



Forecasting Terrorism for Counterterrorism Net Assessments

August 2017

Scope Note: What is a Counterterrorism Net Assessment?

NCTC's Counterterrorism Net Assessments (CTNAs) assess comparative advantage and effectiveness between terrorist and counterterrorist efforts in a conflict.

CTNAs are produced under the auspices of NCTC's Directorate of Strategic Operational Planning. CTNAs are not intelligence products and do not reflect the coordinated viewpoint of the interagency. They provide an independent, sometimes alternative view within NCTC meant to inform or provoke discussion among policymakers and observers of terrorism about the US Government's strategic approach to terrorism.

This product is a "thought piece" that provides concepts and tools for policymakers, strategy planners, and analysts to identify the emergences of types of terrorism and to help authors of CTNAs forecast outcomes for terrorism in specific contexts so they can conduct comparative (net) assessments on specific conflicts.

- CTNAs aim to diagnose the deeper dynamics within a conflict, identify levers that may be available but unexploited, and anticipate developments that could alter the nature of—or even obviate—the conflict. As appropriate, CTNAs include examinations and assessments of the roles, strengths, and weaknesses of US actors within a given conflict.
- This product, because it does not assess terrorist or CT effectiveness, is not a full CTNA.

The US State Department—the agency empowered to define terrorism for the United States Government—defines terrorism as *premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents*.

This product was designed to be read on a screen. A reformatted bound version is available from NCTC Public Affairs.

For more information, please contact NCTC Public Affairs at NCTCPAO@nctc.gov.

How Can We Forecast Terrorism?

Terrorism often arises as a reaction or response to particular world conditions. By forecasting conditions, we can forecast the emergence of terrorist movements.

This product examines the terrorist movements the US and its allies face worldwide today in ways that allow us to identify the terrorist movements we may face tomorrow. It also contains concepts and tools designed to help readers understand the conditions and levers that spur terrorist movements to rise or fall.

In order to craft forecasts of global conditions—and thus of the terrorist movements we may face soon—we relied upon scenario methodology, public statements and manifestos of terrorist actors, findings from NCTC finished intelligence, and our own research. We focused on forecasting intent of terrorist actors rather than on their capabilities because motive precedes behavior and, in the absence of motive, forecasting degrees of capability is less relevant. The contents of a product written at this scale deal in generalities and distinctions that are mostly true most of the time rather than completely true all of the time.

We have organized our findings as building blocks that answer the following questions:

- 1 **How has the world been changing?** This section outlines the major global trends and changes of recent decades—and of the near future.
- 2 **What ideological, political, and social movements and terrorist movements arose in reaction or response to those world changes—or still may?** A particular group of nonviolent movements emerged or boomed in the wake of these changes. When a faction within a movement concludes the movement's nonviolent approach is no longer viable, it sometimes splits off to form a violent breakaway aberration—a terrorist movement. This section outlines those nonviolent movement types and their violent breakaways.
- 3 **How can a terrorist movement end?** Some changes in world condition and effective counter-argumentation can prey upon vulnerabilities inherent in how terrorist rationales are built. This section covers how terrorist rationales are constructed, outlines their vulnerabilities, and provides brief examples of how even inadvertent exploitation of those vulnerabilities brought prior terrorist campaigns to a near halt.

The answers to those questions then help us answer:

- 4 **What should we worry about next?** The conditions of the near future shape the kinds of terrorism that will arise as a result. This section outlines four scenarios for the future of the global system and identifies the terrorist movements most apt to emerge or flourish in each case. This section also offers a thumbnail method for determining which nonviolent movement in a particular context is most apt to generate a violent breakaway movement next.

1 How Has the World Been Changing? A Look Back from 2024

The following transnational trends and factors shaped the world that terrorists have been reacting and responding to—and will continue to. We expect these trends and factors will continue beyond 2024, the concluding year of our examination.

During the historical moment of 1989 (the year of the establishment of the World Wide Web and near-conclusion of the Cold War) through 2024 ...

