Fear of Terrorism in Armenia: Anxiety, Moral Panic and the Role of the Media

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Fear of Terrorism in Armenia: Anxiety, Moral Panic and the Role of the Media

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Masters of Arts in Criminal Justice

John Jay College of Criminal Justice

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FEAR OF TERRORISM IN ARMENIA

Abstract

In the aftermath of 9/11, terrorism has become a prominent area of research across multiple disciplines. Recent polls and surveys in the USA, Europe, and other countries directly affected by terror attacks show a substantial increase in the level of fear of terrorism. However, there is lack of research on the phenomenon in countries that do not have a recent history of terror attacks, nor are militarily involved in the global war on terror. The findings of this cross-sectional exploratory study are based on an online survey with 419 (N=419) respondents in one such terrorism-neutral country, Armenia. By applying the moral panic and terror management theories, the study analyzes sources of fear of terrorism, such as media, and the impact this fear has on the lives of the residents of the country. The results of the survey revealed that there is a considerable level of fear of terrorism in Armenia; however, the role of the media is minimized. It further found that those who experience higher level of fear of terrorism register a higher level of anxiety expressed through behavioral and emotional coping mechanisms. The study concludes with policy recommendations on how to mitigate the impact of terror attacks on the level of fear on a macro level, as well as presents suggestions and directions for future research.

Keywords: fear of terrorism, moral panic, media, terror management theory, anxiety, terrorism-neutral country, Armenia
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Introduction

The terror attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001, irreversibly changed the course of action in the world triggering international instability and an increased level of fear of terrorism. Recent polls and surveys in the USA, Europe, and other countries directly affected by terror attacks revealed the substantial fear and insecurity as a consequence of those attacks and the threat of future ones (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016; Connolly & Willsher, 2016; McGill, 2016). Moreover, the level of fear does not show a tendency to decrease. In the United States, for example, more people believe that the country is more vulnerable to future terror attacks than immediately after the 9/11 attacks (Cox & Jones, 2015; McGill, 2016, Riffkin, 2015). Similarly, other countries targeted by terror attacks in the aftermath of 9/11 also show a consistently high level of fear among the residents (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016).

Despite the available volume of research on terrorism as a form of politically motivated violence that aims for a chronic state of fear beyond the immediate targets (Jenkins, 1980; United States Department of State, 2001; Schmid, 2011), there is still a considerable academic gap on the determinants of the fear of terrorism and how those interact in different settings. The research on the fear of terrorism is highly concentrated in countries that have either been targeted by terror attacks in the 21st century or are actively engaged in the US-led “war on terror” (United States Department of State, 2002, p. i); therefore, the politics as one of the most powerful determinants of the fear of terrorism is not controlled (Friedman, 2001; Oates et al., 2009, Snow & Taylor, 2006). This, in turn, makes it challenging to analyze the role of the media in a terrorism-neutral
setting as a tool for disseminating the impact of terror attacks and increasing the level of moral disturbance (Rothe & Muzzatti, 2004; Roy & Ross, 2001).

The lack of research in terrorism-neutral countries, i.e. countries that have no recent history of a terror attack on their soils and are not militarily involved in the war on terror makes it challenging to assess the actual impact of terrorism on a larger scale, that is, outside the directly affected countries. This exploratory study aims to better understand the fear of terrorism in one such country, Armenia, which plays no substantial role in the fight against terrorism, and consequently, makes no sizable resource allocation to it. It will help us better understand the relationship between terror attacks and fear among its residents, the factors influencing the fear, and the changes fear of terrorism brings to individuals.

The geo-ethnographic profile of Armenia presents a unique opportunity to assess the fear of terrorism while controlling the internal political influence on the level of fear. The country shares borders with Turkey, a state frequently targeted by terror attacks (Start.umd.edu, 2017); Iran, a state often cited as a sponsor of terrorism (United States Department of State, 2016); and Azerbaijan, a popular drug trafficking route from Afghanistan (Ismailzade, 2017). It is also geographically close to Syria and hosts a large number of Syrian refugees in the country (Europe’s Challenge, 2015). Nevertheless, as a Christian country located close to major conflict zones in the Middle East and sharing borders with countries often associated with the threat of terrorism, Armenia has no documented evidence of a major terror attack in its recent history. This fact, together with the absence of local political attention to terrorism in the country, presents a unique study population with minimal exposure to the political influence of the fear of terrorism. This
helps us understand the actual scope of the fear of terrorism in the world, in general, and increase the internal validity of the findings to establish a more causal relationship between the media and fear of terrorism. It further assists in understanding the impact of the fear of terrorism on the level of anxiety on a micro level.

This cross-sectional exploratory study applies quantitative research techniques to explore the level of fear of terrorism in Armenia. It takes the moral panic and terror management theories as the frameworks to discuss the impact of terror attacks on the fear of terrorism on a macro level, the role of the media on the level of the fear of terrorism, and how terrorism ultimately affects the level of anxiety of people who have no recent memory of a terror attack on the nation’s soil. By conducting a survey on the fear of terrorism in Armenia, it aims to explore how fear transcends beyond the immediate target societies. The survey utilizes validated measurement systems for all research questions with modifications to adjust those to the specifics of the current study.

The study expands the opportunities for future research on the fear of terrorism by addressing it from the micro, meso, and macro levels. By measuring the fear of terrorism in a neutral country, the study reveals the impact of the attacks on the level of anxiety among people who had no direct exposure to terrorism. It facilitates a better understanding of the role of the media in expanding fear. It further supplies the policymakers and law enforcement agencies with empirical data to evaluate the impact of internal politics and counterterrorism policies on the level of fear in public. The study allows revisiting the discussion on the threat of terrorism posed by migrants and Syrian refugees, in particular, since Armenia has one of the highest ratios of Syrian refugees in the world (*Europe’s Challenge*, 2015).
Literature Review

History of the Definitional Transformation of Terrorism

The term terrorism entered the political discourse during the French Revolution of the 18th century with a positive connotation to refer to the values of virtue and democracy (Hoffman, 2006; Mazhar, Khan & Goraya, 2013), and to the government efforts to establish order and maintain the power of the people (Fine, 2010). An example of a similar interpretation of terrorism is presented by Hoffman (2006) by discussing Maximilien Robespierre’s belief that while virtue was the principal doctrine of the government at peace, it was to be applied with terror in times of revolution for the victory of democracy.

The initial transformation of the concept is connected with the socioeconomic changes brought forth by the Industrial Revolution when the emerging universalist ideologies started opposing the capitalistic order of power (Hoffman, 2006). The most prominent progenitor of the era was Carlo Pisacane who was advocating for the theory of propaganda by deed – a shorthand way of defining terrorism that is still being used in contemporary discourse. According to this doctrine, ideas result from deeds, and violence against civilians is the necessary attribute to draw attention and generate publicity for new ideas (Laqueur, 2004; Meyer, 2015). This way bloodshed started being exercised against the civilian population for a bigger impact. The technique was later adopted by notorious groups such as the Fenian Brotherhood (active mostly between 1858-1866) and the successor Clan-na-Gael in Britain (1873-present days) (Gantt, 2010); the Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) in the Ottoman Empire (1893-1915).
FEAR OF TERRORISM IN ARMENIA

(Bergesen & Lizardo, 2004); and the Mlada Bosna, or Young Bosnians in Austro-Hungarian Empire (1911-1914) (Aleksov, 2014).

The next stage of the semantic modification of the term is connected with the repression employed by totalitarian states in the 1930s against their own citizens. In Germany and Italy, gangs were mobilized by Hitler and Mussolini respectively to intimidate the political opponents of their regimes and use them as subjects for achieving further victimization and cause mass public fear (Hoffman, 2006). The same technique was adopted by Stalin to unleash the Great Terror in the Soviet Union; however, unlike the Nazis in Germany and Italy, his terror strategy was applied not in a time of turmoil to prevent uprisings but in a time of no officially declared war to practically eliminate questioning of the party’s rule through the threat of death, mass imprisonment and exile (Popov, 1994). The form of state terror was also applied by other future military dictatorships in Latin American states in the 1980s (Borzutzky, 2007; Furtado, 2015).

The components of moral panic can be observed at this stage, i.e. the efforts of the state to trigger a systematic moral disturbance as if the societal interests are under direct threat (Cohen, 2002; Young, 2002).

The era immediately following World War II is often referenced in the history of the concept as the anti-colonial terrorism when the ethnic groups in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and other parts of the world, marginalized by colonial power states, commenced the fight for self-determination (Shughart, 2006). Groups like the National Military Organization in the Land of Israel or else known as the Irgun; the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the Freedom for the Basque Homeland (ETA), Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (EOKA) in Cyprus, Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN)
in Algeria, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the like started exercising violence with a wide application of the technological advances in weapons of destruction, such as powerful explosives, causing larger calamities and claiming more casualties (LaFree, Dugan, Xie, & Singh, 2011; Ó Dochartaigh, 2015; Shughart, 2006). The developments in weapons technologies spurred terror attacks much larger with their means and the scale of devastation: the world stepped into the new era of terrorism.

On September 11, 2001, 19 terrorists from a group commonly referred to as al Qaeda\(^1\) hijacked four passenger airplanes after those took off from the airports in Washington, D.C., Boston, and Newark. Two of the aircrafts were flown directly into the World Trade Center in New York, while the third one was flown into the Pentagon, the headquarters of the US Department of Defense (Kean, & Hamilton, 2004). The fourth airplane failed to complete the planned attack due to the resistance of the passengers on board. The attacks claimed the lives of close to 3,000 people – the largest number of casualties ever registered by a single terror attack (Kean, & Hamilton, 2004). The majority of victims were US citizens, yet eighty other countries lost citizens as a result of the attack (Enders & Sandler, 2005).

No other terror attack in the recent history is believed to have triggered consequences so massive and far-reaching as the attacks on 9/11. The political implications directly affected the interpretations and associations with the semantics of terrorism: when addressing the US Congress in the aftermath of the attacks, President George W. Bush declared the war on terror, introducing a new associative concept in the

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\(^1\) Given the focus of the thesis, the origin and the ideology of Al Qaeda are not discussed. For more information, consult the 9/11 Commission report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States., Kean, T. H., & Hamilton, L., 2004)
lexis of international politics (United States Department of State, 2002, p. i). In September 2001, the US Congress adopted the resolution authorizing the use of military force in Afghanistan to fight against Al Qaeda and ensure national safety (United States Public Law 107-40, 2001). This was followed by the US Congress Resolution (2002) to launch military attacks in Iraq. As a consequence, the paradigm of world politics has changed permanently and so has the perception and contemporary conceptualization of terrorism.

**Contemporary Definitions of Terrorism**

As a result of these political developments, the semantic evolution of terrorism has reached a stage where there is no universally agreed definition of terrorism among academics or political actors (Burns, 2011; Herschinger, 2013). The available conceptualizations differ by the number of definitional characters and the motivation for the act (Hoffman, 2006). Terrorism is most frequently referred to as a political violence by “subnational groups or clandestine agents” (United States Department of State, 2001, p.9) that aims for a “chronic state of fear” (Schmid, 2011, p. 44) and “effects beyond the immediate physical damage” (Jenkins, 1980, p. 3) with the “intention to publicize the deed, to gain publicity and thereby public and government attention.” (Nacos, 2007, p. 26).

The multidimensional character of the term has generated different interpretations even within the agencies and institutions of the same country. To outline those differences, Table 1 presents the definitions of terrorism in the main US governmental agencies and departments directly involved in ensuring national security and fighting the threat of terrorism.
Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definition of Terrorism in American Government Agencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>US Department of State</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents” (United States Department of State, 2001, p. 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>US Department of Defense</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological” (United States. Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2002).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Federal Bureau of Investigation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives” (United States Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2002, p. iii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>US Department of Homeland Security</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“… an act that is dangerous to human life or potentially destructive of critical infrastructure or key resources; ... a violation of the criminal laws ... intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; influence the policy of a government --- or affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping” (Library of Congress Washington DC Congressional Research Service, 2006, p. 3).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis of the definitions listed in Table 1 reveals certain discrepancies, namely:

- Uncertainty in the pursued objective of terrorism: while the US Department of State emphasizes the political character of terror attacks, the FBI and the DHS adds the social component to it. The definition of the Department of Defense...
specifically highlights the religious or ideological objective of the attacks, limiting terrorists to specific religious or ideological pursuits.

- Uncertainty of the character of the terrorists or terrorist groups: while most of the above-listed agencies do not specify the group character, the definition of the US Code specifies that terror attacks are carried out by “subnational groups or clandestine agents” (United States Department of State, 2001, p.9), this way prioritizing the perpetrator group and limiting it to non-state subnational groups only.

Not only do governmental agencies fail to provide a consistent definition of terrorism but so do international institutions, such as the UN and the NATO, that have the primary mandate of either securing international peace or safeguarding security on a transnational level. While Grozdanova (2014) claims that the absence of the international definition of terrorism is due to the prediction that states would not adopt it in times of normalcy and emergency, Herschinger (2013) argues that the achievement of the international definition of the phenomenon is impeded by the demonization of terrorism; it becomes a barrier for the understanding of the collective self that needs to oppose to terrorism as the identity of the other. In other words, terrorism becomes a pejorative term that is used intrinsically with a negative connotation to refer to enemies or opponents based on someone’s subjective judgment (Jenkins, 1980). The portrayal of terrorism as evil and the efforts for collective stereotyping are the first stages for causing a societal disturbance (moral panic) and a threat to self-esteem (terror management theory), discussed below.

The clash of perceptions of terrorism can be vividly observed in the referential analysis of the terms used in national discourse to refer to certain national or subnational
groups that are predominantly referenced as terrorists: one’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter (Ganor, 2002). Several countries across the world have been formed, or have regained their independence, using methods that could be defined as terrorism or as a violation of international law (Hoffman, 2006). This clash of political viewpoints as to who are the terrorists and who are freedom fighters and heroes becomes evident in the discourse of the Palestine Liberation Organization^2 (PLO) (Pradhan, 2001) or the fatwas released by Osama bin Laden (2006). In other words, terrorism becomes a highly sensitive political term with complex interpretations based on the particular situation and circumstances. In the content analysis of the definitions of terrorism found on the websites of political institutions and in printed literature, Bruce (2013) finds that the term terrorism is being used in different organizations and agencies to suit their own particular role or bias.

**Existing Data on the Fear of Terrorism**

Terrorism has gained an unprecedented level of attention becoming a prominent area of research across disciplines such as sociology, criminology, political science, and anthropology. In the aftermath of 9/11, several research institutions and media companies identified the fear of terrorism in societies directly affected by terror attacks and analyzed the patterns through cross-sectional and longitudinal comparative studies (Cox & Jones, 2015; Lemyre et al, 2006; McGill, 2016; Rifkin, 2015; Stevens et al., 2009). Those studies highlight the tendency of increased public concern over extremism and possible terror attacks. A number of recent polls and surveys in the USA, Europe, and other

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^2 The statement made by the PLO chairman Yasir Arafat at the UN General Assembly in 1974 explicitly illustrates the differences in association: "The difference between the revolutionary and the terrorist lies in the reason for which each fights. For whoever stands by a just cause and fights for the freedom and liberation of his land from the invaders, the settlers, and the colonialists, cannot possibly be called terrorist" (Laqueur, 1969, p. 510).
countries directly affected by terror attacks show that publics experience substantial fear and insecurity as a consequence of those attacks and the threat of future ones (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016; Connolly & Willsher, 2016; McGill, 2016).

In the USA, for example, the fear of terrorism is not decreasing as it might be expected given the absence of a major terror attack on a US soil after 9/11 when considering those perpetrated by subnational or clandestine agents. In fact, McGill (2016) discusses that while immediately after the 9/11 attacks, only 22% of the respondents of a nationwide poll was concerned that the country is more vulnerable to terrorism than it was before. A recent survey conducted by the Pew Research Center shows that this percentage has risen to 40% in the intervening 15 years (Pew Research Center, 2016). Gallup and Public Religion Research Institute polls also confirm that Americans name terrorism as the number one problem the country is facing now (Cox & Jones, 2015; Riffkin, 2015).

Similar to the United States, other countries targeted by terror attacks in the aftermath of 9/11 also show a consistently high level of fear among their residents (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016). According to an international survey conducted online by the Center for Strategic and International Studies in 2016, France and Turkey view terrorism as number one global issue, despite the fact that the survey included questions on other concerns those countries are facing such as immigration, employment, and the economy. Additionally, around two-thirds of those polled see violent extremism as a major problem not only in their country but around the world, in general. In total, 38% of the respondents consider a near-future terror attack very likely, and the other 45% somewhat likely. The limitation of the study is the
There is, however, a scarcity of data on the fear of terrorism in terrorism-neutral countries. The available research is concentrated on a limited number of countries that, though they might not have a recently registered major terror attack, are still active stakeholders in the global war on terror. With the recent terror attacks across the European Union such as the UK, France, Spain, and Germany, there are only a few remaining European states that could be considered relatively neutral to terrorism. However, due to the borderless system within the Schengen-member states, an attack in one EU-member state inevitably affects the fear of terrorism in other states, and no EU member state is considered neutral from this perspective.

In an effort to measure the fear of terrorism in a terrorism-neutral country, Lemyre et al. (2006) conducted a telephone interview with 1,500 residents in Canada. The multivariate analyses of variance aimed to indicate their opinions about the threat of terrorism in Canada and themselves as citizens of the country. Interestingly, despite the country’s geographic proximity to the United States and Canadian involvement in the war in Afghanistan, the majority of Canadian respondents perceived terrorism as a low to moderate threat. This study, however, did not identify the specific influences behind the perception of threat. The year when the survey was conducted followed the decision of the Canadian government not to support the US war in Iraq (O’Connor & Vucetic, 2010); this could be a possible political determinant affecting the reported outcomes. In other words, Canadians may have felt less vulnerable to attack because they were not joining
the war in Iraq, and, therefore, might have a more distant association with the threat of terrorism.

A similar study was conducted in Australia with a sample size of 2,081 (Stevens et al., 2009). Using a five-point Likert-scale dichotomized responses, the survey found a significantly higher concern about terrorism in the country than in Canada. Particularly, over 30% of respondents thought a terrorist attack in Australia was very or extremely likely, and 42.5% were very or extremely concerned that they or their family members could be affected by a terror attack. Despite being a neutral country from the perspective that it has not been targeted by a major terror attack on the country’s soil, Australia is not politically neutral in the war on terror. Unlike Canada, Australia has supported the United States in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq; therefore, the research does not fill the academic gap on the fear of terrorism in neutral countries (O’Connor & Vucetic, 2010).

**Political and Media Influences on the Fear of Terrorism**

An important factor for establishing the causal relationship between terror attacks and the fear of terrorism when those attacks are present is the consideration of other factors that could influence the validity of the observed findings. Politics is often discussed as the pillar for causing a massive disturbance (Rothe & Muzzatti, 2004). By analyzing the likelihood of the local society embracing political violence for social and political change, the country’s infrastructure, and government capacity, Friedman (2011) concludes that the USA is at low risk of terrorism, both home-grown and those carried out by international groups. He argues that there is an overreaction to terrorism and that the inflated public fear is due to the efforts of the government to turn terrorism into a
selling point for overspending on counterterrorism policies and military budget and to overpass the bureaucratic intricacies in policy-making and justify country invasions.

The analysis of the representation of terrorism in the political campaigns of presidential elections in the USA, the UK, and Russia, the media coverage of terrorism, and the voter opinion on the positions of running candidates on the issue of terrorism in the aftermath of the 9/11 attack revealed the overrepresentation of terrorism and counterterrorism policies in political discourse and voter sympathy towards candidates publicly presented as strong enough to fight against the security challenges (Oates et al., 2009). More candidates and political figures with right-wing nationalistic plans emerge in the political arenas of power in states that use the threat of terrorism to generate popular support for their push for emphasized counterterrorism policies and immigration control (Albertson & Gadarian, 2016; Arvanitidis et al., 2016; Beydoun, 2016; Buchanan, 2016).

Prior to the 2016 Presidential elections in the United States, Albertson and Gadarian (2016) attempted to predict how likely the threat of terrorism perceived by the members of the society was to affect the outcome of the elections. The study claims that under ordinary circumstances, American society tends to pay little attention to politics and matters of international concern. However, anxiety motivates the biased learning about politics by triggering concerned interest in and attention to news covering stressful events such as terrorism and immigration (Albertson & Gadarian, 2016). As the surveys and polls cited in the previous section showed the increased level of fear of terrorism among Americans, this study argues that the triggered fear would draw the public attention to the threat of future attacks especially by portraying the flow of incoming refugees as potentially dangerous. As a result, people would be inclined to seek more
protection, safety, and trust in leaders who share their viewpoint on the dangers identified in the mainstream media. The predictions are based on the 2016 ANES survey that asked voters about their position on the entry of Syrian refugees into the country (The American National Election Studies, 2016). As many as 54% of the voters who were planning to vote for Donald J. Trump opposed granting entry to Syrian refugees, while only 11% of those who were planning to vote for Hillary Clinton did so. In fact, the predictions of the study came true based on the outcomes of the US Presidential elections on November 9, 2016, and the follow-up attempt for the immigration ban executed immediately after the swearing ceremony (Full text of Trump's executive order, 2017; Parlapiano, 2017).

The available research analyzes the relationship between media and politics from two perspectives – to polarize terrorism as absolute evil (Chouliaraki, 2004; Graham, Keenan & Dowd, 2004; Leudar, Marsland & Nekvapil, 2004); and to intensify public fear (Kellner, 2007). The media is seen in this context as a source of stylized and stereotypical presentations of the group to create “moral barricades” backed by politicians and other active community stakeholders (Cohen, 2002, p. 1). While certain concerns tend to cease over time, the others not only remain in the media limelight but also continue to attract even more attention.

Snow and Taylor (2006) underline the high political sensitivity of terrorism through a retrospective analysis of governmental attempts in the USA and European countries to manipulate information by censoring what goes public. They argue that characteristic to any state at war, the media—being primarily owned by the political elite—is used as a tool for propaganda to define the overall ambiance in the society and justify the actions of the government. They further claim that the deep crisis caused by
the terror puts security above anything else and makes the public willing to sacrifice the 
fundamental rights and freedoms to increase government control. The study analyzed the 
media coverage of the war in Iraq in 2003 in the US and Europe – the countries that were 
allied with the US in that war (UK, Spain, and Italy) and those that were the most 
outspokenly against the war (France and Germany). It found extensive coverage in the 
US media on the links between Saddam Hussein and his connection to the 9/11 attacks: 
as a result, the polls in the US revealed that 70% of Americans expressed their support to 
the decision to send troops to Iraq. In contrast, the European countries had less media 
coverage of those links, and the support of the European societies for the war was 
incomparably lower. As a result, the ruling Spanish party failed to get reelected after the 
country decided to ally with the US in the war (Fominaya, 2011).

The influence of the media on the fear of terrorism has been widely discussed in 
the aftermath of the 9/11 terror attacks. A content analysis revealed that within one year 
after the attacks, the three major US newspapers – the New York Times, the Washington 
Post, and the USA Today published over 33,000 articles on terrorism (Rothe & Muzzatti, 
2004). According to White (2003), the overwhelming attention to terrorism on the media 
is motivated not only by its intent to make the news dramatic enough to sell but also to 
control what information goes public and how it is presented. This way, media becomes a 
tool to serve for specific political interests, and to serve the objective of terror attacks to 
“publicize the deed” (Nacos, 2007, p. 26).

To show the universality of the influence of the media on the fear of terrorism 
from the moral panic3 perspective, Roy & Ross (2001) conducted a critical discourse 
analysis of the media commentary on terror events in the USA, India, and Scotland. By

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3 The theory of moral panic is discussed in detail in the theoretical section of the thesis.
employing the Lexis-Nexis database to collect the media coverage on the main terror attacks in those three countries, the research revealed that the media, in general, tend to stereotype certain identities as evil, unifies the local society against those identities, and stimulates public support to governmental policies that are depicted to fight the identified evil. These identities are those members of out-groups that Cohen called “folk devils” in his influential study of moral panics (Cohen, 2002, p. 2).

To conclude, politics and media significantly influence the perception of the threat of terrorism. Hence, the assessment of fear in countries that have either been targeted by terror attacks or are actively involved in the war against terrorism does not differentiate between the impact of politics and the media on the level of fear of terrorism separately. An exploratory study in a terrorism-neutral country with no substantial role in the fight against terrorism, and consequently, no sizable resource allocation to it allows one to establish a more direct relationship between international terror attacks and fear among citizens. It helps understand to what extent terror attacks succeed in “publicizing the deed” (Nacos, 2007, p. 26) and by that multiply the impact of the attacks on the fear in societies beyond the borders of the immediate target. It further helps analyze what factors contribute to creating moral disturbance and anxiety in a society that is not directly related to the threat of terrorism.

The selection of a terrorism-neutral country requires a careful consideration. As it has already been discussed, countries that have served as study environments to measure the fear of terrorism are predominantly those that have either suffered a major terror attack in their recent history or are militarily involved in the war on terror. several countries have recently been attacked by terrorists while the rest remain active
stakeholders in the war on terror. From this perspective, Armenia provides a unique study population to analyze the fear of terrorism, the influence on the media, and its effect on the daily life of country’s residents. The motivation to select Armenia as the study environment is further discussed in the methodology sections.

**Theoretical Framework**

The current study analyzes the relationship between terror attacks and fear of terrorism among the residents of Armenia. It particularly aims to measure the impact of terror attacks on the level of fear on a macro level, that is, to what extent terror attacks abroad succeed in perpetuating a generalized sense of fear beyond the target states. It further utilizes the concept of moral panic to analyze the fear of terrorism: this specifically assists in understanding the causes of fear and the amplifying role of the media in it. Lastly, by applying the terror management theory, the study analyzes the fear of terrorism on a micro level, i.e. the effect of fear on the level of anxiety of the members of the society in their efforts to preserve self-esteem and cultural worldview.

**Moral Panic**

Panic, in general, is defined as “…a sudden and excessive feeling of alarm or fear, usually affecting a body of persons, and leading to extravagant or in-judicious efforts to secure safety.” (Garland, 2008, p. 10). The term *moral panic* was coined by Young (1971) in an ethnographic study of drug use in West London. The author refers to moral panic as a moral disturbance based on the concern that direct interests of a given society have been violated. Consequently, those who broke the accepted norms are often demonized and stereotyped in the media to provide a more straightforward visualization of the profile of the wrongdoer. When analyzing the reaction of the local community on
the issue of the drug use, Young (1971), among other things, highlighted the amplifying effect of the media to confirm consensual images of the society and create public fear and indignation over a particular social issue. The research claims that apart from fear, the media also serves as a mechanism for the self-fulfillment of stereotypes (Merton, 1948). It creates a scapegoat in the form of an individual or more often a group by disproportionate overrepresentation in the media as the source of the observed anxiety.

A more comprehensive academic definition of moral panic was discussed by Cohen (2002). According to his argument, moral panic arises because of a perceived threat to societal values and interests posed by a specific person or a group which is most often visually different from the mainstream. Cohen (2002) discusses four key components for the analysis of moral panic. “Folk devils” are the individuals associated with the deviant behavior (Cohen, 2002, p. 2). In some instances, a very culture-specific stereotypical profile of those individuals is created resulting in a variety of social issues and polarizations from the perspective of integration such as the case for Islamophobia.

“Rule enforcers” include the police, the judiciary and other chains of law enforcement. The more the law enforcement concentrates resources on fighting against the given phenomenon, the higher the level of moral panic (Rothe & Muzzatti, 2004, p. 329). For example, in the case of the United States, those resources were directed to the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, the modifications in the immigration and border control policies, and a most widely discussed USA Patriot Act (McCarthy, 2002).

The media, as discussed in the previous section of the study, is the other main component of moral panic (Cohen, 2002). It includes the printed and online, local and

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4 The concept of Islamophobia is discussed in the section on terror management theory.
international media sources that the mainstream society has access to on a daily basis. The depth of the moral panic is dependent on not only how often the issue is being covered by the media but also what kind of visual materials are often used for the latter purpose.

Politicians, as discussed by Cohen (2002) include, but not limited to the local, regional, and national governments, international coalitions, and lobby groups. The academic literature also discusses the political attempts to use terrorism as a mechanism to increase moral panic to win support for policies that would not otherwise be endorsed by the majority (Friedman, 2011; White, 2003). For instance, more candidates and political figures with right-wing nationalistic plans emerge in the political arenas of power states, such as the USA, Russia, the UK, and France that view diversity and multiculturalism as a threat to national security (Beydoun, 2016) and push for emphasized counterterrorism policies and immigration control (Albertson & Gadarian, 2016; Arvanitidis et al., 2016; Bucharan, 2016).

Goode & Benyehuda (1994) claim that moral panic is registered when there is a “concern”, “hostility”, “consensus”, “disproportionality”, and “volatility” (pp. 156-159). “Concern” refers to the presence of a certain level of worry in the society over a behavior and its consequences. “Hostility” is expressed through the identification of a certain category of people who presumably engage in a threatening behavior. In Cohen’s (2002) words, this is the portrayal of the perpetrators as “folk devils” (p. 2). This is where the gap increases between those two groups and the identification of “us” and “them” emerges. “Consensus” is the minimal level of agreement in the society on the seriousness

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5 The relationship between politics and terrorism is discussed in a separate section of the literature review.
of the threat. The consensus can be achieved not only in the majority of the given society but also limited to a certain social categories or groups, thus determining the level of panic. “Disproportionality” is expressed through the exaggeration of the threat posed by the action. “Volatility” is the sudden emergence of the panic due to the media reporting and its subsequent sudden disappearance. “Disproportionality” is observed when one or more of the following is present:

- The figures that are to measure the scope of the problem are exaggerated;
- The threat does not exist in reality;
- Only a specific condition receives attention when the threat or damage caused by either group is the same;
- Level of attention to the same issue differs over time. (pp. 156-159).

Goode & Benyehuda (1994) further discuss three main models of moral panic based its source of origination. The “grassroots” model view the general public as the source of the panic, while the media and political reaction are considered an outcome of the overall public concern (p. 161). The nuclear contamination, the fear for more nuclear plants, and drug abuse discussed by Goode & Benyehuda (1994) or the child-abuse in the USA discussed by Garland (2008) are possible examples of grassroots moral panic.

The “elite-engineered” model views moral panic as an outcome of the efforts of smaller powerful groups to generate fear and panic over an issue which, in reality, is not pressing to the society (p. 164). By doing this, the group attempts to divert public attention from the real problems in the society the publicity of which would not stem from the interests of the powerful group. Hall el at (1978) discusses the panic over street
crime an outcome of the attempt of the large capitalistic stakeholders to divert the public attention from the growing economic recession in Great Britain.

The “interest group” model argues that the media, law enforcement, public organizations, political parties and other stakeholders that are “rule creators” and “moral entrepreneurs” generate the moral panic to serve their specific interests at the given period of time (p. 165). Garland (2008), discusses the “American panic over drugs” and the consequent mass imprisonment as an example of this model of moral panic (p. 15).

The current study applies the framework of moral panic to analyze which of the above discussed components are present among the population in Armenia, as well as which model it is most closely associated with. By selecting a terrorism-neutral country with no sizeable resource allocation to the fight against terrorism, it aims to control for one of the main components for the analysis of moral panic, i.e. politics (Cohen, 2002) and identify the role of the media as an interest group or merely as a channel of mass information that aims to generate a newsworthy content.

**Terror Management Theory**

The terror management theory (TMT) offers a comprehensive framework to understand the impact of terror attacks on the fear of terrorism on a micro level, i.e. emotional and behavioral changes among individuals when being exposed to a specific deadly threat. Originally proposed by Greenberg, Pyszczynski & Solomon (Baumeister, 1986), TMT highlights the importance for every human being to maintain self-esteem and healthy psychological functioning. Because of the importance of self-esteem, humans are highly inclined to alter their causal attributions, reports of states and traits, the attitudes and beliefs, as well as the emotional perceptions to maintain their self-esteem.
The symbolic, temporal, and self-reflective capacities have enhanced the human ability to survive in different environments. People have evolved to not generally experience constant death anxiety by adopting emotional and behavioral mechanisms that buffer the adverse effects of death awareness (Juhl & Routledge, 2016). Yet, the situational exposure to the vulnerability and mortality of the self leads to the anticipation of the variety of terrifying experiences which, depending on the level of exposure to the threat, ultimately has the potential to paralyze us by terror.

As an unusually stressful situation, terrorism is shown to influence the everyday life and its quality for the individual who is directly or indirectly exposed to it (Cohen-Louck, 2017). The retrospective analysis conducted by Frey, Luechinger & Stutzer (2009) on the level of happiness in the UK, Ireland, and France based on the results of the Eurobarometer between 1972-2002 revealed that societies with more frequent terror attacks registered a lower level of happiness than the ones who are less exposed to those attacks. The attacks further create stress, uncertainty, and insecurity (Wolf & Frankel, 2007). This claim is based on a series of studies conducted by scholars immediately after the 9/11 attacks that showed evidence of a substantial level of stress (Schuster et al., 2001) and post-traumatic stress disorder (Schlenger et al., 2002) among the citizens of the United States. Moreover, the closer the exposure to the terror attack, the more evident the symptoms of stress (Silver et al., 2002).

Stress is an outcome of worry and anxiety. Worry refers to specific mental events of concern while anxiety refers to a more diffused mental state (Gray, Jackson & Farrall, 2011), most often associated with the overestimation of the given risk (Braithwaite, 2013). In other words, worry is the narrowly conceptualized demonstration of fear which
is more cognitive in nature; while anxiety is a more all-encompassing construct for somatic, cognitive, and behavioral elements such as fear, apprehension, avoidance, and escape (Zebb & Beck, 1998).

When death is made salient to them, humans project the anxiety they feel onto the dissimilar others turning them into scapegoats (Jonas & Fischer, 2006; Kelly, 2007). The creation of the stereotypical images facilitates an easier, more predictable, and orderly depiction of the threat. Speaking more illicitly for terrorism, it contributes to the association of the crime with certain cultural or ethnic identities and to the creation of phenomena such as Islamophobia. Lopes & Jaspal (2015) attribute the rise of Islamophobia to the stereotypical representation of Muslims as threatening to cultural norms, values, and traditions of the Western world and ultimately to the survival of the majority. Despite the fact that two experiments conducted in Netherlands with two sets of 60 students randomly assigned to control and experimental groups (exposure to the news on terrorism) showed no statistically significant relationship between exposure to news on terrorism and prejudice towards Muslims, they did find that paranoid thinking, i.e. the belief that Muslims are maliciously trying to cause, was a predictor of Islamophobia. Miller & Landau (2005) further support the claim that stereotyping serves as a mechanism to prevent existential anxiety in times when there is a need to restrict the thoughts and mental images of death.

Based on the above-discussed frameworks, the current study aims to explore the impact of terrorism on the level of anxiety in the society expressed through emotional and behavioral changes. It analyzes level of fear of terrorism in a terrorism-neutral country,

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6 Islamophobia is a term used to refer to the spread of hostile public attitude towards Muslims (Taras, 2013).
the impact of the media, and facilitates a better understanding of how much terrorism succeeds in achieving one of its most important objectives, i.e. causing psychological repercussions beyond the immediate targets. It first analyzes the level of fear of terrorism in a country that has never been targeted by a terror attack in the 21st century nor been actively involved in the war on terror. The study utilizes the moral panic theory to move from the macro level of the impact of terror attacks to understand the influence of the media on the level of fear of terrorism. It further progresses into identifying the stereotypical portrayal of terrorism in the society and the emotional and behavioral changes triggered on the micro level based on the TMT theory.

**Methodology**

The thesis meets the exemption criteria specified by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, and an exemption status has been granted accordingly - HRPP file number 2017-0391 (Appendix 1). The cross-sectional exploratory study applies the quantitative research techniques to answer the following research questions:

1. **RQ1**: Are the residents of a country not targeted by terror attacks afraid of terrorism?
   - **H1**: There is fear of terrorism among citizens of a country not targeted by terror attacks.

2. **RQ2**: What is the impact of the media on the level of fear of terrorism?
   - **H2**: The more time one spends following the news, the higher the level of fear of terrorism.

3. **RQ3**: Does fear of terrorism influence the level of anxiety on a micro level?
   - **H3**: People with a higher level of fear of terrorism express higher level of anxiety.
Study Environment: Armenia

Armenia presents a suitable population for the case study to measure the actual scope of the fear of terrorism on a macro level; understand how the influence of the media transcends beyond the countries that concentrate a substantial political attention to terrorism; and observe the influence of the fear on the level of anxiety among people who had no direct exposure to terrorism. Located at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, sharing borders with Turkey and Iran, and being geographically close to the conflict zones in Iraq and Syria, there is no documented evidence of a terror attack in Armenia carried out by local or international forces since its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 (National Counterterrorism Center, 2007; Start.umd.edu, 2017). Consequently, there is no official counterterrorism policy, specific counterterrorism agency, or budgetary allocation to terrorism in the country. Because of the absence of attacks and low prioritization of the issue on the governmental level, there is no prior research on the perception of terrorism in the Armenian society or information on the level of public fear of terrorism.

Different state and media resources refer to Armenia as a European country (Armenia country profile, 2017), while the others view at as a country in Asia (Country Profile | Armenia, 2017). With an area of almost 30,000 sq. km., it is slightly smaller than the state of Maryland in the US. Christianity is the official religion. According to the national statistics, the population of Armenia is 2,99 million as of the fourth quarter of 2016 (National Statistical Service of Armenia, 2017). The population of the country aged 18-65 comprises 1,987 million. As many as 96%-98% are Armenians, and only less than 4% constitute ethnic minorities such as Russians, Yezidis, Assyrians, Greeks, Ukrainians,
Jews, and Kurds (“About Armenia | Overview”, 2017; “The World Factbook”, 2017). The national language is Armenian with its distinct alphabet. The capital of the country – Yerevan hosts more than 35% of the total population, while many residents of the other regions of the country temporarily settle in the capital for work. The rest of the population is proportionately distributed among the other ten regions of the country.

After the commencement of the Syrian conflict, Armenia became a top destination for the Syrian refugees. Due to the comparatively large number of Syrian refugees settling in the country and the small size of the country’s population itself, Armenia currently has one of the highest ratios of Syrian refugees in the world (Europe’s Challenge, 2015). The collected data would be applicable for future studies to analyze the perception of Syrian refugees as potential threats of terror attacks and the actual number of attacks plotted and carried out by them. This is not to say, however, that Armenia is unrelated to the issue of terrorism on a larger scale. As it has already been discussed in the previous section, the country is geographically close to the conflict zones of Syria and Iraq; it has land disputes with Azerbaijan, and mujahedeen are believed to have fought against Armenians during the war; it has hosted one of the largest numbers of Syrian refugees by population ratio; and shares borders with Turkey and Iran that have been predominantly associated either with the threat of terrorism or have been targeted by terror attacks on multiple occasions (United States Department of State, 2016).

While being a distinct ally of Russia, a member of the Collective Security Treaty Organization⁷, Armenia has a history of military partnership with the United States and other Western countries. It has partnered with NATO in the latter’s peacekeeping

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⁷ CSTO was formed by 12 post-soviet countries under Russian patronage in 1992. The signing parties were agreeing to provide mutual military assistance in the event of aggression against on the of the member states (Rekuta, 2006).
missions in Kosovo, Iraq, Afghanistan including the deployment of small peacekeeping units; and with the UN in its missions in southern Lebanon and Mali (Giragosian, 2015).

Summing up, as a small Christian country located close to major conflict zones between Europe and Asia and sharing borders with countries often associated with the threat of terrorism, Armenia has never been targeted by a terror attack. This fact, together with the absence of local political attention to terrorism, presents a study population with minimal exposure to the political component of the threat of terrorism. This allows for increasing the internal validity of the findings and establishing a more causal relationship between the media and fear of terrorism as well as understanding the level of anxiety on a micro level. The discussion of certain socio-political and historic events in the section is meant to reduce the historic threat to internal validity and facilitate a more exhaustive interpretation of the outcomes of the study.

**Data Collection Methods and Sample Design**

To test the hypotheses of the study, an online survey was published on [www.surveymonkey.com](http://www.surveymonkey.com). The use of the survey for this type of exploratory research was aimed at increasing the reliability and generalizability of the findings to be reported (Appendix 2). The data collection process takes place in July-August 2017. The link to the survey was promoted through social media networks as well as the websites of the non-profit organizations listed below that target different groups of the population and cover all the regions of Armenia. This allows for representative sampling and collecting data large enough to run statistical tests.

- Gyumri “Youth Initiative Centre” – a non-profit organization operating from the second city of Armenia – Gyumri ([www.yic.am](http://www.yic.am)). It works primarily with young
adults and mid-career professionals across Armenia to promote civic activism of the youth and increase the employability of the younger generation of Armenia.

- Armenian Caritas (www.caritas.am) - non-profit social organization operating from Gyumri and having field offices in the capital of the country and four regions. It works with vulnerable groups of population providing social services and contributing to community development.

- Children of Armenia Fund (www.coafkids.org) - a non-profit organization registered in the USA and Armenia and operating from the capital Yerevan. It works primarily in the villages of six regions of Armenia investing in education, healthcare, and social inclusion of families in the villages.

The sample population is comprised of adults aged 18-65 residing in Armenia. By using convenient sampling, the study collected complete questionnaires from 419 responders to have a sample size large enough to make reliable statistical conclusions. Given the fact that no socio-demographic factor serves as an independent variable for the given study, the representativeness of the collected sample was pursued, yet no significantly prioritized.

The online collection of responses allowed controlling for the privacy of the collected data: the respondents can choose to fill it in in a most convenient private environment. No identifiable information was present; additionally, advanced firewall protection settings were applied to eliminate the possibility of collecting any information in terms of the exact location or IP address of the respondents. The collected data was password protected, and only the research manager had access to the files. The study has been granted an expedited approval by the Human Research Protection Program of the
City University of New York. Before collecting the data, an informed consent form is requested from the respondents (Appendix 3).

There are no known risks that the participants would experience. The questions in the survey do not relate to the participants' life events or experiences, therefore, the possible psychological discomfort would be minimal. Since the survey is completely anonymous and voluntary, the respondent is free to choose not to participate to avoid any possible discomfort he/she might experience in the process.

**Data Collection and Analysis**

The study applies quantitative research techniques to test the hypotheses and the relationship between the variables discussed in the research questions. The online survey collected data primarily on interval level; and the nominal and ordinal data are subjected to coding to make it fit for quantitative research. The survey consisted of 26 questions divided into four logical sections. The language of the published survey was Armenian to ensure every potential respondent who resides in Armenia was able to read and understand both the consent form and the survey. The translation of the questions was conducted by the primary investigator of the current study whose mother language is Armenian; holds academic degrees from accredited Armenian universities, and has full working proficiency in English. Since the survey was self-administered, the questions were formed in a way to allow the respondent to read them quickly, understand the intent, and provide answers without difficulty. They were void complex sentences, negations or structures that might cause ambiguity or encourage particular responses. The questionnaire applied primarily close-ended, multiple choice and matrix questions to make the data fit to code for quantitative analysis.
Prior to publishing the survey online, it was pilot tested in May 2017 by a group of eight Armenian volunteers recruited through the social networks. The group was presented with the objectives of the study and was asked to fill in the survey. It took 6-15 minutes to fill in the survey, and everyone agreed that the length was optimal to keep the potential responder’s attention to its completion. The participants were then invited to discuss the clarity of questions and resolve possible misinterpretations. All of the group members shared the view that the questions in the survey were easy to read, understand, and answer adequately, and none of them expressed a concern on a possible discomfort a respondent could experience when answering the questions. The participants were then asked to contribute to the redesign of the survey in the form of suggesting modifications in the word-structure of the questions/statements, their order, and the levels of measurement. The suggested modifications were mostly related to reordering and restructuring the syntax of the questions and statements. The final version of the survey incorporates the suggestions based on the extent to which those fit the framework of the validated mechanisms adopted for the current study.

The study utilizes validated measurement systems for all three research questions with modifications to adjust those to the specifics of the current study. The survey collected information on the socio-demographic and characteristics of respondents, their perception of terrorism, the sources of influence on the fear of terrorism as well as the emotional mechanisms in effect to cope with the fear as an unusually stressful situation.

The first section collects socio-demographic and information on the respondents such as age, gender, level of education, occupation status, marital status, number of children, and religiosity. The next section identifies the level of fear of terrorism by
asking questions on the fear of terrorism and using a 5-points Likert scale. The next section identifies the number of hours spent following the news through different channels of information and progresses with identifying the top sources of fear of terrorism. The last section aims at assessing the level of anxiety as a combination of emotional and behavioral mechanisms applied to cope with the fear of terrorism.

The dependent variable of the RQ1 & RQ2 is the fear of terrorism. As it has been discussed in the conceptual section of the literature review on fear, worry and anxiety are often grouped under the common notion of fear in social research. The use of the word worry in the survey questions poses no threat to the content validity of the reported findings as it has been established that worry is a satisfactory measure of fear (Nellis & Savage, 2012). The survey does not offer a definition of terrorism to the respondents before asking them to respond the questions on the fear of terrorism; instead, the survey concludes with an open-ended question asking the respondent to shortly define in a complete sentence or a few concepts what terrorism is to their understanding. This way, the study aims to gather data on the general perception of terrorism in a country that has never been directly exposed to terrorism and to understand the main associations with the concept.

To test the H1, i.e. whether residents of a terrorism-neutral country (in the current case – Armenia) demonstrate high level of fear of terrorism, the study applies a composite index by using the following questions from the annual Gallup survey that measure fear of terrorism in the USA (Terrorism in the United States, 2017):

- How worried are you that you will become a victim of a terrorist attack?
• How worried are you that someone in your family will become a victim of a terrorist attack?
• How worried are you of a future terrorist attack abroad?
• How worried are you of a future terrorist attack in Armenia?
• How worried are you of Armenia’s capacity to prevent a terrorist attack in the country?

The modifications made to the questions consist in changing the country name to Armenia, separating the likelihood of becoming a victim of a terror attack for oneself and for family members, as well the worry on a future terror attack in Armenia and abroad separately. Instead of the original 4-point Likert scale, the study applies a 5-point scale to allow for a hypothesized mean value on the level of worry. The scales are not worried at all, not too worried, somewhat worried, worried, very worried coded by numbers from 1 to 5 respectively.

To test the H2, the study asks the following questions that derive from the moral panic theory discussed in the theoretical section:

• What are your main sources of information on terrorism? (Please select the most relevant 2 options.)
• In the past 2 weeks, how many hours did you spend watching/reading news from Armenian sources (TV, print, online altogether)?
• In the past 2 weeks, how many hours did you spend watching/reading news from Russian sources (TV, print, online altogether)?
• In the past two weeks, how many hours did you spend watching/reading news from international sources (TV, print, online altogether)?
• Please name the top 3 media sources you use to follow the news.

For H2, both media influence and fear of terrorism are measured on the interval level. This is a modification of the original study conducted by Nellis & Savage (2012) measuring the relationship between the number of hours spent following the news and the level of fear of terrorism. Unlike the original study where the news sources were divided to local and national news, the current study specifies local, Russian, and international news given the accessibility of all those channels in the country. The application of a composite index for the media influence helps analyze different media channels and how those differ by the level of influence. The acquisition of information on the languages spoken will assist in better understanding to what sources of information the respondent potentially has access to.

The dependent variable of the RQ3 is level of anxiety measured based on the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI) proposed by Spielberger, Gorsuch & Lushene (1970). It utilizes the statements below that derive from the states (emotion) and traits (behavior) listed in the STAI. The wording of the statements is based on the common emotional and behavioral mechanisms discussed in the TMT as a coping strategy for anxiety. One of the questions presents the stereotypical image of the terrorist often associated with Islamophobia (Kossowska, Golec De Zavala & Kubik, 2010; Lopes & Jaspal, 2015).

• I feel vulnerable every time I hear about a terrorist attack
• I feel tense if I see an unattended bag
• I feel insecure if I see a dark-skinned foreigner with a beard or a woman in veil.
• I avoid travelling by airplane because of a possible terrorist hijacking
• I avoid visiting cities that have recently been attacked by terrorists
• I think refugees are more likely to be terrorists
• Terrorism is a threat to human existence.

The respondents were asked to state to what degree they agree with the given statement using the following 5-point Likert scale: Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree. The answer choices were coded by numbers from 1 to 5 respectively.

The collection of anonymous socio-demographic information facilitates the observation of differences that can be registered among the respondents. Age, the level of education, occupation status, marital status, number of children, and religiosity are used as control variables of the study. The data on those variables are collected at the following levels:

• Occupation, marital status, and religiosity are measured at nominal level and coded to numbers to make them fit for quantitative analysis (Appendix 1);
• Level of education is measured at the ordinal level and coded to numbers to make them fit for quantitative analysis (Appendix 1);
• Age and number of children are measured on an interval level.

The survey concludes with offering the respondents to share any additional information on why they think residents of Armenia might or might not be afraid of terrorism.

The data collected by the survey was analyzed utilizing the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) – the software developed by IBM. The results of the survey start with the presentation of the descriptive statistics to give an overall view of the profile of
respondents. Depending on the type of the variable, the statistics present the number of occurrences, the mean, the median, and the standard deviation. Three sets of statistical tests are run to determine the relationship between the variables of the research questions based on the nature of the relationship and the level of measurement of the variables.

The missing and not applicable numbers were coded in a way to allow SPSS recognize and exclude those answers. Certain responses on the number of hours reported for following the news in the last two weeks were excludes as outliers to increase the statistical value of the reported findings. A more detailed report on the exclusion criteria is provided in the next section.

Analysis

A bivariate correlation is used to demonstrate the preliminary relationship between the variables of the study; to reveal the strength of the correlation as well as the statistical significance of the discussed independent and control variables in relation to the dependent variable for each research question. The data collected by the survey is subjected to listwise deletion to include complete cases only.

The level of fear of terrorism is measured using a one sample t-test since fear of terrorism is measured on the interval level. It applies the hypothesized mean value of 3 to test the actual mean given the fact that a 5-point Likert scale is applied for each question. Each question on the level of fear is subjected to the one-sample t-test to observe possible differences. However, the H1 is tested based on the average mean registered for the questions combined. The study reports on the outliers to increase the accuracy of the findings assuming that the majority of the responses are approximately normally distributed. At this section of the research, the minimum, maximum, the range of the
values will be discussed together with the median and the standard deviation to give a more comprehensive view of the distribution of the data.

The H2 aims to measure the level of fear (DV) based on the number of hours spent on following the news (IV) on the local, Russian, and foreign media. The collection of the data on the DV and the IV allows the application of a linear regression to analyze the relationship between the observable variables. The analysis is performed separately for each media source and for the average number of hours per respondent to test the H2. To present the outliers that might have a considerable impact on the reported findings, a scatterplot is used to show the distribution of the data. The table on the relationship between the variables presents the intercept, the effect size, the adjusted R-square to help analyze how much of the variance in the DV is attributable to the IV only. It further presents the direction and the scale of the change in the DV for every unit of increase in the IV. All the hypotheses of the study are tested at the significance level of $p=.05$ to leave only 5% of observed variance to chance alone.

The H3 aims to discuss the effect of the fear of terrorism (IV) on the level of anxiety of residents of a terrorism-neutral country (DV). The collection of the data on the DV and the IV allows the application of a linear regression to analyze the relationship between the DV and the IV. To present the outliers that might have a considerable impact on the reported findings, a scatterplot is used to show the distribution of the data. The table on the relationship between the variables presents the intercept, the effect size, the adjusted R-square to help analyze how much of the variance in the DV is attributable to the IV only. It further presents the direction and the scale of the change in the DV for
every unit of increase in the IV. All the hypotheses of the study are tested at the significance level of $p=.05$ to leave only 5% of observed variance to chance alone.

The description of statistical values of the socio-demographic and variables used in the study are presented in Table 3. The majority of respondents are 36 years old or younger (75.2%), females (77.3%), with at least college education (94.3%), and working full-time (60%), who identify themselves as religious individuals (82.6%). There is a relatively equal distribution of single and married respondents, yet the majority has no children (61.1%).
Table 3
Descriptive Statistics of Socio-Demographic Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>( \bar{x} )</th>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<td>Gender</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>42.70</td>
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<td>Postgraduate Degree</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>51.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Working at the Moment</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time/Hourly Job</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>13.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time Job</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>13.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>51.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>44.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has Children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>61.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>38.90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>17.40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>82.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overrepresentation of the younger generation can be explained by the higher level of inclination to use the internet and especially the social media; therefore, they were more likely to be notified of the published survey. The other two variables that revealed a greater percentage of difference between their attributes are the level of education and religiousness. Armenia, in general, is considered one of the most educated nations in the world with its 100% youth literacy rate (Education Policy and Data Center,
There are no published statistics on the percentage of the population with higher education to cite what specifically accounts for a larger representation of respondents with higher education. To facilitate a better interpretation of the education data, it should be mentioned that until recently, as a former Soviet Union country, Armenia had a higher education system in effect which did not differentiate between Bachelor’s and Master’s degrees; instead, the student would graduate with a diploma after 5-year education. Only recently has the country fully adopted the Bologna standards that brought the education system closer to the European model (Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, 2015). Finally, the higher representation of people who identify themselves as religious can be explained by the fact that Armenia is a predominantly Christian country with over 92% of the population identifying itself as a follower of the Armenian Apostolic Church (“The World Factbook”, 2017).

Table 4 presents the descriptives of the statistical values for the variables that constitute the composite index of the fear of terrorism. Overall, less that 30% of the respondents expressed no level of worry in relation to any of the questions that were designed to measure the level of fear of terrorism. While the majority of the respondents do not see terrorism as an imminent threat to themselves ($\bar{x}=2.34$) or to Armenia ($\bar{x}=2.74$), they express a considerably higher degree of worry for a terror attack abroad ($\bar{x}=3.90$) and Armenia’s capacity to prevent a possible terror attack on country’s soil ($\bar{x}=3.35$).
The One Sample T-test that was used to test the revealed the existence of the fear of terrorism in Armenia with a composite index of 3.02 which is higher than the hypothesized mean value of 3. Fear of terrorism is existent in some degree among 90% of the respondents, and it is at least at the median level of 3 or higher among 53% of the respondents when counting the 399 (N=399) complete responses (Table 5). However, the registered difference is not statistically significant when tested at a 95% significance level.
leaving only 5% to chance alone: $t(398)=.509, p=.611$. Therefore, the study failed to reject the null hypothesis for the H1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score Range</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not Worried at All</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Too Worried</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>36.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Worried</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worried</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>31.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Worried</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>12.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 presents the bivariate correlations matrix for the dependent (Y) and control variables (X). From the list of socio-demographic factors, only two show a statistically significant relationship with the dependent variable – the gender and the religiousness. The low-to-moderate relationship with gender reveals that females have significantly higher level of fear of terrorism than males ($p=.05$). Those who view themselves as religious people tend to have a higher level of fear of terrorism ($p=.05$).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Y1</th>
<th>X1</th>
<th>X2</th>
<th>X3</th>
<th>X4</th>
<th>X5</th>
<th>X6</th>
<th>X7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fear of Terrorism</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>-.228*</td>
<td>.122*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of Education</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>-.024</td>
<td>.238**</td>
<td>-.111*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation Status</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>-.090</td>
<td>-.030</td>
<td>.047</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>-.019</td>
<td>.419**</td>
<td>-.033</td>
<td>.112</td>
<td>-.112*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has Children</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>-.007</td>
<td>.524**</td>
<td>.059</td>
<td>.128**</td>
<td>-.193**</td>
<td>.690**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religiousness</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>.130*</td>
<td>.081</td>
<td>-.133**</td>
<td>.036</td>
<td>-.069</td>
<td>.180**</td>
<td>.163</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p=.05 (2-tailed); **p=.01 (2-tailed)
The H2 aimed to discuss the relationship between the number of hours spent following the news and the level of fear of terrorism. The majority of respondents (more than 60%) identified the media as one of the main sources of their fear of terrorism while political speeches and counterterrorism policies were 27% and 32% respectively.

Table 7 presents the descriptive statistics on the media classified into Armenian, Russian, and international sources. The respondents were not limited to selecting from available options; this resulted in receiving responses that range from zero to more than 60 hours spent following the news. The respondents who had cumulatively more than 70 hours for the media sources combined, i.e. more than 5 hours per day, were coded to be removed from the reported incidents. There is a considerably high standard deviation for the registered numbers for each media source which makes the fluctuation more sensitive. The respondents spend in average more hours following the news on Armenian channels ($\bar{x}=8.23$) than the Russian ($\bar{x}=3.6$) and International sources ($\bar{x}=3.98$) combined.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media Source</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>$\bar{x}$</th>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armenian Media</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>8.23</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>10.86</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Media</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8.03</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Media</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>7.08</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1 reveals that the majority of the respondents spend less than 20 hours biweekly following the news with the interquartile range being between 4 to 17 hours; anything above 40 hours is considered an outlier.
Figure 1 – Total Number of Hours Spent Following the News

Figure 2 supports the data in Graph 1 by showing that the outliers are spread out evenly regardless of the level of fear of terrorism; therefore, the exclusion of cases with over 40 reported hours of following the news will not bias the reporting of the findings when testing the H2.

Figure 2 – Fear of Terrorism and Number of Hours Spent Following the News
The relationship between the fear of terrorism and the number of hours spent following the news was analyzed through a linear regression analysis. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 8 that includes the slope (B), the standard error (SE), and the standardized regression coefficient (β). The data were subjected to listwise deletion to include complete cases only. A weak effect size of .047 (R=.047) and an adjusted R-square value of -.001 is observed indicating only .1% of the variance in the level of fear of terrorism is attributable to the number of hours spent following the news. Due to the fact that the research was predicting the relationship of the dependent variable (DV) with one independent variable (IV) only, the value of the standardized coefficient (β) coincides with the correlation coefficient (R). For every unit increase in the number of hours following the news, there is an increase of .005 (B=.005) in the level of fear of terrorism while the intercept equals 2.987 (a=2.987) when the value of the number of hours spent following the news equals zero. The linear regression did not reveal a statistically significant relationship between the number of hours following the news and the level of fear of terrorism, thus failing to reject the null hypothesis.

### Table 8
Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Level of Fear of Terrorism (N=324)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>β</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Hours Spent Following the News</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>.047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>2.987</td>
<td>.081</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Listwise deletion of cases

*Note: R=.047, Adjusted R²=.002; F(1, 322)=.721, p=.396*

The results of the regression analysis revealed the considerable weakness in the association of the level of fear of terrorism with the number of hours spent following the news regardless the source of information being Armenian, Russian, or international.
However, several factors might come into play when drawing conclusions on the influence of the media. Firstly, the social media and the constant exposure to news feeds, notifications, and updates make it significantly challenging to objectively assess the real time spent following the news. For instance, one might be subscribed to receive phone notifications for major articles published on the channels (s)he is subscribed to, and even when not all the notifications are opened and read, the title or the first phase itself contains information. Secondly, the news feeds on the social media channels like Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter might include indirect sources of information such as friend status updates and reposts that do not necessarily fall under the criteria of the generally perceived media channel yet contain information. Future research should concentrate on differentiating those sources and asking separate questions to the respondents to gather information on not only the number of hours spent following the news but also whether they are subscribed to receive notifications from news channels, how much time they spend on the social media channels, etc.

The H3 of the study aimed to analyze the relationship between the level of fear of terrorism and the level of anxiety from the terror management perspective. It particularly aimed to understand to what degree terrorism as an imminent threat to life creates death anxiety and triggers the behavioral and emotional coping mechanisms that are measured by the STAI. Table 9 presents the descriptive statistics for the statements that were used to gather data for the STAI. A 5-point Likert scale was applied for the statements where the increase in the digit would correspond to the increase in the level of agreement with the given statement. As it could be expected based on the results of the fear of terrorism in Armenia, overall, the level of anxiety among the population is not high. In fact, more
people disagree with the statements below than agree, and the most frequently found answer to all but 2 statements was **strongly disagree** (Mo). The statements that have the highest score of the reported level of anxiety are the ones that target individual safety and the safety of the global community rather than the actions triggered by the anxiety. In other words, anxiety is more probable to occur on the emotional than on the behavioral level. This could be explained by the absence of terror attacks in Armenia, and therefore, the absence of experience to associate terrorism with certain behavioral traits.

**Table 9**

*Descriptive Statistics of the Level of Anxiety*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>( \bar{x} )</th>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I feel vulnerable every time I hear about a terrorist attack</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel tense if I see an unattended bag in a public place</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel insecure if I see a dark-skinned foreigner with a beard or a woman wearing a veil</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I avoid travelling by airplane because of a possible terrorist hijacking</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I avoid visiting cities that have recently been attacked by terrorists</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think refugees are more likely to be terrorists</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism is a threat to human existence</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety Index</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 presents the bivariate correlations for the variables used in the study.

The statements are coded to S1, S2, S3 based on the order they appear in the descriptive statistics. Age, marital status, the fact of having children, and the religiousness are positively associated with the level of anxiety while gender is associated negatively, i.e. older people, the religious, those who have been married and have children demonstrate a higher level of anxiety, so do women compared to men. Of all those variables, gender, marital status, and religiousness have statistically significant relationships with the level of anxiety on all but one statements while age has that on all but two.
Table 10
Bivariate correlations among level of anxiety and socio-demographic variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Y1</th>
<th>Y2</th>
<th>Y3</th>
<th>Y4</th>
<th>Y5</th>
<th>Y6</th>
<th>Y7</th>
<th>X1</th>
<th>X2</th>
<th>X3</th>
<th>X4</th>
<th>X5</th>
<th>X6</th>
<th>X7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety Index</td>
<td>370</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>.600**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>.611**</td>
<td>.468**</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>.722**</td>
<td>.336**</td>
<td>.446**</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>.695**</td>
<td>.299**</td>
<td>.354**</td>
<td>.480**</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S5</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>.629**</td>
<td>.196**</td>
<td>.219**</td>
<td>.325**</td>
<td>.507**</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>.549**</td>
<td>.151**</td>
<td>.158**</td>
<td>.382**</td>
<td>.283**</td>
<td>.292**</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S7</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>.518**</td>
<td>.275**</td>
<td>.117**</td>
<td>.241**</td>
<td>.237**</td>
<td>.255**</td>
<td>.246**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>.105*</td>
<td>.128*</td>
<td>.131**</td>
<td>.043</td>
<td>.109*</td>
<td>.033</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.021</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>-.210**</td>
<td>-.214**</td>
<td>-.168**</td>
<td>-.195**</td>
<td>-.174**</td>
<td>-.187**</td>
<td>.067</td>
<td>-.138**</td>
<td>.122**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>-.027</td>
<td>.024</td>
<td>.091</td>
<td>-.070</td>
<td>-.008</td>
<td>-.049</td>
<td>-.039</td>
<td>-.016</td>
<td>.238**</td>
<td>-.111*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>-.029</td>
<td>.024</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>-.058</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>.077</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td>-.090</td>
<td>-.030</td>
<td>.047</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>.154**</td>
<td>.048</td>
<td>.110*</td>
<td>.119*</td>
<td>.155*</td>
<td>.121*</td>
<td>.145**</td>
<td>.061</td>
<td>.419**</td>
<td>-.033</td>
<td>.112*</td>
<td>-.112*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has Children</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>.133*</td>
<td>.062</td>
<td>.089</td>
<td>.097</td>
<td>.097</td>
<td>.081</td>
<td>.067</td>
<td>.024</td>
<td>.524**</td>
<td>.059</td>
<td>.128**</td>
<td>-.193**</td>
<td>.690**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religiousness</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>.225**</td>
<td>.165**</td>
<td>.157**</td>
<td>.215**</td>
<td>.132*</td>
<td>.119*</td>
<td>.033</td>
<td>.185**</td>
<td>.081</td>
<td>-.133**</td>
<td>.036</td>
<td>-.069</td>
<td>.180**</td>
<td>.163**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p=.05 (2-tailed)

**p=.01 (2-tailed)
To test the H3, the study applied a linear regression analysis which rejected the null hypothesis, i.e. the absence of the statistically significant relationship between the level of fear of terrorism and the level of anxiety. Moreover, it supported the directional hypothesis of the positive association between those variables. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 11 that includes the slope (B), the standard error (SE), and the standardized regression coefficient ($\beta$). The data were subjected to listwise deletion to include complete cases only. A strong effect size of .440 (R=.440) is observed between the fear of terrorism and level of anxiety; and the adjusted R-square value of .191 indicates that over 19% of the variance in the level of anxiety is attributable to the level of fear of terrorism. Due to the fact that the research was predicting the relationship of the dependent variable (DV) with one independent variable (IV) only, the value of the standardized coefficient ($\beta$) coincides with the correlation coefficient (R). For every unit increase in the level of fear of terrorism, there is an increase of .400 (B=.400) in the level of anxiety while the intercept equals 1.412 ($a=1.412$) when the level of fear terrorism equals zero.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE</th>
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<td>.043</td>
<td>.440**</td>
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<td>.137</td>
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Listwise deletion of cases  
*Note: R=.440, Adjusted $R^2=.191$; F(1, 353)=84.750, p<.000*

The results attest to the fact that although fear of terrorism might not have reached an alarming level in Armenia as a terrorism-neutral country, once infiltrated, it has a significant impact on the lifestyle and emotional well-being of the individual. While certain groups of population, such as the older generation, women, those with a family
are experiencing higher levels of anxiety, nonetheless, the phenomenon is widely observed among the general public as well.

To better understand the perception of terrorism and assist in a more comprehensive analysis of the collected responses, the survey also asked the respondents to define in a sentence or keywords what terrorism is to their understanding. The survey collected in total 312 responses on the definition of terrorism where most were limited to words or expressions on the main associations with terrorism. However, several responses were registered where comprehensive definitions of terrorism were offered, such as “…an act against the lives, psychological or physical wellbeing of a specific group of people that aims at raising a particular issue or pursue personal objectives.”; “…organized violence with uncertainty in place and time to prove something or to raise a voice against a perceived enemy.”; “…deliberate act aimed at causing harm to human lives based on political and religious views”; “…instilling fear among people for specific beliefs or to cause massive anxiety.”; “…application of violence and cruelty against people for ideological, religious, or political objectives.”; “…an act aimed at causing death or serious physical injury, and by doing that, to influence the decision-making processes of states, politicians, international organizations.”; “…deliberate violence that aims at weakening the government through taking lives of innocent people.”; “…a means to make a complaint or a demand heard by the government or to win a compromise, to instill fear, threat, mass murder.”; “…creation of fear and terror in society through information, application of weapons and explosives to influence a political agenda or a government.”; “…an act to deflect the attention of the large masses from the main issues
in a given country that unfortunately is often exercised by the government against its own people.”

The examples above reveal that the definitions offered by the respondents included the target (people, society, large masses, government, state, etc.) and the objective (causing harm, raising a particular issue, instilling fear, weakening the government, etc.), yet the profile of the perpetrator was discussed very rarely. Generally, as it could probably be anticipated, the most commonly used concepts are those associated with threat, fear, violence, and loss of life. Once again, it becomes evident that instilling fear among civilians, often through the use of explosives in public venues to cause casualties, remains as one of the main associations with the term terrorism. Furthermore, the pursuit of political goals and objective through exercising terrorism is a phenomenon that is widely discussed not only in academia but also duly observed among the ordinary citizens of Armenia.

As a country that faced genocide (Gunter, 1986; “What is Armenian Genocide”, 2017), the study considered the possibility of the latter to affect the perception of terrorism, and thus, the validity of the collected responses. However, at the Graph 3 shows, only 2 respondents used the term genocide to speak about terrorism.

Another noteworthy finding of the research was the level to which terrorism is associated with religion, and particularly with Islam. While religion was referenced in 25 definitions provided by the respondents, concepts such as Islam, Muslim, ISIS, Veil, Beard, Jihad, and Arab were used in a less than a dozen of incidents only. This is particularly interesting finding for the geopolitical and historic profile of Armenia. Being surrounded primarily by Muslim countries and located so close to the geographic region
where ISIS has claimed territories, having territorial disputes with its Muslim neighbors and a recent history of war, as well as a high ratio of Syrian refugees, the population in Armenia shows no tendency to stereotyping terrorism to a specific religious or national identity.

**Figure 3 – Frequency of Use of Words When Defining Terrorism**
Discussion

Findings

The exploratory study presented valuable insight into the fear of terrorism in Armenia as a terrorism-neutral country never targeted by a major terror attack since its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 (National Counterterrorism Center, 2007; Start.umd.edu, 2017). It helped understand the level of fear in public; the role of the media in disseminating and multiplying the psychological effects of terror attacks; and how fear affects the adoption of emotional and behavioral processes on an individual level.

The analysis revealed that although the study failed to reject the null hypothesis on the fear of terrorism on a statistically significant level, nonetheless, the fear is existent to some degree among 90% of the survey respondents. In other words, there is a general concern over the fear of terrorism and a consensus that terrorism is a major threat – two of the components discussed by Goode and Benyehuda (1994). Moreover, more than half of the respondents (53%) had a fear of terrorism at a level of 3 or more in a 5-point Likert scale; and females and religious people reported having significantly higher level of fear.

The reported numbers match the existing studies and surveys on the fear of terrorism in other countries: countries that have a recent history of terror attack on their soil (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016; Connolly & Willsher, 2016; McGill, 2016), as well as those that actively support the war on terror (Lemyre et al, 2006; Stevens et al, 2009). Considering the fact that, generally speaking, the respondents did not experience a terror attack themselves, the reported numbers reveal that, although not on an alarming level yet, terrorism has, to an extent, still achieved its objective of
generating a “chronic state of fear” (Schmid, 2011, p. 44) and “effects beyond the immediate physical damage.” (Jenkins, 1980, p. 3).

The literature review discussed the role the media plays in multiplying the effect of the terror attacks and the threat of terrorism among public (Chouliaraki, 2004; Graham, Keenan & Dowd, 2004; Kellner, 2007; Leudar, Marsland & Nekvapil, 2004; Roy & Ross, 2001; Snow & Taylor, 2006). Media was seen by the majority of the respondents (more than 60%) as one of the main sources of their fear of terrorism, followed by political speeches and counterterrorism policies were 27% and 32% respectively. From this perspective, the study found the “interest group” model of moral panic discussed by Goode and Benyehuda (1994), although the “grassroots” model might be more anticipated due to the absence of defined national political interests and stakeholders in relation to the fight against terrorism.

Although media was identified as a major source of fear of terrorism by the survey respondents, current study found no direct association between the fear of terrorism and the number of hours spent following the news on different channels, therefore, no volatility in the observed level of fear of terrorism. The relationship was absent regardless the source of information being local, Russian, or international.

Nevertheless, the absence of statistically significant relationship between media and level of fear of terrorism does not entirely contradict to previous research: when interpreting the study results, it is important to consider the fact that in the contemporary world, the definition of media and the perception of the community of the number of hours spent following the media are not equally perceived. Phenomena such as smartphone notifications, social media and the news spread through status updates and
posts might have considerable influence on the dissemination of information. This, in turn, might turn into a determinant factor in the analysis of the relationship between media and fear of terrorism.

The macro analysis section of the study aimed to understand to what degree fear of terrorism affects the level of anxiety and the application of behavioral and emotional coping mechanisms. The study found a statistically significant relationship between the level of anxiety measured through the STAI and the level of fear of terrorism and rejected the null hypothesis. The statements in the STAI that targeted individual safety and the safety of the global community registered higher scores than the statements that dealt with behavioral mechanisms. In other words, anxiety is more probable to occur on the emotional than on the behavioral level. This could be explained by the absence of terror attacks in Armenia, and therefore, the absence of experience to associate terrorism with certain behavioral traits.

The study concluded that although fear of terrorism might not have reached an alarming level in Armenia as a terrorism-neutral country, once infiltrated, it has a significant impact on the lifestyle and emotional well-being of the individual. While certain groups of population, such as the older generation, women, those with a family are experiencing higher levels of anxiety, nonetheless, the phenomenon is widely observed among the general public as well.

Finally, on the conceptual level, the definitions of terrorism provided by the respondents offered valuable insight into what the main associations with terrorism are. While the target and the objective of the act was discussed more frequently in the offered definitions, the profile of the perpetrator was discussed very rarely. As anticipated, the
most frequently used words included threat, fear, violence, loss of life, political goals/objectives which coincide with the wider associative concepts of terrorism. However, religion and Islam, in particular, were cited considerably rarely: concepts such as Islam, Muslim, ISIS, Jihad, Arab were used in less than a dozen of definitions only. In other words, the hostility component of moral panic was absent, and there were no distinguished folk devils. This is particularly interesting in the geo-historical context of study environment. As an overwhelmingly Christian country that suffered genocide because of national and religious identity, located geographically close to the region where ISIS has claimed territories, having territorial disputes with its Muslim neighbors and a recent history of war, as well as a high ratio of Syrian refugees, the population in Armenia shows no tendency to stereotyping terrorism to a specific religious or national identity. While a qualitative research would allow for a more insightful data to analyze the phenomenon, a possible explanation to it could range from the average respondent profile (education and social environment) to the subconsciously biased answers, even though the survey was anonymous.

Policy Recommendations and Future Research

The results of the study revealed that although the respondents, in general, did not see a future terror attack in Armenia very likely, the majority of them were skeptical of the country’s capacity to ensure the safety of its citizens in case of an attack. As many as 69% of the respondents expressed a certain degree of worry in this regard. This leads to the assertion that the Armenian government should invest in increasing the feeling of safety among its citizens through investing not only on preventive counterterrorism
measures but also on raising awareness on the effectiveness of the measures already in effect.

A possible path to strengthening the institutional capacity of the national security and counterterrorism agencies would entail a more active participation in regional and international military exercises and cooperation with security institutions such as the NATO; or adaption of international practices such as the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) agenda of the United Nations ("Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force | CTITF", 2017). Combined with proactive dissemination of information, these types of strategic moves could not only increase the feeling of safety among the citizens of the country but also demonstrate the consolidated efforts of the global world to counter the threat of terrorism.

The study also serves as a solid background to revisit the discussion on the risk of migration to national security and terrorism, in particular. The reported findings provide the policymakers with a scientific data to challenge the relationship not only between the fear of terrorism and immigration but also the actual portrayal of immigration as a threat to national security. With its large number of Syrian refugees per population ratio, the majority of the survey respondents in Armenia strongly disagreed with the statement that was suggesting that migrants are more likely to become terrorists (Mo=1). The academic value of this particular finding is increased by the fact that the country’s population is predominantly monoethnic: as many as 96%-98% are Armenians, and only less than 4% constitute ethnic minorities ("About Armenia | Overview", 2017; “The World Factbook”, 2017); and over 92% of the population identifies itself as a follower of the Armenian Apostolic Church.
The exploratory research is the first academic attempt to understand the perception of terrorism in terrorism-neutral countries and assess how fear of terrorism expands across the world. The strong sample size and the number of independent and control variables of the study offer a fruitful data pool to discuss preliminary relationships between socio-demographic factors and fear of terrorism and anxiety. It opens windows to future academic research in relevant disciplines that aim to understand the associations between terrorism, fear, anxiety, and quality of life.

However, before allowing for valid conclusions on the fear of terrorism and how it demonstrates itself in terrorism-neutral countries on a more macro level, the study should be replicated, preferably in other geographic zones with terrorism-neutral countries of a similar profile. This would help test the validity of not only the reported findings but also the data collection and analysis mechanisms applied for the given study. The replication would also supply with supporting data to understand the likelihood of the fear of terrorism being linked to national and ethnic background of the study environment.

Future studies that analyzing the association between the number of hours spent following the news and the level of fear of terrorism should collect more classified data by the types of the channels of communication. They should specifically concentrate on differentiating the conventional news sources such as the TV, radio, and printed news from electronic and social media. It should ask separate questions to the respondents to gather information on not only the number of hours spent following the news but also whether they are subscribed to receive notifications from news channels, how much time they spend on the social media channels, etc.
As it was already discussed in the previous section, the study revealed that religious people tended to have higher level of fear of terrorism; this contradicts the existing academic data in the Terror Management Theory where religion is discussed as a successful coping mechanism against unusually stressful situations and instances where death becomes salient (Jonas & Fischer, 2006; Kelly, 2007). The predominantly monoethnic profile of the current study environment did not allow for collecting data on the differences in the fear of terrorism based on the religious identity. Therefore, future research should aim to test this specific association by selecting a study population with a more diverse religious identity.

Finally, the analysis of the main conceptual associations of terrorism among the survey respondents revealed that Islam and the notions associated with the typical Muslim identity such as veil, beard, etc. are by no means among the frequently used terms. While the current study discussed the influence of politics and media on the level of fear of terrorism, it did not concentrate on the specific channels that shape the perception of terrorism, and what could explain the absence of the stereotypical image of terrorism among Armenians as a predominantly monoethnic Christian nation. A follow-up qualitative study could provide a more valid insight into perception of terrorism, identity, and stereotyping.

**Limitations of the Study**

The study utilized an extensive list of variables, composite indices to measure the identified phenomena and a sample size large enough to predict the relationships under investigation, the data has certain limitations that should be taken into consideration while interpreting the findings. The study applied convenient sampling for the reasons
explained in the *Sample Design* section; therefore, the reported findings are not representative of all the population in Armenia; however, the large sample size allows to reduce the identified risk.

Another limitation of the study design is the use of the online survey which might not be universally accessible to the total population in Armenia. People in remote areas and the elder generation are assumed to have lesser opportunities to utilize electronic devices and participate in a survey of a kind. Lastly, the survey did not limit one response per device; this was deliberately permitted for the purpose of allowing multiple respondents to use a single device. Personal laptops or computers and smartphone devices are not expected to be available to each household member of a potential respondent. Additionally, this kind of limitation would not allow a respondent to make another attempt in case the first one was left incomplete.

