

Research article

Defining the concept of terrorism from the antropological perspective

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Abstract: This article offers a comprehensive exploration of the anthropological study of terrorism, shedding light on the intricate cultural dimensions that shape the motivations, recruitment strategies, and ideologies of terrorist groups and individuals. Drawing upon ethnographic research and a deep understanding of cultural contexts, the authors delve into the lived experiences of those involved in or affected by terrorism, providing valuable insights into the human aspects of this global challenge. The article highlights the importance of an anthropological lens in deciphering the complexities of terrorism, challenging stereotypes, and revealing the diversity of voices and narratives within the realm of violent extremism. The authors emphasize the critical role of anthropology in developing holistic, context-driven approaches to terrorism, elucidating how cultural factors intersect with social dynamics to fuel or counteract radicalization. Furthermore, the article underscores the significance of this interdisciplinary field in informing counterterrorism strategies, as it helps policymakers and security professionals better understand the cultural landscapes in which terrorism thrives. Overall, this article serves as an essential resource for scholars, policymakers, and practitioners seeking a nuanced and empathetic understanding of terrorism beyond its surface manifestations, contributing to more effective and compassionate responses to this pressing global issue.

Keywords: terrorism; terrorism act; anthropology; destructivism; human right; violence

1. Introduction

In the tumultuous landscape of the 21st century, the study of terrorism has emerged as an imperative and multifaceted field of inquiry. Terrorism, once confined to the shadows of political discourse, has now taken center stage in our global narrative. Its profound impact on societies, governments, and international relations demands a comprehensive understanding of its origins, manifestations, and consequences. In an era defined by interconnectedness and rapid information dissemination, the importance of studying terrorism in our days cannot be overstated. Terrorism, characterized by acts of violence or intimidation designed to create fear, disrupt societies, and achieve political or ideological objectives, has evolved and diversified in unprecedented ways. The emergence of non-state actors, transnational networks, and the utilization of advanced technologies have made terrorism a global concern. From the chilling specter of lone-wolf attacks to the organized brutality of extremist groups, the manifestations of terrorism are increasingly complex and adaptive. Furthermore, terrorism has significant repercussions that extend far beyond its immediate victims. It challenges the stability of nations, threatens international peace and security, and undermines the very principles of democracy, human rights, and social cohesion. In today's interconnected world, the ripple effects of a terrorist act can reverberate across borders, triggering economic, political, and social disruptions on a global scale. This interconnectedness underscores the urgency of studying terrorism comprehensively and collaboratively.

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Additionally, the study of terrorism is essential for crafting effective counterterrorism policies and strategies (Haghani et al., 2022). Understanding the motivations, recruitment methods, and tactics of terrorist organizations is vital for governments and security agencies seeking to prevent and respond to threats. Moreover, it provides valuable insights into the root causes of terrorism, addressing issues such as poverty, social exclusion, and political grievances, which are often exploited by extremist groups. In this context, this exploration of terrorism importance in our contemporary world delves into the multifaceted dimensions of this phenomenon (Bögelein et al., 2022; Primoratz, 1997; Reid, 1993). It underscores the need for interdisciplinary research, international cooperation, and nuanced analysis to grapple with the challenges it presents. Only through a rigorous examination of terrorism can we hope to mitigate its impact, enhance global security, and safeguard the values that define our societies.

In the face of the aggravation of global problems, the special attention of the public is paid towards the global surge of terrorist activities of the late 20th and early 21st centuries (Ceci et al., 2016). Under the existing conditions, the world community continues to promote the development and strengthening of international legal cooperation regarding fight against terrorism. This is manifested in the active participation in European and global anti-terrorist organizations, international, joint and domestic anti-terrorist actions any country must take depend on an absolutely clear political and legal position regarding elimination of terrorism both outside and inside its borders (Ganor, 2009; Haghani et al., 2022; LaFree & Schwarzenbach, 2021).

A number of representatives of jurisprudence, sociology, political science, psychology and others branches of science are involved in active scientific theoretical and practical development strategies and tactics of combating terrorism is in the center of attention (Fisher & Kearns, 2023). At the same time, the anthropological perspectives to confronting terrorist manifestations are insufficiently studied nowadays. This creates certain obstacles to increasing the effectiveness of the existing countermeasures considered to be one of the most important problems of the world and national character (Bögelein et al., 2022; Prasad, 2016). Therefore, relying on the work of native and foreign scientists in the field of terrorism, and considering its basic (epistemological, ontological) knowledge dimensions about the research on terrorism in the field of anthropology, we suggest a conceptual model of terrorism interpretation to explain the idea of terrorism and to investigate the philosophical manifestations of the current dangerous, antihuman feature of social life.