- Most nation-states interconnected their telecommunications networks and economies. For financial flows and for businesspeople, nation-state boundaries and the political system within a nation often matter less than a nation's financial, employment, and taxation policies—and access to its markets.
- Governments and companies worked to encourage each other's economic expansion and establish a global marketplace by easing borders to facilitate worker and financial flows and access to markets, deregulating and privatizing some industries, crafting new economic alliances, and working to reduce the likelihood of international conflict that would disrupt commerce and/or global supply chains.
- World population grew from 5.2 billion to roughly 8 billion people.
- Private individuals were super-empowered to connect and communicate, spread ideas, cultivate narratives and identities, organize politically, create products, conduct commerce, find and access markets, and set up and refine global supply chains. This happened through (1) the advent, mass commercial availability, and affordability of technologies, including personal computing and business applications, the Internet, mobile telephony, smart devices, global positioning systems, RFID tagging and sensing technologies, burgeoning artificial intelligence personal assistants, (2) the emergence of pervasive, ubiquitous computing and the Internet of Things, and (3) the near-global spread of high-speed connectivity even in low-infrastructure areas.

So what happened as a result?

- Masses of people flooded into urban areas in search of better lives, jobs, and access to markets and medical care, creating megacities—urban areas of 10 million or more—and hundreds more large urban magnets. By 2025, 58 percent of the world's population is expected to live in urban areas. In those urban areas, and with more portable technology and greater connectivity, many more people became participants in the world's economies, gained literacy, and rose out of extreme poverty—but only to a point. Many of these urban areas were unprepared for the influx of people and sometimes were hobbled by reduced or no investment in scalable infrastructure, and so many cities were left with significant infrastructure and resource challenges. Many urban immigrants were left to organize their own housing, resources, and opportunities in self-constructed slums, favelas, and “shadow cities.” Some megacity cores see the residents of their slums, favelas, and shadow cities as leeches, and others see them as untapped resources and markets.
- This resulted in a reduction in the most extreme poverty but also a boom within the other bottom rungs of the economic ladder, fewer rungs left to climb higher, and a greater concentration of wealth in the upper rungs—all of which yielded a rise in global economic inequality. Also, the cultural and ethnic diversity resultant from urban migration and from social media became ubiquitous, undeniable, and unavoidable.
- Alternative infrastructures and providers of services, such as nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), worked to fill gaps left by lacks of governance, infrastructure, medical care, and economic opportunity. Also, global criminal enterprises and the gray economy—a shadow provider of services and governance—boomed, especially in security and regulatory vacuums.
- Regional or other supranational alliances of nation-states and sometimes between megacities formed to establish rule sets of their own for trade and to share infrastructure, regulatory, and defense burdens.

- Multinational megacorporations rose in prominence, power, and scale, and oftentimes spread their business units to places with the most favorable infrastructures, access to supply chains and markets, and regulatory environments for each. In some cases and places, the relationship of corporate power to a nation-state's ruling elite allowed heavy corporate influence over or even drafting of legislation or regulations regarding business.
- These additional actors and features—megacities, multinational corporations, supranational alliances, legal and illicit alternative infrastructures and service providers, and even global networks of private individuals—rose in prominence, influence, and capability to stand as major shaping forces within or even peers alongside nation-states. Collusion, cooperation, competition, or conflict happens between any and all of these actors—on their own initiative and in their own interests—as if the actors are aspects of overlapping spiderwebs that are structured differently on each issue. As this trend continues, nation-states will not fade in prominence but will be forced to reckon with global nonstate actors and features that are becoming large enough and capable enough to operate beyond direct or complete state control.
- The disparity in rates at which life, political, and economic changes happen and the rates at which nation-states' bureaucracies can respond, and the disparity between emergent public needs and the infrastructure and capabilities of nation-states to respond to them undermined the confidence of some publics in the competence and benevolence of their governments.
- The rapid life, political, and other changes ordinary people have faced in recent years, combined with the perception of the mortality of some nation-states, political systems, and alliances, undermined the patriotisms of some and spurred many people to lateral back into deeper, more perennial identities they found more profound and meaningful, and less subject to the whims of change and geopolitical fate. These include, for example, religious identities, ethnic or tribal identities, broader views of oneself as a global citizen who holds to certain egalitarian or perhaps cosmopolitan values—or some combination of these.

These attitudes and identities provided the base perspectives of the ideological and political change movements that boomed during this historical moment and will extend into the next.

2 What Movements and Terrorist Movements Arose in Response—or Still May?

The attitudes and identities outlined in Section 1 provided the base perspectives of a set of types of ideological and political movements that boomed in popularity during this historical moment and will extend into the next. They occur domestically as well as in foreign contexts.

These movement types can be binned into two categories. Some are “no” movements that object to the diversity inevitable from living in a globalizing world. Others are “yes” movements that embrace that global condition and seek to expand on its opportunities.

