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ԱՀԱԲԵԿՉՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՄԱՀՄԱՆՄԱՆ, ՏԵՍԱԿԱՆ ՈՒ

ԻՐԱՎԱԿԱՆ ՁԵՎԱԿԵՐՊՄԱՆ ԽՆԴԻՐՆԵՐԸ»

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(«ԱՊԱՑՈՒՅՑԸ ՂՈՒՐԱՆԻ ՄԱՍԻՆ ԳԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐՈՒՄ»

ԵՎ «ԿԱՏԱՐԵԼՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ՂՈՒՐԱՆԻ ՄԱՍԻՆ

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Hayk Kocharyan<sup>1</sup>  
Mohammed Haj Ibrahim<sup>2</sup>

**“PARADIGM OF TERRORISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY: A  
CRITICAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE DEFINITIONAL,  
THEORETICAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS ASSOCIATED  
WITH TERRORISM” SURVEY (PART ONE)<sup>3</sup>**

*Keywords: paradigms of terrorism, terrorism, theoretical and legal frameworks, war on terrorism, perceptions of terrorism, Islam*

This article mainly studies the collection and derivation of findings from both quantitative and qualitative dimensions of research on the current perception of the phenomenon of terrorism especially from the perspective of conceptual, theoretical, legal, and perceptual frameworks that can be associated with terrorism as inferred from the dimensions of field research or primary research that has been carried out by the authors during March - December 2020.

One thing that seems to have emerged from the discussion conducted so far, is that terrorism has the potency and power to destabilize the global social, economic and political fabric that weaves all the nations together. Hence concerted efforts must be made on a collaborative basis between government and political bodies of all nations and regions to find a permanent cure for this pressing global problem of terrorism.

For this study, the authors utilized two major tools of research for carrying on the field investigation or primary research on the chosen topic. These tools were Quantitative Questionnaires based on Likert 5 Point scales that were administered to a large sample of almost 300 respondents through the postal delivery method and via social media. Furthermore, the researchers have also conducted around 50 deep interviews. The selected sample was relatively heterogeneous as it had a fair amount of representation from government officials, diplomats, and public sector employees, as well as private-sector employees. The sample also collected data from self-employed and voluntary sector employees as well as

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<sup>3</sup> The second part of this survey will be published in the next volume of this Journal.

students given the importance associated with a general topic such as terrorism. The similar distribution of respondents could also be seen in the context of conducting of interview sessions that the researchers carried out, although it may be noted that a larger number of interview representation was from public sector employees and officials who are familiar with the subtleties and ramifications associated with a diverse and challenging topic such as terrorism.

### **Data Collection & Analysis Parameters**

It is noticeable that the present research focused on collecting and analysing data by adopting a mixed framework of research.

It has been argued by Barbour, that in the context of conducting academic or empirical research, the researchers are often confronted with a choice between two main paradigms of academic research: Quantitative or Qualitative Paradigm of research. While Quantitative research can generically take place through the development of specialised, questionnaires based on specific scale bound quantification that can generate visible trends of research or ascertain the relationship between previously quantifiable variables dependent or independent variables<sup>4</sup>.

In the context of Qualitative research for the facilitation of a deeper understanding of the dimension of research, insights are gained through subjective interpretation from the given sample cohort.

Given the degree of limitations that are present in the adoption of one form of research over the other form of research, and in keeping with the complexity associated with investigating terrorism and its legal, theoretical and perceptual connections, it was necessary from the perspective of the present researcher to adopt a framework for data analysis that accommodated both aspects of research namely the qualitative and quantitative dimensions of research. The researchers are aware that while both the dimensions of research have their advantages and disadvantages, nevertheless, in the context of the present research, the researchers felt that inputs from both dimensions of research are highly warranted.

The researchers, therefore, being aware of the significance of a mixed method of research decided to utilise a Quantitative 5 point Likert scale for collecting Quantitative research data, and utilised also some pre-arranged set of generic interview questions to facilitate the qualitative dimension of research.

