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Transformation of the nature of terrorism in the conditions of glocal social space: political, legal, economic and communication aspects

Abstract. The paper presents findings of a complex research on the problem of countering terrorism in the conditions of global socioeconomic and legal space. In particular, an analysis is conducted to determine the nature and sources of the origin of terrorism with further substantiation of its two types - ambient terrorism and viral terrorism. To reveal the essence of ambient terrorism, we introduce the notion «incomplete historic gestalt», the underlying meaning of which comprises conditions and factors favourable to the development of terrorist hotbeds. The work establishes cause-effect relations between upsurge of the terrorist threat in certain countries of Africa, Europe and Asia and the state of social and economic development of these countries.
The paper further elucidates modern trends in determining the location of terrorist hotbeds according to its nature. In particular, we considered the factor of the information society in different regions to assess the level of danger of viral terrorism. For this purpose, we employed the data supplied by the ICT Development Index and the Worldwide Press Freedom Index together with the Global Terrorism Index. We have found out that a high level of freedom of speech and pluralism become a tool for forming the rhetorics of radicalism and extremism among the population. Such a trend is representative for the countries that became the recipients of large migration inflows from Asia and Africa lately: the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Belgium.
It has been concluded that ambient terrorism has a more or less sustained pattern and is localized in the territory of states immersed in crisis conditions, while viral terrorism does not have a permanent location, being unpredictable, mobile and rapidly spreading. At the same time, we must admit that conclusive identification of the nature of contemporary terrorism is extremely complex. It transforms dynamically and has a hybrid nature.
Keywords: Ambient Terrorism; Viral Terrorism; Incomplete Historic Gestalt; Terrorist Hotbed; Victimization; Economic and Political-legal Instruments of Countering Terrorism.
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Трансформація природи тероризму в умовах глокального соціального простору: політико-правовий, економічний та комунікаційній аспекти

Анотація. У статті представлено результати комплексного дослідження проблематики протидії тероризму в умовах глокального соціально-економічного й правового простору. Зокрема здійснено аналіз природи й джерел походження тероризму та обґрунтовано на цій основі два його види – середовищний і вірусний. Для розкриття сутності середовищного тероризму введено у науковий обіг поняття «незакритий історичний гештальт», смислове наповнення якого включає умови й фактори, сприятливі для розвитку осередків тероризму. Встановлено причинно-наслідкові зв'язки між зростанням терористичної загрози в окремих країнах Африки, Європи і Азії та станом суспільно-економічного розвитку цих країн. Виявлено сучасні тенденції у дислокації осередків тероризму відповідно до його природи.
Ключові слова: середовищний і вірусний тероризм; незакритий історичний гештальт; економічний та політико-правовий інструментарій протидії тероризму.

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Трансформация природы терроризма в условиях глокального социального пространства: политико-правовой, экономический и коммуникационный аспекты

Аннотация. В статье представлены результаты комплексного исследования проблематики противодействия терроризму в условиях глокального социально-экономического и правового пространства. В частности осуществлен анализ природы и источников происхождения терроризма и на этой основе обоснованно два его вида – средовой и вирусный терроризм. Для раскрытия сущности средового терроризма введено в научный оборот понятие «незакрытый исторический гештальт», смысловое наполнение которого включает условия и факторы, благоприятные для развития очагов терроризма. Кроме того, обосновано, что вирусный терроризм не имеет устойчивой дислокации, его следует характеризовать как непрогнозируемый и стихийно распостраняемый в Интернет-пространстве. Стремительное увеличение и омоложение аудитории социальных сетей и медиа-платформ, в частности, в развитых западноевропейских странах, является на сегодня ключевым фактором в распространении угрозы терроризма. В целом, современный терроризм сложно поддается идентификации: он динамично трансформируется и приобретает гибридный характер, что существенно усложняет борьбу с ним. В ходе исследования установлены причинно-следственные связи между ростом террористической угрозы в отдельных странах Африки, Европы и Азии и состоянием общественно-экономического развития этих стран, выявлены современные тенденции в дислокации очагов терроризма в соответствии с его природой.
Ключевые слова: средовой и вирусный терроризм; незакрытый исторический гештальт; экономический и политико-правовой инструментарий противодействия терроризму.

1. Introduction

The topicality of research on the phenomenon of terrorism in the 21st century is closely linked with the dynamic processes of development of its primary forms of manifestation at various levels of the world politics. Among such processes, there are ongoing transnationalization and

sharp discrepancy in the allocation of terrorist activity between the regions of the world, continuous formation of new contextual conditions for outbursts of terrorism, especially within zones of large-scale regional conflicts, evolution of ideological forms of terrorism, organization models of terrorist actors, as well as means of technical, financial, information and communication provisions for realization of terrorist attacks. This all occurs against the background of global processes that are going on around the world: formation of the glocal information and political environment and emerging new possibilities to manipulate it, including a growing number and role of the so called non-government players in the international arena, which regard violence as an instrument of political discussion via escalation of asymmetric violence in the world and an unbalanced system of international relations. Globalization, with all its undeniable advantages, has caused problems in managing transnational institutions, thus demonstrating poor efficiency of international organizations and associations of states, particularly in solving the issues of climate changes, economic crises, development of the global labour market and the fight against terrorism.