These movements generally are nonviolent, however, when a small faction concludes its movement’s nonviolence will fail or is insufficient, the faction may break away and turn to violence. These violent breakaways do not emerge when a movement is winning; they emerge when it is losing.

(Occasionally a violent breakaway will emerge or flourish as its nonviolent originator succeeds or gains power. Emboldened, and perhaps with a sense they will not be held accountable, they act violently. We find this less common, however.)

We refer to some of these violent breakaways as terrorists and some we characterize as lone violent actors or as criminals. For the purposes of CTNAs, we differentiate violent protests or riots from organized nonstate ideological or political violence. All but one Foreign Terrorist Organization designated by the US State Department is a violent breakaway aberration of one of these types of nonviolent movements. (See Appendix 1)

Movements do not always develop violent breakaways. There is no inevitable “conveyor belt” from nonviolent to violent affiliation within a movement nor is violence usually cultivated by the nonviolent movement.

Any actor can be powered by more than one movement, although one is usually the actor’s primary orientation and another its secondary.

TYPE OF MOVEMENT	ADHERENTS ASSERT ...	OTHERS THIS MOVEMENT TENDS TO OBJECT TO	VIOLENT BREAKAWAY EXAMPLES
“No” Movements			
Religious Fundamentalism	Societal acceptance of diversity and secularity threatens the practice, purity, and integrity of my religion. Even members of my own religion have compromised and diluted their theology to accommodate ungodly practices and perspectives. Only by returning to the nonnegotiable “fundamentals” of our faith can our religion retain its purity and integrity, our society be rescued from its moral decline, and God’s intention for our world be saved from this secular cultural onslaught and capitulations to evil. Those who disagree with us are subversives who participate in a conspiracy of cosmic evil against God. (Religious Fundamentalists tend to be absolutist and dogmatic. They seek to carve out a lifestyle or territory where they can—as they see it—safely practice their faith correctly without interference or pollution from infidels or apostates, or societal requirements to tolerate or accommodate others’ beliefs. This effort may yield a simple isolationism or may include a purge of “polluting influences” and replacement of existing social or political systems in the name of removing threats to what they consider correct practice of their faith.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Egalitarians who implement or support policies that Religious Fundamentalists assert forces them to accommodate objectionable practices, Religious Fundamentalists of other faiths who they mistake as the “true” or “core” version of the other faith, and Religious Egalitarians within their own faiths, or secular Egalitarians. 	Salafi-jihadists—a kind or subset of Sunni violent extremists—such as ISIS, al-Qa’ida, and the affiliates of each
Religious Nationalism	Our nation, society, or civilization was inspired into being by God or was established on religious principle, but secular forces—perhaps powered by a cosmic evil—work to undermine those principles and have caused declines of our moral, political, and military strength. Only by reclaiming our society for God politically, religiously, and culturally can we restore our society to God’s purpose, end the declines, and enable it to flourish again. (Religious Nationalists tend not to be theologically rigid or dogmatic. They seek restoration of their government to its original “holy” design and intent rather than its replacement and want their religion to receive preferential treatment within the society and government the way they believe God intended. They usually assert separation of church and state violates God’s will, may assert that their government was intended to serve as the arm of the divine in domestic and geopolitical affairs, and may characterize political dissent as spiritually suspect or treason against God. This differs from religious patriotism—the belief that the aspirations of one’s state, flawed though the state may be, are in accord with the aspirations of God.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Egalitarians who implement or support policies of acceptance or tolerance that Religious Nationalists assert undermines their society’s holy purpose and resolve, Religious Nationalists of other faiths who they see as opponents in a clash of religions or clash of civilizations, and Historians who offer non-Religious Nationalist interpretations of their society’s origins. 	Abu Nidal Organization (ANO), Norwegian mass attacker Anders Breivik
Ethnic Nationalism/ Sectarianism/ Civilizationalism	My ethnicity, culture, or civilization is under attack. My ethnicity or culture was responsible for the foundation and flourishing of my society or civilization, but recent inclusion and accommodation of outsiders or inferiors has contributed to our recent societal and political declines. Only by remarginalizing other ethnicities and cultures to the point where they can no longer harm or drain us can our society be made safe or great again.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Members of ethnic groups other than their own, particularly Ethnic Nationalists of those ethnicities, Egalitarians who implement or support policies that Ethnic Nationalists assert contribute to their society’s decline by requiring accommodation to inferior races or cultural practices, and Religious Egalitarians who argue all are equal in the eyes of the divine. 	Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA), factions of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (Historical example: Ku Klux Klan)
Anti-Big Government	Governments, especially at the larger levels, are tyrannical by nature and thwart personal freedoms and self-determination.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Egalitarians who argue that adherence to governance, law, or practice of a scale larger than Anti-Big Government advocates prefer is necessary for the common good. 	US-based militia groups, such as the Sovereign Citizens (Historical example: Anarchist groups)
“Yes” Movements			
Super-Commerce	Bureaucracy, regulations, and taxation inhibit economic growth. Unleashing, enabling, or partnering with global businesses, however, can unlock and stoke the innovation, ingenuity, and capital flows necessary to grow markets and solve critical economic and global problems. Commerce can tie the world together.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Egalitarians and/or Environmentalists who assert that a business-led or business-unconstrained world is inherently predatory. 	(Historical example: the strike breakers)
Environmentalism	The global ecology has reached a largely manmade tipping point and must be rescued from destruction through transformation of consumption habits, corporate practices, and governmental policies. A global society in accord with nature would create a utopia for all.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Super-Commerce elites, enterprises, systems, and agents Environmentalists consider culpable or dismissive of ecological degradation. 	The Earth Liberation Front
Egalitarianism	Equally accessible, equitably applied, and fairly enforced infrastructure, governance, regulatory frameworks, and rule of law are necessary for a society to be just and humane as well as foundations for societal and economic growth for all. These include: <i>Political Egalitarians</i> – those who believe in rule by the people rather than elites, <i>Economic Egalitarians</i> – those who believe that economic and financial systems should not be predatory or exploitative, <i>Rights Egalitarians</i> – those who believe that all should enjoy the same rights and defenses of self-determination, <i>Religious Egalitarians</i> – those who believe that all are equally worthy in the eyes of the divine, <i>Resource Egalitarians</i> – those who believe that infrastructure, regulatory frameworks, and law enforcement should serve all fairly rather than show preferential treatment toward some, and <i>Information Egalitarians</i> – those who believe that secrets and useful data and knowledge pertinent to the public interest should be available to all.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perceived creators, perpetrators, and protectors of systemic disparities or predatory systems, and Exclusivists, such as Religious Fundamentalists, Religious Nationalists, and Ethnic Nationalists. 	(Historical examples: French Revolutionaries, Communist revolutionaries)

