

**Terrorism and Global Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (2011 – 2022)**

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**In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of Master of Science Degree  
(MSc) in International Relations**

### **Certification**

This is to certify that **Omolara Eunice AKINLABI** with the matriculation number **LCU/PG/003064** carried out this research work titled “Terrorism and Global Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (2011-2022)” in the Department of Politics & International Relations, Faculty of Management & Social Sciences, Lead City University Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria for the award of Master of Science Degree (MSc) in International Relations and that this has not been previously submitted.

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## **Dedication**

To God Almighty, the Giver of life and wisdom, to Whom all honour and majesty belong,  
Who saw me through the period of this programme.

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## **Acknowledgement**

First, I thank God Almighty for seeing me through this programme. My profound gratitude goes to Lead City University for providing me with the enabling environment and opportunity to pursue this course. I acknowledge the usefulness of the university library for the resources used in gathering information. I equally express my appreciation to the members of staff at the Department of Politics and International Relations, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences for imparting so much in me.

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Even though the above-mentioned institutions and persons have assisted in the process of this research work, the researcher alone stand responsible for the errors, if any, found in the work.

## Abstract

Terrorism is a global phenomenon and it has many implications on the security of the contemporary world. The impact of terrorism is more than the immediate consequences of an attack, it has ripple effect on all aspects of life such as economic, social, psychological, political and others. Economic factors such as poverty, political factors and social/psychological factors are major causes of terrorism. Governments in various nations are committing so much resources in order to combat the menace especially since the turn it has taken after 9/11 attacks on the United States. In explaining this study, Relative Deprivation and Grievance Theory, Social Identity Theory, Rationality and Rational Choice Theory are used. Secondary data were utilised to gather information for the study. The study found out that historical grievances and simmering resentments; anger and frustration among marginalized groups; digital age and social media are some of the drivers of terrorism. The study concluded that addressing terrorism requires a comprehensive and coordinated approach, demanding cooperation between governments, civil society organisations, and other stakeholders, with a focus on promoting peace, stability, and economic development in regions affected by terrorism. Effective and comprehensive countermeasures, creating and strengthening international cooperation, addressing the root causes of terrorism are some of the recommendations the study made.

**Keywords:** Terrorism, Security, 21<sup>st</sup> Century, and Globalisation.

**Word Count:** 208

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## **List of Acronyms**

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
BH	Boko Haram
CTF	Counter-Terrorist Finance
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FLQ	Front de Liberation du Québec
GMM	Generalised Method of Moments
GNP	Gross National Product
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
RCT	Rational Choice Theory
SPS	Science for Peace and Security
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TPA	Terrorism Prevention Act
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children Emergency Fund
UNOCT	United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism
UNOWA	United Nations Office for West Africa and Sahel

## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

There are serious implications of terrorism in and around the globe and it has been a major concern for all security agents and citizens from various parts of the world. It has led to increased military spending, the erosion of civil liberties, the rise of nationalism, and the polarisation of societies. It has significant implications for global security and the impact is multifaceted<sup>1</sup>. Terrorism has also led to an increase in anti-immigrant sentiment, which has resulted in a rise in hate crimes<sup>2</sup>. The most obvious impact is the loss of human lives and the physical damage caused by terrorist attacks. The threat of terrorism has led to increased security measures in many countries, which has resulted in a reduction of civil liberties. Unfortunately, the tension between security and civil liberties is a delicate balance that must be maintained to ensure the protection of citizens and their rights.

Terrorism poses a significant security challenge on a global scale, with Sub-Saharan Africa being particularly affected. The emergence of several militant and terrorist organisations has transformed the region into a focal point of intense and lethal terrorist actions. The region of Northeastern Nigeria has been subject to acts of extreme terrorism, predominantly associated with Boko Haram, a jihadist group that is presently recognised as one of the most lethal. Boko Haram has emerged as the predominant terrorist organisation in Nigeria, given its significant impact on the country, including the displacement of more than 5 million individuals, a substantial number of kidnapping incidents, and numerous fatalities<sup>11</sup>. The affiliation between Boko Haram and ISIS has provided the former with considerable access

to extensive resources within the international terrorist network. According to a recent study conducted by the University of Maryland on global terrorism, commissioned by the American government, it was found that the number of deaths attributed to Boko Haram surpasses those caused by al Qaeda in Iraq, the Maoists in India, as well as al-Shabab and al Qaeda Arabian Peninsula<sup>10</sup>.

It is important to note that the impact of terrorism goes beyond the immediate consequences of an attack. Terrorism can have a profound effect on the economy, social cohesion, and political stability of a country<sup>3,4</sup>. The fear and uncertainty generated by terrorism can lead to a decline in economic activity, the erosion of civil liberties, and the rise of authoritarianism<sup>5</sup>. Terrorism can also lead to the displacement of people and the destabilization of regions, creating conditions that are conducive to the emergence of new terrorist groups.

The history of terrorism shows that it has evolved over time and has been influenced by political, economic, social, and ideological factors. Also, the impact of terrorism on global security goes beyond the immediate consequences of an attack and can have far-reaching effects on the economy, social cohesion, and political stability of a country. For instance, the attacks of September 11, 2001 in the US, remains the most popular terror attack and its effect is still devastating<sup>6</sup>. Perpetrated by terrorist group Al-Qaeda, led by Osama bin Laden, the attack in the US affected the economy negatively as collapse of businesses occurred significantly. As indicated, terrorist strikes were the greatest misfortune for the insurance business in 2001. The 9/11 assault had both immediate and long-haul economic effect, some of which continues to date. Because of these assaults, over 3,000 lives were lost, the stock market was shut for seven days, and it caused the Dow to drop just about 700 points, exacerbating the 2001 recession. Be that as it may, it cost Al-Qaeda an estimated \$400,000 to

\$500,000 to design and execute the attacks, it cost the U.S. much more<sup>7</sup>. In addition, the New York Comptroller's Office in 2002 revealed that the real damage caused by 9/11 was assessed to be \$55 billion, of which \$24 billion represents the projected cost of lives lost. The World Trade Centre building alone was estimated to be worth \$8 billion. PCs, furniture, and automobiles cost \$6 billion, while damages to utilities and the subway system cost another \$6 billion and \$5 billion, respectively. \$1 billion was required to clean up the area, while \$5 billion was used to heal injuries, including those sustained by call takers who inhaled toxic dust<sup>8</sup>.

Moreso, in a study that seeks to understand the intergenerational impact of 9/11 terrorism attack, it was found that the timing of the effect provides evidence that intrauterine growth is specifically restricted by first trimester exposure to stress; reductions in gestational age and increases in the likelihood of being born at low (<2,500 grams) or very low (<1,500 grams) birth weight are induced by increased maternal psychological stress mid-pregnancy. This study also documents a positively selected post-attack fertility response, which would bias an evaluation that includes cohorts conceived after September 11, 2001<sup>9</sup>. This means that negative effect of terrorism attack is not only economical, it also affects the health status of the unborn generation.

The study of terrorism and its implications on global security is essential to understanding the challenges faced by the world today. It is essential to understand the causes and motivations behind terrorist activities and to develop strategies to combat terrorism effectively.

This thesis examines the concept, and origin of terrorism, and its implications of terrorism on global security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In addition, this study focuses on the causes and

motivations behind terrorist activities, the tactics and strategies used by terrorists, and the international and regional response to terrorism.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Terrorism has become a significant global threat in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, with devastating effects on human lives and the global economy. The evolving nature of terrorism and terrorists use of advanced technologies pose challenges for states and international organisations responsible for global security. The proliferation of terrorist groups, their global reach, and their access to sophisticated tools make it difficult to track and counter their activities effectively.

Unfortunately, terrorism and the acts are not confined to specific regions; it has become a transnational threat that affects countries worldwide. Global terrorist groups like Al Qaeda, ISIS, and Boko Haram operate across borders, requiring a coordinated response from the international community. However, the lack of a unified approach has allowed terrorists to exploit weaknesses in the system.

In addition, advancements in technology have further complicated the problem. Social media and encrypted messaging platforms enable terrorists to spread propaganda, recruit members, and coordinate attacks easily. Drones, cyberattacks, and other technologies offer new means for terrorists to carry out their plans, making it challenging for states to monitor and respond effectively.

Countering terrorism through military force, intelligence gathering, and law enforcement has been a traditional approach, but its effectiveness has been questioned due to civilian casualties and human rights abuses. Such actions can lead to the radicalization of local

populations and increase support for terrorists. Addressing the issue requires a comprehensive response from the international community. In view of this, a multifaceted approach that would balance the protection of human rights and civil liberties with the need for security is necessary. This is the main reason for this study.

### **1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study**

This study seeks to understand terrorism and its implication on global security and the objectives were to:

- i. examine the historical and contextual factors contributing to the rise and spread of terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.
- ii. analyse the nature and scope of terrorism evolution in the contemporary global landscape.
- iii. assess the major consequences and implications of terrorism on national and international security.
- iv. identify the key challenges and obstacles in countering terrorism effectively.
- v. propose effective strategies, policies, and counter measures to enhance global security and counter the threat of terrorism.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

The central question of this study is to ascertain the effect of terrorism and its implication on global security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The study will be guided by the following specific questions:

1. How has the historical and contextual factors contributed to the rise and spread of terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

2. How has the nature and scope of terrorism evolved in the contemporary global landscape?
3. What are the major consequences and implications of terrorism on national and international security?
4. What are the key challenges and obstacles in countering terrorism effectively?
5. How are the strategies, policies, and counter measures enhancing global security and counter the threat of terrorism.

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

Terrorism has emerged as a grave threat to global security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, impacting nations worldwide and challenging the established international order. This research investigates the multifaceted implications of terrorism on global security, recognising its complex dynamics and consequences across political, social, and economic dimensions.

The importance of this study cannot be overstated as it is crucial. Understanding the underlying causes, motivations, and dynamics of terrorism is crucial to formulating appropriate responses that can effectively mitigate the threat and ensure the safety of nations and their citizens.

Moreover, terrorism transcends national borders and has the potential to disrupt regional and global peace and security. Terrorist networks, such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS, have shown their ability to operate across multiple countries and exploit existing conflicts and power vacuums.

The interconnectedness of today's world amplifies the impact of terrorism, making it imperative for nations to collaborate and coordinate efforts in combating this transnational

menace. This study seeks to shed light on the global implications of terrorism and emphasise the necessity of international cooperation to address the challenges it poses.

Existing literature often examines terrorism from a regional or national perspective, neglecting the broader implications on the international stage. By bridging this gap, this study will contribute to the existing body of knowledge by offering a holistic understanding of how terrorism shapes global security dynamics.

Furthermore, as terrorism continues to evolve and adapt to the changing global landscape, it is essential to explore new theoretical frameworks that can capture these complexities. This study adopts a deeper view, drawing upon theories and concepts from fields such as international relations, security studies, political science, sociology, and psychology. By integrating diverse perspectives, this research provides a broad analysis of terrorism's implications, taking into account the interplay between political, social, and economic factors.

The findings of this study will have significant practical and policy implications for governments, international organisations, and policymakers involved in counterterrorism efforts. Understanding the implications of terrorism on global security will enable policymakers to develop evidence-based strategies and allocate resources effectively. It will also contribute to the formulation of preventive measures that address the root causes of terrorism, such as socio-economic disparities, political grievances, and ideological radicalisation.

Additionally, this research will provide insights into the effectiveness of current counterterrorism initiatives and highlight areas that require further attention and improvement. By identifying best practices and lessons learned from past experiences, policymakers will be better equipped to develop comprehensive and sustainable approaches

to counter the global threat of terrorism. By doing this, the study promotes socioeconomic resilience in the face of the terrorism threat, strengthens international security cooperation, and helps build successful counterterrorism policies.

### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The study uses a holistic approach by investigating numerous issues linked to terrorism, including its causes, manifestations, and effects on a worldwide scale. It examines how terrorism is changing in the modern world and evaluate how it affects various nations, regions, and international security frameworks.

In addition, the study also examines some terrorist attacks that occurred from the year 2010 till date. This allowed the study to investigate its core objectives in details with certain themes to establish key findings.

