbullah one by one” (p. 40). To him, the aftermath of the January 2000 police operation is characterized as a disinformation period. Thus, Hizbullah felt the need to explain itself with this book.

Organizational structure and in-group functions.

Figure 1. A simplified organizational chart of the Turkish Hizbullah (TGNA, 2000).
Hizbullah’s organizational chart was prepared by the police and publicized in an official report of the Committee for Investigating Unresolved Murders under Turkish National Grand Assembly (TGNA) in 2000. One of the most important findings with regard to the group was secrecy. The investigations revealed that members of the group only knew and worked with their cellmates. They were not supposed to know other members.

According to Figure 1, there are two leaders with different tasks in Hizbullah. They are assumed to act independently from each other. To Cakir (2001), the military wing leader is the most visible one. He is considered to be the number one person with the authority to impose organizational changes, to make major personnel allocation decisions, to make target selection proposals to the High Council, and also to make decisions about the timing of the attacks. Most of his decisions are binding over the members. He is considered to be the highest representative of the group. He is chosen by the High Council. The primary requirements for this position are proven dedication to the cause and knowledge of group’s literature.

The religious leader, on the other hand, is considered to be the most respected position without many administrative powers (Akyol, 2000). He is responsible for maintaining a high degree of religious commitment to the cause from the members by developing religious justifications for their actions. These people need to interpret religious texts differently in order to provide a sense of justness for active members, especially for the members of armed wing. Islam has a solid stance against killing innocent people without regard to their religion, sect, and/or ethnicity (Bilmen, 1949). Therefore, religious leaders need to develop new interpretations for the religious teachings of this sort.

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7 Turkish Hizbullah tends to read different Islamic books, either written by their members or similar individuals. Also, their interpretations of Islamic texts dramatically differ from the mainstream. Therefore, they do not/cannot pay close attention to outer interpretations/sources.
The High Council is the committee where critical decisions are supposedly made. The members of this council usually decide whom to target, when, and in what manner (Bulut and Farac, 1999). Ideally, it is supposed that this council is the highest authority in the decision making process. In reality, it has always been under the constant control of the military wing leader (Teymur, 2007). Each major unit in the organization has a representative in the council. Members gather whenever needed, and they do not have any routines in order to avoid being predictable by the police (Bagasi, 2004).

Wings.

Hizbullah has two separate wings within its structure. First, the military wing is responsible for carrying out the attacks on people, groups, and buildings. Their major methods of attacking are as follows: Armed attack, bombing, arson, stabbing, using chemicals on people, kidnapping, beating, threatening, interrogating, and lastly suicide attacks (Cicek, 2000). Division heads convey the messages that they receive from their representatives in the council, and oversee and supervise the attacks (Uslu, 2007).

Second, the political wing is mostly responsible for recruiting new members through invitations, propaganda, and public relations (Farac, 2002). Hizbullah is known for its community outreach programs, where they provide people with financial, social, religious, and even legal services. It is known that people, for religious reasons, might not choose to take their legal cases up with the official courts\(^8\), and choose Hizbullah to render a ruling (Cakir, 2001). Schools are the most important sources for new recruits, and this group was well organized and created separate branches for universities, high schools and middle schools (Cakir, 2001). They

\(^8\) Turkish courts are secular, and do not include or refer to religious norms and to Islamic law (Shari’a) in their decisions.
also have mosque representatives whose main job is to use religious sermons and activities to the group’s advantage (Bulut and Farac, 1999). They are also supposed to make their mosques available when needed. Their activities might include providing Qur’an learning courses\(^9\) to children (Cicek, 2000). Precinct, district, city, and geographic regional representatives are conducting public outreach programs in order to gain public support for their cause (Cakir, 2001).

*Role identity expectations from both wings.*

Review of the literature made it clear that Hizbullah had different levels of role identity expectations from the members of each wing (Bagasi, 2004; Gungor, 1997; Guzelsoy, 1996; Savas, 2006). For instance, on many occasions, Bagasi (2004) and Guzelsoy (1996) argued that Hizbullah expects higher levels of educational achievements from political wing members than military wing members. Because, the leadership thinks that political wing members are the ones who are actually in charge of conducting the overt activities of the group. They provide dispute resolution for people who ask for help, distribute and collect charities, and provide Qur’an learning classes for children (TGNA, 2000). Fulfilling these roles necessitates certain levels of acceptance that is largely contingent upon educational achievements. On the other hand, for the military wing, the members are not required to have higher educational achievements. As a matter of fact, formal education is not considered as one of the requirements for the members of military wing at all (Bagasi, 2004).

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\(^9\) Turkish Latin letters (alphabet) and Qur’an’s letters (Arabic alphabet) are different. If one wants to read Qur’an he or she has to learn how to read Arabic letters. However, most schools in Turkey do not provide that except for theology departments and very limited high schools. Therefore, one has to take special courses from people who know the Arabic language or at least how to read Arabic writings. The law specifies the people who could give those courses. However, Hizbullah members provide those courses for free and without the required authorization- in other words, illegally.
There is one major way to verify the accuracy of the above argument suggested that Hizbullah leadership had different identity expectations from military and political wing members. A relatively representative quantitative data collected from actual members that includes information about their identity characteristics would help determine the accuracy. As a matter of fact, this dissertation used a dataset of this sort and proved that leadership indeed had different set of role identity expectations from the members of these two wings. The findings are demonstrated in Chapter 6.

As most other organizations, Hizbullah has ways to constantly supervise its members’ emotional, psychological, and even physical fitness and attachment levels to the cause. Along with visual and on-site observations of its members through leaders, Hizbullah requires its members to write a report regularly. The topics to be covered in these reports are presented to the members beforehand. Other than the items related to demographic features, most of the items are designed to investigate members’ personalities. In doing that, Hizbullah aims to categorize its members for wing assignments (Cakir, 2001). These reports are also used as supplementary tools in decisions of in-group role assignments. In other words, those reports are used as tools in decisions related to in-group mobility. Evidence in the literature suggested that they are another way of the leadership to determine the existence or absence of expected identity characteristics on members (Cakir, 2001). Chapters 4 and 5 examined those identity characteristics in detail.

Summary

This chapter listed some of the major problems in the literature that has called for this research. Additionally, information about Hizbullah, the purposes of the dissertation, research questions, brief information about the research design, and significance of the study were also
presented. The next chapter will include an advanced literature review about terrorist identity in general, and Hizbullah identity in particular.
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter consists of two related parts. The first part develops a theoretical framework for “identity” following the symbolic interactionist paradigm. Also, identity theory is presented and supported as the preferred theory of the dissertation. The second part demonstrates an application of this theoretical understanding to terrorist identity in general, and to Hizbullah identity in particular. This part will also include the relationship between terrorism and religion.

Identity: From a Theoretical Framework

Self and identity.

The sociological understanding of self and identity starts with the presupposition of the existence of a reciprocal relationship between the self and the society (Styrker, 1980). To Stets and Burke (2003), assuming the existence of this reciprocal interaction could be the proclamation of the acceptance of not only the power of self over society, but also the power of society over the self. It is very clear that to better understand the self and identity, we also need to understand and investigate the society that took part in the creation of them. As a matter of fact, to Stryker (1980), self cannot be separated from the society because self can only exist and be meaningful in its relation with other selves or entities.

C. Wright Mills enriches this argument by adding history, biography, and social structure (1959). History refers to the process of how a society came to existence, how it changes, and how the history is being made by that society. Biography addresses the human nature, and the type of humans inhabiting the society. Social structure emphasizes the institutional orders that
operate within the society, and how they change. In short, Mills addresses the difficulty of divorcing the individual from its hosting society. To him, one cannot understand the individual without understanding the society. It would be best to start with explaining the self and identity before accounting for their place in a society.

**Self.**

As cited in Hitlin (2003, p. 118), Joas (2000, p. 2) believes that the self is “one of the greatest discoveries in the history of the social sciences.” Since the self is seen as the primary feature of identity, one should also study how sociology and social psychology define the self. According to Stets and Burke (2000, p. 224), self “is reflexive in that it can take itself as an object and can categorize, classify, or name itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories or classifications.” Actually, it is this categorization that will produce identity in the end. In their definitions, Stets and Burke proclaim that the self is seen as the conscious essence that has a meaningful and effective relationship with other social entities. Furthermore, the self is a dynamic entity with the ability to interpret and reinterpret its environment and eventually transform itself into something that we could identify as the next step: Identity.

The symbolic interactionist tradition in sociology tends to see the self as a process of the mind, which is being created during interactions with social institutions (Mead, 1934). To Mead, the mind is the ever changing process that the self uses to evaluate its social environment, interpret its interactions, and if necessary, change itself. Therefore, to him, the self has the ability to see itself as an object and also has the ability to change and control itself. At that point, the reference points that individuals see as significant others become important. In other words, since the self will utilize them as yardsticks, the references, target groups or significant
individuals become the major source for inspirations to self. Mead’s (1934) *taking the role of the other* and Cooley’s (1902) *looking-glass self* theories talk about the details of this process. However, since an in-depth definition of the self is not the primary concern of this dissertation, the researcher will suffice to mention these theories for further readings.

However, just like seeing the self as a creation of the society, seeing the self as the sole product of the mind is also a mistake. Because, as mentioned above, the self is an entity that is created by the mind from the interpretations of the interactions between the society and other individuals. The next step for people, as indicated by Stets and Burke (2003), is to develop a self awareness, for which they use the term *self-concept*. Self-concept is the stage where the self realizes its existence and distinction from the society. To Rosenberg (1979), self-concept is the period where the self evaluates itself both in “positive and negative terms.” Thus, self-concept becomes the collection of the meanings that one attributes to herself or himself. To him, self-concept also provides the self with self-esteem, which is a valuable asset in developing identity.

*Identity.*

Stryker (1980) claims that we could take the self as the reflection of the society to which it belongs. Stets and Burke (2003) further this argument and claim that since individuals have different types of selves in different social settings, one should also have something that supersedes the self - an entity which would also be used to explain the existence of differences in the self. At that point, to explain the differences in the selves in society, scholars introduce the notion of identity. Stryker (1980) believes that the identity is a social position that the self not only possesses but also internalizes. Put differently, for each of the social statuses that the self has, it also has a separate identity attached to it. Therefore, it is safe to argue that self and identity
are two separate entities. And individuals use their identities during their interactions with others just like clothes. For example, the interaction between a student and a professor does not occur between the student self and professor self. It occurs between two separate identities who are aware of their existence, their separate roles, and their distinct social statuses. They are assigned to them through mutual agreements between society and their selves. To be clearer, let’s assume that this particular interaction does not involve any academic content, and it takes place about a financial transaction where the student is the seller and the professor is the buyer. Then, to Stets and Burke (2003), the selves would take on different identities. This flexibility proves that identity is not a complete and concrete entity. It is flexible and it could change according to its environment, context, and expectations from the counterpart, whether that counterpart is the society, a group, or other identities just like itself.

Hewitt (1989), in his book titled *Dilemmas of the American Self*, claims that two definitions emerged for the identity due to cultural developments. The first one emphasizes the preeminence of the group, and the next one emphasizes the individual. In other words, the first type of individual is more identified with its memberships to social groups, such as a family, an organization, a subculture, etc. However, Hewitt contends that individual type is more incorporated with and differentiated from the other with its individual characteristics. As can be seen, both represent an extreme side of the self.

Giddens (1984), in his dealings with the dichotomies of social systems such as agent and structure, developed structuration theory. He proposed a balanced perspective between the agent and the structure. Unlike Hewitt (1989), he tends to avoid the extremes of the determinism of the issue. To Giddens, the agent and the structure provide different resources. For example, the structure provides rules and resources that are necessary for transformation. And agency, which
to him is human action, reproduces the social structure to be able to maintain and enforce the
dynamics of action. In other words, the relationship between the agent and the structure is a
reciprocal relationship between two interdependent entities.

As could be inferred from the above perspectives, identities are meaningful during and
after the interactions with other identities. And Burke (1980) addresses the other party the as the counter-identity. Counter-identity does not mean the opposite or conflicting identity. To him, it simply addresses the counterpart of the identity. Counter-identities give identity the chance to observe and evaluate itself, as was mentioned by Cooley’s (1902) looking-glass self theory, and re-form its identity to the mutual benefit of the society and itself.

These perspectives bring a very important question that is very difficult to answer. Does an individual not have any control or authority over the behavioral patterns that his or her identity requires? Stets and Burke (2003) believe that in order to be able answer this question thoroughly, one needs to evaluate two inseparable aspects of identity: Structure and agency. Structure, as can be inferred, represents the external and prearranged factors that are influential over identity. Examples of them could vary from the impact of institutions to groups that exist in society. And as can be guessed, to them, individuals do not have absolute control or even choice over their behavioral options in here. Thus, the teachers’ identity and behavioral patterns are arranged in a class setting, and if one acts against those patterns or deviate from them, one will face sanctions created by the structure (society) for violating the norms, mores and/or folkways. The society is the judge to assess the severity of sanctions through specific institutions created for this purpose, such as the criminal justice system (Erikson, 1966). However, when one starts thinking about the agency, he or she realizes that agents do have a certain degree of freedom of choice. Knowing the difficulty of altering the given structural norms and expected behavioral
patterns, agents realize that by using their imagination and creativity, they can choose any behavioral option they want. The only condition they need to fulfill is staying within the accepted boundaries of the structure. Actually, this is where one starts seeing original practices. And to the researcher, it is exactly that moment where catchphrases like “even one (revolutionary) individual can change the world” start making sense. That’s also where relatively immutable society becomes the victim of individuals who are well aware of their ascribed status. But they use it in a creative way in their dealings with the society.

In short, seeing identities as ascribed statuses over which individual agents do not have any control becomes a mistake at best. Being aware of a group membership, having the desire to be a member of a group, or even being forced to enter a group have tremendous impacts over the self in its quest to developing its identity. Self uses inner and outer dynamics to form an identity that is approved and confirmed by the structure (group or society).

Related Theories

Self and identity have always been sources of interest for sociology and social psychology. There are several theories elaborating on identity. Most theories start with making a distinction between social identities and individual identities (Burke, 1980). Many theories have been developed to investigate how individuals in the society become members, or get rejected. Concerned scholars have searched for scientific answers to these and many other related questions. Stets and Burke, (2003) believe that we can break theories of identity into three different categories. The first one is social identity theory where group membership is seen as the driving force for maintaining an identity. The second theory emphasizes the importance of personal values in explaining the identity (personal identity theory). The third one is (role)
identity theory, in which the roles that are assigned to individuals are deemed as the major source for energy to develop and maintain a group identity. This part talks about them separately, and in the end the need to merge these theories is stressed.

Social Identity Theory

This theory addresses the self, identity, and identity development from a group membership perspective. According to the theory, group membership and activation of the self by this group (acceptance and approval) are sufficient causes to explain the development of an identity. Group membership provides an understanding that one is part of a group and should associate him or herself with that group and act accordingly (Turner et al., 1987). According to social identity theory, this awareness encourages/forces individuals to learn the structure, dynamics of the group and change themselves to better fit in. It is at that point where one sees the emergence of in-group and out-group concepts.

The self associates itself with the ones who the self thinks are similar to him or her, and labels them as “in-group”, while the ones who are not members of one’s group are labeled as “out-group” persons. According to Abrams and Hogg (1988) while creating a sense of belonging, this self categorization and self comparison also create the concept of the other which is used to boost the group identity notion. This other or out-group concept is also utilized by the group to maintain its existence by creating a tension to provide a sense of uniqueness for its followers. Organized crime groups or terrorist organizations are good examples. Terrorist groups with political and/or religious agendas need to differentiate themselves and their ways of resolving existing problems. This distinguishes them from other social entities and make them stand out.
In-group and out-group concepts.

Turner et al. (1987) claim that intergroup relationships and comparisons between themselves (in-group) and others (out-group) are the major sources of identity development. To them this process resembles ethnocentrism. According to Henslin (2007, p. 37) ethnocentrism is “the use of one’s own culture as a yardstick for judging the ways of other individuals or societies, generally leading to a negative evaluation of their values, norms, and behaviors.” This helps group members to cluster around basic and fundamental values of the group. It also encourages or even forces in-group members to see the things happening around the individual from the group’s perspective. In other words, individuals cease to have personal opinions and become reflections of the group. This calls for certain levels of homogeneity among the members (Simon, Panteleo, and Mummendey, 1995). Hogg and Hardie (1992) address the consequences of homogeneity by stating that individuals who tend to identify themselves more with a group also tend to have strong connection with that group. Those people also believe that their personal attachments and values are of secondary importance. The group’s low acceptance level in the society is of no concern any more.

Salient social identity.

However, previous discussions do not mean that social identity theory totally overrides the individual actors’ existence in groups. This theory sees individuals as actors in a group who strive to increase their group memberships. They call this type of identity as salient social identity (Turner, 1980). To Oakes (1987, p. 118) salient identity means the “one which is functioning psychologically to increase the influence of one’s membership in that group on
perception and behavior.” Therefore, it would be fair to claim that individuals strive to increase their memberships through behaviors and actions just to remain as members. Because, unlike role identity theorists, individuals in groups act according to the norms of the group just to increase their membership, not their statuses (roles). Actually, this statement has become one of the major targets for both (role) identity theorists and personal identity theorists. Social identity theorists strongly believe that members always try to possess and increase psychological significance of group membership (Oakes, 1987).

In sum, this theory addresses the significance of the membership to a group on identity and its development. To Turner et al. (1987), members tend to maintain and increase their group membership through modifications on their selves. This theory proposes the dominance of group membership on identity.

Personal Identity Theory

Hitlin (2003, p. 118) believes that “personal identity is an underanalyzed level of the self.” Accordingly, to Rieber (1998) personal identity theory explains the self and identity using the personal characteristics that are found in the identity of a person. Prentice (2001) claims that the holistic understanding of the self (Dewey and Mead) is being replaced by a more fragmented understanding of it by Rieber. To her, the tide is turning towards the personal identity theory.

Hewitt (1999) defines personal identity as “a sense of self built up over time as the person embarks on and pursues projects or goals that are not thought of as those of community, but as the property of the person. Personal identity thus emphasizes a sense of autonomy rather than of communal involvement” (p. 93). Baumeister (1986) posits this view and supports it with a historical look. According to him, Western societies underwent dramatic transformations in
which society ended up providing individuals with a broader private space by dividing human life in public and private spheres. Public life is the open-to-public part of human life where societal observation and control are always welcome. On the other hand, private life is the closed and secret aspects of human life, where society’s control and oversight are limited. Baumeister (1986) claims that this transformation took place around the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and before that time public lives were more prevalent and approved. Being granted a broader private space, individuals had the opportunity to develop a private self.

Although somewhat evolved, the ultimate question still remains: What kind of personal characteristics, which are isolated from an individual’s roles or location in a group setting, might result in identity development? Hitlin (2003) strongly believes that values have the potential to make the difference in our quest to unearth personal input in identity. Additionally, he claims that “personal identity is produced through value commitments” (p. 121). Gecas (2000) thinks alike with respect to the role of values in identity development. However, Hitlin claims that he believes more strongly than Gecas that values are principal concepts in personal identity. The values established by the society and the individual’s internalization of them results in, as Hitlin (2003) puts it, “a reflexive constructions of various role, group, and value identities” (p.122).

*The significance of roles and values in personal identity.*

Seligman and Katz (1996) examine the role of values in human’s endeavors of orienting themselves to their environments and other situations. They believe that this creates *situated identities.* They claim that there are two ways that one can see how values and situations work together and develop identity.
1- Values operate in situations that have the potential to shape individual’s perceptions, and accordingly, their behavioral choices.

2- Also, values might encourage individuals to be in a situation which is more suitable.

The latter is especially significant in explaining the input of personal values in group membership decisions. For example, according to Seligman and Katz (1996), a member of terrorist group is a member because his personal values encourage him to be in these kinds of organizations. In other words, his or her value set paves the way for the membership.

