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The Future of Terrorism

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Abstract The dramatic rise of terrorism has accelerated after the 9/11 attacks, and it has comprehensively affected the world within the public eyes and academic world. Although every human being uses the term terrorism and knows what a terrorist's methods are, most of them cannot explain properly the meaning of terrorism or the theory of terrorism. Evaluating the modern history of terrorism is very difficult to categorise too. Furthermore, there are a lot of definitions and descriptions of terrorism in the academic world. However, there is no prominent consensus about its definition and description in the international community. However, David Rapoport's academic article "The Four Waves of Terrorism" has been accepted as the most respectful analysed theory which is about history of modern international terrorism in the security and terrorism studies literature. According to his theory, terrorism waves emerge, peak, and recede in a wave-like pattern. The first wave began with anarchist terrorism, and they have been currently going on with the fourth wave of terrorism, which is a religion wave. Numerous studies were conducted after his four waves of modern terrorism theory. Most of them have searched for the fifth waves that may be seen in the future. But they have not been as influential as David Rapoport's four waves of terrorism theory. From this perspective, this study aims to add a new accessible approach for the fifth wave of terrorism. Thus, it simply seeks to fulfil this need.

Keywords Terrorism · Theory · Theory of terrorism · Wave of terrorism theory · The fifth wave of terrorism

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The Future of Terrorism

The dramatic rise of terrorism has accelerated after the 9/11 attacks. It has comprehensively affected the world within the public eyes and academic world. Currently, terrorism poses a big threat to the world system, the Weberian nation states and humankind. Moreover, it has mostly influenced our perception of ordinary life.

Although every human being uses the term terrorism and knows what a terrorist's methods are, most of them cannot explain properly the meaning of terrorism or the theory of terrorism. Evaluating the modern history of terrorism is very difficult to categorise too. Furthermore, there are a lot of definitions and descriptions of terrorism in the academic world. However, there is no prominent consensus about its definition and description in the international community. Because terrorism is a political concept, there are serious ontological and epistemological problems regarding its definition, description and structure. Nation states, their governments, academics, and citizens evaluate terror actors according to their interests, identity, and perceptions. It simply means that one man's terrorist is another man's hero in the international community (Gupta, 2006: 6-13).

Although there have been a few articles that have been accepted solidly by the international community in the security and terrorism studies literature, David Rapoport's (Professor Emeritus of Political Science at University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)) academic article "The Four Waves of Terrorism," which was published in "The Encyclopaedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict Journal" in 2004, has been accepted as the most respectful analysed theory which is about history of modern international terrorism (Rosenfeld, 2010: 2.) (Walls, 2017: 2)·(Kaplan, 2008: 12–24). Numerous studies were conducted and numerous articles were written after his four waves of modern terrorism theory, which include anarchist, nationalist, leftist and the current religious waves of terrorism. Most of them have searched for the fifth waves that may be seen in the future. But they haven't been accepted influentially same as David Rapoport's theory. From this perspective, this article aims to add a new accessible approach for the fifth wave of terrorism.

Conceptual and Historical Framework of Terrorism

The world system includes sovereign nation states since the Peace of Westphalia was signed in October 1648. Even though modern nation states have different kinds of military power, economic power and soft power, they are equal members of the world system. Weberian nation states do not have any right in other nation states territory but in their own territory they have a right to coerce, use of force and give punishment to their citizens by jurisdiction. This means that they have a monopoly of using force and violence in their sovereign territory (Elfstrom, 2015: 41–85).

Max Weber who was a theoriser of Weberian nation state recognised the state as a "human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory." According to Max Weber, the modern state's most important specialty is (McConaght, 2017: 6). All terrorist movements have been obsessed with the state. It challenges, destabilises and threatens the legitimate state monopoly of using power and sole force in its own sovereign territory. Terrorism deliberately contests the legitimacy of the states. Terrorism is a threat mostly for this reason. As a result, it is a big threat for the modern world system (English, 2021: 48-52).