### **1.7 Limitation of the Study**

The topic of the research is quite wide and due to the limited time, the researcher has to complete the entire program, the study had to be limited in terms of scope covered, and also access to certain publications were restrained for institutions and/or students. Time spent in collecting data had to be structured within the timeframe of the entire program, as the researcher had to combine lectures with examinations and other academic commitments, as well as deadlines.

## 1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

- **Terrorism:** Any act intended to cause death or serious bodily injury to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organisation to do or abstain from doing any act.
- **Marginalisation:** Marginalisation refers to the process of excluding individuals them from full participation and denying them equal access to resources, opportunities, and decision-making.
- **Global Security:** Global security refers to the collective efforts and measures taken by nations and international organisations to ensure the protection and preservation of peace, stability, and safety on a global scale.
- **State Actors:** State actors refer to governments or ruling authorities of a state or country. They are the traditional and dominant actors in international relations, setting the rules that structure how their citizens interact through trade or other means.
- **Non-state Actors:** Non-state actors are organisations or individuals that are not affiliated with, directed by, or funded by any government. They include a wide range of entities such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), multinational corporations, private military organisations, media outlets, banks, corporations, labour unions, people's liberation movements, lobby groups, religious groups, aid agencies, and violent non-state actors such as paramilitary forces and criminal organisations like drug cartels.

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## **Chapter Two**

### **Literature Review**

This chapter contains literature review on terrorism as a critical analysis of existing research and scholarship related to the subject of terrorism. The aim of this review is to provide a comprehensive overview of the current state of knowledge, theories, trends, and gaps in the field of terrorism studies.

#### **2.1 Conceptual Review**

##### **2.1.1 Terrorism**

##### 2.1.2 Historical Evolution of Terrorism

##### 2.1.3. Early Historical Instances of Terrorism

#### **2.2. Theoretical Framework**

##### 2.2.1. Rational Choice Theory

##### 2.2.2. Realism Theory

#### **2.3. Review of Empirical Studies**

#### **2.4. Conceptual Framework**

#### **2.5 Summary of Gap in Literature Reviewed**

#### **2.1 Conceptual Review**

##### **2.1.1 Terrorism**

Discussions on terrorism are diverse and an attempt must be made at defining the subject as it is a politically charged debate that can be very controversial. The subject is very controversial as "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter"; and with this, the views are always divided with a supporting and opposing side<sup>1</sup>. These views imply that there

are two mankind; one that cooperates and the other which conflicts and poses a threat to human society<sup>2</sup>. While the latter poses a “threat”; it is pertinent to define what “threat”-terrorism is, the concept, origin and general perception of the subject of terrorism.

With regards to concept of terrorism, there exist a wide range of discussion on the subject. Due to this, academics and researchers have given the term "terrorism" various definitions. Today, terrorism is seen as both a global threat that affects every country and a barrier to the development of social orders governed by the rule of law. Despite these views, it is important to understand “terrorism” and the divergent views. Moreover, it’s important to note that the absence of a universally agreed-upon definition of terrorism has led to ongoing debates and discussions on the topic. The diverse range of definitions reflects the complex and multifaceted nature of terrorism, which encompasses various forms, motivations, and actors. Additionally, the definition of terrorism can be influenced by political and legal considerations, which may vary from one context to another. As a result, researchers and policymakers continue to grapple with the challenge of arriving at a comprehensive and widely accepted definition of terrorism.

The definition of terrorism can vary among authors, scholars, governments, and international organizations. Different definitions often reflect varying perspectives, legal considerations, and political motivations. The researcher considers varying definitions which includes the following: Although, the United Nations has not provided a universally accepted definition of terrorism. However, it has outlined the idea that terrorism involves acts that are intended to provoke a state of terror in the general public, among other elements<sup>121</sup>. The FBI defines terrorism as "the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of

political or social objectives<sup>122</sup>. "The U.S. Department of State defines terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets, usually intended to influence an audience<sup>123</sup>. Moreso, a prominent terrorism researcher, defines terrorism as "the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective by targeting innocent people"<sup>124</sup>. Another terrorism expert defines terrorism as "the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change"<sup>124</sup>. Terrorism is the threat or use of violence to create fear and alarm<sup>125</sup>.

However, one academic scientist stated that the concept of viewpoint holds significant importance when attempting to define terrorism. In order to have a comprehensive understanding of terrorism, it is imperative to get insight into the fundamental origins of this phenomenon. In order to ascertain these measures, it is imperative to comprehend the significance of extremism as a fundamental characteristic inherent in all forms of terrorist conduct. Individuals that express dissent against the ideological perspective or aggressive actions of an extremist organisation, frequently individuals who have been victimised or targeted by said extremist groups, would inherently classify them as terrorists.

In contrast, individuals for whom the group advocates and on whose behalf the terrorist conflict is waged frequently perceive them as freedom warriors, despite the fact that their tactics may not accurately reflect the sentiments of the population they claim to represent. A significant number of radical Islamists perceive themselves as Mujahidin (holy warriors) or Shaheed (martyrs). Their primary motivation stems from a selfless commitment to obeying God's will, rather than adhering to Western concepts of freedom. It is well recognised among scholars that the notion of one individual being labelled a terrorist while being perceived as a

freedom fighter by another individual is a fundamental aspect that greatly influences the ongoing discourse surrounding the definition of terrorism<sup>129</sup>.

The term "terrorism" was coined during the French Revolution, where it was used to describe the reign of terror. It has since been used to describe various acts of violence committed by individuals or groups against innocent civilians and the state<sup>3</sup>.

Terrorism is the unlawful use of viciousness and intimidation, particularly against regular citizens, in pursuit of political objectives. Also, it is seen as fierce or destructive acts committed by groups to threaten governments into conceding to their requests<sup>4</sup>. It can also be said that terrorism can be defined as the use of violence, intimidation, or coercion to achieve political or ideological objectives. In another vein, it is any act intended to cause death or serious bodily injury to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organisation to do or abstain from doing any act.

The term "terrorism" is complex and describes it as a disturbing form of brutality, a battle plan or strategy used to achieve specific goals, and an approach used to advance a condition of fear in its victims that do not uphold humanitarian standards and exposure is crucial for its approach. Typically, this entails the murder of innocent people and the destruction of property in order to spread fear and panic throughout the entire world.

Terrorism, by extension is the threat or use of violence for political purposes when (i) such action is intended to influence the attitude and behaviour of a target group wider than its immediate victim; and (ii) its ramifications transcend national boundaries<sup>5</sup>.

Without doubt, it is a complex phenomenon that involves the use of violence to achieve political goals. The perpetrators of terrorism are often motivated by a desire to change the status quo and create a new order that reflects their political, religious, or ideological beliefs. Additionally, terrorism is not limited to a particular region or country. It is a global threat that affects everyone. Terrorist organisations operate in different parts of the world, and their activities have far-reaching consequences. The emergence of new technologies has made it easier for terrorists to communicate, coordinate, and carry out attacks.

Historically, the origins of modern terrorism may be linked to revolutionary radicalism in the nineteenth century, particularly the advent of "anarchist," "collectivist anarchist," and "anarcho-communist" movements. This was evident as, many individuals or groups led by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, a Frenchman, Karl Marx, a German, and Mikhail Bakunin, a Russian; have all influenced the anti-establishment model. This was further enshrined as German revolutionary Karl Heinzen first discussed the use of violence, including mass murder, by individuals to bring about political change and subsequently creating the word *Freiheitskämpfer* or "*freedom fighter*" in the process. Ever since, terrorism has been on the increase with some individuals ascribing the rise to technological developments, political differences and personal ideologies<sup>6</sup>.

From the global perspective down to the Nigeria nation, the term "terrorism" may be traced back to its origins in late 18th-century revolutionary France, namely during the Reign of Terror. This period, which occurred during the Enlightenment Period, serves as the foundation for the concept of terrorism as it is understood today. The period known as the Reign of Terror was characterised by the French populace's violent actions under the leadership of Maximilien Robespierre during the French Revolution. The terminology

underwent a transformation in the mid-1800s, wherein it came to denote individuals who engaged in acts of violent revolution against established governmental authorities<sup>130</sup>. During the early 1900s, the term was employed within the United States to designate labour organisations and individuals associated with anarchism. The phrase became linked to nationalist factions that rebelled against European hegemony in the aftermath of World War II. During the 1940s-1950s, France and England saw significant impacts due to their colonial colonisation across multiple continents, particularly in Africa.

Furthermore, during the 1940s, the establishment of the State of Israel took place in the Middle East. The transition from Ottoman rule to British colonial governance in Palestine, which occurred during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, is commonly referred to as the Balfour Declaration of 1917. This declaration entailed a promise made to the Jewish population, guaranteeing them a homeland in Palestine. The failure of the British to fulfil their pledge led to the Jews resorting to urban terrorism and forming the Irgun Zvai Leumi, a national armed organisation, with the aim of removing the British. The French experienced significant hardships due to terrorist assaults in Africa, specifically targeted at their colonial presence in Algeria by the National Liberation Front (NLF). Similarly, the Mau targeted the English colonies in Kenya<sup>131</sup>.

The acts of terrorism persisted until 1948, when Israel attained recognition as a sovereign state. However, this did not bring an end to the ongoing wars in the Middle East for Israel. The emergence of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) further exacerbated the tensions, as it continued its resistance against non-Arab entities in the region<sup>130</sup>.

As of the present time, the Middle East conflict has not shown signs of abating, resulting in the emergence of left-wing factions that have redefined the concept of terrorism. History

provides evidence that the Sicarii were identified as an extreme faction of Jewish Zealots who engaged in acts of terrorism against the Roman Empire during the period of 66-70 AD. Their tactics encompassed a range of strategies, such as employing daggers to assassinate perceived adversaries in public settings. The primary focus of their attacks encompassed Greek inhabitants residing in Judea, Roman officials, and individuals within the Jewish community who were perceived to have affiliations with the Roman authorities<sup>131</sup>.

The Sicarii zealots were driven by a singular objective: the eradication of Roman authority, as they firmly believed that this would pave the way for the arrival of their awaited Messiah.

The historical evidence also demonstrates that nationalist movements or the ideology of nationalism served as a catalyst for individuals who later became involved in acts of terrorism, particularly throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This particular period of terrorism was distinguished by the efforts of nationalists who sought to establish independent nations for individuals living under colonial governance. These individuals employed a variety of methods, including acts of terrorism, in order to accomplish their objectives. In support of his analysis of terrorism, the author suggests that criminology has not completely incorporated historical factors such as colonialism, imperialism, and neocolonialism as mechanisms of economic, political, social, and cultural control. These concerns were of basic importance in the field of criminology as it sought to elucidate the causes of terrorism and develop essential strategies to combat it.

Terrorism, historically associated with shifts in intellectual perspectives on social matters and class-based uprisings such as the Russian Revolution, exhibits a clear pattern: the interpretation and methodology adopted by terrorist organisations or acts of terrorism have evolved in tandem with societal transformations. Currently, terrorism is commonly linked to

several organizations such as Hezbollah, al Qaeda, Boko Haram, al Shabab, the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), and the Islamic State (I.S.). The last two entities are widely recognized as ISIS by the media and a significant portion of the general populace. These groups have the ability to function autonomously, irrespective of any particular state, and consist of individuals who espouse violent religious extremism.

The potential ramifications of a terrorist partnership between Boko Haram, a lethal jihadist group in Nigeria, and ISIS, which serves as a global platform for their objective of establishing a Caliphate in the greatest economy in Africa, could catch the public off guard. Table 1 presents a comprehensive overview of the ten nations now experiencing the highest levels of terrorism worldwide. Notably, Nigeria occupies the third position on this list, following the countries situated in the Middle East. This ranking serves as an indication of the significant challenges Nigeria faces, suggesting that the nation is precariously positioned on the verge of potential collapse<sup>131</sup>.