Modern works devoted to the problem of violence and its political form of terrorism include the findings of Friedland (1988), Sabir (2007) and Shengelia (2015).

The experience of other states and methods of their effective cooperation in the field of combating terrorism is studied by a number of scientists, particularly Lemieux (2006), Pradnyana (2022), and Thomas (2009).

When analyzing the problems of terrorism and its impact on public opinion emphasis we considered the scientific papers of Nussio et al. (2021).

In the study the globalization of terrorism is characterized by the ideas of B. Lutz & J. Lutz (2015), Mekaj & Aliaj (2018), and Zimmermann (2011)

Among the developments of the contemporary period, the native and foreign researchers on the issues of terrorism paid the great attention towards social (Prieto-Rodríguez et al., 2009; Siman-Tov et al., 2006), political (Sönmez, 1998), criminological (LaFree, 2023; LaFree & Schwarzenbach, 2021), criminal (Fisher & Kearns, 2023), and psychological aspects of the problem (Grenon et al., 2019; Olff et al., 2007; Sederer et al., 2003).

However, without diminishing the role and significance of the works of these scientists, we note that the problem of anthropological evaluations of the phenomenon of terrorism was not the subject of a separate comprehensive and systematic study, which outlined the choice of the topic and goal of the research, its scientific novelty and practical implications. Thus, the purpose of the article is to reveal the anthropological perspectives of terrorism taking into account globalization processes and modern legal contradictions, which are the cornerstone of theoretical understanding of this phenomenon and evaluation of the effectiveness of modern international legal trends to overcome it.



To achieve the goal of the research, the following tasks are defined: (1) determine the conceptual framework in the field of terrorism including the concepts of terror, terrorist act, war of national liberation; (2) to reveal the methodological component of the anthropological nature of terrorism; (3) to investigate modern social factors in philosophical understanding of terrorism; (4) to find out the legal nature of the danger of modern terrorism using the philosophical and anthropological approaches; (5) to explain the epistemological nature of modern terrorism; (6) to study the anthropological nature of terrorism in a historical dimensions; (7) to establish the criteria for distinguishing terrorism and the fight against national sovereignty; (8) to reveal the contradictions between terrorism and man in the context of confrontation; (9) to establish ways of using religion in terrorist acts as destructive force in the struggle to achieve a criminal goal; (10) to characterize terrorism as a means and strategy of communication, which terrorist organizations use in their activities.

2. Materials and Methods

The methodological basis of research refers to the underlying principles, strategies, and approaches that guide the design, conduct, and analysis of a research study. It serves as a framework that defines how researchers gather and interpret data, ensuring the rigor, validity, and reliability of their findings (Reichling, 1996).

The methodological basis of our research concerns the use of the following approaches: dialectical to trace the the idea of application of the anthropology of law as a scientific field; anthropological to research the nature of terrorism; transcendental to investigate the observance of natural human rights as a result of the impact of terrorism, comprehensive analysis of the anthropology of terrorism from the point of view of integrity and systematicity; hermeneutic to understand legal reality and its various manifestations; operational to design counteraction models of terrorism; phenomenological to study the problem of terrorism as a complex, multidimensional phenomenon; and conflictological to analyze terrorism as a special manifestation of social conflict.

To achieve the aim of the research, various general scientific methods were used methods of cognition in particular. It is necessary to mention that methods of cognition in philosophical and anthropological research are essential tools used to understand and study the complex realms of human existence, culture, and thought. These methods serve as frameworks for investigating and interpreting various aspects of the human experience (Carr, 2006; Reichling, 1996). To conduct research we applied the following methods of cognition: systemic-structural, historical, logical, and functional analysis to reveal the meaning of the phenomenon “terrorism”, , to investigate the impact of terrorism on human rights, to find out the ontological content and epistemological aspects of terrorism, to reveal the relationship between terrorism and religion, terrorism and human rights, and to trace the genesis of the negativism of terrorism from from ancient times to the present.

Special-scientific methods, also known as specialized or specific methods, refer to the distinct methodologies that philosophers employ when conducting research in specific subfields or areas of philosophy. These methods are tailored to address the unique questions and challenges presented by various branches of philosophy. While philosophy often relies on general philosophical methods such as critical analysis and conceptual clarification, specialized methods are designed to delve deeper into specific subject matter.

The special-scientific methods include the special-legal method to analyze the completeness and effectiveness of legislation and to distinguish certain disadvantages of its application in the process of combating terrorism; comparative legal to identify general and specific features peculiarities of manifestations of modern terrorism; socio-psychological to outline understanding of people’s perception and assessment of terrorism, its components such as aggression, violence, or cruelty.

The research also used methods of analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, comparisons and generalizations. The main theoretical part of the article refers to the modern scientific views on the anthropology of law, terrorism and its anthropological aspects in particular. Complex application of the specified methods made it possible to formulate a number of scientific propositions and proposals.

