Providing a Framework of Modern Terrorism Dimensions in the Middle East

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Abstract. The Middle East terrorism can be depicted within the framework of international transformations. In this regard, the present study aims to provide a framework for different dimensions of international terrorism especially in the Middle East region. As the second purpose, the present study evaluates the impact of this framework on formation of modern terrorism. Thus, the major research purpose is to seek for the most salient factors leading to creation and development of new terrorism. We should mention that in a systemic viewpoint, there exist various parameters involving in the process of modern international terrorism. Some of these therefore end to expansion of weapons of mass destruction as well as relying on ideology as a solution for getting free from frustration and identity crisis caused by international terrorism, which have been of the most significant factors of emergence of new terrorism. To clarify more, the process of modern terrorism leads to appearance of new non-governmental actors, spread of transitional governments, organized murders, widespread migrations and increase of ethnic heterogeneity in countries. Moreover, technological advances have contributed to development of weapons of mass destruction, which is one major cause of new terrorism. Accusingly, the present study intends to offer an analytical model for systemizing the factors mentioned besides a systemic statement of the way new international terrorism is going to be shaped in the Middle East region.

Keywords: Modern international terrorism, International system, Ideology, Identity crisis, Weapons of mass destruction, Middle East

1. INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, for Realists and Neo-Realists, governments are only actors on international relations. However, one major proportion of changes in terrorism relates to appearance of non-local governmental actors within the last two decades. This therefore has changed the nature of terrorism, a shift from governmental terrorism in the cold war era to non-governmental terrorism. Thus, understanding the entity of modern terrorism and providing an efficient conceptual model for realizing them, we need to focus on theories are able to clarify this new circumstances. Accordingly, such theories as pluralism and neo-liberalism emphasizing on non-governmental actors as well as economic approaches and mutual dependency upon international relations analyses could offer us a good context in this regard. Pluralists believe that most of fundamental decisions are made by international relations actors are out of nation and states control. These decisions actually are taken in accompany with governmental and non-governmental international organization or through international regimes and multinational corporations (Smith, 2003). considering the conditions after the cold war era, besides international system transformations and different phenomena like international terrorism , emergence of effective non-governmental actors and significance of ideology and soft power direct us to adopting a unite theory or a synthesis of theories in order to depict for international terrorism movements.

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1.1 Examining the status of terrorism in the Middle East region

Fig.1 illustrates the process of the terrorist events in the Middle East during years 1970 to 2014. Accordingly, the terrorist attacks in global scales show an ascending trend from 1970 to 1992. In a way that total international terrorist attacks has been increased from 651 in 1970 to 5081 in 1992. Yet, after 1992 the trends follows a descending process till 1998. Considering terrorists attacks in these period with the cold war era and its termination in 1991 is a matter of concern. Moreover, comparing terrorist attacks with global scales, the Middle East region experienced a constant trend.
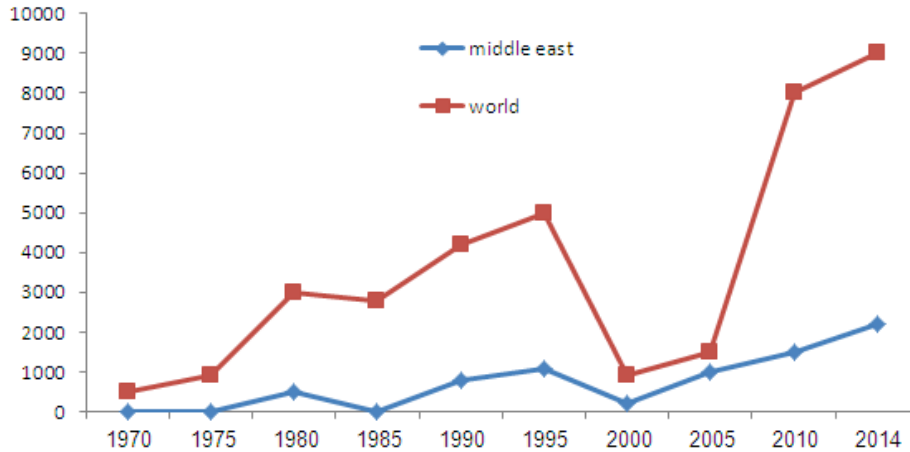