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<sup>4</sup> Barbour R., *Introducing Qualitative Research*. London, : SAGE Publications, Ltd, 2008., pp.70-78

The Quantitative Questionnaire comprised around 24 questions that covered different aspects related to terrorism be it legal, definitional, theoretical, conceptual or perceptual dimensions associated with terrorism.

The Quantitative Questionnaires were sent to the respondents through the mail and via Social Media, 250 respondents were conducted.

It was found that 245 of the completed quantitative questionnaires were fit for present research especially the Quantitative dimension of the present research, as the other returned questionnaires had some areas that had not been filled by sample respondents.

It has been argued by many researchers that for the Quantitative dimension of any research, adoption of the Likert 5 point scale is highly justified as it helps to collect, amalgamate and interpret findings from a large sample of respondents that range between extremes of the strong agreement to strong disagreement. Moreover, it has also been stated that Likert 5 point formats help in conveniently interpreting and representing objective trends and patterns that are associated with any form of quantitative research.

While the Quantitative dimension of the present research was based on Likert 5 point scale, the Qualitative dimension of the present research was largely based on a pre-arranged set of questions for conducting interview sessions with the selected respondents. For the present research, a flexible semi-structured interview format was utilised that helped in gaining subjective insights from the perspective of 50 randomly selected respondents.

Saunders argues that for interviewing respondents a small sample is many times inappropriate therefore a minimum sample of 50 respondents must be selected so that relevant subjective insights can be holistically gained for any form of research<sup>5</sup>.

The Qualitative dimension of the present research was therefore largely based on derivation and analysis of findings derived from 50 respondents to create a more thorough understanding of the topic on hand. Some select portions of these interviews would be presented, and analysis of these statements would be suitably made. It may be noted that for creating the right degree of balance it is essential for researchers to delve simultaneously into Quantitative and Qualitative findings so that the objective trends can be seen effectively in light of the subjective insights that are being articulated.

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<sup>5</sup> Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2007) *Research Methods for Business Students*. 4th Edition, Financial Times Prentice Hall, Edinburgh Gate, Harlow, pp. 24-29.

The interview questionnaire is comprised of 18 points that were framed in the open-ended format as the intent of the researchers were to allow the respondents to speak freely on the topic and provide their actual opinions and insights. The researchers kept detailed notes on each of the interview sessions to facilitate the extrapolation of specific statements from interviewees that can shed better light on the present nature of the investigation.

The presentation of findings would be done utilising a sequential format, wherein the analysis of Questions from Quantitative investigation would be presented along with the objective trends that can be derived from the same. The findings would also be examined in light of the secondary research conducted and would also highlight the relevant derivations from the Qualitative dimension of research as facilitated through interview discussions with the respondents.

It is worth noting; that such side-by-side analysis of Quantitative and Qualitative data that is derived from research against the backdrop of previously carried out secondary research can prove useful in drawing out a balanced picture on the topic. Under investigation, as such data is arguably rich in both objective patterns and subjective interpretations that become evident from the present analysis of research.

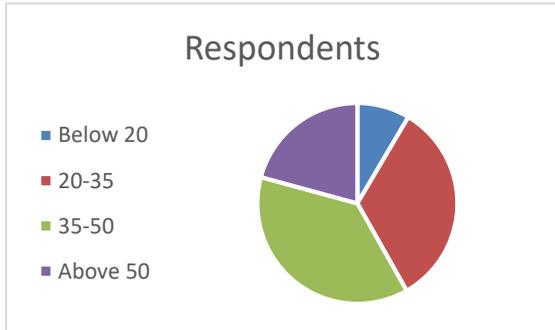
The sections below would highlight the different objective patterns and subjective viewpoints that have become evident from the present investigation. The extrapolation of Quantitative data is provided in form of 3D excel charts in the appendix section of the present research, the relevant extrapolations from numerous interview sessions with respondents would be highlighted in quotations throughout the body of the present research, as and when Qualitative discussion findings would be highlighted.