First, the definition of the terrorism question must be answered. Terrorism and terror terms are derived from the Latin verb “terrere” (Forst, 2009: 300). It means that cause to tremble, to frighten from in Latin (Wilkinson, 2003: 27). Terrorism is described in Britannica encyclopaedia that “the calculated use of violence to create a general climate of fear in a population and thereby to bring about a particular political objective.” (Jenkins, 2022: (accessed 19 January 2022)). The Oxford Dictionary defines terrorism with these sentences. “The calculated use of violence or the threat of violence to inculcate fear.” Terrorism is intended to coerce or intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological (The Oxford Essential Dictionary of the U.S. Military, 2001, (accessed 19 January 2022).).

There has not been any consensus on the definition of terrorism among the United Nations member states. But the condemnation of the terror act in 1994 has been accepted by the United Nations. It has been the most important definition of terrorism in international relations. According to the 1994 General Assembly Resolution, terrorism was defined as “Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.” (Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, United Nations, 1994 (accessed 23 January 2022).)

Some terrorism criteria agreed in the international community. From these definitions, it is very clear to see seven terms that have relations with terrorism. Using politically motivated unlawful violence or threat,

1. The intention to use fear,
2. Propaganda by deeds,
3. Conducted by non-state actors (group or person),
4. Target population,
5. Civilian or non-combatant victims
6. Political motives and political aims

First, the main subject of terrorism is about politically aimed violence and its threats. If there is no politically aimed violence or threat, it will not be considered terrorism (Whittaker, 2004: 2). It may be named as a criminal, mafia or crime syndicate without politically aimed violence or threat. For instance, the Gandhian movement cannot be named as a terrorist group. The Gandhian Movement was a political dissident of the colonial British Empire. Their nonviolent deeds against the British Raj were too affective to decrease its political and soft power on the Indian public. But it is not qualified as terrorism. The reason is that the Gandhian Movement was a nonviolent politically motivated group. There have been individuals or groups with the intention of overthrowing their rulers or governments, such as the Gandhian Movement, in world history. This means that if it is a peaceful political movement, it cannot be named as a terrorist movement. Furthermore, not just the violence-orientated deeds are considered terrorism, the threat of violent deeds is considered as terrorism as well. It indicates that if the police force is contacted for threatening of bombing a street without any actions will also be an act of terrorism by using threatening (Gupta, 2021: 9).

Terrorism is not a new instrument for humankind in politics. From the ancient times to the modern times, it was used by historical figures and groups. Although every state in the ancient world faced revolts, uprisings, and political assassinations with the tools of violence, it was not considered terrorism. The reason is that the basic political, social, and economic structures did not change when a king was killed by a rival or overthrown by a revolt. Terrorism is different from this concept. The main intention is to create fundamental

changes in the society and governance by using violence and force. The focus is to alter the ordinary system of the state. This is one of the most important characteristics of modern terrorism (Taylor, 2001: 12).

In modern times terrorism, there is a method which has been used by the non-state actors and groups. These modern terrorist movements target the nation states that are very different from each other in terms of identity perspectives.

Terrorists' violent deeds serve as a message to the target population. Continuing these communication deeds is critical for terrorism. Terrorists can send messages to the target population and their own supporters by using violent deeds. (Forst, 2009: 4) While these messages create psychological coercion against the system, government and the public, they particularly target the population's mind and heart. Because terrorists need to win the hearts and minds to advance their agenda.

There is no consensus about the victims of terrorism. Two approaches have been accepted by academics. The first approach is that the military personnel which are not on duty and civilians (non-combatants) can be accepted as the victims of terrorism. Another approach defends that only civilians can be accepted as victims of terrorist acts (Richards, 2015: 136).