As reported in the previous section, the study applied validated mechanisms to measure fear of terrorism (*Terrorism in the United States*, 2017), the association between the former and the number of hours following the news (Nellis & Savage, 2012), and the level of anxiety (Spielberger, Gorsuch & Lushene (1970); however, certain modifications were done to adapt it to the study environment. Therefore, a possible retest of the methodology would provide a more solid statistical basis for the reliability of reported findings.

**Conclusion and Closing Remarks**

The contemporary wave of domestic and international terror attacks across continents has drawn an unprecedented level of empirical attention to the concept of terrorism in an attempt to understand the issue and mitigate its consequences. However,
the concentration of research in countries actively involved in the war on terror questions the validity of reported findings due to the challenge to control for factors, such as politics and the media, that might directly or indirectly affect the level of fear of terrorism. It further raises questions on the universality of the reported data.

The study aimed to fill the data gap by conducting a cross-sectional exploratory study in one such terrorism-neutral country, Armenia that has no recent history of a terror attack on its soil nor any military involvement in the global fight on terror. It aimed to understand the level of fear of terrorism, the role of the media, and the impact of the fear on the daily lives of the residents of the country. It conducted an online anonymous survey among adult residents with a sample size of 419 (N=419) utilizing validated measurement systems and extensive list of variables.

The results of the survey revealed that although not at an alarming level yet, the fear of terrorism is still existent to some degree among 90% of the survey. Moreover, more than half of the respondents (53%) had a fear of terrorism at a level of 3 or more in a 5-point Likert scale. On the macro level, the study found a statistically significant positive relationship between the level of fear of terrorism and the level of anxiety. Moreover, anxiety was found more likely to be demonstrated through emotional than on the behavioral level.

Although media was identified as a major source of fear of terrorism by the survey respondents, current study found no direct association between the fear of terrorism and the number of hours spent following the news on different channels, therefore, no volatility in the observed level of fear of terrorism. The relationship was absent regardless the source of information being local, Russian, or international.
Nevertheless, to draw more valid conclusions on the relationship between the number of hours spent following the news and the level of fear of terrorism, the study suggests collecting classified data by the types of the channels of communication.

On the policy level, to increase the feeling of safety among the residents, the study suggests strengthening the institutional capacity of the national security and counterterrorism agencies in Armenia through a more active participation in regional and international military exercises and cooperation with security institutions. It also emphasizes the importance of combining those efforts with proactive dissemination of information on these strategic initiatives.

The results of the conceptual analysis of the perception of terrorism among the residents of Armenia as a country with one of the highest ratios of Syrian refugees provide the policymakers with a scientific data to challenge the relationship between the fear of terrorism and immigration and the actual portrayal of immigration as a threat to national security. The study concluded with identifying methodological improvements in possible replications of the study as well as suggestions on directions of future research on the fear of terrorism.
Appendix 1 – Exemption Granted by John Jay Institutional Review Board

Exemption Granted

04/12/2017

Gurgen Balasanyan,
John Jay College of Criminal Justice

RE: IRB File #2017-0391
Fear of Terrorism in Armenia: Anxiety, Moral Panic and the Role of the Media

Dear Gurgen Balasanyan,

Your Exemption Request was reviewed on 04/12/2017, and it was determined that your research protocol meets the criteria for exemption, in accordance with CUNY HRPP Procedures: Human Subject Research Exempt from IRB Review (2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation. You may now begin your research.

Please note the following information about your approved research protocol:

Expiration Date: 04/11/2020

Documents / Materials:

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Although this research is exempt, you have responsibilities for the ethical conduct of the research and must comply with the following:
**Amendments**: You are responsible for reporting any amendments or changes to your research protocol that may affect the determination of exemption and/or the specific category to the HRPP. The amendment(s) or change(s) may result in your research no longer being eligible for the exemption that has been granted.

**Continuing Review**: You are responsible for completing and submitting a continuing review form every three years. The information in this form will keep us up to date on the progress of the study and help to ensure that the study continues to meet the requirements for exemption.

**Final Report**: You are responsible for submitting a final report to the HRPP at the end of the study.

Please remember to:
- Use the HRPP file number 2017-0391 on all documents or correspondence with the HRPP concerning your research protocol.
- Review and comply with CUNY Human Research Protection Program [policies and procedures](http://www.cuny.edu/research/compliance.html).

If you have any questions, please contact:
Lynda Mules
212-237-8914
lmules@jjay.cuny.edu
Appendix 2 – Survey Questionnaire

Demographic Data
1. What is your age /please select from the dropdown list/?
2. What is your gender?
   - Male
   - Female
   - Other
   - Not Applicable
3. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
   - Elementary School
   - High school
   - College
   - Postgraduate degree
   - Other
   - Not Applicable
4. Which one of the following statements about occupational status applies to you?
   - Not working at the moment
   - Part-time/hourly work
   - Full-time work
   - Student
   - Other
   - Not Applicable
5. What is your marital status?
   - Single
   - Married
   - Divorced
   - Other
   - Not Applicable
6. Do you have children?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Not Applicable
7. Do you consider yourself a religious person?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Not Applicable
8. What languages do you speak? (Select as many as it applies)
   - Armenian
   - Russian
   - English
   - French
   - German
   - Other (please specify)

On a scale from 1 to 5 with “1” indicating “not worried at all”; “2” indicating “not too worried”; “3” indicating “somewhat worried”; “4” indicating “worried”; “5” indicating “very worried”, or indicate if Not Applicable (NA), please rate how worried you are of the following:
9. How worried are you that you will become a victim of a terrorist attack?
   - 1
   - 2
   - 3
   - 4
   - 5
   - NA
10. How worried are you that someone in your family will become a victim of a terrorist attack?
11. How worried are you of a future terrorist attack abroad?

☐ 1  ☐ 2  ☐ 3  ☐ 4  ☐ 5  ☐ NA

12. How worried are you of a future terrorist attack in Armenia?

☐ 1  ☐ 2  ☐ 3  ☐ 4  ☐ 5  ☐ NA

13. How worried are you of Armenia’s capacity to prevent a terrorist attack in the country?

☐ 1  ☐ 2  ☐ 3  ☐ 4  ☐ 5  ☐ NA

14. What are your main sources of information on terrorism? (Please select the most relevant 2 options.)

I. ☐ Media

II. ☐ Counterterrorism policies

III. ☐ Political speeches

IV. ☐ Someone I know has fallen victim of a terror attack

V. ☐ Other (please specify) _______________________

VI. ☐ Not Applicable

15. In the past 2 weeks, how many hours did you spend watching/reading news from Armenian sources (TV, print, online altogether)?

_________________

16. In the past 2 weeks, how many hours did you spend watching/reading news from Russian sources (TV, print, online altogether)?

_________________

17. In the past two weeks, how many hours did you spend watching/reading news from other international sources (TV, print, online altogether)?

_________________

18. Please name the top 3 media sources you use to follow the news.

I. ______________________

II. ______________________

III. ______________________
On a scale of 1-5 with “1” indicating “strongly disagree”; “2” indicating “somewhat disagree”; “3” indicating “neither disagree nor agree”; “4” indicating “agree”; “5” indicating “strongly agree”, or indicate if Not Applicable (NA), please rate your agreement with the following statements:

19. I feel vulnerable every time I hear about a terrorist attack
   □ 1 □ 2 □ 3 □ 4 □ 5 □ NA

20. I feel tense if I see an unattended bag in a public place
   □ 1 □ 2 □ 3 □ 4 □ 5 □ NA

21. I feel insecure if I see a dark-skinned foreigner with a beard or a woman wearing a veil.
   □ 1 □ 2 □ 3 □ 4 □ 5 □ NA

22. I avoid travelling by airplane because of a possible terrorist hijacking
   □ 1 □ 2 □ 3 □ 4 □ 5 □ NA

23. I avoid visiting cities that have recently been attacked by terrorists
   □ 1 □ 2 □ 3 □ 4 □ 5 □ NA

24. I think refugees are more likely to be terrorists
   □ 1 □ 2 □ 3 □ 4 □ 5 □ NA

25. Terrorism is a threat to human existence.
   □ 1 □ 2 □ 3 □ 4 □ 5 □ NA

26. Please tell us in a few words about your understanding of terrorism and what terrorism means to you.

Please feel free to share with us why you think the residents of Armenia may or may not be afraid of terrorism, or any other relevant information you feel is important and was not covered in this survey.

THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO FILL IN THE SURVEY!
Appendix 3 - Online Survey Consent Form

Title of the Research Study: Fear of Terrorism in Armenia: Anxiety, Moral Panic and the Role of the Media

Principal Investigator: Gurgen Balasanyan

Research Site: John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York

Purpose: The purpose of this research study is to understand the fear of terrorism in Armenia, the factors that influence the fear; as well as the impact of the fear of terrorism on the level of anxiety.

Procedures: If you volunteer to take part in this study, we will ask you to familiarize yourself with this consent form, and if you agree with the conditions listed in the form, we will ask you to click “I Agree”.

You will be asked to complete an online survey that consists of 26 questions. This survey contains questions on the fear of terrorism, media, and its impact on the personal level. You can skip any question you do not feel comfortable to answer or for any other reason.

If you agree to participate in this study, we will ask you to share the link to the survey to help recruit others for the study. This could include friends or other acquaintances who are 18 years old and older and reside in Armenia. This is completely voluntary.

Time Commitment: It will take you approximately 10 minutes to complete the survey.

The survey primarily consists of multiple-choice questions or requests short responses to facilitate easy navigation.

Potential Benefits: You may not directly benefit from this research; however, we hope that your participation in the study may contribute to the development of the academic thought in the field and the application of the research findings in the development and review of counterterrorism policies.

Confidentiality: We will make our best to maintain the confidentiality of any information that is collected during this study. The collected data will be accessible to the PI Gurgen Balasanyan and will not be shared with any other researchers. The researcher will protect your confidentiality by securely storing the data is stored in a password...
protected electronic format. To help protect your confidentiality, the survey does not contain information that will personally identify you.

**Participant’s Rights:** Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to leave the study without consequences or to refuse to answer questions without consequences.

**Questions, Comments or Concerns:** If you have questions about this project or if you have a research-related problem, you may contact the researcher, Gurgen Balasanyan at gurgen.balasanyan@jjay.cuny.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or if you would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, you can contact CUNY Research Compliance Administrator at 646-664-8918.

By clicking “I agree” below you are indicating that you are at least 18 years old, reside in Armenia, and have read and understood this consent form and agree to participate in this research study. Please print a copy of this page for your records.

I Agree  I Do Not Agree
### Appendix 4 – Coding Scheme Applied for Variables Measured at Nominal and Ordinal Levels

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<th>Variable</th>
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<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of Education</td>
<td>(1) Elementary School, (2) High School, (1) College, (2) Postgraduate Degree, (5) Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation Status</td>
<td>(1) Not Working, (2) Part Time/Hourly Work, (3) Working Full Time, (4) Student, (5) Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>(1) Single, (2) Married, (3) Divorced, (4) Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has Children</td>
<td>(0) No, (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religiousness</td>
<td>(0) No, (1) Yes</td>
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References


FEAR OF TERRORISM IN ARMENIA


FEAR OF TERRORISM IN ARMENIA


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United States Code, Title 22, Section 2656f (d).


Young, J. (1971). The role of the police as amplifiers of deviancy, negotiators of reality and translators of fantasy. *Images of deviance, 37*.