*Identity change.*

All of these explanations and different perspectives on personal identity and identity development bring another fundamental question to mind: How does this theory explain identity change? Actually, the answer became evident during the discussions on the importance of values on personal identity. One of the basic properties that values have is their flexibility. Values are subject to change, transformation, reform, and even revolution. Accordingly, as the values that have been professed by the society change, so does the individual. However, one must always bear in mind that these changes do not have to be on societal level at all. Some dramatic events might cause value changes on personal levels as well. The nature of value changes and under which circumstances they occur is not the concern of this dissertation. But when they do occur, the individual possessing certain values finds herself in a state where she also needs to change in order to be consistent with the reflexive image of herself in her mind. Hitlin (2003) explains this relationship between identities and behaviors on personal identity change, and claim that “personal identity shapes- but also is shaped by- our other identities and behaviors” (Hitlin,
Hewitt (1989) defines personal identity as “a sense of continuity, integration, identification, and differentiation constructed by the person not in relation to a community and its culture but in relation to the self and its projects” (p. 179).

On the other hand, Swidler (1986) is critical about the importance of values as explanations for personal identity, identity change, and identity development. She strongly believes that the explanation of identity phenomenon from a value perspective is overly deterministic, and leaves out major factors, such as the impact of relationships on values of the individual. According to her, values are significant factors as long as they bear any meaning to the person holding them.

In sum, personal identity theory places a disproportionate importance over the significance of personal characteristics. Hitlin (2003) believes that in the development of an identity, personal characteristics offer more explanations than mere group membership.

(Role) Identity Theory

Stets and Burke (2000) believe that the identity development process begins with a self categorization in which individuals realize and internalize the roles that were expected from them. After incorporating their selves with these identities, the interaction with other identities and structures begins. Actually, with that interaction, identities start recognizing the existence of other identities as occupants of social roles just like themselves, and a constructive relationship begins. By constructive, the researcher does not necessarily mean a positive relationship, but a self merging process is intended. In other words, the self with its new identity starts becoming or learning to become the individual that his or her group wants him or her to be. Thus, the nature of the group becomes the defining indicator of the new identity of the self. For example, if the
group that the self is trying to incorporate itself into is a criminal group, then the self will find a way to justify and internalize the group’s way of life. Goffman’s (1961) explanation of the resocialization into total institutions reveals this problematic aspect of identity shaping process.

Another fraction of identity theory is developed by McCall and Simons (1978). They also believe that the development of identity begins with the self’s realization of its roles assigned to him or her through a collective process undertaken by the agent (the self) and the structure (the society or group). One of the unique aspects of this form of identity theory is its emphasis on the different types of role identities of the self. To better understand identity, one needs to differentiate the separate hierarchical aspects of the role identities, which was called hierarchy of prominence (McCall and Simons, 1978). To these researchers, prominence of identity could be measured by three characteristics of individual actors.

1- The degree of support that the self is receiving from others to develop its identity.

2- The degree of the self’s commitment to the identity that he or she has been given by the structure.

3- The degree of extrinsic and intrinsic rewards that he or she was given by the structure and other identities for submitting to their norms and accepting their supremacy over his or her identity.

To McCall and Simons (1978), higher levels on the indicators mentioned above mean higher amounts of group acceptance of the new member and in return, higher levels of group participation. To the researcher, higher amounts of participation and acceptance from the group will result in higher levels of internalization of the norms and activities of the host group. This reciprocal process demonstrates the cyclical nature of identity development. And it is not only
used by the group on new comers, also this cyclic process is employed on existing group members to adjust them to the changing norms and perspectives of the group (Stets and Burke, 2000).

Hierarchy of prominence and salience hierarchy.

According to the hierarchy of prominence, if the group offers higher roles to a particular member and supports him or her, the levels of commitment to the cause by that individual will increase (McCall and Simons, 1978). Afterwards, the sanctions will start playing crucial roles. By sanctions, one should not solely understand this to be punitive measures. Sanctions, according to Henslin (2007, p. 46), are “expressions approval or disapproval given to people for upholding or violating norms.” Therefore, reducing them down only to punishments would be ignoring their positive encouragement value. Therefore, to McCall and Simons (1978), extrinsic and intrinsic rewards (to Henslin they are positive sanctions) given as a token for their surrender to the will of the group are actually tools to get new recruits and/or to keep old members in line and adjust them to new situations. However, one should also keep in mind that the group’s survival and existence are always of the utmost importance. When the group has a conflict with the individual, the group is always favored, and individuals are seen as dispensable assets.

Stryker (1980) offers a similar version of this type of identity theory, where he proposes salience hierarchy instead of prominence hierarchy of McCall and Simons. To Stets and Burke (2003), the main difference between the two is evident where the former includes how individuals play their roles in a situation, while the latter tends to focus on individual values and their effects upon identity development. Stryker and Serpe (1994) believe that one cannot overlook the importance of values and their influence over both individuals’ behavioral choices.
and their identity. However, to them, one also needs to include the situational constraints that have a negative effect on them. In sum, salience hierarchy and prominence hierarchy should be kept as two distinct concepts with different meanings (Stryker, 1980).

Multiple identities.

The literature revealed that the self tends to have more than one identity. However, we should not overlook the fact that most of the time it has one master identity that shapes or at least influences other identities. To some social scientist, having multiple identities is good for the individual (Thoits, 1986; and Linville, 1987) since it offers alternative solutions to the problems of daily life, gives meanings to what’s happening around the self, and provides guidance in the choice of appropriate behaviors. However, one must not also overlook the reality that mental stability and health depend primarily upon the nature of the identities that that self possesses. If those identities are in conflict with the mainstream in such a way that they become incompatible and disapproved of by the society, then having such multiple identities will have the reverse impact on the self. This time it will create tension in the self’s dealings with the mainstream society, while on the other hand, it might still provide a healthy relationship in its in-group interactions. For example, let’s consider a suicide bomber in Al Qaeda. Because of his task of killing others while killing himself, he will need to have a strictly different mindset not only from the mainstream society but also from the majority of other in-group members. It is apparent that his identity will be dramatically incompatible and disapproved of by the society. Whenever this individual’s identity is exposed to or even guessed by others, he will face dire oppositions from societal institutions such as criminal justice system.
In addition, his interactions with the society bear the risk of a self-realization of his identity’s dark sides and might spark a self-questioning process as a suicide bomber. That is why these individuals are kept in isolation and/or are trained much more extensively and frequently than other in-group members. In sum, his identity as suicide bomber will limit his interactions with the society, where most individuals gain socially accepted identities, or at least gain the opportunity to observe the types of socially accepted identities. But this is not all for suicide bombers. His identity as suicide bomber is still different even from his fellow Al Qaeda members. But this time his identity difference will not cause tension as it did with the society, but will win respect and lead to a higher status within the group (Teymur, 2007).

Identity change.

Also, having an identity that enables individuals’ interference in and control over the structure provides the self with a feeling of attachment, which, according to Maslow’s hierarchy of needs (1943), is essential for the actualization of the self. After evaluating and examining this, Burke (2001) claimed that having multiple identities provides different consequences for individuals who occupy different structural positions (identities). He compared individuals who had coordinator role identities with individuals without coordinator roles. He claimed that the ones with coordinator role identities were more aware of organizational activities. Therefore they became more participating members in the group. On the other hand, the ones without coordinator roles still developed a sense of attachment to the group, but their levels of participation were dramatically lower than the former group. As a result, according to him, the nature and/or power of the identities define the level of group encouragement for the individual’s participation in group’s affairs and consequently developing a sense of belonging.
Two basic questions follow this argument: Is identity change possible especially with these predetermined identity standards? And, second, how does the identity theory explain that change? According to identity theory, identity change is always possible (Burke, 1997; Tsushima and Burke, 1999). Tsushima and Burke (1999) divide the identity standards into two related subgroups: Principle-level identity standards and program-level identity standards. Principle-level identity standards represent a higher level of control standards than program-level identity standards. As mentioned by Stets and Burke (2003), they consist of abstract goals, values, beliefs, and ideals. Whereas, program-level identity standards consist more of concrete goals which could be achieved in real life scenarios. An example would demonstrate not only the difference between the two, but also the nature of the relationship they have with each other. Let’s think about a teacher. Some teachers might choose to be more principle-oriented and desire their students to achieve ideal student roles such as being more creative in abstract thinking and becoming very successful individuals in the future. However, others might choose to be more program-oriented and might think future success comes through short-term goal achievements, such as passing tests, reading the material provided for the class, writing informative papers and alike. When one integrates the two, he or she realizes the potential for change. Namely, when the teachers who have broader goals (successful students with creative thinking) in their minds start including short term goals (writing good papers, passing tests), there comes the success, and possibly a healthy change in identity.

In sum, identity theory believes in the power of the roles of identity and its development. According to the theory, individuals solidify their group membership and enhance their status within the group by simply fulfilling the assigned roles. To that end, individuals become agents who carry out the functions, fulfillment of which is vital for the survival of the group.
Selection of Identity Theory for the Dissertation

Related literature suggested that Hizbullah identity is developed around several in-group roles and the mobility inside the group depends majorly on the level of fulfillment of one’s designated roles (Bagasi, 2004; Gungor, 1997; Guzelsoy, 1996; Savas, 2006). Members tend to maintain their own places in the group (membership) by simply fulfilling their expected duties. However, in order to secure upward mobility (promotion), they need to go beyond being ordinary members and demonstrate higher levels of role achievements. To that end, due to its emphasis on in-group roles, identity theory is proven to be more practical. In identity theory, it is believed that an individual member forms his or her identity through participation and interaction with others utilizing the roles that they take on. For that reason, roles become pivotal in explaining the development and maintaining of a terrorist identity. Considering one of the other two theories over identity theory would make the research ignore or understudy the power and functions of in-group roles on Hizbullah members.

Another major reason for the preference of identity theory comes from its compatibility with the available dataset. The secondary data for the study is coded in a way to support identity theory. Additionally, during the coding process, no significant problems occurred in the formation of independent variables that are also based on in-group identity role expectations. The statements (handwritten reports of actual members to their superiors) were designed in such a way as to place the fulfillment of in-group roles above any personal characteristics (personal identity theory) or mere group membership (social identity theory). Actually, depersonalization is one of the most important assets of most religiously motivated terror groups. Members become roles, and their existence becomes meaningful on the condition of fulfilling the roles assigned to them by the group.
For the reasons stated above, identity theory is chosen and extensively used during literature review, variable formation, development and testing of hypotheses, and with the qualitative and quantitative analyses.

Terrorist Identity

Before the September 11, 2001 terror attacks, “sociologists have shown little interest in terrorism” (Turk, 2004, p. 271). The magnitude of the incidents and their worldwide coverage brought terrorism to our attention one more time. The first part of this section is dedicated to understanding terrorist identity and how terrorist groups declare their distinction, justify their goals and means to achieve them, maintain their existence in society, and lastly, how they perform socialization of their members. Also, the kinds of factors and mechanisms that are being used to grant the feeling of uniqueness to their members are examined. In the second part of this section, the role identity characteristics of Turkish Hizbullah members are delineated.

As stated in the previous section, identity is one of the most interesting concepts of social sciences. Not only because it is deemed as the mirror image of its fostering environment, but also because it is believed that identity is one of the most powerful agents with the strength of imposing society-wide changes. It is possible to come across many different theories, perspectives, and modules on identity (Jenkins, 1982), but very few were found as specifically designed for explaining terrorist identity. However, the literature revealed that a considerable amount of works in the area had issues with or lacked scientific understanding of terrorism in one major way. They could not go beyond the vilification to the terrorist organizations and their members (Arena and Arrigo, 2006).
Supporting this argument, Turk (2004) and Hoffman (1998) believe that while neglecting the understanding of how and why people engage in terrorism, most people choose to focus more on the consequences of terrorism. Some (Weatherston and Moran, 2003) even extend their arguments to a point where they examine whether members of terrorist groups are being selected from mentally ill persons. Yet others chose to claim that personal demographic characteristics of terrorists such as race, gender, ethnicity, religious affiliation, political ties, educational, social, and economical backgrounds dramatically differ from the mainstream.

However, the 9/11 attacks proved that none of these arguments completely holds true against the new wave of terrorism. By new terrorism, White (2001) indicates the recent increase of religiously motivated terrorist groups, the increase in indiscriminantly targeting practices, and the increase in loose structural and less hierarchical bodies of terrorist groups. In short, as Arena and Arrigo (2005) assert, scholars should not be overly-concerned with finding vilifications or for some cases even excuses for the acts, but with developing a scientific and contextual understanding of terrorism without the input of any biases and/or personal values. This will help in two ways. First, it will help with the long-lasting challenge of developing a scientific theory for terrorism. Second, the task of forming a universal definition for terrorism will be simplified. A side effect of not having both a universal definition and a universal theory of terrorism is the absence of a complete understating of terrorist identity.

**Terrorist identity and religion.**

According to Arena and Arrigo (2005), it is imperative for scholars to comprehend “…[H]ow terrorist identities are created, embraced, and maintained, as well as how they influence the behavior of members in a militant extremist subculture” (p. 485). It is already
established that terrorism is a social construct (Ben-Yehuda 1993; Turk, 2002) that emanates from sources rooted in politics, religion, economics, and society itself. To further this argument, the very existence of terrorist groups in the world is a sufficient cause to claim that terrorism is still embraced and maintained in relatively supporting social environments (Gordon, 2005). And religion could be identified as one of the major institutions that arguably support new terrorism in certain geographic parts of the world.

Stitt (2003), Kraemer (2004), Whitehead (1987), Schmid (1983), Wimberley, (1998); and Juergensmeyer (2000) believe that religion and theology have significant explanations for terrorism. Hoffman (2006) claims that, in 2004, about half of active terrorist groups (46 percent) were indeed religiously motivated. He also points out that almost half of the most dangerous terrorist groups are also of this sort (Hoffman, 1993).

The members of these groups do not need major justifications for their actions. Because, by one of the most divine institutions (religion) they are being informed about their goals, the means to achieve them, justifications, and also about their targets. Let’s take suicide bombers as an example. Finding literally self sacrificing individuals would be a challenging task especially when they need to believe that their death while killing others even innocents, would serve a much bigger cause. No other institution is believed to be more effective than religion in providing members with this emotional comforting (Juergensmeyer, 2000). This does not necessarily mean that secular terrorist groups do not employ suicide attacks. As a matter of fact, considering the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, Pape (2003) actually finds it difficult to tie suicide attacks with religion. There are also several Marxist-Leninist groups like the PKK in Turkey which committed suicide attacks many times within Turkey or targeting Turkish interests abroad. Between 1980 and 2001 the PKK committed nine suicide attacks (Pape, 2003).
In his chronological analysis of terrorism, Rapoport (1984) states that the relationship between religion and terrorism is three tiered. Until the nineteenth century, religion had been almost like the only motivational source that terrorists used for inspiration. From the nineteenth century until the 1960s, a majority of the terrorist groups were secular in nature, meaning they were not using religion as their major justifying and legitimating source. Most of them had ethnic, nationalistic, political, and separatist agendas. From the 1960s to our day, the world witnessed and is still witnessing the reemergence of strong ties between religion and terrorism.

Hizbullah Identity

Bagasi (2004), Gungor (1997), Guzelsoy (1996), and Savas (2006) specify numerous requirements for and personal characteristics of Hizbullah membership. This part delineated role identity characteristics of Hizbullah members. Identity theory is applied to comprehend this organization’s identity features. Arena and Arrigo (2006) assert that the theoretical framework of the application of the identity theory needs to include five distinct concepts: (1) Symbols, (2) A definition of the situation, (3) Roles, (4) Socialization and role taking, and lastly, (5) Self. Following their point of view, those five concepts are utilized as tools of analysis to create a framework for understanding Hizbullah’s role identity features. A review of the related literature is designed and conducted accordingly.

Symbols.

Arena and Arrigo (2006) believe that identity theory “focus[es] on symbols in relation to their power to categorize and classify the social world” (p. 56). Language, to them, is the vessel that carries the influence and power of those symbols. Individuals seek help from those symbols
whenever they need to interpret or reinterpret events happening around them. To that end, symbols are entrusted with the power of restructuring the identity.

The literature revealed the existence of a heavy reliance on jihad in Hizbullah identity. The organization considers armed resistance in general and jihad in particular as highly respected religious themes. Bagasi (2004) cautions members by saying “since every other ways have already been tried and failed, Muslims are left with only jihad and armed resistance against those who have been oppressing them” (p. 109). Therefore, jihad, other than being merely an action, becomes a symbol that members respect and value as an indispensable part of their lives. In relation to jihad, Hizbullah also places tremendous amounts of importance on the member’s sacrifices of his or her life on the field (holy battleground). The group crowns this by claiming that losing one’s life during the activities of the group automatically grants the highly respected Islamic status of martyrdom (Bagasi, 2004; Gungor, 1997; Guzelsoy, 1996; and Savas, 2006). Members are encouraged to identify themselves with martyrdom and make it a part of their identities.

Another important symbol comes from ethnic origins of the majority. Hizbullah considers the Kurdish identity as a very influential uniting symbol, and calls for an awareness of it (Bagasi, 2004). According to Bagasi, Kurdish Muslims are oppressed much more than their Turkish Muslim counterparts. Therefore, even at the risk of departing from one of the main Islamic teachings of condemning ethnic and racial fanaticism, the group endorses to develop a separate Kurdish identity. To Hizbullah, Kurdish Muslims are being attacked by Turkish governments both because they are conservative Muslims, and ethnically Kurd¹⁰ (not Turk). In short,

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¹⁰ Kurdish People do have a very long history and culture. They have a separate language of their own. The majority of the Kurds live in Turkey, and the remainder are scattered around Iran, Iraq, Syria, and European Union Countries. It is estimated that 15 Million Kurds live in Turkey (out of more than 71 Million). Saladin Ayyubi, the
Hizbullah expects its members to hold strong beliefs in the power of Kurdish nationalism (Gungor, 1997). They are also encouraged to make use of Kurdish nationalism as a symbol to construct their identities.

The organization identifies pilgrimage not just as a relocation effort or a holy trip to the holy land (Mecca), but as a sacred symbol. The group believes that once a member’s identity is revealed by the authorities, it is time for him to leave his hometown and settle down and start activities somewhere else (Guzelsoy, 1996). They use an analogy with the life of Islam’s prophet Muhammad, where he had to leave his hometown (Mecca), friends, supporters, and relatives, and had to start a new life in Medina. Islam attaches the highest values to pilgrimage (the mainstream version, not Hizbullah’s version). It is also believed that pilgrimage attracts God’s approval and praise (Bilmen, 1949).

Another symbol that is identified within Hizbullah discourse that contributes to the emergence of Hizbullah identity is the notion of pride. As with pilgrimage and jihad, the action part of pride is underexposed, or transformed into an abstract concept. Pride is used as an expected identity feature. The notion of pride is also utilized to incite similar behavioral patterns among group members. The emergence of pride as an identity feature might be due to social and cultural characteristics of the region that Hizbullah originated from. Southeastern Turkey, or as the group calls it, Kurdistan, is considered to be more conservative than western regions of the country (Cakir, 2001). Hizbullah takes pride in this.

**Definition of the situation.**

Arena and Arrigo (2006) believe that the “definition of the situation can be seen as describing a process through which people ascribe to and exchange meanings for the symbols in

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Sultan of Egypt and Syria, who won the battle of Hattin of 1187 in Jerusalem against Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, and Raymond III of Tripoli, is one of the most well known Kurdish historical figures.
their environments” (p. 57). However, they also claim that individuals do not passively accept what has been presented by others. They are also actively involved in the process. To that end, it would be safe to argue that individuals need mediums where they can exchange and reconstruct their identities.