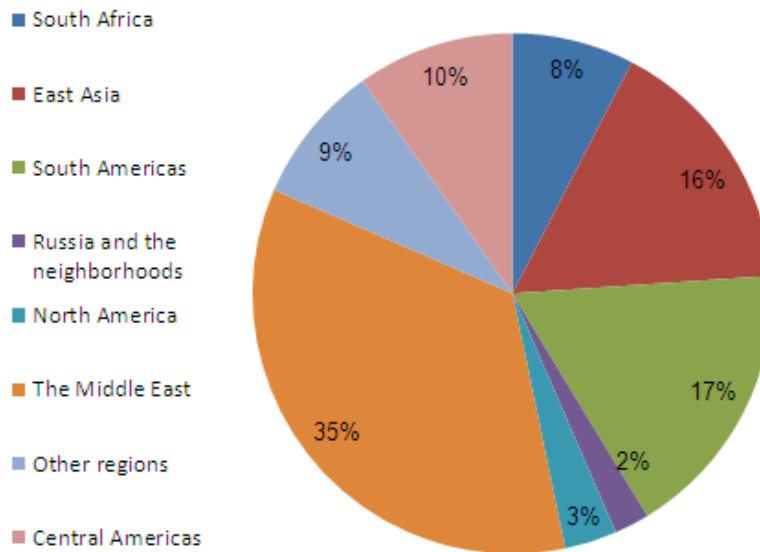**Figure 1.** Terrorist attacks in the world and in the middle east , 19770-2014

Figure 2. The proportion of international terrorist attacks in different regions from 1970 to 2014.

During this period the highest rate of terrorist attacks has happened in Southern Asia. That is, 23680of total international attacks have been taken place in Southern Asia. In other words, over a 42 year period, 560 terrorist attacks have been identified annually in the region. Most of terrorist attacks have been observed in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Fig.3 shows ranking and the share of terrorist attacks in terms of type of attacks from 1970 to 2014.
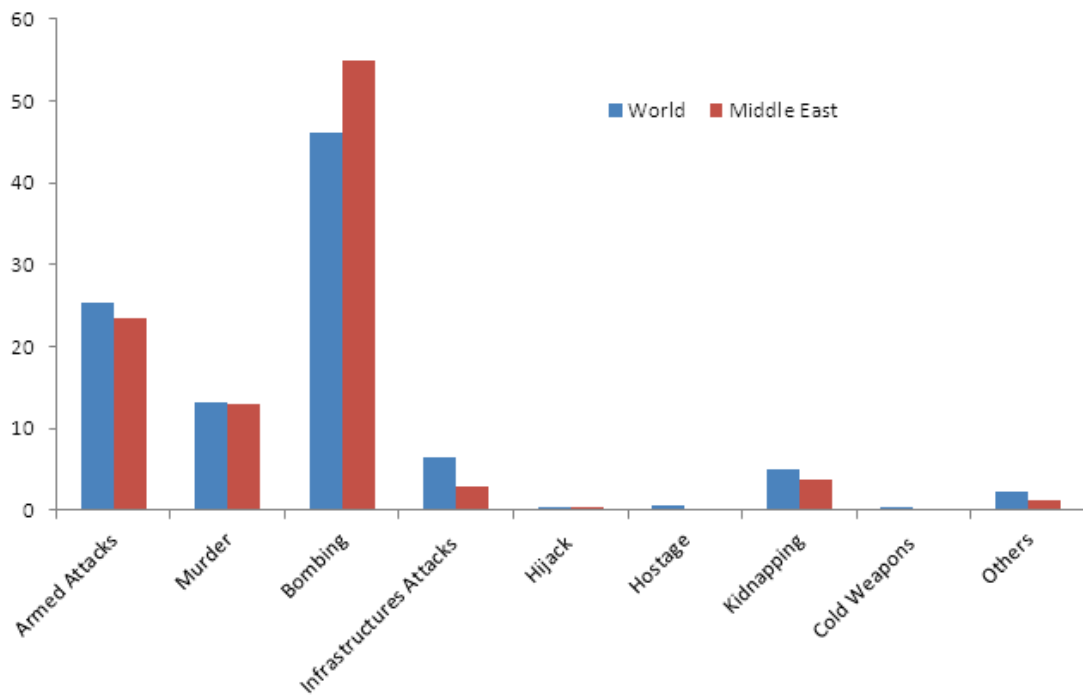
Figure 3. The share of terrorist attacks in terms of type of attacks from 1970 to 2014.