3. Results

Terrorism is considered as multifaceted, complex, contradictory and ambiguous social a phenomenon that greatly complicates the process of clear and objective formulation and would reveal the essential specificity of this phenomenon (Thomas, 2009). Currently, there are more than a hundred definitions of the concept of terrorism, but none of them can claim full disclosure of the content of this category (Prieto-Rodríguez et al., 2009). This is because of the lack of a comprehensive study of legal and illegal aspects of terrorism, which is possibly based on the use of an anthropological and legal approach (LaFree, 2023; LaFree & Schwarzenbach, 2021).

According Stajanov and Ünsal (2017), terrorism can be defined as “politically motivated violence” both the history of conceptualization of terrorism is based on quite old, directly affected by changes in the world conjuncture and defined in different ways in different periods of time. In this complexity of concept the definition of terror and terrorism can be done through using the both fundamental distinguishing features and reasons or consequences of terrorism that differentiate other forms of violence.

Based on the analysis of existing approaches to understanding legal anthropology we found that the methodology of the anthropology is to establish those methods that correspond to the object of research and form theoretical idea of the system of methods of philosophical and legal research of terrorism.

Philosophical and legal methods are distinguished in the research process research on the phenomenon of “terrorism”: philosophical, general scientific and special. Their use allows to fully reveal the content and causes of occurrence terrorism, identify the main differences between terrorism and the fight against national sovereignty, war, religious terrorism. This made it possible to determine the research strategy, carry out a comprehensive analysis of terrorism in the context of the anthropology, to evaluate the nature and content of the obtained results.

The philosophy of terrorism in all its manifestations is above all philosophy of anti-humanism (Orr, 2012). It is based on the efforts of the subject to impose fear and panic on society, as a result - to paralyze the normal functioning of authorities and management.

Obviously, it can be argued that terrorism is fundamentally anti-human in nature. This perspective is rooted in ethical and philosophical principles that emphasize the intrinsic worth and dignity of every human being. Figure 1 shows key philosophical arguments why terrorism can be considered anti-human.



Figure 1. Key philosophical arguments for anti-human nature of terrorism.

Let's analyze these arguments in details (Ceci et al., 2016; Mekaj & Aliaj, 2018; Stajanov & Ünsal, 2017).

- **Violation of human rights.** Terrorism often involves acts of violence that directly harm innocent civilians, leading to the loss of human life and the violation of fundamental human rights. Philosophical traditions like humanism and deontology emphasize the importance of respecting human rights and the inherent value of each individual. Terrorism's disregard for these rights is seen as a direct affront to human dignity.
- **Undermining human flourishing.** Philosophers, including Aristotle, have discussed the concept of human flourishing or eudaimonia, which involves the realization of one's full potential and the pursuit of a meaningful and fulfilling life. Terrorism disrupts the conditions necessary for human flourishing by creating fear, insecurity, and social instability. It hinders individuals and communities from achieving their potential and pursuing a good life.
- **Ethical Universalism.** Many ethical theories, such as utilitarianism and Kantian ethics, advocate for ethical universalism, the idea that moral principles apply universally to all people. Terrorism often seeks to advance specific political or ideological goals by targeting certain groups or nations. This selective and discriminatory approach to violence contradicts the universalist view of ethics, which asserts that moral rules should apply consistently to all human beings.
- **Dehumanization.** Terrorism often relies on dehumanizing the "other," portraying them as less than fully human. This dehumanization allows terrorists to justify violence against their perceived enemies. Philosophers have long argued against dehumanization, emphasizing the importance of recognizing the humanity in all individuals and treating them with respect and empathy.
- **Conflict with moral values.** Virtue ethics, which emphasizes the development of moral character, contends that terrorism is incompatible with virtuous qualities such as compassion, courage, and justice. Engaging in acts of terror often involves the abandonment of moral values and the adoption of harmful and destructive behaviors.
- **Erosion of social trust.** Social contract theory, a central concept in political philosophy, posits that individuals come together to form societies based on mutual trust and cooperation. Terrorism undermines this social contract by sowing fear, distrust, and division within communities and nations. It erodes the trust that is essential for the functioning of just and stable societies.
- **Moral responsibility.** Philosophical discussions about moral responsibility and accountability underscore the culpability of individuals or groups who engage in acts of terrorism. The moral agency of terrorists is scrutinized, and their actions are often deemed morally reprehensible because they intentionally cause harm to innocent people.