3 How Can a Terrorist Movement End?

This material on terrorist movements complements other studies on the ends of terrorist groups.

Just as some world conditions and ideological and political narratives can help turn a terrorist phenomenon on, others can turn one off—or at least seriously undercut it. This vulnerability is inherent in how terrorist rationales are built.

The rationales of violent breakaway movements typically are made of up of six core assertions or rhetorical elements, according to NCTC’s review of the public rhetoric of Salafi-jihadist groups, such as al-Qa’ida and ISIS as well as that of non-Islamic violent actors, including Norwegian Christian nationalist mass attacker Anders Breivik, environmental violent extremist group The Earth Liberation Front. Generally, all six elements are necessary to persuade, radicalize, and mobilize people to conduct violent attacks; the loss or removal of one or more of the elements collapses the argument and undercuts the appeal of the ideology.

- In its most basic form, violent breakaways argue that *the world has gone wrong* (Decline) *because of the actions of an enemy who hates or threatens what is good* (Two Camps). *Now is the time* (Crisis Point) *when violence is necessary to prevent catastrophe* (Method). *If we stay true to our righteous course* (Danger of Contamination), *we will prevail* (Reward).

The chart outlines each of these elements, what they provide to a violent breakaway movement’s rationale, and what the rationale lacks once each element is removed.

ELEMENT	MESSAGE	WHAT THE ELEMENT DOES	ELEMENT IS NECESSARY BECAUSE
Decline	The world has gone wrong ...	Interprets someone’s world as decimated or in jeopardy.	Without <i>Decline</i> , the violent extremist sees no need to rescue their world.
Two Camps	... <i>because of the actions of an enemy who hates or threatens what is good.</i>	Identifies and demonizes an enemy who is to blame for the decline and depicts those who resist that enemy as heroic.	Without <i>Two Camps</i> , there is no enemy to combat.
Crisis Point	<i>Now is the time ...</i>	Creates a sense of panic that action must be taken now to save that world and says all one holds dear now hangs in the balance.	Without <i>Crisis Point</i> , there is no sense that immediate action is required.
Method	... when violence is necessary to prevent catastrophe.	Provides the appropriate—even heroic—way to resist.	Without <i>Method</i> , there is no clearly defined way to resist the enemy.
Danger of Contamination	If we stay true to our righteous course ...	Prevents compromise or moderation of extremist views by depicting them as treason or complicity with the enemy or dangerous to the movement’s success, the salvation of the world, or one’s own soul.	Without <i>Danger of Contamination</i> , dialogue and compromise with perceived enemies is allowable to reach goals.
Reward	... we will prevail.	Provides a motivating image of victory or paradise for the movement or individual.	Without <i>Reward</i> , there is no goal to work toward.