The “act” has been present throughout human history, but its contemporary form emerged in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The first wave of modern terrorism occurred during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This wave was characterised by anarchist attacks on government officials and buildings. The second wave of terrorism occurred in the 1960s and 1970s and was marked by nationalist and leftist groups seeking to achieve their objectives through violence. The third wave of terrorism emerged in the 1980s and is characterised by the rise of religious extremism, particularly Islamic extremism. The 21<sup>st</sup> century has seen a continuation of this trend, with a rise in religiously motivated terrorism<sup>7</sup>.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the rise of terrorism has been a major concern for policymakers, security experts, and the general public. In recent years, acts of terrorism have become sophisticated

and more devastating, posing a significant threat to global security with devastating consequences. It is fast becoming a global phenomenon that has affected the world for centuries and it continues to be used in numerous forms to achieve various goals namely political, ideological, and even religious<sup>8</sup>.

The causes of terrorism are complex and multifaceted. The most commonly cited causes of terrorism include political, economic, social, and ideological factors. Political factors include the desire to change the political system or government policies. Economic factors include poverty, unemployment, and inequality. In addition, the social factors include discrimination, marginalisation, and alienation. While the ideological factors include religious or nationalist beliefs that motivate individuals to engage in acts of violence<sup>9</sup>. The combination of these factors can create a fertile ground for the emergence of terrorism that can transcend comprehension.

There are five essential elements to terrorism: the commission of a violent act, the presence of an audience, the fostering of a climate of fear, the use of innocent victims, and any political objectives or motivations<sup>10</sup>. Attacks on the defenceless are not an unintended side consequence of terrorism; rather, they are a calculated strategy, and the threat of violence is similar to both. Terrorists deliberately and needlessly plot and carry out the death and/or maiming of unconnected, innocent people. No terrorist group or organisation acts haphazardly or senselessly; instead, they all aim to gain the most notoriety possible from their dastard acts. In fact, they want to terrorise people so they would submit and be controlled by fear<sup>10,11</sup>. They play to and for an audience in an effort to impress, and encourage people of like minds and intent to take part in their crusade. With this, many terrorist groups raise awareness for their cause and win support from around the world.

In another thought, attacks on the defenceless are not an unintended side consequence of terrorism; rather, they are a calculated strategy, and the threat of violence is similar to both. Terrorists deliberately and needlessly plot and carry out the death and/or maiming of unconnected, innocent people<sup>12</sup>. No terrorist group or organisation acts haphazardly or senselessly; instead, they all aim to gain the most notoriety possible from their deeds. They want to terrorise people so they would submit and be controlled by fear. They play to and for an audience in an effort to impress, and perhaps gain sympathy.

Terrorism is no more a minor issue, like an annoyance that can be put up with and the concept of is not a new phenomenon in human history. It is a concept that is complex, multifaceted and emotive. It is complex because it combines so many different aspects of human experiences, including politics, psychology, philosophy, military strategy, religion and history. Terrorism is emotive both because experiences of terrorist acts arouse tremendous feelings and because those who see terrorists as justified often have strong feelings concerning the rightness of the use of violence in solving differences among mankind.

All legitimate states—those that uphold the rule of law—are under a genuine, significant, and growing threat to their peace and security; and it poses a global threat. More so, terrorism refers to the strategic utilisation of violence with the aim of instilling widespread fear within a society, ultimately serving as a means to achieve specific political goals. Terrorism has been employed by political entities pursuing aims aligned with both right-wing and left-wing ideologies, as well as by nationalist and religious factions. Additionally, acts of terrorism have been perpetrated by revolutionary movements, and in some instances, even by governmental institutions such as militaries, intelligence services, and police forces. The

legal definition of terrorism is not universally established across all jurisdictions. Nonetheless, existing statutes commonly exhibit certain shared components. Terrorism encompasses the utilisation or expression of violence with the intention of instilling fear, not alone within the immediate targets, but also among a broad spectrum of individuals. The differentiation between terrorism and conventional or guerilla warfare resides in the extent to which terrorism is predicated on the utilisation of fear<sup>120</sup>.

### **2.1.2 Historical Evolution of Terrorism**

The term terrorism from the etymological concept had its origin from the French word '*terrorisme*' which in turn derives from the Latin word, 'terreo' which means to frighten<sup>13</sup>. It means state-terrorism as practiced by the French during the 1794 era of terror<sup>14</sup>.

The fanatical Zealots were a Jewish sect active in Judea during the first century who committed some of the earliest known acts of terrorism. The Zealots waged a deliberate assassination-based campaign against the Roman Empire. Wherever there were witnesses to the bloodshed, zealot fighters attacked their foes. The Zealots wanted their actions to reach a larger audience in order to spread a message. Similar strategies were also employed by the Assassins, an Islamic movement, in their conflict with the Christian Crusaders between the years of 1090 and 1272. The Assassins subscribed to the same ideas of self-denial and suicide martyrdom that are still practiced by some Islamic terrorist organisations today. They viewed violence as a sacramental or heavenly act, ensuring that those who committed it would ascend to a glorious afterlife should they die while carrying it out. Some authors have sought to establish analogies between current events and historical precedent by pointing to the Islamic Assassins of the 13<sup>th</sup> century as the forerunners of contemporary terrorists, as stated in the Almanac of Modern Terrorism<sup>14</sup>.

In reality, religion served as the primary excuse for the use of terrorism up to the French Revolution. The Jacobins, under the leadership of Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety, started the Reign of Terror when King Louis XVI was put to death. More than 12,000 French individuals died as a result of being thought to be against the new revolutionary rule. The French Revolution added politics to terrorism, and nationalism mainly replaced religious objectives, in contrast to earlier history's mass killings, which were committed mostly for religious reasons.

Violence was both morally justified and politically effective, as the French Revolution demonstrated<sup>15</sup>. Before Martin Luther, people blindly accepted that religion was supreme. Prerequisites for the events leading to the French Revolution were a greater desire for knowledge and a quest for independence. However, due to the stability of their regimes, the Middle Eastern nations that continued to be driven by religious attitudes and values were unable to stage a revolution. As a result, religious motivations continue to be a driving force behind terrorist attacks committed in such nations. The French Revolution, on the other hand, which was inspired by Enlightenment values, switched the focus from religion to nationalism and democracy. Similar to the class conflict that exists today in the global community between rich and poor groupings of people, the rich bourgeoisie of that era, supported by the Church, and the low-level individuals used by the bourgeoisie, engaged in conflict.

As secular political groups such as nationalism, anarchism, Marxism, and others formed in the 1800s to oppose kings' divine power, the situation altered. However, religious motivations were not totally absent. The majority of European populations rebelled against the Church's control of political life and established secular civilisations. During the final stages of the French Revolution, rebels and constitutionalists supported modern terrorism,

while Narodnoya Volya promoted it in Russia. Precisely, the origins of contemporary terrorism can be traced to left-wing movements in mid-to-late 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15</sup>.

In many aspects, the Russian Revolutionary organization Narodnoya Volya served as the model for several groups in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. During its brief but brutal conflict with the tsarist government in the late 1870s and 1880s, this group assassinated a number of high-ranking government and law enforcement officers. In many aspects, the Russian Revolutionary organisation Narodnoya Volya served as the model for several groups in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. During its brief but brutal conflict with the tsarist government in the late 1870s and 1880s, this group assassinated a number of high-ranking government and law enforcement officers.

A successor group to Narodnoya Volya, the Social Revolution Party, emerged at the turn of the century. The Social Revolutionaries, who were more overtly Marxist than their forerunners, also aimed to further their cause by murdering powerful individuals. Future terrorists adopted the revolutionary, anti-government stance of the People's Will. The organisation adopted "propaganda by the deed," utilising the terrorist act as instruction, and chose targets that symbolised the oppressive tools of the state. By doing so, it aimed to spread awareness of the injustices the government had imposed on the populace and to mobilise support for revolution. Tsar Alexander II was killed in March 1881 by a member of the People's Will. Their plan was to establish the Anarchist International, often known as the Black International due to the dark colour of the flag they chose to fly, in order to plan and finance a worldwide terrorist uprising that would topple both monarchies and democratically elected governments.

Labor unrest in the United States also involved anarchist groups. These arguments occasionally descended into violence as a result of anarchist provocations. In general, a wave of terrorist activity with anarchist inspiration was observed between 1880 and the start of World War I. World War I is thought to have started as a result of a terrorist attack on a royal heir. In an effort to rid his nation of Austrian tyranny, a Bosnian Serb killed Austrian archduke Francis Ferdinand on June 28, 1914, when he was in Bosnia's capital city of Sarajevo. Similar to many modern state sponsors of terrorism, Serbia supported several revolutionary movements in nearby countries by giving them weapons, intelligence, training, and other support. Many nations still fund terrorism today as a means of advancing their own national objectives. Realists contend that national interests should come first, not the rights of individual nations or minorities<sup>15</sup>.

In the 1920s and 1930s, terrorism was more frequently linked to the oppressive methods used by autocratic governments. It includes the intimidation imposed by the totalitarian regimes that were installed in Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union, respectively, under the Nazi, Fascist, and Communist ideologies. These governments used repressive methods such as beatings, illegal detentions, torture, so-called death squads, and other types of intimidation against their citizens. In the Middle East, systematic terrorism emerged in the 1930s and 1940s as Irgun and LEHI fought the British in Palestine and the fanatical Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. The FLN also engaged in anticolonial terrorism against the British Empire in Cyprus and Aden, as well as against the French in Algeria<sup>15</sup>.

Terrorism's prior revolutionary connotations returned after World War II. Terrorism was the term used to characterise acts of violence committed by indigenous nationalist, anticolonial groups that emerged throughout Asia, Africa, and the Middle East during the 1940s and

1950s in opposition to the then-current European control. Nationalist movements that employed terrorism are at least partially responsible for the independence of nations like Israel, Kenya, Cyprus, and Algeria. The 1946 bombing of Jerusalem's King David Hotel by a Jewish underground organisation known as the Irgun Zvai Le'umi (National Military Organisation) was the most serious terrorist act of the anticolonial era. Terrorism began to take on its modern form after World War II. Publicity, the importance of the target decision, and well-defined objectives were introduced

### **2.1.3 Early Historical Instances of Terrorism**

Since the 1960s, there have been enough instances of international terrorism to warrant its steady ascent on the global agenda. Ideological motivations for terrorism emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Several marginalised or exiled nationalist minority turned to terrorism to raise awareness of their condition and win sympathy from around the world. The West Bank, Gaza Strip, and the area that became Israel in 1948—all formerly known as Palestine—were the areas where the PLO intended to establish a state. These areas have been under Israeli occupation since the 1967 Six-Day War. The attack, which is regarded symbolically as heralding the start of the current period of international terrorism, was carried out by a Palestinian group. Three armed Palestinians from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) hijacked an Israeli airliner named El Al on July 22, 1968, as it was flying from Rome, Italy, to Tel Aviv, Israel. Although commercial aircraft had previously been hijacked frequently, this was the first hijacking that was obviously political.

The action was planned to spark a global crisis and garner media attention. As a result, terrorism became globalised in the sense that it attracted attention on a worldwide scale for a transnational act. Two years later, the PFLP hijacked three commercial aircraft—two

American and one Swiss—in an even more dramatic international incident<sup>16</sup>. As television cameras captured the action for a global audience, the planes were flown to a distant airport in Jordan and blown up after the passengers were evacuated. This was the first instance of a terrorist attack with a global scope comparable to the September 11<sup>th</sup> attack. Terrorists benefited from globalisation's features of communication and media influence. One of the most infamous instances of terrorism's capacity to advance its cause on the global political agenda is the murder of 11 Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games.

The athletes were taken hostage by members of the Palestinian organisation Black September. Global viewers of the Olympics were instead treated to a gruesome hostage crisis that culminated in a failed rescue effort by German authorities that resulted in the deaths of both the terrorists and their hostages. The Munich hostage taking's publicity was successfully used by the PLO. Yasir Arafat, the PLO's leader, was invited to address the UN General Assembly in 1974, and the UN later gave the PLO privileged observer status. Within a decade, the PLO, a group that was not a recognised state, had more official diplomatic ties to other nations than did Israel, a recognised state. Without the attention that its international terrorist campaign focused on the misery of Palestinians, the PLO probably would not have acquired such reputation<sup>16</sup>.