Thus, from a philosophical perspective, terrorism can be considered anti-human because it directly contradicts ethical principles that prioritize the well-being, dignity, and rights of individuals. It disrupts the conditions necessary for human flourishing, violates universal moral norms, and undermines the fundamental values that are essential for harmonious and just societies. Philosophical arguments against terrorism emphasize the imperative of promoting peace, justice, and respect for all human beings.

A comprehensive study of the philosophical and legal aspects of terrorism is impossible without researching the ontology of terrorism, that is, its nature occurrence. In particular, the study of the ontology of terrorism allows to investigate its philosophical and essential characteristics, such as justice, democracy, freedom, human rights, politics and, above all, violence.

We found that the ontology of terrorism explores the fundamental nature and existence of terrorism as a phenomenon (Shengelia, 2015). It delves into the essential characteristics, causes, and underlying structures of terrorism, aiming to provide a deeper understanding of its ontology. While there is no single agreed-upon ontology of terrorism due to its complexity and multifaceted nature, scholars from various disciplines, including philosophy, political science, sociology, and psychology, have offered different perspectives.

Fundings (Haghani et al., 2022; Stajanov & Ünsal, 2017) show that principal aspects of the ontology of terrorism include the following: intent to instill fear, political or ideological

motivation, use of violence, non-state actors, targeting civilians, strategic use of violence, psychological and societal impact, global and transnational nature, evolution and adaptation, and complex causation. Table 1 shows the principal aspects of the ontology of terrorism and their characteristics.

Table 1. The principal aspects of the ontology of terrorism and their characteristics.

Aspect of the ontology of terrorism	Description of main characteristics
Intent to instill fear	One common ontological feature of terrorism is its intent to instill fear or terror in a target population or audience. Terrorism often involves deliberate acts of violence or intimidation designed to create fear and anxiety. The ontology of terrorism acknowledges this psychological impact as a central element of its nature.
Political or ideological motivation	Terrorism frequently has a political, ideological, or religious motivation. It is often seen as a means to advance specific political goals, challenge existing power structures, or promote a particular ideology. This ontological aspect emphasizes the role of ideology in driving terrorist actions.
Use of violence	Terrorism is characterized by the use of violence or coercion to achieve its objectives. This ontological element distinguishes terrorism from other forms of political activism or resistance.
Non-state actors	While states can engage in acts of terror, terrorism is often associated with non-state actors, such as terrorist organizations or individuals. The ontology of terrorism acknowledges the diverse range of actors involved, from small extremist groups to lone individuals.
Targeting civilians	Many definitions of terrorism include the deliberate targeting of civilians or non-combatants. This ontological aspect underscores the moral and ethical dilemmas associated with terrorism, as it involves harm to innocent people.
Strategic use of violence	Terrorism is often seen as a strategic choice made by actors who believe that violence will further their goals. The ontology of terrorism explores the rational calculations and strategic considerations that underlie terrorist acts.
Psychological and societal impact	Terrorism has a significant psychological and societal impact. The ontology of terrorism recognizes that its effects extend beyond immediate physical harm, including disruptions to social cohesion, economic stability, and political processes.
Global and transnational nature	Terrorism is not confined to a single nation or region. It has a global and transnational dimension, with networks, ideologies, and actors crossing international borders. The ontology of terrorism acknowledges the interconnectedness of terrorist activities worldwide.
Evolution and adaptation	Terrorism evolves and adapts over time, responding to changes in technology, communication, and security measures. This ontological aspect highlights the dynamic and evolving nature of terrorism as a phenomenon.
Complex causation	Terrorism causes are multifaceted and complex, involving a combination of political, social, economic, and psychological factors. The ontology of terrorism explores the intricate web of causation that contributes to its emergence.

It's important to note that the ontology of terrorism is a subject of ongoing debate and research, and different scholars and experts may emphasize different aspects of terrorism nature. Additionally, the interpretation of terrorism can vary depending on cultural, political, and ideological perspectives, leading to diverse ontological understandings of the phenomenon.

Many scientists used epistemology in the process of clarifying the phenomenon of “terrorism”, but its philosophical and legal the essence is still undisclosed, as research is differentiated or, in other words, they are carried out only from the standpoint of social, legal or philosophical aspects.

It is noted that one of the first steps in creating an effective system of combating terrorism is the solution of methodological problems, in particular issues related to the epistemological foundations of the anti-terrorist struggle.

Three main principles of scientific knowledge of terrorism are defined (Orr, 2012):

- historicism
- political-religious
- determinism.

These principles made it possible to reveal the nature of terrorism, its origin and essence.