As shown in Fig.3, we see that over 46% of terrorist attacks in the world and 55% of terrorist attacks in the Middle East have been occurred by means of bombing. Also, 25% of terrorist attacks have been done through armed attacks. Murder is ranked three and includes appoaxiamtely13% of total terrorist activities. In general, we can say that about 90% of whole terrorist attack either internationally or locally, has been performed via armed attacks and in form of murder. Moreover, it is worthy to mention that the rate of child kidnapping both internationally and locally is greater than other types of terrorist attacks like hijacking, hostage and attacks with cold weapons. Fig. 4 illustrates the proportion of different goals have been the target of over 92% of terrorist attacks intentionally and locally since 1970 onwards.
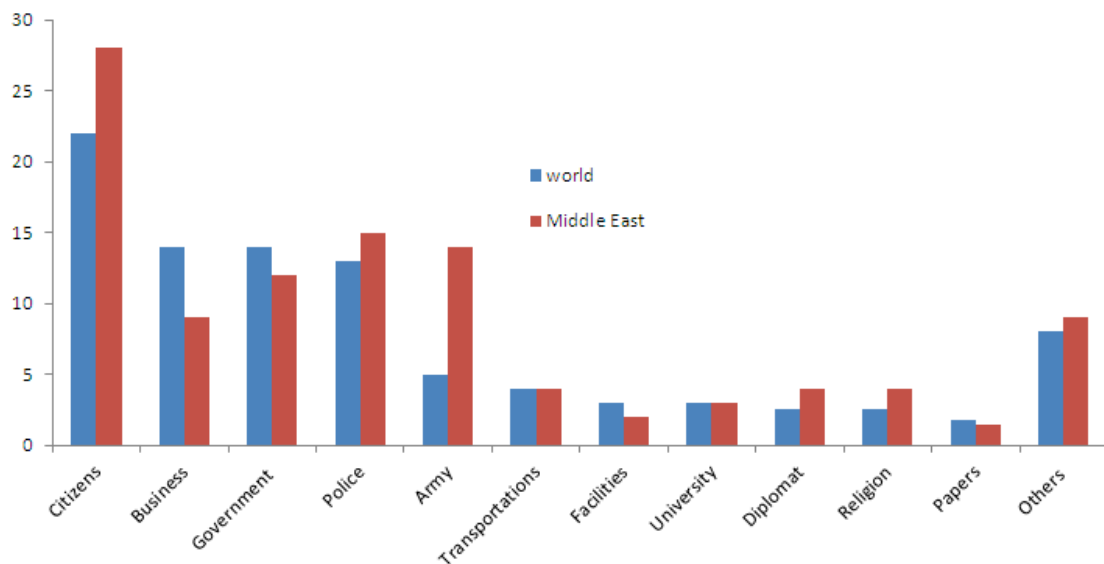

Figure 4: Shows the share of different goals in terrorist attacks from 1970 to 2014.

According to Fig.(4), citizens are the major portion of terrorist attacks targets compare with other similar activities internationally or locally. In a way that more than 20% of terrorist

attacks in the world and 29% of these attacks in Middle East during 1970 to 2014 have been directed against citizens. In this regard, business goals, the government, the police and army have rated second to fifth ranks of terrorist attacks. For other terrorist goals, we can count public spaces, air lines, tourists, communicative instruments, and the navy and abortion activities as 7.5% of terrorist attacks targets. Considering the above points together, in the present study we intend to examine modern international terrorism as an important factor affecting formation of new terrorism. In this regard, political, economic, cultural and technological components of this process could along other variables like inappropriate domestic conditions eventuate in aggressive behaviors. So, in form of an analytical model we discuss about way modern terrorism takes place. To do so, we first provide definitions and characteristics of modern terrorism, and then a relevant review of literature and background is presented. Finally, the research conceptual model is designed.