With all the variety of approaches to studying the nature of terrorism, the majority of them demonstrate an inherently simplified treatment of this phenomenon - it is an evil that befell the modern global community due to unceasing fight between two worlds - the exploiters (Christian and Judaic world or the North) and the exploited (Islamic world or the South). From another perspective, the naming of these antagonizing poles can be viewed as «civilization» and «barbarism». In either case, an image of external enemy is being created, representing fundamentally diverging values, fighting against which allows for any means necessary.

There exist solitary attempts at analyzing terrorism within the framework of the concept of «one world» where different social segments, with their «consolidated effort», triggered the emergence of evil. Therefore, they bear their share of responsibility for this occurrence.

One more underinvestigated aspect within academic discourse related to the outlined scope of the study is the theory of viral and ambient approaches to interpretation of terrorism. Similar to the discussion on the nature of cancer (whether the reason for its occurrence is the internal susceptibility of a particular person combined with the impact of the conditions and way of living, or the origins of this disease are related to an external factor - an infection that may affect anyone) the investigation of the nature of terrorism is completely acceptable from the same perspective.

What prospects can the development of such theory provide? Firstly, it will allow us to elucidate the deeper causes of emergence of terrorist hotbeds within the context of social and historic development of the countries worldwide. The statement «poverty is the prime cause of terrorism» is one of the myths that originated as a consequence of the aforementioned simplified approach to the very phenomenon of terrorism as solely a result of confrontation between two worlds - «the rich» and «the poor». Secondly, further development of the theory will considerably expand the capability to anticipate the manifestations of terrorism within diverse national and territorial dimensions. Thirdly, it will aid in devising the most efficient ways to neutralize the terrorism threat for everyone.

Our key hypothesis consists in the fact that the model and the state of economic development of the country, the level of political freedom and observance of law, rights and freedoms of individuals, the migration policy of the state, etc. altogether define the nature of terrorist activity, either viral or ambient, but do not serve as factors that give rise to terrorism or, conversely, render its existence impossible in a particular region. Further to it, we have the intention to prove that localization of the terrorist hotbeds can be both permanent and movable. In the first case, we deal with the ambient terrorism caused by disharmony in the historic development of the society or, in other words, incompleteness of «historic gestalts» analyzed in the course of this paper. The second case deals with viral terrorism - its outbreaks cannot be anticipated, and it spreads through cyberspace.

2. Brief Literature Review

In terms of frequency of addressing the problem of terrorism in its diverse aspects remains one of the top areas of research activity in academic circles of corresponding specialization. Furthermore, rapid spread of terrorism across the globe requires involvement of specialists from various fields of study in anti-terrorism effort - economists, historians, jurists, sociologists, political experts, medical professionals, members of the military and many others.

Contemporary scientists have developed an extensive theoretical and applied research framework. In particular, researchers in the field of legal studies focus on interaction between norms of national and international legislation, consistency of approaches to determining key concepts, e.g. «extremism» and «terrorism», in regulatory legal acts of different states and inter-governmental associations, substantiation of types of terrorism and means of countering it within the framework of criminal law. Research on terrorist activities, such as cyber-terrorism, is gaining increasing relevance.

Economists analyze the financial component of terrorist and anti-terrorist activity: sources of funding for extremist organizations and terrorist acts, government spending on counter-terrorist activity, cause-effect relations between the level of terrorist activity and poverty, etc. Withdrawal of the economy out of the shadow, cease of financial flows derived from criminal activity that terrorists receive from the most crime-prone regions of the world (drug trafficking, human trafficking, arms trading, etc.) - these measures constitute universally accepted economic levers of countering terrorism.

Political experts, historians, sociologists, psychologists investigate the phenomenon of terrorism within diverse scientific projections including historical background, social, individual and personal driving forces, peculiarities of political systems and state structures.

One of the most recent trends in researching terrorism consists in the actualization of the factor of social networks as a channel for broadcasting terrorist threat. Our attention was engaged by three research papers related to the problem of terrorism authored by T. McEnery, M. McGlashan and Robbie Love (2015), S. Patel (2018) and M. Innes et al. (2018). They demonstrate the way the media report aids in forming the discourse in social networks and how, consequently, the reverse effect of information from Internet platforms upon interpretation of the news in the so-called «old» media occurs. The issue of complex ecology of communicative environment in general, as well as separate mass media has been studied in multiple scientific works dating from the 1970s (L. Berkowitz and J. Macaulay) until present - M. Innes et al. (2018), S. Patel (2018), V. Bhandaram and K. Pradhan (2016), as well as A. Gjelsvik (2019).

The novelty of our approach to the problem of terrorism lies in the comprehensive treatment of this phenomenon with account for its economic, legal, geopolitical as well as in-depth socio-cultural determinants. We are convinced that a narrowly focused, topic-specific research on terrorism forms a fragmented perception of the problem. Such an approach is similar to the way of thinking typical for the captain of a ship, who sees the threat only in the visible tip of the iceberg. Therefore it cannot become a sufficiently reliable instrument in the fight against terrorism, a global-scale atrocity.

3. The purpose of the article is to study the nature of terrorism in the glocal social space and substantiate the most efficient economic and legal measures of neutralizing terrorist threats within diverse national and territorial dimensions.