At a time of growing ethnic and nationalist awareness worldwide, other nationalist groups began to emulate the Palestinian example to increase recognition of their grievances. In Canada, a group of French-Canadian separatists, called the Front de Libération de Québec (FLQ), kidnapped James Cross, the British trade commissioner to Québec, and Pierre LaPorte, Québec's Minister of Labor, in October 1970. Although Cross was released unharmed, LaPorte was brutally murdered. Fearing more widespread unrest, Canadian Prime

Minister Pierre Trudeau invoked the country's War Powers Act in Québec, which suspended civil liberties and accorded the army extraordinary powers to maintain order in the province and uproot the FLQ. The choice of a trade commissioner is significant in this act, possibly showing the reaction of the terrorists to trade and integration.

Political extremists formed terrorist organisations in the late 1960s and early 1970s to protest American involvement in Vietnam and what they perceived as the underlying social and economic injustices of the contemporary capitalist liberal-democratic state. These radicals were primarily drawn from left-leaning movements at the time that were active in Latin America, Western Europe, and the United States, as well as radical student organizations. At Palestinian camps in the Middle East, terrorist organisations like the Baader-Meinhof Gang in Germany and the Red Brigades in Italy received training. The 1977 kidnapping and murder of wealthy German industrialist Hanns Martin Schleyer was one of Baader-Meinhof's most infamous crimes. The decision to send a British trade commissioner to Quebec and an industrialist demonstrates that terrorism's original ideologies of economics and politics to religion. The kidnapping and killing of former Italian Premier Aldo Moro in 1978 earned the Red Brigades their most prominence<sup>16</sup>.

In response to the violence committed by left-wing organisations, right-wing terrorist movements—also known as neo-fascist and neo-Nazi movements—also emerged in numerous Western European nations and the United States in the late 1970s. The right-wing organisations, on the other hand, lacked the numbers and popular support that their left-wing counterparts possessed. As a result, the right-wing groups' violence was sporadic and usually brief. The three most tragic occurrences involving right-wing extremists took place in Munich, Germany; Munich; and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. In Bologna, Italy, an explosion

at a busy train station in 1980 left 180 people injured and 84 dead. The incident occurred on the same day when right-wingers charged with a 1976 train bombing in Bologna began their trial. Also, a bomb set by a neo-fascist organisation member exploded during Munich's Oktoberfest event in 1980, killing 14 people and wounding 215 more. White nationalists detonated a truck bomb at the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City in 1995, killing 168 people. Murder and mass killings for radical causes surged after the 1970s, albeit they were not as common as during the French Revolution<sup>16</sup>.

The emergence of state-sponsored terrorism and the resurrection of religious terrorism were two of the most significant trends in global terrorism in the 1980s. The attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II in 1981 by a Turkish citizen who was supposedly affiliated with the Soviet and Bulgarian secret services is an example of an attack that was thought to be state-sponsored. Other instances include Libya's part in the 1988 in-flight bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, and the car and truck bombings of the American embassy and U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut, Lebanon, supported by Iran<sup>16</sup>. There are still numerous other active violent terrorist organisations today. IRA and ETA began to lose their impact after the 1980s, despite the fact that they were quite significant and powerful in the 1960s. On the other hand, Middle Eastern terrorism, in particular Hamas, which has been active for many years, continues. But what has changed in our day is that terrorism now threatens the western nations on a global scale with various goals and tactics; and this altered the parameters of terrorism<sup>16</sup>.

#### ➤ Types of Terrorism

After getting a clear idea of what terrorism is, it is necessary to examine the types. Although there exist many categorisations with many variants, but political terrorism, especially of the

international or transnational variant is the focus here, how it interrelates or interacts with globalisation and why countries might seek to respond with means ranging from military force to international legal instruments.

That extremist groups resort to terrorism in order to acquire political influence does not mean that all groups have equally precise objectives or that the relationship between means and ends is perfectly clear to an outside observer. Terrorist activity takes on a variety of different forms, and some of them are interdependent. There is no clear distinction between the types because some acts may involve two forms of terrorism. Also, some types that are of domestic concern might have international origins or sources as well.

One commonly used distinction is between terrorism from below and terrorism from above, in other words the terrorism of private groups and that of states. Private terrorist groups receiving assistance usually have lives of their own with goals and objectives distinct from those of the foreign governments which are sponsoring or secretly promoting their operations. In the case of terrorism from above, it is mostly a state sponsored terrorism within state borders<sup>17</sup>.

A second widely used distinction in analysing terrorism is that between its domestic and international varieties. Domestic terrorism refers to situations in which all the relevant participants which are terrorist groups, victims and audience reside in or have grievances focused on the same country. During the 1970s the Italian Red Brigades committed its acts of violence in Italy against other Italians to win support of an audience of working-class Italians for the cause of revolution against the state. International terrorism refers to situations where there is some mix of nationalities in the terrorist group, its victims, the intended audience and the location of its activities<sup>17</sup>.

Terrorism is commonly typed as nationalist, ideological, religious, single issue oriented, and state-sponsored international terrorism. Nationalists seek political self-determination. They may wage their struggle in the territory they seek to liberate and from bases abroad. Groups pursuing ethnic-separatist or nationalist aims have also used terrorism. Terrorists commonly use it, since they lack formal armies and are usually brutally opposed by the state. Their objectives are not revolutionary in the sense discussed above, but instead involve the carving of an independent nation out of a region which is currently part of another. It may sometimes involve the desire to replace the control exercised by one state over a territory with that of another<sup>17</sup>.

Sub-revolutionary terrorism may be defined as the threat and or employment of extra normal forms of political violence, with the objective of effecting various changes in the structural functional aspects of the particular political system. The goal is to bring about certain changes within the body politic, not to abolish it in favour of a complete system change. Primarily, groups or movements indigenous to the particular political system employ such means, though similar elements beyond the system's geographical boundaries may also rely on such means.

Ideological terrorists profess a desire to change the whole nature of the existing political, social and economic system. They have proved less durable than the well-established nationalist groups and are highly prone to internal splits. A particular ideology superior to the other in the evolutionary world generates fundamentalist tendencies among its followers, who seek to propagate their ideas through the medium of terrorist violence<sup>17</sup>.

Revolutionary terrorism may be defined as the threat and or employment of extra normal forms of political violence, in varying degrees, with the objective of successfully effecting a

complete revolutionary change within the political system. Such means may be employed by revolutionary elements indigenous to the particular political system or by similar groups acting outside of the geographical boundaries of the system. Terrorism is commonly linked to groups whose aims are revolutionary in the sense they wish to bring about a radical redistribution of wealth, power and status in a society. Such groups usually profess a commitment to Marxism, variously defined, and seek to bring about an end to capitalism and the advent of a dictatorship of the proletariat. The revolutionary goal is intended to bring an end to the exploitation of one segment of society, the working class and achieve its redemption by pushing that society to a new and more equitable stage of development.

Certain religious groups employ international terrorism to undermine and ultimately overthrow a prevailing religious order which they regard as corrupt and evil. While terrorism can be expressed as the continuation of politics by other means, having mostly political reasons, terrorism can be a by-product of fundamentalism giving rise to different types<sup>18</sup>.

Religious terrorism emanates from some fanatic groups who take it upon themselves to pronounce the superiority of their religion over all the rest on the earth. The propagators are devoid of logic, rationale or reason and would not listen to it either. They thwart all efforts aimed at objective analysis of world religions, including their own, and promote an extreme form of cult in which religious co-existence on equal basis is ruled out. This form of terrorism seeks to coerce followers of other religions into the acceptance of supremacy of their religion. Any challenge, in any form is not tolerated and terrorist violence resorted to wipe it out. On a smaller scale, single-issue fanatics are obsessed with the desire to change a specific policy or practice within the target society.

In state terrorism, a state may be accused of provoking, equipping directly or indirectly or inspiring groups or organisations to resort to terrorism. The state may itself resort to terrorist behaviour to establish and reinforce its authority and suppress an insurgency in the country. This form is alleged to be used by military and communist regimes. Use of extra force and custodial deaths are often cited as examples of state terrorism. State sponsors may use their own directly recruited and controlled terror squads or may choose to work through proxies and client movements. They almost invariably work covertly in such support in order plausibly to deny any involvement<sup>19</sup>.

Establishment terrorism may be defined as the threat and or employment of extra normal forms of political violence, by an established political system, against both external and internal opposition. Specifically, such means may be employed by an established political system against other nation states and groups external to the particular political system, as well as internally to repress various forms of domestic opposition and unrest and or to move the populace to comply with programs, goals of the state.

➤ Causes of Terrorism

Previous research suggests that terrorism is driven by multiple variables. Most likely, many circumstances come together to create the conditions for terrorism. There are different forms of terrorism and each has its own causes. Terrorism is widespread in both poor and rich countries, regardless of the type of government<sup>20</sup>. It is very likely that each specific form of terrorism is the result of a combination of factors such as political and economic modernisation, deprivation and class structure. The term used in political science for these variables is “root causes,” direct or indirect factors that help us understand various instances of terrorism<sup>21</sup>.

- Economic Factors

The most widely held belief is that terrorism is brought on by poverty. Poverty can breed resentment and lead some people to embrace terrorism as a means of expressing their anger when they are denied access to certain resources and opportunities<sup>21</sup>. The problem with the poverty variable is that it might include a wide range of other minor variables that all influence what constitutes someone as being impoverished. Social inequality, a low GDP, and low levels of literacy or education were some of the variables employed by one source to measure poverty<sup>22</sup>. Other sources incorporated additional variables like population, unemployment rates, and inflation<sup>23</sup>.

Poverty as an explanation has some drawbacks, including being challenging to quantify<sup>24</sup>. The number of the homeless population, the poverty gap, and other factors can all be used to illustrate poverty. Many societies in the Middle East have immense potential, but a large portion of the population is unemployed, which lowers the standard of living<sup>25</sup>. When social inequality grows, many individuals become enraged because they are unable to accomplish what others can do with ease. This leads to internal conflict in particular regions and increases the likelihood that terrorism will arise.

Education levels, disparities in poverty, and social inequality are just a few examples of the characteristics that could be used to describe poverty<sup>26</sup>. The GINI Index is a well-liked indicator of a nation's poor economic standing when it comes to measuring social inequality inside that nation<sup>11</sup>. The total measure of economic stability would be influenced by a mix of the aforementioned factors. Numerous studies have found a strong correlation between poverty and terrorism-related incidents. According to an intriguing notion, natural disasters provide opportunity for terrorism. This is an additional application of the poverty theory,

although, natural disasters cause stress and misery in civilisations<sup>27</sup>. For instance, the Pakistani government and its resources were depleted as a result of the floods that occurred there in 2010<sup>28</sup>. This atmosphere allowed the Taliban and other terrorist groups to operate with greater freedom<sup>29</sup>. As a result of the government's incapacity to combat it because its resources are being diverted to aiding in the relief operations for natural disasters, this illustrates how the presence of extreme poverty in a region may undoubtedly inspire additional terrorist action<sup>30</sup>. The conclusion of the natural disaster study showed that nations with low to intermediate GNP per capita suffered the most from the natural disasters that happened, supporting the notion that poverty encourages more terrorist activity. Economic sanctions increase the likelihood of terrorism, according to a final justification supporting the poverty theory<sup>31</sup>.

The contention is that other factors must be taken into account because there is no data to conclusively state that poverty will increase the prevalence of terrorism. When a country is subject to economic sanctions, its economic situation starts to deteriorate severely. As a result, people who are already poor or on the verge of becoming so are pushed even further over the line and forced to make due with even worse circumstances. When people are forced to live in circumstances that are worse than they already were, they must find alternative ways to support themselves. This is where terrorist organisations excel at recruiting new members. They are seeking for those who think that the only way out of their situation is to overthrow the government since it failed them and forced them into poverty. Furthermore, there are high correlations between a variety of terrorist operations and economies with weak GNP development<sup>32</sup>.

Therefore, the likelihood of terrorism occurring is more a function of the process of falling into or deepening poverty. This is related to the idea that industrialization is too responsible for making societies vulnerable by making them complex, which leads to impoverished circumstances. Social inequality and unemployment are included in this group of economic factors<sup>33</sup>. These elements may come together to create an environment that is favourable for the recruitment of terrorist groups. People are more prone to resort to extreme measures—or are more likely to be convinced to do so—when they are so unhappy with the way their lives are going. All of this evidence shows that at least initially, economic factors may be an extremely strong predictor of terrorism.