The findings show that the origin of terrorism is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that has evolved over centuries. While terrorism itself is not a new concept, its modern manifestations are rooted in historical, political, and socio-cultural factors. One significant historical precursor to contemporary terrorism was the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution (1793-1794), where radical factions employed violence and intimidation to maintain their grip on power. In the 19th century, nationalist and anarchist movements gave rise to acts of political violence in Europe, with individuals and groups seeking to challenge oppressive regimes and colonial powers. However, it was in the 20th century that terrorism began to take on a more organized and global character, with the emergence of extremist ideologies and nationalist movements that employed terrorist tactics to achieve their objectives. The Palestinian struggle, the Irish Republican Army, and leftist revolutionary groups like the Red Brigades exemplify this trend, as they utilized terrorism as a means to advance political agendas.

The late 20th and early 21st centuries saw a shift in the landscape of terrorism with the rise of transnational terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda and ISIS. These groups capitalized on grievances related to issues such as political oppression, religious radicalization, and globalization. The 9/11 attacks in the United States marked a watershed moment, highlighting the global reach and destructive potential of modern terrorism. Additionally, social media and the internet have played a significant role in the spread of extremist ideologies and the recruitment of individuals into terrorist organizations, further complicating the origins and dynamics of terrorism.

Accordingly, the origins of terrorism are deeply intertwined with historical events, ideological developments, and socio-political contexts, making it a multifaceted and evolving phenomenon that continues to challenge the international community.

The philosophical essence of terrorism can be understood through a critical examination of its underlying principles and ethical implications. At its core, terrorism represents a profound moral and philosophical challenge due to its deliberate use of violence and fear to advance specific goals or ideologies. It raises fundamental questions about the nature of power, justice, and ethics in the context of political conflict and social change.

Terrorism often emerges from a belief in the efficacy of violence as a means to achieve political or ideological ends. This challenges conventional ethical frameworks, such as just war theory, which seeks to limit the use of force in accordance with principles of proportionality and discrimination. The essence of terrorism lies in its willingness to intentionally harm innocent civilians, challenging the moral principle that innocent lives should be protected from harm. Philosophically, this poses a dilemma between ends and means, forcing us to grapple with the question of whether any objective, no matter how noble, can justify the deliberate infliction of suffering on innocent individuals. Additionally, the philosophical essence of terrorism raises concerns about the legitimacy of power and the ethics of resistance. It prompts us to consider when, if ever, violence can be morally justified in the pursuit of political or ideological change and the conditions under which non-violent alternatives may be more ethically sound.

Moreover, the essence of terrorism calls into question the relationship between individual and collective responsibility. Philosophers debate the extent to which individual terrorists can be held morally accountable for their actions, especially in cases where they may

be manipulated or coerced by extremist ideologies or leaders. The essence of terrorism underscores the tension between individual agency and systemic factors that contribute to radicalization and violence. In essence, terrorism challenges us to engage in deep philosophical reflection on the ethical boundaries of political action, the morality of violence, and the complex interplay between ideology, power, and human agency in the pursuit of social and political change.

4. Discussion

Today, legal practice requires more conceptual approach to the study of terrorism. Anthropological approach is used for this purpose. We found that the conceptual approach to the study of terrorism involves a focus on defining and clarifying the key concepts and terms related to terrorism. This approach is rooted in the belief that a precise and shared understanding of these concepts is essential for productive research and effective policy-making. Central to this approach is the development of clear definitions of terrorism and related terms, such as terrorist acts, terrorist organizations, and counterterrorism strategies.

Conceptual analysis in terrorism studies involves examining the various definitions and interpretations of terrorism put forth by scholars, governments, and international organizations. It aims to identify common elements and differences in these definitions, as well as the political, cultural, and historical factors that shape them. Additionally, this approach seeks to distinguish terrorism from other forms of political violence, insurgency, and warfare. By clarifying these concepts, researchers can lay a solid foundation for empirical research, policy development, and international cooperation in countering terrorism. Furthermore, it fosters a more nuanced understanding of the motivations, tactics, and dynamics of terrorist groups and individuals, contributing to more effective strategies for prevention and response.

Therefore, the conceptual approach to the study of terrorism serves as a crucial step in building a common language and framework for discussing and addressing terrorism. It provides the intellectual groundwork for interdisciplinary research and policy discussions and helps ensure that counterterrorism efforts are based on clear and well-defined concepts, thus reducing the potential for misunderstandings and misinterpretations in this complex and sensitive field.

Findings show that a key model of the difficulties of countering terrorism is found in the sphere of relations “human-human”, “consciousness-anti-consciousness”. It is considered to be the most problematic complication, which can be solved by long-term efforts to form the latest legal awareness of society, unification of peace-loving understanding of the world, real action of all international organizations.

In recent years, terrorist organizations have become more and more frequent, according to them, they are guided by “good” intentions, such as liberation of the country from political oppression, foreign invaders, etc. (Malešević, 2019) It is noted that the essence of terrorism lies primarily in its social nature: terrorist as an act is an asymmetric tool of struggle (Rice, 2009); criminal act which purposefully causing the death of innocent people for creating conditions of influence on the opposite side (Horgan, 2008).