2. TOOLS OF MODERN TERRORISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

2.1. Religion

From factors of causing instability in the 21st century one of the mostly discussed is radical spirituality and religious violence. This sort of religion indeed takes advantages from radical religious ideology to achieve the predestined political goals. For that reason, the most apparent distinction of modern terrorism is its emphasis on religion (Brown, 2007). As a matter of fact, religious motives have been identified as the most fundamental feature of modern terrorism, which the new value system has created a new legitimizing system and worldview (Copeland, 2001). Yazdani and Khodabandeh (2007) have provided some evidences of terrorism in all religious sects. We should avoid considering a religion as a source of terrorism (Juergensmeyer, 2005). Actually, within the 1980s and 1990s, the factor of religion found its way in political relations. Thus, this is a typical phenomenon in all countries (Neumann, 2009). The modern terrorism organizations follow religious and millennium-oriented goals and promote intense violence (Hoffman, 1999). In fact, religious motives have stimulated terrorists to see violence as their divine duty and so propagate religious brutality as legitimate (Copeland, 2001). On the other hand, the classical type of terrorism was more secular –oriented and used violence as a bridge to reach its targets and also as a means to transform the ruling systems in its own favor (Brown, 2007).

2.2. Organizational structures

Resistance without any leadership is some type of system in which organization function relying on its members and/or cells. It has no central or core leadership (Tucker, 2001). Here, fighters become the members of networks and are free to create newer cells in surroundings. As a result, damaging personals or organizations does not ruin networks (Copeland, 2001). In other words, the structure of modern terrorist organizations grows in a way that is hard to identify. These groups are frequently described as network instead of organization due to replacement of personal relations with hierarchical interactions (Neumann,2009). Because modern terrorist groups have been shaped by means of mutual ideology not common physical features, are also known as artificial states. In fact, the artificial state is a comprehensive plan ruling a network of organizations and so creates invisible links which help protecting the initial plan. The terror network has no operational leadership, rather it has consisted of units have been forming in different parts of the world.

2.3. Weapons

Since the early 1990s, terrorist groups with religious and millennium orientation have been tended towards using weapons of mass destruction. One of such groups is Eom Shinrikio sect and Al-Qaida (Hudson,1999). The reason for using WMD is that they believe increased violence has more impact on the public. in fact, employing these weapons has led to more

disastrous attacks and lead to death of thousands of civil (Simon & Benjamin, 2002). Modern terrorists select victims quite erratically (Doyvesteyn, 2004). Members of Eom Shinrikio sect believe that after murder in subway they could attract international attention (Hoffman, 1999).in addition, they consider themselves sinful based on what God says , and so interpret their activities examples of evil or goodness. Therefore, they do not believe in negotiation. They intend to destroy whoever they want (Morgan, 2004 & Spencer, 2006).

2.4. The scope

Today, terrorism has changed from a national threat to an international risk. Essentially, in the globalization and advanced technologies era, terrorist activities have not limited to national and regional boundaries (Zeynalabedin, 2007). The modern terrorism has included the entire world. Although the scope of old terrorism was restricted to local or/and national domain, the modern terrorism has been active far from national and/or regional boundaries. Consequently, it has affected the entire world and terrorizes world's peace (Barzegar, 2005; Lesser, 1999). As a matter of fact, new terrorism has been directed by certain groups of marginal or semi-marginal areas all around the world. Yet, the central goals have been targeted globally i.e. military bases and embassies. In other words, this type of terrorism is transnational and has extended beyond national boundaries (Bergesen & Lizardo, 2004). Also, thanks to lack of governmental backup, the members of new terrorist organizations are more from armature fighters, whom are not completely disconnected from their indigenous community. These members receive trainings mostly through non-authorized sources like the internet (Hoffman, 1999). Non-professionality of these members does not require terrorist organizations to provide them a bulk of trainings and logistic supports. Additionally, the networks back them up by their own and so do not need for governmental contribution. Moreover, non-professionality of modern terrorists and their activities in everyday life identifying them has been more complicate. Because in one hand prior to terrorist activity they are anonymous, and on the other hand after the terrorist operations they are excluded from the terrorist group and keep their ordinary life going (Tucker, 2001: 2; Spencer, 2006; Copeland, 2001).