Even providing five of the six elements in an argument can prove dangerous. Most people who do this often are unaware of this risk.

- Norwegian Christian nationalist mass attacker Anders Breivik assembled five of these six elements from arguments made by a battery of authors who argued for campaigns of exclusion, intimidation, and subjugation of non-Christians in Western countries rather than violence. Breivik claimed in a manifesto that he had been persuaded by these arguments but that their calls for policy changes, public intimidation, and military action beyond Western countries were insufficient and that only violent attacks against those he perceived as witting and unwitting traitors to Christian dominance within Western countries would thwart the danger he perceived to Western Christendom. He accepted those Religious Nationalist authors’ five elements but embraced a different *Method*. In the wake of Breivik’s attacks, however, those authors blanched at and disavowed his actions.

For a standalone version of this section’s central model, please see NCTC’s *The Structure of Violent Extremist Ideologies*, also available from NCTC Public Affairs.

The integrity of violent breakaways’ rationales can be vulnerable to changes in world conditions and policies that inherently disrupt its use of one or more of the six elements. In none of the following cases was CT policy or actions primarily responsible for the decline of these terrorist endeavors.

- The collapse of the Soviet Union invalidated communist revolutionary groups’ arguments that communism was a viable form of governance (depriving them of their *Reward* element) and that the pursuit of revolutionary violence to install communist rule was worthwhile (depriving them of *Method*).
- The violent strain of the New Left of the 1970s around the world went into rapid decline following the end of the Vietnam War—a development that removed the *Crisis Point* from its rationale.
- The onset of the Arab Spring in 2011 temporarily invalidated Salafi-jihadists’ argument that only their efforts could improve conditions for Muslims in those countries; the success of nonviolent protest damaged their claim that only a violent *Method* would work, the deposing of some rulers robbed Salafi-jihadists of their *Two Camps* enemy in each case, and alleviated Salafi-jihadists’ sense that each of those societies were still at a *Crisis Point*.
- The Earth Liberation Front’s campaign of economic sabotage of corporate actors declined as the mainstream movement succeeded—a change that negated ELF’s claims that only the use of a violent *Method* could change corporate and public policies toward the environment.

The integrity of violent breakaways’ rationales also can be vulnerable to arguments that target one or more of the six elements.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. used a nonviolent version of these six elements to argue for the need for federal Civil Rights legislation, but in *Letter from Birmingham Jail* also used them to gut violent groups’ efforts to piggyback on his arguments as well as to demonstrate that the Civil Rights Movement was nonviolent and that violence-promoting groups, such as the Black Panthers, were not part of the Civil Rights Movement. (The Civil Rights Movement was Egalitarian. The Black Panthers were Ethnic Nationalists.) He depicted *Two Camps* for the Civil Rights Movement as a struggle between points of view rather than between races and their *Method* as only the tactics of nonviolent resistance. He used *Danger of Contamination* to exclude the validity of any argument for the use of violence. He also warned opponents of the Civil Rights Movement that frustration of their nonviolent campaign would drive frustrated Civil Rights supporters to embrace violent black nationalism instead.

Based on these findings and those from Section 2, a form of terrorism can end when ...

- the violent breakaway’s rationale for violence is decimated by a deliberate messaging effort by the originating nonviolent movement—alone or in concert with outsiders,
- the world condition the nonviolent movement and violent breakaway objects to ends, or
- the originating nonviolent movement succeeds and thus obviates violent breakaways’ calls for violence.

On the other hand, a violent breakaway’s rationale can be bolstered and a violent breakaway can gain recruits when ...

- the problem or world condition the nonviolent movement and violent breakaway is trying to solve remains in place, especially if it appears “protected” from being resolved, or is made worse,
- the nonviolent movement’s change efforts are thwarted,
- the nonviolent movement’s effort to undermine its own violent breakaway is undercut by association with law enforcement or security efforts that makes it appear the nonviolent movement has compromised its principles or “sold out” to the originators of the problem, or
- the violent breakaway’s rationale is bolstered by security operations or crackdowns that validate the violent breakaway’s claims that their enemy is malevolent.