### **Demographic Parameters:**

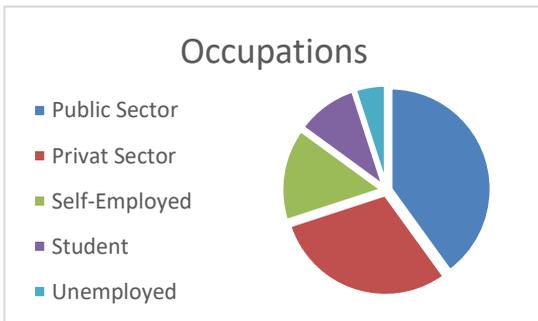
From the examination of the initial questions (i) to (iv), the demographic distribution pattern of the selected sample for the Quantitative dimension of research becomes evident. From the investigation of the chart about question (i), it can be noted that the distribution of the sample based on age parameters was fairly balanced and heterogeneous. It can be seen that the 35-50 years category, as well as the 20-35 years category, had the maximum number of representation totalling around 36% and 32% of the total selected sample. In addition, the selected sample did also reflect representation from respondents who were above 50 years of age (20%), while respondents below 20 years of age represented the smallest segment of the selected sample.

Similarly, it can be argued that bar (ii) highlights the distribution of the selected sample of respondents based on their occupation or professional categorisations. From the analysis of bar graph (ii) it can be

inferred that the sample distribution consisted of a mixed representation of respondents who belonged to different sectors of employment, that is public sector employees, private sector employees, voluntary and self-employed sectors as well as reflections from unemployed and student community members.



From the analysis of bar graph (ii), it becomes clear that while the majority of the respondents belonged to the public sector (40% of the total sample) (that includes within its ambit government officials, diplomats as well as public sector body representatives). The sample also reflects a high representation of nearly 30% from private sector establishments, in addition to 15% of the total sample who belonged to voluntary and self-employed sectors.



Viewpoints of unemployed employees and students were also collected given the predominance and importance associated with the paradigm of terrorism and its definitional, legal, theoretical and conceptual ramifications.

Investigation of Bar graph (iii) demonstrates that sample apart from having divergent viewpoints and perspectives of different employees belonging to public, private or voluntary sectors also boasts of having well-balanced representation from different layers of occupational categorisation. From the analysis, it becomes evident that the sample does reflect insights from not only people in senior managerial levels but also from employees who belong to the middle and junior layers of management. The perspective of

non-managerial employees from public, private and voluntary sectors was also taken into consideration for developing a balanced appraisal and analysis for the present investigation.

Analysis of the pie graph or circular graph (iv) of the present report reveals that the selected sample did reflect good representation from both genders as while men constituted nearly 56% of the total sample, women's insights would account for nearly 44% of the total sample. It is common knowledge that for developing a holistic base of an investigation into quantitative and qualitative dimensions of any social science research viewpoints of both genders must be gathered, interpreted and analysed for any investigation<sup>6</sup>. Given the importance of terrorism as a paradigm that affects equally both genders, it was essential for present research to collect, collate and interpret findings from the perspective of both male and female respondents.

While the aforementioned graphs and analysis reflect that the selected sample for the quantitative dimension of research was well balanced and heterogeneous. It needs to be noted that even the selected random sample for interview analysis as part of qualitative research and investigation can be touted as being balanced and representative of a diversified lot of respondents. 50 interview sessions were conducted with select respondents who had fair representation from both males and females, were employed in the public sector as well as private and voluntary sectors of employment and belonged to different levels of occupation within their profession so that relevant insights could be collected from a wide variety of people.

### **The Quantitative Research Derivatives ( Q1 to Q4):**

From the investigative analysis of the bar chart for (Q1) regarding the emergence of terrorism as an important global issue at the world stage, it can be noted that the majority of the respondents (47%) of the total expresseagreede given statement, whereas only 38% of the respondents expressed disagreement.

The objective trend that becomes imperative from the present derivation is that terrorism has increased in the perception of the common person as one of the urgent and pressing problems facing the global community. It may be argued that with the intensification of terror activities and with the emergence of terrorism in the context of western superpower

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<sup>6</sup> Mihajlović Trbovc J, Hofman A., Toolkit for Integrating Gender Sensitive Approach into Research and Teaching, 2013.

countries such as the United States the paradigm of terrorism seems to have attracted a great deal of attention in the minds of common people.

While terrorism has existed and influenced many countries across the globe but its recent increase in frequency in the context of western nations of the world has resulted in the creation of talking about the hype regarding terrorism and its demonstrable visible effects.