Most scholars trace the origins of the modern terrorism of the Jewish Sicarii Zealots, who were noted for their strict observance of Jewish laws in the Roman Province of Judea in the first century A.D. They assassinated Roman soldiers and Jewish collaborators with a primitive dagger, which was named "sica" in crowded surroundings (Brosteaux, 2019: 4-5). They tried to liberate their country from Roman rule by using terrorism. It was the earliest example of a terrorism campaign directed towards political ends (Lutz and Lutz, 2008: 79-80). The Nizari Isma'ili Assassins were another pre-modern terrorist group established at the end of the tenth century. Hassan Sabbah was the founder of the Nizari Assassin's institution and their doctrine (Law, 2015: 34-38). They were a weak group who could not confront the might of the Turk Seljuk Empire directly. However, they challenged the powerful Seljuk Empire by assassinating important bureaucrats. One of them was Nizam al-Mulk, who was a legendary and the most successful vizier of his time (Webel, 2004: 25-27). Consequently, the use of violence for political change has been a metaphor for terrorism since ancient times.

Edmund Burke is an important person for terrorism literature. Edmund Burke, who was the founder father of conservatism, used the term terrorism first. He described Maximilien Robespierre and the Jacobin party's governance after the French revolution as a reign of terror. Because the Jacobin party of Robespierre executes thousands of anti-revolutionary and dissident revolutionary French citizens by the guillotine. The cruelty of the Jacobins was so impactful that they surpassed the dissident parties and groups by using violence (Croce, 2015: 133). Although this period was named as the reign of terror, it is not similar to the current use of terror. It can be named as a state terrorism, which is different from terrorism.

The other important person for terrorism literature is Karl Heinzen. The German revolutionary Karl Heinzen was the first to articulate the use of violence for politics in his book "Mord and Freiheit." Even more freedom fighter (Freiheitskämpfer) term was first written in this book (Parker and Sitter, 2016: 203). He argued that the revolutionaries must use violence and threat for their political motives and the aim of violence was to terrorise the enemy (Carlos, 2019: 31).

Last of all, before explaining the waves of terrorism theory, Felice Orsini, who was an Italian nationalist revolutionary and a follower of the Italian revolutionary leader Giuseppe Mazzini, who was one of the main figures of the Italian Liberation Movement, must be referred. He tried to assassinate the Emperor of France Napoleon III owing to not supporting the Italian Liberation Movement adequately, at Paris in 1857 by using

his own bomb, which he invented. After this incident, the Orsini Bomb was used worldwide in terror acts by many anarchist terrorists and his assassination attempt of Napoleon III gave courage for new assassinations and new terror acts (Laqueur, 1999: 37).

Waves of Terrorism Theory

David Rapoport is a substantial academic in security and terrorism studies. He explained and theorised modern history of terrorism in four-wave approaches like Samuel Huntington who conceptualised democratisation process at the world by using a wave metaphor (Parker and Sitter, 2016: 197-199). According to his theory, terrorism waves emerge, peak, and recede in a wavelike pattern (Rosenfeld, 3). Rapoport argues that all waves need some type of grand event for being the global movement. Any waves of terrorism last in forty years (Radil and Pinos, 2022: 311–330).

The first wave began with anarchist terrorism, and they have been currently going on with the fourth wave of terrorism, which is a religion wave. This theory has shown that terrorism is a dynamic phenomenon that has historically evolved. D. C. Rapoport, "Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," Terrorism and Political Violence, 2004, pp.46–73. Although there are some critics that different types of terrorist groups could not categorise with one common wave among academics like IRA, English, p.44. ETA (Parker and Sitter, 2016: 197-198). and the Ku Klux Klan, (Chiangi, 2021: 11–29) waves of terrorism theory has been accepted essential by the international community.

First Wave of Terrorism

According to Rapoport's Theory of Modern Terrorism, it was started by the Russian anarchic movement that opposed any form of government in Tsarist Russia. The first wave of terrorism strengthened after Tsar Alexander II's iron fist governance and slow democratisation processes

Mihail Bakunin and Sergei Nechaev were the most important figures in Russian Anarchism. Bakunin was a theorist and the most respectful person in the anti-Tsarist Anarchist Movement. Bakunin has been called "the prophet of terrorist immoralism" and "guerrilla insurrectionism." He believed that the Tsarist regime could be overthrown by individuals' or small groups' terror acts (Kushner, 2003: 8). He wrote a manifesto of modern terrorism, "Revolution, Terrorism, Banditry", in 1869 (Clymer, 2003: 160). He made the proposal for propaganda by deed. He argued that revolutionaries should kill people who represent an existing Tsarist social order. He implied that assassinations of prominent government figures would cause a fear and horror environment in which revolution could be successful (Kushner, 28). Mikhail Bakunin called for bombing and assassination attempts in his books. He frankly encouraged terrorism actions (Jensen, 2015: 111).