3. POLITICAL DIMENSIONS

3.1 Democracy in the Middle East

Some sociologists believe that by development of democracy around the world of Islam, we can prohibit from deviation of international contracts and so general deprivation. Thus, the probability of joining dissatisfied and vulnerable young adults to violent and terrorist groups will reduce. Karty and Zald state that democracy in multicultural comminutes makes contribution to decrease of terrorism risk by means of compatibility among different ethic groups. Otherwise, the majority democracy most often elicits the minority abhorrence against the majority. Islamic fundamentalism or Islamic radicalism in fact has been recognized as the chief factor in growth of terrorism in Middle East. So, sociologists believe that by highlighting moderate and democratic Islam establish moderate procedures of Islamic government so that Islam has been remained in boundaries of religion. Consequently, Islamic fundamentalists could not take benefit from terrorist attacks to export their ideology outside the boundaries and achieve their goals using terrorist tools. Making a distinction between two concepts of Islamic fundamentalism and radical Islamism besides reviewing its association to democracy has drawn various scholars' attention to have a better understanding of terrorist attacks after September 11. Accordingly, Islamic fundamentalists are some group is inspired by religious motives and so intends to restoration certain alleged and original religious rituals. However, radical Islamism emphasizes on significance of violence to achieve political and ideology goals. Contrarily, democracy contains elements of tension and terrorism in its own. Ercoila and Ronfeld believe that if democracy is the ruling of majority over the minority, such terrorists like Bin Laden and his followers are the outcomes of reaching their goals in a majority dominant society. Because regardless of their place of birth, they have been socialized where political opposition with the

dominant majority is illegal (Amitha, 2004). They are the outputs of detestation of their native land governments and dominance of the U.S. thanks to this extreme hatred from dictatorial procedures of the Al-Saud, Bin Laden and advocates opt terrorism as their antagonism, which in turn promote anti-Americanism operations. In this regard, if we agree that lack of democracy eventuate to emergence of terrorism, we should answer this question; does democracy prohibit from and remove the risk of terrorism? Accordingly, those theoretical ideas that describes terrorism as the end product of democracy and consider it as the most favorite and acceptable form of governance has been able to make the ground for negotiation and agreement among different social groups, has simultaneously excluded the minorities. consequently, the anonymous groups in order to find the opportunity of self-presentation or to be seen by the majorities have generated a few terrorist strategies.

3.2. States weaknesses in Middle East

Forces which promote modern terrorism have apparently influenced national economies and following to conquering regional states, initiate their opposition with local income and national economies. Thus, national rules and regulation gradually lose their power under the influence of international agreements. So, when certain transnational organizations intervene like the World Bank and International Money Fund, the Legislative carries its legal responsibilities with hesitation and flexibility. According to Habesbavem, the transnational forces weaken the local states using three steps. First, establishment of a transnational economy most of transactions are out of states' surveillance or states fail to control them. Second, emergence of regional and world institutions such as the EU and International Banking Institutions have weakened states. Third, by technologic advances in transportation and communication physical boundaries have become insignificant.

3.3. Dependency of regional states in the Middle East

Another consequence of international terrorism in a political scale belongs to national transformations of the states. That is to say, these transformations have been affected by technological advances and international media would rapidly change into international events. Considering this, the public views will be internationally influenced. Therefore, involved international organizations and states would be stimulated to response against the media about domestic procedures inside countries especially Human Rights. Certainly, such processes become accelerated in the international system and many different cases of interventions aiming at charity activities in Kosovo, Iraq and Libya could be counted here. This then could leave abundant negative effects and oppositions in these countries. As a results, the bases for violence increases.

4. ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS

Enders and Sandler (1996) in their study examined the impact of terrorism on FDI absorption in Spain and Greece .the results indicated that terrorism negatively associates to net input FDI and input. in a way that, increase of one percent in terrorist attacks leads to 13.5 percent decrease in net input FDI in Spain and 11.9 percent decrease in Greece. Bloomberg et al (2004) used VAR method and studied the macroeconomic consequences of terrorism in 177 countries during 1968 to 2000. The results showed that terrorism leaves a negative and significant impact on economic growth and investment costs. Enders et al (2006) worked on the effect of international terrorism on changing FDI in the US and other countries. The results showed that September 11 terrorist attacks have left some significant sustainable impact on the US FDI flow. However, the impact of terrorist attacks on FDI volume of the US was meaningful in the OECD countries. In a way that, Turkey and Greece experienced the highest rate of decrease in the US FDI. Kang and Lee (2007) in a study found out that using Table data investigated the relationship between terrorism and FDI. They realized that during 1980 to 2000, a negative and significant relationship was

observed between terrorism and input flow of FDI. So that, one unit of increase in terrorism index causes 0.3 to 0.6 percent decrease in FDI.