Concerning (Q2), regarding how the framework of terrorism needs to be tackled by the modern countries of the globe, it is interesting to note that the majority of the respondents representing almost 82% of the total wanted terrorism to be tackled multilaterally.

It is evident from these findings that since terrorism has such a broad reach and zone of influence across all regions and nations of the world, it cannot be effectively tackled through isolated efforts of a single country, even if it is a global superpower.

Fight against terrorism is not a unilateral fight that can be waged in isolation but one that requires effective coordination and cooperation between the defence and intelligence infrastructures of all global countries for sharing of intelligence and information regarding mushrooming and training of terror networks.

Globalisation, while on hand has managed to bring closer the boundaries of the global nations, on the other hand through narrowing in of borders and improvement in technological frameworks has facilitation in amplification and projection of terrorism as an international menace whose tentacles are capable of stretching to all corners of the globe.

(Q3) and (Q4) are related questions that have a common intent of analyzing the effectiveness and credibility of definitional constructs associated with terrorism. From the analysis of (Q3) regarding whether terrorism has been appropriately defined, it can be inferred that almost 76% of respondents expressed disagreement and dissatisfaction with the appropriateness of the definition associated with terrorism. Investigation of related (Q4) regarding the degree of ambiguity present in the context of present definitions of terrorism, shows that almost 49% of the respondents agreed with the highly contested and ambiguous nature of definitional constructs associated with terrorism, while a handful of minority totalling (39%) expressed disagreement.

From the joint investigative analysis of both (Q3) and (Q4), it can be reflected that the lack of appropriate definition associated with terrorism remains a major Weakness for the fight against terrorism. After all, if the quantification of terrorism lacks precision and acuity in demarcation, there cannot be a straightforward way for segregating the relationship between

terrorism and terrorists. In this context, terrorism becomes a matter of global socio-political conjecture as to which group should be brandished as terrorists guilty of perpetrating terrorism and what should be defined as legitimate socio-political or cultural freedom struggle for self-expression or terrorism because of violence perpetrated.

### **The Secondary Research Reflections:**

Having analysed the objective patterns and trends associated with terrorism as highlighted from the relevant quantitative dimension of research, it would be appropriate at this stage to make the vital connections between findings derived so far with their conceptual foundations as highlighted through secondary research analysis that was carried out through literature review.

It is worth noting, that literature review analysis also has demonstrated that terrorism has assumed epic proportions in perceptions of common people due to the visible demonstrative effects that terrorism has shown in its recent spate of attacks in the developed nations of the world. Accordingly, the perceptions regarding the importance of terrorism seem to have significantly multiplied manifolds as the researches indicate that worldwide most people fear terrorism than war as a threat to their security<sup>7</sup>.

However, it can also be noted that despite the increased importance and recognition of terrorism as a global menace even in the eyes of the United Nations, a practical and workable definition of terrorism has not been achieved so far in all the years of UN's working.

The generic definition of terrorism perpetrated by the United Nations as a calculated use of force for inflicting harm against non-combatants or civilians does not sufficiently address critical issues. Such as explicit intent of terrorists, methods that constitute terrorism, calibration of the magnitude of violence in terrorism, differences between government or resistance terrorism, legitimacy of terrorism and its linkage with a crime or its justification with acts of war.

### **The Qualitative Research Derivatives:**

It can be noted that similar findings were also highlighted through Qualitative research derivations that were made for the present research.

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<sup>7</sup> See details at Bloch-Elkon, Yaeli. "Trends-Public Perceptions and the Threat of International Terrorism after 9/11." *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 2, American Association for Public Opinion Research, 2011, pp. 366-92, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41288389>.

Questions regarding the importance of terrorism and lack of definitional and conceptual ambiguity associated with terrorism in the context of Qualitative research also seemed to ratify and corroborate to a large extent, the findings derived from the literature review as well as the Quantitative dimension of the present research.