In maintaining their identities, Hizbullah wishes to have members who can define the situations in a way that would benefit the group. In order to achieve that, Hizbullah constantly strives to provide its followers with an environment that would support members to obey the orders that come from its leaders without questioning them (Bagasi, 2004 and Savas, 2006). One of the most efficient ways to achieve that is through promoting a hierarchical structure within the group. This calls for a perfectly functioning hierarchical body, where each member trusts and internalizes it as a medium in which they can develop their personalities.

Another medium which was used to develop a group identity is hatred. Members require enemies against which they will develop their identities. As was stated by Burke and Stryker (2000), the conflict of us vs. them is imperative for developing a self and eventually an identity. Hizbullah distinguishes the ones who will be hated for their activities and beliefs contradicting with Hizbullah. They are referred to as hizbul-Seytan (party of Satan). Hizbul-Şeytan symbolizes the exact opposite of Hizbullah, and it is used as a medium where the ones who fall in that category are demonized. According to the group’s terminology, Republic of Turkey, the PKK, the Menzilciler, and other enemies of God are considered to be in this group.

Self.

The identity theory assumes that the self is a product of its environment manifested through its social interactions (Stryker, 1980). This theory differs from structural approaches,
where the self is considered to possess the capacity to perform self-defining activities. Contrary to that, identity theory assumes that identity requires an intervening element to manifest itself. That intervening element is the roles that were assigned by groups to their members. In short, for a person to establish his or her identity, he or she needs to utilize “roles as links between the self and one’s relationship to others” (Arena and Arrigo, 2006, p. 61).

Hizbullah members tend to demonstrate a multifaceted self. To Stryker (1980), the number of identity roles one has is actually the number of role relationships with others. And that is called a multifaceted self. Put differently, individuals do not have one identity; as a matter of fact, they assume many identities depending on the number of personal interactions with others. Therefore, an investigation of Hizbullah identity needs to focus on the interactions that encourage members to assume or strengthen particular identity features. A shortcut to that would be focusing more on the role identity expectations of the leadership from members which emerge during interactions. One major identity expectation of the leadership from the members is depersonalization. Depersonalization means losing one’s personality in favor of the group’s existence. In other words, individuals see their achievements as rewards of their membership to the group, and start seeing them as the group’s achievements and not theirs (Arena and Arrigo, 2006). At that point, membership to the group becomes the primary goal and individual achievements become less important. This might seem very idealistic in nature. Hizbullah believes that every deed that is carried out by the hands of members is actually being carried out by God himself (Bagasi, 2004). Therefore, claiming responsibility for successes constitutes a major sin.

Leadership also promotes a feeling of isolation as an expected identity feature from the self. Members are heartened to feel that no other Muslims understand them and what they are
trying to do. The sacrifices they make for bringing Islam back to Turkey go unappreciated. The group leaders constantly preach about this and encourage members not to count on others since they do not see the true nature of what Hizbullah has been doing for them (Guzelsoy, 1996 and Gungor, 1997). Therefore, members find themselves in a state where no one else is trustworthy but other group members. Related to that, a similar argument can be made about the impact of being a religious congregation (a cemaat as Hizbullah refers it). The group, under any circumstances, requires its members to act according to the policies and goals of Hizbullah (Savas, 2006). One of the easiest ways to do that is through strengthening the belief of being a part of a religious congregation, and not a formal group. According to Islamic texts, God always favors cemaat over individuals. In order to benefit from the otherworldly rewards of being a part of this sort of groups, individuals are obliged to comply with the norms and carry out the activities of their group (Bilmen, 1949). This will also help develop a sense of belongingness among members.

In order to fulfill their assigned roles, each member needs to demonstrate a certain level of patience. By patience, Savas (2006) means “being cautious and allocating enough time to planning” (p. 92). The types of activities members perform call for different levels of patience. Hizbullah uses patience interchangeably with gradualism. As a matter of fact, Guzelsoy (1996), Bagasi (2004), Gungor (1997) and Savas (2006) consider gradualism as one of the fundamental aspects of the movement that they lead. To ensure caution against countering law enforcement bodies, they promote patience which gives members sufficient amounts of time to plan their next move. Patience also prevents members from acting hastily and possibly from endangering the group. Therefore, patience (gradualism) is expected from members as an important identity feature.
Additionally, to Bagasi (2004) and Savas (2006), Hizbullah supports the preservation of the existing feudal structure in southeast and eastern parts of Turkey. One of the main reasons for that is that the group is highly dependent on the present social structure for recruitment purposes. Hizbullah uses tribal/kinship ties to gain acceptance in many social quarters, and to reach out to public to convert sympathizers into active members. Thus, Hizbullah expects its members to preserve their feudal identities, if they have any.

Socialization and role taking.

Internalizing terrorist identity requires, as Arena and Arrigo (2006) put it “cues and prompts” (p. 146). One of the major goals of terrorist movements is to create a group of supporters who will stand up to oppressors. To Arena and Arrigo, this necessitates more than abstract indoctrination. They argue that members need to undergo a socialization process where they will transform their previous nonmember self into a member self. This socialization process includes an active role-taking experience as well.

Hizbullah depends on members who are competent in the group’s version of Islam in order to fulfill mostly political activities. To gain and maintain its religious supremacy in Turkey, the organization needs religiously educated members (Gungor, 1997). The group expects this as an identity feature from members. To achieve that, members, especially political wing members, should participate in an education practice which has been banned in Turkey since 1924 (Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu, 1924). This training is reminiscent of madrasah training. To Bilmen (1949), madrasahs represent the formal education system in countries where Islamic rule is in power.

Another role identity expectation is related to the organization’s perception of other Muslims. As mentioned above, Hizbullah’s ultimate goal is to replace the secular regime in
Turkey with a strong Islamic political structure. However, Bagasi (2004) believes that Hizbullah is aware of the magnitude of the challenge and difficulties of achieving this task alone. To that end, members are encouraged to perceive other Muslim groups as comrades. This might seem contradictory to the belief of isolation. As a matter of fact, aloneness is desired as an identity feature for maintaining group activities, and seeing other active Muslim collectives as comrades serves the same goal. Therefore, they are actually complementary to each other. Interactions with other Muslim groups provide Hizbullah with the opportunity to socialize its members using the belief of Muslim brotherhood.

Hizbullah believes that today no Islamic organization in Turkey truly represents the mentality and life style of Muslims of Prophet Mohammed’s time (Bagasi, 2004). Hizbullah fulfills this responsibility of setting the example for Kurdish and Turkish Muslims. As a matter of fact, all Islamic religious groups in Turkey do the same, but what makes Hizbullah unique among them is its strong emphasis on armed resistance. Hizbullah glorifies Prophet Mohammed’s fight against polytheism and his struggle to ease Muslim’s sufferings under their rule. In early days of Islam, Prophet Muhammad’s primary fight had been against polytheist oppressors. Hizbullah considers Turkish Government and other “enemies of God” similar to the oppressors of Prophet’s time, and of course, their group and other Kurds in Turkey takes on the roles of companions of the Prophet (the oppressed party). To be able to develop the identity feature that could be used for group’s survival, Hizbullah constantly puts its members in situations where they need to perform their roles of being supportive of the movement, which, to them, resembles Prophet Muhammad’s struggle against oppressors.

According to the leadership, since the path of Hizbullah is one of the true paths approved by Islam, the members of this group should only rely on God’s will and expect help only from
him. In their role performances, members should not ask for any help from out-group members, and if those people suggest any assistance, only after the approval of concerned entities within the group, these helps could be used (Bagasi, 2004). Other than that, asking for help is considered as mistrust in God’s strength. Besides, serious adherence to this identity characteristic in socialization and role taking activities helped the group maintain its secrecy for longer periods of time from local authorities (Teymur, 2007).

These types of socialization and role taking activities helped strengthen the awareness of being part of a radical movement, and enhanced the approval of its means to bring Islam back to Turkey.

**Roles.**

Identity theory brings our attention to the power of roles as indispensable parts of a social structure, and also to its influence in manipulating individual behavior (Stephan and Stephan, 1985). In line with that, Arena and Arrigo (2006) suggested that, by identity theory, roles are treated as “the means by which people are connected to social systems” (p. 58). Therefore, the assumption that roles are being given by the society actually makes them expectations of the society, the fulfillment of which guarantees a lasting membership. This theory also provides the society with a certain amount of predictability. Because, in order to maintain the membership, members are supposed to perform their roles according to the expectations of the group.

Application of the previous argument to Hizbullah yielded that there are four roles that have considerably helped shaped Hizbullah identity and behavioral patterns of its members: Taking an active part in politics, performing God’s pleasing activities (roles), strong adherence to secrecy during role performances, and an awareness of being the only hope of oppressed
Muslims in Turkey. Hizbullah sees politics as the ultimate tool that will bring down the dominant secular powers in Turkey. To achieve this, other than military measures, leadership encourages members to actively involve in politics (Savas, 2006), fill the available positions (Gungor, 1997), and use them to the advantage of the organization (Bagasi, 2004). However, the group is also aware of the corrupting power of politics. As a cure, Hizbullah wishes its followers to operate solely to please God and to constantly try to carry out the will of God under any circumstances (Bagasi, 2004). Another reason for having only God to please in the performances of assigned roles comes from the very problematic nature of the acts. Hizbullah believes that incentives other than pleasing God would not be major encouragements for individuals to commit the types of acts that the group endorses (Teymur, 2007). For that reason, they have chosen a divine being to please instead of pleasing the group or its leaders. This case is totally different in Marxist/Leninist groups such as the PKK.

Straightforward claims revealed that Hizbullah members perceive themselves as the sole advocate of the oppressed and discriminated Muslims in Turkey (Bagasi, 2004; Gungor, 1997; Guzelsoy, 1996; and Savas, 2006). To Hizbullah, Muslims in this country had already tried or is still trying other options to solve their enduring political, religious, economical, and cultural problems. But eventually, oppressed Muslims will realize the importance of Hizbullah and will support its cause by offering material and non-material aids. One related role identity expectation of Hizbullah to this has somewhat historic roots. Observing the fate of earlier religious groups in Turkey, Hizbullah placed a strong emphasis on secrecy (Uslu, 2007). The group does not simply see secrecy as a concept, but it believes that it is also an efficient tactic (role) in the fight against the enemies of God (Bagasi, 2004). Therefore, each member is expected to develop an identity taking its root in secrecy.
Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested in the dissertation. The content analyses and review of the literature helped the researcher develop them. Basically, there are two groups of hypotheses dealing separately with each wing member’s identity features. Each of them has varying numbers of sub-hypotheses.

**Military wing.**

![Figure 2. Conceptual structure of the hypotheses related to military wing membership.](image)

H$_1$: Military wing members tend to hold the belief in jihad and armed residence as part of their identities more than political wing members.

H$_2$: Military wing members tend to hold the desire for martyrdom as part of their identities more than political wing members.

H$_3$: Military wing members tend to hold the belief in the legitimacy of hierarchical structure as part of their identities more than political wing members.

H$_4$: Military wing members tend to hold depersonalization as part of their identities more than political wing members.
H₅: Military wing members tend to hold hatred against hizbul-Şeytan as part of their identities more than political wing members.

H₆: Military wing members tend to hold aloneness as part of their identities more than political wing members.

Political wing.

Figure 3. Conceptual structure of the hypotheses related to political wing membership.

H₇: Political wing members tend to hold cemaat (religious congregation) identity as part of their identities more than military wing members.

H₈: Political wing members tend to hold being religiously educated as part of their identities more than military wing members.

H₉: Political wing members tend to hold patience (belief in gradualism) as part of their identities more than military wing members.

H₁₀: Political wing members tend to hold dedication to the Muslim brotherhood as part of their identities more than military wing members.

H₁₁: Political wing members tend to hold political activism as part of their identities more than military wing members.
The main hypotheses are designed in such a way as to enable measuring identity expectations of Hizbullah leadership from military and political wing members separately. They are developed in line with the suggestions of the related literature. In other words, each hypothesis reflects the literature’s claims of attributing an identity expectation to a certain wing. One of the main goals of this dissertation is to test the accuracy of the literature using the available relatively representative data. The results of the hypotheses testing are presented in Chapter 7.

Summary

The first part of this chapter explained the concept of identity from a more theoretical framework. It included three major theories: Social identity theory, personal identity theory, and (role) identity theory. The study suggested that (role) identity theory is suited more to the research design, and also to Turkish Hizbullah. The second part mainly examined terrorist identity with the application of identity theory. The related literature revealed that Hizbullah is structured around several in group roles. Members’ upward (promotion) or downward mobility (demotion) mostly depends on their fulfillment of the assigned roles in accordance with leadership’s expectations. The hypotheses of the study are also listed and classified. The next chapter will explain the methodology of the dissertation.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This dissertation relies primarily on qualitative analysis to investigate the influence of leadership’s role-identity expectations on Turkish Hizbullah members. Following that, quantitative analysis was conducted to validate the findings. Additionally, information about the data set, the written reports of actual members to their superiors, ethical concerns, and reliability issues were delineated. This chapter also details how content, qualitative, and quantitative analyses were performed separately in a logical sequence.

Analytic Approach

The major goals of the study were threefold: (a) To reveal identity expectations of Turkish Hizbullah from its members, (b) to expose that leadership has different identity expectations from each wing, and (c) to validate them (a and b) through a representative sample.

Both qualitative and quantitative analyses were conducted in this dissertation. Yet, the study relied heavily on qualitative analytical approach. First, content analysis was employed to uncover the leadership’s different identity expectations from political and military wing members separately. Second, qualitative analysis of those variables was performed to better understand and interpret each of these expectations, and their influence on already established terrorist identities. At that stage, reports of the actual members were also included to demonstrate actual members’ perspectives on these expected identity features that were tailored for them by the leadership. Third, to test the accuracy of the qualitative findings, quantitative analysis
methods were conducted on the available data set. These processes were presented separately below.

Selection of the Books and Content Analysis

Selection of the books.

The best way to reach identity expectations of leadership and to uncover an already established Hizbullah identity was through the analysis of the material related to Hizbullah. The initial sources examined were mostly scholarly resources written by nonmembers (books, reports, dissertations, theses, funded projects, etc). There were two conditions of the choice of the resources: (1) They needed to be about Turkish Hizbullah, (2) they needed to include information about group identity or personal characteristics of the members. However, finding a study that not only deals with Hizbullah, but also its in-group identity features was a difficult task. The available books either failed to fulfill one of the requirements totally, or placed disproportionate emphases on one while understudying the other. Mostly, the identity features of members went understudied. In short, this attempt has failed. However, the researcher had the opportunity to closely examine the Hizbullah Report published in 2000 by an apolitical panel of individuals funded by Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA). That report specifically dealt with activities of Turkish Hizbullah. But even TGNA’s report has been found limited, and failed to examine the effects of leaders on members’ already formed identities. Besides, relying on only one source did not seem scientifically convincing. Consequently, the existing scholarly literature by nonmembers has been insufficient.

Another failed attempt has been made when the researcher turned to non-scholarly books and other resources such as newspaper editorials for identity features. Those materials were
mostly written by newspaper columnists, and heavily depended on police and court records (Bulut and Farac, 1999; Farac, 2002; Cakir, 2001; Cicek, 2000; and Akyol, 2000). Consequently, they had the risk of reflecting the biases and sensitivities of combating agencies. In addition to that, the authors have mostly chosen to examine the activities of Hizbullah, rather than focusing on identity features of members. Therefore, in that sense, they did not qualify as primary resources either.

The researcher had to investigate the literature again for any educated suggestions. Teymur (2007) recommended that any study that deals with profiling or terrorist identity needed to found its starting point in the group’s own literature. Yet, this suggestion brought up another essential question. Since Hizbullah already had many books written by members, the question of “which resources will be included for further analysis?” became a challenging one. Teymur (2007), Uslu (2007) and Aydintasbas (2000) have been very helpful in choosing the books where expected role identity features could be explored. Selected books are listed in Table 1. These books are strong references where the leadership, along with many other topics, demonstrated their expectations from their followers. In addition, the authors of each book are claimed to be religious leaders of Hizbullah. Supporting Teymur, Uslu, and Aydintasbas, in their books, they stated that they had recruitment acceptance authority. In other words, they had the power to activate membership, which is a significant characteristic of the leadership.

Content analysis.

According to Babbie (2008, p. 350) a “content analysis is the study of recorded human communications.” Any book of the leadership of Turkish Hizbullah is characterized by Bagasi (2004) as “materials to alleviate the negative effects of the disinformation campaign against
Hizbullah” (p. 21). For that reason, four books in the following table were classified as communications between the leaders and the group’s constituency. These books were analyzed in a way that would also enable testing of hypotheses. Thus, the basic goals of the content analyses were to discover the identity expectations of Hizbullah leadership from members, and to categorize them separately as expected political wing identity characteristics and expected military wing identity characteristics.

Table 1

*Selected Books of Hizbullah for Content Analysis*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>The title</th>
<th>The author</th>
<th>Year of publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kendi Dilinden Hizbullah ve Mücadele Tarihinden Önemli Kesitler (Hizbullah in its own words and important sketches from its history of resistance)</td>
<td>I. Bagasi (no first name stated)</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Teoriden Pratige Islami Hareket (Islamic movements from theory to practice)</td>
<td>Fidan Gungor</td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>İnsan Haklarından Islami Harekete: İslami ve Siyasi Tahliller (From human rights to Islamic movement: Islamic and political analyses)</td>
<td>Mansur Guzelsoy</td>
<td>1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Biz Neyi Talep Ediyoruz? (What are we asking for?)</td>
<td>Z. Savas (no first name stated)</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nachmias and Nachmias (1981) explain that in content analysis researchers need to define two things: Units and categories. Units refer to “the smallest body of content in which the appearance of a reference is counted” (p. 261). They listed frequently used five units as: “Words or terms, themes, characters, paragraphs, and items” (p. 261). This dissertation focused on recorded “words and terms” as units. As to the categories, they identified them as the titles
under which units are compiled. In this research, any statement related to any role identity expectations of authors from members were considered and treated as units. They were listed separately for each author as presented in the first step. And the umbrella titles under which those units compiled were treated as categories. They are listed in the following steps.

First step: Exploring the leadership’s identity expectations.

First, the content analysis survey instrument which guided the researcher to find out leadership’s role identity expectations was developed. This survey instrument could also be used to replicate the study, or measure the reliability of the methods employed in content analysis. Stryker (1980) lists Identity Theory’s eight assumptions. Applying those assumptions in their book titled *The Terrorist Identity: Explaining the Terrorist Threat*, Arena and Arrigo (2006) categorized five important components that are required to be present to “systematically examine [terrorist identity] as they are understood by Identity Theory” (p. 5). These components are as follows: “(a) Symbols, (b) The definition of the situation, (c) Roles, (d) Socialization and role taking, (e) The self” (p. 56). During the creation of the survey instrument, Arena and Arrigo’s (2006) method has been widely used. They placed equal importance over psychological and sociological aspects of terrorist identities. The instrument was designed accordingly with the items equally measuring these two essential aspects. Their criteria were applied to sort out “units” as was defined by Nachmias and Nachmias (1981).

The survey instrument items are listed below. The words or terms used by the authors to define their role identity expectations were investigated through these items.

1- (Symbols) What symbols are revered and members are encouraged to respect them?
a. If those symbols are persons, what kinds of characteristics are pictured as exceptional or admirable?

b. If those symbols are nonhuman entities (the mosque, jihad, martyrdom, Hizbullah, Iranian revolution, activities of the organization, etc), what functions they fulfill that make them exemplary?

2- (Definition of the situation) How do the leaders define the current situation of “oppressed Muslims” in Turkey?

3- (Roles) What types of roles do they expect from members to fulfill in order to maintain active group memberships?

4- (Socialization and role taking) During the processes of membership activation and the resocialization afterwards, what types of individual and organizational role identity expectations does the leadership have?

5- (The self) What types of role identity characteristics are stated as exemplary by the leaders?

6- What types of other psychological and social characteristics are expected from members?

7- What role identity characteristics are expected only from political wing members and what personality features are expected only from military wing members?

A pretest of the survey instrument was conducted to measure the clarity and logic of each question. Each of the four books has been assigned a number, and researcher selected one of the books randomly using the random numbers table. Since all four books were in Turkish, a Turkish speaking researcher was given the randomly selected book (Bagasi, 2004). He listed the identity expectations of the author following the survey instruments, and came up with several other
identity expectations that he could not place under any survey items (questions). Therefore, the questions in the survey instrument were not complete. The researcher added a sixth question following his suggestions. The identity features found as answers to this question have been placed under the most corresponding item (one of the items 1-5). Additionally, a seventh question was added by the researcher to help identify the differing expectations from both wing members.

The actual content analysis was performed using the revised survey instrument. Binary coding method was applied. Binary coding is generally used to indicate whether or not an item related to a specific criterion appeared in the evaluating instrument (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1981). Each book has been thoroughly investigated by the researcher for the available role identity characteristics (units) that were expected from members by the leadership. They were highly visible especially in the sections of the books where the authors specifically talked about the characteristics of members. Discovered role identity characteristics of each book are demonstrated in Appendix A.

Each book yielded varying numbers of role identity characteristics expected by the leadership. Following table shows the numbers of units mentioned by each author.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference book</th>
<th>Frequency of units stated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gungor (1997)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guzelsoy (1996)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savas (2006)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bagasi (2004) organized his book in such a way as to place more emphasis on individual characteristics of members. That’s why his book yielded more identity characteristics than others. Additionally, although all four authors placed varying levels of importance over military resistance and jihad, Bagasi stood out as being the most detailed and most radical among them. Other authors inclined to place a reserve on the use of weapons for some occasions. Savas (2006) chose to use the term “when necessary” for jihad.

Second step: Categorization of leadership’s expectation.

The goal of this step was to create categories for units generated as pointed out by Nachmias and Nachmias (1981). Each book demonstrated relatively different identity characteristics as desired by the leadership. However, an investigating eye would also see that some of the ones referred to similar concepts. In other words, they had comparable meanings and referred to same or similar identity expectations. In this step, the ones with similar meanings or referring to similar concepts were grouped under an umbrella term that corresponded to the essence of what has been expected by Hizbullah. Those umbrella terms were generated by the researcher using existing terminology in literature.

Some of the role identity characteristics were mentioned by only one author, others by two authors, some others by three authors, and lastly some of them were claimed by all four authors. The ones that were mentioned by all four authors were separated for further analyses, while others were excluded for not being perfectly representative of leadership’s identity expectations from members. This procedure generated 11 role identity expectations as presented in Appendix B.

However, it was surprising to observe that some of the major features of religiously motivated terrorist organizations such as secrecy, fulfilling Islamic religious duties (praying five
times a day, fasting, giving alms, hajj, etc), frequent location changes (pilgrimage), taking the pride of being chosen as God’s hand in the world, and nationalism have been understated (less than 4 authors). This might be due to simply assuming that each member possessed those characteristics. However, since no clear indication could be found supporting this assumption researcher ignored this possibility.

The following table demonstrates the eleven role identity characteristics that were expected by all four authors from Hizbullah members.

Table 3

**Role Identity Characteristics Expected by all Four Authors from Members**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Related survey question (Identity Theory’s assumptions)</th>
<th>1- Belief in jihad and resistance</th>
<th>2- Desire for martyrdom</th>
<th>3- Hatred against hizbul-Seytan (Party of Satan)</th>
<th>4- Embracing the hierarchical structure</th>
<th>5- Being politically active</th>
<th>6- Being religiously educated</th>
<th>7- Dedication to a Muslim brotherhood</th>
<th>8- Depersonalization</th>
<th>9- Aloneness</th>
<th>10- Cemaat (religious congregation) identity</th>
<th>11- Patience (gradualism)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Identity Theory’s assumptions)</td>
<td>(Symbols)</td>
<td>(Symbols)</td>
<td>(Definition of the situation)</td>
<td>(Definition of the situation)</td>
<td>(Roles)</td>
<td>(Socialization and role taking)</td>
<td>(Socialization and role taking)</td>
<td>(Self)</td>
<td>(Self)</td>
<td>(Self)</td>
<td>(Self)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Categorization of Identity Expectations Separately for Each Wing

The researcher has investigated the books to determine from which wing members those identity characteristics were expected more. Unlike the other three, Bagasi (2004) was very clear
about the expected role identity characteristics from each wing separately. The other three were found relatively vague.

To ensure representativeness, the researcher automatically recorded an identity characteristic as a particular wing characteristic if it was categorized at least by three of the four writers as belonging to that particular wing. For the ones where there was no clear consensus among the writers, the researcher needed to make use of a different tactic. This confusion occurred especially when two of the writers considered or tended to interpret one identity feature as a certain wing identity feature while the other two regarded it as the other wing characteristic. To resolve that issue, Turkish Grand National Assembly’s (TGNA) Hizbullah Report (TGNA, 2000) was used to assist in determination of the wings for those disputed characteristics. This report was prepared by a body of scholars, parliament members, practitioners and other concerned individuals. It contains detailed information about the roles within the group, their long and short term goals, their legal and illegal activities, their political and military agendas, their social acceptance in their region, etc. The report is purely dedicated to understanding the group. It does not include any suggestions or tactics to counter Hizbullah militarily.

Turkish Grand National Assembly’s Hizbullah report was also used for the authors who were not clear about to which wing they were attributing an identity feature. They simply might imply that both wing members should have that as part of their personalities. The context (expected roles, perspectives, identity characteristics, activities, etc) in which a given identity characteristic has been mentioned in their book was compared to the wing roles and characteristics stated in the TGNA’s report. If, according to the Hizbullah Report, the context was proven to be related to a political wing role, then that characteristic was automatically considered as a political wing identity feature and listed accordingly. The main reason for not
excluding these characteristics was because they were counted by all four authors as expected role identity features from members (see the tables related to step 1 and step 2 in Appendix A and B).

The following table categorizes identity expectations separately for both wings and includes authors’ beliefs as to which identity characteristics are expected from which wing members.

Table 4
*Categorized Identity Characteristics According to Wing Assignments*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expected military wing identity characteristics by authors</th>
<th>Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- Belief in jihad and resistance</td>
<td>(Bagasi and Gungor) *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Desire for martyrdom</td>
<td>(Bagasi, Gungor, Guzelsoy, and Savas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- Embracing the hierarchical structure</td>
<td>(Bagasi and Savas) *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- Depersonalization</td>
<td>(Bagasi, Gungor, and Guzelsoy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- Hatred against party of Satan</td>
<td>(Bagasi, Gungor, Guzelsoy, and Savas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- Aloneness</td>
<td>(Bagasi, Gungor, Guzelsoy, and Savas)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expected political wing identity characteristics by authors</th>
<th>Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- Cemaat (religious congregation) identity</td>
<td>(Bagasi and Savas) ♣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Being religiously educated</td>
<td>(Bagasi, Gungor, Guzelsoy, and Savas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- Patience (gradualism)</td>
<td>(Bagasi, Gungor and Guzelsoy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- Dedication to a Muslim brotherhood</td>
<td>(Bagasi, Gungor, Guzelsoy, and Savas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- Being politically active</td>
<td>(Gungor and Savas) ♣</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These two identity characteristics were listed in the military wing activities chapter of TGNA’s Hizbullah report.

♣ These two identity characteristics were listed in the political wing activities chapter of TGNA’s Hizbullah report.
Qualitative Analysis

In the analysis, special attention was given to the sections of the resources where the authors or members (for reports) expressed any verbal encouragements for acts, expectations of leaders from members, statements to provide emotional comforting, statements to justify activities of the organization, any purposeful statements that target teaching any desired qualities, statements as promising otherworldly rewards, any inquiries about the thoughts and feelings of important religious figures in Islam, and issues and problems within the group and their proposed solutions.

According to Babbie (2008), qualitative analysis is best to understand the reasoning behind people’s behavioral choices and/or their perspectives in life. To him, it also involves strategies to uncover them differently from quantitative analysis methods. In this study, qualitative analysis was used; (a) to explore what Hizbullah leadership means about each of the identity characteristics that they expected from members, (b) to unearth the reasons why they had different expectations from each wing, and (c) to find out how they justified these different expectations. Three different resources were analyzed to accomplish these goals. The researcher followed the order presented below starting with Hizbullah’s own books and continued with actual member statements. Also, only when needed, external literature was included.

a) Hizbullah’s four reference books.

The researcher returned to books, and only focused on the identity expectations that were selected and categorized during the content analysis. Stated differently, the identity characteristics were not analyzed had they not been expected from members by all four authors. Each author’s ideas about those particular characteristics were included and scrutinized by the
researcher. Naturally, some opposing or confronting ideas of authors were also included in the analysis. As expected, disagreements of this sort became more evident with identity features where the leaders could not reach a consensus over which wing they would be attributed to.

b) Personal reports of actual members.

Reports of actual members were also analyzed. They were investigated to incorporate validating statements from members. Qualitative analysis of each identity expectation included several statements emanating from those reports. For a political wing identity characteristic, only political wing members corresponding statements were included, and a similar procedure was followed for the military wing as well.

c) External literature about Islam and Turkish Hizbullah.

External resources were only included when deemed crucial to the analysis or when they provided essential information that would help understand the subject matter better. They were mostly used to clarify Islam’s tenets in a neutral way, and to increase our familiarity with Hizbullah or some other related topics. These external resources were comprised of books, reports, and journal and newspaper articles. They were not utilized for most role identity features.

Qualitative findings are demonstrated in two separate chapters, one for each wing.

The Data

The data set has been provided by Department of Counter-Terrorism of Turkish National Police (TNP). The data was derived from 144 handwritten internal reports of Hizbullah members.
to their superiors. These reports were captured during a series of police operations performed in
the city of Diyarbakir, Turkey in 2002. The reports were written between 1994 and 1999. Fifty-
four of these reports belonged to the members of the political wing, and 90 of them were written
by military wing members. Currently, the original handwritten documents are being stored in the
Counter-Terrorism Division of Ankara Police Department. The original documents are in the
Turkish language. The researcher has done the translation of the parts which were included in the
study.

These reports did not consist merely of narratives. They also included quantifiable
information such as age, years spent in the organization as of the year of confiscation of the
reports, gender, education levels, socio economic status, marital status, number of siblings,
occupational status, political party affiliation, prior contact with “terrorists”, reasons for
becoming a member, number of prior arrests, and primary reasons for maintaining group
membership. Each report included answers to many open-ended questions. The actual survey
questions were not among the documents captured. The leaders informed the members on what
topics they needed to comment or cover in their reports. However, given the similarities and the
logical order of the topics covered, the researcher could guess some of the survey items. Each
terrorist member started their report by talking about themselves and their wing assignments.
They continued with their ways of seeing Hizbullah, and how they have been fulfilling their
roles. Following that, members stated their evaluations of other members even their leaders.

Those reports were neither police interrogations nor testimonies. Turkish Hizbullah
requires its members to report to their leaders in handwriting regularly. Those reports constitute
one way that the organization uses to evaluate its members. Also, the mobility among the
positions in the organization mostly depends on those evaluations. Along with communication
purposes, Turkish Hizbullah uses these statements to ensure internal control by allowing members to report not only about themselves, but also about their leaders and other cellmates (Teymur, 2007). Furthermore, using these statements, the group is also able to identify the members who need extra attention due to burn out, alienation, or other reasons.

Research Population and Sampling

Since the reports were confiscated by the police, the researcher did not have any control over the sampling process and chose to use all the reports that were made available by the TNP. The researcher has never met with any of the writers of these reports. However, comparing the descriptive characteristics of the respondents in the sample with Teymur’s (2007) findings about Hizbullah’s general composition, it could be assumed that the sample relatively represented the population except for the gender distribution. Only .07 percent of the sample was females. Teymur (2007) stated that females were predicted to constitute about 20 percent of Hizbullah. Further descriptive information about the sample could be found in Chapter 6.

Ethical Considerations

The handwritten reports have been typed and recorded by TNP officers following the confiscation in 2002. The original reports contain the names and other personal and family information of members. However, once the researcher has been granted the permission to review those reports, responsible police department removed all the information that could lead up to personal identities on the copies provided for this study. Therefore, the anonymity has been ensured by the TNP.
The data set was also considered as secondary data with no human contact by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of University of North Texas (UNT). IRB approval from UNT has been granted on November 9, 2007 with an application number of 07-424. The Board determined that this research qualified for an exemption from further review of the committee.

Variable Formation and Quantitative Analyses

The main goal of quantitative inquiries was to test the findings of both content and qualitative analyses. Additionally, the ways in which the researcher has transformed identity expectations into independent variables were delineated.

Formation of variables.

Reports of members were used to generate the dataset which was utilized for quantitative analyses. The procedure is described separately below for both dependent and independent variables. The variables are presented in the following table.
Table 5

Variables, Their Categories, Level of Measurements, and Preferred Test for Significance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Level of measurement</th>
<th>Preferred test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dependent variable</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wing membership</td>
<td>1- Military wing member</td>
<td>Nominal-</td>
<td>Chi Square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2- Political wing member</td>
<td>dichotomous</td>
<td>test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independent variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1- Cemaat (religious congregation) identity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Being religiously educated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- Patience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- Dedication to a Muslim brotherhood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- Being politically active</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- Jihad and armed resistance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7- Martyrdom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8- Embracing the hierarchical structure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9- Depersonalization</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10- Creation of hizbul-Seytan (party of Satan)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11- Aloneness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a) Dependent variable.*

Wing membership is the dependent variable. It is a dichotomous and nominal variable with two categories: (1) Military wing member and (2) political wing member. Participants’ wing assignment was very clear in the reports. Right before presenting a variety of demographic information, each individual stated his or her wing assignment within the organization.

*b) Independent variables.*
Independent variables were created according to the major assumptions of identity theory. This theory assumed that individuals’ commitments were pivotal in active group membership and role assignments. To the theory, through the fulfillment of assigned roles, individuals solidify their group identities.

Burke and Reitzes (1991) claim that “commitment highlights one of the ways in which individuals infuse roles and social structure with self-motivated behaviors, thereby linking the self to social structure” (p. 239). Identity theory uses commitment to tie the individual to the action (Burke and Reitzes, 1991). Dominant members’ (leaders in Hizbullah) identity expectations were the major catalysts for the commitment that is used to live up to group’s expectations. Those identity expectations triggered higher levels of commitment, and eventually resulted in in-group roles that do not contradict with the expectation of the leadership.

Independent variables were created out of the expectations of Hizbullah from its members. Put differently, leadership role expectations from members were listed as independent variables. Those identity characteristics were utilized by the leaders in their decisions about members’ role assignments, which in return affects Hizbullah identity.

The survey instrument in content analysis particularly has been very helpful in categorizing the independent variables. Since four of the five roles were made up of more than one observable identity feature (please see Table 3), the researcher tried to create index variables for each role identity expectation (symbols, definition of situation, roles, socialization and role taking, and the self). For example, for the self the following index was developed. The answers were used to calculate the numbers of related role expectations fulfilled by members.

Does the member expressed:

1- “Aloneness” as an identity feature.
2- “Patience (gradualism) as an identity feature.
3- “Cemaat (religious congregation) as an identity feature.
4- “Depersonalization” as an identity feature.

However, one variable (roles) had only one independent variable as an indicator. The remaining three had two independent variables. Other than that, observing multiple indicators was rare. Therefore, developing index variables with limited observable indicators did not sound reasonable. Furthermore, it would make both qualitative and quantitative analyses challenging. Therefore, each observable indicator was treated as separate independent variables.

Table 5 demonstrates the variables used in this study. During the coding process, the researcher used 144 available personal reports of Hizbullah members. Each report was investigated carefully for the absence or presence of those independent variables (role identity expectations). The first variable coded has been the member’s wing that he or she operated in (dependent variable). Following that, for each case, “1” was assigned if the independent variable was present in a report, and “0” was assigned when it was absent. In other words, if hypothetical member “A” talked about the importance of role identity characteristic “X” (independent variable X), he or she was assigned a score of “1.” If that member chose not to mention “X”, then he or she was assigned a score of “0” suggesting the absence of that independent variable (X).

Quantitative analysis.

The data was analyzed with SPSS version 14 in the following two steps.

1- As a test for statistical significance, Chi Square test was used to reveal whether the independent variable was significantly related to the dependent variable. Or, as Agresti and Finlay put (1999), Chi-Square test “summarizes how close the expected frequencies fall to the observed frequencies (p. 155)”. For example, if one identity characteristic was claimed as
military wing identity characteristic by the leadership, then its relation with the dependent variable was supposed to be significant. If not, that means, for that identity characteristic, leaders’ expectations were not completely fulfilled by the organization. This test also has demonstrated which of the identity characteristics were more influential on which wing, and not influential on the other regardless of the qualitative findings. As stated, the quantitative data was coded from the reports, not from the reference books. Therefore, qualitative findings and quantitative findings might not support each other.

2- Logistic regression test was performed to measure the actual levels of impact that independent variables have on the dependent variable controlling for other variables. This test is used to measure the probability of occurrence of an incident using the available features in the data set (Agresti and Finlay, 1999). Also, this test is best for “binary response variables” (p. 575) where there are only two possible outcomes for a variable. All of the variables including the dependent variable in the data set were dichotomous, which made this research suitable for this test. Another factor that encouraged the application of logistic regression was its proven efficiency for qualitative studies (Agresti and Finlay, 1999). The results are presented in Chapter 6.

Reliability

To measure reliability, an inter-rater reliability test was conducted. In an inter-rater reliability test, another researcher is given a randomly selected sample (the reports of members) and he or she is asked to code the same variables in the statements that the researcher has already coded. That way, the conceptualization of each variable and coding practice are validated or invalidated by another researcher (Kurasaki, 2000). Following that, the Cohen’s Kappa values
were calculated for each variable to be able to observe the closeness or differences in coding practices.

Table 6

_Cohen's Kappa Values for Each Variable_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Cohen’s Kappa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dependent variable</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wing membership</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independent variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief in jihad and resistance</td>
<td>0.762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embracing the hierarchical structure</td>
<td>0.706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depersonalization</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatred against hizbul-Seytan (party of Satan)</td>
<td>0.794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aloneness</td>
<td>0.706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cemaat (religious congregation) identity</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being religiously educated</td>
<td>0.898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience (gradualism)</td>
<td>0.596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication to a Muslim brotherhood</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being politically active</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire for martyrdom</td>
<td>0.706</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SPSS version 14 was used to measure Cohen’s Kappa for each variable. Another researcher was given 20 randomly selected cases (reports of 10 military and 10 political wing members), and he was asked to code them and enter the values in SPSS. Fleist (1981) assumes a poor agreement between the coders if the coefficient is less than .40. The values between .40 and .75 demonstrate a good agreement between coders. A coefficient more than .75 refers to an excellent agreement between coders. Coding practices of that person and the researcher were compared in the same output. As demonstrated in the previous table, none of the Cohen’s Kappa...
values were under the unacceptable low level (0.40). The lowest was 0.596 for independent variable *patience*, showed that the second rater and the researcher had minor differences in the definition of this attribute. Since each report started with members’ wing assignments, the rater and the researcher were in perfect agreement (Cohen’s Kappa coefficient of 1) for wing assignment variable (dependent variable). There were no other variables in the data set demonstrating another perfect agreement.

Summary

This chapter presented the details of content, qualitative, and quantitative analyses applied to reveal the influence of role identity expectations of leadership on members’ identities. Following chapter details the results of qualitative analysis on military wing members.
CHAPTER IV
MILITARY WING IDENTITY

Introduction

This chapter examines the identity features that were expected from military wing members by Hizbullah’s leadership. The statements suggesting the significance of those characteristics in the written reports and related literature of Hizbullah were included in the analyses.

Belief in Jihad and Resistance

To Hizbullah, nothing was more valuable than the acts of jihad and resistance. There was clear evidence in related literature that Hizbullah considered these two concepts intertwined. Actually, the meaning of jihad to Hizbullah was somewhat limited and confined not only to armed struggle but also to providing the group with material and nonmaterial help (Bagasi, 2004; and Gungor, 1997).

As a matter of fact, in Islamic terminology, jihad involves any kinds of endeavors to please God similar to a crusade in Christian terminology. According to Karaman, Bardakoglu, and Apaydin (1998), jihad had two basic dimensions: Material and nonmaterial. Examples of nonmaterial jihad are praying more than five times a day, reading religious texts, or even trying to be successful in what you do just to be useful for Islam. Material aspects of jihad are more controversial. These include armed measures that are strictly confined to a just war or to self defense against the enemies of God. But, who will have the authority to decide the presence of the conditions of a just war, and who will declare a war against the enemies of Islam? And also, who are the enemies of Islam? Are they only soldiers with the intent to harm Muslims? Or, do
they also include civilians? If yes, then which civilians: The members of one ethnicity, nation, or country; or just those who happen to be on the site? These were very crucial questions with challenging answers for the leadership.

A military wing member’s following perspective of jihad was very helpful to comprehend the actual meaning of it.

Until I heard [name removed but he is referring to his leader], I used to think jihad as only our activities, but when I heard that even giving us a piece of bread (a statement used for a minor help) was jihad, I was surprised. But I was relieved again after learning that jihad had levels and ours was the highest and the only one that guarantees paradise.

This identity characteristic was stated as an expected identity feature by Bagasi (2004) and Gungor (1997) from military wing members. They are very confident that these two identity characteristics were expected to be influential in that wing. One of the reasons for that was the dominant belief that political wing members were the ones that needed to be part of the mainstream society in order to operate freely for specific purposes such as recruitment. Therefore, this identity characteristic seemed to be more compatible with military roles.

However, Guzelsoy (1996) and Savas (2006) listed this feature as expected from both wing members. Yet, this dissertation listed the belief in jihad and resistance as a military wing characteristic consistent with the TGNA’s description of jihad as an armed wing activity.

The following member’s statement is representative of what most military wing members think about jihad and armed resistance.

We have waited for political solutions, we have waited for economic solutions, we have waited for social solutions, we have waited and were kept waiting. For what? We are talking about the future of Islam, the last and complete religion that has God’s approval and sanctioning for all humankind. I think what TC (short for the Republic of Turkey and occasionally used as an insult by Hizbullah) needs is a catalyst movement and jihad that will remove the infidel structure and replace it with what we have been waiting for far too long.
According to Hizbullah any person assisting the enemies of God (e.g. Turkish government, PKK, Menzilciler, etc) was a *just* target. Supporting that argument, another military wing member included the following statement in his report reflecting his views about the enemies of God:

[Name removed] elder brother (sign of respect), you are asking me about the enemy. I do not think about them. I give many thanks to God for making me a member of this cemaat, where I receive the most accurate information from the top. So, you will tell me who is my enemy and who is my friend, and what to do about the enemy. But personally, I believe, whoever sides with the government and the PKK are my enemies, and deserve to die. Even if he is my father.

Bagasi (2004) pointed out the importance of the belief in jihad several times in his book. To him, once the jihad was declared by the High Council and the goals were set, then the restraints on the means of jihad were removed. From then on, the members became relatively free. To provide their members with psychological-emotional support, and prevent remorse for the actions, the group declared the lands of Turkey as *dar’ul harb* (holy battle ground for Islam). However, Gungor (1997) slightly deviated from Bagasi and claimed that the armed struggle was the last resort. Jihad could be waged after exhausting every other option. New military wing members needed to internalize these facts in order to develop a healthy in-group identity.

**Desire for Martyrdom**

Martyrdom as a symbol was listed as an expected role identity feature of the military wing by all four authors. Martyrdom is a very high and respected status in Islam. It usually requires one to lose his or her life for God or for the religion (Islam) (Guzelsoy, 1996). Martyrdom is usually limited to the people who were killed in a just-battle for Islam. This term became very controversial especially with the introduction of suicide bombers in the name of God. Islam has strict rules against suicide and against those who commit it. Aktan (2004) asserts
that under no circumstances could suicide be considered as an act of war. Therefore, those committing suicide cannot be considered martyrs.

Hizbullah blamed the poverty, discrimination, and other social, political, religious, and economic problems of the Kurdish people on external entities (Guzelsoy, 1996 and Bagasi, 2004). As a solution, they praised sacrificing one’s self to reverse the situation.

A military wing member with similar perspective stated that;

That would really be an honor for my mother and father to be a parent of a martyr. I was a no-good boy, and my father was no longer hopeful about me (he is not expecting any success out of him). He told me one day, “son, no matter what you do, please don’t make others laugh at me.” But the only thing he did not know was, we are being laughed at all the time. When you (referring to his leader) give me the chance, I want to make him smile (by martyring himself) and make others quit laughing at us (he is clearly asking for a death mission).

Hizbullah needed members who saw death as a reward, not as a punishment. Bagasi (2004) believes that after seeing the “despicable” situation of Muslims in Turkey in particular and all of the Muslims in the world in general, “one should rather die proudly in combat and became a martyr of Islam than live under these circumstances” (p.128).

Another militant demonstrates non-personal reasons in his desire to become a martyr;

As [name removed] said in his cassette (members are also listening to their leaders’ voice recordings), even martyrdom has degrees. The highest degree will be awarded to those who lose their lives during a war for Islam. I want to forget myself, my family, my son and daughter, and remember only what they have been doing to us for decades. And I want to die fighting with courage with only this in my mind.

However, Bilmen (1949) was somewhat hesitant to accept Hizbullah’s version of martyrdom. Because, Hizbullah’s definition was legitimizing the attacks targeting rival Muslims (Turkish government officials and members of the Menzilciler group), and even innocent civilians from other religions. In the case of death during an attack, Hizbullah believed that the member who dies automatically becomes a martyr.
Also, the group’s perspective on this world and the hereafter were somewhat unique. Hizbullah believed that this world was not for rewards or well-being. On the contrary, it was an arena for jihad. Members therefore, even on the face of persecution, “need to carry out their expected tasks and expect rewards only in the hereafter” (Bagasi, 2004, p. 255). The group encouraged its members to despise this world, and favor the hereafter under any circumstances. On the other hand, the group also believed in harsh punishments in this world for enemies of Islam. Hence, Hizbullah as a cemaat becomes the hand of God, and members become the selected individuals who were created to be rewarded in the other life for carrying out the will of God in this world (Savas, 2006). This belief was expected to be a part of mujaheeds’ (military wing) personalities.

Belief in the Legitimacy of the Established Hierarchical Structure

Hierarchy was one of the most important features of Hizbullah (Bagasi, 2004). Hierarchy kept the organization alive by not only providing a strong sense of roles (group attachment), but also higher levels of supervision over the members and group activities (Savas, 2006).

Trust in the legitimacy of existing hierarchical structure was believed to be one of the expected military wing identity characteristics by Bagasi (2004) and Savas (2006). Guzelsoy (1996) clearly stated that he expected a strong adherence to hierarchy from political wing members. Gungor (1997) differed from both parties and claimed that embracing hierarchy was essential for both wings, and members of both wings should internalize it, and make it part of their personalities. However, it was treated as a military wing identity structure following the TGNA Hizbullah report’s suggestions.

Complementing that view, a military wing member stated that;
I just finished the military service (he is discharged, and Turkey enforces draft system) and had the opportunity to know my enemy there. The efficiency of army comes not from soldiers, but from the structure. The structure is working regardless of who was in command. Before the military service I did not realize it, but now I can see it much better that we also have a hierarchical cemaat that saves us from idolizing anybody.

Every unit in Hizbullah had a leader or Imam as they call it. According to Islamic terminology, an Imam is the religious leader of a group whose specific task is to lead the performance of prayers (Bilmen, 1949). Obeying the commands of this person is “farz”, or in other words, an Islamic duty. Farz or Farida refers to the deeds that Islam requires to be fulfilled. If not performed, worldly and/or otherworldly penalties are foreseen.

Another member highlighted the importance of supervision and the importance of hierarchy as follows;

Last year (1995), when we heard that [name of the member was removed] was caught red handed by [name of the leader was removed] carrying information to the police, I once more thanked God for assigning leaders to watch over us. Because I wholeheartedly believe that deserters or betrayers need to be found and punished as harshly as possible. Because, I believe that our cause is sacred, and no human ambition should touch it.

This member believed that a hierarchical structure needed to be strengthened for its supervisory function.

Hizbullah also had a hierarchical outlook with regard to Muslims. People move from the regular ranks of ordinary Muslims up to the level of sympathizers, and from there to new members; and from there to the ranks of full-fledged members (Bagasi, 2004 and Savas, 2006). Full-fledged members also had a strict hierarchy among themselves. The most important thing to remember here is that even the smallest unit of two people had one of them as the leader (Savas, 2006). In sum, each military wing member was required to embrace the current hierarchical structure, and is also expected to make it an indispensable part of their identities.
Depersonalization

The organization relied heavily on secrecy, and consequently, for many of its acts it has chosen not to acknowledge or claim them. Secrecy requires some sort of depersonalization, which as a concept, also has a special place in Islam. Members were required to aim to get in God’s grace. They believe that the acts are also God’s creation. Claiming them is equated with claiming something that belongs to God (Gungor, 1997; Guzelsoy, 1996). This belief gives members a sense of being disassociated from the outcomes of their actions. Additionally, they neither feel remorse for their actions, nor claim any rewards for successes. This calls for certain levels of depersonalization.

Bagasi (2004), Gungor (1997), and Guzelsoy (1996) believed that depersonalization was expected more from military wing members than political wing members. Savas (2006), to the contrary, asserted that depersonalization should be expected from both wing members.

A military wing member narrated his understanding of depersonalization as follows;

Let me tell you a funny story, last Muharram (the first month of Islamic calendar- this calendar is not used in Turkey) the police took me (arrested) and asked me if I attacked [a member of PKK]. I automatically said no. But I was the one who performed the order. But, I know I cannot or should not claim those acts since, in reality, God creates everything, including our deeds. When they let me go, [leader’s name is removed] asked me “what did you say to the police?, and I told him that I told them the truth. He got nervous, and I told him the real story. He praised me for not claiming worldly rewards.

In sum, the easiest way to accomplish secrecy is through depersonalization. As one member stated in his report “If you believe that the good deeds you are doing are actually the work of God, and God chooses to use your hands for his will, you start not recognizing those acts as your own, and neither feel sadness for them, nor do you feel success and claim a worldly reward.” Hizbullah surmises all of these good virtues in their Martyred Guide’s (Hüseyin Velioğlu) personality and encourages members to follow his lead (Bagasi, 2004, p. 151).
Hatred against Hizbul-Şeytan (Party of Satan)

Hizbul-Şeytan (the party of Satan) symbolizes the exact opposite of Hizbullah. Those groups were portrayed as sources for hatred. Mostly military wing members were encouraged to make this hate a part of their identities. The literature placed a tremendous amount of importance on the power of hate, and its role in Hizbullah identity development. All four authors targeted different or similar groups or concepts as sources for hatred. Due to its reported importance by all four authors, those groups and entities will be examined separately. The leadership wanted hatred to be incorporated more with military wing member’s role identities.

Mead (1934) also brings our attention to the necessity of the other in the creation of the self, the personal identity, and consequently the group identity. In order to assert its true identity, Hizbullah needs to announce the others (its own enemies in our case), and present various reasons for the hatred against them (for example that group’s [the other] attitudes against Muslims in Turkey). The following entities were pictured as sources of hate in the literature that were used to develop Hizbullah identity.

a) Republic of Turkey.

Bagasi (2004, p. 42) counted the major reasons behind Hizbullah’s decision of declaring Turkey as their archenemy were this country’s “anti-Islamic policies and practices, its secular system, [alleged] oppressive regime against Kurdish Muslims, and Kemalist political ideology.” Other reasons included the change of alphabet from Arabic letters to Latin letters that took place in 1928. Hizbullah believed that because of this change, even to be able to read the Qur’an (holy book of Islam), Muslims in Turkey needed to learn at least how to read Arabic. This would require taking additional courses that were not widely offered in the secular Turkish education.
system. Therefore, the group believed that this change was intended to weaken Muslims, and to cut off their ties with the Qur’an. In short, Hizbullah’s perception of Turkey centered on that country’s practices of controlling the religion and pushing Islam outside the cultural, economical, political, and academic areas (Gungor, 1997).

In addition, one member stated the following reason as his major source of hate against Turkey;

TC’s discriminatory, fascist, extremely nationalistic, and assimilatory practices against Muslims and Kurds made me hate this country, and also made me believe that if I am to remain as a chosen one (active God pleasing member of Hizbullah), I need to be involved in activities to remove this government and bring God to this land (bring Islamic law of Sharia).

Shortly, Hizbullah saw the regime in Turkey as the biggest enemy of God, and that’s why their major goal has always been to replace secular laws with Shari’a (Islamic Laws) in that country (Gungor, 1997; Guzelsoy, 1996; and Savas, 2006).

b) The PKK.

The PKK\textsuperscript{11} kills people indiscriminately (Yayla, 2005). Muslims, including women, children and elderly have been targeted. Because of that, Hizbullah viewed this terrorist group as a threat to Islam (Bagasi; 2004; Gungor, 1997; and Savas, 2006). The two groups fought with each other for years and the death toll was assumed to be around five hundred (Aydintasbas, 2000).

The following statement of a veteran military wing member, who also directly participated in the fight against the PKK is important.

\textsuperscript{11} The Kurdistan Workers Party (Kurdish: Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan), a Marxist-Leninist terrorist group that is on the terrorist watch list of the USA and the European Union.
I hate the PKK not only because they hate us. I hate them because they are so ignorant, even their ignorance prevents them from seeing that they are being played by TC (Turkey) like a puppet. And they are blowing the last chance of the long oppressed Muslims by keeping us busy, and keeping us away from the real target (it is guessed that he means the government).

c) The Menzilciler.

This was the other major rival religious group that was active in the same region of Turkey. The Menzilciler and Hizbullah have acted together and shared positions within the structure for over a decade beginning in the early 1980s and lasting until the early 1990s. Yet, because of the differences in perspectives, such as on Iran’s political approval, on armed struggle against others, on the division of financial resources, and on some other personal issues between the leaders of these two groups, they have not only separated from each other, but also have developed a fierce animosity toward each other. The difference in opinions soon escalated to armed clashes and resulted in the loss of many lives that had once been operating together, and had at one time considered the other as compatriots (Uslu, 2007). Since this group, just like the PKK kept Hizbullah away from its activities, then that meant, at least to Bagasi (2004) and Gungor (1997), they were also hindering individuals who are trying to fulfill God’s plans. That reason was sufficient to place the Menzilciler in the same bucket with the Marxist-Leninist PKK.

d) The nation state.

Hizbullah considered the nation state as one of the major threats to their unifying efforts of all the Muslim groups in Turkey. Turkey is a nation state where everybody is constitutionally recognized as Turks, which, to Hizbullah, comes as an insult to their Kurdish identity (Guzelsoy, 1996). Another reason why this group does not favor the nation state is because it fosters, encourages and results in political quarrels among Islamic Ommah (Bagasi, 2004, p. 67). Islamic
Ommah, according to Hizbullah, refers to the only Islamic community without regard to national, ethnic, racial, or sectarian differences.

One member clearly identified Turkey as being oppressive and accused it of being blind to other ethnicities in the country.

When I was a kid, the thing I hated most was the pledge of allegiance to Turkey as a Turk (only recited in elementary schools). I am not even a Turk, and have never been one. I even learned Turkish (the language) at school. Each time they made me recite it, my anger grew even stronger. And, now I am thankful to them, because the hate they placed inside of me became my guide and led me here. And I am very fortunate and thankful to that hate, because it did not leave me and it is still extremely alive.

e) Imperialism.

Hizbullah encouraged a strong opposition from its members against imperialism. The group renounced imperialism as one of the major causes of Muslims’ being underdeveloped (Savas, 2006). Bagasi (2004) placed some portion of the blame on Turkey for exploiting Kurdish Muslims politically and economically to the benefit of the state elite. Other imperialistic countries (England, France, Italy, etc.) were also blamed for not granting the Kurdish nation their independence when they had the chance during the Turkish war for independence between 1919 and 1922 (Savas, 2006).

No individual member stated or addressed imperialism in their reports. However, the literature included several perspectives, and addressed imperialism as a source of hatred because of the reasons stated above.

f) Political decay in “Kurdistan.”

Hizbullah has always considered politics as an institution of Islam. Any decay in it indicates that Islam has some troubles, too. The group also believed that the armed struggle was
employed just to pave the way for a political environment supporting Islamic rule. Therefore, politics, especially in the southeastern part of Turkey, needed to be strong and intact (Bagasi, 2004). To that end, the group required its members to know that the fruits of their efforts would be a clean political ground under the command and constant supervision of Islam. Hizbullah also targeted political figures elected from the region for not representing the interests of Muslim Kurds. Numerous political figures were kidnapped, and some of them were killed during the organization’s peak period.

No significant and directly related comments were available in the reports.

g) Israel and the USA.

Interestingly, Israel and the USA were not listed as enemies of Hizbullah in the books. The word “Israel” (İsrail) was used only two times in the books. And it was not used in a way to incite or as a reflection of hatred at all. Similarly, the USA (Amerika or ABD) was mentioned only three times and likewise, was not used as a concept to unify members by hating it. This does not suggest the existence of sympathy either. To the researcher, the statuses of these two countries resembles Turkey’s status before 1995, when Hizbullah avoided direct conflict with the police and focused more on the PKK and the Menzilciler. Bagasi (2004, p. 217) defined this period as a “silent and deep struggle against T.C.” And although it was not directly stated, the researcher believes that since Hizbullah was a local terrorist group operating locally in and against Turkey, it did not have an action plan against these two countries. However, once they reach the stage where they see themselves as an international player, the USA’s and Israel’s interests would highly likely to be targeted. As a matter of fact, in 2003, Turkey was rocked by terrorist attacks on two synagogues, a British bank, and on the British Consulate General in
Istanbul. Hizbullah did not claim the attacks but police found substantial evidence supporting Hizbullah’s involvement.

Aloneness

Related literature clearly stated the importance of the Muslim brotherhood. However, two of the authors placed certain amounts of reserve on the notion of brotherhood as it applies to issues related to trust (Bagasi, 2004 and Gungor, 1997). Actually, considering the current fragmented structure of Muslims in Turkey, Bagasi (2004) believed that achieving that brotherhood in the short run was a very difficult task, if not totally impossible.

Supporting Bagasi, a military wing member conveyed one of his experiences with a member of a rival radical Islamic group as follows;

[Name was removed] was my neighbor. When I was a kid, I remember playing soccer with him. Later, he went to a college in Van (a city located in eastern Turkey). One day I heard that he had returned. I went to his house to say hi and welcome. He was extremely welcoming. We talked for hours about Islam and the current situation of Muslims. I realized that on many issues we were in agreement. I knew I could not invite him without your consent, that’s why I asked him who he was with. He immediately told me that he and [name removed] were together. That person is a known Menzilci (rival Muslim group). After that, he immediately started talking negatively about our cemaat (Hizbullah). At that moment, I realized we are all alone in this world, with a sacred task on our shoulders. I also want him to be tried (by Hizbullah courts) and punished for what he said about our martyred guide (Hüseyin Velioğlu) and cemaat.

As could be seen from the above real life experience, group members should not expect understanding and sympathy even from other fellow Muslims (Gungor, 1997). Hizbullah strongly believed that active “members cannot find truly understanding friends except for other fellow Hizbullah members” (Bagasi, 2004, p. 12). This feeling of aloneness and alienation had a latent function which strengthened in-group solidarity towards a common goal, and against common enemies. This was evident in another statement of the same member;
I now know that God has chosen us to share the similar fate of our beloved Prophet Muhammad—peace be upon him. In the beginning, he was also all alone without any friends and without helpers to his cause. Who are we to expect more than one of God’s most beloved messengers? But after several years, people understood the validity of his calls, and accepted that he actually was the long-awaited messenger, and gathered millions of people around him. If we follow his path of secrecy and aloneness, we also will share the second part of his fate (popular approval by many).

Consistent with the perspective above, Gungor (1997) claimed that, since the path of Hizbullah was one of the true paths (approved by God), the members of this group should only rely on God’s will and expect help only from him. The members “should not ask any help from others, and if they do offer any, then through evaluations in the concerned bodies of the cemaat, these helps could be used” (Bagasi, 2004, p. 203). Other than that, asking for help was considered as distrusting God’s strength. Besides, this characteristic helped the group maintain its secrecy for longer periods of time.

Summary

Belief in jihad and resistance, desire for martyrdom, embracing the hierarchical structure, depersonalization, hatred against hizbul-Şeytan (the party of Satan), and aloneness were examined in this chapter. The written reports of each military wing member, and literature about Hizbullah were extensively used. The next chapter examines the expected identity characteristics from the political wing members by the leadership.
CHAPTER V

POLITICAL WING IDENTITY

Introduction

This chapter examines the political wing identity characteristics that were expected by the leaders. Cemaat (religious congregation), being religiously educated, patience, dedication to a Muslim brotherhood, and being politically active were studied in this chapter as elements of political wing identity.

Cemaat (Religious Congregation) Identity

Cemaat, in Islamic terminology, refers to any Muslim gatherings convened voluntarily to perform religious activities, such as daily and/or weekly prayers (Bilmen, 1949). Hizbullah wishes its members to establish an identity of unity based on religious norms and teachings. The group provided new members with a reading list and/or organized informal small scale conferences that would explain the disadvantaged situation of the Kurdish Muslim population in Turkey for not having an organized and active unified body. Bagasi (2004) claimed that, “if you are only one individual, they might easily crush you, but if you are a member of a cemaat, then they need to think twice about getting rid of you” (p. 135). Accordingly, the group strived for gathering individuals who comply with group norms without questioning. To Savas (2006), that was one of the most fundamental characteristics of cemaat members. Additionally, members needed to welcome the cemaat identity as their master identity which cuts across all other identities that members occupy (Bagasi, 2004).

This identity feature was classified as an expected political wing characteristic by Bagasi (2004) and Savas (2006), while Gungor (1997) believed that both wing members should have a
cemaat identity. Guzelsoy (1996) tended to differ from both parties, and believed that it was a military wing characteristic. Since no consensus was present among the leaders, TGNA’s Hizbullah report was consulted. It appeared that adherence to religious congregation was classified as a political wing activity. Therefore, this feature was treated as a political wing characteristic throughout this dissertation.

Along the lines of the views of group leaders mentioned above, one member in his statement asserted that:

Before joining the group, I was always getting angry with those people who oppressed our Islamic nation for decades. But having the feeling of being deprived of a collective action against them has always held me back (from rebelling against the government). But when my good friend [the name was removed by the typing officer] told me that they were getting together regularly to find ways to organize a group activity against them (the oppressors), I could not believe what I was hearing and told him right there that I wanted to be a part of it, and since I was a teacher at High School [the name of the school was removed by the typing officer] I also told him that I could find them more believers (new recruits).

The statement above confirms that one of the primary goals of political wing members was to support the group by recruiting new members. Additionally, one can also guess from his profession (high school teacher) that he had a college education and a steady income.

The literature suggested that the dynamics of cemaat would also help Hizbullah to impose the type of identity on individual members that the group wished to see (Bagasi, 2004 and Savas, 2006). However, since it was a religious group, the encouragements also had to have religious meanings and values. Hizbullah praised individual characteristics of being a God-fearing subject, altruism, acting in ways that please God (ihlas), as well as avoiding activities that would displease God and fellow Muslims (Bagasi, 2004 and Savas, 2006). In order to achieve cemaat identity, Hizbullah strived to have its members strongly believe that without the cemaat “no one individual could ever become a person that God loves unconditionally, and no one
individual could ever live according to the teachings of the Qur’an and Sunnah in full compliance” (Savas, 2006, p.31).

Another member confirmed the importance of the Islamic perspective in organizing a group (cemaat) that God favors, supports, and would declare victorious over enemies of Islam. He claimed that;

Many considerate individuals have already foreseen that the current political system in Turkey needed to be changed in favor of the long oppressed Muslims. However, they choose not to be a part of the process since they had not found a movement that was openly endorsed by God and by his shadows (proxies, he means Islamic scholars, because according to Islam, Islamic scholars are considered as God’s shadows in the world). I was once one of them, but not anymore. I strongly believe that no personal endeavor would succeed to achieve that holy goal (replacing the secular rule in Turkey). But the movement that will do it has to have God’s approval, and our cemaat (Hizbullah) is already blessed with that. And I also strongly believe that “God’s hand (help and favor) is always with Cemaat” (a general Islamic rule coming from the Qur’an) as one individual they might easily crush you like a bug, but when they (the secular Turkish Government) see thousands of believers in front of them, they know they have to think more than twice.

Hizbullah believed that no Islamic groups in Turkey truly represented the mentality and/or lifestyle of Muslims of Prophet Mohammed’s time when he was alive. Additionally, Hizbullah undertook this responsibility of setting examples for Kurdish and Turkish Muslims. As a matter of fact, all Islamic religious groups in Turkey did the same, but what made Hizbullah unique among them was its strong emphasis on physical resistance. Hizbullah imitated Prophet Mohammed’s fight against polytheism and his struggle to ease Muslim’s sufferings under their rule. In the early days of Islam, Prophet Muhammad’s primary fight had been against polytheist oppressors, and Hizbullah considered the Turkish Government and other enemies of God similar to the oppressors of the Prophet’s time, and of course, their group and other Kurds in Turkey became the companions of the Prophet (oppressed). To be able to develop just the type of
individual identity that could be used for the group’s survival, Hizbullah constantly recommended that their members read the materials related to those days.

Following this argument, one political wing member talked about the importance of congregation and his longing for a true cemaat in Turkey;

I used to read a lot about the life of Prophet Muhammad and his early companions. I always believed that there were many differences between us and them. To me, those differences could not easily be erased. Even if I still believe that the existence of Prophet Muhammad- peace be upon him- (a statement of respect has to follow when you mention any of the names of Prophets such as, Jesus, Moses, Muhammad, etc.) cannot be repeated. However, his ideals could anytime be resurrected by his true followers. And being able to do that requires a new cemaat, just like he had when he was honoring this world with his presence (he means that when he was alive). There are no doubts in my heart, not even a tiny bit, if God blesses Muslims in this country (Turkey) with that kind of cemaat, I do not see any reasons why we cannot replace the infidels (he means secular Turkish government and its officials) with real Muslims.

In sum, the overall examination of the statements suggested that political wing members tended to impose different meanings to cemaat. Mainstream Islam defines cemaat as a group of people who gather voluntarily to perform prayers or to carry out any other Islamic activities (Bilmen, 1949). However, political wing members of Hizbullah differed from this definition in two ways. First, they believed that, since it was the only just means to achieve Islamic goals, the decision to be a part or a supporter of Hizbullah should not be left to individual choices. Second, political wing members considered themselves as the architects of the new movement against infidels. Yet, they knew it was not their job to engage in armed resistance against the Turkish government and its agents. They accepted the fact that through the establishment of a cemaat identity, people will be easily persuaded to participate in this holy war. Therefore, as one political wing member stated in his report, “we (the political wing) establish and use cemaat to build an army of believers against the secular tyranny.”
Being Religiously Educated

This identity feature was classified as a political wing identity characteristic by all four authors. Hizbullah encourages some of its members to have degrees from colleges. The group also put a tremendous amount of importance on recruiting members among college students (Bagasi, 2004). To achieve that, the group assigns a separate representative or representatives in each university and even in different departments if the potential is promising (Teymur, 2007). The group rarely assigns these educated members in its armed wing. These members are mostly used for propaganda purposes and for recruiting other members (Guzelsoy, 1996). That does not necessarily mean that undereducated members were needed for the armed wing. On the contrary, the group wanted and required each member to read and discuss pre-selected reading materials (Bagasi, 2004).

A political wing member elaborated on that by saying:

Religion (refers to Islam) is and should be in every part of our lives. So if you are not religiously educated, how do we rely on you? T. C. (Republic of Turkey) is more interested in infidel graduates than Muslims. However, our cemaat (Hizbullah) will break this cycle and through educated cemaat members we will resurrect the youth that we long for.

Hizbullah required its followers to operate solely “to please God and try to carry out the will of God under any circumstances” (Gungor, 1997, p. 55). Since most people in Turkey regard Islam as a peaceful religion in which the armed struggle is limited to very specific circumstances (Teymur, 2007), the group considered this perception of constant peace as one of their major challenges. To that end, in their early years new members underwent a very harsh indoctrination period in which resocialization was carried out sometimes by harsh measures.

Supporting that argument, another political wing member stated that;
As the ones who has been assigned the job of spreading the word of Islam, we need to educate ourselves first (religiously), and after that pass on our knowledge to form an army of Muslims to change the landscape of Turkey in a way that would set examples for other Muslims in other countries. Those brothers will use our ways to topple the infidels that rule them for many years, just like we will do.

Hizbullah also believed that incentives other than pleasing God would not be a big encouragement for individuals to commit the types of acts that the group wanted (Savas, 2006). Because of that, they have chosen a divine being to please instead of pleasing leaders. This case was totally different from Marxist/Leninist groups, especially in the PKK. In line with this argument, one member draws our attention to the need for religiously educating members to be able to put them in places where they did not worship their leaders, but only God.

My dream and my task (in the political wing) coincide, many thanks to God. I am in a position where I preach only to worship God, and to obey his commands at all times. This way I also get the opportunity to preach against placing too much importance over individuals, even if it is their leaders.

In sum, political wing members were the ones who were in charge of educating members in a way that will encourage them to follow the organizations commands as Islam’s orders. To be able to do it, they were supposed to embrace the power of Islamic education as part of their personalities. However, the literature and the reports did not place any significant importance on religiously educated military wing members. That suggests that the organization is avoiding the expected side effect of education, which is questioning the activities of Hizbullah.

Patience

Bagasi (2004) asserted that “knowing the impossibility of correcting everything and changing Turkey overnight, Hizbullah called for patience” (p. 255) and asked their members to have patience toward the slow pace of time. According to Hizbullah, their struggle against the
enemies of God and Islam will last until injustice, oppression, and blasphemy disappear in Turkey and from the face of the earth.

Bagasi (2004), Gungor (1997) and Guzelsoy (1996) considered patience as an identity characteristic more compatible with political wing members. Savas (2006) disagreed with them and believed that patience was essential for both wings. Since three of the four authors expected patience more from the members of political wing, it was automatically listed accordingly.

In line with their argument, a political wing member stated that;

Our journey of bringing truth and peace (referring to Islam’s domination in every sphere of life) is far longer than you could ever imagine. Only God’s chosen people (Hizbullah) could demonstrate enough courage and patience to wait without expecting any rewards. And as a cemaat member (political wing of Hizbullah), I am so very thankful to God that he made me believe that patience is a highly valued virtue in his kingdom (means that patience is a valuable virtue according to God).

The types of activities that were expected from military wing members were generally attacks on other individuals, groups, or properties that did not require- or even forbid- patience. However, the outcomes of the activities of political wing members were considered more long term. Thus, planning, gradualism, and patience were counted among general identity characteristics of political wing members (Bagasi, 2004; Gungor, 1997; and Guzelsoy, 1996).

Consistent with this discussion, one political wing member claimed that;

We should not expect outcomes to our deeds in 5 years, 10 years, or even in 20 years. We are dealing with individuals here and seeing the collective results might take even one generation. So we need to be patient. God’s rewards are limitless for those who are patient.

In sum, patience emerged as a political wing identity characteristic in the related literature. The activities of political wing called for patience since the outcomes were not
expected in the short run. Therefore, members of this wing were encouraged to internalize patience and apply it to their activities.

**Dedication to a Muslim Brotherhood**

This identity feature was unanimously claimed as a political wing characteristic by all four authors. To Gungor (1997), “seeing other Muslims as comrades”, and “not having animosities against them” were major features of Hizbullah identity (p. 169). However, in some cases, the group also demonstrated significant deviations from that rule. Hizbullah members have been accused and proven guilty of killing, torturing, and/or threatening many fellow Muslims just for demonstrating opposing, or even not supporting views about their methods. Killing of many Menzilciler members, torturing and killing İzzettin Yıldırım, the President of Zehra Education and Culture Foundation, and Hizbullah’s attitude towards another Islamic group leader Fethullah Gülen (Bagasi, 2004) could also be good examples to those deviations. But still, political wing members were supposed to have a certain amount of faith towards other Muslims as comrades.

One political member claimed that their activities were just the initiation attempts of a collective cooperation among all Muslims simply by saying;

Even in the first day or when [the name was removed by the typing police officer] introduced me to [the name of the leader was removed by the police], I knew these kinds of activities (military wing activities) had a limit, and will set the stage for political activities which will encourage and pave the way for cooperation among Muslims.

Another political wing member had the same viewpoint, but with slightly different desired outcome;

As the ones who are in charge of religious and political activities of the cemaat, we are fully aware of the dire need to have alliances with other active Muslim brothers. But we also need to know that we need to be very cautious about whom to turn to when we need
strong and faithful hands. Today, as our martyred guide (Hüseyin Velioğlu, killed by Turkish Police during an operation in 2000) claimed there are very few Muslim groups that we could fully trust.

In sum, political wing members, as encouraged by all four authors, tended to believe in the power of having active Muslim alliances (Bagasi, 2004; Gungor, 1997; Guzelsoy, 1996; and Savas, 2006). However, some of the members placed reserves on whom to trust, citing some major figures within the organization such as the former military wing leader Hüseyin Velioğlu and added that they needed to exert extra caution not to trust betrayers such as the Menzilciler members (rival Muslim group).

Being Politically Active

Also, Hizbullah perceived politics as the ultimate tool that would bring down the secular political environment, and replace it with an Islamic rule in Turkey. However, considering the activities of both wings, military wing members were solely responsible for conducting illegal and mostly violent activities, whereas it is the political wing that were responsible for conducting legal and political activities.

This characteristic was listed as a purely political wing feature by Gungor (1997) and Savas (2006). However, Bagasi (2004) and Guzelsoy (1996) opposed this notion and claimed that both wings needed to hold this feature as part of their personalities. However, TGNA’s report tended to tie political activities more with the activities of political wing. Therefore, it was listed as political wing characteristic.

Following this logic, a political wing member stated that;

Even our brothers who physically engage in the holy jihad against infidel governments of T.C. (referring to military wing members fighting against Turkey) believed that there would be a stop to their activities. With their physical prayers (meaning physical
activities of jihad), God will create an environment where politics will be changed in a way that conforms to Islam’s bright light (Islamic Sharia) and afterwards those brothers would not feel the need to sacrifice themselves and others.

As mentioned several times in this research, the group acknowledged the ultimate solution to the problems of Kurdish Muslims and all Muslims only through politics. Therefore, the group wished its members to develop role identities that were politically active and well represented in local politics (Gungor, 1997). Politics would “help members get legally organized against the Turkish government” (Savas, 2006, p. 68). Also, Gungor (1997) believed that being active would enhance members’ empathy levels with the feelings and sufferings of oppressed Kurdish Muslims. This way, as he claimed, convincing members to protect fellow Muslims by any “Islamic” means available becomes an easy task (Gungor, 1997).

In accordance with this argument, a political wing member claimed that;

In order to be fully successful and embraced by the public, we need to make the public feel that we are always ready to help them in a manner that they would never be treated by T.C. (Republic of Turkey). We and our Muslim brothers and sisters have already said enough is enough to this secular government, that’s why we need to be actively engaged in politics even if it is just the position of a village chief (a minor position elected as leaders of villages) we should run for it. I strongly believe that even occupying a position is a service to God since by occupying it, you do not leave it in the hands of a secular people.

From the statements above, political wing members tended to embrace politics and believe that the ultimate goal of the military wing was to prepare an environment where Hizbullah starts acting legally. In other words, on average, political wing members did have awareness that military wing activities were just temporary activities merely paving the way for political movements where Hizbullah would not feel a need to arm itself again.
Summary

This chapter examined the leadership’s expected role identity features from political wing members. The existing literature about Hizbullah and available member reports were highly used. The next chapter focuses on the verification of the findings of Chapters 4 and 5 using quantitative analysis techniques.
CHAPTER VI
QUANTITATIVE ANALYSES
Introduction

This chapter represents the results of the quantitative analyses. The first part provides descriptive information about the sample used in this dissertation. In the second part, cross-tabulation analyses demonstrate the effects of related independent variables on wing assignment (the dependent variable). The third part examines the results of logistic regression analyses of the factors (expected role identity characteristics) that affect wing assignments in Hizbullah.

Description of Sample

The descriptive analysis of members of Hizbullah in the dataset is presented in the table below. A little over 60 percent of the sample is military wing members ($n=90$), and the remainder 39.2 % is of political wing members ($n=54$). However, one should keep in mind that those personal characteristics reflect members’ conditions at the time they wrote those reports. Therefore, they may not represent their current status. For instance the age variable only identifies members’ age at the time of the report. This goes for all of the variables in the data set. One should also note that the descriptive information below is derived from a limited number of actual Hizbullah members ($N=144$).
Table 7

The Major Characteristics of Hizbullah Members in the Sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Sample (N= 144)</th>
<th>Military wing (N= 90)</th>
<th>Political wing (N= 54)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education level</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College graduates</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduates</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>52.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than high school</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 years and younger</td>
<td>89.9</td>
<td>89.9</td>
<td>89.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 years and older</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried or divorced</td>
<td>71.6</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>77.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of children</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No children</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5 children</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 or more</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>98.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place of birth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large cities</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small towns</td>
<td>77.1</td>
<td>74.4</td>
<td>79.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of brothers and sisters</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 9</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>46.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 10</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>60.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, 4.7 % of the sample were college graduates, while 43.2 % were high school graduates, and 52.1 % had less than a high school education. The percentage of members with high school and college degrees of the political wing was noticeably higher than military wing (23 percent difference). This was also supported by the literature.
The age of the members in the sample varied dramatically. The youngest was 15 years old, while the oldest was 47 years of age. Almost 90% of the members were 30 or younger. The age distributions of both wings were identical. As to the marital status of members, the general composition of Hizbullah revealed that only 28.4% of the members in the sample were married. However, the data suggested that the percentage of married military wing members was higher than political wing members by a difference of 23.3 percent. This contradicts Teymur’s (2007) assumption of less marriage in military wing due to the nature of their activities. Wing members from both groups who were married did not differ from each other significantly in terms of the number of children. However, military wing members tended to have slightly more children than political wing members. And the only female member was in political wing.

Overall, some 22% reported a large city as their birth place, and the remaining 77.1% reported a village or a small town as their birthplace. Both military and political wing members tended to demonstrate similar characteristics about places of birth. A remarkable majority of both group members were born in closely knit, small, and poor neighborhoods with limited opportunities to offer.

The numbers of brothers and sisters were well above Turkey’s fertility average of 1.8 (CIA World Fact Book, 2007). The number varies between 1 and 15, with a mean of 6.43. The two wings demonstrated a noteworthy difference only on the percentages of members with 1 to 5 siblings. Nevertheless, the table showed that 69.8% of military wing members and 56.2% of political wing members had more than 6 brothers and sisters. These numbers might also provide ideas about the level of parental supervision during childhood and early adolescence years. Less parental control during the ages where personality has been shaped might also be associated with early membership in terrorist organizations.
With respect to occupational status, 51.6% of members reported that they had a job either part time or fulltime, while 48.4% stated that they were unemployed. Complying with Bagasi (2004), Savas (2006), Teymur (2007), and Cakir (2001), since they needed to be settled, known, and accepted in order to operate effectively, political wing members tended to have a steady job more than military wing members. The percentage difference between the groups is eighteen. However, forty percent of political wing members still reported that they were unemployed.

Cross-Tabulations

Cross-tabulations were conducted for two basic reasons. First and foremost, it was used to perform a preliminary examination of the hypotheses that are to be tested. Put differently, cross-tabulation was conducted to investigate the real impact of Hizbullah’s expected role identity characteristics on actual members’ identities. Second, it was used to set up a base for the study through the investigation of the preliminary effects of the independent variables on wing assignment (the dependent variable). Only the related expected role identity features were included. A complete list of expected identity characteristics of Hizbullah leadership from each of the wing members is demonstrated in Table 4 in Chapter 3. The following section deals with those characteristics starting with military wing.

The following table demonstrates the results of cross-tabulation analysis. In this analysis, the effects of Hizbullah leadership’s role identity expectations from each wing members were compared to the actual identities of members. The Chi square test was used to measure the statistical significance of the effects in all cross-tabulation analyses in this dissertation. The following table demonstrates the results for each wing.
Table 8

*Findings of Cross-Tabulation of Related Independent Variables on Wing Membership (N = 144)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expected identity characteristics</th>
<th>Military wing (n=94)</th>
<th>Political wing (n=50)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belief in jihad and armed resistance</td>
<td>60*</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire for martyrdom</td>
<td>64.4*</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embracing the hierarchical structure</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>66.7**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depersonalization</td>
<td>61.1*</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatred against hizbul-Şeytan (party of Satan)</td>
<td>58.9*</td>
<td>35.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aloneness</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cemaat (religious congregation)</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being religiously educated</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>64.8*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience (gradualism)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>61.1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication to a Muslim brotherhood</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being politically active</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>61.1*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *p ≤ .05. **p ≤ .01

**Military wing identity.**

Five variables significantly affected the wing assignment of members. A belief in jihad and armed resistance were very influential in military wing members’ role identities (p≤ .05). The data suggested that sixty percent of the military wing members included statements that revealed their commitment to jihad, and statements embracing it as an identity feature. Another statistically significant predictor was the desire for martyrdom (p≤ .05). Over sixty percent of the military wing members mentioned the importance of martyrdom as a symbol of their personalities. Some of them even stated their willingness to consider martyrdom as the ultimate goal.
The next predictor demonstrated a somewhat unpredicted influence. Cross-tabulations showed a significant relationship between the belief in the importance of embracing the hierarchical structure on military wing members’ identities ($p \leq .001$). Although the leadership considered the belief in embracing hierarchical structure as a military wing identity feature, the data actually suggested the total opposite. Only 32.2% of military wing members suggested that they believed embracing hierarchical structure was an essential aspect of their identities, while a majority (67.8%) failed to mention that. In other words, the data reflected the belief in embracing the existing hierarchical structure as a political wing characteristic, not a military wing one.

There might be several technical and social reasons for this unexpected finding. First, even if another coder was used to test the consistency in the coding practice of the researcher, this might still be the result of misinterpretation of concepts during content analysis. Second, this unforeseen finding might come also from a misconception during the quantification process employed on reports of actual members. Nonetheless, contrary to the leadership’s expectations, the structure of Hizbullah maintains a hierarchical political wing. Due to their activities, those members feel the need to exchange ideas with each other more frequently than military wing members. As stated earlier, even in small units consisting of two members, the group requires one of them to be the leader. Therefore, frequent interactions among political wing members automatically assign one party as the leader of the interaction process. This learned process helped create a hierarchical structure in political wing. Since the frequency of interactions with other in-group members are limited in military wing activities, the members do not feel the same need to reflect on statuses during the interactions. This is believed to have created a less hierarchical structure in military wing.
The next significant predictor on military wing role identity was *depersonalization* (*p* ≤ .05). Almost sixty percent of military wing members stated that they believed depersonalization was influential on their personalities as military wing members. Stated differently, they believed claiming worldly rewards for what they have done to fulfill their roles was wrong. And the last independent variable with significant relationship to the identities of military wing members was the *hatred against hizbul-Seytan* (the party of Satan) (*p* ≤ .05). Cross-tabulation analysis suggested that a little less than sixty percent of the military wing members stated one or more opinions against the enemies of God suggesting that they had used them in the development of their counter identities. The predictor of embracing *aloneness* as an identity feature for military wing members did not show a significant influence on members. That means military wing members did not significantly embrace aloneness as part of their personalities.

*Political wing identity.*

Table 8 summarizes the results related to political wing membership. Three of the five independent variables showed a statistically significant influence on members of the political wing.

The table reveals that the idea of *being religiously educated* significantly affects the identities of political wing members (*p* ≤ .05). The cross-tabulation revealed that almost sixty-five percent of political wing members mentioned the importance of religious education in their line of work at least one time in their reports. The next statistically significant predictor was *patience* (*p* ≤ .05). A little over 60% of political wing members suggested that they considered having patience as an important aspect of their wing identities. The last significant independent variable on political wing members’ identities was *being politically active* (*p* ≤ .05). The table
demonstrates that more than sixty percent of political wing members (61.1%) believed that being politically active and participating in local and national politics were an essential part of their political wing identities.

However, contradicting with leadership’s expectations, being a member of *cemaat* (religious congregation) and *dedication to a Muslim brotherhood* did not show statistically significant relationships with wing membership.

In sum, according to Table 8, the highest support from political wing members was for *embracing the hierarchical structure* (66.7%). And the lowest support was given to the same identity feature by military wing members (32.2%). The table revealed that both political and military wing members valued similar features, and embraced them as parts of their personalities to varying degrees. As a result, even the ones that were listed and verified as a certain wing role identity features were found to be valued among the other wing members as well.

**Logistic Regression Analysis**

The effects of each independent variable on the role identities of both wing members were further examined using logistic regression analysis. This technique estimates one independent variable’s impact on the dependent variable, while controlling for the effects of the other independent variables.

An analysis was conducted to predict the wing assignments of military wing members and political wing members. The two categories for each independent variable were “present”, coded as 1, and “absent” coded as 0. As for the dependent variable, a dummy variable was created. For the logistic regression analysis, “1” was assigned for the members of military wing
members, and “0” was given for political wing members. Following table demonstrates the results of this analysis.

Table 9

Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Wing Assignments in Hizbullah (N= 144)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Wing assignment N= 144</th>
<th>Odds Ratio (Stnd Err)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jihad and resistance</td>
<td>2.11* (.441)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire for martyrdom</td>
<td>1.74* (.445)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embracing the hierarchical structure</td>
<td>.189** (.463)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depersonalization</td>
<td>2.36* (.446)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatred against hizbul-Seytan (party of Satan)</td>
<td>3.571* (.452)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aloneness</td>
<td>.982 (.446)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cemaat (religious congregation) identity</td>
<td>.497 (.460)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being religiously educated</td>
<td>.424* (.446)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience (gradualism)</td>
<td>.375* (.451)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being politically active</td>
<td>.266* (.463)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication to a Muslim brotherhood</td>
<td>.550 (.464)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees of freedom</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: All predictor variables are coded as “1” referring to the presence of a related statement, and as “0” referring to the absence of it. The wing assignment variable (dependent variable) is transformed into a dummy variable. “1” was assigned for military wing members, and “0” was assigned for political wing members.

*p ≤ .05. **p ≤ .01

Estimates presented in the table are odds ratios. According to Agresti and Finlay (1997), the “interpretation of the logistic regression coefficient $\beta$ is as an effect on the odds” (p. 580).
Therefore, for example, a logistic regression coefficient estimate of a military wing member for a given independent variable (predictor) was interpreted as the change expected in the odds of being a member of military wing member, while holding all other independent variables constant. However, the interpretation of an odds-ratio coefficient differs according to the measurement of the predictor variable. All of the predictors used in this study were dichotomous and nominal variables. None of them were continuous. Thus, these similarities called for interpretations of similar nature.

**Military wing membership.**

The effect of each identity expectation of Hizbullah’s leadership from military wing members was demonstrated in the table above. Six independent variables are used as follows: A belief in jihad and armed resistance, a desire for martyrdom, embracing the hierarchical structure, depersonalization, hatred against hizbul-Seytan (party of Satan), and lastly, aloneness.

According to the Table 9, a belief in *jihad and armed resistance* as part of military wing identity had a statistically significant effect on the likelihood of that member’s being a military wing member. Accordingly, the odds of a Hizbullah member’s considering jihad and resistance as an important feature in military wing identity was 2.1 times as high as the odds of those members’ not considering jihad and resistance as an important factor of military wing identity, after accounting for the other independent variables. Bagasi (2004) and Gungor (1997) stated several times that due to the nature of their activities, military wing members were supposed to engage in jihad more often. Therefore, it was imperative for them to embrace and internalize jihad as an indispensable part of their personalities as military wing members.
Another statistically significant predictor of military wing assignment was a desire for martyrdom. The coefficient suggested that the odds of the members considering the desire for martyrdom as an important feature in military wing identity was 1.74 times as high as the odds those members’ not considering jihad and resistance as an important factor on military wing identity, while holding other independent variables constant. This finding was also compatible with related literature. All four authors were in agreement of seeing this as a military wing characteristic.

The next independent variable that had statistically significant effects on the likelihood of being a military wing member was depersonalization. According to the table, expected $\beta$ for that predictor is 2.36. This means the odds of Hizbullah members considering depersonalization as an important feature in military wing identity was almost two times as high as the odds those members’ not considering depersonalization as an important factor on their already established military wing identity, after accounting for the other independent variables.

Interestingly, embracing the existing hierarchical structure also presented a statistically significant effect on the prediction of wing assignment ($p \leq .01$). However, $b$ value’s direction ( -1.666) demonstrated an inverse relationship. In other words, a considerable number of Hizbullah members did not see embracing hierarchical structure as a military wing characteristic. As a matter of fact, since it had a statistically significant relationship on wing assignment, it is fair to claim that this feature was seen as a political wing identity characteristic by a majority of actual members.

The last statistically significant predictor of the likelihood of military wing membership was hatred against hizbul-Seytan (party of Satan). According to the table, the expected $\beta$ for that predictor was 3.57. This means the odds of Hizbullah members considering hatred against
hizbul-Seytan as an important feature in their already established military wing identity was 3.57 times as high as the odds those members’ not considering hatred as an important factor in military wing identity, while holding all other variables constant. Just like the desire for martyrdom, all four authors demonstrated a consensus over considering hatred as a desired identity expectation from military wing members. Since it did not demonstrate a significant relationship with military wing identity, aloneness was not included in the interpretations.

**Political wing membership.**

According to the Table 9, the predictor being religiously educated had a statistically significant effect on the likelihood of that member’s being a political wing member \( (p \leq .05) \). The expected \( \beta \) for that predictor was .424. All else being equal, the odds that Hizbullah members was 58 % lower \([(1-0.42) \times 100] \) for considering being religiously educated as an essential part of military wing member identity than for considering being religiously educated insignificant. In other words, the chances of a political wing member to identify himself with being religiously educated were higher than his refusal of this as a political wing member’s identity feature. As a matter of fact, all four authors demonstrated similar views about that predictor.

Another statistically significant predictor of political wing assignment was patience. The coefficient number for that predictor was .375. Holding all other variables as constant, the odds that Hizbullah members considered patience as an important part of military wing identity was 62 % lower \([(1-0.38) \times 100] \) than considering patience as not important in military wing identity. Put differently, the odds that political wing members consider patience as an indicator of political wing membership was higher than the opposite. Bagasi (2004), Gungor (1997), and Guzelsoy (1996) demonstrated supporting views.
Additionally, being politically active had a statistically significant effect on the likelihood of being a member of political wing. All else being equal, the odds that group members consider being politically active essential in military wing member identity was 73% lower \([(1-0.27) \times 100]\) than for considering being politically active as not essential. Gungor (1997) and Guzelsoy (1996) brought our attention to the importance of politics many times and especially, to its importance for political wing members. The remaining two variables did not present statistically significant relationship with the dependent variable. Therefore, cemaat (congregation) identity and dedication to a Muslim brotherhood were not interpreted.

Summary

This chapter demonstrated and interpreted the results of quantitative analyses performed on the data. Descriptive statistics, cross-tabulation analysis, and logistic regression analysis were used to analyze the effects of leadership’s role identity expectations on the actual members’ existing personalities. The next and final chapter reviews the findings, states several suggestions for future research, and make some recommendations to improve the study.
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

This chapter presents the discussion, summary, and conclusions generated from this dissertation. The first part of this chapter demonstrates the overall review of the dissertation. The following part briefly discusses the findings as they relate to the hypotheses. The next part of the chapter mentions some of the main limitations, and proposes several future research implications. The last part of the chapter presents the closing remarks.

Review of the Study

To reveal the role identity expectations of the leadership from members, to categorize them according to the wing assignments of members, and to validate the accuracy of the findings, content, qualitative, and quantitative analyses were conducted. Content analyses were performed over four books that were suggested by Teymur (2007), Uslu (2007), and Aydintasbas (2000) as demonstrating the leadership’s identity expectations from members. Content analyses were conducted using a survey instrument to reveal role identity expectations of Hizbullah from its followers. This instrument was designed according to Identity Theory’s major assumptions as explained by Arena and Arrigo (2006) (Symbols, definition of the situation, roles, socialization and role taking, and lastly the self). Another researcher was assigned a random book to assess inter-rater reliability using the same survey instrument. At the end of the content analyses, the expected role identity features of the leadership were listed separately for the members of the military wing and political wing. Qualitative analyses of each identity expectation were presented afterwards. The dataset was used to verify the findings of qualitative analyses.
Descriptive statistics, cross-tabulations, and logistic regressions were employed first to assess the influence of leadership’s role identity expectations on actual member’s personalities, and then to address eleven hypotheses.

Assessment of the Findings

Identity theory (Stryker, 1980; Stryker and Serpe, 1982 and 1994; Stryker and Burke, 2000; Burke, 1980, 1997, and 2001; Burke and Cast, 1997; Serpe and Stryker, 1987; and Burke and Reitzes, 1991) considers individual behaviors as reciprocal relationships between individual roles (identities) and the society. This theory follows the symbolic interactionist paradigm which claims that society affects individual behaviors through its control over the self (Mead, 1934). Identity theory successfully links individual actors with the social structure in which he or she is living. Arena and Arrigo (2006) applied identity theory to terrorist identity. This dissertation, although not the identical replication of their method, partially used their methodology.

An analysis of the related literature revealed that the Turkish Hizbullah was a role-based organization (Teymur, 2007; Uslu, 2007; and Aydintasbas, 2000). Roles were distributed by the leadership through careful evaluations of members’ personalities, along with their capabilities and previous achievements. Members’ commitments to the assigned roles were carefully measured to determine future role assignments within the ranks of Hizbullah. Put differently, individual characteristics of members became essential determinants of group’s discretion on in-group role distribution. As noted in Chapter 2, identity theory assumes that assigned roles are the most important features of a formed identity (Stryker and Burke, 2000). In other words, an identity of a Hizbullah member was being shaped by his or her in-group role or roles that were already created by the leadership. Some of those roles were used to create and maintain a body of
members with identity features that are supportive of Hizbullah under any circumstances. Therefore, the leadership’s role identity expectations from members became a major force that shape members’ personalities.

Complementing the previous argument, this study revealed that a terrorist identity is not completed only with the activation of the membership. As a matter of fact, it became relatively clear that formation of a complete terrorist identity takes years even after one becomes a member. Consequently, years spent in the group, and the levels of role achievements become pivotal in establishing a terrorist identity. Any social intervention in the process, even after the membership is achieved, would yield positive results if they take this fact into account.

However, the literature also suggested that there were two groups in Hizbullah performing different tasks (the political and military wing) (Cakir, 2001; TGNA, 2000; and Teymur, 2007). The leadership’s expectations from the members of these groups demonstrated significant differences. Following the logic above, if the roles that were designated and made available were different from each other, then, according to identity theory, the identity characteristics should also illustrate differences. Stets and Burke (2000 and 2003) supported that argument. Hypotheses were designed accordingly and the results of their testing were explained below.

Hypotheses

Hypotheses were categorized in two groups. The first group included the ones that were related to military wing members, and the second group was constituted of the ones that concerned political wing members.
Military wing.

H₁: Military wing members tend to hold the belief in jihad and armed residence as part of their identities more than political wing members.

The first hypothesis that was tested predicted the belief in jihad and armed resistance as an identity characteristic of military wing members. The analyses lent support to that hypothesis. Bagasi (2004) and Gungor (1997) believed that military wing members were operating as the arms of Hizbullah, and they should not get tired of fighting for the rights of oppressed Muslims. However, on the other hand, Bagasi (2004) claimed that political wing members should act like “known agents of the cemaat (congregation)” (p. 24), which gives them a certain amount of acceptability. To him, the major goal of political wing members was to use this to recruit more mujaheds (warriors of the holy Islamic cause, also warriors in jihad). This suggested that he did not consider the belief in jihad and active participation in armed struggle as part of the identity features of political wing. Cross-tabulations demonstrated that a majority of military wing members presented statements suggesting the importance of this identity feature (60 %), while only a little over one-third of political wing members included such statements (38.9 percent).

H₂: Military wing members tend to hold a desire for martyrdom as part of their identities more than political wing members.

The test results of this hypothesis also revealed the existence of support. Martyrdom as a concept, a goal, and as a powerful symbol played very crucial roles in a military wing member’s life. It has been presented as the ultimate source for happiness for the self and a great pride for the family (Guzelsoy, 1996). The justifications for it were already prepared even long before the activation of the membership. Therefore, new members find themselves in an environment where the rules, norms, and values were clearly visible with regard to martyrdom. Put differently, new
members were not exposed to controversial sides of martyrdom. To Savas (2006), military wing members accept martyrdom with great pride whenever they have the chance to martyr themselves. On the other hand, the activities of the political wing required more peaceful ways, as was mentioned in Chapters 2 and 5. Quantitative analyses supported that. According to cross-tabulations, a majority of military wing members acknowledged the importance of martyrdom in their personalities (64.4 %), whereas a little more than half of the political wing members failed to present statements viewing martyrdom as part of theirs.

H₃: Military wing members tend to embrace the hierarchical structure as part of their identities more than political wing members.

The third hypothesis predicting the belief and adherence to the hierarchical structure as part of military wing identity lacked the support and was rejected. However, Bagasi (2004) referred to the significance of the functions of embracing the hierarchical structure in military wing accomplishments. Savas (2006) agreed with Bagasi in his claim where he openly stated that military wing members should function in a very structured and hierarchical environment, where decision making bodies were visible to members. On the other hand, cross-tabulation and logistic regression analyses proved the exact opposite. Actual members disagreed with them, and affirmed the belief in the hierarchical structure as a political wing characteristic (67 % of political wing members as opposed to 32 % military wing members).

H₄: Military wing members tend to hold depersonalization as part of their identities more than political wing members.

This hypothesis was supported by the analyses. Depersonalization calls for anonymity. However, related literature suggested a very different meaning of anonymity in Hizbullah.
Members were encouraged not to claim their acts not primarily because they wanted to prevent police intrusion, but because they deemed that claiming, or even the mere recognition of them, was a major sin. Hizbullah regarded their activities as prayers to God. Therefore, activities and especially the accomplishments needed to stay between only them and God. Bagasi (2004) believed that this perception of depersonalization needed to be a dominant indicator of the military wing. The results of cross-tabulations and other analyses supported this. More than 60 percent of military wing members sustained the leadership by including statements suggesting depersonalization as part of their personalities. On the other hand, only forty-one percent of political wing members reported similar accounts.