- Political Factors

An alternative hypothesis holds that terrorism is motivated by political factors such as government repression. Political rights and civil liberties are two indicators of government persecution. Unstable societies with weak governments—some could even say undemocratic governments—cause hardship for the public<sup>33</sup>. Human rights breaches would also be classified as repression because they are the direct result of government action. People are affected who file severe complaints against the government as a result of human rights violations such as eviction and humiliation. According to certain studies, social injustice perpetrated by the government has a higher link to terrorism than poverty does. When the government fails to offer a basic quality of living, citizens become dissatisfied, and terrorist organisations might recruit. It is the responsibility of the government to provide the resources required for the people to survive. This includes hospitals, medical treatment, employment, and education. Many people believe that it is the government's responsibility to offer political freedom to its citizens. According to studies, political freedom is related to terrorism,

but in an unexpected way. The countries in the middle of the range are the most likely to have terrorist occurrences. Countries with authoritarian regimes and free countries do not have the most terrorism problems.

When tested, it was discovered that individuals in the middle had the most attacks. Nations in transition are unable to provide individuals with complete freedom, which generates deficiencies in other areas. Most people believe that authoritarian countries have the most instances, but statistics show that it is the middle that should worry us the most. Repression might also take on more aggressive manifestations. Racism and enormous human rights violations were identified as fundamental causes of terrorism in a United Nations General Assembly resolution passed in 1985<sup>34</sup>.

Citizens are more prone to have grievances with people in power when a state shows a low regard for human rights. Citizens may resort to terrorism in order to rectify the wrongs of the government. Terrorist organisations can offer their members with the resources they need to oppose political malfeasance. Many forms of government repression have been found to contribute to the occurrence of terrorism<sup>35</sup>.

- Social Factors

Other potential variables could be related to social issues. Educational attainment levels have been highlighted in a few different studies, but there isn't much data to support it as a major determinant. It is, however, an excellent indicator of a societal issue within a country and thus worth examining in my study. In terms of terrorism, the Human Development Index takes per capita income, life expectancy, and education into account, and discovered a link between terrorism and human development<sup>36</sup>. Religion is another societal issue that must be addressed. Religious extremism in modern terrorism has grown considerably, as has the

magnitude of killing and its global reach<sup>37</sup>. Religious terrorism is defined as political violence motivated by an absolute belief that an other-worldly force has sanctioned, or even commanded, terrorist violence in the name of the greater glory of the faith. Religious terrorists believe that any atrocities they perform will be forgiven and maybe rewarded in the afterlife<sup>37</sup>. Extremism is not restricted to a single faith. There are many various types of religious terrorism, but Islamic extremism is the most common. In general, religious terrorism has recently increased dramatically, making it one of the primary contributors to worldwide terrorism. As a result, it appears important to investigate a country's prevalent religion to discover if religion influences the amount of terrorist strikes.

In Nigeria a scholar asserted that the religious doctrine serves as a common foundation facilitating the partnership between two extremist organizations ISIS and Boko-Haram. The perspective of ISIS suggests that by embracing Boko Haram as an ideological proxy, it allows for the establishment of a presence in a region characterised by favourable social, political, and economic conditions that facilitate religious radicalisation and recruiting<sup>127</sup>. The interconnections between the two extremist organisations underwent a transformation, starting with Boko Haram's recognition and emulation of ISIS, leading to the perceived initiation of collaboration between the two entities<sup>128</sup>. Additionally, the videos disseminated by Boko Haram indicate an escalation in their efforts, as seen by a significant enhancement in their media platform. This transformation is characterised by improved visual elements and enhanced production standards, reminiscent of the videos produced by the media division of ISIS. The affiliation of Boko Haram with ISIS might potentially enhance its attractiveness and facilitate its recruitment efforts. The region of northern Nigeria has become a conducive environment for the recruitment efforts of Boko Haram due to the

prevalence of high unemployment rates, illiteracy, and lack of essential infrastructure and services<sup>128</sup>.

➤ **Methods and Tools of Terrorism.**

There have been numerous terrorist attacks, due to methods of executing operations, whether assassinations, hijackings of aircraft, piracy of ships, or killing of the individual and destruction of public and governmental installations<sup>38</sup>. These methods are not limited to groups and individuals that pursue terrorism, but also include countries that can use them to pass their political agenda. The most prominent methods used in terrorist operations are as follows:

- **Political Assassination**

Assassination is one of the methods that terrorists used, and it is usually directed against prominent figures of the state<sup>38</sup>. For example, the assassination of Prince Rudolf and his wife in the city of Sarajevo by a Serb terrorist of the Black Cape organisation and due to the continued annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Austrian Empire, and the murders that led to World War I, the Black Cape achieved its goal of returning Bosnia and Herzegovina to a united Yugoslavia<sup>39</sup>.

- **Kidnapping and Hostage-taking**

Kidnapping is one of the most important methods of terrorist operations known to the world by pirates in international law. In the mid-twentieth century, the world witnessed the spread of terrorism, such as hijacking planes and ships, and seizing civilian and diplomatic hostages<sup>40</sup>. The aim of the kidnapping is to achieve a goal sought by the abductors; for example, the hijacking of the first plane in Peru in Latin America in 1931. In the twenty-first century, the most recent kidnappings occurred on September 2001 in the United States where

four aircraft were used to attack the World Trade Centre, and the Pentagon. Also, many maritime piracy operations that occur in Somalia and elsewhere on the seas and oceans<sup>40</sup>.

- Sabotage

Terrorist utilise subversive acts to destabilise a political entity, instil terror, and influence state policy. For example, the Organisation of “Al-Dar Al-Muqayyat” in Peru between 1980 and 1995, as well as the bombings that took place in 1993 in the United States, and the events of September 2001 in New York City, and Washington, D.C<sup>41</sup>.

- Militias and Terrorist Organisations

Militias and terrorist organisations have their own political, religious and intellectual ideologies. They work against governments and even individuals<sup>41</sup>. They have certain goals that they try to reach by following illegal methods. The absence of an international agreement on the definition of terrorism, has affected terrorist organisations, where some consider liberation movements, terrorism, and others consider them freedom fighters. Thus, terrorist acts are not the only means to determine terrorist organisations in the world, such as al-Qaeda founded by Osama bin Laden in 1990 to recruit the Arabs who participated in the Afghan war against the Soviet invasion<sup>41</sup>. Al Qaeda has helped finance, recruit, and train Sunni extremists to participate in the Afghan resistance movement, and its declared goal is the establishment of an Islamic state.

The attacks of September 11, 2001, are considered the most dangerous terrorist operations in history for which Al-Qaeda adopted responsibility<sup>42</sup>. Therefore, terrorism is not subject to an international consensus as to its nature, and this may be due to different interests and international interests. The overlap of terrorism with other concepts may be seen by some as a struggle for liberation and legitimate defence, and by others as a crime. The difference

depends on the goals that countries pursue. Also, most researchers agreed to the description of terrorism, but without reaching a specific definition of terrorism, in order to obtain benefit of it when the definition is specific. They cannot introduce other concepts into the concept of terrorism, as we have found that revolutionary actions and legitimate resistance fall within the indeterminate concept of terrorism in many cases. Thus, the difference between jurists and politicians in determining who is a terrorist, as some may see it from their point of view as resistance and struggle, and others see the contrary.

➤ Modern Terrorism Trends

A number of reasons have been suggested for the use of and increase in terrorist activity. To begin with, modern states have a significant arsenal of weapons that terrorist groups do not have and cannot compete with in conventional conflict. As a result, terrorist groups have used unusual techniques such as suicide bombings and assassinations to make their presence known.

Second, terrorist targets are more easily accessible than ever before. The concentration of people in urban areas and massive buildings has made them accessible targets for terrorist groups looking to make a big effect. Third, the expansion of mass media and television cable news networks has allowed terrorists to reach a bigger audience, making them more visible<sup>43</sup>.

Finally, technological growth has resulted in the development of lethal weaponry that terrorists can utilise to maximise the impact of their murderous strikes.

Also, terrorism differs from other forms of violence such as combat for political purposes<sup>48</sup>.

Terrorists look for two targets, primary and secondary; this is a distinctive quality reminiscent of terrorists. The primary targets are those whom the terrorist regards as political

opponents, which could include the state, its institutions, and individuals in positions of authority, while secondary targets are those who normally face the brunt of terrorist attacks, which are mostly innocent civilians and defenceless noncombatants. They are employed as a ruse to deliver a message to legitimate core targets<sup>48</sup>.

Terrorist organisations, networks, and social movements are all adaptable and should be viewed through three lenses. Terrorist organisations can shift from a formalised to an organic structure, while networks can shift from robust to fragmented, and social movements can shift from entrenched to disarticulated<sup>44</sup>.

In the evolution of modern-day terrorism, certain distinguishing characteristics have emerged. Beginning in the late 1990s, four distinct tendencies emerged. The initial trend was a rise in motivated terrorist attacks, followed by a decrease in total attacks and an increase in religiously motivated attacks. Statistics from the St. Andrews University chronology of international terrorism demonstrate that religiously motivated terrorist organisations were becoming more prominent long before 9/11. According to data, none of the recognised international terrorist attacks in 1968 could be classified as religious. However, by 1980, there had been two incidents of religiously driven international terrorism. In 1995, the number increased to 25 out of 58 recorded incidents<sup>45</sup>.

There is a relationship between history and the current trend in terrorism. The first was the anarchist wave, which began in the 1880s, and the second was the anti-colonial movements of the 1920s. The third wave emerged in the late 1960s and was connected with young left revolutionaries. Beginning in 1979, the final wave of terrorism was religiously motivated<sup>46</sup>.

The failure of democratic reforms in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries provided inspiration for the anarchist wave. Anarchists wanted to abolish government and resort to murdering and assassinating government leaders<sup>46</sup>.

Also, there is a relationship between history and the current trend in terrorism namely the first which was the anarchist wave that began in the 1880s, and the second was the anti-colonial movements of the 1920s. The third wave emerged in the late 1960s and was connected with young left revolutionaries. Beginning in 1979, the final wave of terrorism was religiously motivated. The failure of democratic reforms in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries provided inspiration for the anarchist wave. Anarchists wanted to abolish government and resort to murdering and assassinating government leaders<sup>46</sup>.

Similarly, there have been two waves of terrorism in recent years. The first occurred in the 1970s as a result of the Middle East conflict. The second wave is the fallout from 9/11, as well as the growth of the worldwide Jihadist threat. There is also a shift in terrorist attacks as previous terrorism attacks are focused at specific targets, whilst modern terrorism attacks are indiscriminate and aim to cause a huge number of victims<sup>46</sup>.

The effects of the September 11 attacks and the weakening of al-Qaida may result in the end of fourth wave terrorism - religious terrorism - and the emergence of fifth wave terrorism, which is connected with "lone terrorists," "solo terrorists," and self-radicalised people who pose a significant threat to society<sup>47</sup>.

#### ➤ International Terrorism

While international terrorism is conducted by people controlled by a sovereign state, transnational terrorism which is terrorism practiced by autonomous nonstate actors but not

necessarily with the support of sympathetic states. Transnational terrorism is essentially political in character with an additional dimension of transcending of national boundaries. It is an extremely subtle and most powerful form of terrorism operating with remote controls. The promoters of this terrorism have access to huge funds, weaponry and shelter. Their gangs operate in country A during the night and have their breakfast in country B in the morning and may be in country C to spend the night. Advances in science and technology have made the most sophisticated and fast-moving means available for promoting terrorism in any part of the world with controls operating from long distances across the continents. This type of terrorism may have a commercial dimension as well. Narcotic operators have a vast network of terrorism across the borders of different countries to push through their commercial activities. Although, there are arguments that terrorism is inherently international in character, so that, paradoxically, the more individual states improve their national measures to combat international terrorism, the more it becomes attractive for the terrorist to cross national frontiers<sup>48</sup>. Transnational terrorism comprises those terrorist incidents that have clear international consequences: incidents in which terrorists go abroad to strike their targets, stay at home but select victims because of their connections to a foreign state or attack international lines of commerce<sup>48</sup>.