As long as a violent breakaway movement’s rationale remains intact and viable as an interpretive framework for understanding a political or societal situation—or even for an individual to find life meaning—it can continue to inspire extremist violence even if no terrorist groups or members remain active. A terrorist movement only truly ends when its motivating rationale does.

4 What Should We Worry About Next?

It depends. The conditions of the future shape the terrorist movements that arise in response.

As a general rule, however, a way to narrow down where to look for the next terrorist movement(s) in a context is to ask which nonviolent movement's actors perceive their effort is losing or imploding, has run out of viable nonviolent avenues to achieve its goals, and has factions that use all six rhetorical elements to argue that violence remains its only viable option.

For our forecasts, we consciously chose to focus at the scale of cities rather than nation-states. Most of the human population will live in cities by 2024. Nighttime photos taken of the Earth from space reveal the electric lighting from constellations of cities rather than nation-states, and graphic representations of global Internet usage show nearly identical constellations. Cities will be the sites closest to the lived experience, anger, discontent, opportunities, and advantages of most people.

Given the megatrends and movements we have identified and key global uncertainties noted from our research, we assess the two most important variables (as-yet-unmade decisions or yet-to-be-determined outcomes) for the global system by 2024 are:

- whether the infrastructures of urban areas—the home of the majority of the world's population—will be sufficient (at least over the medium term) for the influx of population, or insufficient, crumbling, and/or primarily self-organized by residents, and
- whether those urban areas—culturally and in terms of policy—are more concerned with inclusion and participation in the global system or more parochial and exclusionary.

The intersection of these prime variables yields four plausible futures—scenarios—for the global system by 2024. The scenarios may suggest candidates for the next world order or may simply lay out the conditions on which possible next world orders will be determined.

- The majority of the world is apt to wind up in one scenario with exceptions spread across the other scenarios.
- The world may not be fully *within* any of these scenarios by 2024; however, which scenario we will be *facing* or *moving into* may be apparent by then.

Within each of these scenarios, some of the ideological and political nonviolent movements we have identified will flourish and some will become less relevant or salient. Similarly, some of the violent breakaways of those movements may boom or bust as well, depending on each scenario's conditions.

GLOBAL NETWORK OF HUBS

Resilient, diverse urban areas become the new—and independently networked—geopolitical centers.

Nonviolent movement types most apt to inadvertently yield violent breakaways: Anti-Big Government, Religious Fundamentalist, Religious Nationalist, and Ethnic Nationalist

Robust public-private partnerships work to generate the infrastructure, lanes of connectivity, and means to exploit and retain human capital (by enabling labor mobility and attracting and cultivating talent) to establish their cities as world-class economic engines, political movers, and platforms for growth that alternately network and compete with each other. Many of these urban areas rival or surpass their provincial or federal governments in influence and maintain economic development and diplomatic offices dedicated to bilateral or multilateral inter-city relations. Criminal enterprises continue to globalize and professionalize in parallel to processes used by global corporate enterprises.

Super-Commerce adherents and Egalitarians of all stripes fare well in this scenario, and Environmentalists are well-represented in municipal planning departments and disaster preparedness and resilience offices. Anti-Big Government (in this case, those who strain against large-scale legal, business, or regulatory frameworks designed to aid a city's or nation's global competitiveness) and reactionaries (Religious Fundamentalists, Religious Nationalists, and Ethnic Nationalists) who object to urban diversity from mass migration are left only with isolationism or violence as means to defend themselves from perceived governmental and societal requirements to yield to the system or become Egalitarian.

CONSTELLATIONS OF CORPORATIONS

Companies and Special Economic Zones supplement and sometimes dominate failing and overwhelmed governments, an order that creates a gulf between corporate "haves" and noncorporate "have-nots."

Nonviolent movement types most apt to inadvertently yield violent breakaways: Egalitarian

Megacities and many other urban areas—unable to handle the resourcing strain resultant from the influx of population, declining tax revenue, and other factors—abdicate some provision and maintenance of infrastructure and services to major corporations in their locality or leave citizens to organize for themselves. These corporate actors focus on infrastructure and services most apt to expand the economic strength of the area and create well-cared-for corporate, industrial, and housing zones for its own "citizens" and leave municipalities to provide the rest. The result are bifurcated cities of functional, well-funded corporate zones and oftentimes struggling, less-well-funded noncorporate zones. Economic disparities between corporate-employed and noncorporate-employed residents are wide, endemic, and severe. Global trade partnerships are formed between corporate zones moreso than between municipalities.