H5: Military wing members tend to hold hatred against hizbul-Şeytan as part of their identities more than political wing members.

The fifth hypothesis predicting the hatred against enemies of God as a role identity feature for military wing members was supported by the analyses. Hatred was seen as a constructive source for the identities of members. Members, using the power of hatred, form their counter identities that allowed them to work against the established system, and to the benefit of Hizbullah. All four of the authors suggested that hatred needed to be used more by military wing members, since their activities had the potential to physically harm people. Putting a distance between targeted individuals and Hizbullah members using hatred would prevent the feelings like remorse, pain, and sorrow for inflicting pain on others. Analyses also supported this argument. A majority of military wing members claimed that they embraced hatred and distinguished its positive sides. However, due to the very nature of their activities, political wing members were less supportive of and/or less concerned with hatred against their enemies. Only
thirty-five percent of political wing members suggested views supporting hatred towards enemies as an influential element on their personalities.

H6: Military wing members tend to hold aloneness as part of their identities more than political wing members.

The sixth hypothesis predicted the significance of *aloneness* to military wing members’ personalities. Analyses proved the opposite and consequently, this hypothesis was rejected. All four of the authors mentioned several times the importance of the feeling of aloneness as an influential factor in the personalities of military wing members. Savas (2006) believed that “to minimize the risks of being identified by the police, military wing members not only should act discreetly and trust no one, but also embrace the feeling of aloneness by internalizing it, and making it a distinct part of their characters” (p. 47). However, the leadership’s perception of aloneness was not supported by the analyses. In other words, actual members contradicted with leadership on the importance of aloneness as a role identity feature for military wing.

*Political wing.*

H7: Political wing members tend to hold a cemaat (religious congregation) identity as part of their identities more than military wing members.

The feeling of being part of a religious congregation as was predicted by this hypothesis, showed no significant influence on the identities of political wing members. Therefore, this hypothesis was rejected. Bagasi (2004) and Savas (2006) stated in their books about how they envisioned a political wing member. In their depictions, they affirmed the importance of the feeling of belonging to a religious congregation. This, to them, gave members a justifying feeling that no matter what types of activities they carry out, in the end, God’s hand was on theirs. The leadership of Hizbullah believed that this feeling should be dominant to political wing more than
military wing. Because, as members not engaging in physical assaults, they were the ones who should not be alienated. Having the feeling of being a member of a religious congregation would help prevent alienation. However, the analyses did not support this argument. Members of each wing did not differ from each other significantly on the importance of membership to a congregation as an identity feature.

H₈: Political wing members tend to hold being religiously educated as part of their identities more than military wing members.

This hypothesis predicted the influence of being religiously educated on the identities of political wing members. The analyses supported and validated this hypothesis. The leadership unanimously categorized the importance of religious education for the members of political wing. One of the major justifying reasons for that was presented by Guzelsoy (1996). To him, religious conservatism has always been held dearly in the region where Hizbullah was founded. Therefore, at the risk of being too pragmatic, he claimed that putting individuals with more religious education in charge of public relations made the organization known and accepted fairly quickly. Second, people in the political wing were usually seen as the windows and doors of Hizbullah to the society. Thus, the first ones who would greet newcomers should be compatible with the initial needs and expectations of these new recruits. The results of cross-tabulation and other quantitative analyses supported this argument. Findings suggested the existence of a statistically significant relationship between being religiously educated and political wing membership. Sixty-four percent of political wing members stated arguments at least one time suggesting the importance of religious education in their personalities.
H₅: Political wing members tend to hold patience (belief in gradualism) as part of their identities more than military wing members.

This hypothesis predicted that the belief in patience and gradualism were embedded in the identities of political wing members to a greater extent than those in military wing of Hizbullah. Analyses supported this hypothesis. Gungor (1997) sustained this by claiming that patience was a virtue in the hands of political wing members, and “a piece of can¹² in the hands of mujahedeen” (military wing members) (p. 113). The major reason actually came from the time that was needed to pass to be able to see the outcomes of actions. Military wing activities called for less time to observe the results. For example, killing individuals and bombing places were types of incidents that manifest their outcomes almost immediately. Therefore, they did not require much time and patience. However, the activities of the political wing differes dramatically. Educating members or gaining the trust of his or her neighborhood requires longer periods of time. In other words, the nature of activities called for patience for political wing members more than their military wing counterparts. The results of cross-tabulations supported this hypothesis. More than sixty percent of political wing members addressed patience as part of their identities.

H₁₀: Political wing members tend to hold a dedication to Muslim brotherhood as part of their identities more than military wing members.

This hypothesis predicts a significant relationship between the identities of political wing members and a belief in other Muslims as compatriots. However, the results of analyses did not support this, and consequently, this hypothesis was rejected. All four authors had the consensus of considering the dedication to other Muslims as an identity feature of political wing. Savas (2006) and Bagasi (2004) even claimed that without this dedication, political wing members

¹² A Turkish expression that is mostly used to refer worthless things.
could not operate effectively. To them, these members should feel compassion to help others to better serve the expansion purposes. Savas and Bagasi presented opposing views for military wing members. To them, the major source of inspiration for military wing members was not the compassion, but the hatred. The cross-tabulation analysis of the members did not demonstrate a significant difference in the attitudes of either wing members towards the dedication to Muslim brotherhood (almost fifty percent each).

\[ H_{11}: \text{Political wing members tend to hold political activism as part of their identities more than military wing members.} \]

This hypothesis predicted that political activism was more prevalent in the identities of political wing members. The results of the analysis supported this hypothesis and it was accepted. Hizbullah left politics to the members of political wing. The engagement of military wing members in politics was minimal at best. Gungor (1997) believed that the ultimate goal of Hizbullah was to bring a political environment in which Islamic values were dominant. Bagasi (2004) joins him ratifying the outcome, but he and Gungor had a different outlook on the means to achieve that (to Bagasi military actions are more important). However, the leadership claimed that being politically involved, running for local and if possible national positions, and becoming influential on the decisions of politicians were indispensable features of political wing roles. The results of quantitative analyses supported this claim. More than sixty percent of political wing members used at least one statement suggesting the importance of politics in their reports.

Limitations

The first limitation emerged during the accession attempts of the books selected for content analyses (Bagasi, 2004; Savas, 2006; Gungor, 1997; and Guzelsoy, 1996). Most material
that Turkish Hizbullah offered was already classified as illegal in Turkey, and several court orders prohibiting the publication of a majority of them were still in effect. Therefore, the researcher had to search the group’s affiliated webpages and download these books. Since obtaining hardcopies of the books was almost impossible, the researcher had no way to validate the authenticity of them. However, the researcher downloaded at least two copies of each book from two or more different webpages in order to see whether these sites offered same versions of these books. In the end of this process, the researcher realized that each of these different webpages offer the same versions of the books.

The second limitation was about the validity of members’ reports. There was no scientific way to measure the honesty levels in each statement. However, some of the member’s direct criticisms about other members or even their leaders reduced these concerns. Interestingly, seeing several members’ open criticisms regarding some of the policies of Hizbullah not only came as a shock, but also increased the trust in the levels of honesty in their responses. Also, given to the very nature of their version of Islam, “lying to fellow brothers is [considered as] one of the major sins” (Bagasi, 2004, p. 143). Therefore, they had the religious obligation of telling the truth.

The third limitation of this study was its primary focus on only books and member reports. This research followed the recommendations of the existing literature for uncovering identity expectations of Hizbullah leadership. However, group’s pamphlets, and video and voice recordings of leaders could also be used for this purpose. But, the dissemination of most of the videos and some of voice recordings captured are prohibited by the TNGA. For that reason, they could not be included.
Another concern rose from the data’s ability as validating instrument for the leadership’s expectations. However, when compared with the group’s predicted demographics as stated in Teymur (2007), other than the gender variable, the dataset was relatively similar to the population. Consequently, it was considered as representative of it.

Recommendations

The literature about terrorist identity presented the existence of three major theoretical ways to approach identity and identity development: Social identity theory, (role) identity theory, and lastly personal identity theory (Arena and Arrigo, 2006). They all follow the symbolic interactionist paradigm. There are as many similarities between them as there are differences. Social identity theory and identity theory seem to be more alike. Many concerned scholars like Stets, Burke, and Hitlin believe that these two theories needed to merge together to better provide a broader scope and outlook on identity. However, the third theory (personal identity theory) is also pivotal since it dwells on the individual, and brings our attention to the importance of personal traits. Actually, that could be a productive challenge for scholars to merge not only the first two theories (social identity and [role] identity theory), but all three of them (including the personal identity theory).

Also, in this dissertation only identity theory was employed. However, the application of the other two theories separately would explore more societal and personal factors on Hizbullah identity. Additionally, by doing that, the ways in which the identities were imposed and sustained would be examined from a more structuralist and/or individualistic perspective.
Future Research

Further research is needed to explore Hizbullah’s similar role identity expectations from both group members. This study mainly focused on separate and different role identity expectations of Hizbullah from the members of each wing. However, the literature also suggested several identity features that were expected from members regardless of their wing assignments. Since it was not among the major purposes of this study, this topic was left for future studies.

In-group roles are also important within Hizbullah identity. The focus of this study has only been the wing assignment. Therefore, in-group roles within wings were not studied extensively. The influence of existing personal identity features on the role assignments within wings constitutes an interesting topic for future studies. This study, might also help concerned people better understand the dynamics of role distribution and the criteria employed. Another contribution of this proposed study would be uncovering the identity characteristics of the members who hold leadership positions in Hizbullah.

This study did not choose to focus on the recruitment and profiling of members, and focused on Hizbullah identity and explaining the significant factors in its development. A follow up study might include demographic characteristics and enrich the arguments presented in this dissertation. Lastly, the application of identity theory on terrorist identity is new. For that reason, the methods applied in this dissertation also provide a baseline for the future research on other terrorist organizations, especially the religiously motivated ones such as Al Qaeda.

Summary

The findings of this dissertation indicated that Hizbullah is a role based terrorist organization. The substantive information in the literature supported that the wing assignment,
and possibly the movement among the ranks were dependent on the careful examination of the leadership. Wing assignments of new recruits were mostly performed by leaders. They investigated the presence of several identity qualities. The research also uncovered that those expected identity features were not the products of a collective effort. Content analyses demonstrated that they were actually personal expectations of the leaders. Put differently, they employ their own personal criteria and perform the wing placement to their hearts’ content. At the end of the study, eleven role identity features were proven as expected by the leadership from each member. Six of those were expected more from military wing members, and five were expected more from political wing members. Cross-tabulation and logistic regression analyses of membership (dependent variable) on these expected role identity characteristics (independent variables) demonstrated a significant relationships in seven of them (four out of six military and three out of five political wing identity features).
APPENDIX A

IDENTITY EXPECTATION OF LEADERSHIP
Table A1

*Expected Identity Characteristics Mentioned in Bagasi (2004)*

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- Strong belief in jihad</td>
<td>14- Giving alms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Strong belief in military resistance</td>
<td>15- Hierarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- Strong belief in political resistance</td>
<td>16- Embracing the organizational structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- Strong belief in religious resistance</td>
<td>17- Not focusing on any worldly rewards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- Strong belief in collective resistance</td>
<td>18- Hatred against the enemies of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- Desire for martyrdom</td>
<td>19- Acting alone while having a trust only in God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7- Desire for cleaning the world from sinners</td>
<td>20- Belief in the importance of religious education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8- Desire for turning the country into an Islamic state</td>
<td>21- Belief in gradual progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9- Desire for fighting against T.C.(^{13})</td>
<td>22- Being patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10- Praying five times a day</td>
<td>24- Belief in a greater Muslim cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11- Fasting(^{14})</td>
<td>25- Taking parts in local and national politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12- Kurdish nationalism</td>
<td>26- Belief in cemaat identity as a major source of power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13- Belief in the sacredness of pilgrimage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{13}\) Short for Türkiye Cumhuriyeti (Republic of Turkey), also used as an insult for Turkey by Hizbullah.

\(^{14}\) Not only during the Islamic holy month of Ramadan, but also as much as possible.
Table A2

*Expected Identity Characteristics Mentioned in Gungor (1997)*

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- Belief in armed resistance</td>
<td>9- Belief in the importance of politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Seeing religion as a justified weapon</td>
<td>10- Adherence to feudal structure of Kurdistan (southeastern and eastern Turkey is meant by Hizbullah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- Desire to lose his or her life in service of God</td>
<td>11- Belief in a worldwide Muslim Brotherhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- Belief in the efficacy of the structural body and hierarchy within Hizbullah</td>
<td>12- Belief in the importance of melting one’s self in Hizbullah’s melting pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- Belief in the importance of religious training</td>
<td>13- Expecting no rewards for one’s actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- Secrecy</td>
<td>14- Hating the enemies of Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7- Maintaining an <em>ultimate goal</em> notion</td>
<td>15- Acting collectively as a religious unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8- Patience</td>
<td>16- Ability to take individual initiatives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A3

*Expected Identity Characteristics Mentioned in Guzelsoy (1996)*

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- Desire to act as one as a religious congregation</td>
<td>8- Ability to act alone to fulfill God-given tasks when necessary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Belief in the importance of religious education over the formal education</td>
<td>9- Frequent location changes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- Hierarchy</td>
<td>10- Belief in the importance of patience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- Feeling as an anonymous part of the cemaat (religious congregation)</td>
<td>11- Reliance on other active Muslim organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- Being constantly aware of enemies of God</td>
<td>12- Taking active roles in politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- Belief in the necessity of jihad when it is necessary</td>
<td>13- Taking pride in being a God’s chosen servant in this world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7- Gladly scarifying one’s life when necessary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table A4

*Expected Identity Characteristics Mentioned in Savas (2006)*

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- Being aware of the enemies of God and possessing the will to fight against them</td>
<td>8- Depersonalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Belief in the necessity of armed resistance against oppressors</td>
<td>9- Conformity to leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- Belief in the sacredness of losing one’s life in action</td>
<td>10- Belief in being the only hope for oppressed Kurds in Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- Patience</td>
<td>11- Acting as one religious unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- Belief in gradualism</td>
<td>12- Being active in local politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- Belief in the importance of religious education</td>
<td>13- Dedication to a Muslim brotherhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7- Trust in his or her individual potential when it comes down to individual resistance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

COMPILATION OF IDENTITY EXPECTATIONS
Table B1

Compilation of Identity Expectations of all Four Authors Related to Resistance of any Type under “Belief in Jihad and Resistance”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chosen common title</th>
<th>Identity characteristics as mentioned by each author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Belief in jihad and resistance | Strong belief in jihad (Bagasi)  
Strong belief in military resistance (Bagasi)  
Strong belief in political resistance (Bagasi)  
Strong belief in religious resistance (Bagasi)  
Belief in collective resistance (Bagasi)  
Belief in armed resistance (Gungor)  
Seeing religion as a justifiable weapon (Gungor)  
Belief in the necessity of jihad when it is necessary (Guzelsoy)  
Belief in the necessity of armed resistance against oppressors (Savas) |

Table B2

Compilation of Identity Expectations of all Four Authors Related to Local and National Politics Under “Being Politically Active”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chosen common title</th>
<th>Identity characteristics as mentioned by each author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Being politically active | Taking parts in local and national politics (Bagasi)  
Belief in the importance of politics (Gungor)  
Taking active roles in politics (Guzelsoy)  
Being active in local politics (Savas) |
Table B3

Compilation of Identity Expectations of all Four Authors Related to any Anti-Ego Sentiments Under “Depersonalization”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chosen common title</th>
<th>Identity characteristics as mentioned by each author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Depersonalization</td>
<td>Not focusing on worldly rewards (Bagasi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belief in the importance of melting one’s self in Hizbullah’s melting pot (Gungor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expecting no rewards for one’s actions (Gungor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feeling as an anonymous part of the cemaat (Guzelsoy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Depersonalization (Savas)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table B4

Compilation of Identity Expectations of all Four Authors Related to the Importance on Reliance on the Self When Necessary Under “Aloneness”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chosen common title</th>
<th>Identity characteristics as mentioned by each author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aloneness</td>
<td>Acting alone while having a trust only in God (Bagasi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ability to take individual initiatives (Gungor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ability to act alone to fulfill God-given tasks when necessary (Guzelsoy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trust in his or her individual potential when it comes down to individual resistance (Savas)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table B5

Compilation of Identity Expectations of all Four Authors Related to the Enemies of God and Islam Under “Hatred Against Hizbul-Seytan (Party of Satan)”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chosen common title</th>
<th>Identity characteristics as mentioned by each author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Hatred against hizbul-Seytan (party of Satan) | Desire for fighting against Turkey (Bagasi)  
Hatred against enemies of God (Bagasi)  
Desire for cleaning the world from sinners (Bagasi)  
Hating the enemies of Islam (Gungor)  
Being constantly aware of enemies of God (Guzelsoy)  
Being aware of enemies of God and possessing the will to fight them (Savas) |

Table B6

Compilation of Identity Expectations of all Four Authors Related to Organizational Structure and Hierarchy Under “Embracing the Hierarchical Structure”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chosen common title</th>
<th>Identity characteristics as mentioned by each author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Embracing the hierarchical structure | Hierarchy (Bagasi)  
Conforming to organizational structure (Bagasi)  
Belief in the efficacy of the structural body and hierarchy within Hizbullah (Gungor)  
Hierarchy (Guzelsoy)  
Conformity to leaders (Savas) |
Table B7

Compilation of Identity Expectations of all Four Authors Related to Collective Nature of the Group Under “Cemaat (Religious Congregation) Identity”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chosen common title</th>
<th>Identity characteristics as mentioned by each author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cemaat (religious congregation) identity</td>
<td>Belief in cemaat identity as a major source of power (Bagasi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acting collectively as a religious unit (Gungor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Desire to act one as a religious congregation (Guzelsoy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acting as one religious unit (Savas)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table B8

Compilation of Identity Expectations of all Four Authors Related to Self Sacrifice Under “Desire for Martyrdom”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chosen common title</th>
<th>Identity characteristics as mentioned by each author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Desire for martyrdom</td>
<td>Desire for martyrdom (Bagasi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Desire to lose his or her life in service of God (Guzelsoy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gladly sacrificing one’s life when necessary (Guzelsoy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belief in the sacredness of losing one’s life in action (Savas)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table B9

Compilation of Identity Expectations of all Four Authors Related to Religious Training and Education Under “Being Religiously Educated”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chosen common title</th>
<th>Identity characteristics as mentioned by each author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Being religiously educated</td>
<td>Belief in the importance of religious education (Bagasi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belief in the importance of religious training (Gungor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belief in the importance religious education over the formal education (Guzelsoy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belief in the importance of religious education (Savas)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table B10

Compilation of Identity Expectations of all Four Authors Related to Gradualism and Patience Under “Patience (Gradualism)”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chosen common title</th>
<th>Identity characteristics as mentioned by each author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patience (gradualism)</td>
<td>Believing in gradual progress (Bagasi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Being patient (Bagasi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patience (Gungor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belief in the importance of patience (Guzelsoy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patience (Savas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belief in gradualism (Savas)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table B11

Compilation of Identity Expectations of all Four Authors Related to Alliances with Other Active Muslim Organizations Under “Dedication to a Muslim Brotherhood”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chosen common title</th>
<th>Identity characteristics as mentioned by each author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dedication to a Muslim brotherhood</td>
<td>Belief in a greater Muslim cooperation (Bagasi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belief in a worldwide Muslim brotherhood (Gungor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reliance on other active Muslim organizations (Guzelsoy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dedication to a Muslim brotherhood (Savas)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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