The reason for the increase in international terrorism is because the general geostrategic situation favours unconventional war. The balance of terror and the fact that all major states wish to avoid an escalation of violence that could lead to a possible nuclear conflict are important factors. Most states are afraid of protracted and expensive conventional conflicts which might escalate as unconventional war becomes more attractive<sup>49</sup>.

There are senses in which international relations are challenged by transnational terrorism. It violently interrupts or threatens the conduct of international life. It seems to undermine the rule of international society according to which states enjoy the monopoly of the legitimate use of force. When undertaken or sponsored or encouraged by states themselves, it seems to threaten the system of reciprocal restraint which underpins their own existence. Besides separate terrorist groups pursuing their separate purposes there is also coordination among the groups in some kind of "terror international", threatening the security of the system as a whole. In addition, some thoughts have it that suggested recent technological developments allowing mass travel, instant communication and readily usable weaponry have produced a situation in which complex social systems are more vulnerable to terrorism than in any previous period, and more attention is paid to it because of this vulnerability. There is general agreement that terrorism measured in numbers of attacks, people killed and the growth of movements around the world is on the increase<sup>49</sup>.

Transnational terrorism is forced to rely on international transport system to reach targets and on global media to provide publicity and communication of political demands. Therefore, we need to turn to an examination of whether globalisation supplies not only the means, but also the substantive causes of modern terrorism. In fact, some western democracies have little or no direct experience of terrorism; thus, they cannot see the importance of the problem. The need for improved international cooperation is growing. Today, mostly terrorism is inherently international and even transnational in character due to technological developments and interdependence. The more individual states improve their national measures, the more it becomes attractive for the terrorists to cross frontiers to escape justice, to secure arms, ammunition and money, and to collaborate with fellow terrorists. Therefore,

we need to turn to an examination of whether globalisation supplies not only the means, but also the substantive causes of modern terrorism<sup>49</sup>.

➤ Measuring the “Success” of Terrorism

The term "success" is subjective and full of values, making it difficult to arrive at a single definition. The unclear goals of some terrorist groups such as ISIS, Boko Haram and Al-Qaeda often contribute to the difficulty in assessing terrorism's effectiveness<sup>50</sup>. Most studies of terrorism take a one-sided approach, focusing on the strategic goals of terrorist groups and thus ignoring the possibility of achieving their basic means and ends. As a result, researchers will continue to come to different conclusions as there is no consensus on what it means for terrorism to work. It is therefore crucial to clarify the meaning of success when discussing the effectiveness of terrorist groups. However, there is a balanced assessment, categorising success into four levels that aim to consider the arguments of various studies to provide a comprehensive understanding of whether terrorism works<sup>51</sup>. The four achievement classifications include strategic, partially strategic, tactical, and inherent reward. This success allows us to look at the consequences of terrorism not only from the perspective of scientists and government, but also from the terrorist's perspective.

- Strategic Success

The first level identified is strategic success. A strategic victory presupposes the achievement of the declared core goals of terrorist organisations. These ideological goals vary by terrorist group, but are generally aimed at driving political change<sup>51</sup>.

Measuring the strategic success of terrorism often requires a long-term view, since the focus is mostly on the effects of terrorist acts on states and society. The dominant studies indicate that terrorism is ineffective in achieving some strategic goals such as creating a new state,

ending military occupation and winning the war. Al-Qaeda, for example, failed to achieve its ultimate goals of driving the United States out of the Middle East, destroying Israel, and establishing an Islamic caliphate<sup>52</sup>. Another author attributes the failure of al-Qaeda to the poor communication strategy, which often leads to a false public perception of its motives<sup>53</sup>. The US public inferred that the attack of September 11, 2001 was primarily to kill and destroy; a cause that did not generate public sympathy. Thus, Osama bin Laden's strategic goals were not achieved through the strategy of violence.

In addition, strategic goals of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), originally affiliated with al-Qaeda, include the formation of a regional caliphate in Iraq and the Levant, the spread of Islam worldwide, and the restoration of power and fame of Islam<sup>54</sup>. Also, the key difference between ISIS and al-Qaeda lies in the former's claim to power. Although ISIS and its allies have carried out successful attacks and have partially controlled some areas, the group has not yet achieved any of its overall goals. According to the RAND Corporation (2017), at its peak in 2014, ISIS controlled around a third of Syria and forty percent of Iraq. However, the group was defeated after losing its last territory to the US-backed Syrian Democratic Forces in 2019, raising doubts about the possibility of establishing a global Islamic caliphate and achieving its strategic goals. Thus, these examples showed that strategic success is often difficult to achieve<sup>54</sup>. Furthermore, the effectiveness of terrorist movements is an indicator of the type of goals they pursue<sup>55</sup>. Few terrorist groups have achieved maximalist goals, which are often ideological in nature as they often require compliance by the target government. One possible reason why terrorist groups fail strategically is that most of their main objectives threaten state sovereignty. As a result, the government tends to adopt draconian measures aimed at threatening the existence of terrorist

groups and countering threats of violence. If terrorist operations have no chance of achieving core goals, there would be no overreaction by the target state. The global war on terror declared by the United States after 9/11 is an example of how a government response can affect the strategic success of terrorist organizations as they led to global collaboration to wage war on the subject of terrorism<sup>56</sup>.

Likewise, in the face of violence by Boko Haram, an IS-affiliated jihadist group based in north-eastern Nigeria, the counter-terrorism strategies of national and regional governments have prevented the group from achieving its primary goal of establishing an Islamic state Nigeria<sup>57</sup>. However, this does not mean that terrorism does not achieve strategic successes. Terrorism works, but only on rare occasions. Historically, one could argue that the Zionist act of violence against the Palestinians in Mandatory Palestine and the British that later led to the establishment of the State of Israel was a successful act of terrorism. Likewise, some consider the 2004 Madrid attacks, perpetrated by an al-Qaeda-affiliated group, to be a strategic victory as they led to the withdrawal of Spanish troops from Iraq. However, it appears that these instances of strategic victories are minimal compared to the broader evidence of a general lack of strategic success discussed above<sup>58</sup>.

- Partial Strategic Success

Although terrorist organisations rarely achieve their core strategic goals, they can sometimes achieve a diluted version of those goals. The achievement of partial strategic victories by terrorist groups could contribute to the achievement of strategic successes. So instead of establishing a caliphate or securing independence, terrorist organisations may be able to secure greater state power or autonomy. For example, the Irish Republican Army was able to gain partial sovereignty over much of its territory in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Likewise, ISIS

control of some areas in Iraq and Syria could be seen as an example of a partial strategic victory. After gaining control of the areas, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the leader of ISIS, declared the organisation with its army, economy and government a caliphate in 2014<sup>59</sup>. In a formal bureaucracy was established in the caliphate, with institutions based on strict adherence to Islamic principles. The caliphate attracted more than 31,000 foreign fighters who travelled to Iraq and Syria to join the Islamic State. This number does not include other professionals who also travelled to join the caliphate<sup>60</sup>.

The ability to maintain state institutions and attract foreigners could be counted as a success. Therefore, the proclamation of an Islamic caliphate in the occupied territories represents a partial strategic success as it could help achieve IS' ultimate goals of establishing an Islamic caliphate in the Middle East. A partial strategic victory may also involve the achievement of secondary goals, such as taking revenge on an opponent for humiliation or perceived harm. Although, there are arguments that the 2004 attacks by al-Qaeda-affiliated groups in Madrid were in retaliation for Spain's involvement in the Iraq war. The attacks were successful and represented a partial strategic victory as they forced a change in Spanish policy by ending the military occupation of Iraq. Likewise, the stabbing attack on London Bridge in November 2019 was inspired by IS as revenge for the death of its leader<sup>61</sup>. Likewise, the execution of 11 Christians by the Islamic State of West African Provinces (ISWAP), a Boko Haram splinter group, in 2019 was believed to be in retaliation for the death of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi<sup>62</sup>. The success of these retaliatory attacks is indicative of the terrorist groups' partial strategic victory. Furthermore, a partial strategic success also includes influencing the national and international dialogue in order to steer the global discourse towards the causes, problems and acts of violence of terrorist organizations. The September 11 attacks helped draw more than

ever the attention of the United States and its allies to al-Qaeda's activities, motives, capabilities and demands, prompting a complete withdrawal of Western forces from the Middle East could contribute. As a result, some terrorist groups may fail to achieve their strategic goals but may succeed in achieving their partial strategic goals.

- Tactical Success

Achieving partial strategic and strategic victory will be difficult without tactical successes. Tactical victory refers to the success of a single or series of terrorist operations<sup>63</sup>. Terrorism's tactical success denotes the ability of terrorist groups to carry out attacks effectively, delivering the desired cost, where, where, and when, where and what they want. Tactical effectiveness is generally measured by the number of terrorist attacks and casualties, the extent of damage to infrastructure, and the success of the hijacking operation. The most common tactics used by terrorist groups are shootings, bombings, robberies, kidnappings and assassinations<sup>63</sup>. Also, the likelihood of tactical success is high when explosive devices are used instead of other tactics such as armed attacks or hostage-taking. Thus, the achievement of tactical goals can lead to the achievement of strategic goals. Research has shown that terrorist organisations generally achieve tactical goals such as gaining public sympathy and provoking an emotional overreaction from the target state<sup>63</sup>.

Suicide bombings are among the most psychologically effective tactics because they convey the message that the attacker cannot be deterred. The continued use of suicide terrorism as a strategy rest on an awareness of its effectiveness<sup>64</sup>. Suicide attacks are powerful because they allow terrorists to kill large numbers of people and spread fear at low cost. Studies also found that Boko Haram carried out 189 successful suicide attacks in 2017, killing 449 people, while ISIS carried out 411 suicide attacks, killing 2,299 people, in Iraq and Syria in the same year<sup>65</sup>.

The success of suicide terrorism is generally viewed as a way of gaining martyrdom or heavenly blessings from the perpetrator. Therefore, achieving operational successes by terrorist organisations could represent a tactical victory. In addition, terrorist groups could win a tactical victory by creating publicity and drawing attention to their cause. Terrorism seeks public attention and sympathy through the media. Al-Qaeda's September 11 attacks are a tactical success because they drew global attention, attracted attention, and yet inspired public fear<sup>65</sup>.

However, there is no evidence to suggest that media coverage of terrorist activity leads to increased public sympathy for the terrorist's cause. Instead of sympathising with their cause, the public misinterprets the terrorist group's motives, concluding that their primary goal is destruction goes on to note that terrorism has been more effective than any other method of political struggle in sowing fear and attracting public attention<sup>66</sup>. A recent development is the increasing use of social media by most terrorist organisations to spread their message to a larger number of people. Terrorists' use of modern technology increases their ability to incite fear, thereby increasing their effectiveness. For example, ISIS used social media to achieve its goal of inciting fear and raising public awareness by posting videos of executions and violence<sup>67</sup>. Therefore, media coverage of terrorist violence could lead to more violent attacks, which could result in more tactical victories. Another tactical success terrorist organisations can achieve is to obtain temporary concessions from the target government, such as ransoming hostages or releasing prisoners. Boko Haram, known for raising funds through mass kidnappings, handed over more than 100 kidnapped Dapchi girls to the Nigerian government in 2018 after collecting a huge ransom<sup>68</sup>. Likewise, 2010 and 2015, al-Qaeda received around US\$75 million in ransom payments<sup>69</sup>. In addition, terrorist groups enter into

negotiations with target governments to release their members in exchange for the hostages. For example, in 2017, eighty-two kidnapped Chibok schoolgirls were released by Boko Haram in exchange for five of their leaders<sup>70</sup>. Therefore, the effectiveness of terrorist groups in raising funds and releasing their fighters is an indication that terrorism works at the tactical level.