According to Respondent (1), it was stated:

*“Terrorism is the number one threat for the world today, I am more afraid of an imminent terror attack than the possibility of a Third World War”*

Similarly, according to Respondent (3), it was articulated:

*“Terrorism is the numero uno global problem, let us not just think of terrorism as an American War, We are all affected in equal measure by terrorism, it is a separate issue that America creates the maximum hype related to terrorism”*

Both these Qualitative reflections seem to capture the general mood of respondents, all of whom felt that terrorism had emerged as a major evil on the face of the global polity. One that needs immediate and effective intervention not only from global superpowers but from every member of civil society as well as local, regional, national and international government agencies and bodies.

Regarding the discrepancy or subjectivity felt about defining terrorism similar observations were also recorded from the interview sessions conducted by the researchers. According to Respondent (5) a senior ranking government official in the Middle East, it was stated:

*“The major failure of all governments as well as the UN is in developing a tangible and workable definition related to terrorism. It is a shame that the UN has been in operation for over 60 years still it cannot create a definition of Terrorism that is acceptable to one and all”.*

Respondent (7) a middle-ranking UN official articulated:

*“The challenge with defining terrorism is that it is not a simple activity that you can say as terrorism, it encompasses many types of evil acts. The second pressing problem is that terrorism is like a glass prism, it depends on who is gazing through it, and it is all a matter of perspectives, one man’s terrorist can be another person’s hero”*

Both the above Qualitative reflections seem to capture the highly

contested and subjective nature of terrorism and the difficulties that are associated with terrorism. The problem with terrorism is that it is like a double-edged sword, for some who are terrorists may have well defined legal, political, social and moral objectives for waging war against cultural unification or strong-arm tactics adopted by the United States or the other global powers. For others, terrorists can be seen as devilish entities who in their macabre design for inflicting global harm seem to play up the card of religious or political ideology for gaining sympathy and improving their support base.

In short, it is clear that although terrorism is recognized now as a global phenomenon that requires concentrated efforts by all nations of a global community. Nevertheless, the lack of definitional constructs associated with terrorism make the fight against terror an uphill task and prevents cohesion and cooperation between different political states as they all have their interests and motives to look after.

### **The Quantitative Research Derivatives (Q5) to (Q8)**

From the investigative analysis of (Q5) regarding whether terrorism should be seen as a new phenomenon or an old phenomenon, it can be observed that while 65% of the respondents felt that terrorism was an old phenomenon, 35 % of the respondents felt that terrorism was a relatively new concept of modern times.

From the above study, it becomes apparent that there is some degree of ambiguity in public perception regarding the origins of terrorism as some sections categorise it as a new phenomenon. While others are of opinion that terrorism is more reflective of old wine in a new bottle wherein the hype and focus on terrorist activities has led a section of the public in believing that terrorism is something new on the world stage today.

In a related question (Q6), this dynamic nature associated with terrorism becomes more aptly magnified. As from the analysis of (Q6) regarding the dynamic and constantly changing nature of terrorism, it becomes evident that the majority of the respondents totalling 58% felt that terrorism was a truly dynamic and ever-changing identity, while only a minority of the respondents thought of terrorism as a static entity.

The findings derived from this question seem to further endorse the overall view that terrorism is not something new, but should be regarded as a phenomenon that has changed remarkably with time. While earlier terrorism was attributable as a positive framework in the time of the reign of Jacobean terror in France where terrorism was a way to express political discontent against oppressive regimes, in modern times terrorism has

slowly worn the mantle of being a pejorative term that has been frequently being resorted to by separatists, ethicists, religious fundamentalists etc.

The changing focus of terrorism, as well as the changing lens from which terrorism has been viewed by western nations, have given the impression that terrorism, as a concept is relatively new.

Analysis of (Q7) regarding whether modern terrorism differs substantially from older versions of terrorism, it can be inferred that while 50% of respondents agreed with the above, another section of 35% disagreed. It becomes clear that for a large majority of respondents there is some form of substantial distinction between modern and older versions of terrorism. Especially about the scale, technological frameworks and the shifting focus of ideology that is used. While in earlier forms of terrorism the scale of terrorism seemed to be largely localised, the technological frameworks adopted were relatively primitive so large-scale annihilation was not possible and the ideological frameworks had the overtone of political dissent rather than the religious flavour that has become the order of the modern times.