Another important figure of anarchists was Sergey Gennadiyevich Nechayev, who wrote a terrorist manifesto. Its name was "The Catechism of a Revolutionist." This manifest is essential for the terrorism theory. It was a programme for destruction of the state. He wrote details of the prototype anarchist terrorist and the anarchist's revolt. He recommended making propaganda by the deeds. He proclaimed the target of the assassination, and most of them were part of Tsar's government and supporters (Law, 2015: 98).

After publishing "The Catechism of a Revolutionist" manifest, *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will), which was the first modern terrorist group, was established. They planned to assassinate Russian government representatives. They predicted that ordinary citizens of Russia who did not like inequality in society could revolt against the proper order. They believed that terror strategy leads to quick and solid success. Laqueur, pp.17-18. *Narodnaya Volya's* terrorists assassinated Tsar Alexander II and several government officers and

soldiers. The assassination of Tsar II in 1881 was the most successful action of anarchic terrorism (Whittaker, 2002: 15). However, it was very awful for *Narodnaya Volya* that a great number of its supporters were killed or sentenced to death (Neumann and Smith, 2007: 32).

As a result, the murder of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 was an example of their "propaganda by deed." After the assassination of Tsar Alexander II, numerous important people were assassinated in the world from 1881 to 1914 by anarchist terrorists. They were responsible for France President Marie François Sadi Carnot (1894) and USA President William McKinley (1901) (Meisels, 2008: 41). Empress Elizabeth of Austria-Hungary, King Elberto of Italy (1900) and King Carlos I of Portugal's assassinations (1908) (Pichtel, 2016: 4). These successes were the first step of modern terrorism. This time was named the "Golden Age of Terrorism." (Walls, 2017: 22).

Alfred Nobel invented dynamite, which was a breakthrough in technology. But dynamite was a powerful, portable, and concealable weapon, and it could be made easily by a private person. Anarchists used dynamite more easily than other explosives in terrorist attacks. The other cause of the first wave was the new development of communication technologies that allowed knowledge of ideas and events to be rapidly distributed across the world (Parker and Sitter, 2016: 202). Telegraphs were a major factor in the rise of anarchist terrorism (Chaliand and Blin, 180). Another factor of the first wave was the development in railways and transportation technology (Parker and Sitter, 2016: 202).

After the first wave, modern terrorism methods began to occur. Consequently, it showed a way that the weak could challenge the strong by using terrorism. The Assassination of Austria-Hungary Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo in 1914, which caused World War I, was the end of the first wave of terrorism. After the assassination of Franz Ferdinand and his wife by Gavrilo Princip, a nationalist Serb terrorist, the first wave of terrorism ended (Chaliand and Blin, 2016: 177).

Second Wave of Terrorism

After the Versailles Peace Treaty, which ended World War I, the second wave of terrorism started. The most comprehensive specialty of this wave was its anti-colonial ideology. Consequently, terrorism was used as a tool for national self-determination, ending colonialism in the Third World and started being international in scope by the late 1950s.

Terrorist tactics changed during the second wave. Although the main victims of the first wave were prominent government officials, the second wave assassinated police officers and their families, which were an important factor for the colonial empires. Second wave terrorists used guerrilla tactics against the colonial military forces. Hit and run style attacks were mostly chosen by them. Especially the "freedom fighter" term was first used in this wave. Freedom fighter- terrorist analogy depute occurred (Jach-chrzaszcz, 2018: 385–91).