- Inherent Rewards

Terrorism can also succeed in securing some inherent rewards for its members and supporters, such as a sense of belonging, status, prestige, camaraderie, empowerment, and martyrdom. In this regard, intrinsic rewards refer to the psychological and ideological satisfaction of members of terrorist organisations. Also, psychological elements such as a thirst for excitement, a desire for revenge, and feelings of guilt were the primary factors influencing an individual's interest in terrorism. Therefore, joining terrorist organisations could bring a sense of community, identity, and power to people who may feel neglected, alone, or powerless<sup>71</sup>. For example, there are existing arguments that some people have joined the Islamic State because of their alienation from the democratic system of government<sup>72</sup>. Also, people who feel left out, bullied and alienated are driven to restore their self-esteem by joining ISIS because they believe that only they have the ability to end life of a "true Muslim" which is possible to achieve in the Caliphate. Thus, recruiting new members can be a success for the terrorist group. Terrorist organisations motivated by religious beliefs see their success in terms of heavenly rewards. Another thought is that, some terrorist groups see death as a way to an eternal life of heavenly bliss where they will enjoy the company of seventy-two virgins<sup>73</sup>. Furthermore, Osama bin Laden emphasised self-sacrifice when he officially declared war on the United States in 1996, leading his followers to believe that

conducting suicide operations against infidels and apostates was the best way to conduct jihad. Therefore, the death of a terrorist represents a victory for the group, as it allows the terrorist to receive a heavenly reward even if he loses earthly battles. There are other school of thoughts that argues that considering inherent rewards as a form of terrorist victory is subjective, since it would allow all terrorist organisations to attribute some form of success. However, the war on terror must also consider inherent rewards in order to weaken the attraction for the perpetrators of terrorism.

➤ Living in a Globalised World

Terrorism's success rests on its strength in communications, transportation, intelligence and finance. Globalisation has been the main factor behind the development and improvement in these areas. Without globalisation, the picture would look more like it did before the 1960s. If the world weren't globalised, there would still be bombings, kidnappings, and other types of terrorist attacks, but without the same capabilities, they wouldn't be as effective and internationally significant as they are today. It is true that globalisation has encouraged the development of terrorism. In addition to all its positive aspects, globalisation could mean the growth and coordination of supporters of terrorism, especially with the help of the Internet. In this regard, it is important to view and analyse globalisation to see how it relates to the current phase of terrorism related to the events of 9/11<sup>74</sup>.

For an international organisation to function, national interests must be shared or sacrificed. The new political institutions pluralise sovereignty. As indicated, global governance consists of governance without the governance of regulatory mechanisms in a field of activity that function effectively although not endowed with formal authority<sup>74</sup>. This requirement represents an inherent limit to internationalism. Furthermore, many analysts who believe that

non-state institutions and trends are the wave of the future, as well as political officials and observers who hope that multilateralism can ride that wave, will suddenly, after 9/11, be confronted with the resurgence of the state confronts ancient agent and protector of interventionism and imperialism<sup>75</sup>.

Transnational organisations are designed to facilitate the pursuit of a single interest within many national entities. International organisation requires agreement between nations while transnational organisation requires access to nations. However, technological changes have threatened the sovereign control of states in many areas. In some cases, technology has facilitated disembodied transnational movements such as radio transmissions and capital flows. In other cases, technology has reduced the importance of geographic location, either by reducing transportation costs or by standardising capital equipment. The challenge we face is that individuals and all types of organisations have unrestricted access to information and can use it for any purpose. With the help of globalisation, terrorists also benefit from this. A world only partially united by technology does not yet have a collective consciousness and solidarity. What the states do not want to do, the world market cannot do alone, especially not by creating a sense of global citizenship.

#### **2.1.4 Concept of Globalisation**

Globalisation is defined as all policy-driven developments affecting the global arena, including the global proliferation of military capabilities, the global expansion of telecommunications, and the increasingly unequal distribution of international wealth. Terrorism takes advantage of all of this. Globalization includes technology, ecology, cinema, health, fast food and other consumer goods and is transdisciplinary, encompassing not only

the social sciences but also the natural sciences, the humanities and professional fields such as architecture, law and medicine. Although there may be groups opposed to the concept or tools of globalisation, for the foreseeable future, the citizens of the world are bound to live by its rules. Globalisation, like industrialisation, is an inevitable fact of human life. With the acceleration of globalisation, anti-globalisation movements are also increasing. The transition from feudal to industrial times has brought great pain to mankind. Today the world of the poor is as close to the world of the rich as the switch on the television and as materially distant as the other galaxies. The world has never been so severely divided into two, and bridging the gap has never been so difficult<sup>76</sup>.

Globalisation was mainly perceived as the liberation of the international movement of goods, and particularly investment, which is accelerating and increasing in volume, and a technological revolution parallel to this acceleration and growth. Indeed, globalisation is a complex and multifaceted concept and social phenomenon. In principle, it claims no more than its geographical possession: the people and places of the world are becoming ever more extensively and densely connected as a result of the increasing transnational flows of capital, goods, information, ideas and people<sup>77</sup>. Globalisation is as a result of the dynamics of modernity, which entail what he calls the uprooting of social relations in spatiotemporal distancing and reflexive appropriation of knowledge.

The causes of globalisation are the information and communication technology revolution, the collapse of the Soviet republic and the end of the Cold War. And the end of the Cold War accelerated this progress<sup>78</sup>. In fact, there are three meanings of globalisation. It is a historical phenomenon that signifies a new era in which the political and economic system of the Cold War era has faded. According to those who accept this definition, globalisation means a shift

in the balance of power between the superpowers in favour of the United States. The second meaning of globalisation encompasses a range of related developments such as market liberalisation, privatisation, non-governmental intervention in the economy, increased international investment and world trade market integration. Adherents of this belief do not accept globalisation as a new historical era. On the contrary, the only thing that changes are the speed of this formation. According to a third definition, globalisation is the technological and social revolution that symbolises the shift from industrial to post-industrial capitalism. Globalisation is a new phenomenon that manifests itself in both the social and economic spheres. Thus, the integration of production and technology across national borders, the transition to labour market experience and interdependence – the world is taking steps towards becoming a single market – define the phenomenon of globalisation<sup>79</sup>.

Globalisation also has three dimensions. First, economic globalisation is the result of recent revolutions in technology, information, trade, foreign investment and international business. The main players are companies, investors, banks, private service providers, governments and international organisations. This current form of capitalism poses a key dilemma between efficiency and equity. Corporate specialisation and integration allow for the increase in total wealth, but the logic of pure capitalism does not favour social justice. Cultural globalisation is due to the technological revolution and economic globalisation, which together promote the flow of cultural goods. The crucial choice lies between homogenisation and diversity. The result is both a disillusionment with the world and an anti-uniformity reaction. Political globalisation is a product of the other two<sup>79</sup>.

- When did Globalisation Begin?

All parts of the world are characterised by a combination of integration and fragmentation, although integration tendencies are stronger in the North and fragmentation tendencies can be stronger in the South and East<sup>80</sup>. The North-South divide is not a new phenomenon. Globalisation has been around for centuries. Some argue that there is nothing new in the current phase of globalisation since capitalism has always been a global phenomenon since its inception. It accelerated with decolonisation and especially with the end of the Cold War. However, there is no consensus as to when globalisation began. Globalisation includes formations such as the Union of Turks. There were pauses in the globalisation process. Obstacles to the continuity of globalisation have arisen due to changes in government policies. For example, during the Cold War, relations between East and West Germany were forbidden. Some authors argue that globalisation started on a small scale 100 to 500 years ago and has reached unprecedented proportions in recent decades. Proponents of an "all change" thesis look no further than the current generation and assume that globalisation is a completely new historical turning point. At another extreme, defenders of the "all continuity" argument emphasise the background of contemporary developments and assume that these earlier manifestations of globality had a similar level of importance and intensity as today<sup>81</sup>.

In some ways, the accelerated globalisation of recent decades can be associated with a reduction in wars, greater material wealth, and cultural innovation. On the other hand, the rise of supraterritoriality may also come with more destructive military capabilities, persistent poverty, and greater financial instability. The problems do not mainly result from globalisation but from the particular globalisation courses that we have taken so far<sup>81</sup>. The globalisation of the 1980s and 1990s is a qualitatively new phenomenon that can be

explained as a consequence of the revolution in information technologies and the dramatic improvements in communications and computing. A new type of organised violence developed in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly in Africa and Eastern Europe, an age of globalisation. This type of violence has been described as a new war. The new wars must be understood in the context of the process known as globalisation, which includes the intensification of global, political, economic, military and cultural interdependencies. The goals of the new wars have to do with identity politics as opposed to the geopolitical or ideological goals of earlier wars. The strategic goal of these wars is the displacement of the population through a variety of means, such as mass killings, forced displacement, and a variety of political, psychological, and economic techniques of intimidation<sup>81</sup>.

- Various Aspects of Globalisation

Globalisation is both a description and a recipe. It serves both as an explanation and as an ideology that currently dominates political thought, policy making and practice. It identifies a complex of changes brought about by the dynamics of capitalist development and the dissemination of values and cultural practices associated with this development. Advocates of globalisation, free enterprise and global society overestimate technological developments and the like and underestimate the resilience of the state. There is a dichotomy between human security and state security<sup>82</sup>. However, human security cannot be separated from state security. The focus of security must shift from state security to human security. Although, the gap between haves and have-nots has widened with the emergence of winners and losers between and within nations. Globalisation has created winners and losers, while the losers have no capacity. According to the neoliberal view, globalisation has changed the position of the state on the international level.

The role of the state is decreasing due to globalisation. What matters is sharing resources fairly, stepping in to punish states, and invading vulnerable states to correct them. When the state loses power, people feel more insecure. Human security depends on the security of the state. A state's change of position does not affect human security, since no other entity than the state is able to ensure security for people. NGOs are not subject to the obligations of states, so there is not much pressure on NGOs to keep people safe. At least in today's world, they are not as powerful as states. A realistic assumption is that the security of the individual is linked to the security of the state. As pointed out, individual security and international stability are increasingly intertwined and a security threat is anything that impedes any organisation relevant to ensuring individual security<sup>83</sup>.

It has been suggested that the current globalisation process, in its most general form, has as a fundamental feature a tension between universalism and particularism. Also, the universalisation of liberal market ideology together with the globalisation of multinational capitalism marked the dissolution of equality differences, i.e., the emergence of cultural homogenisation. On the other hand, particularism in conflicts, whether nationalistic or ethnic, began to determine the mode of articulation of political practices and ideological/discursive forms in global relations, i.e., cultural heterogeneity. In addition, the central problem in contemporary global interactions is the tension between cultural homogenisation and cultural heterogenisation<sup>84</sup>. Globalisation has been a concept with multiple definitions since the beginning of its existence. Depending on the perspective, it is expressed as a project or as a process. All this leads to different arguments.

The first era of globalisation began in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and lasted until the First World War. The second phase began with the new technologies of the 1970s and the American

triumph of the late 1980s and 1990s and then lasted until the September 11 attacks. For both generations of imperialists, the process of globalisation was crucial. It gave them the tools and reach to shape and reshape other societies, but at the same time it destabilised important parts of the world, widening the gap between rich and poor and, ironically, allowing better communication so that that gap became visible to all the poor. Most scholars view it as a set of interconnected processes written into the structures of the operating system based on capitalist modes of global production. Others do not conceive it in structural terms, but as the result of a conscious strategy, the political project of a transnational capitalist class that arose on the basis of an institutional structure designed to serve and further the interests of that class.

In another thought, some argue that globalisation is an unequal project. It is dynamic and unstoppable, but its effects are not evenly distributed<sup>85</sup>. The project seems to imply the idea that globalisation is a conscious or intentional projection of hegemonic political, economic and cultural influence onto the most vulnerable actors. The process is not very different from the idea of complex interdependence. It points to the expansion of markets, businesses, and cultural influence in multiple directions. This can be a threat to states or an advantage to them, but often it is both, depending on which aspect of globalisation one is looking at<sup>86</sup>.

Also, globalisation refers to processes, the mental and behavioural processes that occur when people and organisations try to achieve their goals. Globalisation is not only an objective trend, but is constituted or is constituted by subjective processes. It is a mental or intersubjective framework that plays a role in both the exercise of power and science that influences or critiques public policy<sup>87</sup>. However, there is dichotomy between project and process is not possible for globalisation. The successful process comes from the project. But

one could perhaps say that globalisation is a progressive project. Al Qaeda's secret weapon is the exploitation of the civic values people hold dear, the protection of privacy, the celebration of free association and expression, and the cultivation of multi-ethnic democracy.