Despite the differences that can be attributed to modern or older versions of terrorism, especially about the scale, lethality and global reach of terrorists and terror networks, one thing becomes clear that terrorism has affected almost all regions of the globe. Moreover, it has in many ways torn the social, civil and political fabric of developing nations more than it has influenced the developed nations of the world.

From the analysis of (Q8) regarding whether terrorism affects all regions of the globe it can be seen that almost 74% of the total respondents agreed, while a small minority of 21% of respondents felt that terrorism does not affect all regions of the globe. The analysis further re-endorses the previous finding associated with the present research that since terrorism impacts and has impacted all regions of the globe, the war on terrorism should be fought through multilateral cooperation and collaboration rather than the adoption of an isolated unilateral framework that has been resorted to by most western powers and nations. It is a battle not between the West and the East but a battle where collaboration and cooperation are required to fight all forms of terrorism and oppression that are creating havoc on the global polity of modern times.

### **The Secondary Research Reflections:**

Having analysed the objective patterns and trends associated with terrorism as highlighted from the relevant quantitative dimension of research, it would be appropriate at this stage to make the vital connections

between findings derived so far with their conceptual foundations as highlighted through secondary research analysis that was carried out through literature review. From the secondary research perspective also, it can be seen that terrorism does not by itself represent a modern concept, but something that has existed from ancient times as exemplified by the coinage of the word terrorism during the time of the French revolution. Moreover, it has also been noted that the form and focus of terrorism have demonstrated exemplary changes over the different periods associated with terrorism. While during the genre of the period after the Second World War, terrorism for western nations meant what communist practice.

It should be considered that between 1960 to 1980 mode of international terrorism was primarily dominated by the genre of nationalist, separatist, racist, and nihilist groups whose primary focus was on creating destruction for carving out their own social, economic and political niche that could satiate their nefarious demands and objectives.

However, from the period of the 1980s with the decline of the left parties and groups new forms of terrorism started taking religious or fundamentalist overtones. During the late 1990s, onwards the cult of terrorism could be seen as emerging from religious extremists who wanted to utilise the framework of spreading terror under the garb of religion and had never the sanction of any religion per se rather nefariously twisted and interpreted the meaning of their religion for serving their selfish interests and goals<sup>8</sup>.

However, ironically though terrorism has changed substantially, many times terrorism is confused with freedom fighters such as Arab revolutionaries in Palestine. Apart from the changing focus of terrorism that reflects its dynamic nature, it can also be noted that terrorism impacts and affects virtually all regions of the globe. However, the *hoola-hoop* associated with terrorism has been amplified in the context of western nations is most unfortunate and detrimental to the fight against terrorism.

It can be inferred from secondary research that region wise on average, Latin America has been the worst affected region facing terrorism, followed by Europe, Asia and Africa and the Middle East.

However, North America has been immune from terrorism virtually till the period of 2000, therefore the unjustified amplification of terrorism from the perspective of the United States and its knee jerk reaction of waging a global war on terror is not proportionate to the incidents of

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<sup>8</sup> See: Mohammed Haj Ibrahim, To the Problem of Definition of “Terrorism”, Journal of Oriental Studies, № 18, Yerevan, pp. 35-45.

terrorism that it has suffered.

**The Qualitative Research Derivatives:**

It can be noted that similar findings were also highlighted through Qualitative research derivations that were made for the present research. Concerning similar questions from the Qualitative investigation regarding the newness of terrorism or the dynamic nature of terrorism, the following observations were gauged consistently in numerous interview sessions conducted with respondents from the public, private and voluntary sectors.

According to Respondent (9), it was stated:

*“Terrorism is not a new magic wand, but you hear about it so often because it has come to doorsteps of America in modern times. Why was America asleep when the world was torn by this menace throughout”.*

In a similar fashion from the perspective of Respondent (11), it was articulated:

*“Terrorism is no new word, modern terrorists are more lethal than their older counterparts because of better technology, I call terrorism a constantly changing Jigsaw puzzle for the human race. It was not understood well earlier and is not understood well even today”*

Both these Qualitative assertions as well as similar assertions from a large number of respondents such as ( R11, R14, R16, R20) all seem to highlight the fact that terrorism is an age-old phenomenon, although its ferocity, scale and power of impact has increased substantially concerning modern terrorists vis-à-vis the earlier and older versions of terrorism.