4. Results

4.1. Disharmony in social development as a catalyst for ambient terrorism

Scientific and feature publications maintain a wide-spread belief concerning the direct correlation that exists between surging levels of terrorist activity and poverty, social disadvantage and low cultural level of certain regional, ethnic and religious groups. We do not share the categorical extent of such statement, the veracity of which has not been appropriately substantiated in the academic community. Some of the poorest and economically underdeveloped countries of the world - Gambia, Benin, Mauritania, Eritrea - have a zero index of terrorist activity and occupy the last 134th position in the ranking of countries according to the terrorism threat level (Global Terrorism Index, 2017). Asia, Africa, and America - all of these continents have hotbeds of extremism that give rise to the terrorist threat. In a similar way, European countries with high levels of human welfare at various times used to have operating terrorist organizations such as the Irish Republican Army» in Northern Ireland and the Basque ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna) in Spain.

The cause-effect relation between poverty and terrorism is only the tip of the iceberg in treatment of the given problem. The true causes of terrorism actualization in a specific territory lie with the existing regular patterns of the social development. For instance, manifestations of extremism and surging terrorist threats predominantly occur in those societies where the process

of historical transformations has been initiated but never finalized. In such conditions, the identity crisis becomes inevitable, stemming from the complexities of social and cultural self-determination of the nation. Attempts to overcome such a crisis may lead to negative consequences, which, in their turn, may serve as a prerequisite for extremism, in particular due to resurging interest of individuals to consolidation in primeval, «primordial» communities (both ethnic and confessional), growing xenophobic attitudes, rising influence of a traditionalist ideology which gradually transforms into fundamentalism (the idea of purging from all innovations and returning to historical origins).

In a similar way, when the post-Soviet states initiated their own process of nation-building back in 1991, the national self-affirmation realized itself primarily through the resuscitation of traditional values and symbols as well as mythologization and glorification of the heroic past of the nation. Appealing to traditionalism, in its turn, strengthened the striving of people for cultural isolation, which hindered the processes of modernization and globalization and provided a negative impact upon the economic development. Hence, certain newly-created states got «stuck» in the transitional period and formerly initiated nation-building processes were not completed. Employing a term from psychology, we suggest naming such public conflicts «incomplete historic gestalts». Apart from systemic crises that occurred in the post-socialist countries, in particular Yugoslavia, the causes for such «gestalts» can be found in non-complete urbanization, specific forms of industrialization, changes in the ethnic and demographical structure of the society, especially in the conditions of unregulated migration processes.

The listed factors may serve to spark off the manifestations of extremism and terrorism in virtually any part of the world, but more often than not, it occurs in the zones of uncompleted modernization and cultural marginality. These considerations, namely, substantiate the outbursts of terrorism in the so-called «Islamic world»

Should we analyze the social and economic situation in the countries that comprise nearly ¾ of all Islamic population (Arab countries, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Pakistan), specific patterns of their development will be revealed, showing incompleteness and deformation of a number of social, economic and cultural processes. For instance, urbanization in these countries resulted in the concentration of the former rural population in cities. However, it did not provide the neo-urbanites with the opportunities for cultural adaptation, as the cities gradually come to lose their distinctive attributes of urban culture and, as a matter of fact, become deurbanized. Such environment provides favourable conditions for emergence of marginalized segments of the population, i.e. a large-scale social basis for terrorism. This is further supplemented with non-complete processes of national and state consolidation, which, in the condition of growing tensions between central government and local representatives of the regional authorities and ethnic minorities, calls forth the increasing political role of religion. Islam assumes the administrative functions of the state and becomes a consolidating social institution for the majority of the population. Mosques and madrasahs become the core sites of propaganda activity by leaders of terrorist organizations. Militarized religious and political movements and factions are spawning - the Taliban, Hamas, the Society of the Muslim Brothers, Al-Qaeda, etc. In Islamic world, compared to the Christian-Jewish world, it is more common for religion to become the basis for interstate and international alliances, which by itself creates prerequisites for global confrontation.

A prominent role in the spread of ethnic and religious extremism and development of terrorist organizations in these territories is played by the dominating authoritarian political regimes which use violence as a means of solving political controversies and proclaim it a cultural norm.

Peculiarities of industrialization, characteristic of the aforementioned countries, likewise play a significant role in creating preconditions for extremism and manifestations of terrorism. «Resource-based industrialization» - the oil industry in Arab countries and Indonesia, drug production in Afghanistan and Pakistan - largely causes the cultural marginalization. Employment in such sectors serves as a driving force only for external attributes of the living culture and does not stimulate complex changes in cultural practices, value systems and social relations in general. Within zones of such industrialization, there appear multi-level social and cultural constructs, which become hotbeds of extremist and terrorist movements. Besides the marginalization of the society, the drug business is also aimed at exploiting traditional relations and ethnic solidarity. This is required to maintain conspiracy, which is an indispensable condition for this business. This way illegal economy and terrorism are closely and strongly interrelated.

It must be noted that even the legal oil business, particularly when the national economy is entirely dependent on it, can cause a negative impact upon cultural and political climate of the countries in their transitional phase of development. Excessive profits of oil tycoons, generated without particular effort from their part, cause inadequate perception of the world and outsized ambitions. At times, such ambitions result in the bouts of political messianism, stimulating the emergence of ideas of rebuilding the world with the help of terrorist organizations.

