

A THEORETICAL SUGGESTION TO INTERDISCIPLINARY EXPLANATION OF HUNGER STRIKE: RE-THINKING THE IDENTITY FUSION THEORY

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Abstract: There has been a controversy on whether hunger strikes and self-immolations in prisons are rationally adopted reactions or consequences of mental disorders that prisoners commonly develop. Neurobiological and evolutionary researches and experiments on self-sacrifice may explain sacrificial behavior to some extent, as they lack ideational and political perspectives. The reasons for sacrificial behavior have been interpreted (correctly, yet not thoroughly) by medical practitioners for prevention. Such self-sacrificing behavior must not be confused with suicidal behavior, which is also prevailing in prisons. Self-sacrifice in prison may imply a method of political participation, and not a result of a prisoner's mental illness related to serotonergic dysregulation or any other psychopathology, but a reasonable response to difficult situations and injustices. Group identification, ideology, historical affirmation, and martyr mythology are the reasons for adopting / disregarding self-sacrifice and determining the severity of self-sacrificing behavior. This paper attempts to address this dilemma, suggesting there is an inextricable relation between social psychology, ideology and historical heritage in explaining self-sacrificial behavior. To this end, the theories of normative and rational uses of violence to self-sacrifice will be adapted and hybrid motive behind hunger strikes will be sought. Then, the connection of Identity Fusion Theory, which sheds light on extreme pro-group behaviors, and self-sacrifice behavior will be discussed.

Keywords: Prison, Self-Sacrifice, Hunger Strike, Identity Fusion, Violence

Açlık Grevinin Disiplinler Arası Açıklamasına Kuramsal Bir Öneri: Kimlik Füzyonu Teorisini Yeniden Düşünmek

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Özet: Hapishanelerdeki açlık grevlerinin ve kendini yakmanın rasyonel olarak benimsenen tepkiler mi yoksa mahkumların yaygın olarak geliştirdiği ruhsal bozuklukların sonuçları mı olduğu konusunda bir tartışma var. Öz-feda üzerine nörobiyolojik ve evrimsel araştırmalar ve deneyler, düşünsel ve politik bakış açılarından yoksun oldukları için öz-feda davranışını bir dereceye kadar açıklayabilir. Öz-feda davranışının nedenleri, intiharı önleme amacıyla tıp doktorları tarafından yorumlanmıştır. Bu tür öz-feda davranışları, cezaevlerinde de görülen intihar davranışıyla karıştırılmamalıdır. Hapishanede kendini feda etme, bir siyasi katılım yöntemi anlamına gelebilir ve bir mahkûmun serotenerjik

İnceleme Makalesi / Review Article

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disregülasyon veya başka herhangi bir psikopatolojiyle ilgili akıl hastalığının bir sonucu değil, zor durumlara ve adaletsizliklere makul bir tepki olabilir. Grup özdeşleşmesi, ideoloji, tarihsel olumlama ve şehit miti fedakarlığın benimsenmesi/yok sayılması ve fedakârlık davranışının ciddiyetinin belirlenmesindeki nedenlerdir. Bu makale, kendini feda etme davranışını açıklamada sosyal psikoloji, ideoloji ve tarihsel miras arasında ayrılmaz bir ilişki olduğunu ileri sürerek bu ikilemi ele almaya çalışmaktadır. Bu amaçla, normatif ve rasyonel şiddet kullanım teorilerini fedakarlığa uyarlayanak ve açlık grevlerinin ardındaki melez saikleri aranacaktır. Ardından aşırı grup yanlısı davranışlara ışık tutan Kimlik Füzyon Teorisi ile özverili davranış arasındaki bağlantı tartışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Cezaevi, Öz-Feda, Açlık Grevi, Kimlik Füzyonu, Şiddet*

1. INTRODUCTION

According to many scholars (Gurr, 2016, pp.12-13; Best and Luckenbill, 1994, p.129; Tilly, 1998, p.204), politics and ideology are sine qua non of any collective action. One eventually end up with thinking what ideological, psychological or social motive could have mobilized a group of people. Studies on self-sacrifice, the hunger strike in particular are exhaustive and well-studied. For instance, there is a broad medical literature by medical doctors on management of the hunger strikes such as (Eichelberger et al., 2014; Durmaz et al., 2020; Fayeulle et al., Protais, 2010; Bendtsen, 2018; Barilan, 2017). There also are scholars who address the issue putting the legal process in the center such as (Gulati et al., 2017; Harris, 2000). However, these studies fail to deal with the origins of a hunger strike that entail holistic approach which cannot be limited to a psychiatric explanation like (Gulati, et al., 2019; Wei and Brendel, 2010). This paper attempts to clarify self-sacrificial behavior through the Identity Fusion Theory. Strongly fused persons are especially inclined to endorse pro-group action when either the personal or the social self is salient, when physiological arousal is high, or when they perceive that group members share essential qualities (eg, genes, core values) with one another (Swann and Buhrmester, 2015). The theory is capable of explaining how shared ideology and historical heritage of a group, as shared essential qualities, affect persons' thinking and generate extreme pro-group behavior including self-sacrifice. The Identity Fusion Theory builds a bridge between the group identification and the rational/normative adoptions of the hunger strike as a self-sacrifice since it is quite suitable for producing eclectic theories. It also enables us to understand why people become committed to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their group and how come it is related to the loss of sense of self since fused people may volunteer for activities such as suicide bombings (Tobeña, 2009, pp. 5-15).

To achieve such a commitment, one must be severely upset with the strain, deeply attached to the ideology and identify themselves with a group. Generating collective identity entails assiduous destruction of the sense of self, which, most probably will turn into a chronic bound between the individual and the group. That is why, an individual must be attached to a group in the level of depersonalization. "... the process of identifying with the group reduces the capacity of people to think of themselves as individual actors with personal agendas. Instead, as identification increases, the individual becomes depersonalized and the personal self is less apt to guide behavior." (Swann et al., 2010).

Neil Smelser (2010, pp.15-17) sketched the determinants and continuum of collective action, yet what if we encounter a peculiar way of collective rebel? This paper suggests that collective self-destructive actions in prisons as rationally inflicted violence for political purposes need to be analyzed differently. To this end, rational and normative justifications for adopting self-sacrifice were analyzed through Identity Fusion Theory in the case of prisons. First, the psychological

adverse impacts of long-term confinement and how it misleads researchers and health care professionals in prisons in assessing suicidal inmates will be explained briefly since prisoners are not simply committing suicide, but pursuing hunger strike or self-immolation for the sake of their motivation. It is indeed confusing and quite ambivalent for medical practitioners, because intervening to a dying patient may also mean to revoke their free will.

Secondly, psychological reason for individuals to sacrifice themselves on Identity Fusion Theory, underpinning the relationship between in-group favoritism and sacrificial behavior and finally its relation with ideology and belief of the group will be clarified. Therefore, it will be advocated that normative or rational adoption of hunger strike are not counter-views, but rather complimentary ideas. Therefore, it is a hybrid justification containing both rational (in the meaning of utilitarian and functional) and normative (merit-based or ideological) motives. Lastly, some examples will be provided for hybrid rational and normative adoptions of self-sacrifice in prisons to concretize the theory that was developed formerly.

2. IS HUNGER STRIKE RATIONAL?

In jails, suicide and other forms of self-inflicted harm are not uncommon. Between 2011 and 2014, Fazel, Ramesh, and Hawton (2017) documented 3906 prison suicides in 24 countries, testing connections between suicide rates and jail and health-care-related characteristics. Self-harm and suicide are also more likely in isolation units than in the general jail population, according to recent studies. (Haney and Lynch, 1997, p.525). Additionally, there are other adverse symptoms such as loss of appetite and weight, sleep disturbances, anxiety, panic, rage, loss of impulse and emotional control, paranoia, hallucinations, and self-mutilation have been reported by mental health and correctional staff (Haney, 2012, p. 11). Considering these symptoms, hunger strikes and self-immolations in prisons could delinquently be taken as a regular suicide, especially when psychological adverse of prisons, inmates' pre-incarceration psychological condition, psychiatric diagnoses (if any), schemas, beliefs etc. are taken into account, however, their collective context must be completely ignored and their aim must be disregarded to make such an interpretation. People who a priori negate hunger strike and other self-directed violent acts disseminate their opinions and wishes aiming to prevent mortality and permanent injury due to long-term starvation. Especially, in some cases civil society is split into two in such occasions, half supporting and other half asking for the termination of strikes. The political essence of such protests links them directly with personal or collective conscious and claim-making which neutralizes any normative approach.

Hunger strike may be conducted by the political prisoners affiliated with violent political organizations. It could be argued that hunger strike is a non-violent extent of violent actions of groups in prisons, an altered repertoire. Since hunger strike is taken as a non-violent action (Sharp, 2007, p.7; Scanlan et al., 2008; McCarthy and Sharp, 2010), it may also be taken in the scope of political participation like other constitutional rights to protest, which cause a dilemma also for healthcare. In other words, be for the sake of better prison conditions, or other political motives, hunger strike is hard to manage because it is a medical condition to be intervened, but at the same time, medical intervention may lead to violation of free will and self-command. That is why, addressing hunger strike as a manifestation of suicidal thought is problematic. Most of the time, it is hard to tell whether hunger strike is maintained facultatively or persisted due to physiological consequences caused by long-term starvation which indicates an ethical concern for medical practitioners, especially when a striker is no longer conscious and cannot declare their consent. For instance, in research conducted by neuroscientists in Turkey, 3 female and 12

male hunger strikers were examined. Patients were on hunger strike for 45 days (ingested water, salt, and linden tea), then they converted to 'death fasting' (consumed 4 glasses of water and salt). The duration of hunger strike was uninterrupted 69 days for 12, 67 days for 2, and 54 days for the last patient, with a 15-day interruption after day 45. The initial neurological examination revealed that 8 out of 15 patients had altered consciousness, from mild confusion to stupor (Öge, et al., 2000). To Stephen Xenakis (2017), "The health professionals called to intervene in a hunger strike are faced with a dilemma: commit themselves to good order and discipline or comply with best practices for providing healthcare. To handle cases of hunger strikers confronts practitioners with the ethical dilemma of managing apparent intentional behavior that carries serious morbidity or mortality."

The ethical issue has not so far come to an agreement, mainly due to the states' protective view. In its Malta Declaration (1975), The World Medical Association prohibited force-feeding of hunger strikers referring to it as "degrading and inhuman" even when this would be the only way to save their lives. However, it is still practiced prevalently (Bendtsen, 2018). The European Court of Human Rights ruled that lifesaving force-feeding is compatible with the state's duty to protect the lives of prisoners (Barilan, 2017). "Medical Association ... favor autonomy over beneficence and stress the importance of neutrality of involved physicians, who otherwise would be subject to a dual loyalty conflict. They unambiguously state that force-feeding of an individual with capacity who refuses the same is not acceptable" (Gulati et al., 2017). Conversely, medical treatment cases in Hong Kong demonstrate that the courts favor the principle of freedom to refuse treatment, even when a striker is pregnant (Harris, 2000).

Societal reaction to hunger strikes and public awareness serve as a secondary motivational tool for strikers. Despite the fact that Charles Tilly said that hunger strikes are rarely used as protests and are instead used to dramatize the perspectives of organizations who lack other political means nowadays, (Tilly, 2000), these are still rationally adopted methods to earn political advantages. However, there are prisoners who irrationally starve themselves to death without aiming any perks. According to Kenny et al. (2004), early in a hunger strike, a comprehensive psychiatric evaluation is required to determine whether depressive or other symptoms are primarily a reaction to environmental factors, or whether the person's ability to decide to continue the strike is harmed by a severe depressive illness or associated morbid mental state.

Launching a hunger strike is hard work. First of all, it is unusual of someone to have hunger strike in their repertoire unless they have a justifying pattern, schema or belief. This normative belief, with other variables such as historical heritage, martyrdom myth etc. may lead them to rationalize hunger strike. There may be multiple reasons for the rationalization. The decision to die is so formidable to deal with that people may use rationalization as a coping mechanism to persuade the striking people and others, especially the opposing people. Or they may feel urge to adjust their way of protest to their rational political thought. Another reason may be that fact that hunger strike is a tested, resultful and cost-effective technic as that will be explained in the following. Regardless of the reason, rational and normative adaptations of hunger strike seem to be adherent phases and that is why, to determine these phases is important.

Containing political essence makes a protestation rational to a certain extent. Thus, what are the other variables that render political violence - in this context, hunger strike - rational? Ted Gurr's utilitarian justification sheds light on when political violence is assumed rational by actors. Utilitarian justifications for political violence, according to Gurr (1970, p.157), are people's opinions about the amount to which the threat or use of violence in politics will improve their overall value position and that of the community with which they identify. Put simply, utilitarian

justifications make a tactical cost-effect analysis of the profitability of use of violence. Since the scope of justifications refers to the prevalence of supporting attitudes and beliefs among members of a collectivity, it is essential to convince individuals of the validity of the justification. Thereby, when a striker states a personal opinion on the reason why he/she is on hunger strike, not only practitioners, but also everyone else is convinced that their strike is rational, which is what the mentally incompetent strikers lack. The difference between rational and irrational adoption of hunger strike as a rational tool for a concession is a possession of utilitarian justification.

However, this is not mostly the case. Occasionally, hunger strike appearance in the repertoire is neither fully rational, nor fully normative, yet both. On such occasions, there may be contributing factors which make the individual prime hunger strike over other methods. Gurr's normative justifications are the attitudes and beliefs people hold about the intrinsic desirability of taking or threatening such action (Gurr, 1970, p.157). During this phase, individuals are not acting solely rational, yet psycho-cultural elements are in the game – which also annihilates the free rider problem in rational choice theory.

3. PSYCHOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATIONS FOR HUNGER STRIKE

As discussed earlier, individuals may act collectively provided they suffer from a common discontent and surpass a certain amount of politicization. Hunger strike – unless conducted individually – is a manifestation by a group of politicized individuals who gather around the same discontent. Yet can we talk about an element that can both accelerate their politicization process, while it also triggers aggression caused by the discontent? A social identity could be the answer. Social identity emerges at a young age, and its strength is critical in explaining why people are willing to make the greatest personal sacrifices in its name (Stern, 1995). In Ross' words (2001, p.160): “*Humans clearly have an evolved predispositions for sociality and a well-developed capacity to form cohesive social groups, and ingroup identity provides the basis for a fundamental paradox of human existence. It facilitates both physical and emotional survival within groups; at the same time, strong in-group solidarity can promote outgroup competition and conflict*”.

Human beings are fundamentally social organisms, and people are predisposed to join groups and get part of their identity and self-esteem from group participation (Fiske, 1992; Tajfel and Turner, 2004; Varga, 2018).

The norms of a social group are significant, distinguishing characteristics. Norms are informal standards that evolve through members' interactions, guide and constrain behavior, and distinguish one group from another. Humans have a natural proclivity to internalize the norms of the communities to which they belong, and they dedicate resources (most notably time and cognitive capacity, but also material resources) to uphold the community's cultural practices (Varga, 2018).

In-group favoritism is a key component of human behavior (Fu et al., 2012 p.1). Persons strive to establish or maintain a preserve social identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1979)². According to Yzerbyt and his friends (2006, p.175), depending on circumstances, the context will encourage people to evaluate the social environment either in interpersonal terms, causing them to compare themselves to other people, or in intergroup terms, causing a so-called depersonalization phase. When people depersonalize, they construct their self in such a way that it resembles the

² Some psychologists argue that people with low self-esteem should have more in-group favoritism than people with high self-esteem because people with low self-esteem have the greatest need to feel better about themselves. In contrast, according to Balance Theory (Heider, 1958), people with high self-esteem should have more in-group favoritism, because people maintain consistent attitudes toward the self and toward their in-groups (Farnham, 1999). On the relation between in-group favoritism and self-esteem please also see (Verkuyten and Hagendoorn 2002; Aberson, Healy and Romero 2000).

characteristics of the other members of their group while distinguishing it from the characteristics that best describe outgroup members.³

In-group favoritism has been demonstrated to exist based on real-world major groupings like ethnicity, religion, and political orientation (Tajfel, 1981; Sosis and Ruffle, 2003; Fowler and Kam, 2007; Rand et al., 2009). In this respect, one should attach importance to the Identity Fusion Theory (IFT). IFT is basically a new type of group alignment that promotes personally costly, pro-group behavior. The theory proposes that fused persons have a visceral sense of "oneness" with a group, in which their personal self (individual traits that make them unique) merges with a social self (individual attributes that align them with groups) (Buhrmester and Swann, 2015).

Heger and Gaertner (2018) connected sacrificial behavior with IFT as follows:

Identity fusion theory, in contrast, suggests that when a group connection is strong the personal and social identities fuse such that activation of one activates the other and they synergistically influence behavior (e.g., fighting and dying for the group). We reasoned that such synergy should yield a reciprocal (not antagonistic) promotion of group-serving and individual-serving goals whereby fusion promotes the willingness to sacrifice the self for the group and sacrifice the group for the self.

The anthropologist Harvey Whitehouse reported more than once that such violent actions including self-sacrifice are linked to IFT (Whitehouse, et al., 2017; Whitehouse, 1996). According to Whitehouse (2017), psychologists offered a variety of explanations for threatening experiences that can trigger groupishness, however, these researches do not address willing to sacrifice oneself for the group. Also, these sacrifices including suicide can hardly be explained with psychopathology due to lack of evidence (McCauley and Moskaleiko, 2008). Thereby, individuals strive to self-sacrifice for the sake of group can be linked to, if not to psychopathology, to IFT.⁴

Another drive for individuals to act in accordance and sacrifice themselves or their companions is ideology. Ideology is a potent motivational force; human beings are capable of committing atrocities and sacrificing their own lives for the sake of abstract belief systems. From a psychological point of view, the pervasiveness and potency of political and religious belief systems, or ideologies, highlights a fundamental conundrum about human motivation (Jost and Amodio, 2011). The ambivalence-diminishing aspect of ideology is raised by some scholars (Dember, 1991). For instance, John Jost repeatedly pointed out the link between ideology and psychological needs to manage uncertainty and threat (Jost and Hunyady, 2005; Jost, et al., 2007; Jost and Amodio, 2011). It has been also suggested by Jost that ideologies offer to fulfill relational needs promising solidarity (Jost, 2009). Such humane and serviceable functions of ideologies together with IFT may lead individuals to violent actions for their ideological motive. Amy K. Heger and Lowell Gaertner (2018) conducted research on the relation between the IFT and self-sacrifice for the group, where they argued only identity fusion theory can explain why an increased connection to a group promotes both self and group sacrifice, which makes the IFT unique in terms of explaining self-sacrificial behavior for group. Their result revealed evidence of reciprocal, rather than antagonistic, group-serving and individual-serving goals in regard to sacrifice. *"Fusion positively predicted reported willingness to sacrifice one's self via fighting for the group and to sacrifice both an individual group member and the group as a whole via fighting for one's self"* (Heger and

³ Such an identity shift is context dependent and occurs via comparisons of relative similarity following a process of metacontrast and depersonalization (Heger and Gaertner 2018). On depersonalization please also see (Turner, et al. 1994).

⁴ In this respect, suicide is similar to the altruistic suicide that Émile Durkheim (2005) pointed out, which results from a very strong bond with one's society. The individual commits suicide in accordance with group rules and norms. When the group becomes more important than the individual, individuals can more easily sacrifice their own lives.

Gaertner, 2018, p.493). The reciprocity becomes quiet instrumental in reproducing subsequent sacrificial individuals, which results with the emergence of a brand-new Ideology of Martyrdom.

4. HYBRID THEORY AND MARTYRDOM AFFIRMATION

If one is looking for the reason behind hunger strike, social psychological approaches make the issue understated, just like rational choice theory is not capable of explaining it by itself. Common consequences of identity fusion, ideology, rationality, and other psycho-cultural elements lead to self-sacrifice and martyrdom affirmation which lay grounds for both normative and utilitarian justifications. As discussed previously, people who possess the norm of including hunger strike in their repertoire makes the first stride for the commencement of hunger strike. The following phase is rationalizing it in line with their ideology, or as a cost-effective method. The distinctive aspect of the Identity Fusion Theory lies here. Alignment of persons with their group helps them to adapt the norms of the group. Thus, if a group includes hunger strike as a previously used and convenient method, the members aligned with the group will easily adopt it, too. At some point, the rational justifications can be redundant and members will perform hunger strike automatically or in line with obedience to authority they may go hunger strike if the group leader demands so. When the sense of belonging is crucial, people can go hunger strike rationally to earn spurs and respects within the group. Among the infinite number of possibilities of psychological reasons of self-sacrifice, one can argue two things are clear:

(1) group identification, which also underscores the importance of shared ideological and political beliefs, is a must for self-sacrificial behavior. Thus, the IFT is the perfect theory for clarifying the mass hunger strikes as it also clarifies self-sacrificial behavior for the group.

(2) normative and rational justifications for self-sacrifice are complimentary. Self-sacrifice is normative due to an *idea-logy* that justifies self-violence, or a belief that only sacrifice is capable of giving them their political pursuit. Or self-sacrifice is rational because it was tested and gave results. It provides public support or respect of other people (as to say, it has secondary gains). In short, it is almost impossible to discriminate two processes, and they complement each other.

Ideological affirmation of hunger strike as self-sacrifice may be contained in the repertoire of a certain ideology, in other words, some ideologies affirm and allow the practice of hunger strike. Reproduction of hunger strikes starts to be a foundation for the ideology after a while, rather than being a consequence of it. Because martyrdom politicizes the ideology holders and next generations, assigning them to the task of maintenance and enhancement of the gains acquired by means of lives of deceased hunger strikers. The Martyrdom Mythos may act as the chief motivation, sometimes even above ideology or discontent. The affirmation of martyrdom and sacrifice can also be related to the narcissistic rejection of the death of the martyrs for nothing. This is because the martyr sacrificed themselves for the sake of a mission, thus this sacrifice should not be for nothing. The martyr then turns into a transcendental character on whom the mythos of martyrdom is set up. It becomes an agent that politicizes the next generations. To explain the role of martyr in the politicization of the next generations, of course, one must take a look at the historical process. Martyrdom, in every ideology of belief, is *a priori* ratified. Because sacrifice serves a vital purification role and makes something into a good. (Halbertal, 2012, pp.19-69). “*This is how the spectacle of brave soldiers casting aside their own self-interest and putting themselves at risk leads to a form of moral self-deception that is difficult to avoid.*” (Halbertal, 2012, p. 68). Martyrdom is taken so sacred that ideologies tend to promote it even for unpleasant situations. Normally ideologies legitimize violence (self or other inflicted), at some point, violence

and martyrs legitimize the ideologies. Because ideologies and political motives must be eagerly chased to pay 'debt' loaned from martyrs.

In conclusion, the inclusion of hunger strike-like sacrifice actions into the repertoire entails more than social-psychological tendency to sacrifice. The likelihood of inclusion is directly related to Gurr's non-instinctive, learned other-inflicted violence (2016, pp.30-33), as only the receiver of violence is changed in sacrifice. At this very point, it should be noted that learned experiences both historically and within the group. As will be discussed later, historical learnedness and repeated sacrificial rituals have a serious amount of effect on the repertoire. Moreover, the rationality of self-sacrifice becomes unequivocal, as individual benefits from the consequences, as well as group, of course, provided he/she is not killed during. However, hunger strikes conducted by leftist inmates for better prison conditions usually turned out to be successful, that is why inmates usually resorted to conducting hunger strikes, especially for other political motives. Another personal interest would be in-group hierarchy and respect after completing such a task. Some inmates self-immolated for other prisoners' well-being or protesting murder or suicide of them. Such cases may imply lower rationality as there is no personal interest. In short, it can be argued that there is not an 'either/or relation' by means of rationality and normativity dualism, yet there is a 'both/and relation'. Thereby, normative justifications and utilitarian justifications are complimentary in self-sacrificial actions. This hybrid approach to justifications for self-sacrifice may promise a better and more extensive understanding of cases and saves us the trouble from making a selection between two options. It cannot be claimed that every self-inflicted violent action has the same proportion of rationality and normativity, yet it includes both of them anyway, therefore, what is argued is disregarding any one of them puts us into a vicious and predetermined position.

5. DISCUSSION

Group identification, ideology, historical affirmations, and martyrdom mythos are among those reasons that include/exclude self-sacrifice in the inventory, as well as determine severity of self-sacrificial behavior. Such self-sacrificial action should not be confused with suicidal behavior, which is also common in prisons. Self-sacrifice in prisons mostly is rational reaction given against challenging conditions and injustices, and a way of political participation since it may affect outside agenda, rather than a consequence of a mental disorder a prisoner develops.

Researchers and experiments on small groups may explain sacrificial behavior to some extent, as it lacks ideational and political perspectives. Vice versa is also true, political approach, solely, cannot explain how come a sacrificial action occurs, since it does not contain any evidence regarding psychological motivations.

The IFT, on the other hand, contends that when a group connection is strong, personal and social identities merge, activating one another and having a synergistic effect on behavior. In addition to the identity fusion, ideology can also motivate people to behave in accordance and sacrifice themselves or their companions. Humans are capable of committing atrocities and laying down their lives in the name of irrational belief systems; ideology is a powerful motivating factor.

Therefore, group identification is a prerequisite for self-sacrificing conduct and it underscores the significance of shared ideological and political values. The IFT is the ideal explanation for clarifying the hunger strike because it also explains the group's self-sacrificing conduct.

Secondly, rational and normative justifications for self-sacrifice are complementary. The existence of an ideology that legitimizes violence to oneself or others may encourage individuals to engage

in these acts. Or self-sacrifice makes sense rationally and traditionally because it has been previously tried and shown effective. It offers public acceptance or respect. In essence, it is nearly impossible to distinguish between the two processes, and they work best together.

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GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Öz-feda kavramı, özellikle de açlık grevi üzerine yapılan araştırmalar üzerine zengin bir literatür bulunmaktadır. Ancak bu çalışmalar, psikiyatrik bir açıklamayla sınırlandırılmayacak bütüncül bir yaklaşım gerektiren açlık grevinin kökenlerini ele almamaktadır. Bu makale, Kimlik Füzyonu Teorisi üzerinden öz-feda davranışını açıklamaya çalışmaktadır. Kimlik Füzyonu Teorisi bir grup tarafından paylaşılan ideolojinin ve tarihsel mirasın, kişilerin düşüncesini nasıl etkilediğini ve öz-feda dahil aşırı grup yanlısı davranışları nasıl ürettiğini açıklayabilmektedir. Kimlik Füzyonu Teorisi, eklettik teoriler üretmeye yatkın olduğundan ötürü, grup özdeşleşmesi ile açlık grevinin bir öz-feda olarak rasyonel/normatif olarak benimsenmesi arasında bir köprü kurar. Aynı zamanda, insanların neden ait oldukları grup için kendilerini feda etmeye istekli olduğunun anlaşılmasını sağlar.

Açlık grevi yapmaya karar vermek zorlu bir süreçtir. Her şeyden önce, repertuarında açlık grevini haklı çıkaracak bir örüntüsü, şeması veya inancı olmayan birinin açlık grevi yapması alışılmadık bir durumdur. Bu normatif inanç, tarihsel miras, şehitlik miti vb. değişkenlerle birlikte açlık grevini rasyonelleştirmelerine yol açabilir. Rasyonelleştirmenin birden çok nedeni olabilir. Ölüm ihtimaliyle başa çıkmak o kadar zorludur ki insanlar, grevcileri ve diğer insanları, özellikle de greve karşı çıkanları ikna etmek için rasyonelleştirmeyi bir başa çıkma mekanizması olarak kullanabilirler. Diğer bir sebep ise, açlık grevinin denenmiş, sonuç alınmış ve maliyet-etkin bir teknik olmasıdır. Nedeni ne olursa olsun, açlık grevinin rasyonel ve normatif uyarlamaları birbirine bağlı aşamalar gibi görünmektedir.

İç-grup yanlılığı, temel bir insani davranıştır ve iç-grubun olumlanması ve bireysel kimliğin yerini grup kimliğinin alması, bireyleri aidiyet hissettikleri grup çıkarı uğruna kendilerine veya başkalarına şiddet uygulamaya sevk edebilir.

Bireylerin uygun hareket etme ve kendilerini veya arkadaşlarını feda etme dürtülerinden biri de ideolojidir. İdeoloji, öz-feda davranışında bireyler için güçlü bir motivasyon olabilmektedir; insanlar soyut inanç sistemleri uğruna katliam yapabilmekte ve kendi hayatını feda edebilmektedir. İdeolojilerin bu tür insani ve işe yarar işlevleri, Kimlik Füzyonu Teorisi ile birlikte, bireyleri ideolojik saiklerle şiddet içeren eylemlere yöneltebilir.

Son olarak, kimlik özdeşleşmesinin, ideolojinin, rasyonelitenin ve diğer psiko-kültürel unsurların ortak sonuçları hem normatif hem de faydacı gerekçelendirmelere zemin hazırlayan öz-feda ve şehitliğin olumlanmasına yol açar. Açlık grevine repertuarında yer verme normuna sahip olan kişiler, açlık grevinin başlaması için ilk adımı atarlar. Sonraki aşama, bunu kendi ideolojileri doğrultusunda veya uygun maliyetli bir yöntem olarak rasyonelize etmektir. Kimlik Füzyonu Teorisinin ayırt edici yönü burada yatmaktadır. Kişilerin grupları ile özdeşimi, grubun normlarına uyum sağlamalarına yardımcı olur. Böylece bir grup daha önce kullanılan bir yöntem olarak açlık grevine yer verirse, grupla uyumlu üyeler de bunu daha kolay benimser. Bir noktada, rasyonel gerekçeler lüzumsuz olabilir ve üyeler otomatik olarak açlık grevi yaparlar veya grup liderinin talep etmesi halinde otoriteye itaat doğrultusunda açlık grevine gidebilirler.

Bu doğrultuda, iki husus öne sürülebilir:

(1) paylaşılan ideolojik ve siyasi inançların önemini de vurgulayan grup kimliği, öz-feda davranış için zorunludur. Bu nedenle, Kimlik Füzyonu Teorisi, grup için öz-feda davranışını da açıklığa kavuşturması bakımından toplu açlık grevlerini açıklanmasında için önemli bir teoridir.

(2) Öz-feda için normatif ve rasyonel gerekçeler tamamlayıcıdır. Öncelikle, öz-feda, öz-şiddeti haklı çıkararak bir ideoloji veya yalnızca öz-fedanın siyasi emellerini sağlayabileceği inancını taşıdığı

için normatiftir. Ayrıca, öz-feda denendiği ve sonuç verdiği durumlarda rasyonel olarak da tercih edilebilir. Halkın desteğini veya diğer insanların saygısını sağlar (ikincil kazanım). Kısacası, iki süreci birbirinden ayırmak neredeyse imkansızdır.

Açlık grevinin öz-feda olarak ideolojik olumlaması belli bir ideolojinin repertuarında yer alabilir, başka bir deyişle bazı ideolojiler açlık grevini onaylar ve uygulanmasına izin verir. Açlık grevlerinin yeniden üretilmesi ideolojinin bir sonucu olmaktan çıkıp bir süre sonra ideolojinin temeli olmaya başlayabilir. Çünkü şehitlik, ideoloji sahiplerine ve sonraki nesillere, ölen açlık grevcilerinin yaşamları üzerinden elde edilen kazanımların sürdürülmesi ve geliştirilmesi görevini yükleyerek onları politize eder. Şehitlik *mitosu*, bazen ideolojinin veya siyasi çekişmelerin bile üzerinde, ana motivasyon görevi görebilir.

Sonuç olarak, grup kimliği öz-feda davranışının ön koşuludur ve paylaşılan ideolojik ve politik değerlerin önemini vurgular. Kimlik Füzyonu Teorisi, grubun öz-feda davranışını da açıkladığı için açlık grevini açıklayabilmektedir.

İkinci olarak, özveri için rasyonel ve normatif gerekçeler tamamlayıcıdır. Kendine veya başkalarına şiddeti meşrulaştıran bir ideolojinin varlığı, bireyleri bu tür eylemlerde bulunmaya teşvik edebilir veya öz-feda, daha önce denendiği ve etkili olduğu deneyimlendiği için rasyonel ve geleneksel olarak uygulanabilir. İki süreç arasında ayırım yapmak neredeyse imkansızdır, aksine bu iki süreç birbirini tamamlamaktadır.