Moreover, it can also be inferred that terrorism is a form of political and social dissent that harbours violence against civilians for creating a framework of terror and fear in the minds of common people.

About the impact of terrorism on different regions of the world, it could also be gathered from qualitative research findings that virtually all interviewees were of the unanimous opinion that terrorism threatens all. Therefore, it is unjustified to label it as only a menace that threatens western nations; it is an omnipresent reality for all global nations of the modern age.

According to Respondent (14), it was stated:

*“Every part of the globe is affected by terrorists and terrorism, Latin America, the Middle East and Africa, as well as Asia, have borne a large brunt of*

*terrorism, America in many ways by following a lopsided Zionist protectionist policy has fuelled the ideological basis for the new genre of religious terrorists”*

In a similar fashion from the perspective of a senior Middle Eastern diplomat (Respondent 16) it was stated:

*“It is wrong to categorize the Middle East as a hub of terrorism or terrorists, part of the problem is manmade, as western nations have deliberately turned a blind eye to atrocities inflicted by Israel in the Middle East against innocent Palestinians, Palestinian revolutionaries are fighting for their independence, how can we label them also as a terrorist, while ignoring bloodshed heaped on by Israel”.*

From the aforementioned Qualitative assertions, it becomes clear that the menace of terrorism affects all regions of the globe. Therefore, it would be unfair to brandish terrorists as belonging to the Middle East or Arab nations only as the Middle East region and the Arab world has themselves borne the brunt of terrorism and continued colonial invasion from the western powers in one form or the other.

The need of the hour seems to be for launching an offensive against terror networks at two strategic levels, one at the core level of the nation-state, and the other at the coordinated level of global forums of governance. That is through cooperation and participation of international governments so that appropriate counter-terrorism strategies that seek to prevent acts of terrorism, prosecute those responsible for such criminal acts can be set into motion.

### **The Quantitative Research Derivatives (Q9 to Q11):**

From the analysis of (Q9) regarding whether terrorism provides a framework for waging war against civilians, it can be inferred that almost 56% of the respondents agreed, while a minority of 29% of respondents disagreed. The inference that can be drawn from this objective trend is that terrorism provides frameworks for waging war against civilians. The role and intent of terrorists are to seek the destruction of the very fabric of civil society, wanton destruction of innocent civilians do not have moral, social or ideological justifications, therefore terrorists are intent on utilising public sympathy on one hand and the other hand, give vent to their evil designs for gaining their share of political mileage.

Analysis of (Q10) that investigates the role of terrorism as a challenge to the role of the state reveals that almost 80% of the respondents

signifying the clear majority felt that terrorism is a direct affront to the role of the state.

It can be noted that in previous areas of the present research, it has been highlighted that safety and use of violence in modern globalised civil societies has often been the domain of the state that has an unchallenged monopoly in this regard.

However, terrorists and terror operatives by killing innocent people and endangering the lives of common people directly challenge the role of the state and prevent it from exercising the threat of violence as its prerogative. Since terrorists break the monopoly of the state for use of violence, they directly challenge the authority of the state.

Analysis of (Q11) regarding the internationalisation of paradigm of terrorism after 9/11 attacks on the USA, it could be inferred that 85% of respondents felt that attacks of United States had acted as a catalyst in galvanizing the international perception of the threat of terrorism.

It has been noted from earlier findings that while terrorism has affected all regions of the globe, the hype associated with terrorism had not reached epic proportions, as it did in the context of the US attacks. Moreover, the US attacks brought a grim reminder to the global community that terrorists and the menace of terrorism can have an impact and affect any superpower and no one is above its reach or its negative influence.

### **The Secondary Research Reflections:**

Having analysed the objective patterns and trends associated with terrorism as highlighted from the relevant quantitative dimension of the research, it would be appropriate at this stage to make the vital connections between findings derived so far with their conceptual foundations as highlighted through secondary research analysis. From the secondary research perspective also, it can be seen that terrorism has acted as a convenient framework for waging war against civilians as terrorists who do not have any social, moral or ethical justifications of their actions are only interested in waging terror across the minds of common people.