One of the significant causes of terrorist activities in certain regions is the national liberation struggle of ethnic groups. Inciting such a confrontation is a potent instrument of political competition for power in the hands of the leaders of countries with uncompleted modernization. «Divide and rule» is a relatively popular slogan among top-level officials in countries with authoritarian governments where the political protest is manifested in the form of political terrorism due to impossibility of its legal realization. The Chechens in the Russian Federation, the Kurds in Turkey, the Ulster Irish, the Croatians in Yugoslavia and, most recently, the war in the east of Ukraine are the instances of political manipulations targeted at instigating ethnic hostility. As a consequence, nations become weak, crippled and divided.

Terrorism emerges on the boundaries of cultures and epochs in the historical development. The most graphic example of it is the situation in Israel and the Palestinian National Authority where traditional values of the Palestinian culture collide with the modernized society of Israel. Culturally uniform (the Netherlands, Switzerland) countries are generally better protected against terrorism. It should be noted that in this case terrorism is regarded as a historically, economically and politically conditioned phenomenon.

Another factor that produces favourable conditions for terrorism is an illegal labour migration - a global problem that destabilizes the economy, disrupts socio-political and cultural principles of the statehood. Countries of the European Union increasingly suffer from the influx of illegal migrants. According to the data of Eurobarometer survey, conducted by the European Commission in 2018, 38% of the EU citizens regard immigration as a crucial problem. Paradoxically, the highest level of concern regarding this problem was registered in the countries where the migration is at lowest levels - Estonia, the Czech Republic and Hungary. Concerns over the possibility of terrorist threats due to growing migration flows were expressed by 29% of Europeans. Yet, the majority of such concerns came from the representatives of those countries where no terrorist attacks occurred in recent years - Lithuania, Cyprus, Ireland, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Poland and Latvia.

Formation of emigrant communities and isolated development of ethnic minorities lead to rising xenophobia and nationalism among indigenous population of European countries, increasing activity of far-right political parties and organizations that call for defense of national identity which, in its turn, gives rise to new threats and challenges to national security. The conflictogenic environment is being formed providing favourable conditions for self-promotion and institutionalization of extremist and marginal elements among local population with their consequent incorporation into the political system.

According to the data by Pew, last year the number of Muslims in Europe increased to 25.8 million people, which constitutes nearly 5% of the total European population. In reality, this index is considerably higher as it is virtually impossible to determine the real number of illegal migrants arriving to European countries, with France, Germany and the United Kingdom being leading destinations for illegal immigration. In the opinion of Elias Bou Saab, the Lebanese Minister of National Defense, approximately 2% of refugees from Syria to the EU are acting members of the terrorist organization «Islamic State» (ISIS). Thus, it is most likely that these undercover militants promote the creation of illegal terrorist networks, including the so-called «sleeper cells» for the purpose of preparing large-scale terrorist acts on the continent.

All of the listed above economic, social, political and cultural factors create favourable opportunities for nationwide inception and development of extremist views as well as growth of terrorist activity. In this case, we deal with ambient terrorism where a succession of factors becomes a peculiar catalyst for gradual contraction of the disease of extremism and terrorism by the society.

Taking into consideration that such conditions for terrorism generally have a sustainable and hardly alterable character, the chances to come to a closure of the «historic gestalt» in the absence of appropriate systemic measures decrease proportionally to the time span during which the society is «trapped» in the transitional phase.

4.2. Viral terrorism: causes, forms of manifestation and consequences

The attitude towards the contagion theory in the context of studying the nature of terrorism has undergone frequent changes in the recent decades - from enthusiasm to disproof. At the beginning of the 1990s, Robert G. Picard denied the possibility of mass-mediated contagion through news and pointed to the absence of credible and scientifically substantiated evidence for such statements. At the same time, as early as 1982, Alex P. Schmid and Janny de Graaf in their research «Violence as communication: insurgent terrorism and the Western news media» reached a conclusion that mass media may grant a potential terrorist all the data necessary for committing an act of violence, contribute to lowering the psychological «threshold» of non-acceptance of terrorism as a socially dangerous phenomenon and even suggest new ideas of committing violence to terrorists. Likewise, B. Jenkins (1981; 2016) stated in his works that extended mass media coverage of kidnappings and other acts of violence against civilian population increases the likelihood of such incidents to recur in the nearest future.

Conclusions with regard to the contagion with the «virus» of violence rely upon statistical data elicited from the most serious crimes. For instance, L. Berkowitz and J. Macaulay («The Contagion of Criminal Violence», 1971) investigated the criminal statistics after the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963 and after two mass killings in 1966, when Richard Speck murdered eight nurses in Chicago and Charles Whitman who murdered 45 people on the campus of the University of Texas. The researchers established: the obtained statistical data from 40 cities of the USA testify to significantly increased quantity of acts of violence after these incidents.

In the view of L. Coleman (2004), the effect of succession is what happens when mass media turn the event into a «hot death story» and, subsequently, through the so-called «contagion» with violent behaviour, the number of murders and suicides surges.

In respect of political terrorism, the confirmation of the «viral» theory of contagion with violence coming from the testimonies of the terrorists who point out that they were motivated to follow in the footsteps of their predecessors namely due to their activity being widely «advertise» in mass media. As an example, one of the founders of the German «Red Army Faction» (RAF) Horst Mahler repeatedly quoted the role of television news broadcasts in forming his motivation for fight.