Some works suggest that terrorism as a form of struggle for national sovereignty is only possible when terrorists are not use force against the civilian population and do not violate the human rights, which at the same time contradicts its main tool to achieve the goals - instilling mass fear in people and a sense of doom (Malešević, 2019). Also, terrorism as a form of struggle for national sovereignty is possible because it often arises in contexts where marginalized or oppressed groups seek to assert their political and territorial autonomy (Horgan, 2008; Krajčák et al., 2023).

When traditional avenues for achieving national sovereignty, such as diplomacy or non-violent political movements, are perceived as ineffective or denied to these groups, some individuals and organizations resort to terrorism as a means of drawing attention to their cause and applying pressure on the ruling authorities. Terrorism can be seen as a desperate response to political, social, or economic injustices that impede the realization of a group’s aspirations for self-determination (Göpfert, 2012). In this context, terrorism is viewed as a tactic to disrupt the status quo, gain international attention, and compel negotiations or concessions that may lead to greater autonomy or independence. While terrorism is morally and legally condemned due to its indiscriminate violence, it remains a possible strategy for those who feel that it is the only means available to pursue their national sovereignty goals.

Some findings report that the relationship between man and terrorism in anthropological and legal dimensions, which involves consideration of the nature of a man, his natural rights (Göpfert, 2012).

In addition, some results note that the development of culture is reflected in ideas about terrorism, which are specific in different eras and peoples. This is the norm for the society originally and even a necessary condition for survival (Golose, 2023). Today, it is terrifying. The more developed the culture in a certain society, the more it is filled with humanistic content, respect for the individual; it condemns cruelty and manifestations of terrorism.

We assume that problems related to anthropological and legal the relationship between man and terrorism, are included in the conception of protection of problems related to natural human rights.

We found that the connection between terrorism and culture is intricate and multifaceted. Culture plays a significant role in shaping the motivations, ideologies, and strategies of terrorist groups. At its core, terrorism often emerges from a sense of grievance, perceived injustice, or ideological fervor, all of which can be deeply rooted in cultural factors. Cultural identity, including religious, ethnic, or nationalist affiliations, can be a powerful mobilizing force for individuals and groups engaged in acts of terrorism. Cultural narratives and symbols can be harnessed by terrorist organizations to galvanize support, recruit members, and legitimize violence (Ceci et al., 2016).

Moreover, culture can influence the choice of targets and tactics used by terrorist groups. Cultural symbols, landmarks, or institutions may be deliberately targeted to maximize the psychological impact of attacks. For instance, attacks on religious sites can incite sectarian tensions, while attacks on iconic buildings or historical monuments may seek to undermine a nation's identity and heritage. Cultural factors also play a role in the radicalization process, as individuals may be drawn to extremist ideologies that resonate with their cultural backgrounds or grievances.

We completely agree that the connection between terrorism and culture underscores the importance of understanding the complex interplay between identity, ideology, and violence in the context of terrorist activities. Analyzing this connection is crucial for devising effective counterterrorism strategies that address the cultural dimensions of radicalization and recruitment while respecting the diversity and richness of different cultures.

In the article it is emphasized that at the turn of XX-XXI centuries, terrorism was significantly intensified due to the strengthening of fundamentalist tendencies in religious life.

Studying the connection between terrorism and religion, we found that it is a complex and contentious issue. While the vast majority of religious believers practice their faith peacefully, a small subset of individuals or groups has exploited religion to justify acts of terrorism. Several factors contribute to the relationship between terrorism and religion.

Firstly, religious extremism or fundamentalism can provide a fertile ground for the radicalization of individuals. Extremist interpretations of religious texts may be used to justify violence against perceived enemies or those with differing beliefs. Terrorist organizations often manipulate religious doctrine to legitimize their actions and recruit followers, particularly among vulnerable populations.

Secondly, religion can serve as a powerful motivator for individuals engaged in terrorism. The promise of spiritual rewards or a sense of divine mission can be used to inspire and incentivize acts of violence. Religious symbols and rhetoric can be mobilized to create a sense of unity and purpose among terrorist group members. However, it's crucial to emphasize that the vast majority of religious believers worldwide reject violence, and many religious leaders actively promote peace and tolerance within their communities. Understanding the connection between terrorism and religion requires a nuanced approach that distinguishes between the vast majority of peaceful religious adherents and the small fraction who exploit religion for violent ends.