Abadie and Gardeazabal (2008) studied the impact of risk resulted in by terrorism on net FDI among 110 countries. The results suggested that one unit of standard deviation increase in risk of terrorist attacks leads to 5% decrease in net FDI of a sample. Bandyopadhyay ad colleagues (2013) worked on the relationship between terrorism and FDI among 78 developing countries during 1984 to 2008. The findings showed that terrorism, either national or intentional terrorism, ends to decrease of FDI flow in the study sample. Stanisić (2013) examined the impact of institutional factors and terrorism on FDI in exporting and host countries of FDI from 1995 to 2010. he indicated that increase of terrorist attacks to investors in the host FDI country leads to severe decrease of input FDI in that country. Also, when an investor is attacked, other investors will be at risk of negative impact of those attacks. Finally, his study revealed that political stability is one of the most import factors affecting FDI absorption.

Several numerous studies have been performed on the impact of different factors on FDI absorption in Iran. However, none of them has investigated the relationship between terrorism and FDI absorption. Some of the domestic studies are as follows. Mahdaviadeli et al (2008) in a study worked on the impact of good governance on absorption of FDI in countries with average income. They used Combined data method and examined the effect of good governance on FDI absorption among 34 countries among the years 1996 to 2004. The results indicated that good governance is a influential factor on absorption of FDI among countries with average income. Dargahi (2006) utilized the GLS method and estimated different patterns for explanation of input flow of FDI in developed and developing countries in the 1980s to 1990s. The findings revealed that economic freedom, market size and economic development have positive effects ad financial, economic and political risks such as high salaries leave negative impact o FDI absorption. Najarzadeh and colleagues (2005) adopted panel data and studied factors affecting FDI absorption in 31 Islamic countries from 1995 to 2000. The results showed that expansion of market size, implementation of proper business policies, and decreased rate of inflation; decreased budget deficit as well as reduced foreign debts has significant impact on FDI absorption of Islamic countries.

4.1 Economic weaknesses of the Middle East states

Classically, governments have been the most salient and powerful actors of international system. However, some scholars of international relations believe that failed states specially after the 9/11 attacks have been the most important factor of new terrorism emergence (Simons& Tucker, 2007). Generally speaking, quasi-government terrorists prefer states for three reasons as : a) these states support terrorists to some extent, b) quasi-government groups consist of lots of foreign and different ethic groups and languages which facilitates displacement of terrorists , and c) corrupted states of quasi-government are supported easily by terrorists and so this facilitates terrorist attacks (Menkhaus, 2003). Growth of sectarianism and ethic preferences meaning that the modern international terrorism make all of them equalized, does not imply that humans are treated never show conflict. Yet, equalization creates egoist, opportunist and savage men only concern about their own and pertinent group. This egocentrism is opposition to the idea of modern international terrorism. it seems that rapid growth of national and ethic identity have faced modern terrorism with challenges.

4.2 Class gap in the Middle East states

Increasing gap among rich and poor classes due to modern terrorism, gap between rich and poor developed and developing countries have intensified. In a way that the average GDP growth of these countries indicates this gap. However, in the US, Japan and Canada the GDP experiences good increase. Most countries not only lack inappropriate growth but it is a negative growth (World Bank, 2012). Enlarged dependency of states, weak competitive position of states and

their increased dependency to one specific product due to international terrorism is getting intensified. being in a distance from international terrorism of economy like not benefiting from capital and foreign technology , being deprived from discounts and traffic, expensive cost of transition and reduced demand for goods and services could be exported to the country, lower competitive position would lead to dependency of states to unstable incomes. Increased rate of poverty and marginalization of poor classes, potential reduction of GDP and increase of poverty and unemployment in long time, as well as reduced foreign investment and relative deprivation from access to global markets have all led to reduced capital reservoir. This problem therefore has ended to reduce potential economic growth and increased rate of unemployment and poverty. Although, global capital system has achieved some achievements in production of wealth and various goods, data have revealed that the end products of these successes have been distributed equally all around the world. So that, the countries are categorized into two groups of winner and loser. Maximized technological gap is also another result of modern terrorism. To stay far from modern terrorism due to ignoring international rules in intellectual rights and consequently, not to absorb foreign investors would declare the pace of technological advances much more that its pace in the world. Having a relatively closed economy would not provide domestic manufacturers strong motivation to enhance technologies. As a result, the existing technological gap widens more.

4.3 Island economy of the Middle East

The last point is about internalization of the Middle East economy. Taking all the above variables together, they have led to more economic internalization of the states. as a result, the internalized economies have failed to attend at international economic communities as well as international economic agreements, which brig their particular economic and commercial consequences. However, active participation in these communities and attempt to direct their decisions towards developing countries would only forced them to accept the side effects of decisions.

5. CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

A few cultural dimensions of modern international terrorism have eventuated to higher permeability in other countries due to technological advances in local states. This has led to emergence of a sense of cultural invasion, alienation, and identity crisis among individuals and groups. To compensate such problem, some activities have been taken in which modern terrorism is the violent form of such measures.

4.4 The sense of globalization

Overall, modern terrorism of culture consists of two ideological and technological dimensions. In other words, technological dimensions of modern terrorism have contributed to promotion of its ideological aspects. The cultural aspect of international terrorism is mainly based on a set of dos and don'ts pertinent to practical life of human societies. in other words, since modern terrorism teaches some values and ideals to other societies and has clarified their position against current events and enquiries . it offers them a guideline and so has an ideological aspect (Giddens, 1990). it appears that ideological dimension of modern terrorism contradicts more with local traditions and beliefs of states rather than its technological dimension. Since globalization of politics, culture, and economy bring about values and thoughts are essentially in opposition with indigenous values and beliefs.

4.5 Imposing the culture

Modern terrorism above all indicates prevalence of global cultural values, political management and economic patterns. Thus, this process has faced other societies with identity and political challenges. The most important impact of modern terrorism of culture has been the ability to encounter local identities, i.e. local languages, ethnic group and indigenous culture with new

global identities. Utilizing the mass media one of the key instruments for public information, the globalized culture has ended to weakening of local and national cultures. Actually, in different countries mass media like the internet and satellite channels overlook traditional taboos, and sacred. the transitional states are experiencing social changes and consequently the issue of identity, ethnic, religious and language characteristics, formation of different social, economic ,and ideological are among factors cause challenge and tension in regional countries. Following to development of the Middle East countries, traditional principles have been weakening. Thus, as globalization process counties in these regions more resistance and as a result more violent and terrorists operations would be taken (Piątkowski, 2002). Nile Marnist one internationally well-know theorists on terrorist emphasizes that growth of terrorist activities and modernity – seeking movements increase in the middle east reflecting the globalization trends in these states (Bannerman, 1988).

6. DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL NETWORKS

Modern terrorists take advantage from benefits of globalization and new technologies for planning, organizing, and implementation of their fatal attacks. These terrorists are not restricted to a specific geographical scope, and also are not dependent to one particular country politically and financially, have concentrated on using communicative instruments like the internet. In 1998, about half of foreign terrorist organizations were identified by the US Ministry of Foreign Affairs had registered websites. Approximately, all of these terrorist groups had been active in the Internet. Today, all active terrorist groups have been attended at least in the internet. Reviewing the Internet WebPages from 1998 to 2007 has clarified that over 5000 websites were belonged to terrorist negotiations. In this regard, the internet and terrorism are connected together in two ways. First, the Internet has provided a context for expression of various kinds of hatred and violet messages. Thus, the engaged groups link with their followers at the same time they are involved in a psychological warfare. Second, either groups or individuals have attempted to invade computer networks. These attacks are also known as cyber war. Yet, international terrorist utilize the internet in order to achieve their goals rather than to invade it.