Moreover, terrorism by targeting innocent civilians highlights the coercive nature associated with terrorism that further strengthens the non-compromising attitude of common citizens towards terrorists and terrorism.

It has been seen from a secondary research perspective that terrorists by targeting innocent civilians and non-combatants seem to have broken an unspoken taboo in many societies of inflicting damage only against military combatants. Moreover, it has led to the creation of the much-justified caricature of terror organizations as bloodsucking evil entities whose sole

purpose of existence is to inflict social, economic and political damage against the whole of civil society.

Furthermore, the secondary research has also highlighted that terrorism can be seen as a direct affront to the state because it has been argued persistently that in most forms of terrorism, the role of political factors is probably the most salient feature for any sort of terrorist organization to sprout up and mushroom.

It can be gauged from secondary research discussion that the essential role of the state is to act for curbing terrorism as a state's responsibility is to ensure its monopoly of the use of power and violence for protecting its citizens. The implicit assumption that can be derived from this state role theory is that terrorists and terror organizations by perpetrating violence break the monopoly of the state as a utilizer of weapons and necessary violence to protect the interests of common citizens.

### **The Qualitative Research Derivatives:**

It can be noted that similar findings were also highlighted through Qualitative research derivations that were made for the present research.

About similar questions related to the usage of terrorism as a framework of war against civilians and a direct affront to the role of the state, the following observations were gauged consistently in numerous interview sessions conducted with respondents from the public, private and voluntary sectors.

According to Respondent (18), it was stated:

*“Terrorists are evil people, I am not saying anything against freedom fighters but pure terrorists, they use terror tactics for killing and maiming civilians, they have their selfish political agenda and nothing else”.*

In a similar fashion from the perspective of Respondent (20), Respondent (22) it was articulated:

*“Terrorists directly challenge the role of the state, it is the responsibility of the state to protect citizens from violence and terrorists harm citizens so they are at direct loggerheads with the functioning of state apparatus”*

*“It sounds ironical that everyone had been suffering from terrorism for long, but it is interesting that now we seem to have all woken because it has reached the shores of United States”*

All these Qualitative assertions seem to highlight that terrorism is used as a convenient framework for waging war against civilians as well as a direct affront to the role of the state. It has been found from both perspectives of Quantitative as well as Qualitative research that terrorists do not belong to a particular race, religion or ethnicity, they intend to create political turmoil by using violence against civilians as a means for getting their message across. If this is the intent of terrorist organizations then in any context of civil society, it becomes the primal goal and responsibility of state government to develop machinery that does not just protect its citizens from terrorism but removes the evil of terrorism.

**«ԱՀԱԲԵԿՉՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՀԱՅԵՑԱԿԱՐԳԸ 21-ՐԴ ԴԱՐՈՒՄ.  
ԱՀԱԲԵԿՉՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՍԱՀՄԱՆՄԱՆ, ՏԵՍԱԿԱՆ ՈՒ ԻՐԱՎԱԿԱՆ  
ՁԵՎԱԿԵՐՊՄԱՆ ԽՆԴԻՐՆԵՐԸ» ՀԵՏԱԶՈՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ (ՄԱՍ Ա)**

**Հայկ Քոչարյան  
Մոհամմեդ Հաջ Իբրահիմ  
(Անփոփագիր)**

Սույն հետազոտության մեջ ներկայացվում է 2020 թվականի մարտից դեկտեմբեր ընկած ժամանակահատվածում անցկացված քանակական և որակական հետազոտությունների արդյունքները: Հարցում արվել է թիրախավորված, նախապես մշակված չափորոշիչների հիման վրա, մոտավորապես 300 մասնակիցների ներգրավմամբ, իսկ խորքային հարցազրույցները կատարվել են 50 մասնակիցների հետ:

Հետազոտության նպատակներ է հասկանալ «ահաբեկչության» վերաբերյալ պատկերացումները տարբեր տարիքային խմբերի և զբաղվածության մարդկաց շրջանակում: