Mahmut Mert Aslan

The Crowd Psychology
and
Perception Management

PALET
YAYINLARI

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Born in the city of Adana in Turkey, Assoc. Prof. Dr. / author/novelist Mahmut Mert Aslan graduated from the Department of English Language at Anadolu University's Faculty of Education. After working for three years as an English teacher at the Ministry of National Education, he became a lecturer at Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal University of Tourism and Hotel Management, where he worked for two years. He then joined the School of Foreign Languages at Selçuk University, where he currently works. He has two master's degrees - one in Religious Sciences - History of Religions and the other in Communication Sciences - Research Methods. He completed his doctoral studies in Communication Sciences - Public Relations (PR). In addition to numerous academic articles published in Turkish and English in national and international journals, as of 2024, the author has also published eighteen books in Turkey and abroad and has written three feature-length movie scripts. Seven of his books are academic, six are idea books and five are novels. He also has eight new books that he has not published yet. The author skillfully examines events from various angles in his work, employing delightful language.

The author's style of conceiving and narrating events is generally shaped by classical Western literature and the Romantic school of literature in particular. In his novels, universal themes such as "the meaning of life and death", "the nature of genders", "male-female relations", "family roles", "domestic violence", "the sanctity of labor", "justice", "equality", "freedom", "the return to simple natüre", "the relationship with God" and "the human and divine value of love" come to the fore.

Some of Mr. Aslan's books are *"Bay Türk'ün Kadınları"*, *"Amenna"*, *"Bir masumiyet başyapıtı Muhammed"*, *"Erotik akıl"*, *"Kadının kutsal ahit sandığı"*, *"Allah'ı sevme sanatı" adlı düşünce kitapları*, *"Siyasal iletişim ve din"*, *"Mormonizm ve mormon kilisesinin PR politikaları"*, *"Kurum içi halkla ilişkilerde NLP'nin rolü"*, *"Özel sektör ve özel sağlık kuruluşlarında halkla ilişkiler"*, *"A Type of Propaganda Based on Language of Violence – Killing for God's sake?"*, *"The Crowd Psychology and Perception Management"*, *"Bir iletişim sorunu olarak şiddetin kökenleri ve aile içi şiddet"*, *"Aşkın kollarında ölmek"*, *"Umutlar yeşil kalsın"*, Cennette iki yıl"*, *"Akıl okuyucusu"* and *"Sıcak kış"*.

The author has nine more unpublished books.

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PREFACE

The mass instinct (collective human behavior) is a complex phenomenon that has been thoroughly studied and researched over the decades, yet it is still difficult to provide clear answers to certain questions. As Sigmund Freud said, it is necessary to know that all social sciences are fundamentally based on the science of psychology. In this case, just like economics, sociology, and politics, PR (Public Relations) is one of the fields of applied psychology. A person who does not have a good command of psychological literature cannot be a good economist, sociologist, or politician, nor can they be a successful PR practitioner.

So what is a mass and what is its instinctive structure? How is a mass formed? What are the main factors that force or encourage people to gather together and form a mass? In short, what are the factors that give birth to a mass? Furthermore, what psychological changes does a person, who is thought to lead a somewhat conscious life, undergo when he or she is involved in the collective spiritual life of a mass? More importantly, how are the basic principles of the collective psyche adapted to commercial and political activities, and what instruments of influence have emerged in this adaptation process? In addition to analyzing the mass instinct in detail, this book attempts to bring to light the fact that the accumulated literature on the mass psyche has long been extensively and successfully adapted to PR and perception management.

In this study, the generally valid laws of the mass instinct will be determined, the essential elements that give rise to the mass will be identified and analyzed, and in addition, the concept of "perception management", which is an adaptation of the basic approaches to collective behavior to commercial, political and social life, will be examined. At this point, it should be added that propaganda is carried out through mass media. Moreover, the intention to influence and direct is hidden. Where the concepts of "propaganda" or "perception ma-

nagement" are mentioned in the book, the reader can use the concepts of "public relations" and "advertising" instead, because it seems that public relations and advertising have replaced the already polluted concepts of propaganda and perception management. Those who want to see concrete examples can examine the public relations, advertising, and promotion activities of political parties and large corporations through traditional and digital media. They can watch TV series and movies on state-controlled TV channels in anti-democratic or semi-democratic countries. Propaganda has infiltrated public relations, advertising, and art. In keeping with the age of information and communication, it takes on more sophisticated guises, catching the masses off guard, shaking them more deeply, and changing them more radically.

When we express our opinions easily, we know that society does not have to believe us. The right to criticize is sacred, inviolable, and vital. If the doors of freedom of criticism are closed, all academic, technological, scientific, artistic, and literary development will come to a standstill. Therefore, it is futile to expect a person or an idea that is closed to criticism to develop.

This book, based mainly on a literature review methodology but enriched with long-term observations and experiences, refuses to look at the world through the keyholes of ethnic, ideological, and nationalist structures and draws all its strength and energy from an objectivity worthy of scientific and critical thinking. Perhaps the question of style should also be addressed at this stage. Many people find academic language boring, but this book has added a bit of flexibility and flavor to classical academic language.

We hope that the approaches and findings of this work, which is the product of a "case study" on the physical anatomy, mental anatomy, level of understanding, and behavioral patterns of the masses, will be a good reference for readers interested in the subject, as well as for the public relations policies of political parties and commercial activities, leading to more ethical, humane, and principled attitudes.

CHAPTER I

1-WHAT IS A MASS AND WHY IS THE MASS INSTINCT IMPORTANT?

The concept of the masses and the studies on mass psychology extend back to ancient times. In other words, the disparaging views on the masses held by Gustave Le Bon, Sigmund Freud, and contemporary writers, thinkers, and politicians who think along similar lines are largely not new. It appears that the theses of Sigmund Freud and Le Bon on collective psychic life and the unconscious are based on data derived from studies of the psychic life of primitive humans. S. Freud showed the virtue of calmly and honestly admitting this truth. There is no mental or spiritual difference between the first human to live on earth and the last human to die. It can be thought that almost everything we think about as humans today has been thought about since ancient times; hence, the great theorists have no superiority other than having systematically recorded their ideas.

A mass is a large group of people tightly united behind a common ideal and acting in synchronization, or any group of people temporarily gathered in one place for a common purpose (Kenny et al., 2001: 14). To understand the masses, it is very useful to think of them as an organism and compare them to a human. A human is an organism, and so are the masses. However, the masses are an organism composed of people. While a human is made up of cells, the masses are made up of people. Therefore, we can see the masses as giant organisms whose building blocks are humans. This might be a very crude and unethical analogy, but we can endure it with the belief that it helps to understand the concept: a human is a mass of cells, and the masses are a mass of humans—a giant human made up of tiny humans.

Undoubtedly, the question of why the instinct of the masses is important is crucial and has a simple answer. It is because the theories of mass psychology are the main dynamics that determine not only economic and commercial activities worldwide but also the public relations policies of all political parties. The biggest secret of successful politicians and businesspeople are that they have deciphered mass psychology.

2-THE PHYSICAL NATURE OF THE MASS

It is known that democracy was first implemented in the city-states of ancient Greece. This form of governance, which is quite close to what we might call "direct democracy," is referred to as "Athenian democracy". According to the theory of democracy there, all citizens had the right to vote and express their opinions in the assembly. However, women, slaves, and those not born in the city were excluded. Considering that the population of Athens at that time was between 250,000 and 300,000, with approximately 100,000 being native, it is easy to understand that about 30,000 men had the right to vote.

During the Roman Empire, the system of governance was closer to today's representative democracy, whereas the Hellenic civilization developed a form of governance that could be more accurately described as "direct democracy." Athenian citizens assumed the responsibility of legislative and judicial decisions without facing a representative intermediary authority or bureaucratic barrier managing the will of the polis (city-state). Undoubtedly, the legacy of Athenian democracy has significantly influenced the political and intellectual tradition of Western civilization. However, it has been marred by theoretical objections rooted in anti-democratic and anti-Athenian sentiments (Roberts as cited by Gish, 2012: 1). Both ancient and modern critics condemned the democracy of that time as "mob rule" or "anarchy." Nevertheless, social science research indicates

that such criticisms were disagreements among the noble and philosopher classes about who should govern the state, rejecting the notion that "the people" were capable of governing themselves under the conditions of that time (Ober as cited by Gish, 2012: 1).

In more recent European history, we encounter the famous Magna Carta agreement. As is known, following the prolonged struggles of the barons against the monarchy in England, the Magna Carta was accepted by the king in 1215. This agreement emphasized the principle of the rule of law by establishing that the king, like all other citizens, was subject to the law (Carpenter and Prior, 2015: 5). In the subsequent period, democratic governance tendencies began to sprout across Europe, the concept of "popular sovereignty" gained special importance, and the idea of democracy gradually matured over time. Later, the French Revolution of 1789 and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen published by the French National Assembly on August 28, 1789, marked further significant steps towards democracy. We will not dwell extensively on such examples from the distant past.

When we look at the big picture presented by the historical process without getting bogged down in details, it seems that the masses and democracy have gained value simultaneously. So, what are the masses? In general terms, what kind of formation or entity are we talking about when we refer to the masses?

Starting from the fact that "the power of the masses" began to surface with greater impact as the most significant determining factor in governance since the end of the 19th century, Gustave Le Bon predicted that the 20th century would be an "age of the masses." According to him, in simple terms, a mass refers to a random group of individuals gathered for a specific purpose, regardless of their nationalities, professions, genders, or goals. An aimless crowd does not fall into the category of a mass. What makes a

crowd a mass is the common purpose around which they gather as an exciting, stimulating, and provocative factor. A mass can bring together people from different social classes and ideologies, and an individual loses their unique identity by merging within the mass. Within a mass, a professor and a farmer abstract themselves from their positions and characters to become increasingly identical. So much so that after a certain point, they become almost the same person in terms of their perspective, interpretation, and style. More precisely, the mass has tunnel vision; it only sees what's ahead and moves according to the commands given by its owner through the reins.

In a mass, quantity is not important. As long as it is focused on a specific goal, it can consist of a dozen people or a vast crowd. If it is not moving towards a common ideal, goal, or objective, even a crowd of millions cannot be called a mass. When we talk about a mass, we sometimes refer to a small group, a nation, or the followers of a religion. The key is that it is an organized community united around a cause or idea.

Additionally, the mass does not always have to be evaluated as a negative formation. There are also masses united around a righteous ideal (Gustave Le Bon, 2014: 24-25).

Regarding the formation process of mass movements, Eric Hoffer's thesis based on the concept of "disillusionment" seems quite logical. The initial supporters of all mass movements are individuals who have become disillusioned due to being wronged, and they form a mass by uniting with others who share the same pain. From this perspective:

1) Disillusionment itself is capable of creating many of the distinctive character traits of a true believer without the need for any external provocation.

2) An effective diversion technique can easily fulfill the function of training and directing the tendency to quickly believe and conform in disillusioned individuals in the desired direction (Hoffer, 2019: 7).

It is not accurate to perceive the masses as just a crowd gathered in a square. The individuals that constitute a mass can be in different places; however, because they are a community tightly organized around a common idea, belief, or purpose, they can come together with the slightest spark of provocation.

3-THE SPIRITUAL NATURE OF THE MASS

It is very clear that the science of psychology is the foundation of sociology, and it is impossible to understand mass psychology without understanding human psychology. However, when transitioning from human psychology to mass psychology, one also enters the realm of sociology. As Freud noted, psychology is the foundation of all social sciences, and sociology is essentially applied psychology (Freud, 1933: 179). This is also referred to as "social psychology." In general, communication sciences, particularly public relations, should be evaluated within the scope of applied psychology. To be honest, someone without a significant understanding of the science of psychology, especially someone who has not carefully read the theories of thinkers like Sigmund Freud, Gustave Le Bon, and Eric Hoffer, can never be a good communicator or PR professional. This is one of the main theses that this book tries to prove.

Let's first look at the nature of humans and then at the nature of the masses, and try to analyze both phenomena through some comparisons. This is because there is a great similarity and interchangeability between the two.

It is futile to seek reason, intelligence, and subtlety in the behaviors of the masses. The ability of a mass of a

hundred million to understand events, interpret them, and solve problems is much lower than that of an educated individual. In other words, the IQ level of the masses is no higher than that of a five-year-old child. To be honest, thinkers like Gustave Le Bon, Sigmund Freud, Edward Bernays, and Walter Lippmann believed that humans are genetically distant from deep thinking abilities, pure human feelings, and civilized subtleties. Every human has a cave inside them, and inside that cave is a monster (primitive, wild, and dangerous impulses). Primitive and animalistic feelings are always dominant and prevailing in humans. If their minds are not refined by education and their bodies are not suppressed by law, humans are the most primitive and dangerous beings on earth.

Under normal conditions, especially in rhetorical terms, everyone is good-hearted and inclined toward goodness. However, almost everyone wants to behave like teenagers who roam around freely with their peers, avoiding the oppressive and advising attitudes of parents and teachers—being mischievous, swearing, causing fights, and harassing the opposite sex. There is no end to the escape from the heavy and laborious advice of reason to the wild forests of instincts. While animals have limits in their evil, humans do not. Often, pleading for mercy from them is also in vain. This is because they are governed not by reason but by wild emotions; however, compared to humans, the masses are even further from the guidance of reason. All state and societal orders inspired by the universal social values brought by religions are only to keep humans under control.

The monster inside a human is certainly dangerous, but the monster within the masses is much more so. Humans are not entirely devoid of reason, after all. Despite everything, there is a small place for reason somewhere on the fringes of the human mind. Worse still, when a person joins a mass, even the weak guidance of reason disappears, making unconscious primitive impulses the sole and absolute authority governing behavior. In the unconscious world, and even in the darker and more dangerous second sub-

conscious region behind it, all primitive impulses waiting impatiently come to the fore and engulf the mind, giving the person a sense of power to do things they never thought of or wanted to do before. They become markedly brave and bold. Their sense of self rises to the skies, and their selfish desires increase. This process applies to everyone who becomes famous, rich, or possesses an attention-grabbing beauty or position, but it applies even more to ordinary people who have lived under harsh conditions for a long time, have been oppressed to the point of death, but later gained extraordinary power. A high position, immense fame, or great wealth gained after a period of severe poverty, deprivation, or suffering can certainly unleash primitive subconscious impulses in a savage attack. The person can no longer return to their former self. Once, Adolf Hitler was also a docile person. He wanted to be a painter. His goal was not to become a famous painter but to make a living. Because he was poor, simple, and had no power or authority, his ordinariness made him meek and timid. After gaining great power and extraordinary authority, the old Hitler disappeared, and the wild Hitler, who had been sitting quietly in the cave inside him for years, came out. Most people are good because they have not had the opportunity to be bad.

Based on this shared characteristic in the unconscious or subconscious worlds of both individuals and the masses, it may be beneficial to make a small observation. It is not difficult to predict that works in cinema, theater, and television that appeal to the primitive and wild impulses in the subconscious of individuals and society, thereby releasing that inner monster, will reach a larger audience. Despite all its simplicity and vulgarity, the character of Recep İvedik has achieved much higher ratings in Turkish society than many other film characters for precisely this reason. It has brought out the common monster within individuals and the masses. In those films, society has seen things it wants to do but cannot. It is clear that letting the monster out of the cave a bit in scriptwriting is very effective. In the meantime, it is, of course, important that moral values are not

compromised. No film is watched forever at the same rate; however, when moral values collapse, permanent damage occurs in society, and everyone suffers from it.

There are significant relationships between strong and widespread mass instincts and many situations in society. First of all, it can be said that it has a stalling or regressive effect on society in many aspects. Since individual characteristics, values, and resources quickly erode and disappear within the masses, the widespread spread of the mass instinct throughout a country will undoubtedly lead to a severe depletion of human resources. In other words, a significant loss of human resources, widespread non-productivity, and poverty can be expected. In such tragedies, the influence of state and leadership control should not be overlooked. The mass, also referred to as the "crowd," wants to see a shepherd with a stick, a capable "driver," at its head. Without this shepherd, it is a shapeless entity that cannot understand anything happening around it, cannot find solutions to any problems, and cannot accomplish anything. Therefore, almost every mass is destined to be a loyal flock to its shepherd. It seeks a strong-willed, tyrannical leader (shepherd), wants the convenience of seeing the world through his eyes, respecting him, fearing him, and taking orders from him. Throughout history, masses have erected the most majestic statues in honor of those tyrannical and capable shepherds.

To illustrate the reality of the mass spirit suffocating individuality, a linguistic example can be useful. If an "idiom" is considered a mass, the words that constitute it are individuals. As is known, two or three words with specific meanings combine to form idioms that carry a different meaning from their original meanings. When words are used within an idiom, they lose their meanings and serve the holistic meaning of the idiom. Therefore, even if you know the meanings of the words that make up an idiom, you may not understand the overall meaning the idiom is trying to convey. Just as words lose their original meanings when forming an idiom, individuals who join a mass also lose their

characteristics or transfer them to the mass spirit from that moment on. In this context, whether composed of religious or secular people, the basic dynamics that mobilize and govern the behavior of all masses are the same.

From this perspective, the problem is that the pressure from both leaders and regimes and the spirit of the masses are often two sides of the same coin. The mass spirit, which dissolves and eliminates individuality and is often reinforced by a strong leader, is usually the greatest barrier to social development. Similarly, the suppression of fundamental rights and freedoms by leaders or official authorities depletes human resources and halts multidimensional progress; however, a healthy and prosperous society can only grow in the soil of freedom. In both cases, the individual has two response options: rebellion or obedience. If society chooses or is forced to submit to the system's pressures, the natural development of science, philosophy, and art becomes stagnant or completely paralyzed. But can a mass of people, whose individuality is developed by being expressed in terms of their human talents and potential, exist? While it might appear somewhat unrealistic, historical examples demonstrate the existence of such masses, but this book delves into the fundamental dynamics of mass instinct from a broad perspective.

In this context, there is little doubt that the mass, a primitive and crude version of humanity, is dangerous and can form anywhere at any time. If a mass movement is expected to form somewhere and must be neutralized, it is necessary first to discuss whether the conditions that allow the mass to proliferate can be eradicated (Bester, 2015: 2).

If the conditions are suitable, the formation and growth of the mass are inevitable. Why should we be surprised by the growth of a plant sown in fertile soil with enough water? The mass cannot survive if the conditions (climate/environment) that gave birth to and sustain it are eliminated, as it will undergo a heavy intellectual metamorphosis and helplessly self-destruct. The death of the masses

can occur in total intellectual annihilation or by merging into other masses in pieces and dissolving within them. In such a case, the mass enters an interaction process with other masses, and new combinations are expected to emerge over time.

If the formation or gathering of the mass cannot be prevented initially, the problem of the mass should be resolved, or what it wants should be given as much as possible. When the mass, especially when formed around a new and attractive idea, or when it captures the "spirit of the time," grows very quickly and becomes difficult to stop. Therefore, the most intelligent attitude for official authority to take is to incorporate that idea within the framework of law and internalize it. Intervening with a mass that has captured the spirit of the time with violent methods will only exacerbate the problem. Particularly, a new idea that has reached a certain level of prevalence in the subconscious of society becomes an unstoppable force. From one place or another, a year later or ten years later, it will reemerge in some way.

The main characteristics of the psychic anatomy of this giant and peculiar entity called the "mass" in social science literature are listed below and analyzed as clearly as possible.

a-The crowd is dangerous because it acts not with reason but with unconscious primitive impulses

Even the most powerful and meticulous scientists have not found strong factors related to reason and consciousness behind human behaviors. There is very little data and evidence showing the contribution of reason and consciousness in determining a person's own decisions and actions. The truth is that humans act with emotions, not with reason. It can be said that these are unconscious primitive impulses located in the lower layers of consciousness. We have mentioned Sigmund Freud's view that under the wild and dangerous lower layer defined as the "subconscious" or "unconscious," there is a darker, hidden, primitive, and

dangerous second subconscious region. From this perspective, it becomes clear that fiery speeches on the virtues of acting with reason and consciousness largely lack scientific foundation. The greatest secret of those who have achieved great success is that, unlike the overwhelming majority who cannot escape the shadow of unconscious primitive impulses, they have somewhat listened to the voice of reason and consciousness. We say "somewhat" because if the majority exerts 1% effort in effectively using reason and prioritizing its directives, this effort might be around 5% or 10% for successful individuals.

If we had to stick to the above data, we would need to find coarser expressions to describe the lack of reason in the crowd compared to the individual; but for example, Adolf Hitler did not hesitate to occasionally say with a sneering attitude that the public was "boneheaded." Since the crowd is almost entirely devoid of reason, consciousness, and critical thinking, it sees all events as either perfectly good or purely evil. In its eyes, there is no gray area in the world. There are no other colors either. Everything around is either black or white. Due to this color blindness, it either fully accepts or completely rejects a thought. It takes many years for it to understand the content of ideological structures and the inner aspects or background of developing social events. Therefore, the messages given to the crowd must be direct and crude, and repeated for a long time. Especially when it comes to the crowd, Napoleon Bonaparte believed that repetition is the best, and even the only, teaching method. An interesting example of this can be seen in Necmettin Erbakan, a well-known figure in Turkish political history. Starting from the 1970s when he entered the political scene, he gained enough public support to sit in the prime minister's chair after a twenty-five-year period in which he persistently repeated a few slogans like "imitators," "national view," and "just order."

Since the crowd is governed by unconscious impulses or instincts, it is always under the influence of primitiveness. This is the greatest social law. This reality does not change even if all the actions of the crowd are straightforward. Therefore, while individuals within the crowd inf-

luence each other through contagion, they are also intensely exposed to the effects of external suggestions and provocations (Gustave Le Bon, 2014: 38-40).

According to Tarde, an individual moving within the herd "imitates" other individuals that make up the herd. According to Fischer and Tarde, herd movement is an act of imitation. Therefore, they replace the concept of "contagion" resulting from the submission described by Le Bon with the principle of "imitation." Individuals adopt crowd psychology by imitating each other because the factor of imitation is the main pillar of crowd psychology (Fischer, 2010: 14; Tarde, 1895: 8).

Anyone with slightly above-average intelligence and speaking skills can easily deceive a crowd. An average individual, when confronted with suggestions and provocations from the environment, may consult their reason and consciousness, feel fear, or rely on their instinct for self-preservation to remove themselves from the situation. However, if they become part of a crowd, their ability to think is significantly paralyzed, and they gain extraordinary courage, making them capable of participating in all kinds of savage acts swept along by the flood of the crowd. The emotions of the crowd within that unpredictable flood are far from stable. They rise, fall, and constantly change direction. Like leaves blown by the wind, where they go and where they stop is uncertain. A crowd is like an uneducated, crude, and wild person. It recognizes no obstacles on the path between the primitive desires stirring within it and the possibilities of their realization (Gustave Le Bon, 2014: 38-42).

Almost every mass movement instills in its followers a sense of willingness to die and act together. The program put forth by the crowd and the doctrine it promotes are unimportant. Whether it is reasonable, logical, or suitable to the context is not questioned. It fuels extremism, effort, dazzling hopes, hatred, and intolerance in line with the doctrine, teaching, or ideology it propagates. It is capable of orchestrating a strong flow of activity during specific peri-

ods of social division. It demands blind dedication and loyalty (Hoffer, 2019: 6).

The crowd is not an intelligent and rational entity but an emotional organism, much like children and overly emotional women. Indeed, it can easily be said that there are enough visible similarities between crowd instinct and the psychology of children and women. The boundaries of the imagination of women and children are undefined. They are often preoccupied with endless dreams. These can be simple daydreams or grand and brilliant dreams about the future. Just as a cunning person would do to deceive a child, intelligent crowd leaders do almost the same things to manage and direct a crowd. After all, in terms of mental development, the entity known as the crowd is no more advanced than a small and naive child. It is a fact that wisely adapted techniques within this comparison framework are very useful, especially in political life. For instance, evoking a sense of victimhood and eliciting pity, appearing sad, crying (a method frequently used by women and children), standing strong and upright despite all difficulties, appearing strong and compassionate, telling convincing lies, making effective oaths, creating an impression of indispensability, playing hard-to-get by pretending to leave, and similar techniques are employed; however, these techniques are applied in a logical sequence according to the circumstances during the leadership process.

b-Almost all large crowds consist of masses devoted to the cult of the sacred leader and the sacred state

Not every crowd necessarily has a leader; however, there is typically a founding ideologist followed by a succession of leaders who continue the process. The concept of leadership and the nature of the relationship between the crowd and its leader are independent and significant research subjects. Leadership naturally emerges wherever a certain number of animals or humans gather because every community needs a higher intellect to give it direction and gui-

dance. Ultimately, a crowd is like a herd that cannot go anywhere or do anything without its master standing at the helm. It seeks, finds, and eagerly awaits the commands and suggestions of its leader. In this sense, most crowds rely on the legendary cult of the leader. Charles Darwin believed that the most primitive form of human society was a "human herd" ruled by a strong man through violence and coercion. Sigmund Freud, while agreeing with Darwin, felt it necessary to remind us that this view is a "hypothesis." Freud argued that the developmental process of this herd left indelible traces in the inheritance, particularly in the first steps taken in the processes of religion, morality, and social organization, including totemism. He claimed that the despotic father leader of this human herd was eliminated through violence, transforming the herd into a community of brothers.

We depart from both esteemed thinkers by proposing that the survival chances of a human family or community in those times, with physical and emotional capabilities not as developed as today's, would have been extremely limited in the known savage and dangerous environment. Moreover, the latest archaeological findings at Göbeklitepe, a settlement dating back to 12,000 BC within the borders of the city of Şanlıurfa in Turkey, have formed a strong judgment in scientific circles that the first human family and the first human community derived from it were not primitive and savage at an animalistic level. Rather, they were a civilized human community organized around a large temple representing a sacred doctrine (www.onedio.com). Some scientists conducting research in the region propose that the central structure was an educational center for agriculture or animal husbandry, while others suggest it was a political and military structure. In our view, the grandeur of the temple itself demonstrates that it constituted the central thought while also organizing commercial, military, and political functions around it. This is sufficiently clear. This is because the messengers of sacred doctrines, who

aimed to regulate earthly life with universal principles of morality and justice, made extraordinary efforts to temper the endless desires, ambitions, and jealousies of mankind. It appears that there was an administrative structure shaped and organized around a magnificent temple.

In settled systems, the task of restraining society is provided by central authority and rules. However, the inevitable fate of every state and society is eventually to disintegrate and dissolve. The atomization of individual structures inevitably leads to chaos and conflicts. Whether the hypothesis that the temple was a center or executive organ of a sacred doctrine or an administrative, military, or commercial center is accepted as true, it can be predicted that primitive violent behaviors, said to be observed in the first human communities, became notably widespread during the process of some individuals and groups mentally and physically distancing themselves from the civilized central order over time.

On the other hand, we approve of the picture painted by C. Darwin and S. Freud of a leader figure with superior power amidst a human community composed of equals. In every human community, one person eventually rises to the position of leadership. All groups of humans, whether small or large, owe their unity, stability, and future to the mechanism of leadership. The leader is the brain of the society and, to some extent, its heart. When the leader is removed or the position of leadership collapses, the community is susceptible to chaos and disintegration until a new leader is found.

From the perspective of general perception, the leader is often seen as stern and flawless. He can shout at the crowd, scowl, insult, or demean them; yet such harsh and coarse attitudes only increase the crowd's respect for him. In the mind of the crowd, his positive traits are exaggerated and highlighted, while the negative ones are downplayed and ignored. His small kindnesses are sanctified, and his

wrath is tolerated. Even when he mistreats them, a small smile or compliment from him makes them forget everything and feel gratitude towards him once again. In the end, the leader is a sacred being. He is probably chosen by God. Therefore, he does not make mistakes. Even if he does, there is wisdom behind his actions, and the crowd must find and reveal that wisdom. If a good excuse cannot be found to cover up a mistake he made, it indicates a serious lack of insight in the crowd. Questioning and criticizing the leader translates as unforgivable rudeness, ingratitude, treason to the nation, and even disrespect to God. When someone points out a mistake of the leader, the crowd or the individuals within the crowd strive to use all their intelligence to defend and exonerate him. Even if they know their interlocutor is right, this behavior often does not change.

From a typological perspective, most of the individuals making up the crowd are seen as people who sit at home in their pajamas, picking their noses while watching TV, doing nothing but aging meaninglessly. This stereotype suggests that as they listen to their great leader's speeches on TV, their minds light up like a bulb, they find answers to all questions, and understand and solve the country's and the world's problems. They seize every opportunity to hang on to the leader's every word. When a new issue arises, they wait for the leader to speak on the matter before making any comments. As soon as they hear him, they are convinced and repeat his words verbatim everywhere. Their determination to continue the struggle, along with their belief that they have armed themselves with more destructive and lethal intellectual weapons against enemies thanks to their leader's statements, increases. Their hatred for traitors and ingrates who oppose their leader grows every day. Those who do not understand the leader and do not follow his path are certainly ignorant, stupid, or ungrateful because they cannot see an obvious truth. The leader knows everything, solves every problem, and overcomes every difficulty. He is a gift from God, a benefactor whose hands and feet

should be kissed and who is worth dying for. He is the pride of the nation. Although he often acts harshly, he is ultimately the father of the nation. He loves when he wants, and he beats when he wants. The biggest problem of the crowd is its need for a shepherd. When it comes to a crowd of fifty million, the picture that emerges is this: One person refuses to act with the collective mind of fifty million, while fifty million people follow the mind of one person. What makes the crowd a crowd, that is, what reduces the intelligence of a crowd of fifty million to the level of a five-year-old child, is this.

When discussing leader cults, it is also possible to mention hybrid formations. For example, if a leader is leading a religious or nationalist community and developing discourses that align with their mindset, the aforementioned characteristics of the crowd can be expected to intensify further. Nationalism and religiosity, when integrated into political rhetoric, exhibit the same content and tone of effects; however, when combined, they can significantly inflame political discourse. No strategy has been found more effective in achieving political leadership success than one that brings the crowd's religious and national emotions to the rally grounds with the most fervent statements. This style of politics, which is also a form of perception management, is certainly effective in gaining and maintaining power. In such an environment, it is natural for the party to transform into a political sect, for the communication between the party leader and the electorate to resemble a sheik-disciple relationship, and for the supporters to perceive opposing individuals and groups as "enemies of God," thus becoming inclined towards limitless violence. If there is an ongoing conflict, it is difficult to predict how much the level of violence might escalate.

On the other hand, it can be anticipated that religion and nationalism, instrumentalized for political goals, will undergo significant erosion over time. Throughout history, many religions have been worn out while being used as to-

ols in power and throne games and deformed when interpreted in line with the interests of leaders who either want to seize power or refuse to leave their seats of power. One does not need to be a scholar or a philosopher to know this. As long as some choose to interpret God's words through the lens of realpolitik and personal interests rather than trying to understand them with a clear mind and heart, the exploitation and deformation of religion will continue. Religion is like butter; when it spoils, it can turn into a kind of poison. It is no secret that this poison can also be turned into a dangerous substance that further numbs, confuses, and misleads the passive minds of the masses. Genuine religiosity based on original sacred texts is expected to awaken noble emotions such as reason, consciousness, love, compassion, justice, and conscience in people, and to increase individual and social responsibilities. It is also expected to suppress and control primitive unconscious impulses. However, in the minds of religious people whose brains are washed with the legends of the "sacred state" and "sacred leader," carefully served to society after being baptized in the river of religion, the traditional positive function of religion is reversed.

In today's world, the region where the myths of the "sacred leader" and "sacred state" are most deeply rooted and widespread is the Islamic world; however, when looking at Islamic sources, it is not possible to find concrete data on the sanctity of the state and the head of state. On the contrary, even a simple case analysis of the Asr-ı Saadet (The first age of Islam called "The Era of Happiness"), clearly shows that the state philosophy proposed by Islam is based on fundamental democratic principles such as "popular will", "the rule of law," "simplicity of the rulers," "transparency," "accountability," and "checks and balances."

c-The emotions of the crowd are simple, crude, and exaggerated. Looking for sensitivity and politeness befitting a human being in a crowd is futile

The emotions expressed by a crowd, whether good or bad, are generally simple, coarse, and exaggerated. Searching for human sensitivity and politeness there is in vain because the crowd's mind perceives events in a holistic or rigid block-like structure. There is no room for noticing details, thinking deeply, or making detailed analyses.

The exaggerated nature of its positive and negative emotions distances the crowd from hesitation and doubt. A small dissatisfaction with a certain person or event in a normal individual can turn into savage hatred on the scale of a crowd. The crowd cannot devise intricate plans, nor does it have the ability to understand that some people can engage in subtle and detailed intellectual maneuvers. Therefore, it must be carefully emphasized that the public is highly susceptible to the effects of mass persuasion tools such as "perception management," "disinformation," and "manipulation."

Since crowds can be mobilized more quickly with exaggerated and extreme rhetoric, the best path for the speakers who lead and direct them is to deliver ambitious and fiery speeches and then frequently repeat them. This is because the crowd does not act with reason but with primitive impulses and crude emotions. Fiery and provocative speeches entirely appeal to the primitive emotions of the crowd, and this is sufficient for achieving the goal. Indeed, the crowd wants to feel both the grandeur of the leader it perceives as a hero and the taste and smell of hatred against the enemy in his speeches. Hatred has the power to mobilize the crowd and make it rush madly towards the target. There is no obstacle that hatred cannot overcome. Therefore, the fire of resentment and hatred must never be extinguished.

d-The crowd is narrow-minded, prone to generalizations, and conservative

The conservatism of the crowd is a simple phenomenon that can be easily understood even through superficial and cursory observations. Even the most cunning philanderers become moral and virtuous watchdogs when they join a group, sometimes even more so than others. This is because they feel the moral pressure of those who guard the general principles of morality, even in such settings (Gustave Le Bon, 2014: 57). Therefore, leaders cannot completely turn away from traditional and conservative rhetoric.

Since the crowd is poorly informed and lacks reason, but has strong beliefs, it is not open to different opinions, criticism, or debate like individuals are. It is highly inclined to perceive everything in black-and-white terms, to make immediate generalizations, and to form categorical judgments. It struggles greatly to see the most natural differences and exceptions in life. It wants to suppress dissenting views with rudeness, insults, abuse, and even violence. Intolerance of difference, reactivity, fanaticism, and oppression are common traits of every crowd. The crowd is extremely dependent and loyal to the strong leader figure that will govern it. Without the leader, it feels helpless, unprotected, and hopeless. This is why it constantly searches for a shepherd with a steel will, ruthless, tyrannical, and ready to wield a stick. In this respect, crowds submit with astonishing respect to the dominant power and tyranny of leadership. A crowd eager to overthrow a weak authority stands in reverent submission before an authoritarian state and its tyrannical leader. Notably, throughout history, crowds have erected the most magnificent statues for cruel and tyrannical dictators.

e-The frightening power of the crowd makes it irresponsible, reckless, daring and aggressive

Individuals in the mass sacrifice their egos for the sake of the great ideal of the community, which is identified with the person of the leader. The ego of the individual melts away in the mass spirit (Freud as cited in Lothane, 2006: 9). The unique personality, identity, characteristics, and even to a great extent the talents and skills of everyone in a mass dissolve into the mass. That is to say, regardless of their profession, title, and position in daily life, everyone is the same from the moment they enter the mass. No one is any more or less than anyone else, but on the other hand, each individual is transformed into a mass. Each person feels that he or she has ceased to be himself or herself and has become a giant avalanche, and begins to have the illusion that he/she is all-powerful, that he/she can move mountains because he/she feels the irresistible power of a big crowd behind him/her. As social participation in the mass increases, so does the rigidity, rudeness, and bullying of individuals. When the mass, governed by primitive and savage impulses, acts to fulfill its desires, it is extremely violent, impulsive, and aggressive. The intellect of every individual inside is reduced to the level of the mass intellect. It is almost completely devoid of the power to think and question and has become frighteningly reckless, relying on the might of the crowd behind it. Whereas when one is alone one is very cowardly or hesitant about possible risks, when traveling in a group one is much less hesitant to intervene, to pick a fight, or to engage in conflict. Under the protection of the formidable organized might of the masses, everyday fears are minimized, internal obstacles such as fear of the state and the law, fear of prohibitions, difficulty, impossibility, and hopelessness are broken down, the pressure on the unconscious wild impulses that want him to do whatever he wants is loosened, and even primitive impulses are unchained. As the external obstacles shrink, the internal wild impulses grow larger and more aggressive. In such a situation, the individual reaches the delusion that he can

do anything he cannot do on his own. For example, people who are hesitant to murder under ordinary conditions may become capable of doing so easily in a mass movement. People who are hesitant to throw a can of a consumed beverage on the ground while walking down a street, to spit on the sidewalk, or even to pluck a flower while sitting in a park, may commit major crimes easily and with pleasure during mass actions. In this sense, the crowd can be said to be primitive, ruthless, and irresponsible. The courage of the person in the crowd increases, while their fear and sense of responsibility weaken. None of the snowflakes in the avalanche rolling down the mountain peaks feel responsible for the disaster that is about to occur. However, the aggression and recklessness of the masses should not be perceived as pure evil. Such situations can manifest themselves in a wide horizon ranging from the most barbaric atrocities to the most sublime heroism. The masses can turn into executioners or they can run to martyrdom for the sake of lofty ideals (Gustave Le Bon, 2014: 37-38; Freud, 1921: 74-78). The changes occurring in individuals within the crowd can be attributed to various reasons. For example, a person may believe that the actions they perform alongside a societal majority or large crowd must be correct. They hold the belief that something everyone is doing or a path everyone is taking cannot be wrong. They assume that actions supported by the majority must be right and legitimate, and even if they are wrong, they will not have to pay a heavy price. Even if they do have to face consequences, they believe that the punishment will be distributed among the crowd, causing minimal personal suffering. This mental illusion, where individuals think that what the majority does cannot be wrong, is referred to as "social proof." Observing that everyone is doing the same thing and not encountering any mass catastrophe is a sufficiently rational and convincing reason.

Like a drop of fresh water losing its unique content when it falls into the sea, each individual who joins the

crowd largely surrenders their mind to the crowd. In other words, those who enter a crowd largely lose their rationality, which is replaced by audacity, wildness, and madness. People who think they will not be alone in hell are more likely to take the risk of going there.

In conclusion, it should be noted that behind almost all revolutions, to varying degrees, there is always the wild thought flow and crazy gang violence of a crowd (Martin, 1940: 167).

f-Crowds are spineless. They can possess multiple identities and take on different characters over time

Under the influence of primitive impulses, the crowd moves on slippery ground and can suddenly change direction with an order or suggestion from leadership or any provocation from the environment. It can abandon something it believed in until recently and start believing in something it denied until yesterday. It can begin to love someone it has long sought to kill or start to hate someone it once loved so much that it wants to kill them. Thus, it is always possible for the crowd to fundamentally change its opinions with an order or advice from above. When we speak of a crowd, we are referring to a spineless, elastic organism that changes color like a chameleon according to the leader's mood or stretches in every direction like a snake.

g-The crowd is the enemy of the "present time." It must be intoxicated with the hopes of a glorious future under the bright victories of the past

The greatest enemy of the crowd is the present time. This is because the crowd lives between the victories of the past and the grand dreams of the future. The crowd's dislike for today is also a fundamental factor explaining its lack of principles and morality. Thus, most crowds strive to pro-

duce a prototype of a stubborn and insensitive person. They speak against pleasure and comfort, praise a ruthless and intolerant life, consider simple entertainment as vile behavior, and claim that efforts for personal happiness are "immoral." When a person entertains themselves, it means they are cooperating with the enemy, that is, the present time. The propaganda of most crowd movements, encouraging a rejection of worldly pleasures, aims to devalue the present time. This campaign against humankind's ancient desire and tendency to enjoy life is an attack aimed at detaching the tentacles clinging to the "now" like an octopus. The aura of secrecy surrounding the crowd movement is one of the means to devalue the "now." The present time is a pale and distorted reflection of the universe of "unknown things" beneath and above us. The present time is an insignificant shadow and a foolish dream; however, it is impossible to devalue the present without realizing the hope of a brighter future. All crowd movements try to devalue the present by describing it as the "first step towards a bright future." The present time is a doormat on the threshold of many awaited periods of great happiness, the first station on the road to the desired utopia, or a vile adventure before the ultimate victory. The glory of the past can be used as a tool to demean the present time; however, without connecting it to a hopeful future, merely exaggeratedly displaying the past cannot provide the courage needed by the crowd movement and can even lead to hesitation. Undoubtedly, a great torch of hope lit for a "bright future" is a powerful energy source that can instill courage in the crowd and kill individuality; it can even have a stronger effect than the source intended to be revealed by demonizing the present time. Even if a crowd movement is not engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the established order, it must focus the minds and hearts of its supporters on the ideal of a shining future. Without hope, mutual sacrifice and cooperation are extremely limited. If our lives consist only of today, we cling tightly to everything we have and fear losing it; but if the awaited beauties are yet to come, it becomes

easier to share the blessings we have with others. The diffe-rences between the behaviors of the members of a political party whose hopes for power are increasingly flourishing and those of a political party that has lost hope have repea-tedly shown that unity and cooperation are closely tied to hope. The bonds of togetherness among those who fall into despair break, and each pursues their interests. In conditi-ons where hope has been exhausted, shared common suf-ferings destroy the spirit of togetherness and sacrifice while tremendously reviving selfishness. In ancient Egypt, the Jews, living a slave life and being crushed under heavy oppression, were a crowd of people constantly quarreling with each other. To bind these people together and make them a single body, the prophet Moses gave them the hope of "promised lands." In the Buchenwald camp, one of the largest concentration camps established by the Nazis, there was ruthless selfishness and greed far more brutal than those seen in the most primitive and worst of free societies. In the camp, thirty thousand prisoners writhing in despair showed no signs of sacrifice, unity, or collective action. Ins-tead of thinking about how they could help each other, they used all their intelligence to exert pressure on others and to ensure their own individual safety and superiority.

Thus, the person who has completely visualized the glory of the past and the shining world of the future in their mind (the individual within the crowd) sees themselves as part of a utopia extending infinitely backward and forward. The individual there is a part walking towards eternity. The disappearance of the "now," and thus their own life, has lost its significance in their eyes. The clear images of the past and the future plunder the reality of the "now," ma-king it seem like a simple part of a spectacle or a parade. Followers of the crowd movement see themselves as wal-king towards a bright future amidst the sounds of drums and showers of confetti (Hoffer, 2019: 53-58). Therefore, the crowd thinks with dreams and acts with dreams. More-over, the fact that the dreams presented to them are huge

lies does not change anything. No matter how attractive the promises for today may be, they do not resonate in the soul of the crowd; but it has been observed that the crowd tightly clings to grand dreams, ideals, and utopias even if they are about a hundred and fifty years into the future. As long as they are grand and bright utopias that soothe the soul of the crowd. In this regard, those who want to influence and gain the favor of a crowd for one reason or another must offer them grand dreams and hopes for the future. There is no benefit in trying to tell the crowd plain and concrete truths and being intellectual and polite while doing so, showing graphs, or using philosophical language. They need shiny utopias. For example, a politician who wants to captivate the crowd should have a tough character, walk like a neighborhood bully, speak in a simple, common language that everyone can understand, frequently raise their voice, insult opponents with a stern face and frowning eyebrows, and embody a 'man's man' persona who gets what they want. The mind of the crowd perceives polite politicians as weak feminine characters. They do not trust them, do not want to rely on them, and do not wish to entrust their grand dreams and expectations to them. The problem is that the crowd, with its deficient understanding and weak comprehension abilities, cannot understand the leader's games of thrones, cunning maneuvers, tricks, and traps. In Turkish society, there is a saying: "The liar's candle burns until dusk." If we adapt this saying to crowd psychology, it can be said that the lies that political leaders ignite in society can continue to burn even years later. Just as five-year-old children realize some lies only in their twenties, the crowd may understand some political lies only fifteen to twenty years later. The greatest skill of politicians is knowing the spirit of the crowd better than anyone else. Therefore, no one is as adept at pragmatism as statesmen and politicians. Especially if they have tanks and televisions standing behind them...

There are crowds of various sizes everywhere in the world. Speaking of the Islamic geography, all political parties, religious orders, non-believers, ideological organizations, and even women are each a crowd. No one who does not distance themselves from the crowd they are part of can think independently and objectively, activate their mind and intelligence, realize their unique human potential, and therefore see objects and events "as they are." Such a person is always open to the effects of propaganda, manipulation, disinformation, and provocation. One of the biggest reasons why Islamic countries in general and Turkey, in particular, have not been able to get rid of instability and turmoil is that the human resources potential has not been transformed into production at the desired level due to the inadequacy of the education system, and the other is that the ethnic, religious, sectarian and political groups in the society have separated and distanced themselves from each other within the basic laws of mass instinct. The summary of the visible picture is ignorance and division. For example, those who travel abroad frequently and successful researchers and observers must have easily noticed that the people of Islamic countries are excessively politicized. These societies follow politicians, political developments, and statements all day long. As soon as they check their phones, turn on their televisions, or open their newspapers in the morning, they first read the political news, then they discuss it all day long; but there is something they are not aware of. In the Islamic world, most elections are formalities, and politics is perceived as the art of deceiving society. Traditions such as referendums and plebiscites have rarely been observed, as politicians or statesmen often lack the virtue of seeking public opinion on their plans, projects, and actions. According to the established political culture, the public is not a respected entity whose voice should be heard, but an unqualified crowd that needs to be deceived. Whoever is more successful at deceiving the public rises rapidly in politics and is admired. In this sense, the vast majority of citizens in Islamic countries are eit-

her partisans, followers, or partisan followers. There is almost no fourth citizen profile. From the perspective of governance skills, these three are the same thing. As long as this structure persists, Islamic societies will continue to experience internal segmentation, increasing the risk of physical and political fragmentation. This is due to the ongoing influence of internal and external power centers that manage, direct, and provoke these societies. However, in a society where the majority are educated and conscious individuals, manipulation and provocation become significantly more challenging.

Suppose the reader has perceived the data presented so far regarding the mental level of the crowd as entirely negative. In that case, a need arises for a technical and ethical correction. This is merely a dispassionate observation. Le Bon expressed this reality, which also provides advantages to humanity, as follows: "If crowds were communities that acted rationally and prioritized material interests, there would be no revolts, revolutions, or uprisings on earth, no civilization would be born, and therefore, humanity would have no history" (Gustave Le Bon, 2014: 58). This means that it is not correct to evaluate the stupidity of crowds solely as a "bad" phenomenon. This is an ongoing social law and has brought significant benefits to humanity. It must be emphasized again and with care that the unconscious primitive impulses driving the crowd have been the main dynamic of all important historical movements. If the crowd acted like educated, knowledgeable, and rational individuals, behaving intelligently and cautiously, there would be no social changes or revolutions in human history, nor would there be any literature in social sciences.

Moreover, the fact that an individual descends to the intelligence level of a small child by shedding their superior personal qualities within the crowd should not be understood as them remaining at that shallow level in all areas of daily life. Outside the crowd, in daily life, individuals can be quite colorful, independent, and productive. The mentioned

loss of rational and logical altitude is specific to situations where the individual is involved in the collective life of the crowd.

h-The crowd cannot see details
The connections between some events or phenomena are loose and superficial, while between others, there are truly concrete, deep, and meaningful relationships. The crowd cannot use inductive reasoning, deductive reasoning, analogy, or any other method of logical thinking. It does not strive to establish meaningful relationships between events. Instead, it hastily combines a set of events or phenomena that have no inherent connection or only appear to be connected, leading to urgent generalizations. For the crowd to generalize, it is sufficient for two identical or similar events to occur consecutively once.

As previously mentioned, collective intelligence is far removed from systematic thinking processes, such as making thorough comparisons and establishing cause-and-effect relationships. It cannot perceive or develop subtle ideas and is very unfamiliar with analytical thinking and intellectual labor. Even if there are major contradictions in the leader's ideas and speeches, the crowd does not notice them. It is not bothered by the leader making something permissible today that was prohibited yesterday, praising those he insulted yesterday, breaking his promises, or going back on his word within a few days. If he does such things, there must be a reasonable explanation.

Notably, speeches by master politicians during important moments exhibit striking simplicity. The shorter, simpler, and more emotionally charged a speech is, the more effective and lasting it is in the soul of the crowd. A speech that could fill a book is not more impactful or enduring than a few simple, short sentences. Society adopts simple ideas that are frequently repeated. It internalizes these ideas by hearing and repeating them for centuries. Once new ideas are accepted, it will take just as long to uproot

them from within society. Society has difficulty digesting new ideas; however, once digested, it does not easily abandon them. Social values based on religious beliefs, established traditions, and customs are the most vivid examples of this. The history of rebellions and revolutions consists of some cracks that have gradually occurred in these fundamental thoughts over time.

i-The most effective way to deceive crowds is to learn to sell grandiose utopias through religion and nationalism

Most successful politicians are cunning utopia sellers. Crowds think in terms of dreams. In the subconscious of the crowd, dreams are more vivid and effective than realities. One of the greatest proofs of this is that a significant portion of the crowd's mind consists of stories, legends, fairy tales, and grand and dazzling utopias. Imaginary stories shown in movies, TV series, theater plays, and songs are the fundamental elements that determine and direct the flow of the crowd's consciousness. Moreover, as the crowd's level of education decreases, the impact of these factors increases. Dreams are so influential that, for example, society can never imagine that actors who constantly play the "good guy" role in movies could be bad in real life. Conversely, it cannot conceive that someone who always plays the "bad guy" role in movies could be a good person in real life. If an actor has always played the role of a harasser in films, not even seven billion people together can convince the crowd that he is a moral and honorable person. The primitive mind of the crowd cannot grasp deep and complex ideas. Therefore, politicians, in particular, draw bright pictures in the subconscious of the society to influence it. They talk about imaginary pictures showing how happy people will be five years, ten years, or twenty years later. Moreover, they often talk about great goals that they do not believe in. Themes of religion, morality, and homeland come at the forefront of these. They embellish the promises

and dreams they draw of a bright future in the dream world of society with religiosity, nationalism, and moral virtues. Religious, moral, and patriotic symbols and discourses are the most functional ways to communicate with the crowd, gain its interest, love, and support, then settle into the seat of power, and if possible, never get up from that seat. However, the crowd neither knows that a politician has come from a dirty and slippery path without any principles of religion and morality nor can it endure the mental effort of comparing his religiosity discourse with his life. It is far from the challenging mental exercises of testing thoughts and beliefs by confronting them with the harsh realities of life. Therefore, a foolish game of coercion and deception is played over all crowds that value national, religious, and moral values (Martin, 1940: 8). Politicians, who have to become successful perception management experts to gain the favor of the people for the sake of office, wealth, fame, and applause, consequently have to learn to be cunning exploiters of religion and nationalism and good actors.

One of the fields where such mind games are most effectively used is intelligence units. The perception management tactics of British intelligence services, which are considered to be much more expert than all other secret services, are circulated worldwide. At this point, the question of whether perception management games are ethical may come to mind as a legitimate and necessary question. There is a short answer to this: The ground of politics is not suitable for a moral understanding to flourish and develop. If it can be claimed that the state and especially politics in any country in the world have a high level of principle and moral discipline, certainly, this does not derive from God and religion because people with a strong sense of morality and honesty are quickly removed from the political scene. The state and politics must always be bridled by laws. This is why in countries where parliamentary democracy is institutionalized, a separate political parties law or a political ethics law has been enacted.

By nature, repeated pain is met with a certain resistance in both the spirit of the crowd and individuals. A society that hears news of several martyrs every day becomes desensitized to the pain. Even if it sees the coffins of sons dying before their fathers every day in wartime, it will only experience weak and temporary fits of anger. In such situations, patriots share a few sentences of revenge along with condolence messages on social media and then return to their daily affairs. Life goes on; however, if they watch one of the dramatic martyrdom stories live in a TV series or movie, their tears will flow.

Stalin must have said the following words to describe the indifferent attitude of the crowd towards constantly prominent disasters: "The death of one man is a tragedy; the death of a million is a statistic" (Uybadın, 2015: 101).

4-THE PROCESS OF FORMATION OF THE THOUGHTS AND ACTIONS OF THE CROWD

We previously explained that civilizations are formed from a limited number of fundamental ideas, which are accepted by society through a difficult and long process, and that once generally accepted, they are just as difficult to abandon. Additionally, we discussed that all past rebellions, revolutions, and uprisings were the result of some cracks and fractures in the historical flow of these fundamental ideas. In this section, we will shed light on the processes by which the fundamental ideas and beliefs of crowds are formed.

The most effective factors influencing the thoughts and actions of crowds can be examined under two headings: 'distant factors' and 'proximate factors.' Distant factors refer to an intellectual preparation stage that spans centuries. In contrast, proximate factors include preparatory elements from the recent past covering months, years, or at most, a few decades.

The republican revolution in Turkey can be considered a good example of distant factors. As is well known, following the victory of the War of Independence, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk declared the republic and then carried out a series of reforms. Thus, a new state called the "Republic of Turkey" was born from the ashes of the war. The proximate factor preparing this revolution was the neutralization of the occupying enemy elements in the country, while the distant factor was all the reform movements accumulated from the Tanzimat period to that day. Similarly, before the French Revolution, the proximate factors included the palace's resistance to and harsh interventions against the people's demands for innovation, while the distant factors were the oppression of previous administrations and the increasingly accumulated new thoughts, criticisms, and reform movements in both quantitative and qualitative terms.

5-FOUNDING LEADERSHIP AND ITS VITAL ROLE IN THE FORMATION AND CHANGE OF VALUE JUDGEMENTS OF THE MASS

From the earliest known eras, the inequality in the distribution of power within human communities has always existed. This situation is partly due to external necessities and partly to certain unchanging characteristics of human nature. All collective endeavors, activities, and actions can only take place under some form of leadership or administrative body. For example, if a house is to be built, an engineer and an architect must decide on its plan. If a railway is to be constructed and operated, it is clear that the routes and schedules cannot be left to the whims of the engineers. If a road is to be built, knowledgeable and authorized individuals must decide how and where it will be constructed. If a government is to be elected and a country to be governed, there must be those who give orders on one side and others who obey those orders on the other side. This factual inequality of power can be explained through the psychology and physiology of individuals. Some people's characters are inclined to command others, while others

are inclined to obey. Between these two extremes are ave-
rage individuals who may prefer to command in some situ-
ations and to follow a leader in others. In this sense, the
drive to seize power manifests in two forms: openly in lea-
ders and covertly in those who follow leaders.

When people willingly follow a leader, they do so with
the aim of seizing power together with the group led by the
leader. The leader's successes seem like their own victories.
Many people do not see themselves as capable of leading
their community to victory, so they seek a leader who pos-
sesses the courage and skill necessary to achieve the goal.
The same drive can be seen in religions. Nietzsche accused
Christianity of building a morality of slavery by instilling a
sense of servitude in people; however, Christianity has
always determined its ultimate goal as follows: "Blessed are
the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." If this is a mora-
lity of slavery, then every soldier who endures all the
hardships of a campaign for the sake of adventure and
gain, and every politician who works tirelessly during a
campaign, must also be considered a slave. However, those
who follow a leader in tasks that genuinely require coopera-
tion and solidarity are not psychologically more enslaved
than the leader himself. This is what makes the inevitable
inequality of power, which increases rather than decreases
as social solidarity develops, bearable (Russell, 1999: 16-
18).

By the nature of social life, from small public activities,
actions, and services to state systems and international
organizations, all organizational and social projects and
activities require someone who gives orders and crowds to
follow those orders. Hence, the mission of leadership is a
law of life. Leaders emerge as a necessity, and where there
is leadership, the presence of a crowd (the mass) that obeys
is inevitable. Seeking a reliable logic behind attempts to
associate these natural and necessary processes with dra-
matic concepts like "mastery" and "slavery" is futile. On the
other hand, in the context of factors that drive the leaders-
hip mechanism, it is necessary to refer to the ambition for

power, one of the fixed laws of human nature. This is because the love of power, which grows in some people's minds to the extent of a delusion of divinity, is one of the main factors that give birth to leadership and power.

Here, we need to examine one of the fundamental differences between humans and animals. For example, when a kilogram of food is placed in front of a few hungry cats in a garden, each eats until it is full and then walks away, roams around, plays, or sleeps. They do not consider that other cats from outside might eat the remaining food, nor do they worry about not finding food when they get hungry again. Once they are full, they do not think about food, worry, fear, or plan until they are hungry again. Therefore, they do not stash the remaining food for later. Although some animals do store food, it is clear that they do so not out of fear of hunger but as an instinctive behavior necessary for the continuation of the ecosystem. Once their bellies are full, the only thing cats do is enjoy themselves. Thus, it can be said that cats have a reasonable limit to their desires and do not know the feeling of "ambition" unless their lives are in danger or their mating seasons come.

What about humans? Consider a man who starts as a research assistant at a university. First, he completes his master's degree. Then, his doctoral studies... He has now become an "assistant professor." He might think he is an important person, but he is not satisfied. Next is the title of associate professor. After that, he will roll up his sleeves to become a full professor. He works hard, and eventually, he achieves this goal. He is now a professor, a great man. His belly is full, and his back is strong, but because human desires are endless, he then sets his eyes on the position of dean. He uses the connections or references he can find to get appointed as the dean of a faculty. After some time, he begins to ask himself questions like, "Why can't I be the rector?" He imagines the rectorate position he believes he deserves. He continues to strive ambitiously. One day, he sits in the rectorate chair. Now he constantly meets with deputies, ministers, and top-level bureaucrats. Years pass,

and he has had his fill of the rectorate. This time, he wants to be a deputy. Being a deputy is not enough; he wants to be the prime minister. He becomes the prime minister, but being a dictator would be better. That is not enough either. He wants to be a god who cannot be questioned, criticized, opposed, or challenged. He wants to be everywhere, to be visible everywhere, and to be applauded with love or fear wherever he goes. He desires everyone to bow before him and worship him. Human desires have no end or limit. Almost all leadership and power processes originate from this limitless ambition. Masses and leaders emerge in these processes. It is usually impossible to climb to the top of the state without convincing the masses.

It should now be well understood that there are significant and intricate connections between a leader's quest for power and mass psychology.

Continuing with Bertrand Russell's expressions, it can be claimed that even in the moments when we are the happiest, it is natural for us to desire death like Othello, lamenting that happiness is not eternal. For mankind, it is not possible to achieve unlimited and endless happiness. All earthly sovereignties are limited by other sovereignties. Even if the sovereignties and powers of the world were safe from all dangers, they would eventually be overthrown by old age and death, because no mortal is exempt from the laws of nature. Only God has attained complete happiness, for absolute sovereignty, power, glory, and honor belong to Him. A little more power may seem sufficient for those with little power; however, those who think so are mistaken. Human desires are insatiable. They can only be appeased in God's infinite realm. In this sense, while it is enough for animals to continue their lives and reproduce, mankind constantly wants to expand. More interestingly, human desires and needs extend to the places reached by imagination. Among these, one of the unbounded impulses is the desire to gain power and glory. If possible, every human being would want to achieve power and authority similar to that of God. Indeed, some of them must be made of the

same stuff as Milton's devil, as they cannot accept that power is limited. This behavior, resulting from their belief in nobility and unlimited power, is particularly evident in great conquerors; however, even a small trace of it exists in every person. As such, this is what makes social cooperation and solidarity difficult because each of us tends to position ourselves as God within this cooperation and wants to classify and shape our relationships with others as "God and worshippers of God." Economists adhering to established views that suggest private economic interest can be considered the fundamental motivation in sociology, along with Karl Marx, who shares their opinions, and who are mistaken. The greed for wealth, when separated from the greed for power, fame, and glory, is not unlimited. It can be satisfied with a material income sufficient for sustenance. When reasonable comfort is ensured, individuals and societies chase after power and influence (expansion) rather than wealth. They may wish to acquire wealth to gain power or to increase their wealth to strengthen their power; however, in both cases, their fundamental motivations are not economic. The shared fallacy of established economics and Marxist economics holds not only theoretical importance but also great significance in practical applications, leading to the misunderstanding and erroneous interpretation of some recent events. Unless it is clearly understood that the primary cause of actions playing a significant role in social issues is the desire for power, it does not seem possible to make accurate interpretations and determinations about the history of ancient and recent times (Russell, 1999: 11-12). From this perspective, there is no doubt that the charm emanating from leadership influence plays a dominant role in shaping fundamental ideas and judgments along with the anatomical formation of the masses. Leadership is one of the strong laws of social nature. The law of leadership, which is valid in many animal communities, starts to function automatically wherever humans form a group, community, or society. All human communities that become aware of the fact that they will live together for a reasonable period inevitably choose a leader. They do this either consciously and willingly or instinctively.

This is a natural and necessary social law that produces a political order. On the other hand, it is easier to comprehend the leader profile or leader charisma within mass psychology. Every mass is like a flock of geese in need of a shepherd to guide them. They inevitably find that shepherd, pledge allegiance to them, and show loyalty. If we proceed from the fact that every need in life has a counterpart, the flock's need for a shepherd is also not left unanswered. These people who shape, manage, direct, mobilize, and lead nations and smaller human communities are called "leaders." Let's share one more piece of information here related to the subject: Not every leader is a dictator. Not every dictator can be a leader. Many leaders behave like dictators from the beginning. Even if they are not like that at first, most of them die as dictators in the end. What is indisputable here is that the concept of "mass" cannot be considered, understood, or explained independently of leadership and dictatorship. So, what kind of people are leaders? What sets them apart from ordinary people, and what unique traits distinguish them from others? What roles do they play in the formation and development processes of the masses? Below, the leadership mechanism in connection with the formation and development of masses is examined.

a-Leaders are extraordinary people who have managed to escape the prison of society

The state and society offer various identities and roles to individuals. They define themselves within certain social roles or positions, such as "I am a mother, a woman, a man, a father, a teacher, a worker, a villager, an officer, a Buddhist, a Kurd, an Arab, a Catholic, a Protestant, a celebrity, rich, beautiful, ugly…" Most people exaggerate these identities and roles so much that they turn them into personal prisons. Their lives get stuck there. They often lock the door from the inside and remain trapped there (Cüceloğlu, 2019: 21-22). Leaders do not want to enter any of those prisons. Even if they have entered, they have already escaped. This is the

biggest difference that separates them from the herd and makes them leaders.

Leaders' minds work very differently, their spirits are extremely passionate and wild, making them nonconformists. They cannot and do not want to conform to society. They are interventionists and change-makers; but at the same time, they are smart, diplomatic, and cautious. Leadership requires walking a difficult, dangerous, long path. Therefore, a leader must be a smart, determined, and courageous warrior. It is never possible for obedient individuals who are content with living in the invisible prisons of the cultural and socio-political environment, who do not try to escape from there, and who cannot show the courage to object to society and official authority to ascend to the position of leadership.

b-The most obvious feature of a leader is their devotion to a specific idea to the level of faith

A leader is devoted to the idea or utopia they put forward to the level of faith. They seem to be enchanted by that idea (utopia). The only thing that is good and right is their ideal. Everyone and everything outside of it or opposed to it is bad, cursed, and ugly. So much so that they have a hostile attitude towards all other views and thoughts. The fire of intense faith and excitement, free of the slightest doubt, is capable of moving mountains. In a true leader, the fervor of faith and the ability to embody that faith in the masses are extremely visible.

c-The majority of leaders have a relatively weak intellectual fabric but extremely strong active qualities

By nature, it is expected that a leader's quality of being a man of action is much stronger. The reason for this is that the activist character of intellectual personalities is generally weak. More precisely, intellectuals are somewhat cowardly and timid. However, the greatest needs of a leader

are courage, excitement, perseverance, and action. In this sense, a leader is someone who roams the borders of madness. Someone who thinks and feels like the majority of society can never be a leader. Leaders emerge from those who reject the general acceptance of society. It is not possible for someone who is not at least partially crazy and contrary to invent a new idea, open a new path, and take the initiative in that direction.

d-Sacrifice manifests at an optimal level in a leader

A true leader is ready to give up everything for the utopia that completely occupies their mind. Family, friends, and even their own life become entirely insignificant. They are willing to be a martyr for their cause. Such faith, enthusiasm, and courage are among the most important qualities that the masses want to see. Such strong faith and courage bestow a fiery influence on the leader's rhetoric that deeply affects the masses. Masses, lacking the ability of will and rational evaluation, are instinctively inclined to gather around and follow such faithful and determined leaders, much like sunflowers constantly turning their faces toward the sun (Gustave Le Bon, 2014: 118).

The unwavering faith and self-sacrifice of the leader have a profound effect on the masses. Indeed, the primary factor that breathes life into a mass movement is the leader's ability to awaken in their followers the desire and inclination for "acting together and self-sacrifice." Unless it is accepted that the greatest function of mass movements is to develop and maintain a method for ensuring collective action and self-sacrifice, it is impossible to understand the nature of a mass movement. Knowing such a method means being able to see the emotional and intellectual background of most of the characteristic behaviors of an active mass movement. With few exceptions, any human community that forms a closed unity maintains that unity, and awakens a sense of self-sacrifice in its followers is conside-

red to have acquired the fundamental characteristics of a mass. When the existence of a nation is in danger and the feelings of unity and sacrifice need to be strengthened among the people, the entire nation assumes the character of an ordinary mass. Whether a crowd transforms into a mass movement depends not on the doctrine it presents but on the level of effort it shows to ensure sacrifice and unity (Hoffer, 2019: 46-47). As mentioned above, the responsibility of instilling and imparting these qualities to the masses lies on the shoulders of the leader. The leader must set an example for the masses in maintaining unity and making sacrifices, not only with their rhetoric but also with their actions. The mass leader must not be offended by anyone within the community, must not exclude anyone, and must strive to keep their followers by their side and in solidarity under all circumstances. If hunger is to be experienced at any stage of the mass movement, the leader must be willing to starve before anyone else and more than anyone else. Otherwise, the mass begins to dissolve and disintegrate.

e-Leaders present grand and inspiring dreams (great tidings and promises) for the future of society

Speaking of harsh realities to society has no benefit or feedback. This is because the masses, who have limited understanding, are not interested in the tedious and complex tasks of thinking, researching, and questioning. Whenever they need it, they turn to ready-made thought packages. When a new topic comes to the public agenda, someone connected to the masses does not feel the need to research, question, or think; they just want to know what the leader and their close associates say about the topic. They select the sentences they like most from what they hear and use them as weapons against opponents. This is because they do not like to think and produce original ideas, but rather prefer the utopias and fantasies served to them

on a platter. Society should be presented with dreams that are so great and bright that they seem impossible. The public is eager to listen to purchasable dreams and tall tales. Much like wealthy and lazy men who order meals three times a day because they disdain cooking... Therefore, a good leader should present the masses with inspiring dreams. The bigger the lie, the larger the crowd that follows. The more significant the news is shared, the more excitement it generates in society and the more credible it appears. While these are cheap lies and common material in daily politics used by artificial leaders trying to present themselves as "heroes," we cannot say that all the grand visions promised by well-known true mass leaders have been completely wasted. Many leaders have made specific efforts to realize the dreams they promised. Adolf Hitler promised the German people a great German empire that would dominate the world, and later he occupied or annexed at least fifteen countries in Europe. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin promised not only the Russian people but all the nations of the world a "dictatorship of the proletariat" that would bring enough land, bread, and peace for everyone. Over time, he captured half of Europe and implemented many elements of the socialist economic model in his spheres of influence. During the occupation years when there was no glimmer of hope left in the country, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk presented the Turkish nation with the vision of "liberation from occupation," "independence," and "reaching the level of contemporary civilization." He then organized the resistance across Anatolia, defeated the enemy armies, and during his fifteen-year presidency, established around forty-five factories, including an aircraft factory, while also initiating a series of revolutions. His statement "Every factory is a fortress," emphasizing the importance of production for the happiness and independence of a nation, holds historical significance. From this point on, it is also necessary to mention the existence of certain texts that contain the philosophies and visions of leaders. Sacred books are the most typical and clear examples. Similarly, Mustafa Kemal's spe-

eches "Address to the Youth", and "The Communist Manifesto," first published by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels on February 21, 1848, can be considered good examples. Another of the most concrete examples is the historical speech given by human rights activist and advocate for equality, Martin Luther King, to an enthusiastic crowd of about two hundred thousand people gathered around the Lincoln Memorial on August 28, 1963. This impressive speech, which has become synonymous with the phrase "I have a dream," has made significant contributions not only in the United States but around the world in ending ethnic discrimination and ensuring equal opportunities. The full text of the speech is as follows:

I am happy to join you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty amid a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his land. And so we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to

which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the "unalienable Rights" of Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so, we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of Now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. And there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold that leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.

We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must pledge that we shall always march ahead.

We cannot turn back.

Some are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: "For Whites Only." We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied,

and we will not be satisfied until "justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. And some of you have come from areas where your quest -- quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair, I say to you today, my friends.

And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of "interposition" and "nullification" -- one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight; "and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together."

This is our hope, and this is the faith that I go back to the South with.

With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

And this will be the day, this will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning:

My country is of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrim's pride, From every mountainside, let freedom ring!

And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.

But not only that:

Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi.

From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

And when this happens, and when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews, and Gentiles, Protestants, and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual:

Free at last! Free at last!

Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!

This is truly an impressive and compelling speech. It has caused severe tremors in the subconscious of both the listening masses and opposing groups, igniting significant developments in areas such as democracy, the rule of law, equal opportunities, fundamental rights, and freedoms in the country.

To give a few more examples, the vision of Turgut Özal, who served as the Prime Minister of Turkey for roughly ten

years, that the Turkish economy would be among the world's top ten economies in the following decade, the promise of "two keys for every home" (a house and a car) by Tansu Çiller in the subsequent period, and the "Target 2023" and "Target 2071" rhetoric during the AK Party era can all be considered within the scope of great dreams presented to the masses. Whether these visions are realistic, or whether individuals will live to see their realization, is of no concern to the masses. It is certain that the great and bright dreams presented to the masses positively contribute to the establishment and continuation of the order envisioned by the leadership. The masses often tolerate the harsh realities of today in the intoxication of a magnificent future dream that they may never achieve. They prefer to follow leaders who promise a wonderful future and speak of sweet dreams rather than those who tell them pure and harsh truths. This is because they lack the functional mind to make cold-blooded evaluations.

Poor masses can be intoxicated and consoled with great dreams; but if a bit of fake religion and nationalism sauce is added on top of the dreams, the happiness of the masses can last for a generation.

f-Leaders are revolutionary because they change the mental schemas of the masses

There are schemas in the human mind. These are fixed ideas and beliefs. When a person encounters new information or judgment, they try to match it with one of the established schemas in their mind. If they cannot make an exact match, they most likely reject it. If they do not want to reject it because they like the new idea or belief, or because they like the person presenting it, they either accept it or incorporate it into a similar schema. This is also progress. The mind of the masses works in the same way. As the schemas in individuals' minds change, social schemas also begin to change. The "revolutionary" feature of the leader is

due to their ability to change the centuries-old schemas in the subconscious of society; however, it should also be noted that a strong bond of love established with the near and distant social environment is an indispensable factor in this success because people are more inclined to believe the words of those they love. Politics and romance are concepts as opposite as the devil and the angel, but a politician who manages to make society wear platonic love glasses in a democratic country can even bring the monarchy to the country. Society is not disturbed by a leader becoming a dictator if they are in love with them.

Every idea and belief that exists has been formed over hundreds of years. They will not change suddenly, nor will they disappear all at once. The emotions and thoughts of the masses, mostly under the influence and control of the leadership mechanism, form in a very slow process, and once established, they are equally difficult to erase. The establishment and destruction of widespread beliefs or fundamental ideas can take centuries.

Understanding that the change in the masses progresses extremely slowly, it is time to seek an answer to another conceivable question. Even if slow, the change in the masses must have one or several dynamics. The biggest factor ensuring the settlement, elimination, or change of new beliefs and ideas in a society is the leadership mechanism.

Throughout various periods of history in many parts of the world, many leaders have emerged, especially religious and spiritual leaders, who have changed the established order of beliefs and ideas there. However, in general, the work of a leader is more about igniting the fuse of change. If the proposal for change or revolution is in line with the spirit of the time, it continues in some way. As long as the great ideas and dreams they present to the masses continue to function in transforming society, leaders remain historically immortal. These ideas and dreams may partially

change over time, and their lights may dim, but their specific existence is always revived in various forms in the later stages of history. The problem is that because the process of social and mass change progresses so slowly, most leaders do not live to see their thoughts and dreams shine like a torch on the world's horizons. The greatest factor guiding the masses is the intelligence of the leaders, but due to the sluggishness of the masses' minds, most leaders do not see their victory. By the time their bright ideas and ideals reach victory, they are already in the grave. "Time," which is stingy with everyone, is very generous with leadership. True leadership that opens a new intellectual path in the consciousness and subconscious of society is, of course, not limited by the leader's lifespan. It is both outside and above time and space. When a leader dies, their dreams are revived.

Thus, charismatic leaders are among the primary factors leading to social and mass change. There are also pioneers who follow them or act independently, and who contribute to change through brave resistance against the powers that can resort to all kinds of tyranny and violence to protect the status quo. These are brave, principled thinkers, writers, poets, and artists who can take initiative and who try to contribute to change. Of course, we should not forget the accelerating effects of the dramatic events experienced during their struggle processes and the life stories of these heroes. Undoubtedly, the famous "Dreyfus Affair" that marked Emile Zola's courageous struggle against the despotic French regime and Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech are among the best examples. Such events cause a shock effect in the sluggish minds of the masses, forcing them to move a little faster.

Today, with the dizzying developments in mass communication technology, the change and transformation of the masses have accelerated considerably. We should also add new perception management techniques, which are constantly updated and adapted to changing conditions, sup-

ported by the rich literature of human and mass psychology, to the ever-developing mass communication tools.

g-The founding leaders are natural and charismatic. They function to ensure and protect unity. After the natural leader's death, the fragmentation of the masses is almost inevitable

As is known, there is an organic process on the path to leadership. In this sense, when talking about true leadership, it refers to charismatic leadership formed through natural processes. This can also be called founding leadership. The influence of a founding leader is so strong that their death usually leads to an insurmountable trauma in society, and the void they leave behind may be too great to fill. When such a leader exits the stage, it is extremely difficult to maintain the integrity of the movement they established. Most religious, national, and ideological movements have fragmented or deviated from their original form after the leader's death. There are two reasons for this: First, everyone who comes to the leadership position afterward will be a disciple of the founding leader and thus will not possess the same level of influence and authority, making it impossible to fulfill the unifying and cohesive function as effectively. Second, the resulting void in influence and authority provides a fertile ground for opposing forces lying in wait to divide and fragment the movement.

6-UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS DOES A MASS ARISE AND WHEN DOES IT FADE AWAY?

People tend to search for the causes of their personal problems in the external world, despite many internal reasons. No matter what happens to us, we always look for the culprit outside and find it in one way or another. Even when we have a headache, we could find numerous culprits, including global power centers. The biggest factor that transforms a specific group or an entire society into a

mass in a society is the widespread belief and discomfort that things are not going well in the country or the world.

Mass movements are born out of the frustration caused by traumas such as massacres, oppression, torture, or great injustice. For the growth of an already-born mass, it is essential to constantly face the psychology of victimhood and the possibility of being oppressed again and becoming a victim anew. Therefore, the rhetoric of mass leaders aimed at keeping the feeling of victimhood alive is quite vivid and continuous.

Throughout history, there have been periods of economic bottlenecks, political and ideological oppression, religious discrimination, ethnic genocide, and similar crises in societies. In such periods, the need, longing, and expectations for a savior among the general public or the oppressed segment of society peak, making the emergence of natural leaders inevitable. The emergence of the leader accelerates the formation of the mass or makes the existing mass more cohesive and organized.

Is being oppressed and victimized merely a rhetoric? Certainly not! In the past, many nations, ethnic, and religious communities have genuinely suffered oppression and victimization. The oppression and genocide that the Nazis inflicted on the Jews in Germany is one of the best-known examples. The practice is so grave that it cannot be defended from any religious or ideological standpoint. Ethically, the identity of the oppressed does not matter; it is not asked which religion, nation, color, or gender they belong to. Although somewhat subjective, one of life's invisible laws is that the end of an oppressor is always an absolute disaster, and another is that every difficulty is followed by ease and relief. After every highly troubled period comes a peaceful time. When the growing sense of victimhood within the oppressed community reaches a certain level, the dream of a happy future that begins to bloom can give birth to new leaders. More importantly, the deep pains caused by all

those oppressions and the stories of the harsh resistance shown during that process become torches that illuminate the paths of future generations. In other words, every genocide not only shakes the conscience of the victimized society but also that of the outside world and eventually leads to the birth of a mass. This is a social law that continues regardless of any specific religion or nation.

The death of a mass movement begins with the disappearance of the conditions that gave rise to it because the mass also has a lifespan. When the mass completes its lifespan, it sometimes disappears on its own, and sometimes it adapts to new conditions and changes form. The content, rate, and direction of the change depend on how much the ground that gave birth to the mass has eroded.

7-SPECIAL BONDS THAT KEEP INDIVIDUALS TOGETHER IN THE MASS: RELIGION, NATIONALISM, IDEOLOGY, POLITICAL FANATICISM, AND HYBRID MIXTURES

Gustave Le Bon, in his famous work "The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind," does not directly and thoroughly address the nature of the bonds that hold the cells of a mass together. However, when examining different examples around the world, it is clearly understood that the main factors that turn individuals into a mass or bind individuals within a mass are "religious affiliation," "nationality," "political views," "ideology," or some mixtures of these; but undoubtedly, a kind of love-driven energy lies behind each of these. Considering especially that religion and nationalism are the most dominant and durable sources of mass enthusiasm, it can be easily predicted that the strongest mixtures that facilitate the formation of masses are "nationalist religiosity" and "political religiosity." States, armies, and official religious institutions, which have continued to exist as "artificial masses" since ancient times, are the most concrete evidence of our thesis regarding the

factors that enable the formation of masses. This is because religious institutions are built on spiritual authority and religiosity, most governments are supported to some extent by political fanaticism backed by religion or nationalism, and most armies are built on nationalism (patriotism) decorated with religious sentiments. Consequently, while other masses integrated by different bonds can also be mentioned, it is possible to encounter religious, national, and political adhesives in almost all masses to varying degrees.