7. THE FINAL MODEL

The analytical model here introduces ad presets a theoretical model for explanation of international terrorism. Accordingly, as Fig. 1 illustrates the variables affecting modern terrorist such as economic, political, cultural and technological factor are influential on formation and expansion of violent behaviors are categorized. In other words, these parameters or even some part of it could eventuate to frustration, alienation and identity crisis among different individuals and groups of the aforementioned countries especially the undeveloped Middle East states. Therefore, in case of some circumstances these groups endeavor to find the meaning of life and retrieving their own identity through violent and terrorist activities. Regarding to this, modern terrorism which is also the main cause of terrorist attacks has assisted terrorists and have supplied them required instruments of different technologies and communication aiming at achieving their most severe attacks. The structure of these terrorist organizations therefore has transformed as a result of international terrorism and so their operations have. Moreover, due to the process of globalization and reduced power of states in their international affairs, terrorist groups have accessed to weapons of mass destruction through illegal governmental and non-governmental networks. The, through ideological explanations they invade against lots of victims and so use from attacking modern terrorism. Moreover, through global media they present their activities to millions of peoples and try to obtain political advantages. The analytical model is analyzed in following.
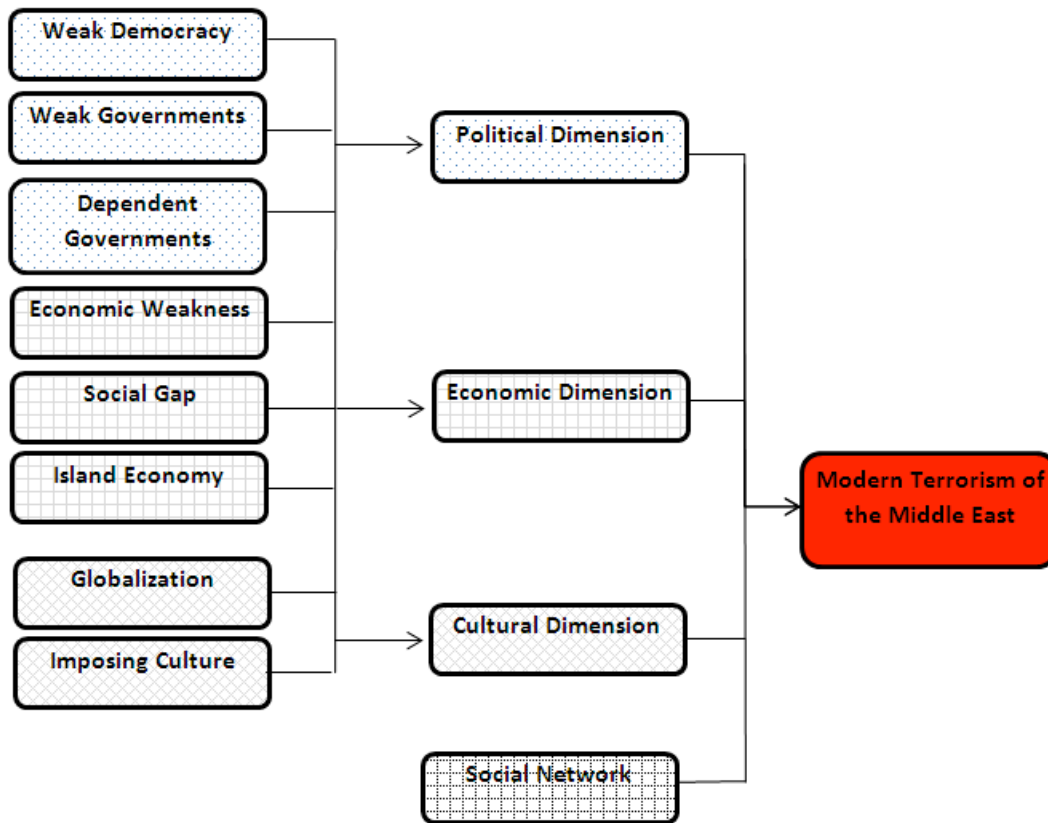
Figure 5. Modern terrorism of the Middle East Mode.

Table 1. Differences of old and new terrorism.

	Old Terrorism	New Terrorism
Opinions toward religion	More secular	Using religion as a legitimate source
Type of organization	Hierarchical	network
Type of weapons	Typical weapons	WMD
The rate of killing	Restricted an controlled	Mass murder
Selective goals	Realistic and having a political purpose	Millennium-based and without any political purpose
Members	Professional	Armature
Scope	National and local	Transnational

8. CONCLUSION

In the present article we answered the research question using an analytical model. accordingly, the most important factors affecting the process of modern terrorism in various aspects of economic, political, cultural and technological as well as the quality of this impact on potential individuals and groups for doing violent and terrorist activities were discussed. Taking this into account, modern terrorism is a contextual process has facilitated transformation of modern terrorism the same as cold war which contributed to the third wave of terrorism. Modern terrorism in the current conditions is affected by rapid growth of its non-governmental actors under the influence of conditions in which modern terrorism has created it. Technological advances which directly associate to modern terrorism has assisted considerably to new terrorist groups of Al-Qaida. Accordingly, terrorist groups and individuals have accessed to more powerful weapons. Also, they have experienced significant skill in information and processing

of information. Finally, they have an outstanding ability in using nonmilitary technologies in military industries. Modern terrorism is a complicated process which has led to creation of identity crises, and frustration among some groups and individuals and consequently pushing them toward terrorism. In these conditions lack of compatibility among actors' values in different parts of the world, the non-governmental actors have contributed to appearance of identity crisis and relying on ideology as a solution to this problem. The result is violent approaches which are updated through using WMD and invading the symbols of the world.

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