In her article «Revisiting the Contagion Hypothesis: Terrorism, News Coverage, and Copycat Attacks» (2009) Brigitte L. Nacos, a professor of Columbia University, provides detailed investigation of the pros and cons of the contagion theory with regard to the proliferation of terrorism. There she quotes numerous data and conclusions by reputed researchers (B. Jenkins, L. Coleman, M. Sedgwick) and provides well-reasoned substantiation for crucial points: acts of terrorist violence do not happen accidentally, and they originate in the examples set by their predecessors, particularly in case of success of such acts; mass-media and the Internet are the channels that allow accelerating the spread of the «virus» of terrorism and contribute to the formation of new terrorist organizations.

Islamist terrorist networks in the 21st century have become more dynamic, independent and unpredictable subjects than their predecessors which committed the hideous crimes of the September 11. The contemporary terrorist threat transformed from a structured group of Al-Qaeda fanatics, who kept significant human and material resources under their control, into informal local groups, which attempt at following their predecessors while, at the same time, they act chaotically and at their own discretion thus creating a highly dispersed global network, a leaderless jihad (Mark Sageman, 2008).

The Internet has become an agent of virtual violence-inspiring «infection», which proliferates through numerous extremist websites with topic-related chats and message boards. They shape consciousness and encourage terrorist activity among mentally susceptible young men and even women both in the Muslim world and within expatriate communities which become more extensive around the world, particularly in the European countries.

B. Nacos cites the example of an extremist movement such as protests against abortions, which is realized through posting photo materials of bloodstained fetuses in the corresponding websites, providing information regarding personal data and whereabouts of doctors who practice abortions on completely legal grounds. Simultaneously, ideas are planted that extermination of such people is a godly and heroic deed worth following. The assassination of the physician George Tiller in May 2009 during the church service is an example of a «contagion» of human consciousness with aspiration for violence by means of the Internet. It was determined in the course of the criminal investigation that the murderer regularly visited anti-abortionist websites such as the «Army of God».

Modern-day terrorism indeed resembles a virus that proliferates unpredictably and is practically untreatable while only its symptoms can be to a certain extent controlled. Previously, statements from Al-Qaeda were limited to video footages, articles or press releases in separate publication. However, with the spread of social networks the monopoly for broadcasting terrorism has ceased to belong only to particular leaders. Anyone can distribute communiques on behalf of the terrorist group which is evidenced by thousands of social network accounts that belong to members of a particular terrorist organization as well as their sympathizers (Bhandaram & Pradhan, 2016).

The research «Towards a Framework for Post-Terrorist Incident Communications Strategies» (2019), published by the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, comprises the evidence of post-incident contagion with the «virus» of violence happening to individuals, prone to be implanted with a particular behavioural model, after the news about the terrorist act become circulated across the Internet. The most active phase of contagion is two weeks and the most frequent aftermath of it is the realization of a number of similar acts of violence, usually by solitary actors.

It is evident that the notion of contagion has a figurative meaning while, at the same time, it serves best to display the transformation of human consciousness under the influence of a negatively charged Internet-content which directly or indirectly promotes violence. A solution to this problem, as viewed by the authors, lies with the propagation of positive information in social networks, which would allow directing the vector of social consciousness onto a positive course. Such suggestion may only be realized through complex efforts of media- and Internet-resource owners, international organizations, national governments, public organizations and individual users.

4.3. Nature of terrorism in the context of location of terrorist threat hotbeds in the modern world

With the purpose of substantiating our suggested hypothesis, we have investigated the connection between the growth of terrorist threat in separate countries of Africa, Europe and Asia and the state of social and economic development of these countries, which allowed exposing the role of «incomplete historic gestalts» in the spread of terrorism. Further, we have taken into consideration the factor of the information society in particular regions to assess the level of danger of viral terrorism. For this purpose, we have employed the data supplied by the ICT Development Index (IDI) and the Worldwide Press Freedom Index.

To reach complete understanding of current trends in the location of hotbeds of terrorism according to its nature (viral or ambient) it is crucial to determine the most relevant targets for terrorists. It is a commonly held opinion that the target for terrorists is predominantly a civilian population. However, the statistics of terrorist acts carried out in the recent years affirms that the majority of such acts, hence the highest victim count, are linked to armed conflicts. It primarily refers to internal conflicts in the countries where the processes of modernization are not completed and which are trapped in the transitional phase of social and economic development. In those countries, the targets for terrorists are chiefly law enforcement and security agencies that conduct anti-terrorist activity. Even though quantitative indicators of terrorist attacks committed in the recent years demonstrate positive dynamics, the prevailing trend with regard to defining targets for terrorist attacks remains unchanged (Table 1).