When we say "religious nationalism" we mean a nationalism where religion predominates, and by "nationalist religiosity" we refer to a religiosity where nationalist feelings are more dominant. These two affiliations, which are very similar both in form and content, are a widespread social reality in both Arab and Turkish geographies. In both regions of the Islamic world, religion and nationalism are so intertwined that they have become almost twin brothers in the social subconscious. A few hadiths have been fabricated to associate nationalism with religion and religiosity, despite being entirely contrary to the universal principles and teachings of Islam. One of them, which is not found in any hadith book, is the saying, "Love of the homeland is part of faith." When religiosity in the Islamic world is slightly scratched, nationalism emerges, and when nationalism is scratched, religiosity emerges. Most religions, in their final forms, partially or completely distanced from their original states, contain a certain tone of nationalism within themselves, and nationalism usually contains a piece of religiosity. Therefore, it seems that there is no pure religion left in the world at the level of mass perception.

By now, it should be clear that religion and nationalism create a very similar sense of belonging in the minds of individuals, but adding political fanaticism to these two will not be incorrect. It is extremely difficult to distinguish any one of these three from the others in the souls of individuals and masses. At this point, it is clear that by adding religious and national feelings to political fanaticism, the strongest, sharpest, and most destructive sense of belon-

ging can be formed. It can be easily said that the individuals of such a mass, characterized by a steel core, will stick to each other with a much stronger sense of belonging, their operational skills will be much more active, swift, and destructive, and they will be much more resistant to all kinds of pressure aimed at dissolution and dispersal.

Since the 19th century, nation-states have always sought to harness the unifying, legitimizing, and mobilizing power of religion for their survival, and have looked for ways to blend it with grand state myths, significant political ideals, or sharp nationalism. Thus, everywhere in the world, religion, nationalism, politics, and even traditional culture have become intertwined.

In this context, it would be beneficial to shed some more light on the nature of political fanaticism. It is no secret that politicians often ambitiously and recklessly instrumentalize the energy of religion and religiosity for political success. The purpose of these words is not to deny the contributions of religions to the realization of humanity's legitimate rights and goals by creating social harmony and ethical frameworks. Leaders may want to exploit the religiosity of the masses to sanctify, legitimize their power, and make the masses obedient, and they can use religion for this purpose. Such abuses of religious sentiments and thoughts can be seen in many areas (Lothane, 2006: 18).

If a politician perceives the ongoing routine political competition in a democratic system as a "war" and believes that everything is "permissible" during war, it is not surprising that they resort to fake displays of religiosity to gain maximum favor from the public because social science research shows that religious identity or affiliation is a highly determining and encouraging dynamic in political behavior (Hirschl et al., 2012: 95-109), and it is known that even very simple political views supported by religious rhetoric can give rise to intense political fanaticism. In daily life, it is natural for everyone to have a political preference; but when successful propaganda or perception management

filled with religious rhetoric is applied, and "God's approval" is stamped on the political view, then religious belief and political inclination tightly adhere and integrate. It is difficult to find a stronger adhesive than a distorted religion to fix a political or ideological view in the mind. There is no more convincing factor than religion in legitimizing a thought or behavior and making it a part of life. A politician who wants to have a significant voter base that believes the party they lead is "God's party" cannot eternally stay away from the intention to exploit the energy of religion. Religion and nationalism are fundamental dynamics of political perception   management. Considering that everything that has to do with God and religion gains a certain level of sanctity, it can be argued that political parties and leaders who define themselves through religion and religiosity rise to a more advantageous position in the public eye, creating an unfair competitive environment. When a political party leader can harness religion for their party's service, they start the race a few steps ahead in the political arena and progress faster.

Sigmund Freud preferred to define the elements that bring individuals together and unite them in a mass as "libidinal bonds of love." This has drawn many criticisms and condemnations not only from conservative societies but also from intellectual circles, to which he responded with the following defense: "As detailed by Nachanson and Plister, the Eros of the philosopher Plato coincides completely with the energy of love, that is, the libido of psychoanalysis, in terms of its origin, function, and relationship with sexual love. When the Apostle Paul could not find enough words to praise love in his famous letter to the Corinthians, he undoubtedly saw this feeling from the same broad perspective; but all this shows us is that people do not hold great admiration for famous philosophers and do not always take them seriously. Accordingly, psychoanalysis calls all love instincts 'sexual instincts.' Many educated people have perceived this designation as an insult and have tried to take revenge by labeling psychoanalysis as 'sexuality,' 'sexualism,' and 'perversion.' Those who see sexuality as

something degrading and humiliating to human nature are guaranteed the freedom to use the words 'eros' and 'erotic,' which appear more polite. I, too, could have done the same from the beginning and thus saved myself from many accusations; but I do not want to do that because I do not like compromising with cowardice and no one knows where cowardice will lead a person. One first gives courage to words. Frankly, I see no virtue in being ashamed of sexuality. After all, the word 'eros' is nothing but the Greek equivalent of the German word 'liebe.' So, what we will do is try our luck with the assumption that 'love relationships,' or more nobly expressed 'emotional bonds,' also constitute the essence of the mass psyche. Our assumption will initially find support from two temporary thoughts. The first of these is that it is clearly apparent that a mass is held together by some kind of force. What other power can achieve this than Eros, that can bring everything in the world together and hold it together? If an individual renounces all personal distinction and superior qualities within a mass and allows other members to influence them through suggestion, this situation gives the impression that the individual does this willingly, in harmony and agreement with others, rather than out of necessity. They probably do it because they love them" (Freud, 2016: 32-33).

As can be seen, S. Freud claims that the thing that brings a mass together is "bonds of love," or in his words, "libidinal bonds." It is understood that the author derived the expressions "libido" and "libidinal" from the verb "liebe" (to love) in his native language, German. According to him, the only thing capable of bringing and uniting everything in life is libido. When he uses expressions like "libido," "libidinal relationships," or "libidinal bonds," he probably means all kinds of love, from the most basic to the most sublime. Undoubtedly, love in its different forms is a powerful factor that can hold everything together. Is there anything else that can bind together a man and a woman, as contrasting as if they came from different planets, for a lifetime, other than the energy of love? Factors such as religion, nationalism, and political fanaticism, which are based on a noble

and powerful energy of love in terms of their origins, unite and keep masses together with an energy of love surrounded by a halo of sanctity, such as a leader, an idea, or a utopia. The mass harbors a strong love mixed with fear and respect for its leader. All masses, big or small, are formed and held together by some kind of bond of love. Just as every human being born is the result of the bond of love between two people before them, no mass is formed without the glue of love, and if it is formed, it soon disintegrates. However, excessive love for a person or an ideal can also foster a certain hatred towards those who disagree with or challenge them.The root of most crimes witnessed and unwitnessed by history is love and hatred. To drive forward, it is essential to fill the soul of the mass with love; but when a great fire of love is kindled in the mass for the leader and their world of ideas, there is no choice but to watch the birth of deep hatred against the opposition. The biggest difference in S. Freud's approach is that he exaggerates by including all kinds of love in the factor of "unifying love energy." Regardless of how it is, there is an unchanging fact: A mass that harbors equal intensity of love and hatred within its soul can overcome any obstacle.

CHAPTER II

1-POLITICAL PERCEPTION MANAGEMENT AS A MODERN FORM OF MAGIC IN THE CONTEXT OF MASS PSYCHOLOGY THEORIES AND DEVELOPED INFLUENCE AND PERSUASION TOOLS

In this section, it could be argued that the concept of "propaganda" should be the first item; however, it is important to emphasize that the more contemporary and up-to-date concept of "perception management" somewhat encompasses all other influence and persuasion methods. Therefore, the question of whether propaganda and perception management are the same thing can be raised. Although they appear to be different in terms of their conceptual frameworks, they are functionally the same. Perception management, which was invented to replace the heavily tarnished concept of propaganda, now also seems to be sufficiently tainted.

As indicated in the chapter title, perception management has been developed in line with the established mass psychology theories we discussed in the first two sections and has long been effectively used in both commerce and politics. So much so that it is impossible for someone who does not understand the theories of mass instinct and influence to succeed in trade and politics. On the other hand, the applications of these communication theories are polluting political life and the subconscious of society, thus threatening the future of democracy and disrupting the peace of humanity. The lack of educational quality and the insufficient number of educated people in most parts of the world increase these applications and deepen their negative effects. Conversely, to minimize the negative effects, what

needs to be done is to improve the quality of education and maximize the number of educated people. The chances of mass deception, provocation, and manipulation—which are highly effective in uneducated societies—being successful in an educated society are limited.

From this point on, the concepts of "misinformation" (incorrect information given without intent), "disinformation" (the presentation of polluted or distorted information), and "manipulation" (Using people's most human emotions and beliefs for a specific purpose) that have been developed to shape, manage, and direct the consciousness and subconscious of the public in communication sciences will be generally discussed.

Additionally, the concept of "perception management" will first be examined from a conceptual perspective. Then, the typical perception management tactics employed by autocratic regimes in political public relations will be analyzed and formulated. Finally, concrete examples from both distant and recent history related to the topic will be provided.

"Perception" is the interpretation of external stimuli in various ways by the brain. Perception management, on the other hand, is the conscious effort to shape, change, or direct the perception of a particular person or group regarding a specific individual or event. Ordinary behaviors, such as someone washing their car before leaving home, dressing nicely and fixing their hair, putting on makeup before meeting someone they want to impress, wearing false eyelashes and colored lenses, smiling for the camera, going to the gym, buying a new case for an old phone, behaving more politely while eating in a restaurant, following etiquette at social events, hiding some flaws or weaknesses to avoid social exclusion, denigrating a third person in a group to highlight oneself, denying and deflecting a rightful accusation made against them, or trying to shift the blame onto others, are all efforts to maintain, improve, or achieve some personal goals by creating a favorable perception of

themselves. However, for a statement or action to be consi-dered propaganda (or perception management), it should not appear to be propaganda and must be carried out through mass media.

Especially in the political arena, almost everything that appears on screens should be considered meticulously thought-out perception management, prepared by teams engaging in intense brainstorming and mind games behind closed doors. For instance, if the prime minister's official car stops on a street so he can have tea with the taxi dri-vers at a taxi stand if they get out of the vehicle on a highway and join the workers and farmers in the field to help with digging if they go to a field during harvest season to pick watermelons if they share happy family photos with their spouse and children if they visit leaders of ethnic and religious communities with many supporters in the country if they go to a church or mosque to pray in front of dozens of cameras if they make religious-themed speeches, and finally, if all these displays of religiosity are broadcast to the public through social and traditional media—these are all examples of subtle perception management efforts.

The effort to create perceptions becomes more explicit and concrete in the ruthless smear campaigns that candi-dates for power wage against each other.

In daily life, the target of men's perception management efforts is largely the world of women, while the target of women's perception efforts is all people. Similarly, a politi-cian's target audience is the entire public. A professional perception management effort can be so effective that it can make a mass perceive black as white and white as black. It can cover the true nature of a person or event with a false mask. It can make angels appear as devils and devils ap-pear as angels. It can portray traitors as heroes and patri-ots as traitors in the eyes of the public. A mass whose per-ception is managed is an "inverted" community, but it is firmly convinced that it is on the right path. Despite percei-

ving everything in reverse, it believes everyone else is on the wrong path. As is well known, such situations in society are usually described with the words "deceiving" and "being deceived." Since the mind of the masses is much more sluggish than that of any individual, perception management efforts have a more functional power over the masses. This turns perception management into a magical wand, especially in the hands of political parties and large corporations.

As can be understood, when the concept of "perception management" is mentioned, people often think of some sophisticated projects crafted in high political circles, but this is not the case. Perception management is not only a method or tool used by political parties and large companies to shape their public relations strategies but also refers to all of our conscious efforts in our daily interactions with individuals and institutions, shaping, defining, and directing these relationships in one way or another. Every effort made by a person to gain the admiration of society or certain individuals, to cultivate a positive image of oneself, to earn money, to gain respect, or to join higher social classes can be considered within the scope of perception management. This also includes the defense, resistance, and reactions shown against attempts to undermine their social position and human dignity, such as accusations, gossip, and slander. Perception management is a continuous effort to stand out and be admired in both individual and institutional life.

In perception management, the primary tool of PR in the commercial and political arena, various tools are used, including "body language," "effective communication," "advertising and promotion," "persuasion techniques," "perception engineering," "rhetoric," and "presentation." The most effective factor in a presentation is numbers. Presentations such as "Buy three, pay for two" or "Buy one, get the second at half price" are highly influential on consumer choices.

There is no doubt that perception management significantly contributes to public relations activities. It has also added modern and unique dimensions to the concept of propaganda.

Due to its functions, such as creating and influencing public opinion, public relations, and similar application tools, which are fundamentally based on perception management, have gained widespread application since the beginning of the 19th century, descending from the intellectual realms of psychology and social psychology theorists like Sigmund Freud, Gustave Le Bon, and Eric Hoffer into the real world. According to Sigmund Freud, the deepest foundations of human nature were primitive, selfish, and monstrous impulses. In the vast cave called the "subconscious" or "unconscious," especially "sexuality" and "aggression" had to be controlled because these were the most savage and dangerous impulses. If this could not be achieved, individuals and society could plunge into chaos, or even face extinction. It seemed that in the age of democracy, where crowds played the leading role, those in power would effectively use this theory to control dangerous masses.

At this very moment, the lights of history turned towards Freud's nephew, Edward Bernays. Although Bernays is largely forgotten today, his influence in the 20th century was almost as immense as his uncle's intellectual authority because he had the foresight to take his uncle's ideas about human nature and use them for the manipulation of the masses. In this respect, calling him "Freud's practitioner" would be apt. The solutions to the chaos Freud warned about were sought in his ideas. He succeeded in showing American companies how to persuade people to demand products they didn't actually need by associating mass-produced goods with their unconscious desires. From there, he would go on to develop a new political approach to controlling and directing the masses. When people's primitive and selfish desires were satisfied, they became happy and simultaneously turned into "good child-

ren." Of course, this needs to be thought of in reverse as well. Thus, the consumerist human type that now pervades the world was produced. We are talking about the insatiable consumption maniacs—"today's us"—who, despite being able to wear one or two pairs of shoes for a long time, have dozens of pairs of shoes at home that can be worn with different outfits. Moreover, we see that this consumer prototype eventually invented the culture of disposable products and later adapted it to human relationships. As a result, the lifespan of human relationships has been halved.

During those times in Europe, traditional culture viewed the expression of emotions, especially by women, as a form of weakness and shame. As Freud's views became more clearly understood, it can be said that society began to act more boldly in expressing its feelings and thoughts. This was precisely what frightened the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a powerful state at the time. The dangerous sexual and aggressive forces in people's subconscious were coming to the surface... They thought they would have difficulty managing and controlling society. Freud had developed a method called "psychoanalysis." He claimed that by analyzing dreams and using the free association method, he could bring the powerful sexual and aggressive tendencies from our animalistic impulses to the conscious level and neutralize them. We suppressed our emotions under the pressures of the state and society because they were dangerous. According to him, the normal conscious part of the mind had no idea about the hidden deep layer known as the "unconscious" or "subconscious." There was a barrier between these two parts, and because of that barrier, it was difficult for the subconscious to emerge; however, the problem was that the part that governed our behaviors and actions was mostly the subconscious. In fact, according to Freud, there was an even more hidden, dark, and dangerous area behind the subconscious that we were not even aware of. A significant part of our daily actions was governed by these dark areas (Freud, 2016: 10).

In 1914, the Austro-Hungarian Empire led the world into a war. This situation would make Freud feel more justified about his findings. He believed that with the war, the dangerous impulses within humans had emerged. Soon after, the United States declared that it would go to war against Germany and Austria. A committee was formed to inform the public, with the task of enlightening public opinion about the justness and necessity of the war, and Edward Bernays, who had settled in America twenty years earlier, was appointed as the head of the committee. The American president of the time, Woodrow Wilson, announced that the American government was going to war not to restore old empires but to bring democracy to all of Europe. Bernays achieved extraordinary success in marketing this idea to both Europe and the world. According to the propaganda, Wilson was a folk hero fighting to liberate people. He was portrayed as trying to build a world where everyone would be free as individuals. Seeing the massive crowds rallying around Wilson, Bernays began to ponder whether it was possible to persuade and direct such large and enthusiastic masses in peacetime as well; however, the leaders of countries, including the United States, were not interested in such things. In fact, the situation is not different today. Politicians believe that as long as they can explain factual realities well enough, they can persuade the public and lead them. Bernays thought that things did not work that way for the masses. On the other hand, because of Adolf Hitler, the concept of "propaganda" had become thoroughly worn out and tainted. For this reason alone, it is known that some communication scientists prefer to use the term "persuasive communication," which is broader and includes all efforts of influence, instead of propaganda (Kâğıtçıbaşı, 2010: 191).

Eventually, it was necessary to dress this concept with new, cleaner, more attractive words. In this context, Bernays developed the term "Public Relations Council" and established an office with the same name near Broadway. He

was determined to find effective ways to change, mold, and direct the thoughts and feelings of the American public, which had become an industrial society. For this, he made the most use of his uncle's books. Thus, he started to make some experiments on the mental structures and orientations of the elite and popular classes. His greatest achievement in this process was that he found a way to significantly increase the rate of smoking among women in American society. In those years, it was taboo and considered shameful in American society for women to smoke, especially to smoke in public. Therefore, cigarette consumption among women was at an extremely low level. In those days, George Hill, the manager of the American Tobacco Company, complained that they had to ignore half of the target market and proposed to Bernays to carry out a study to break the established taboo that made it difficult for women to smoke. Bernays first approached A. A. Brille, one of America's leading psychoanalysts, about what smoking meant to women. After the famous psychoanalyst told him that cigarettes symbolized the male organ and reminded him of male sexual power, he said: "If cigarettes could be combined with the idea of challenging male power, women would smoke too because then women would have a masculine tool of their own." So Bernays decided to set up a game at the Easter ceremony, which was celebrated all over America every year. Accordingly, some young, beautiful, and wealthy women from high society would hide cigarette packets somewhere in the inside of their skirts before coming to the ceremony, and when Bernays signaled them, they would take out the packets in the middle of the crowd and light their cigarettes in a cool manner. In addition, groups defending women's rights would be invited to the venue, and they would smoke cigarettes in the same way during their march. The members of the press, who had been deliberately called there in advance, would take these images and broadcast them to the national media. More importantly, the cigarettes smoked by women during the ceremony would be publicized in the national media with

the slogan "Torches of Freedom". After all, wasn't the symbol of America a giant statue of a woman holding a torch of freedom? The plan was executed almost flawlessly. All the desired positive connotations were skilfully attached around the cigarette. In the months following the incident, smoking by women in public became normalized and the sale of cigarettes to women began to increase significantly. With a single symbolic gesture, the perception of the masses was changed. If a woman smoked, it meant that she was stronger, freer, and more independent. Bernays later manipulated scientific research to spread the perception that smoking enhanced masculinity, using certain scientists to promote this idea.The perception that smoking is a sign of masculinity still prevails today. Not only in America, but also in Eastern societies... In this way, Bernays realized that he could persuade people to behave irrationally if he could establish strong desirable links between certain emotions, desires, and products. Thus, the idea that smoking makes women stronger and freer is completely irrational, but there is no doubt that they feel stronger and freer by doing so. In other words, even simple and uninteresting objects can become powerful and impressive if they carry emotional symbols that reflect how you want others to perceive you. In other words, it was not necessary to appeal to the intellect to sell a product. Appealing to emotions was much more effective. For example, instead of saying, "Buying a car is very useful", it was more effective to say, "If you buy a car, you will feel good." The important thing was not that you needed new clothes or shoes, but that you had a pleasant feeling that you would feel happier with them. Emotional attachment... Today this sales and marketing strategy is still widely used, but it was Bernays who first discovered and formulated it. Undoubtedly, this strategy was the product of evil intelligence (www.youtube.com/watch?v).

Humans and society are happy to the extent that they can freely realize these impulses. This is not entirely a

wrong idea. As long as it does not cause discomfort or harm to others, an individual should also have the freedom to realize their primal impulses because when we suppress an individual and society, those impulses will not disappear. They will merely go underground. In that case, both the individual and society will be unhappy, and controlling this potential will become more challenging. People should be able to achieve their primal desires at an optimal level, provided they do not disrupt social order or violate the rights of others. If there is oppression of the state authority or any other kind somewhere, any kind of development is impossible. All human development and progress flourish only in the soil of freedom. Happiness, too... To be happy, one must be free. At this point, a thesis of "innocent anarchism" can be proposed, based on the idea that a person should have the freedom to realize all their desires without neglecting to respect the rights of others. Everyone who wants to be happy must be a bit of an "anarchist." Unless there is a revolt against the traditional culture that disregards the individual's aspirations for happiness in favor of preserving political and social orders, and unless the walls of the prison that confine society are torn down, achieving happiness before the grave will remain an empty dream for individuals. The barriers that limit individual happiness are political, social, and traditional orders. However, there is no concrete reason to take seriously the views that the original Islam, as embodied in sacred texts, is one of these barriers or that it reinforces the existing barriers.

Speaking directly in terms of the views of both Sigmund Freud and Edward Bernays, unfortunately, there is not much reason to be optimistic about humans and society because society is irrational, but individuals are not very rational either. Firstly, there is a need for healthy reasoning about the type of person that would emerge if driven solely by reason. Is it possible for a person who tries to structure their entire life within a strict framework of reason and logic, without any room for emotion, to maintain their mental

health and develop social relationships? Unfortunately, one must think long and hard before giving a positive answer to this question because when examining the original design of human nature, we have data that lead us to the conclusion that emotions are much stronger and more dominant than reason and logic and that someone who acts solely according to the commands of reason will soon have to bid farewell to happiness and may soon be exposed to various psychopathologies. Most of the decisions we make in the flow of daily life are driven not by a test of reasonableness but by an effort to sense the level of satisfaction of our primal impulses. If we trust someone, it is because we like them. If we believe in an idea, it is because we like it. The major factors that determine good and bad, right and wrong, are our instincts. Even in marriage, things work this way. If you carefully observe couples around, you will see that almost all of them are in love with the person they should marry in the world. If people are rational beings, how would you explain the existence of so many mismatched couples? This is why, in regions where the world's economy is most robust, especially in the United States, the messages aimed at the masses in both commercial and political public relations have long been determined based on primitive impulses or emotions devoid of reason; however, neither endless deceptive mind games nor dictatorial regimes are the way to control the primitive, foolish, and dangerous instinctual impulses of individuals and masses. The best way to control them is a rational education system that includes the entire society and a robust legal umbrella that ensures everyone feels secure. The law should especially guarantee individual freedoms. In short, the perfect composition of "education," "freedom," and "justice" can solve all problems over time. When one of these three elements is missing, political and social chaos becomes inevitable because a person whose behavior is determined by the subconscious is inherently more prone to being a bad being. A forest where wild animals roam freely is safer than an uneducated and lawless society.

If an individual conforms to the majority in society, the likelihood of discovering the truth diminishes, as the majority often follows assumptions, baseless information, and delusions, acting on conjecture. It is no secret that society or the masses, compared to individuals, show a relatively greater tendency towards irrationality, driven mainly by assumptions, presumptions, and rumors; yet none of these sources of information can ever replace reason and consciousness. In this context, for example, Islam places a central role on human freedom. It is assumed that the divine test's order would be disrupted in an environment where a person is not free. Applying pressure to a person constitutes an external intervention that disrupts the order and flow of the test. As in all tests, individuals must be free in the divine test so that they can choose good and evil, right and wrong by their own will, and not blame God when they face the consequences of their choices in the future.

It would be appropriate to express a justified criticism at this point: In various countries around the world, it is observed that some religious writers who write or speak on the subject have attempted to dismiss Freud as a "pervert" by claiming that he said, "A child feels lustful feelings while sucking his mother's breast." This is neither a fair nor a correct approach. Frankly, it is neither possible nor probable because S. Freud was not an ordinary person, as they might have thought. What should have been done was to study Freud thoroughly, benefit from his views, and, if possible, contribute to them. In the end, it was Edward Bernays, Freud's nephew living in the United States at the time, who had the opportunity to adapt Freud's theories to trade and politics. His theories and views gradually dismantled barriers to individual freedoms in Europe and America. They were effectively applied in the realms of economy and politics, ultimately leading to global transformations that reverberated across the world. As long as the world endures, these theories will continue to shape political and commercial practices. However, it is not possible to

say that all products developed based on Freud's theories are good and beautiful. To see this reality more clearly, it is enough to take a bird's eye view of the interesting similarity between the concepts of "state" and "deep state" and the concepts of "conscious" and "subconscious" in psychoanalysis. Whether approached formally or content-wise, the subconscious region in an individual corresponds exactly to the deep state in the social and public sphere. In other words, there is a conscious layer known to everyone in an individual and an open state layer in the social and public sphere. Behind an individual's consciousness lies an unseen subconscious region, and behind the social and public sphere lies a hidden deep state layer. Since the subconscious is primitive, it does not listen to the voice of reason and escapes control. Similarly, the deep state engages in illegal activities and does not want legal oversight. Moreover, when considering that the subconscious is the force that governs a person, it can be assumed that the deep state is the primary force that governs society. It is clear that the psychoanalytic theory inspired and led to the construction of the deep state apparatus. It must be acknowledged that traditional states before S. Freud did not have an extra-legal management layer defined as the "deep state."

Trying to undermine such a man's entire body of work by selecting a single sentence you don't like and thrusting it into people's faces cannot be considered fair behavior. Moreover, at least ninety percent of the theories S. Freud developed on psychology and social psychology are correct. It is entirely natural not to agree with everything everyone says. Do we throw all of someone's other views into the trash just because we disagree with one of them? Do we not value objectivity and critical thinking at all? Especially in the literature, those who look down on Freud's theories are obliged to develop better theories through rational thought. Destroying a faulty structure is not a solution. You must have the structure you will put in its place built before tearing it down. If you don't have a ready alternative, let

the existing one remain. Otherwise, someone else may come and build a worse structure in that void. As Aristotle said, nature abhors a vacuum.