As a leader of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, Michael Collins led an urban guerrilla campaign that played an important role in securing the independence of Ireland in 1921. It affected other terrorist groups as a successful example (Parker and Sitter, 2016: 205). The diaspora and colony folk began contributing money to anti-colonial terrorist organisations in second wave process. The IRA, EOKA, Irgun and ETA terrorist groups were the most important members of the second wave of terrorism. By the mid-1960s, the second wave had all but faded away (Kaplan, 2016: 24). According to Rapoport, the second wave of terrorism was the most successful wave (Rapoport, 2004: 46–73).

Third Wave of Terrorism

The new left wave, which was the third wave of terrorism, emerged in the mid-1960s in response to the Vietnam War. According to Rapoport, the effectiveness of the Viet Cong's army against the United States military power was the main motive of the third wave (Ibid, 56). Third wave terrorist groups acted on Marxist, Leninist and Maoist ideologies. They had more revolutionary and anarchistic views. The left wave terrorist's attack types were different from the first and second. They prefer to act as hostage-taking agents in the form of airline hijackings and kidnappings. Some types of bombing in crowded areas were especially prominent in the left wave era's attacks (Ibid, 20).

Terrorist groups found a suitable environment not just in third world countries but also in the Western world in this period. Third wave terrorist groups emerged in different parts of the world, such as Turkey (PKK) to Italy (Red Army Faction), Germany (Baader-Meinhof Gang) to Palestine (The Palestine Liberation Organisation), Colombia (FARC) to France (Corsican National Liberation Front). Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) was considered by Rapoport as the most important terrorist organisation (Radil and Castan Pinos, 2022: 311–330).

Terrorist and terrorism perceptions have changed from 1900s to Third Wave of Terrorism's time in the international community. For example, Vera Zasulich, who was an important Narodnaya Volya member, tried assassinating Dmitri Feodorovich Trepov, who was the Governor-General of St. Petersburg on 15 September 1906. After the assassination attempt, she did not try to escape. She was calm and polite. When she was asked why she tried to kill Governor Trepov. Her reply was very interesting for the modern world terrorist perception. She said, "I am a terrorist not a killer." She did not regret trying assassinating him (Graaf and Schmid, 2016: 60-62). Because terrorism meant that it was an idealist idea at the first wave of terrorism. They could achieve their goal by using it in the political system for the political good. Narodnaya Volya and the others also enjoyed considerable sympathies among the middle class in general (Laqueur, 1999: 17-18). After 1970s hijacking plane and bombing in crowded area terror action, terrorism and terrorist began to earn bad reputation which ordinary citizens currently have hated.

A new phase of terrorism began to emerge after the USSR's Afghanistan occupation. The Cold War was ended by the collapse of the USSR. As a result, the new left wave started to diminish during the 1980s with the end of the Cold War.

Fourth Wave of Terrorism

We have been in the fourth wave of terrorism, which is an era of religiously motivated terrorism. Although it is a religious agenda, it is the most important factor distinguishing itself from the other waves. They are motivated by political and territorial goals and not only by religious goals.

Although Western states identify the fourth wave with Islamic extremism or jihadist terrorism, according to Rapoport, it is a global phenomenon. It includes extremist Christian, Jewish, Sikh, and Buddhist terrorist groups (Radil and Castan Pinos, p.5) Three major events were the starter of the fourth wave. One of them was establishing a religious state in Iran after abdicating the Shah. Others were the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca by radical Islamists.

The fourth wave terrorist group's ideology is different from other waves. They pursue an ideological victory over non-believers. In this period of time, the number of terrorist groups has declined while their power has increased. Suicide bombings and bombings are the most important attack types of fourth wave

terror groups. Owing to the attacks in the urban areas, the casualties of terror victims have escalated. The hierarchical structure of the fourth wave of terror groups has become less centralised. Al-Qaeda, the Taliban, DAESH and Boko Haram are the most recognised terrorist groups of the fourth wave. Rapoport predicted in their article that the Fourth Wave would disappear by 2025 (Chiangi, 2021: 11–29). It seems to be unrealistic for now.

Table 1

Rapoport's Four Waves of Terrorism

Target identity Primary strategy	Focus	Developed basic terrorism strategies and rationales	Precipitant	Special Characteristics
Anarchists 1870–1910 s	Elite assassinations and bank robberies	Primarily European states	Failure/slowness of political reform	Developed basic terrorism strategies and rationales
Nationalist 1920s–1960s	Guerrilla attacks on the police and military	European empires	Post-1919 delegitimization of the empire	Increased international support (UN and diasporas)
New Left/Marxist 1960s–1990s	Hijackings, kidnappings, and assassinations	Governments in general; increasing focus on the US	Viet Cong successes	Increased international training, cooperation, and sponsorship
Religious 1970s–2020s	Suicide bombings	U.S., Israel, and secular regimes with Muslim populations	Iranian Revolution, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan	Casualty escalation and decrease in the number of terrorist groups

Source Rosenfeld, Jean E., 2010, p.16

The Fifth Wave of Terrorism

There have been a lot of articles and books about what the fifth wave of terrorism may be in the future. It is a very complex question. Jeffrey Kaplan's "New Tribalism" (Kaplan, 2020). Anthony Celso's "Jihadist Terror Groups," (Celso, 2015: 249-268) Jeffrey D. Simon's "Technological Wave of Terrorism" (Simon, 2010, 44-65) and Vincent A. Auger's "Right-Wing Terror" (Auger, 2020, 86–97) approaches are the most respectful study about the future of the fifth wave of terrorism in security studies literature. Jeffrey Kaplan argued that the fifth wave emerged in Africa with the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda as its exemplar. He suggested that the fifth wave would be composed of ethnic utopians who tried to remake their societies like the Khmer Rouge, who tried to establish a rural classless society in Cambodia. Moreover, it may arrive earlier than expected (Kaplan, 2020: 12-24). Anthony Celso argued that the fifth wave of terrorism is indeed happening now as jihadist terror. He argued that terrorist groups such as Boko Haram and ISIS will be examples of the fifth wave (Celso, 2015: 249-268). Jeffrey Simon emphasised that fifth wave will not resemble its four predecessors. There will not be any hegemony of ideology among terrorists. Technology and lone operators will be the defining characteristics of the fifth wave. The internet gives easy access to information about targets and types of weapons. Vincent A. Auger's far-right group-identity politics approach has had a powerful stance since Norway and New Zealand terrorist attacks occurred by far-right lone wolf terrorists (Auger, 2020: 86-97). However, the religion wave has continued.

Although there has not been a solid theory for the fifth wave of terrorism, the consensus trends of the fifth wave were published in academic articles. Most of the similarities in these studies are about the methods of terrorism and the environment of terrorism.

There is a correlation between globalisation and the increase in terrorist attacks. Most scholars are agreed that globalisation will affect the fifth wave of terrorism like the fourth wave. Globalisation will be a significant factor for the fifth wave of terrorism (Martinez, 2016: 2). Moreover, the internet-based technology developments will affect the new wave of terrorism. New artificial intelligence-based technologies such as facial recognition, social media, and computers have made it harder for terrorists to operate in urban areas, whereas some opportunities have occurred for terrorist groups. Social media has been used as a terrorist weapon aimed at recruiting persuasions. Terrorists maintain communication with followers in distant areas using social media. Moreover, finding new militants on the Internet will be easier than in the past for terror organisations in future. Cyber terrorism is efficiently used by terrorist groups. As a result, cyber security will be more important for nation states in the future. Cyber-terrorism is dangerous for national security.

The nation states are more focused on the terrorist groups compared with the past. For this reason, the fourth wave's terror groups had network structures and a smooth hierarchy. However, the fifth wave will be different from the religious wave because of lone operator dominance.[1] Lone operators can learn about weapons, targets, and techniques by using the Internet. Lone operators have the advantage of flexible working without hierarchical leadership. They can attack at their will without any order or evidence. It is very difficult to catch them before attacking. As a result, lone operator terrorism may be the most important feature of fifth wave terrorism. It is necessary to add that suicidal attacks, vehicular bombs, and improvised explosives will continue to be a popular tactic among terrorist groups (Walls, 2017: 59-60, 81-83).

Modern terrorism has governed new characteristics that make it more violent and tacticaler than before. Many terrorist organisations have become deadlier than their predecessors. Because of the recent technological developments, terrorists could attack more effectively than in the past. Having access to more sophisticated weaponry and the advances in communication technology are the most significant realities of modern terrorism. Hence, in the future, obtaining nuclear and biological weapons by terrorist groups may be increased. It will be a big concern for the international community (Martinez, 2016: 1).

Poverty in third world countries makes societies much more vulnerable to conflict. The poor war-torn environment pushes failed state citizens to immigrate to the developed nation states. This process may be the key case of the fifth terror wave. Although failed states are hotbeds of terrorist groups in some studies, all of the failed states are not directly associated with being breeding grounds and bases for terrorist groups except Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and Somalia (Underhill, 2015: 31-33). However, it must be emphasised that the increasing numbers of failed states give suitable spaces for them. It will continue in the future (Parker and Sitter, 2016: 212).

Conclusion

Currently, the information has been more important than before and the importance of information will increase in the future. Most of the information is easily accessible by using the Internet in the globalised world.

While nearly 5.1 billion people (63% of the world's population) are using the Internet, according to the United Nations, social media use has increased dramatically over the past decade and is now a major source of information. The number of social network worldwide users is expected to reach 3.02 billion monthly active social media users by 2022 .

[1] Lone operator terrorists were responsible for 22% of terrorist-related deaths in the OECD in 2015.

We are today amid information, data, and communication revolution that is influencing all aspects of life, including the dynamics of global terrorism. Terrorist group leaders have chosen to send their message using Twitter, which is a social media channel. Terrorist groups have sent any attacking videos to the target community by using Facebook, which is another social media channel. They have found their militias on Instagram, which is another social media channel. They have learned how to make a bomb from YouTube, which is another social media channel. Development of social media facilitated terrorist group activities that were too hard to accomplish before. The development and accessibility of social media platforms such as Twitter (X), Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, LinkedIn, and Reddit has helped terrorists expand their reach to a wide range of audiences around the world. According to one study, about 90% of terrorist activities online are conducted via social media platforms, while 76% of U.K. terrorists engage in the social media. As a result, after the internet and social media era have dominated the information world, it has become a crucial tool for terrorist groups.

Everything can change faster than the past and can lose its attractiveness rapidly in globalised world and the international community. Some hot topics just live one hour or one day nowadays. This means that communication and relationships between actors accelerated, widened and deepened, owing to the development of the internet and social media. As a result, I argue that a single type of terrorist ideology or any terror groups will not dominate the world because of the internet and social media development. Because they will not find enough space and enough time in social media and the international community's agenda like previous waves' forty years. If they can find space and time, it will not be enough for domination or hegemony in the fifth wave. Consequently, if the fifth wave arrives, it will not be named as a wave like the previous ones.

However, terrorism is a global threat that has no borders, identity, nationality, or religion. First, the failure of defining and describing terrorism from a global perspective and not providing unity against terrorism in the international arena has been a cause of the acceleration of terrorism waves. If the international community intends to solve the terrorism problems, there must be a common understanding of what is meant by terrorism. There has not been any authority that commands and controls nation states against terror and terrorism. The lack of interconnectedness in the world has given hope for terrorist organisations. This problem has encouraged future terrorists and terrorism. But it can be solved by an authority that has the power over the nation states. This authority's name should be United Nations.

The United Nations made an important resolution of prisoners of war, human rights, etc. But it could not do in terrorism subject. This means that focusing on a common understanding of terrorism to foster international cooperation has been the main problem. It should be solved by cooperation for global security. After solving the cooperation problems among the nation states, there may not be a fifth wave of terrorism in the future.

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