Table 1:
Primary targets for terrorist attacks (2017-2018)

Targets	2018	2017
	Attacks (%)	
Security Forces	9,617 (62.8)	13,474 (59.9)
Random\Indiscriminate	2,343 (15.3)	3,670 (16.3)
Non-state Armed Groups	1,744 (11.4)	3,627 (16.1)
Other\Unknown	1,042 (6.8)	1,360 (6.0)
Commerce and Industry	928 (6.1)	1,274 (5.7)
Identity groups	747 (4.9)	787 (3.5)

Source: Compiled by the authors based on 2018 Global Attack Index by Jane's Terrorism & Insurgency Centre: https://cdn.ihs.com/ADS/314351707/Global-Data.html

Out of twenty countries with the highest index of terrorist threat, one half is represented by African countries. Internal terrorism is an indispensable constituent of armed conflicts on this continent. According to the data by American researchers the number of victims of internal terrorism in Africa in the contemporary history amounts to approximately 1 million people (J. Elu & G. Price (2015)).

Military confrontations lead to tremendous humanitarian losses, inflict damages upon already weak economies of those countries and decimate the environment. For instance, as a result of the 1998-2003 civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo, 7 million people ended up as refugees. Armed confrontations mainly occur because of the supply of raw materials vital to the global economy - oil, iron ore, gold, uranium, the deposits of which are a subject of encroachment on the part of neighboring states as well as certain multinational economic giants. The majority of African countries exhibit contradictory consequences of the impact of world economy globalization as well as growing marginalization of the society. The commodity-dependent economy, the predominantly agricultural lifestyle pattern, the practically nonexistent processing industry, all accompanied by unceasing conflicts between local warlords and ever-increasing interest of external players to resources available on those territories - those are the primary factors that provided for a perfect breeding ground for terrorism.

After the Islamic State (ISIS) has been virtually forced out from the Middle East, its ideology became entrenched in Africa, chiefly in the region of arid lands located in the central part of Africa - the Sahel. The majority of the population in the region are Muslims living in poverty and under highly inefficient local governance. The region serves as a hotbed for the active formation of extremist factions that pledge allegiance to the ISIS or Al-Qaeda. The most dangerous of them are situated in the north-eastern part of Nigeria. For example, Boko Haram whose adherents deny anything connected with the Western culture. In 2017 alone, this faction involved 135 child suicide bombers in conducting terrorist acts. Presently, the Islamic State's West Africa Province (ISWAP) - former Boko Haram - is the most powerful terrorist group linked to the ISIS. Its prime objective is the creation of a new caliphate.

Serious concerns are raised over the situation in Nigeria - one of the first countries in Africa by population size and level of economic development. Entrenchment of ISIS fighters in this territory leads to destabilization of social and economic situation and aggravation of migration crisis in the entire African continent. Overall, starting from 2010, the number of violent acts in Africa involving jihadists increased by 300%. Most African terrorist factions greatly benefited from the demise of the Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi: re-activation of routes of arms trafficking by jihadists from the territory of Libya. Even though the number of terrorist attacks in Nigeria and neighboring countries has been in constant fluctuation in the recent 2-3 years, the crisis continues to exacerbate (Table 2).

Western European countries and the USA attempt to stop the spread of terrorism in these territories. For instance, their assistance aided in the creation of the antiterrorist alliance G5 Sahel which rallies the armed forces of Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and Chad. This alliance has become an institutional foundation for coordinating regional cooperation with regard to development policy and security issues. However, it is too soon to suggest any positive dynamics. For example, in 2019, among the countries with victim count per incident exceeding 100 people the top positions were occupied by Nigeria (February 10th-11th) - 141 fatalities, Mali (March 23rd) - 160 fatalities, DRC (June 10th-17th) - 240 fatalities. The major issue concerns the fact that throughout most of the African territory a key subject of modernization is missing - there exist no new elites as was in the Modern-era Europe, no powerful state that would serve as such subject at the

Table 2:
Dynamics of terrorist threat in West African countries

	Global Terrorism Index / ranking position	2018	2017
		Attacks / non-militant fatality	
Nigeria	8.66 / 3	154 / 837	231 / 918
Cameroon	6.62 / 15	307 / 300	153 / 262
Mali	6.02 / 25	158 / 308	131 / 163
Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)	6.97 / 13	296 / 635	321 / 445

Source: Compiled by the authors based on 2018 Global Attack Index by Jane's Terrorism & Insurgency Centre: https://cdn.ihs.com/ADS/314351707/Attacks-by-Africa.html

initial phases of nearly all waves of modernization in Japan, Korea, Taiwan or China. Every now and again, Africa sees the advent of strong leaders, however their effort does not transform into state institutions, which consequently leads to political instability, rule of force instead of rule of law and dangerous conditions for business. Hence, «historic gestalt» in its West African variant remains incomplete.

Determining the priority location of viral terrorism poses a great challenge. The most exemplary marker, in our opinion, is the ICT Development Index. Correspondingly, the higher the public activity in social networks and the deeper its submergence into the cyberspace are, the higher the probability of easily suggestible individuals to end up in the ranks of terrorist organizations is. The most susceptible audience is the youth. The number of Internet users in 2018 reached 4.021 billion people, which is 7% higher in comparison to the previous year. The audience base of social networks, accordingly, comprises 3.196 billion people, which exceeds the indicators of 2017 by 13%.

Apart from it, a high level of freedom of speech and pluralism of opinion are, paradoxically, a tool for forming the rhetorics of radicalism and extremism among the population. It must be noted that such a trend is representative of the countries that became the recipient of largest migration flows in from Asia and Africa in the recent years - the United Kingdom, Germany and France (Table 3).