As we have mentioned, perception management as a PR function proposes effective techniques used in all areas of life, from one-on-one human relationships to politics, commerce, marketing, advertising, and promotion.

Frankly speaking, it must be acknowledged that perception management, particularly in political public relations, is often exploited to deceive, mislead, provoke, or manipulate an entire society or a specific segment thereof. In short, no individual or group susceptible to deception can evade being misled. Indeed, we have noted that the intelligence of a mass does not reach the level of a five-year-old child. Therefore, anyone can deceive, direct, or lead the masses. All they need is the power of authority and the media. In this sense, it is almost inevitable for a state, government, politician, or mass leader with sufficient media power to resort to perception management for greater influence and power. Even if they have no efforts, projects, or achievements to serve the public, a president with media power can create a simulation of a leader who has achieved great things through successful perception management. They can attain the image of someone who does everything while doing nothing. On the other hand, it may surprise many to hear that the classic tactics that children use to deceive their classmates, playmates, and parents in primary school are not much different from the tactics used by the state and politics to shape and direct public opinion; but many things we consider complex can be incredibly simple. More precisely, simplicity and perfection often intertwine in the flow of life.

As can be understood from all this, efforts at perception management result in showing an institution, community, individual, situation, or event as better or worse than its original state. It changes something and makes it appear

different from what it is. Things that do not exist can be made to appear as if they do, and things that exist can be made to appear as if they do not. Under normal conditions, no one wants to see an entity or event around them in a different way than it is. For example, a person walking on the road at night does not enjoy mistaking a thick rope thrown on the road for a snake because if it is not just a temporary illusion, perceiving something or an event permanently different from what it is generally indicates a psychopathological symptom; however, as mentioned earlier, the purpose of perception management is to show a person or product to the target audience in a different way than it is. Thus, it deliberately causes a visual distortion. Frankly, this is what is intended in perception management. Meanwhile, advertising is similarly a perception management activity. Consider this scenario: You aspire to occupy a position of power as a politician, yet the public disapproves of both your appearance and character, and they resist the idea of you assuming leadership. In such a situation, the immediate priority would be to establish a proficient perception management team. Especially if it consists of unprincipled people, such a team's ability to present a person or event differently to society has no limits.

As can be seen, perception management is generally devoid of an ethical foundation due to the intentions of those who practice it and the illusions it creates in the target audience. At the very least, it is clear that it exerts a kind of magic effect that disconnects the target individual or audience from the concrete reality of life and drives them into psychotic illusions.

In the story of Pharaoh and Moses, as told in the sacred texts, there is mention of some magicians who were with Pharaoh. From the context of the event, it is clear that the magicians' job was to portray the Pharaoh to the people as a sort of god with extraordinary abilities and powers. His avoidance of mingling with the people and leaving the pala-

ce to be felt as just another human being can be considered another attitude aimed at maintaining his semi-divine image. The feelings of amazement and admiration that the magicians' incredible magic shows evoked in the public at certain times always contributed to the Pharaoh's exalted and sacred status. Without a doubt, the magicians working in the palaces of Pharaohs and Nimrods were salaried and permanent perception management teams. As can be easily guessed, in today's world, those famous old magicians have been replaced by talented and experienced perception management experts with academic training in "communication sciences" and "public relations" (PR). In nearly every country, particularly those governed by monarchy or semi-democracy, expert teams collaborate with statesmen and politicians. It's noteworthy that the mass psychology induced by portraying leaders or leadership candidates—especially to domestic audiences—as saviors, world-shaking heroes, or even semi-gods aligns with typical symptoms observed in individuals influenced by magic. Consequently, defining perception management as 'modern sorcery' becomes increasingly evident. The history of perception management, a contemporary version of sorcery, is as old as humanity. When reviewing this whole process, it is seen that the discrepancy between time and events is an illusion. Since the concept of time is not a dynamic affecting development and human and mass instincts do not change, seeking harmony between these two is in vain. Individuals evolve, grow, and create through their endeavors. These personal developments gradually influence social life. Regardless of education level, any society can be influenced by perception management-centered simulations. However, it is undeniable that the lower the education level within a society, the more challenging the situation becomes. This reality will persist indefinitely.Therefore, in third-world countries, especially in the Islamic world, what is understood by the concept of political public relations is perception management. In other words, the most valid criterion for evaluating personal political success stories in the region is

the politician's skills in simulation and sorcery. In this region, the leader cult has always been more important than the rules. This makes propaganda and perception management activities much more effective than in the outside world.

Almost all activities carried out within the scope of PR (Public Relations) are based on perception management. Good PR means good perception management. The success of perception management depends on correctly analyzing the religious and cultural values that the target audience adheres to. This increases the chances of success in political and commercial activities. Countless examples of this can be given from around the world, but two general and characteristic examples will suffice to clarify the issue. One of these is political public relations, and the other is commercial advertising.

Across the globe, particularly in Islamic regions, political parties have effectively reached a substantial voter base by cultivating close ties with traditional religious and conservative segments of society, employing religious symbols and rhetoric. For example, even secular media outlets in the United States have begun to realize that they need to take the belief principles of the American people seriously and that politicians have adopted the principle of developing rhetoric in line with this reality (Kazin, 2000: 63). Similarly, it is known that commercial enterprises making advertisements that align with the religious, traditional, and moral values of the countries they want to sell their products in significantly help expand their market share.

In Turkey, towards the end of 2021, many supermarket chains observed an increase in their sales volume when they started to use advertising slogans such as "Amazing Friday," "Legendary Friday," "Wonderful Friday," "Smiling Friday," and "Sparkling Friday," conducting discounted sales campaigns tailored to Fridays in opposition to the globally aggressive "Black Friday" campaigns. For example, for

a long time, the conservative public believed that shopping at Migros supermarkets, which had been selling alcoholic beverages, was "haram" and that the owners were far from religious. However, after the new management, which bought the supermarket chain in 2015, stopped selling alcohol and started airing "Amazing Friday" themed advertisements on television like many other companies, these prejudices began to fade, and the supermarkets' sales increased significantly.

To be honest, perception management techniques developed in line with the religious beliefs and values of society are extremely effective as PR activities in both politics and commerce.

On the other hand, discussions about whether the main principles of propaganda align with general moral values also sometimes arise in the context of the perception management-ethics relationship. It would be too harsh a judgment to say that perception management is entirely unethical or does not align with ethical concerns at all; however, looking at the historical process, it is possible to say that there is little doubt that these and similar concepts are quite distant from ethical concerns (Aslan, 2019: 2674). It is inevitable that attempts to construct a thought framework based on polished and pseudo-scientific falsehoods—designed to prevent society from perceiving objects and events 'as they are' and instead view them through the lens of power and financial interests—ultimately prove futile.

Throughout history, a large part of the attacks, oppression, torture, and massacres against basic human rights, especially the right to belief and thought, have belonged to dictators. They are the lords of darkness, the enemies of truth, skilled artists of lies and deception. They have often used religion and nationalism both as a ladder to climb to power and to cover up their wrongdoings while in power. Let's admit it: In a virtuous world where the concern for

truth and honesty is strong, it would be very difficult to invent and develop perception management.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the extraordinary developments in mass communication technology in recent decades have given perception management additional power and speed. Thus, it is not wrong to say that a meaningful relationship has emerged between perception management and mass psychology, where mass judgments form and change faster compared to previous periods. For example, if it took fifty years to change the ideas of a society through propaganda before globalization, it can be argued that this period has now decreased to ten years. New ideas or behaviors can now permeate society within as little as ten years, while long-standing beliefs and established norms can be eradicated. This transformation is facilitated by advancing communication technologies, which have effectively turned the vast human world into a closely connected network.

The purpose of this section is to introduce readers to the dirty, widespread, and effective perception management applications primarily used in political public relations. These techniques, developed based on the mass psychology theories detailed in the first section, are employed worldwide but are most intensively used in countries lacking an established democratic culture to seize the government and maintain an autocratic regime. Like propaganda, the political perception management techniques that we will analyze item by item in a moment, along with the regimes that apply them, are extremely difficult to relate to and reconcile with any religious or moral philosophy. For politicians whose only motivation is the instinct to seize or maintain political power, it is hard to believe that religious and moral values hold any more importance than securing more public support or votes. In this context, especially autocratic leaders and their regimes want to decide what the public should think, what they should forget, how they should think about something, how they should not think about

something, whom they should love, and whom they should hate. The task of casting the spell necessary to shape and manage public consciousness falls to perception management teams.

Below, the primary perception management techniques that have no chance of surviving in countries with a developed democratic culture and a dominant democratic rule of law but are highly effective in weak democracies and autocratic regimes are analyzed in an understandable language. It should also be noted that the perception management techniques to be examined here have often intertwined with traditional propaganda techniques that have been applied for decades.

The items below are based on a straightforward case analysis of the propaganda and perception management techniques applied during the Adolf Hitler era.

a-Use simple language in front of the public, make tough generalizations, and repeat lies for a long time

The reason we have chosen to address this technique as the first point is that it is the foundation for all the techniques we will discuss afterward. In other words, it serves as a sort of umbrella and user guide for the other techniques.

A leader who wants to be successful values society but uses simple and short sentences when speaking to it, and also repeats important messages for a long time. This is because they understand that the intelligence level of the masses is not higher than that of a five-year-old child.

Joseph Goebbels stated that any lie repeated long enough would be perceived by the public as an absolute truth. It is even rumored that he used the Bible as an example, saying, "The reason the Bible has gained so many followers worldwide is that the same words have been repeated for

twenty centuries." Of course, this does not mean that the teachings of holy books are false. The correctness of the repeated information does not change the result. The main emphasis here is on the impact of a judgment being repeated over a long period on the public's mind. This technique, which has found widespread use in political and commercial activities worldwide, is based on the premise that the mass is a stupid entity driven by primitive instincts. It can also be said that this technique is an adaptation of the fundamental finding in the crowd psychology theories of thinkers like Le Bon and Freud, which can be summarized as "Society acts not with reason but with instincts," to commerce and politics.

Every state tries to teach its official ideology to its people; however, the state must first accept the reality that society is not smarter than a five-year-old child and must base all its propaganda activities on this principle. Otherwise, it has no chance of succeeding in influencing and transforming society. Society should be educated in the same way that a five-year-old child is educated. The ideas that are intended to be taught are shortened, summarized, simplified as much as possible, turned into short slogans, and repeatedly broadcast through mass communication tools. So much so that society is exposed to these repetitions millions of times over decades. Eventually, they memorize them. What is interesting is that society perceives what it has memorized as absolute truth. All the propaganda and perception management techniques developed by the autocratic leaders of the time, starting with Hitler, were based on the principle of crowd distinctiveness. The leader who best understood the theories of crowd instinct was Adolf Hitler. He demonstrated an astounding success in adapting these theories to society and politics. He skillfully used the famous propaganda and perception management techniques he developed during his years in power to protect and strengthen his rule and discredit his opponents. When he died, he left them as a well-organized package as a le-

gacy to world politics. The value of that legacy came from its proven effectiveness in the societal laboratory; however, let's honestly admit that we are not talking about a virtuous success. The possibility for a head of state, political party leader, or company executive who applies these techniques to be religious, just, moral, and honest is zero. For they have structured their life around lies and traps. Therefore, they only deserve to be called "companions of the devil."

b-Create a tragic victim story and similar dramatic scenes to keep it alive

Victimhood allows a leader to establish an emotional connection with the public, which builds a stronger relationship than simply agreeing on ideas.

Almost all political successes begin with an emotional relationship formed by a victimhood story. By nature, people feel compassion for the oppressed and the victimized. They want to help them. Helping those who have fallen is a universal value. Just as people rush to assist someone who suddenly collapses in the street, society also rushes toward leaders who have been victimized, imprisoned, or oppressed. Therefore, one of the most effective ways to gain political power is to have a victimhood story that will evoke people's feelings of pity. In the Republic of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, who raised the flag of struggle for justice and human rights, was subjected to various forms of persecution by the British administration, spent twenty-seven years in prison, and when he was released, society embraced him as a hero, honoring him by electing him as the first black president of South Africa. Similarly, in Poland, Lech Wałęsa, a labor union leader, fought for workers' rights for a long time, running from one protest to another, enduring various pressures and persecutions during that process, but eventually rose to the presidency with the strong support of the people.

In the natural course of life, not everyone may have a tragic victimhood story; however, a victimhood story is also something that can be fabricated. If a leadership candidate does not have a ready-made victimhood story, it is not impossible to write and stage a theatrical victimhood story in public.

To create a sense of victimhood in the public, the leader must often include "tear-shedding" displays in the scripted stories they create or have created. These crying scenes are so frequently broadcast by the media that these dramatic moments become part of the leader's image in the public's mind. However, a complication may arise: Such images can be perceived as "weakness" by some segments of the public. To erase this complication from the savage spirit of the masses, the leader uses their right to take revenge on those who victimized them. In doing so, they not only compensate for the image of weakness but also grant sufficient legitimacy to any kind of bullying they may carry out.

c-Find a useful enemy and never extinguish the fire of hatred (dehumanization)

This method is inspired by the ancient battle between sacred forces and the diabolical ones. Those on the side of God symbolize light, goodness, beauty, and virtue, while Satan represents ugliness, darkness, evil, and treachery. Being on God's side grants a person the right to fight against Satan's malice and betrayal. Although dictators are loyal servants of Satan, they must present themselves as angels because no one wants to be seen on the side of the devil. Therefore, an aspiring dictator seeking power or a dictator wanting to maintain their rule needs a "useful enemy" who has "sold their soul to the devil." They must fight this enemy, achieve a glorious victory, and become a hero. The enemy must be weak but portrayed to the public as a stronger demon before the war begins because defeating a weak enemy is not an achievement. When the leader

defeats a powerful and fierce enemy, they become a legend in the eyes of the people, tightening the ranks around them, and gaining public support. As mentioned, the chosen enemy should be weak and innocent, but through intense propaganda, they should be presented to society as a ferocious and powerful demon. For a dictator or dictator-in-waiting, "conscience" is just a word and should be kept out of politics as much as possible. On the other hand, conscience is neither invincible nor immortal. With good perception management, it can be neutralized against specific individuals or groups. If a person believes that a particular individual is absolutely evil (the devil) and feels deep hatred and disgust, they can torture, kill, or applaud the terrible disasters befalling that person without feeling any pangs of conscience. The crowds set out to kill the devil and his servants must leave their conscience behind. The devil cannot be seen with the naked eye. However, there are concrete manifestations of it in daily life. In the cultural, social, and political perceptions of the Islamic world, the devil that needs to be annihilated is sometimes depicted and judged as a "traitor," sometimes a "terrorist," and sometimes an "infidel."

Additionally, it should be noted that the war environment reconciles those who are estranged, unites them, and even forces opponents to side with the government, making the people a single fist against the enemy. In a war environment, even the harshest opponents must stop criticizing and support the leader. Otherwise, they will be accused of being "collaborators with the enemy" and "traitors to the homeland." The method of controlled conflicts through useful enemies can easily be used even in a democratic state governed by the rule of law like the United States. For example, it is no secret that American presidents find an easily defeatable enemy abroad, start a war, and then win the second-term elections with the air of a victorious commander and hero because the fire of hatred against the enemy elevates the religious and national feelings of the

society. Thus, as a patriotic necessity, the people put aside internal conflicts and reflexively rally around the current administration because opposition parties and masses are forced into a dilemma: "Stand with the government or stay silent!" The war situation that has settled over the country like a nightmare and madness also gives the state the right to step outside the law and act with tyranny. A leader who is in a just war is more deserving of the title of hero than anyone else, as it seems that they are risking their life and fighting with all their might. In this way, they will rise to a privileged position where they are "authorized to do everything" but "responsible for none of the troubles" by blaming all the problems and difficulties on that cursed devil. A hero fighting the enemy does not have to be transparent or accountable. They are untouchable and unquestionable. Therefore, a dictator always needs an enemy. The chosen enemy could be another country, an opposition party within the country, or an opposing group. When a child breaks the school window and gets caught, if they point to another child and say, "That child broke the window!" they are either trying to escape responsibility for the crime they committed or trying to get the person they pointed out beaten up, or both. The political perception management technique we are talking about is something like that. Sometimes children are uncomfortable with their close friends becoming intimate with someone else. In that fit of jealousy, the first thing that comes to mind is to badmouth the third person as much as possible. Moreover, these efforts to slander the unwanted person are often not free of lies and slander. In the end, they alienate their close friend from the other person or turn them into an enemy. The person who demonstrated the political application of this to the whole world was Adolf Hitler. Let's start with a small example and move toward the big one (the Holocaust). When Hitler came to power in 1933, he began to perceive Ernst Röhm, who was the head of the most important unit that brought him to power, the organization called the Brownshirts, as a dangerous and unnecessary person because if violence had

to be provoked in the country, only he, as the head of state, could do it. This thought would soon turn Heinrich Himmler into his right-hand man. On a night later called the "Night of the Long Knives," the Brownshirts were eliminated because Himmler, who wanted to take over the SS units, had placed some documents on Hitler's desk showing that Ernst Röhm and a group around him were preparing to stage a coup against the government. Hitler neutralized many people listed in the long list given to him, including Ernst Röhm. Using them as an excuse, he also carried out extensive operations against other opponents; however, the documents presented to him as evidence were completely fabricated. When power begins to crumble, the dictator's most loyal men run away faster than anyone else. Indeed, on the day it became clear that Hitler was going to lose the war, Himmler had already left the country.

As we said, before the ruling political structure can neutralize a religious or ethnic community, it must criminalize and demonize it. It must associate it with treason, violence, or terrorism in some way, and present it to society as "the devil," "traitor," "enemy of the state," and "terrorist." If the alleged crime cannot be attached to the target community through propaganda, a team selected from public officials may disguise themselves as that group and commit the crime in question. Whatever the leader-controlled media declares guilty and responsible the next day, the public will be hostile to them. For example, the state may use certain people within the target group in a staged coup or assassination attempt against state officials. If it is impossible to find elements from the opposing group for the operation, the state can carry it out using its teams disguised as them. It can kill some celebrities who criticize the target group harshly, and the blame is automatically pinned on the enemy group because the government must provide the public with a legitimate excuse to destroy the chosen enemy. If it attacks without reason or justification, it will elevate the opposition group to the position of "victim" and

"oppressed," leading to a loss of reputation and votes. However, if it succeeds in portraying the chosen enemy as "traitors," "terrorists," and "devils" in the eyes of society, it can launch a legitimate and comprehensive operation to purge them from the state. Moreover, it can throw other opposition groups into the same basket. No one will pity the devils, want to save them or shed tears for them after they die. Thus, the devils soon become half-dead along with their families. Such an environment means dividing the people into two camps: "Patriots" and "traitors," or more accurately, "God's army" and "Satan's soldiers," positioned on two opposing fronts. The "God's army," backed by the holy state, is bloodthirsty, and their speech has turned into snarls. The soldiers of the holy front see the rabble following Satan as "snakes whose heads need to be crushed."

The intellectual and emotional differences between the two camps are deepened as quickly as possible. The fire of hatred is stoked a little more every day. So much so that all communication bridges between the two enemy communities that once existed are blown up. The desire and possibility of coming together and talking humanely are completely destroyed. Hostile feelings engulf everything. The public embarks on a witch hunt and eagerly assists the state's genocide because they have completely lost their minds and surrendered to the primitive and savage impulses of their subconscious. The denunciations of those who see themselves as soldiers of the holy state and fight the state's enemies with religious fervor bounce from one phone to another.

The increasingly cruel state inevitably steps outside the law or disguises its evil under a legal cover. In practical reality, only the state has the privilege of stepping outside the law. When a citizen commits murder, they are a "murderer." But the murders committed by the state are called "law." Therefore, it is futile to search for a state in the world that has not had blood on its hands. It should now be understood that the "dehumanization" concept in the title re-

fers to the stage before genocide. It expresses the process of pushing a religious, political, or ethnic group out of the respectable and privileged "humanity" position, presenting it to society as a despicable devil or a poisonous snake pit through intense propaganda. Society's conscience, which would not consent to the killing of someone it believes to be innocent, does not feel the slightest pain when a devil or a dangerous animal is killed.

Over time, such a high tension builds up between large sections of society and the targeted devil that a small spark is enough to trigger great chaos, conflict, and genocide. Thus, the gates of hell are opened. When the time comes, the frenzied masses either brutally murder their inhuman enemies in the streets or the state annihilates them amidst the cheers of the people. In the end, this controlled chaos ensures that unwanted opposition elements are cleansed, and the political structure is strengthened on more solid foundations. There is another possibility: these two events may happen simultaneously because the masses loyal to the sacred state view their leader, who fired the first shot at the devil, not as an angel but as an angelic hero.

As previously mentioned, the more the power of the targeted enemy is exaggerated before the conflict and genocide, the more glorious and praiseworthy the victory against it becomes. As the leader who wins that victory grows larger in the eyes of the people, he becomes a hero who has saved the homeland, the lives, property, and the future of his people. He is exalted as a "savior," even sanctified and turned into an untouchable entity. To this end, it is greatly beneficial to add a touch of religion and nationalism to the leadership position. This is where the leader cult is born. The leader becomes immune to any weakness, impotence, mistake, flaw, and therefore to criticism. He now deserves mad love, gratitude, and absolute obedience. There is no better way to ensure that a crowd, living in ramshackle shanties on the outskirts of the city, constantly suffering from poverty and hunger, and having not the slightest hope

of a happy life, loves their victorious leader living in ivory towers to death, claps their hands until they hurt, serves him willingly, and even risks death for him. Moreover, the cost of a state-controlled internal conflict is much lower. The entire history of politics shows that controlled conflicts and tensions, escalated by the demonization tactic, strengthen political powers and extend their lifespans.

The blessed and heroic leader has so unprincipledly and excessively vilified his enemies that, when the annihilation operation is over, he not only completes the purge but also eliminates the possibility of his enemies, whom he killed, imprisoned, or ostracized and condemned to starvation, appearing before him as "victims," "martyrs," or "heroes" rising from their graves in the future. The medieval Inquisition courts, by considering thought as an action, inadvertently conferred the title of "martyr" on innocent people they cruelly killed in public squares, thereby enshrining them as "heroes" in history. However, successful dehumanization eliminates the possibility of state enemies becoming "martyrs" and "heroes" and engraves the betrayal they committed against the country as an eternal stain on their foreheads. Society will not shed tears for a "dead and gone" horde of demons. They will not see them as role models. On the contrary, they will always curse them. This is the ultimate aim of the dehumanization process.

The surviving "scapegoats" retreat to the desolate corners of society over time, sinking into a deep and deadly silence. Now, people can say whatever they want about them, insult them, curse them, slander them; but they have no right to respond. Or rather, they have no opportunity or courage to respond. To put it in a Turkish aphorism, the stones of the village have been tied, but the dogs have been set free.

It seems possible to capture the first example of dehumanization in history in the story of Pharaoh in the Quran. When Moses, as a convict, reappears years later with his

brother, Pharaoh could have arrested and executed them to solve the problem at its root, yet he did not do so. On the contrary, he accepted them into his palace and engaged in a debate with Moses, which is indeed intriguing. There could be several reasons for this: First, when God sent Moses to Pharaoh, He advised him to "speak to Pharaoh with gentle words." The impression Pharaoh got from seeing Moses years later was quite positive. He had not encountered the slightest provocative behavior that could be characterized as rudeness or disrespect. On the contrary, Moses was exceedingly gentle, polite, and respectful towards him. The simplicity and kindness he saw truly pleased Pharaoh. With an unbeatable power at his disposal, there was no reason for fear, and what would happen next could be amusing. Second, although he was angry and offended, he could not help but see Moses, who had grown up in his palace and in his lap, as his son. Third and more likely, he did not want to create a martyrdom myth that would guide and incite the society. He calculated that if he unjustly killed or imprisoned Moses, he would become a victim and transform into a folk hero, leaving behind a good story of courage and drama that could ignite his ideas. Therefore, he thought it would be safer to destroy his ideas with the power of reason and words. He was smart enough to calculate that before annihilating the enemy, one must first kill them spiritually, that is, demonize them, discredit them, and utterly destroy their honor because no one would shed tears for a dishonorable person. Before killing an angel, it is necessary to convince the society that they are a demon. Thus, the killing of the angel will not cause an uproar in society. The person you killed should be perceived not as a "martyr" but as a "dead and gone" demon. This is a classic propaganda method frequently used by almost all dictators. It is inhumane. But it certainly works.

As can easily be predicted, the most famous example of dehumanization in recent history was seen during Hitler's era. The media controlled by the Nazis spread a new wave

of lies and slanders about Jews to the public every day. The hatred and animosity that had been pumped into the public for a long time turned the Jews into demons in the eyes of society, and as planned, the Holocaust began in 1941. To better understand what happened, one needs to take a journey into recent history.

As is known, Germany was forced to withdraw from the war due to the uprising that erupted in 1918 and then entered into heavy obligations against the Allied Powers with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. However, a large part of the German society believed that Germany had not lost the war but had been betrayed or, more precisely, stabbed in the back by the Jews. Over time, Germany's defeat was blamed on the Jews, and thus the hate speech against Jews continued to accumulate every day (Voigtländer and Voth, 2012: 1351). Yet, in the beginning, no one could have predicted that Hitler was smart enough to make anti-Semitism a perpetual element and use it for his political aims. When he came to power, he initiated a more intense campaign of black propaganda against the Jews based on hate speech. On one side of the propaganda, he placed the German people, whom he defined as the "Aryan race," and on the other side, he placed the Jews, whom he accused as the "base race," placing them at the focal point of social hatred. So much so that the hatred of the German people towards the Jews increased day by day. The German people, increasingly detached from reality, began to see the Jews not as human beings but as a harmful and dangerous infestation that needed to be exterminated.

According to the official discourse, the Jewish community, introduced to the German people as a kind of "devil's offspring," had long infiltrated every corner of the state. In Germany, everything that went well was attributed to Adolf Hitler's success, while every problem, difficulty, and disaster was the fault of the Jews. Even when Hitler lost a battle on the front, the German people reflexively blamed the "traitorous" and "collaborative" Jews.