Besides, we argue that terrorist organizations use diverse means of communication that make it possible to instill fear, hopelessness and depression in people. We found that terrorist organizations employ a range of communication tools to advance their goals, spread propaganda, and recruit new members. These tools have evolved significantly in the digital age, making it easier for terrorist groups to disseminate their messages worldwide. The findings (Gonda et al., 2023) show that the tools of communication used by terrorism organizations include the following:

Social Media. Terrorist organizations leverage platforms like Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and Telegram to disseminate propaganda, share news updates, and recruit sympathizers. Social media allows them to reach a global audience quickly and anonymously.

These platforms also facilitate the creation of echo chambers where extremist ideologies can thrive, and they enable direct interaction between recruiters and potential recruits.

Websites and forums. Many terrorist groups maintain websites and online forums to host content such as manifestos, videos, and recruitment materials. These serve as hubs for disseminating their ideologies, justifications for violence, and instructions on carrying out attacks. They often use encryption and anonymity tools to protect their online presence.

Messaging apps. Encrypted messaging apps like WhatsApp and Signal provide secure means for terrorist organizations to communicate with members and coordinate activities without the risk of interception. These apps have become a preferred choice for maintaining operational secrecy.

Propaganda videos. Terrorist groups produce and distribute high-quality propaganda videos that depict acts of violence, glorify martyrs, and promote their ideologies. These videos aim to attract sympathizers, incite fear, and convey a sense of urgency for their cause.

Magazines and publications. Some terrorist groups produce online magazines or publications that provide in-depth articles on their ideologies, tactics, and objectives. These materials can be disseminated widely and are used to radicalize and recruit individuals.

Social engineering. In addition to online tools, terrorist organizations often engage in social engineering, exploiting human vulnerabilities to gain information or support. This might involve using persuasive tactics in face-to-face interactions or through phone calls, emails, or other forms of direct communication.

It is important to note that efforts to counter the communication strategies of terrorist organizations are ongoing. Governments, technology companies, and civil society organizations work to monitor and disrupt these channels to prevent the spread of extremist content and curb recruitment efforts. Balancing security measures with the preservation of free speech and privacy rights remains a complex challenge in addressing the tools of communication used by terrorist organizations.

Thus, in the anthropology of terrorism, a comprehensive understanding of this complex phenomenon emerges from the intersection of culture, society, and individual agency. Anthropologists delve deep into the cultural contexts and social dynamics that shape the motivations, ideologies, and recruitment processes of terrorist groups and individuals. By studying the lived experiences of those involved in or affected by terrorism, anthropologists shed light on the human dimensions of this global challenge. Through their ethnographic research, they emphasize the importance of recognizing the diversity of voices and narratives within the world of terrorism, challenging stereotypes and enabling a more nuanced analysis. Ultimately, the anthropology of terrorism underscores the significance of holistic, context-driven approaches in deciphering the complexities of this critical issue and informs efforts to address its root causes and consequences in a more effective and compassionate manner.

5. Conclusions

The article contains a number of conclusions and implications, aimed at solving a scientific problem – the anthropological study of terrorism in its modern aspect. We found that:

- 1) To overcome terrorism it is necessary to understand it as destructive phenomenon, to disclose the causes of its occurrence, to study its connections and relations with human rights, justice, on the one hand, and violence, terror, crime against humanity, terrorist act, partisan war, national liberation war, on the other hand. In the study, a conceptual apparatus was established, in particular, it was proposed clarify the understanding of the key concepts, in particular, terrorism (socially dangerous anti-human activity, which is in the deliberate purposeful use of violence by way of criminality seizure of state premises, property, arbitrary change of state symbols on the symbols of a foreign state, taking hostages, committing arson, murder, intimidation of the population and authorities, or the commission of others encroachments against humanity, life and health of innocent people or threats committing criminal acts in order to achieve a criminal goal); terror (modified product of violence, for the sake of which the sacrifice of all humane and ethical views with the possibility of its evolution into war); terrorist act (using weapons, committing an explosion, arson or other actions that pose a danger to human life or health or causing significant property damage or the occurrence of other serious consequences, if such actions were committed with the aim of violating public safety, intimidation of population, provocation of a military conflict, international

- complication, or to influence decision-making by state authorities or local self-government bodies, officials, citizens, legal entities, or to attract public attention to certain political, religious or other views of a terrorist, as well as a threat to commit the specified actions with the same goal.
- 2) The main methodological problems of modern research are considered in the article, namely: terrorism as purely political and social phenomenon or criminal offense; terror, terrorist act, partisan war, national liberation war, religious struggle.
 - 3) The problems and trends of international cooperation in this area were identified, including weakening of the role of international law in the fight against terrorism; consideration of anti-terrorist measures by some states as a policy tool, but not a criminal punishment; lack of dialectical synthesis of violent and non-violent methods of overcoming political conflicts. We offered the recommendations in the field of combating terrorism.
 - 4) Investigating the social components of terrorism, it was established that terrorism can influence the society, being a form of “struggle for justice” and, at the same time, it is an anti-social problem aimed at reaching criminals interests, which reflects the high degree of its social danger. For consistent fight against it, it is necessary to recognize that terrorism is, of course, a social phenomenon determined by the objective conditions of social existence. The destructive nature of the social components of terrorism has a negative impact on the processes of globalization and modernization of society.
 - 5) The gloseological content of terrorism is established as a system of categories and concepts that reflect its essence, which consists in the elimination of methodological weaknesses of theoretical research and is primarily aimed at solving anti-terrorist problems, which ensures functioning and survival of states.
 - 6) The historical trend towards the complexity of the danger of terrorist acts indicates that many terrorist organizations for a long time. Their activities are guided by the concepts that affirm the historical necessity and moral justification of the use of violence in the political struggle. Therefore, there is a terminological uncertainty of terrorism, which has the most serious negative consequences. On the one hand, the organizers and agents of terrorism are called terrorists, on the other hand, terrorists often call themselves “partisans”, “fighters for freedom”, “fighters for the people’s interests”, etc. That is why, on the basis of the study, the interdisciplinary level of concepts are singled out, which determines the criterion for establishing the true essence and role of a specific terrorist act. It all depends on whether terrorism in any of its manifestations is used as a tool of tyranny, violent seizure of power, meeting the demands of terrorists, or as a means of fighting for democracy (insurgency, guerrilla warfare).
 - 7) The study of the influence of the process of globalization on terrorism allowed to discover that this socially dangerous phenomenon grew out of local problems of society and man into the “property” of the entire world community. First of all, this is due to the fact that terrorism began to be increasingly perceived as an “active” method of exerting pressure on the authorities and conquering and defending personal interests. In particular, terrorism is, in this context, a consequence of social and cultural situation - isolation and closed society to another – globalization society.
 - 8) Interpretation and perception of terrorism as a religious war against “infidels”, or the perception of Islam as its source is fundamentally wrong, because the economic and socio-cultural aspects of this problem are ignored. The Qur’an tells Muslims to find a basis for coexistence with other religious communities. This is respect for the freedom and independence of other religious communities. None of them should impose their way of life to others. In addition, the Qur’an emphasizes that force has no place in the religious affairs. The Qur’an calls upon Muslims to establish a political system based on peaceful cooperation and mutual respect, warns against to exalt religious solidarity over established rights and principles of justice. In the process of combating this phenomenon, the state plays a direct role. In fulfilling its duty to protect citizens, it must not only to tolerate the differences between confessions of faith according to the law, on the one hand, and its malicious distortions, on the other hand, but also to support, for needs - to protect the followers of one or another religion from the unintelligent and unjustified actions of other people.

- 9) Terrorism is inextricably linked to communication because of the information “effect” of terrorist acts significantly exceeds the real intentions and losses. Terrorists can influence the state through formation of public opinion by means of communication. And in case of impossibility of the state to control the communicative influence on consciousness, it becomes vulnerable, as a result of which terrorists have a real opportunity to influence its politics. In particular, methods and models of communicative influence are established in the research, make it possible to understand the strategy that terrorist organizations are going to use in the process of their activities, and accordingly take effective measures to counteract it.

Considering the inexhaustibility of the nature of terrorist acts in global and local (state) scales, their rapid transformation and significant spread in different countries, it is particularly dangerous because of the transformation of terrorism into war. The transformation of terrorism into war is a complex process influenced by various factors, including the scale and nature of terrorist activities, state responses, and international dynamics. In some cases, terrorism can escalate into a full-scale war when it evolves from sporadic acts of violence into a sustained and organized insurgency. This transformation often occurs when terrorist groups gain territorial control, establish a parallel governance structure, and engage in prolonged armed conflict against a state or other opposing forces. For instance, the rise of ISIS in Iraq and Syria led to a protracted conflict that resembled a conventional war.

Additionally, the response of the state or government plays a crucial role in determining whether terrorism escalates into war. A heavy-handed or indiscriminate military response can alienate communities, radicalize more individuals, and escalate the conflict. Conversely, effective counterterrorism measures that address root causes, engage with affected communities, and pursue diplomatic solutions can prevent the escalation of terrorism into a full-fledged war. The international community's involvement can also be a determining factor, as external actors may intervene to support one side or mediate a peaceful resolution, either curbing or exacerbating the violence.

In summary, the transformation of terrorism into war typically occurs when terrorist activities become part of a sustained and organized insurgency, often involving territorial control and protracted conflict. The response of the state, along with international interventions, can either mitigate or exacerbate this transformation, underscoring the importance of comprehensive and thoughtful approaches to addressing terrorism and its root causes.

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