Table 3:
Correlation between the level of terrorist threat in Western European countries, the ICT Development Index and the Press Freedom Index

Country	IDI	Worldwide Press Freedom Index	Global Terrorism Index / rating position	2018	2017
				Attacks /non-militant fatality	
United Kingdom	8.65	23.3	5.61 / 28	70 / 1	100 / 38
Germany	8.39	14.4	4.60 / 39	19 / 0	21 / 1
France	8.24	21.9	5.47 / 30	18 / 12	44 / 3
Italy	7.04	24.1	2.73 / 69	17 / 2	10 / 0
Ireland	8.02	14.6	3.04 / 65	1 / 0	3 / 0
Belgium	7.81	13.2	4.06 / 48	5 / 3	4 / 0

Source: Compiled by the authors based on ICT Development Index: https://gtmarket.ru/ratings/ict-development-index/ict-development-index-info;
Worldwide Press Freedom Index: https://nonews.co/directory/lists/countries/worldwide-press-freedom-index;
Global Terrorism Index: https://arzuw.news/8747/globalnyy-indeks-terrorizma-2018.html;
2018 Global Attack Index by Jane's Terrorism & Insurgency Centre: https://cdn.ihs.com/ADS/314351707/Attacks-by-Europe.html

In his book «The Scramble for Europe» (2019), one of the world's leading experts Stephen Smith introduces a fairly optimistic vision of the problem of an increasing share of migrants from Africa in the population of European countries. He is convinced that the most educated and by far not the poorest citizens of the African continent are emigrating to Europe. Therefore, the demographic crisis in the countries of the Old World can be solved through the influx of human resources from the outside, in particular active, capable to work and financially reliable African youth. According to expert estimates, over 400 million people are expected to relocate to Western Europe until 2050. From 2012 to 2018 the total population count of the 28 EU countries increased from 503 to 512 million people, namely due to migrants. We can thus acknowledge fundamental changes in the civilizational portrait of Europe. What is the aftermath of these processes? If we consider them in the context of the problem of the upsurge in terrorism around the globe - both in terms of viral and ambient terrorism - the prospects seem distressing. Prevailing numbers of migrants from pro-Christian countries of Africa in the population of European countries, their strict adherence to principles of the traditional society with intrinsic community-based lifestyle patterns and ethnic cohesion, augmented by rapid development of Internet communications and various media platforms, in the future will inevitably lead to profound changes in the information environment. Presumably, the formation of a new value paradigm will occur, with the dominant information agenda including non-tolerance to others, their religion, culture and the way of their life; impossibility of peaceful coexistence of different cultures in the same territory, a need to protect the national gene pool, etc. As a result we will observe propagation of the idea to dispose of these «others». The methods may range from expelling individuals from the country

to their physical extermination. It must be noted that such attitudes will spread among the indigenous population and migrants alike. Formulation of these public attitudes in the form of an aggressive content in the Internet- and media landscape is nothing else but the spread of viral terrorism.

4.4. Economic and legal instruments of countering viral and ambient terrorism

The choice of economic and legal instruments for overcoming terrorist threat must be determined by specific features of each of the two types of terrorism - either viral or ambient.

In the first case, we deem it efficient in the first approximation to resort to measures (both at the national and international levels) aimed at strengthening control over the cyberspace. For instance, the government of the United Kingdom actively promotes the idea of the so-called «backdoors» to encrypted messaging services such as WhatsApp and Telegram. The Conservative party electoral platform in the UK promulgates that Internet companies must prevent the dissemination of the rhetoric of hostility and hatred on their platform, for which purpose more resolute steps towards strengthening of control should be taken. However, imposing such obligations is connected with additional financial expenses on the part of corresponding business entities and requires substantial updates of the legal framework of their activity. In addition, total control in practice entails the loss of anonymity, deterioration of security and privacy of all Internet users, also serving as a destructive factor for democratic freedoms and values. In this way, placing encrypted channels of communication under supervision of security agencies may not be the best decision. The so-called Dark Net (Dark Web, Deep Web), or TOR software as well, that allows exchanging information in an anonymized and encrypted form, is successfully used to present by terrorists and drug dealers. Therefore, even if democratic states reach an agreement regarding tightened control over the Internet content the servers in «hostile» states and their jurisdictions, where cyberspace is not government-controlled, will still be outside their direct authority.

We deem it more acceptable to employ the measures of victimization prevention, i.e. improvement of the level of digital literacy among the population and promoting individual safety measures for personal information. Also, it is essential to ensure the exchange of information on foreign terrorist fighters and terrorist organizations and create provisions for integration of national databases into international specialized databases at the international level. The instance of such close cooperation is the «I-24/7» system that combines the accessibility to international databases of Interpol and other law-enforcement agencies including the Interpol's database of foreign terrorist fighters (INTERPOL's FTF Database).

Cooperation between countries with regard to legal assistance, extradition and exchange of intelligence information with the purpose of reducing terrorist threats are the pressing needs of contemporary times. It is indispensable to develop an international integrated system of legal provisions for fighting against crimes on the Internet in order that such crime investigation would be conducted irrespective of national borders.

It should be noted that viral terrorism is a disease affecting predominantly the developed countries of Western Europe and the USA. Virtualization of the living space of the youth in those countries, accompanied by sustained growth of living standards and strengthening social protection of migrants, the unemployed and other marginalized layers of the population, create conditions when the struggle for survival and advancement in the social hierarchy become relegated to the background. Instead, the ideas of destruction for the sake of destruction or fight against the others, which occur in sickly consciousness distorted by virtual reality, come into the foreground. Contemporary trends evidence an increase in the number of terrorist acts conducted by loners who are in essence the beneficiaries of the cyberspace. Apparently, there exist individual terrorists whose actions are directed by a specific terrorist organization, and those are not connected with any of extremist movements, such as Stephen Paddock who shot dozens of people in 2017 during an open-air concert in Las Vegas. At the same time, the majority of such «lone wolves» serve as an example of contagion by the virus of terrorism that spreads through social networks. Their key distinction from a regular murderer or a professional killer is the intention to commit murders as a political demonstration and a conscious choice of death as an integral part of such demonstration.

Ambient terrorism, on the one hand, is more predictable and geographically localized. According to the level of terrorist activity, the leading countries - Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan - are classic

examples of «incomplete historic gestalts». Radical Islamist movements (the Taliban, Boko Haram, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi) in these countries are the major combatants in cross-border conflicts connected with quasi-state-building in the conditions of uncompleted modernization and marginalization of the society.

On the other hand, countering ambient terrorism is a long-term complex process that requires considerable effort on the part of international community as the external interference in socio-cultural processes inside the country, attempts at their enhancement or correction, despite them being well-intentioned, may lead to devastating consequences. In the modern globalized world an economic imbalance in the development of the South and the North becomes increasingly tangible. The countries caught in the maelstrom of uncompleted modernization (including Ukraine and other post-Soviet countries), are hardly capable of recovering from this systemic crisis independently. The reason for this is not only the absence of the required resources but also the weakening and regression of inherent intellectual, spiritual and culture-forming potential of the nation due to numerous political and economic upheavals. It is this exact weakness that was used by the leading «players» in the geopolitical stage to incite the conflict in the east of Ukraine. The growth in the level of terrorist activity in this region is the consequence of a series of social and cultural, economic and political factors that facilitated the formation of the favourable environment for manifestations of extremism.

Countering terrorism with the aid of economic instruments stipulates, in the first instance, combating money laundering and corruption, as well as maintaining criminal prosecution for financing the terrorism, all of which was stated in the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy adopted by the UN member states in 2006. This document, unique in its scope, is aimed at activating national, regional and international efforts in the fight against terrorism.

In the latest report by the special Committee of Experts of the Council of Europe (2019) on the Evaluation of Anti-Money Laundering Measures and the Financing of Terrorism (MONEYVAL), the Committee has emphasized a tremendous «size of the shadow economy in Ukraine, which is exacerbated by the widespread use of cash, constitutes a significant money laundering vulnerability. Among the widespread mechanisms of money laundering are the so-called conversion centers through which funds are siphoned from the real economy to the shadow economy and which are used to convert funds into cash with subsequent transfer to accounts abroad».

In July 2019, within the framework of the 58th plenary meeting of MONEYVAL, the first follow-up report following the results of the fifth round of mutual evaluation of Ukraine was provided. It served as a demonstration of the consistent steps taken by our state towards increasing the effectiveness of the national anti-money laundering and terrorist financing system. The key element of the demonstration of Ukraine's further progress is the adoption by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (the Parliament) of amendments to legislation in the financial monitoring area, which will implement the 4th EU Directive on combating money laundering and terrorist financing, and also the recommendations of the MONEYVAL Committee.

With regard to the national legislation, the reference point for its revision should be based on the Council of Europe Counter-terrorism Strategy, adopted for the period of 2018-2022, which accumulated various aspects of countering terrorism along three strategic directions - prevention, prosecution and protection. Unfortunately, the current Ukrainian counter-terrorism legislation almost completely disregards the first and the third indicated directions.

5. Conclusions

Our research on terrorism as a regular constituent of the contemporary glocal social space affords grounds for the following conclusions.

The most productive is the analysis of the nature of terrorism within the framework of the concept of shared responsibility for the upsurge in the terrorist threat around the world and with the consideration for the broadest possible range of economic, legal, geopolitical, sociocultural and other determinants of this threat.

Modern terrorism may assume either viral or ambient nature. In the first case, its source of origin is public attitudes and value maxims aggregated in the Internet and media content, whereas in the second case they are «incomplete historic gestalts» in specific countries, which testifies to the presence of a string of economic, political, legal, and sociocultural factors and conditions contributing to the actualization of terrorism. Ambient terrorism has a more or less sustained pattern and is localized in the territory of states immersed in crisis conditions. Viral terrorism does not

have a permanent location. It can be characterized as unpredictable, mobile and rapidly spreading. At the same time, we must admit that conclusive identification of the nature of contemporary terrorism is extremely complicated. It transforms dynamically and has a hybrid nature. Consequently, the choice of methods to counter the terrorist threat is also complicated.

Regrettably, there exist no universal economic or legal tools to fight terrorism in the world where aspiration of the mankind for unity and separation are equally topical. One thing remains beyond doubt: modern civilization is obliged to overcome the trends for domination of one civilizational paradigm over another. Otherwise, we may hardly expect any positive development in countering terrorism.

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