The Super-Commerce and Anti-Big Government movements fare well in this scenario. Egalitarians work to rectify the economic and other disparities within these bifurcated megacities and urban areas. In cities where municipal leadership is less willing or able to challenge their corporate partners, and in industries in which worker appeals for better (or at least globally competitive) wages and working conditions fall on deaf ears, Egalitarian violent breakaways conduct attacks.

SUFFICIENT INFRASTRUCTURE

COMMONWEALTHS

Groups of global actors ally and form large, competing transnational economic blocs that play by their own rules to blunt political and economic shocks.

Nonviolent movement types most apt to inadvertently yield violent breakaways: Anti-Big Government

Economic, political, and societal upheavals drive megacities, nation-states, and corporations form commonwealths, alliances, or political-economic unions that each operate according to rules they find more advantageous to their expansion and more resistant to economic, political, and societal shocks. Megacities and urban areas within each commonwealth are considered strategic economic assets in a global competition against other commonwealths. The practice of spreading corporate units across the globe to take advantage of other more friendly regulatory and talent environments becomes limited to spreads only within blocs. Cold wars develop between commonwealths—and even alliances of corporations—to undermine, limit, sabotage, or gain advantage over the others. These cold wars are waged nonmilitarily—mostly in the economic, cyber, intelligence, regulatory, and other realms.

Most ideological and political movements fare well in this scenario and for the most part do not yield violent breakaways. Super-Commerce adherents and Egalitarians fare well in this scenario, and Environmentalists are considered part of commonwealths' assets toward preserving or improving their geographical competitive advantages. Religious Fundamentalists, Religious Nationalists, and Ethnic Nationalists thrive because they have outside enemies to mobilize and define themselves against—an animus that some nation-states and major corporations exploit to further cultivate customer loyalty under the guise of patriotism, mobilize as proxies against competitors, and aid in maintaining internal stability. Terrorist and other nonstate violence is relatively rare because most fear betraying the strength of their commonwealth's competitive advantages, though a few violent breakaways are legitimated and mobilized against other commonwealths. The Anti-Big Government movement yields violent breakaways that target super-scale governments and actors such as megacity governments, federal governments, major corporations, and organs of international alliances.

PATCHWORK

Communities work to provide for themselves in the wake of failing federal and urban governance to widely varying degrees of success.

Nonviolent movement types most apt to inadvertently yield violent breakaways: All movements except Anti-Big Government

Population and other challenges overwhelm government capabilities in many urban areas, resulting not in failed states, but failed megacities—patchworks of slums, community enclaves, and business districts of varying capabilities—in which communities and corporations struggle to provide their own infrastructure, services, policing, and prosperity. The wealthy create elite, fortified, isolated patches of their own.

These communities ebb and flow between cooperating and competing, sometimes even violently. Cooperation is most common—resources, talent, and capabilities are spread across the patchwork. Nonetheless, occasional campaigns of violence by some communities' militant wings and corporate security departments are employed as survival, deterrence, or business strategies against rivals, and each refers to the others' attackers as terrorists. Worker strikes and revolts are sometimes instigated, enabled, and supported by a community's or business' competitors.

The rules of law, policing, and policy enforcement are rooted in favoritism, bribery, and brokering as much as in consistent, universal application. The line between legitimate and illegitimate behavior is blurry or ignored. Megacities and business interests supplement city coast guards and police forces with privateers and mercenaries to keep the city and waterways safe for transit and public services. Global trade networks wither—few cities invest in the infrastructure or capacities necessary for global-scale trade. Organized crime networks flourish, however, to the point they function as shadow global trade enterprises and infrastructures.

All of the movements we have identified serve as visions for a better world for their communities, and most yield breakaways that operationalize during perceived community crises. Anti-Big Government sentiment, however, gains little traction in a world in which there are fewer big governments to object to.

INSUFFICIENT INFRASTRUCTURE

GLOBAL

PAROCHIAL

**United States Department of State
Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations
(Listed Alphabetically with Each Organization’s Primary and Secondary Movement Orientation)**

DESIGNATED FOREIGN TERRORIST ORGANIZATION	PRIMARY, SECONDARY MOVEMENT ORIENTATION TYPES
Abdallah Azzam Brigades (AAB)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)	Religious Nationalism
Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)	Religious Fundamentalism
Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade (AAMB)	Ethnic Nationalism, Religious Nationalism
al-Mulathamun Battalion	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
al-Nusrah Front	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
al-Qa’ida	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
al-Qa’ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
al-Qa’ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
al-Shabaab	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Ansar al-Dine (AAD)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Ansar al-Islam (AAI)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Ansar al-Shari’a in Benghazi	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Ansar al-Shari’a in Darnah	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Ansar al-Shari’a in Tunisia	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Ansaru	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Army of Islam (AOI)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Asbat al-Ansar (AAA)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Aum Shinrikyo (AUM)	None of these categories; AUM is a personality-driven cult
Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA)	Ethnic Nationalism
Boko Haram	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Communist Party of the Philippines/New People’s Army (CPP/NPA)	Egalitarianism (Political, Economic)
Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA)	Ethnic Nationalism
Gama’a al-Islamiyya (Islamic Group) (IG)	Religious Fundamentalism
HAMAS	Religious Nationalism
Haqqani Network (HQN)	Religious Nationalism, Religious Fundamentalism
Harakat ul-Jihad-i-Islami (HUJI)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Harakat ul-Jihad-i-Islami/Bangladesh (HUJI-B)	Religious Nationalism, Ethnic Nationalism
Harakat ul-Mujahidin (HUM)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Hizballah	Religious Fundamentalism, Ethnic Nationalism
Indian Mujahidin (IM)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Islamic Jihad Union (IJU)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Islamic State of Iraq and ash-Sham (ISIS)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Islamic State of Iraq and ash-Sham–Khorasan (ISIS-K)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Islamic State of Iraq and ash-Sham–Libya (ISIS-Libya)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Islamic State of Iraq and ash-Sham–Sinai Province (formally Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Jaysh-e-Mohammed (JEM)	Religious Fundamentalism, Ethnic Nationalism
Jaysh Rijal al-Tariq al Naqshabandi (JRTN)	Ethnic Nationalism, Egalitarianism (Political, Economic)
Jemaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Jemaah Islamiya (JI)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism

DESIGNATED FOREIGN TERRORIST ORGANIZATION	PRIMARY, SECONDARY MOVEMENT ORIENTATION TYPES
Jundallah	Ethnic Nationalism, Religious Nationalism
Kahane Chai (Kach)	Religious Fundamentalism
Kata’ib Hizballah (KH)	Religious Nationalism, Religious Fundamentalism
Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) (Kongra-Gel)	Ethnic Nationalism
Lashkar-e Tayyiba (LeT)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Lashkar-i-Jhangvi (LJ)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism, Ethnic Nationalism
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)	Ethnic Nationalism
Mujahidin Shura Council in the Environs of Jerusalem (MSC)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
National Liberation Army (ELN)	Egalitarianism (Political, Economic), Anti-Federalism, Religious Nationalism
Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)	Religious Nationalism, Ethnic Nationalism
Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)	Religious Nationalism, Ethnic Nationalism
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)	Religious Nationalism, Egalitarianism (Political, Economic)
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC)	Religious Nationalism
Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA)	Ethnic Nationalism, Egalitarianism (Political, Economic)
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)	Egalitarianism (Political, Economic)
Revolutionary People’s Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C)	Egalitarianism (Political, Economic)
Revolutionary Struggle (RS)	Egalitarianism (Political, Economic), Anti-Federalism
Shining Path (SL)	Egalitarianism (Political, Economic), Ethnic Nationalism
Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP)	Religious Fundamentalism

**Delisted Foreign Terrorist Organizations
(That Were Active During This Study’s Time Frame)**

DELISTED FOREIGN TERRORIST ORGANIZATION	PRIMARY, SECONDARY MOVEMENT ORIENTATION TYPES
Armed Islamic Group (GIA)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine-Hawatmeh Faction	Religious Nationalism, Egalitarianism (Political, Economic)
Japanese Red Army	Egalitarianism (Political, Economic), Ethnic Nationalism
Khmer Rouge	Egalitarianism (Political, Economic), Ethnic Nationalism
Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front Dissidents	Egalitarianism (Political, Economic)
Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (GICM)	Religious Fundamentalism, Religious Nationalism
Mujahidin-e Khalq Organization (MEK)	Religious Nationalism, Egalitarianism (Political, Economic)
Revolutionary Nuclei	Egalitarianism (Political, Economic)
Revolutionary Organization 17 November (17N)	Egalitarianism (Political, Economic), Ethnic Nationalism
Tupac Amaru Revolution Movement	Egalitarianism (Political, Economic), Ethnic Nationalism