In general perception, all Jews were considered devils, enemies, cursed, ominous, and harmful. The small crimes committed by some Jews were turned into sensational news stories, crimes that had not been committed were fabricated at desks, and these were published in the state media with as exaggerated and dramatic a language as possible. It was possible to encounter such news in the German press every day because when a lie is repeated for a long time, the masses perceive it as an undeniable truth, and the bigger the lie, the more people believe in it. When society was filled with so much hatred that they would not mourn any calamity that befell the Jews, the Hitler regime took action. The demonized Jewish minority—men, even women, the elderly, and children—were arrested and subjected to various physical and emotional tortures in prisons. The principle of "the personal nature of crime," which is not only a universal legal norm but also a human, moral, and ethical necessity, was disregarded; laws were violated, courts were pressured, and the Jews were left with no refuge either in the law or in society. While all this was happening, there were indeed those who thought that the ongoing exclusion, oppression, and tortures were excessive and disproportionate, not in line with the law or human dignity. But everyone remained silent because no one wanted to incur the wrath of the state and society by pleading for mercy for being agreed to be a "devil" and face similar tortures themselves. Everyone knew that those who dared to imply that the oppression and torture were unlawful and disproportionate could be arrested and subjected to the same treatment with the accusation of "Are you one of them too?"

As the nest of all problems and a scapegoat, the Jews saved the Nazis from the burden (sin) of all failures; thus, even the smallest successes that Adolf Hitler achieved despite the Jews deserved to be exaggerated. By using all the communication tools under his control to their fullest capacity, Hitler reinforced public support as he claimed that

Jews had infiltrated the capillaries of the state, taken over everything, collaborated with foreign powers, and could attempt a coup at any moment. Meanwhile, he himself took over the state, redesigned it as he wished, and in a sense, staged his coup. He had come to power through elections. But he did not want to leave through elections. The problem is that all leaders who can come to power three or four times in a row want to become dictators. They desire an infinite and unlimited reign. Hitler, who had a similar inclination, gradually took control of the country's financial resources, appointed his most loyal men to bureaucratic institutions, and in the final stage, established a dictatorial regime where transparent elections were indefinitely suspended. But this did not matter to the German people. It was not right to hold a true hero who was fighting with all his might against the most devilish, most insidious, most dangerous enemy in the world accountable. There was no harm in the leader who sacrificed himself for the homeland and the nation being a dictator. However, according to Adolf Hitler, who never thought like an angel, there must always be useful enemies within the country; if there were no enemies, they had to be invented somehow, and there had to be constant conflict and chaos, the fire of hatred must never go out. If there had never been a figure like Adolf Hitler in history, concepts such as "propaganda" and "perception management" would not have become so well-known and widespread. Today, Hitler-type propaganda remains the biggest source of inspiration for all political public relations activities carried out most intensely and ruthlessly in monarchies and, to some extent, in democratic countries, to come to power or preserve the status quo. It should also be added that Jews were not the only group Hitler saw as useful enemies and used as such. Communists were also among those groups.

The dehumanization practices, first exemplified during the Nazi era, are not merely crude forms of black propaganda aimed at discrediting the targeted group. The ultima-

te objective is to implicate the opposing group in criminal activities, necessitating the inclusion of fabrications within the process. At this juncture, it may be useful to provide a few concrete examples of fabrications that could be employed during the preparatory phase of dehumanization. One of the most well-known examples of this is the infamous Reichstag Fire of 1933 in Germany. As is widely known, a massive fire broke out in the German parliamentary building, known as the Reichstag, in late February 1933. The Nazi regime and its coalition partners claimed that the fire was not an accident but an act of arson. According to them, the arsonists were Communists who were preparing for a major uprising. In line with a pre-prepared crisis management plan, they began advocating for the urgent enactment of certain emergency laws. Shortly thereafter, a law package known as the "Reichstag Fire Decree" was passed with broad consensus in parliament, suspending many constitutional rights and paving the way for the Nazi dictatorship. However, those who started the fire were not Communists, but special teams commissioned by the Hitler regime.

In terms of outcomes, the second example that should be mentioned and carefully considered in this context is the bombing of the German Parliament building.

The third example is the infamous raid on a Nazi radio station in Silesia, located on the Polish border, in 1939. At that time, the Nazis, who sought to attack and invade Poland, were in need of a good pretext. Since they could not find the necessary and valid pretext, they were forced to fabricate and produce it. Soon, a sensational event occurred in Silesia. Reports of a raid on a German radio station there were broadcast. Apparently, the radio station in question had been attacked by Polish soldiers. In reality, however, the raid and attack were carried out by SS officers disguised in Polish military uniforms. According to the plan, Hitler aimed to create the perception that Germany had been attacked and that the German people were under

serious threat, thereby portraying the unjustified aggression against Poland as a "just war." Indeed, after the event, he was able to march his army into Poland with ease, and with the applause of the people.

The rationale behind such fabricated scenarios, organized to "criminalize" or "implicate" the enemy, is as follows: if the enemy group has not committed a crime that can be used against them, there is no need to worry. You can commit the crime yourself and attribute it to them. Adolf Hitler essentially invented and perfected the art of propaganda. In this regard, it must be acknowledged that Hitler-style propaganda is an "endemic" theory because nothing similar has been seen anywhere before or after the Nazi era. The fact is that when it comes to explaining the concept of "evil," forgetting the example of Hitler would be a great injustice to humanity. It is almost impossible to define evil without him. The oleander seeds that he scattered over the political institution will continue to sprout until the end of time. If Hitler is not evil, then there is no point in discussing the concept of evil. However, it is necessary to underscore one more point here. The persecution suffered by the Jewish people in Hitler's Germany does not necessitate perceiving and presenting the Jewish nation as a community of angels. It is not fair to ignore the fact that Jews, who have long since recovered and gained enough financial and media power to shape the course of the world, have been subjecting the Palestinian people to the same persecution and genocide for a considerable time. A humane approach would be to proclaim that no community in the world deserves such an attack and genocide. Crime and punishment are personal. When a crime is committed, only the perpetrators are judged. When crime is generalized, it breeds lawlessness. In that case, the greatest value that must be defended with one heart and one fist is the principle of the personal nature of crime.

It should have become clear by now that the technique of perception management described here is still widely

used today by authoritarian and semi-authoritarian regimes to neutralize opposition religious, ethnic, and political groups while portraying themselves as justified to the public and the world. As is well known, for a society to turn its back on the fundamental ideas and tendencies it holds, it must experience traumatic events severe enough to fundamentally undermine its sense of security. Social change progresses at a slow pace. However, in such a situation, a profound change in attitude can be expected to gain significant momentum. For example, if a state decides to undermine the public's faith in religion, it can orchestrate a similar dehumanization process. In this sense, deliberate efforts may be made to depict official or unofficial religious leaders as sinister, self-serving, selfish, lustful, bloodsuckers of the poor, indifferent to justice, unconcerned with inequality, sycophants, and courtiers who dine with state officials for their gain. With intelligence and psychological warfare tactics, they can indeed be made to embody these characteristics. Moreover, if such news is fed to the media for a long period, society will begin to rapidly distance itself from religion because the public does not investigate the sources of the news conveyed to them, nor do they ponder to uncover the truth. Since humans generally do not make decisions based on reason, they are always influenced by their subconscious. However, when it comes to the masses, it is almost impossible to speak of the guidance of reason. On the contrary, the primitive subconscious becomes much more dominant. Naturally, society's judgments are shaped by amateur observations and hearsay. Individuals may occasionally question whether their representatives are fair and honest; however, expecting the same performance from the masses is futile.

d-Discredit and undermine opposing ideas and beliefs

The greatest emotional need of a human being is to be understood and loved. When a celebrity sunbathing on a

beach with sunglasses on flees as soon as journalists app-roach, their intent might be to show that they are too eleva-ted a being to mingle with ordinary people; to hide the fact that they are just a "normal person" and to impose the illu-sion on society that they are a "supernatural" entity; or they might want to be perceived as a sacred being and lo-ved to death like a deity. Regardless of your background, you can greatly enhance your personal development by watching videos on internet platforms, exploring other cul-tures, learning a few foreign languages, and building fri-endships with people from neighboring countries. Over ti-me, you can enjoy being more understood and loved. To-day, thanks to the information revolution, everyone has tasted fame, even if just a little, and has gained the possibi-lity of being understood and loved by more people, while at the same time facing the risk of becoming the target of mil-lions of people's hatred. Societies have both gained the op-portunity to get to know, get closer to, and embrace one another, and the door has been opened to major manipula-tions and provocations that could lead to mass atrocities. The internet serves as a test because, through the globali-zation process it has initiated, the opportunities and dan-gers essential for both good and evil appear to have been evenly distributed to everyone. The "chest of privacy," which had been carefully preserved for centuries, has been opened and placed in the middle of the stage. A spotlight has been shone on both good and evil, leaving no dark pla-ce in the world. On the same platform, the paths of love and goodness and those of hate and evil have been exten-ded infinitely. As life becomes more transparent thanks to social media, the most magical tool of globalization, celebri-ties turn into "normal" people, while ordinary people can become somewhat famous. Devils disguised as angels and angels accused of being devils come to light in their truest forms. Now, everyone is as transparent as glass. After reve-aling this reality, which concerns both the powers that be and opposition forces, we can get to the main point.

It must be acknowledged that the biggest factors deter-mining a person's emotional and intellectual world, and therefore their lifestyle, are economic and social conditions. Being a good person is not the first choice for most of us; it is usually a necessity. Most of us are good people because we fear the negative consequences of committing a crime. If everyone had the opportunity to alternately possess a few million dollars, become famous, or run the state, goodness would not flourish sufficiently on Earth. One of the most effective ways to discredit the representatives of a prevai-ling belief or idea in society is to bring them into contact with power, authority, wealth, or immunity in one way or another. When a person possesses one of these, they will likely begin to be tested by lust. Possessing extraordinary power poisons the human soul. This is the starting point of the blackmail process.

The person sitting in the leadership position is the most important and influential among the representatives. It is enough to record the crimes of a bad leader and reveal them to the public when necessary. However, if the leader is genuinely good and a successful representative, violating ethical boundaries is seen as a necessity in the operation to be carried out. A good leader can only be artificially tarnis-hed through lies, slander, deceit, and traps. If, after being eliminated, a professional fraudster can replace them, a more direct and destructive path will have been opened to destroy the movement in question. For this reason, intelli-gence agencies prefer to eliminate the leaders of the organi-zations they want to control if possible. If such an opera-tion is technically impossible or undesirable, they begin showcasing someone from within the community through media channels as the leader's natural successor as the leader nears death. Eventually, the community comes to see this person as the natural heir to the leadership posi-tion. Thus, after the leader's death, the chosen individual can take the leadership seat without facing serious resis-tance or problems, and the state takes control of the targe-

ted organization. Once a state official takes the leadership position, the organization becomes more suitable for demonization or neutralization. Now, through the new leader, the organization and its followers can be subdued, divided into several parts, or even dissolved.

For example, by the end of 2020 in Turkey, a much more tragic event was added to the systematic social media reports over the previous fifteen years regarding cases of sexual abuse of boys and girls in institutions belonging to religious orders. According to allegations based on telephone recordings broadcast by many media outlets, a sheikh around sixty years old had sexually abused the twelve-year-old daughter of one of his loyal followers for a long time. In the phone conversations, the sheikh was trying to calm, deceive, and convince the girl's father to give his daughter to him as a wife, offering him a higher spiritual rank within the order and a considerable amount of money. It seemed that the scandal that had come to light was neither the first nor the last. It appeared that by exposing this and similar incidents and bringing them to the public's attention, the aim was to change the established perception of religious people and religion in society. Undoubtedly, this event likely contributed to a minimum increase of five percentage points in the atheist and deist population, which had already reached 20% within Turkish society during that period. Perception management is modern sorcery. There couldn't have been a more successful perception management activity to convince society to move away from religion without applying the slightest pressure or resorting to violence. Rather than passing judgment on the success or failure of the efforts to alter existing perceptions or create new ones within the targeted community, the focus here lies on how a structure, initially perceived as corrupt, was dismantled through subtle perception management. The scandal sent ripples of influence deep into the collective subconscious of society. In today's climate, no civil society organization, regardless of its core idea or belief, is imper-

vious to the potential impact of perception management tactics or blackmail attempts.

To destroy and dismantle the family tradition, it is not necessary to criticize it. If a society watches men on television and social media for a long time who still express love to their wives who have run away from home and live with other men, and who beg dishonorably for them to return home, society will gradually cease to see adultery as an issue of honor, dignity, and pride. Thus, the family tradition begins to collapse rapidly. Moreover, if most of these women wear headscarves, the society watching them will begin to perceive veiled women as prostitutes. Worse, they will lose respect for the headscarf, trust in religious people, and begin to move away from religion in general.

Today, communication and information technologies have developed and are developing to such an extent that everyone can watch the whole world from a small screen in his or her pocket. Therefore, there is no private and safe place left on earth. In particular, everyone who uses smartphones and social media is closely monitored, and all content shared on social media is archived and stored in central IT companies in the United States of America to be used as evidence against users in the future. The disgraceful content shared via DM on social media today will probably be sold to third parties or organizations to blackmail users twenty or thirty years later when they become famous or high-ranking officials. In such a world, no one is safe.

Two classic means of silencing and manipulating people are also effective in making organizations considered "objectionable" no longer a problem: Persuasion by means of a clear reward or punishment, and if such persuasion does not work, luring the target into a trap and demonizing it in the eyes of the public, as explained in detail above. To illustrate the concept, consider the following scenario: Imagine there is an individual in your vicinity who persistently

and openly threatens you. This person stalks you, hurls insults, arrogantly issues threats, and occasionally resorts to physical violence. The entire community is aware of these actions. Imagine that a few weeks later, the person in question disappears and his body is found in a secluded place at the end of the search following a tip-off from his family. From that moment on, all eyes will be focused on you. Police teams will be at your doorstep before anyone else. In such a situation, can you prove that you are not his murderer? Would the family of the deceased believe in your innocence even if your innocence is proved after years in court? Can you be exonerated in the public mind? Just like in this example, if the targeted person or community frustrates the state's or government's operations to portray them to the public as traitors, terrorists, or enemies of the state, there is only one solution left: The state creates a secret specialized team in the guise of the targeted person or group and commits certain crimes on their behalf. For example, assassinations can be organized against politicians, writers, journalists, artists who frequently and harshly criticize or even insult the target organization; fake coup attempts to overthrow the government can be organized by deceiving people from within the organization or by fielding people who are thought to be from the organization; raids can be carried out on sensitive institutions. In this way, the eyes of the public will be trained directly on the target organization and it will become the focus of public hatred. Naturally, after this stage, there is no need for intensive efforts to make the public believe that the target organization is evil and attack it. A very small amount of black propaganda is sufficient. Does one need to be Hercules to topple a wall that is about to collapse? Society, which has a very poor cognitive capacity, cannot immediately grasp such complicated traps. They begin to perceive the target person or community as an "enemy", and turn their backs on their thoughts and beliefs, and if the state increases the dose of demonizing black propaganda a little more, the statist masses may even mobilize and commit genocide. Given

that the ensnared organization becomes linked in the collective subconscious with negative attributes such as evil, malice, ugliness, cunning, and perversion, the very beliefs and ideas it stands for will also suffer contamination and mortal damage.

Most statesmen and bureaucrats are so ambitious and immoral that they consider everything permissible in the pursuit of power and position. As long as they have sufficient financial and media power, there is no belief, ideology, or institution that they cannot overthrow. While beliefs and ideas that have taken root in society can take hundreds of years to disappear under normal conditions, they can be completely wiped out in as little as twenty to thirty years with this method, which has become more effective in the process of globalization. Considering all this, the example of ISIS as an instrument of the global destruction of Islam must be analyzed carefully.

This means that both national and international political and commercial organizations are engaged in a relentless effort of perception management.

e-Set the agenda and distract public attention

The power and longevity of a government are directly proportional to its capacity to set the agenda. A political system can strategically shift public attention away from genuine life issues by magnifying a sensational topic at the heart of the agenda. In doing so, it might subtly accomplish other objectives. For a government, the ability to control the agenda translates to more efficient and seamless country management. Every corrupt political system has a special "list of sensational topics" prepared for tough times in its drawer.

When children become fixated on something, cry, scream, or create a commotion, adults often attempt to divert their attention by lifting their heads and saying, "Look

at the bird!" This tactic, used in individual relationships as a form of perception management, aims to shift the attention of the person causing trouble to another point and away from the current problem. Throughout their life, the individual persists in this endeavor to divert others' attention, but they exhibit greater professionalism when doing so in the presence of adults. When an adult wants to escape from a topic they do not wish to discuss, they may attempt a more realistic tactic by introducing another subject. This tactic, though simple and even childish, is frequently and easily applied in political public relations as a known perception management strategy. Interestingly, activities such as agenda setting, directing the agenda, or distracting public attention within the scope of political public relations seem to be methods that governments often resort to and have proven effective through many experiences. If a government or political leader cannot set the agenda, they begin to question their usefulness in their position. If a government or leader does not care about adhering to moral principles—in other words, if they believe that everything is permissible in politics—they make moves to distract the public's attention and get them to talk about something else whenever they fail, their image is tarnished, or they stumble. They do not want to let another power set the agenda. The government may have crashed the economy, imposed exorbitant price hikes on goods and services, and significantly increased taxes, leading to widespread public outrage. To prevent society from talking about the price hikes and taxes, either directly or through the perception management teams they employ—in fact, through a community of paid magicians—they drop a sensational story into the agenda. Thus, the public forgets about the price hikes and taxes and starts discussing that topic.

One of the most effective of these dirty methods used to distract the public's attention from real problems, especially in monarchies, is war because nothing can unify a society faster and more strongly than a state of war. Attemp-

ting to convince a dictator who rejects war solely based on ethical concerns becomes nearly impossible if they firmly believe that this serves the perpetuation of their power. From the viewpoint of a malevolent leadership structure or dictatorship, the defining trait of supreme dictators lies in the absolute authority they wield within their leadership positions, having enveloped the country in every conceivable manner. It appears that there exists no corner of life's flow where the supreme dictators cannot assert their personal decisions. In this case, as in the example of Hitler, the only obstacle in the leader's path is time. Just like in the lives of ordinary and helpless citizens, a day in the life of the supreme dictator is also 24 hours (Moghaddam, 2017: 246).

f-Sanctify the state and leader to elevate them to an untouchable position

In governance systems that are distant from the fundamental principles of democracy, where there is no separation of powers, all affairs are conducted according to the leader's whims, leading to disorder and uncertainty. The absence of other decision-making bodies with oversight and balancing functions turns the leader into the sole pillar supporting the country. For this reason, it is of great importance for the leader to present a "strong and upright" image to the public. In the photos selected from diplomatic interactions of autocratic leaders, often in underdeveloped countries, there is usually a display of divine power being presented to the media.

In Third World countries, where the cult of the leader is well-developed, the leader is seen as the sole owner and ruler of the country, the state, and the people. They possess absolute authority and control over the populace. Just as the leader is considered sacred, so too is the state they govern. Criticizing the state is seen as an insult to the leader. Moreover, even religion is under the shadow of the sta-

te, as the state is believed to be the protector of religion. Religion can only exist through the protection and efforts of the state. Should the state collapse, religion would be left unprotected and would therefore perish. This is why religious leaders also sanctify the leader and the state, submit to the orders that come from them, and serve the status quo as providers of religious rulings. Indeed, religious leaders have often played a significant role in ensuring that society perceives the state as sacred, inviolable, and unassailable. In such regimes, no individual has a unique existence or significance. Individuals conform to the state-prescribed norms, often compelled to proclaim their 'loyalty to the state' as a self-preservation instinct.

The cult of the leader is particularly strong in monarchies. Nearly all dictators have a weakness for appearing god-like to their people. This is because the power of authority grants the individual not only material needs and desires but also surreal fantasies. Naturally, there seems to be no human soul immune to the poisonous illusion of divinity brought about by the power of authority. Even if a strong and autocratic leader is not a god, they resemble a sacred being. They are the shadow of God on Earth, His spokesperson, and His representative. This is why they build palaces and isolate themselves from the people. When the leader is sacred, the state they head is also sanctified. Nearly every dictator identifies the state with themselves, perceiving any criticism of the state as a personal affront. They are hypersensitive, allergic, and intolerant to even the softest criticisms directed at themselves and their ideas. They are in a position of authority similar to God— empowered, yet unaccountable. The state and the people are the leader's personal property. For example, when the people of Libya rose against the government in 2011, Muammar Gaddafi declared in a televised speech, "This country is my inheritance from God." This is the characteristic spirit of a dictatorial leader.

Just as a spoiled and proud adolescent might push away helping hands when they trip and fall, dictators, due to their immense pride, do not seek help from others. They refuse to show any sign of weakness to the people or other nations. They always try to appear unyielding. After all, seeking help in a moment of weakness is not a trait fitting of a god.

When an uncontrolled disaster occurs in the country, the leader does not want to accept help from the outside world. They prevent the perception that they or the country they govern are strong and capable of overcoming all challenges from being shattered. For example, in the United States, the president's detailed health report is published annually for the public. This is because, in countries where democracy and the rule of law prevail, the people have a right to know the health status of the person governing them; however, in autocratic regimes, the leader's health is kept strictly secret, their weaknesses and illnesses are hidden from the public, and even their death might be concealed until a new leader is chosen. Everything is concentrated on the leader, and when the leader falls, society will be struck with fear and panic as if an earthquake has occurred. Over time, the people have come to feel that they are imprisoned by the leader and the state. Even if they oppose the government, they see no way out. In a state of learned helplessness, they try to accept the system and adapt to it.

The primary goal of sanctifying both the state and the leader, and attributing to them the titles of "invincibility" and "indestructibility," is to plunge regime opponents into despair, to cut off the moral and societal support they need to overthrow the regime, making it difficult for them to gain followers, and to dissuade them from taking any potential actions.

No dictator allows a fair and transparent election. Even if they are forced to hold elections, they do not want to compete on equal terms with the opposition. In monarc-

hies, where pseudo-elections are held to create a positive image in the outside world, the rules of the game are always arranged in such a way that the existing leader will win. If, despite all their advantages, the leader faces the surprise of losing, they will most likely overturn the table. There are examples in the political history of dictators who came to power through democratic elections and, after taking over all the institutions of the state, declared their own regime; however, there has never been an example of one who relinquished power after an electoral defeat. The second part of the perception work aimed at reinforcing the image of invincibility of the state and the leader in society is this.

g-Tell big lies under the title "Great News" and keep the public's hopes alive for a Bright future

One of the best ways to maintain a non-transparent political order is to tell big lies to the public. Big lies can sometimes be presented as great news. According to the Hitler-type propaganda, the bigger the lies told to the public and the longer they are repeated, the greater the number of believers. These can be described as great news. In the political arena, all the great states of the past could become the focus of either a significant falsehood or positive news. For example, Benito Mussolini promised the Italian people that he would re-establish the "Great Roman Empire". Similarly, in Turkish political history, the promise to revive the great Ottoman Empire has always worked, but the lie does not always have to be big. More modest lies can also alleviate the economic difficulties and future anxieties of the population and keep hopes alive. In this context, for example, news can be reported that large underground reserves have been discovered that will enrich the country, that a breakthrough in technology is on the verge of shocking everyone, that a deadly weapon has been developed in the military industry that will astonish the world, that projects are being carried out in the economy that will trans-

form the country into a welfare society, and daily good news can be given that the salaries of low-income segments of society will be increased. It is possible to find many applications of this propaganda technique in the regime of Adolf Hitler and all similar dictatorial regimes.

h-Present evil decisions in attractive packaging or say the opposite of what you want to do

It is one of the classical methods of oppressive regimes to present their inhumane practices in the packaging of reasonable and endearing words. It is possible to be comforted or consoled to a certain extent by this method, which can be used unlimitedly not only in political public relations but also in individual life. When an individual engages in an action condemned by society, often accompanied by negative words, feelings of guilt or remorse arise. However, they can partially or entirely alleviate their conscience by reframing the act with a more positive perspective. For example, a citizen who wants to bribe a civil servant who solves a problem for them by taking illegal action may define this as a "present". The money received as a bribe can be called a "commission". A person who cheats on their spouse might say to a society that calls extramarital affairs "adultery", "No! This is not adultery, it is shared happiness." If these endearing definitions gain widespread acceptance in society, the evildoers will find greater solace. The knowledge that changing words leads to a significant change in the minds of individuals and society is not new. Knowing that the mass mind works in the same way, some dictators and even some politicians in democratic countries have used this method from time to time. When a government wants to raise prices, it should invent more palatable words to replace the word "hike". For example, using the term "price update" instead of "price hike" and "tax adjustment" instead of "tax hike" may help to soften the public's reaction to the government, as this will cause a proportionally weaker outrage in the public mind. In this way, the

public's anger against the government can be at least partially curbed. It should be recalled that this was one of the propaganda methods of the Hitler regime. Based on the premise that when words change, so does individual and social perception, they found positive words for everything bad. It was no coincidence that the phrase "Arbeit macht frei" (Work sets you free) was once written in big letters above the courtyard gates of concentration camps where prisoners were subjected to harsh labor conditions and all kinds of inhumane and degrading treatment. The same regime described its systematic torture of dissidents as "coercive methods of investigation". Just as in G. Orwell's famous novel *1984*, the so-called Ministry of Justice, which does nothing but torture and kill, is called the "Ministry of Love." The same regime called the torture of dissidents in prisons "coercive methods of investigation".

It should be remembered that this was one of the propaganda methods of the Hitler regime. When words changed, individual and social perceptions also changed. They redefined everything bad and gave it endearing names.

In political public relations, this method can be formulated as "extinguishing crime with the power of the good words" or "hiding evil under sweet words". For the overwhelming majority, who cannot afford the difficulties of following someone's whole life or even questioning the harmony or incompatibility between their actions and discourses, the main sources of information available are visual and auditory data. Moreover, watching and listening is neither inconvenient nor costly. For someone trying to hide stolen goods or an extramarital affair, there is no safer refuge than fiery discourses on honesty and moral virtues. The best way to hide immorality is to lecture society on morality because individuals and the masses, who look for the shortest and easiest way of doing things, do not know the real personalities of statesmen and politicians, their private lives, and what is going on in their close circles; they do not see the background of their actions; they do not bother to

investigate the contradictions between their words and behavior. Falling for fervent and sincere speeches is one of the weakest aspects of human beings; however, we can say that the masses are much weaker in this regard. Knowing this weakness of human beings, many leaders and those in power, either deliberately or out of necessity, start propaganda in the opposite direction when they are preparing to do something that will hurt the people.

For instance, if a government plans to censor social media to restrict freedom of thought in the country on security grounds, it frequently talks about the importance of democracy before, during, and after the enactment of the bill, and frequently emphasizes how freedom of thought is a valuable human right. If censorship is imposed on the press, government officials frequently emphasize, especially on international platforms, that the freedom of the press in the country is so advanced that it is an example to the world. If freedom of belief is to be suspended in the country, it is best to do so under the guise of intense pious discourse. If it is necessary to give up part of the country's territory, it is much safer to do this under the cover of fiery nationalist rhetoric. If economic data is deteriorating, national income is decreasing, and poverty is deepening, the government can employ media outlets loyal to it. These outlets can disseminate positive news to the public daily, while literature and art serve as additional tools. In addition to propagating the narrative of rapid economic growth, the government highlights giant projects, breakthroughs, and increased production. It also emphasizes the influx of domestic and foreign capital investing in the country. If energy prices have to be raised or tax revenues have to be increased due to financial difficulties, society's reaction to the hikes and taxes can be reduced to a reasonable level by announcing the discovery of large oil and natural gas reserves in the neighboring seas that will make the country rich. It is not surprising that during such crises the authorities intensify the tone of their speeches to prove that the country is get-

ting richer. More importantly, by showing deplorable human landscapes from underdeveloped countries and telling heartbreaking stories of misery through TV series and documentaries, the public can be made to feel grateful for their situation. Similarly, the persistent depiction of ultra-luxurious lifestyles among the wealthy in domestic TV series deeply influences the public's subconscious, creating an illusion of affluence and prosperity. In highly-rated films, even villagers could be portrayed as capable of building 'flying cars.' Thus, a perception can be created in the subconscious of the society that a developed, wealthy, and happy society is being built, because even simple peasants living in remote parts of the country show great achievements that are an example to the world. While the leader lives in palaces or castles with his family, he delivers speeches adorned with the themes of conviction, gratitude, trust, and fate when he appears before the poor; he may praise the humble life; he may speak of his longing for a life of asceticism; he may even claim that he is a simple person and use special expressions to be credible before the people. For example, when speaking of himself, he may use extremely humble sentences beginning with "As your brother/sister...", "This mortal man/woman...", "This poor man/woman..." and so forth. The humility of powerful people arouses gratitude and admiration in the public. The first rule taught to those who have achieved fame is not to walk arrogantly in public. When a person attains an enviable title, office, fame or fortune, he becomes arrogant and proud, but he realizes that he has to appear humble in public to preserve what he has and to achieve more. The fact that politicians love the role of "man of the people" is due to the paradoxical power of humility, which always works. If a leader launches a large-scale tree-planting campaign, one suspects that he or she is also engaged in deforestation to build a hotel, a restaurant, a shopping center, or a sports facility elsewhere. If he starts talking about human rights too often, one should not rule out the possibility that the authorities are preparing a massacre of the

law. If a statesman consistently discusses morality, honesty, and sincerity within religious and national contexts, they might be constructing a convenient path toward their personal ambitions. It's akin to pilfering from the ground while diverting the public's attention skyward. Consider ordinary citizens who spend significant time in front of their television screens. When they witness idyllic depictions of prosperous countries like Switzerland in TV series and films, they struggle to reconcile this with their reality in a less affluent nation. The tragicomic gap between their lived experiences and the utopian "dreamland" portrayed on screens often leads them to self-blame rather than question the government. The art of rhetoric, which is a terrible tool of influence and persuasion, is the most important part of perception management. Developing discourses contrary to what is being done has always been effective in alleviating the suffering of society.

The magic of rhetoric is most effective with the masses whose rational faculties are weak, but there is no doubt that the power of rhetoric is also a very powerful tool on an individual level. It's easier to listen to someone sweet-talking about a particular event than to truly understand it. The masses, like naïve adolescents, adore sweet words and promises. Unfortunately, they often follow smooth talkers without considering the deeper implications.

i-Spread the belief in the indispensability of the current leader through the perception that religion, state, and homeland are in danger

Another method usually used by repressive political regimes to gain the support of the masses or to maintain existing popular support is to keep alive the perception that the country and its values are in danger. One way of doing this is to reinforce the belief in the indispensability of the current leader as savior and protector by creating the perception that religion, state, and homeland are in danger,

and the other way is to denigrate the past for the same purpose. The "past" refers to the previous periods when other parties ruled the country. The current government's rule is referred to as "new", the periods of previous governments as "old" and the past is portrayed as "years of disaster" whenever possible. If the fear of disaster and the denigration of the past is successful enough, the public begins to perceive the current political government as the "best option" and to fear the possibility of its collapse because if the government collapses and the leader falls from power, the country will be destroyed, the state will collapse, the economy will collapse, society will be thrown into chaos and all hell will break loose. In such an environment, people are willing to endure great hardships and make great sacrifices in order to protect the government and the leader from harm. No matter how bad the conditions of the country get, no matter what happens to them as citizens, they learn to be grateful and obedient because no calamity is as great as the loss of state and homeland. This is one of the most effective perception activities that make a leader indispensable in the eyes of the people.

j-Avoid confrontation with opponents, stay always at the top

Many times silence is more effective than speaking. At times, silence is the best response because a surprising silence in situations where one is expected to speak is usually interpreted in two ways in people's subconscious minds: It is either assumed that the silent person knows something, or it is felt that he or she is mature and above reproach. There are some celebrities about whom everyone says something, good or bad, but who never respond to those who say these things, who never get in the same frame with them, and who always stay on top. "Ignoring accusations" is a highly functional tactic in perception management. It is a perception management tactic that has always worked well for celebrities in defending and protec-

ting the top. By not responding to allegations, politicians at the top leave them out in the open; by not engaging with the accusers, they discredit and neutralize them, thus protecting their reputation, their constituency, and their office.

When an autocratic head of state who controls the media does not respond publicly to the accusations against him, he continues to sit at the top of the public mind as a supreme and flawless leader. If he makes the mistake of responding to the accusations, he has accepted and deserves to descend to the level of his opponents on the ground. He is now one of the roosters fighting on the ground.

k-Avoid falling into the defense line and constantly attack

When the leader or one of his entourage is caught red-handed, he or she appears before the public and speaks as if nothing has happened or as if he or she knows nothing about it, sometimes even shifting the responsibility onto others. Those who rely on the irresistible power of the state do not apologize to the righteous. In the real world, the strong are always right and the best defense is attack. Therefore, one must go on the offensive even if this is unjustified. Moreover, since society believes that criminals always have their heads bowed, it is highly unlikely that a person who speaks boldly with his head held high could be a criminal. Thus, those who are likely to condemn the crime committed will be convinced, and the opinion of a significant part of the condemning masses will be reduced to the level of suspicion.

l-Bind the supporters of the leader to the system with the bond of complicity

Another characteristic of repressive political orders is that most of the happy few who rule the state through "proximity to the leader" are involved in individual, national, and international crimes. It is not necessary for the

leader to threaten the ruling elite loyal to him, "If I fall, you will all be in trouble!". It is enough that he has somehow and to some extent made them partners in his personal crimes. Thus, while the ruling elite makes an extraordinary effort to ensure the survival of the leader and the continuation of the order with the fear of losing the gains they have achieved thanks to the leader and the fear of being judged and punished, they often push the limits of evil. Adolf Hitler committed a lot of crimes and offenses on an individual, national and international scale. He was very reckless. He was convinced that everything would go well. Many of those who helped him never imagined that one day circumstances would change and they would be held accountable, and when they began to suspect that the tide might turn against them, the only logical thing for them to do was to cling even more tightly to Hitler. They knew that when he lost power, they, as accomplices, would lose everything. If he faced trial, they would also face trial because those who commit the crime together are aware that when the day of reckoning comes, the price will be paid together. If there is a stronger bond in the world than blood ties, it is none other than complicity in crime.

m-Exaggerate the mistakes of the opponents as much as possible

What is being done here is very simple. It is the most traditional way of defamation that everyone learns in childhood and does it all the time. In everyday life, people constantly slander those they do not like without looking for a sensible reason, or even without needing one. In fact, it's nearly impossible not to encounter someone who magnifies the minor flaws of those they dislike, aiming to undermine their reputation in the eyes of the public. This technique, which is used as a natural reflex in daily life, is also a part of politics. While the pro-government mainstream media generally relegate the mistakes of the regime's leader and bureaucrats to a memory hole that swallows everything up

and destroys it, they try to exaggerate and magnify the mistakes made by the opposition and turn them into a sensation that will cause outrage. For example, if a prime minister does not speak a foreign language, this weakness can be marketed to the public as a "great disgrace" and an "unforgivable farce", accompanied by a selection of videos of his diplomatic meetings abroad. In politics, politicians who can have their photographs taken with everyone as a public relations exercise or as a matter of courtesy may sweat blood if someone they have been in the same frame with commits a serious offense in the future. This is because having interacted with a criminal can be a good ground for defamation for the opposition. For instance, if the chairman of an opposition party or the leader of an anti-governmental non-governmental organization inadvertently says, 'We like lying' instead of 'We do not like lying,' the government-supporting mass media may seize the opportunity to spread this statement widely. Efforts to wear down opponents by scrutinizing mistakes are not unique to governments. This is a tool of indoctrination that opposition forces also use frequently and most effectively. On the other hand, for leaders who manage not to make mistakes, artificial mistakes can be invented through disinformation and manipulation.

Similar to previous instances, it's evident that the effectiveness of this technique is directly linked to the level of media influence wielded. The greater the power and skill of a political group in the media, the more likely it will be to use the most appropriate perception management techniques to wear down the opposition.

n-Creat a fake and controlled opposition

This method is common in semi-authoritarian regimes that want to build a real dictatorship, in other words, in dictatorial regimes that try to give the impression to domes-

tic and foreign public opinion that they are a democratic country.

It can be predicted that an autocratic regime cannot remain in power for long in a country where there is genuine opposition. Accordingly, one of the best ways for the government to survive is to establish political parties with the appearance of opposition or to seize the leadership positions of the existing opposition parties because if these parties and their leaders appear at the government's initiative, then there is no power left to overthrow the government. According to the picture, free elections, one of the fundamental and indispensable conditions of democracy, are being held, but the issue of which party citizens vote for is losing its importance. Thus, while the perception that there is a democratic order in the country continues, it is also assured that the status quo will never change.

o-Change society's history and language
All dictators want to be immortal and remain in power until the end of times. One of the conditions for an eternal and unlimited godlike power is to harmonize the history and language of society with the discourse of the official ideology. In this sense, for example, the curricula of state schools are filled with content that reflects an understanding of history that legitimizes the official ideology. Also, many quality movies can be made to promote this ideology. In this way, the language and mindset of society can be reshaped. Over time, when society begins to think with the state's mind and speak its language, the existing political power can become permanent.

As with the previous points, the first condition for shaping a society's language, culture, and perspective on history is that the media must be controlled. The second condition is producing content appropriate to the target, especially cinema films and television series. Over fifteen to

twenty years, a society that watches this content will change unconsciously.

2-THE MOST POPULAR TECHNIQUES OF PERCEPTION MANAGEMENT

Before moving on to the topic, it is important to note that the three methods of influence and persuasion that will be briefly discussed in this section, although they may appear as separate concepts, are in fact parts of perception management or propaganda. This is because all three are used to change, shape, or guide the perception and viewpoint of society or a specific group within it regarding certain events. Therefore, it is clear that they are part of the context of perception management in terms of function and purpose.

a-Misinformation

Misinformation can be defined as the inadvertent sharing of false information, which is usually not intended to cause harm.

The speed, openness, and timeliness of social media have greatly facilitated the creation and spread of misinformation such as rumors, spam, and fake news. In other words, the unconscious sharing of false information without research, questioning, and testing seems to have become a more important problem in the social media process. Many people like and share content on social media networks because they find it resonates with their feelings and thoughts, pleases their eyes, evokes warmth, and appears truthful. Frankly speaking, it is very difficult to say that most people today have the time, desire, and equipment to investigate the accuracy of the information presented to them. Instead of heeding advice that is useful and necessary, people tend to listen to those they like and disregard those they do not. They believe what they want to believe, they see what they want to see and hear what they want to hear because they make their choices not with reason but

with their emotions. As a matter of fact, according to a study, more than two-thirds of adults in the US state that they have encountered misinformation on social media, while 20 percent of them do so unknowingly and frequently (www.reuters.com). There is no doubt that this situation poses a security challenge of varying degrees for everyone, from ordinary citizens on the street to political organizations.

Influence operations targeting liberal democratic regimes are deeply disturbing. They undermine the twin pillars of effective democratic governance: The free flow of information and the flow of trust. Such campaigns can be initiated by malevolent foreign governments seeking to sow chaos, or by non-state actors such as ISIS, which radicalizes disaffected segments of society in the West (Jardine, 2019: 6).

b-Disinformation

Disinformation is defined as the deliberate dissemination of false information intended to mislead or harm. There are two stages of disinformation. The first is the production of the necessary information and the second is its dissemination through certain channels. Today, thanks to digital communication technology, the dissemination of news and information has become an instantaneous process.

It may be difficult to attribute precise parameters to disinformation. For example, disinformation does not always consist of unfounded and fabricated news and information. It can also consist of real information that has been pieced together to portray a distorted view of reality. To understand the disinformation environment, it is useful to examine the different elements it contains. Disinformation can include real material deliberately used in a false context to make a false connection, such as a real picture displayed with a false headline. It can take the form of fake news sites or sites deliberately designed to look like recognized sites. Disinformation can also include completely false infor-

mation shared through graphics, images, and videos. They can also take the form of manipulated images and video content in which controversial items are photoshopped into innocuous contexts to provoke outrage or anger (Derakhshan and Wardle, 2017: 5-11).

c-Manipulation

In its broadest definition, manipulation, whether linguistic or not, is a disguised means of influence that manipulators use in certain communicative encounters to achieve their goals, desires, and interests, disregarding the perceptual, cognitive, and emotional characteristics of their interlocutors. In this context, they may resort to dishonesty and numerous other unethical means. To achieve success in manipulation, individuals must understand specific cognitive traits of human beings, including reasoning, comparison, assessing similarity, and pursuing personal interests while influenced by emotions. Therefore, manipulators set up various tricks in order to influence or manipulate the target audience's weaknesses, motivations, beliefs, emotions, and reactions. Some scholars see in manipulation a "psychological problem" because it can be considered a type of human behavior or cognitive response. For some others, it may also fall into the field of cognitive pragmatics (Al-Hindawi, 2017: 9).

It may be useful to re-emphasize a common feature that applies to the four influence practices we have examined in the second section: Given the fact that news and information shared in today's digital environment reaches the whole world within seconds and is almost impossible to delete, it is obvious that false news and information shared intentionally or unintentionally, consciously or unconsciously, carries a risk potential like never before. Therefore, it is widely discussed all over the world, especially in academic circles, that the instantaneous spread of false information

across the world through social media poses a potential threat to democracy and large segments of society.

Countering such operations is both necessary and possible, but it requires the involvement not only of governments but also of civil platforms. In collaboration, all relevant actors can protect liberal democratic governance by minimizing exposure to fake news and other influence operations, promoting user immunity, and developing discourses against misinformation (Jardine, 2019: 6).

3-PAST AND PRESENT EXAMPLES OF PERCEPTION MANAGEMENT

It is possible to give many examples of perception management not only from our daily lives but also from history and today's world. The first example in this section should have been Adolf Hitler; however, since Hitler-type propaganda in the political sense is mentioned in many parts of the work, it was not deemed necessary to revisit the topic under a separate heading here.

If you wish, let us try to analyze some events that constitute general and typical examples of perception management. The general and concrete examples given may include one or more of the items described in the theoretical framework above. There may even be other techniques because it is not possible to talk about a strictly defined boundary in perception management.

The general examples to be presented below will also reveal the fact that a religious belief interpreted in a way that serves the interests of political elites and privileged classes by detaching the existing sacred texts from their context can be used as a highly effective mass drug and persuasion tool in perception management.

a-The example of Hasan Sabbah

Hasan bin Sabbah's work and propaganda method can be presented as a typical example of perception management in communication sciences circles.

Historical sources report that the Hashshashis were a sect and a political organization founded in September 1090 by Hasan Sabbah, a cleric from the Ismailia sect. The Hashashin Order was the representative of the Nizarism branch, one of the two branches that emerged as a result of a religious polarisation within the Fatimid State. The sect first found followers in Iran and later in Syria. Organized in high and fortified castles, which were almost impossible to besiege and capture, the Hashshashin Order developed an effective military strategy based on assassinations of important people and made a show of power that made a great impression in the medieval Islamic world.

Since then, the most significant confirmed event is that Hasan Sabbah, having received religious education, established his organization, seized the castle of Alamut, and established a robust defensive center there. This famous castle, located on the summit of a high and steep cliff, is part of the Elbrus mountain range. Its location is extremely secluded. For a long time, it functioned as the administrative and training center of the organization. In this center, which played an important role in the survival and dissemination of the teachings of the Nizarî-Ismailî sect, Hasan bin Sabbah, who made his followers believe that he held the keys to paradise, brainwashed them by using the narcotic effect of hashish, enslaved them, and guided them towards his goals, succeeded in organizing assassinations that cost the lives of many statesmen and rulers and intimidated the countries around him through these henchmen.

It is understood that the sect perceived the Sunni society of the period and all their political structures as "enemies". In particular, the Abbasid Caliphate and its patron,

the Great Seljuk State, were at the top of the enemy list. As a matter of fact, it should be noted that the Hashshashin sect terrorized the borders of the Great Seljuk Empire and killed many high-ranking statesmen of Abbasid descent. It is estimated that around two thousand followers lived in the castle at that time. Although primarily based on dissident accounts, the organization's name, as mentioned earlier, was also popularly known as the "Hashashashis" in neighboring countries. This stemmed from a widespread belief that the group controlled its members' minds by administering hashish, enabling them to carry out assassinations against prominent figures and statesmen during that period, and Hasan bin Sabbah went down in history as the inventor of suicide attacks. It is even believed that the word "assassin" comes from the word "Hashashashi". Undoubtedly, the systematic consumption of hashish has not been an isolated practice, but a practice accompanied by intense black propaganda according to which the leader is a sacred being and that a life sacrificed following his wishes will flourish again in paradise.

The sect of Hasan bin Sabbah, which forms the basis of the Ismaili-Nizari branch of Shiism, continues its activities today under the leadership of Aga Khan IV as the greatest representative of the world of "esoteric-pantheism" (www.bolgegundem.com).

b-The example of the Crusades

Although the reasons for the beginning of the Crusades are quite complex, the fact that the Seljuk Turks conquered Palestine, Syria, and Anatolia in the 11th century and settled at the gates of Constantinople was one of the main reasons that mobilized European societies. A great fear gripped the Christian world. Someone wanted to put a stop to the Muslim Turks. In 1095, this threat, which was getting closer to the Byzantine Empire, forced the emperor Alexius Comnenus to appeal to Pope Urban II for military assistan-

ce. Alexius focused on a common factor that bridged the gap between Western Europe and the Byzantine Empire: The Christian religion... A few months later Pope Urban II delivered his famous sermon that mobilised the Christian masses. The Papacy benefited greatly from Urban's successful call to arms because by reconciling the Christian masses in the East and West, he made a major contribution to the Church becoming a single fist against the Muslims again (Bartlett, 2005: 5-28). The common sense of the continent found this solution reasonable. However, the Crusades could not have started in the 11th century without a fundamental revolution in the church's approach to violence (Madden 2002: 71). The concept of "holy war" therefore seemed to have become the most natural part of the papal program throughout that century (Tyerman 2006: 47). The church authorities of the period labeled all non-Christian nations as "enemies" and this policy led to the development of aggressive feelings and thoughts in the subconscious of Christians against those of different religions (Bartlett 2005: 11). The church, which until then had called for unconditional love to the extent of preaching to turn the other cheek to those who slapped one cheek, was now beating the drums of war all over the continent. Within a short time, the "cross" was being used everywhere in Europe as a national symbol, banner, and uniform (Tyerman 2006: 908). Soon, secular governments, feeling themselves under the same threat, had to support the Church's preparations.

The most interesting event in this process was the church's distribution of the keys to heaven and official land deeds bearing the church's seal to those who died in the war against the Muslim Turks.

c-The example of ISIS

The main purpose of all religions has been to instill feelings of love, respect, and responsibility in humanity, to

teach the concepts of "good" and "bad", "right" and "wrong", while delineating the items falling within these categories. Evil is symbolized by Satan and goodness by God and angels. What is goodness then? What is evil? What are the rights and wrongs listed one by one under the headings of good and evil? The social values that flourished on these basic concepts taught by the apostles formed the basis of legal systems and state orders in time and built the great civilizations of today.

The problem is that the sacred texts of most religions have undergone a certain deformation over time. What is more interesting is that clergymen have always played a leading role in the process of deformation of religions because in order to deform a doctrine, skillful interpretations are needed, and none other than those who have mastered the texts of the doctrine can do this. Indeed, the understanding of religion in Islamic societies seems to be distorted by erroneous interpretations of the available texts. Ideally, one should be able to see everything "as it is", but no one in the world is allowed to do so. This is because man endeavors to see and show everything in a way that suits his happiness. Moreover, he possesses an extraordinary tool called "reason". The human mind has unlimited powers of inference and interpretation. More precisely, it can transform an object or event into something so different that it does not resemble its original state. So much so that it is flexible enough to honor the devil and discredit the angels; it is agile enough to make absolute good appear bad and absolute bad appear good. It is capable of making a dump site look as attractive as a spring field, of arousing admiration for the devil and hatred for the angels. In this context, let us put on one side Mikhail Bakunin, who claimed that the devil was a "freedom fighter" who had raised the flag of rebellion against God by bravely shouting out his ideas against him, and on the other side those who judged and insulted the vileness of the Grim Reaper, whose sole task and occupation is to take the sweetest of human beings'

lives. The problem is that the mind can turn even the most peaceful words of God into a mechanism to serve the devil's ambitions. Examples of this abound in history and today. From the perspective of the existing sacred texts, it is clear that all religions convey messages of love, respect, kindness, and peace. But does anyone see the smallest sign of love, conscience, and tolerance in the members of ISIS and similar organizations? Therefore, the first area that needs to be meticulously analyzed is how ISIS interprets sacred texts. Could it be that they ignore the context of the holy book, select some local provisions that will be useful for them, and then generalize and magnify them? Yes, this is exactly what is happening.

Those who look at the verses on war in the Quran can see that war is strictly forbidden unless directly attacked or confronted with a tangible threat of attack. Muslims know that if they are unjustly attacked despite all their efforts for peace, they are permitted to fight for protection. The verses in the Book that refer to the use of violence are the provisions that come into force in the event of an attack on an Islamic community and its response to a group that persecutes or slaughters women, children, the elderly, or the innocent. In short, for Muslims, war is only a last option, deemed necessary in conditions of self-defense (Esposito, 2015: 1068-1070). When these local verses are applied to times of peace, ISIS and similar organizations emerge. It is clear from the context that these and similar structures are not the artifacts of the Islamic world. Most probably, it is a global project prepared in the dark labyrinths of Western intelligence services. Launched in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, it seems to have achieved its goal to a great extent. It is important to underline that the flare-up of Islamophobia during this period is not unique to Western civilization and that a significant proportion of the population in Islamic societies who have abandoned religion have become more fanatical and anti-religious. Is it necessary to make a special effort to be hostile to the religion of someone

who wears black, frowns, is merciless, intolerant, constantly insults, threatens, and is prone to committing acts of violence at every opportunity? In this sense, the ISIS project is a global perception management activity designed to frighten, disgust, hate, and alienate the world public opinion from Islam, and more importantly, to make the world hostile to it by disguising as Muslims and exhibiting all kinds of atrocities on the world public stage. True Muslims are neither the founders, financiers nor helpers of the ISIS organization.

It is noteworthy that after Samuel Huntington's thesis entitled "Clash of Civilisations", a new enemy was introduced to the world arena: Islam and Muslims… Strategies had to be developed against the new enemy. The ISIS project is the greatest strategy developed to bring down the Islamic world in such a way that it will never stand up again. By smearing the humane face of Islam with blood and filth, it will be perceived as an expression of barbarism, brutality, violence, and terror, thus pushing Muslim societies into the lap of atheism and deism, and non-Muslim nations directly into the lap of Islamophobia. This will ignite a global hatred against the Islamic world and change the map of thought and belief of Muslim societies in the long term. Why is ISIS doing all this if it is not a project developed within the new enemy definition of Western civilization? Why are they filming and sharing videos of brutal executions that will cause the world to fear and hate Islam? (Feldman, 2012: 4).

In one of the field surveys we conducted in Central Anatolia, one of Turkey's most conservative and religious cities, Konya in particular, a large majority of the people living in the region (79%) stated that ISIS and similar organizations were not founded by sincere Muslims, but rather were outsourced structures aiming to tarnish the image of Islam (Aslan and Erbay, 2017: 69). Undoubtedly, this is a "fearmongering" activity.

It would be a bit naïve to expect a mass to display lofty virtues. As an exception, only the strong moral values of the leader can change this. If the leader strongly inculcates and moral principles, one would expect that the actions of the masses would be more likely to be following the moral code. In any case, it would not be realistic to talk about ethical principles, human virtues, and magnanimity when it comes to the masses. Therefore, leaders often have a tough appearance and use confrontational language that constantly incites violence. The existence of enemies who aim to destroy religion and the homeland is like the lifeblood of leaders. The leader who wants to maintain power plays the role of the most religious or the most nationalistic person and needs a useful enemy. Even if there is no enemy around, one must be invented somehow. It is clear who the hero who "saves the homeland" is. The more the perception of a useful enemy and threat is kept alive, the more the spirit of hatred and conflict is fuelled, and the tighter the mass will cling to the leader who stands out as a "savior". The more menacingly the enemy is portrayed in the public imagination, the more triumphant the victory and its champion will seem. The more the masses are frightened that they are facing a great threat, the more ruthless and aggressive they become, losing their already scarce and slow-moving intellect. This is similar to a wild animal running for its life while being chased by a ruthless crowd. The masses, encircled and ensnared by the enemy, their lives hanging in the balance, are far removed from civilized and humane behaviors such as critical thinking, reasoning, politeness, and empathy. In that critical moment, they panic and they resort to violence, bullying, and destruction. For this reason, some politicians constantly throw a dangerous and aggressive enemy in front of the electorate as an object of fear. Such situations are often referred to by the term "fear appeal". It is an insidious propaganda technique used to confront the masses with an imaginary threat, to draw them to their side, and to rally them around it. This technique has been successfully applied to Islam, one of the

world's largest and fastest-spreading religions over the last twenty years. Because of the blood-curdling atrocities committed by ISIS militants, Islam has become so synonymous with savagery, barbarism, violence, horror, tyranny, and primitiveness that in the nightmarish twenty years since the organization's emergence on the world stage, Islam and the Muslims have become a focus of hatred and disgust all over the world and the spread of Islam in the Western world has been completely curbed. As a reaction to this, ideas such as atheism, deism, and agnosticism began to gain popularity in the Islamic world.. The best way to destroy a belief or idea is to present it to the masses as a terrible threat. If there is no other religion in the world today that is as hated as Islam, it is because of this organization. Muslim societies have no power to avoid taking responsibility for the murders and crimes. Every crime they commit appears to be the crime of all Muslims.

This phenomenon can be better understood if it is considered in reverse. Imagine that fifteen years later a radical Christian organization emerges in England as a foreign intelligence activity of an Islamic country. The members of the organization wear black clothes with hoods, their sullen and fierce faces are in semi-darkness, they hold the Bible in their hands, they advocate a return to the roots of religion, they highlight verses in the Old and New Testaments that command violence and war, and they resort to gruesome acts of violence against members of other religions and Christians who do not live according to the book. They carry out horrifying punishments such as strangling, drowning, flogging, throwing people off buildings, and carefully present the videos of these executions to the world media. In this situation, is it necessary to be a sociologist to predict that a widespread and ruthless questioning of the Bible and Christianity will begin in the Western world after a while? This is the catastrophe that has befallen the Islamic world with ISIS, which is outsourced and externally controlled.

In short, ISIS is the most recent and horrible example of perception management.

CHAPTER III

TYPES OF MASSES

According to some mass communication theorists, it is possible to analyze the types of masses in real life by dividing them into artificial and natural masses. In this context, artificial masses are the army, police organizations, and official religious institutions. Natural masses, on the other hand, generally consist of ideological organizations, civil society organizations, and esoteric religious groups.

Here, a different classification will be made as "organized masses" and "unorganized masses". Firstly, organized masses will be examined under four headings and their similarities and differences will be discussed. The term "unorganized masses" refers to communities that do not play an active role in the construction of society and social order. For example, all women in the country can be considered an unorganized mass, but official or unofficial nongovernmental organizations carrying out activities on behalf of women's rights are organized masses. Retired people are a mass, but associations and organizations defending the rights of retired people are organized masses. Since unorganized masses are not stable structures, they will not be discussed at length. In real life, the types of social masses can be roughly divided into two classes.

1-ORGANIZED MASSES

a-Political Masses

When we say "political mass", we mean a community clustered around a political ideology and a leader representing it. The only difference between the political mass from other masses is that it is organized or united behind a political opinion. At the center, there is a political leader that motivates and drives the masses. These masses, in their most concrete form, are political parties in democratic countries.

b-Religious Masses

Divine messengers and other spiritual leaders similar to them in doctrine and style have had a tremendous impact on the masses. In the case of prophets such as Moses, Muhammad, and Jesus Christ, the subject deserves to be analyzed in detail from the point of view of the mass spirit. In fact, spiritual leaders should also be analyzed as "the teachers of civilization" or "civilization builders". All the great civilizations of the past and present on Earth are the products of their endeavors. The significance lies in their role as custodians and carriers of universal social values that individuals have assimilated over time. These deep-rooted social values, disseminated by these civilizations, form the bedrock of contemporary political, social, and legal systems. Consequently, we gain insight into the profound impact of religious leaders on the world. Similarly, we observe that messengers of God, who introduced religion, effectively employed the 'repetition' method in their public relations efforts.

The regular and continuous repetition of certain principles of belief and thought has ensured that, over time, they have become indelibly engraved in the subconscious of the masses. All sacred teachings attracted the attention of the poor and oppressed masses at the initial stage, but

gradually reached the higher social classes in later times when the factors of "repetition", "indoctrination" and "contagion" continued to operate; however, it should be emphasized that the propaganda methods followed by the prophets, especially the Prophet Muhammad, to spread the divine teaching were not limited to the three factors mentioned. In this context, it seems possible to mention some specific differences, such as the choice of uncompromising truthfulness and transparency over coercion, deceit, and lies, the effective use of the language of kindness in communication, the mobilization of consciences through love and forgiveness, as well as the systematic training of sages who were at the same time courageous and ardent propagandists and mobilized in groups throughout the world.

Under normal circumstances, the influence of the leader on the formation of the value judgments of the mass is extraordinary; however, if a mass movement is built on a religious basis, it would not be wrong to think that all the foundations we have mentioned so far in relation to mass psychology are on much firmer and more solid ground. In the eyes of the religious mass, the leader is a heavenly and sacred figure who is in close contact with God. Since he is perceived as God's representative and proxy on earth, the leader's opinions are accepted as God's opinions. Those who cannot reach God feel as if they are communicating with Him by speaking to the spiritual leader and understanding His feelings through him. His close communication, relationship, and friendship with God distinguish him from the earth where mortals live and exalt him to the heavens, making him perfect to the extent that he is perceived to be flawless and infallible. Naturally, the masses attribute a high value to everything the spiritual leader touches, believe his words unquestioningly, imitate his behavior, love those he likes and hate those he dislikes and those who dislike him. The masses are interested in everything that might bring them closer to the leader. If someone the leader hated in the past makes statements in support of the lea-

der one day, the masses immediately accept them. When a loyal supporter of the leader decides to leave, the masses often turn against them. Similarly, if that once-loyal individual aligns with a different cause, resentment from the masses follows. The sole criterion for love or hatred toward people seems to be their association with the leader. Consequently, the masses may adore certain unsavory individuals and harbor intense animosity toward virtuous ones, even to the point of desiring harm.

The behavior of a religious mass can change in an unprincipled and disproportionate way. The purification and sanctification of the leader with the water of "innocence" is particularly visible in political, ideological, and esoteric religious communities such as cults. It is close to impossible to convince individuals, especially in cult-type religious masses, that the leader has made or might make mistakes. In cult-type communities, a cosmic (or divine) power is attributed to the religious leader due to the assumption that they are in close contact with God and the prophet, thus it is thought that everything the leader does and says is approved by God. So much so that all his behavior and all the words that come out of his mouth are believed to reflect the will of God. Although it is impossible to precisely define the supernatural power attributed to leaders by the masses, there is no denying that the religious leader's high level of reliability and credibility acts as an 'immunity' shield. This concept of 'infallibility' isn't unique to Sufi communities within the Islamic world; it can also be observed in other religious, political, and ideological contexts worldwide. Available data suggests that belief in the spiritual leader's infallibility is particularly pronounced among religious masses.

Since time immemorial, a large number of sect-type organizations have existed across the globe, spanning developed countries in America and Europe, as well as the Islamic world. As mentioned above, there are constant common features in all sect-type structures. First of all, all reli-

gious masses are built on the cult of a strong spiritual leadership. The spiritual leader is so close to God that the masses around him are bound to him and to each other by the "libidinal bonds" used by Sigmund Freud in his analyses of the mass psyche. The symptoms we have already described in relation to the effects of leadership on the mass psyche are manifested here in a much stronger and sharper way. As individuals get closer to the leader, they experience the pleasure and ecstasy of being closer to God. Since the religious leader's ideas are directly or indirectly inspired by God, every word he says is perceived as the absolute truth. His actions and words carry such immense grace and wisdom because they are believed to be endorsed by God himself, so his touch is like God's touch and his compliment is like God's compliment. This leads to a heightened interpretation and understanding of his ordinary behaviors and words, attributing deep meanings and wisdom to them. Spiritual leaders are referred to as "cult leaders" in the social sciences literature of the Western world and as "vile", "sheik", "murshid", "Qutb" and similar titles in the religious jargon of contemporary Islamic societies, but the working methods of religious and spiritual leaders emerging in both eastern and western cultures do not change much.

Since the relationship of the religious leader with the masses around him has been explained in detail above, it will be sufficient to give a summarising example here: The spiritual leader is God's close friend and deputy. He knows and reflects his will. In this way, he brings his followers closer to God and even has the authority to guarantee paradise to those he likes and to condemn those he dislikes to hell. Obviously, this form of relationship, which seems exaggerated to us, seems extremely natural and correct in the eyes of all local and foreign followers of the sects. From this point of view, it does not seem wrong to take seriously the allegations that the mass of followers live on a kind of "island of dreams", woven from the spiritual leader's mirac-

les, tales, lessons, and wisdom—treasures as valuable as diamonds. These claims suggest that their connection to the concrete reality of the outside world has significantly weakened. If this approach is correct, it paves the way for the belief that this phenomenon points to a psychotic disorder and therefore is not only a problem of sociology but also of interest to psychology and psychiatry.

c-Ethnic nationalist masses

As the name suggests, ethnic nationalist masses are the masses formed by any ethnic community. Such masses usually arise due to reasons such as the fact that an ethnic community is subjected to oppression and violence and that it does not have certain rights or has been deprived of them. Ideological masses, on the other hand, are formed by making a certain ideology the subject of a more beautiful and peaceful country or world goal; however, it is often seen that both ethnic and ideological identities are combined within a mass. The PKK terrorist organization, which has been active in Turkey for more than forty years, is an example of this. This is because it expresses both ethnic nationalism and embraces the Marxist philosophy.

Ethnic nationalism is a hard feeling. It can be provoked and abused by scratching or caressing it. The success of sovereign powers in ruling the masses throughout history hinges on two key factors. First, they systematically curtail opportunities that would allow individuals to sustain their lives independently. Second, they strategically corner people, ensuring their perpetual dependence on the state. Additionally, perception management—where identity politics plays a significant role—shapes emotions, thoughts, beliefs, sensitivities, and behaviors. (Erdoğan, 2015: 37).

d-Religious-political masses

A religious-political mass is a mass that is united around both a religious belief and a political ideology. Here,

there is an overlap and identification between religious belief and political opinion. The religious beliefs and political views of the masses support and nourish each other; however, many observations and experiences of situations where religion and politics are integrated show that political partisanship is more dominant than the sense of religious belonging. It is possible to see such mass movements all over the Islamic world. It is known that the term "political Islam" is widely used to describe the political-religious masses in Islamic geography, and many academic studies and books have been written on the subject. Political-religious movements refer to the electoral masses of political parties that promise to organize the political order according to Islamic principles. In the subconscious of these masses, the feelings of religious belonging and political belonging are intertwined. Religion makes it necessary, even obligatory, to support political parties that emphasize religious symbols. In other words, religious beliefs and political opinions are identified. Therefore, individuals in the religious-political mass measure the degree of religiosity of individuals by their feelings of loyalty and service to the political party. The more loyal and subservient a person is to a political party, the stronger their religiosity is assumed to be. There are hardly any members of the masses who think the opposite. Some people doubt the religious commitment of those who follow all religious requirements but don't support the party. Meanwhile, the sincerity of God's devotion among party loyalists is consistently questioned. This suggests that loyalty to the political party and its leader often outweighs loyalty to God. As a necessary consequence of this, when the words and behaviors of the political leader are contrary to the commands and prohibitions of religion, the masses either easily disregard the provisions of religion or tend to legitimize what is happening by rationalizing it. To put it in popular parlance, they start looking for "wisdom" in the leader's discourses. From this point of view, when there is a discrepancy between the discourses of the leader and the discourses of God, there may be deviations

from the established religious understanding of the masses.

Since two different types of belonging are strangely paired here, or rather both religious and political views are integrated, religious-political masses have a more rigid character than all other similar ones. This is because any view supported by a particular religious belief is more rigid and fixed.

e-Nationalist political masses

Nationalist political masses are formed by organizing nationalism under a political umbrella. The main motivation behind the emergence of nationalist political movements, of which there are examples all over the world, is the desire to keep nationalist thought alive and growing under an institutional roof. This is generally considered to be a safer and more guaranteed path. Because political tendency and nationalism have a content similar to religiosity and can mobilize the masses to more or less the same extent, it can be easily predicted that the power to provide motivation will double with the combination of the two. Therefore, it is certainly possible to say that nationalist political masses are likely to be successful in gaining supporters and building masses.

f-Religious-nationalist political masses

Religiosity and nationalism are as similar as identical twins in terms of both intellectual and emotional belonging. So much so that it is often almost impossible to distinguish between the two at both individual and mass levels. Naturally, in many parts of the world, religiosity and nationalism can be easily confused. When these two concepts are intertwined in the minds of individuals or masses, it is extremely difficult to predict the proportion of nationalism and the proportion of religiosity in the resulting mixture. What is certain is that it is almost impossible to produce a

mindset as hard and sharp as nationalism mixed with religiosity or religiosity mixed with nationalism. When both the conscious and subconscious minds of an individual or a group are saturated with religious nationalism or nationalist religiosity, the stage is set for extreme fanaticism. For example, it can be said that religious-nationalist masses are more prominent in Arab countries and Turkey. In this geography, when the drawer of religiosity is opened, nationalist feelings and thoughts gush out, and when the drawer of nationalism is opened, religious feelings and thoughts gush out. In the minds of religious-nationalist masses, religion, and nationalism are so identical that they seem to be the same thing; yet, as a strange contradiction, it does not seem possible to find sufficient data on the definition of nationalism as a legitimate idea in the sacred texts of Islam because, first of all, religion is a universal phenomenon, while nationalism is a local phenomenon. While religion appeals to all humanity, nationalism is based on the idea of the superiority of a particular nation over others, sometimes even reaching the point of eugenics.

Religiosity fuelled by nationalism ceases to be inclusive and takes on an exclusionary character. It can be expected that a nationalist religious person will develop hostile feelings towards different nations and an increased tendency towards hate crimes. This is because, according to the person's perception, discriminatory and exclusionary national feelings are also supported by religion. While religion legitimizes and encourages nationalism, nationalism localizes religion. In this way, the principle of universality of religion is destroyed to a great extent.

Dictators need accomplices. By doing so, they amass a loyal army of enforcers for their regime and ensure that they won't bear the consequences alone if they are toppled.

Compared to other masses, the religious-nationalist political faction stands out as the most severe, radical, and ruthless. The unity within this group revolves around the

leader, bound by three powerful and similar affiliations: Religion, nationalism, and politics.

g-Ideological masses

The concept of "ideology", which was first used by Destut de Tracy during the French Revolution, was later revived with Karl Marx and Marxism and gained different importance and momentum. Marx and Engels asserted that ideologies often present a distorted view of reality, akin to how objects appear inverted on the retina of the eye (Marx and Engels, 1976: 23). In contrast to the Marxist thesis according to which economic and social life (material conditions) determine and mold human consciousness, the view that consciousness determines the perception of social life is characterized as "false consciousness". Hence, the Marxist philosophy condemned the ideology of instilling a false consciousness in society and attributed a negative meaning to it, because the view that social dynamics were dependent on ideas rather than the material conditions of life was considered an ideological prejudice (Mardin, 1976: 11-21). Karl Marx presents his views as "science" and defines all traditional beliefs and views, including philosophy, as "ideology" (Özyurt, 2014: 235). As a matter of fact, in their work *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels declared that all beliefs and ideas that tried to replace "historical materialism", accepted as the only scientific approach, should be fought against by describing them as "sublimated, idealized, but unrelated to reality, a bunch of babble"; however, the belief that Marxism was an ideology became widespread over time, and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin had to accept and admit this (Mardin, 1976: 24-27). In this case, ideology —as a thought and consciousness formed in the human brain —is oriented towards objects. Of course, this phenomenon contradicts Marx's classical view that "social life determines consciousness". George Lukacs tried to revise Marx's thought by arguing that "reality is not something that 'happens' but something that 'forms', and the partici-

pation of thought is necessary for its formation" (Eagleton, 1996: 138).

As can be seen, in today's universe of thought, Marxism and many other systematic schools of thought are defined as "ideologies". Considering that ideology is the main tool that produces consent and voluntary action in individuals (Fairclough, 2001: 4), it can be thought that wherever there is an ideology, there must be a mass. These communities, which can be defined as "ideological masses", reflect the general characteristics of the mass phenomenon. All Marxists in the world can be considered a single mass; however, it is also possible to define a "mass" for each of the local Marxist organizations operating in different countries through legal or illegal methods. More generally, ideologies can be divided into two groups: Conservative (traditionalist) and modern. Conservative ideologies, as can be understood from the current nomenclature, are mostly in favor of the continuation of the established order, while modern ideologies are radically or moderately against the established order. Conservative or traditionalist ideologies are various clusters of thought that pre-date modern times. Modern ideologies, on the other hand, emerged roughly in the wake of the French Revolution. Nationalism, Marxism, fascism, and liberalism are typical examples.

h-Gender masses

As the title suggests, sexist masses are masses formed and mobilized with gender identity and consciousness. It is not possible to talk about a male sexist mass; however, it is possible to talk about various non-governmental organizations established by women who claim that they are belittled, excluded, and deprived of their basic rights by the male-dominated traditional and social order because they are the weaker sex. It is known that many sexist organizations and institutions are operating based on gender and sexual preference in every country. For example, FEMEN is the

most popular example that comes to mind in the international arena when it comes to women's rights; however, it should be underlined that the female population of Turkey as a whole, with its upbringing and the special perception systems they have received from the Anatolian culture in relations with the opposite sex, can be one of the most typical examples of sexist masses.

Although "Turkish women" as a monolithic and unified sexist mass do not constitute an organized mass in a formal sense, they are extremely successful in uniting and surrounding and destroying their targets within the same day, especially on social media, whenever the slightest abuse, attack or violence against any woman takes place somewhere in the country. Observing the current landscape, it becomes evident that in Turkish society, individuals who disregard women's preferences or fail to seek their approval face limited prospects of ascending to higher echelons of social status. On the other hand, it is not possible to find sufficient data that men in the country react en masse when women attempt moral violence against them —for example, when they start insulting men on social media for any reason, or when they target men for physical lynching through emotional lynching. Despite intense propaganda that emphasizes women's victimhood with dramatic slogans such as "Violence against women!", the difficulty of imagining that men are more valuable than women in Turkey becomes clear enough when the existing urban living spaces and the general content of social media are taken into account. When a woman insults a particular man or men in general, everyone is silent, but if a man commits the mistake of insulting any woman, women attack and destroy him en masse. This is not a criticism, but a cold-blooded observation. When three 1s are in separate places, they have a total maximum strength of 3; but when they are side by side and shoulder to shoulder, they reach the strength of 111. The strength of Turkish women stems from the fact that they are an extremely typical and solid mass.

The greatest achievement of organizational synergy is the ability to organize a mass attack on a certain target with a common attitude and consciousness of action.

2-UNORGANIZED MASSES

Unorganised masses are proportionally subtle and refined masses, but this does not mean that they will never be inclined to harshness and violence.

In J. Ross's view, the unorganized mass as a category of mass can also be called the "unplanned mass". These masses are defined as perpetrators of unplanned lynchings and are divided into two groups: The hue-and-cry mobs and the mass mobs. The masses mentioned in the "crowd" theory in sociological literature are generally included in this class. Lynch mobs are hue-and-cry mobs. Masses of resistance, on the other hand, constitute crowds or masses (Ross, 1983: 178).

Since the familiar tendency of the masses towards lynching has already been mentioned, it may be useful to include Manfred Berg's views on the subject. According to the author, it would not be incorrect to begin questioning the existence of brute force lynching from the time of the modern state's emergence. The end of lynching practices depends on the state's ability to completely monopolize violence because lynching can be tolerated to a certain extent as social self-defense against dangerous criminals that the state is incapable or reluctant to suppress or punish. Therefore, the source of lynching images can be considered as the incapacitation of the state (Berg, 2011: 67).

Taking all this into consideration, it becomes clear that the unorganized and unplanned masses are as prone to violence and lynching as any other mass. It is possible to see all the basic characteristics of the mass. The most obvious difference is its unplanned mobilization and unpredictability.

MEANINGFUL AND IMPORTANT QUOTATIONS FROM GUSTAVE LE BON ON THE SUBJECT

The masses lack reason. Therefore, they act on impulse.

The masses have never thirsted after truth. Whoever can supply them with illusions is easily their master; whoever attempts to destroy their illusions is always their victim.

Just as you cannot resist a hurricane, you cannot resist the dogmas of the masses.

The masses, like women, are easily persuaded.

A generalized crime soon becomes the truth.

Individuals are often, and the masses are always, in need of ready-made ideas.

Religious communities, congregations, trade unions, supporter groups, terrorist organizations, and individuals are no different except for the difference in the ideas they advocate. All masses are equal in primitiveness and aggression. There is no tolerance for debate.

Having a very high intelligence and education means nothing to the masses. There is no difference between a scientist and an illiterate in the masses. Both of them lose their self-identity in the primitive attitudes of the masses and are lost in the collective consciousness imposed by the masses.

To know is not to memorize, but to be able to establish cause-and-effect relationships between different events and objects (www.youtube.com/watch?).

All the civilizations we know have been created and directed by small intellectual aristocracies, never by the masses. The power of crowds is only to destroy.

A crowd thinks in images, and one image calls up a series of other images, not logically connected to it... A crowd

scarcely distinguishes between the subjective and the objective. It accepts as real the images invoked in its mind, though they most often have only a very distant relation with the observed facts... Crowds being only capable of thinking in images are only to be impressed by images.

We see, then, that with the disappearance of the conscious personality, the predominance of the unconscious personality, the turning using suggestion and contagion of feelings and ideas in an identical direction, and the tendency to immediately transform the suggested ideas into acts; these, we see, are the principal characteristics of the individual forming part of a crowd. He is no longer himself but has become an automaton who has ceased to be guided by his will.

One of the most constant characteristics of beliefs is their intolerance. The stronger the belief, the greater its intolerance. Men dominated by a certitude cannot tolerate those who do not accept it.

What accumulates in crowds is not intelligence but stupidity.

Crowds are influenced mainly by images produced by the judicious employment of words and formulas.

The beginning of a revolution is in reality the end of a belief.

The role of the scholar is to destroy chimeras, that of the statesman is to make use of them.

Are the worst enemies of society those who attack it or those who do not even give themselves the trouble of defending it?

A crowd is not merely impulsive and mobile. Like a savage, it is not prepared to admit that anything can come between its desire and the realization of its desire.

Science has promised us the truth... It has never promised us either peace or happiness.

The greater part of our daily actions are the result of hidden motives which escape our observation.

The real cause of the great upheavals that precede changes in civilizations, such as the fall of the Roman Empire and the rise of the Arabian Empire, is a profound modification in the ideas of the peoples... The memorable events of history are the visible effects of the invisible changes of human thought... The present epoch is one of these critical moments in which the thought of mankind is undergoing a process of transformation.

If atheism spread, it would become a religion as intolerable as the ancient ones.

The influence of the leaders is due in very small measure to the arguments they employ but in a large degree to their prestige. The best proof of this is that, should they by any circumstance lose their prestige, their influence disappears.

The art of those who govern consists above all in the science of employing words.

Crowds are somewhat like the sphinx of ancient fable: It is necessary to arrive at a solution to the problems offered by their psychology or to resign ourselves to being devoured by them.

At the bidding of Peter the Hermit, millions of men hurled themselves against the East; the words of a hallucinated enthusiast such as Mahomet created a force capable of triumphing over the Graeco-Roman world; an obscure monk like Luther bathed Europe in blood. The voice of a Galileo or a Newton will never have the least echo among the masses. The inventors of genius hasten the march of civilization. The fanatics and the hallucinated create history.

The precise moment at which a great belief is doomed is easily recognizable; it is the moment when its value begins to be called into question.

The conscious life of the mind is of small importance in comparison with its unconscious life.

The images evoked by words are independent of their sense, they vary from age to age and from person to person, the formulas remaining identical. Certain transitory images are attached to certain words: The word is merely as it were the button of an electric bell that calls them up (www.azquotes.com).

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The coming together of many individuals alone is not sufficient for the formation of a crowd. In other words, not every crowd is a mass. The main characteristic of a crowd is that each individual in it loses their personal feelings and thoughts and surrenders to the unconscious impulses of the crowd. Thus, individual emotion, thought and judgment are abandoned, and under the influence of the primitive and wild impulses of the unconscious, the collective is directed towards a specific goal. In that way, emotions override reason and primitiveness reaches its highest level.

Whoever the individual forming the mass is in daily life, whatever their lifestyle, profession, career, title, intelligence, or characteristic features, they acquire a collective spirit within the mass. This mass spirit or instinct weakens their sense of responsibility so that the individual can easily do many things that they would hesitate to do in the ordinary course of life. This is because the individual who is subject to the masses moves away from the social and legal ties that limit them in normal life and surrenders to their instincts.

In a community, every emotion, thought, and action has a pervasive characteristic. So much so that the individual

sacrifices his personal interests to the collective interests of the community. The relinquishment of self-interest is a phenomenon that uniquely occurs within collective instincts. It bears resemblance to the scenario of a patient hypnotized by a psychologist, unconsciously following their instructions. Consequently, the masses can seamlessly oscillate between heroism and villainy.

To understand perception management, it is essential to know the mass instinct because perception management and similar mass persuasion methods have been developed based on the theories put forward by mass psychology. In this context, it can be easily said that there is not the slightest doubt that a deep understanding of mass psychology is an indispensable condition for both being a good PR expert and being successful in commercial and political life.

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