The hidden goal of terrorist organisations is globalisation and liberalism. The full integration of the world economy means that borders must be crossed freely and foreigners and citizens converge in their practical privileges. The organisation opposes globalisation as a project where the poor are exploited by the rich. On the other hand, the terrorist organisation benefits from globalisation as a process. As with capitalism, which has identifiable variants, there is no single, unified form of globalisation. Globalisation is the maximum extent of international or global growth of market capitalism. States have needs, wants and desires, the realisation of which culminates in settlements, the Hobbesian social contract, or the Smithian division of labour. Despite these differences, states interact to maximise their power and certain economic interests, and these interactions result in an international order as an expression of the reproduction of established contractual arrangements, such as international regimes, or the functioning of the division of labour like international regimes.

In addition, those who add political values to globalisation believe that economic liberalisation would automatically bring democratisation. However, the developments of the information and communication revolution are believed to strengthen democracy or create a multi-channel monopoly. Although political values and communication developments may not seem connected, the endpoint of democracy is crucial. As an economic movement, one cannot ignore the political aspect, so it makes sense to associate economics with liberal democracy. On the other hand, it is debatable whether communication and information improve or harm democracy<sup>87</sup>.

➤ Capitalist Side of Globalisation

The political economy of global capitalism proves useful because it offers a compelling analysis of the fact that the basic rules of the capitalist mode of production, unequal and unequal economic development on a world scale, continue to remain one of the shaping forces of international relations. The concrete manifestations of the idea of globalisation include significant changes in the form of production with the end of organised capitalism and the rise of flexible accumulation, in the widening of the gap between state sovereignty and the global world economy, in the intensification of space-time compression Information and communication technologies and the emergence of intersecting cultures, intersecting currents, intersecting dialogues with the growing inability of western modernity to distance itself from its former colonies. This leads to the impossibility of establishing a geographical distance between the privileged modern self and its postcolonial other. Globalisation should not be viewed as a new stage in the development and spread of modernity.

A productive understanding of capitalism is required to describe how unequal and unequal development on a global scale remains one of the fundamental features of the globalisation process and determines the capitalist character of global modernity. This capitalist nature of global modernity and the proliferation of manufacturing are having a negative impact on social and cultural values. In particular, the internationalisation of some brands took precedence over domestic or smaller products. Much like the spread of English to the frontiers of foreign languages, which pushed native languages into micro community languages, the burger chain has eroded traditional food in most places. Cultural and social values are inevitably called into question by capitalist production. Capitalist globalisation can be described as paradoxical.

It can be said that globalisation is primarily a policy in which rich countries paint and decorate globalisation in order to attract underdeveloped countries and developing countries to include themselves in the beautiful picture of globalisation and take their place in this policy. It is considered the last stage of the market economy. As integrated global markets develop, workers in rich countries face increasing competition from other countries, and owners of capital can easily move their wealth to where returns are expected. Global production and capital mobility are combined in the activities of multinational corporations. Today, the world is without borders, where national and global divisions that once existed are gradually disappearing in favour of free trade and cooperation for the benefit of all humanity. It is said that individual and collective security depends on our ability to face new challenges. Among the new factors crossing borders and endangering national cohesion, the most dangerous are the new threats of drug trafficking, international organised crime, nuclear weapons smuggling, refugee movements, uncontrolled and secret immigration, environmental threats and international terrorism. Open, democratic, pluralistic societies and open markets allow for trans-sovereign threats. The drug trade illegally exploits the same international financial networks that create free trade and capitalist economic policies<sup>88</sup>.

#### ➤ Effects Of Globalisation

The simplest and most widely recognised effect of globalisation at the stage we are in is a polarized and divided world. It is a world with very developed countries and very underdeveloped countries on the periphery. Also, there is the belief that the effects of globalisation would lead to a smaller world, where the rich got richer and the poor get poorer, and that concepts such as human rights and democracy would exist at a higher level and world sovereignty would be restricted to the nation-state<sup>89</sup>. One of the problems was the

inability of globalisation to solve the very dangerous problem of poverty in some parts of the world where the terrorists came from. It can create wealth but not necessarily distribute it more equitably or intelligently Kofi Annan said that the poor are not victims of globalisation but are excluded. Underdeveloped countries say the rich have left them behind, so developed countries have to finance their development. It's about whether or not it was intentional to keep them on the underdeveloped side.

In addition, some states respond better to the challenges of globalisation. The negative effects of globalisation on the distribution of wealth, the digital divide between states, regions and classes, arising together with the spread of information technologies, have generated and strengthened counter-arguments against globalisation. While economic growth has masked these problems, the recession is now making them more visible. Many commentators have argued that this process leads to global synchronicity. Globalisation has harmonized and unified traditional, often overwhelming, ways of life that deviate from the dominant model. Other diagnoses have linked globalisation to ongoing and even increasing cultural diversity. Through globalisation, global press releases, global products, global social movements, etc., depending on local specifics, they can take different forms and have different effects. Others argue that globalisation encourages fragmentation with the emergence of sub-state identity politics such as ethnonationalism and indigenous movements.

At the heart of the concept of globalisation is an elementary and fundamental truth: States must live in a larger environment that forces them to change and rationalise their actions. A detailed analysis of most economic data shows that trade and investment patterns are heavily concentrated in the North, with the South's economic challenges are diminishing in recent years.

### ➤ **The Link Between Globalisation and Terrorism**

Like terrorism, globalisation is difficult to define. There are many reasons and they make globalisation what it is. It is a unified and evolved system in which we live. This is what we see around us. The free market, technology, political and social relations are the roots of its existence. In the less globalized Cold War era, balance prevailed in world politics. While politics are shaped by security considerations, deterrence and equality of power have led to the imbalance. In the absence of other major external concerns, states could look inward and work to improve their own internal prosperity. In contrast to the conservative communist bloc, Western states have worked to improve democracy, humanity, prosperity, law and science. Important political and social measures were taken during this period, such as the establishment of international and regional organisations, free trade and transactions, and the improvement of the conditions of its residents.

Paradoxically, if globalisation has favoured this development, after the September 11 attacks, globalisation began to slow down these improvements. Security issues have returned to the centre of government policy. Now that the balance has improved, emerging powers are emerging, although the United States appears to be the sole superpower. With the rise of international or transnational terrorist organisations, the idea of politics by other means has become more important and security has become a bigger concern. As terrorist organisations develop, these emerging powers can evolve into any wave of political or social beliefs. After the Cold War, with the acceleration of globalisation and the advent of unconventional warfare, terrorism is more likely to increase in the future. The overall strategic situation favours unconventional warfare. Crucial is the balance between nuclear terror and the fact that all major states want to avoid an escalation of violence that could lead to a possible

nuclear conflict. Most countries already fear protracted and costly disputes over treaties that could escalate. Unconventional warfare is becoming relatively more attractive. In terms of cost-effectiveness, this seems to be the best means of coercion to achieve diplomatic policy goals. States explicitly or indirectly support specific terrorist movements. If expressly authorised, it is terrorism from above. Terrorist networks have used the NGO approach and privatisation as exploiters of globalisation.

Terrorism transcends national borders and it's a global entity. When a problem is likely, terrorists can move their operations to another country for better odds, just as multinational corporations do<sup>90</sup>. Non-state actors can move freely internationally. In the pre-globalisation era, when borders were tighter, relationships and freedom of movement restricted, the economy was more or less government controlled and non-state actors were weak. However, globalisation has opened up new opportunities for NGOs. Outside the zone of government coercion, they operate as private companies. They have their own economic, administrative and strategic planning. They have their own distinct abilities and goals. Terrorists, as an example of such non-state actors, have benefited from globalisation. Therefore, the ailments it causes are more expensive and easier to treat. The expansion of each company's reach and ability to reach anywhere in the world increased the interest of recipients and the number of casualties it caused. Unfortunately, in the new world, terror was globalised before human rights-based democracies. As the world becomes globalised, the terrorist attacks that targeted the libertarian relations of some countries are now targeting the globalised liberal democratic world.

Any form of terror is difficult to deal with. After the impact of globalisation and the opportunities it offers, the impact of terrorism has become apparent. Cyberterrorism, which

will replace nuclear, biological and chemical terror, will be the world's new nightmare. Also, prior to 9/11, terrorists tended to have clear goals and intentions, as they were always willing to give their names in order to attract attention.

After 9/11, there was no clear statement of responsibility as organisations used to come mostly from one nation or group, but post-globalisation transnationality has expanded opportunities for exploration and identification. Now the enemy is not as clear as before. Previously there was no doubt who had committed the terrorist attacks, but on 9/11 the situation changed. International terrorism is not the result of globalisation. Globalisation has positive effects like technology and intelligence that help in battle and national defence<sup>90</sup>. The 9/11 terror made it clear that, as a result of globalisation, terrorism poses a more serious threat, not only in terms of impact but also in terms of resources. This act can be seen as the most important event of the new world order after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The development of the balance of power and the diversification of international relations have led to the transition from conventional to unconventional warfare.

Psychological warfare, which emerged as a Cold War necessity, and low-density warfare, which arose as an inevitable consequence of psychological warfare, gained global prominence with this attack on the United States. Many fundamental values that mankind has gradually built up, such as freedom, democracy, justice and human rights, are in danger of collapsing because of the need for security. You enjoyed a high reputation during the Cold War and in all periods of office up to that point. After 9/11, security has been at the centre of national concerns about the spread of terrorism and globalisation. Positive trends in freedom of movement, the growing importance of human rights and law enforcement were marred by

the events of 9/11. This date showed that different levels of security in different states, expressed in terms of military spending, did not matter.

The United States was probably the country that paid the most attention to security and spent the most, and the United States was a symbol of freedom, democracy, and liberalisation. Thanks to such open and fair conditions in the US, the terrorists carried out their attack using ordinary transportation. In this way there is a risk that these fundamental values, which are an integral part of democracy, will be undermined. As citizens of the world, they could travel freely and transport goods and money. Henceforth, anyone is forbidden to exercise these rights. In order to prevent further action, suspects or some ordinary people are tracked down, investigated or investigated. It is a restriction on the freedoms and values people had before 9/11. As humanity moves into a new era, the information and communication technology revolution will appear as one of the greatest nightmares and saviours on the scene<sup>90</sup>.

### **Counter-Terrorism Strategies**

Terrorism as earlier stated is a global monster that has come with indelible pains and agonies on the social, economic and overall aspect of human life. Countries in a bid to fight it have employed several methods, strategies, and means. More so, researchers have come up with ways by which this monster can be tamed and shut up. However, different countries and authors addressed the monsters from their differing ideologies. Counter-terrorism strategies are comprehensive approaches employed by governments and security agencies to prevent and respond to acts of terrorism. These strategies aim to deter, disrupt, and mitigate the threat posed by terrorist organisations and individuals. Counter-terrorism strategies can vary from one country to another, depending on the specific threat environment and political context.

For instance, a researcher found that the use of Counter Narratives can be used to terrorism as against the radical movement embraced by many countries and government agencies. It is believed that for many scholars, terrorism is an ideological problem that must be tackled using ideological solutions as opposed to the military-based approaches that have dominated most of security spending in the US. Given that youth and young adults are more vulnerable to radicalised messaging and recruitment, it is essential to focus interventions on those who engage most with youth who are at risk to participate in violent extremism. Greater vigilance is needed in our communities to help individuals in the realm of preventative efforts<sup>136</sup>.

Counter-narratives become essential because of the existing volumes of extremist propaganda already in circulation over the Internet and other media outlets. Jihadist groups and other extremists have mounted several social media campaigns and have used various platforms to spread terrorist propaganda to recruit new members or to garner support for their activities<sup>137</sup>. The strategy has been widely accepted and used in diverse systems, with governments, policymakers, and other international organisations championing for their use in countering extremism especially among the youth<sup>138</sup>. The effectiveness of this strategy makes it a viable option for countering the effects of extremism among college-going students, who are widely targeted by terrorist organisations. Counterterrorism can especially be useful in the fight against lone-wolf terrorism, which has gained popularity and has led to the public murder of hundreds of souls. counter-narratives refer to the messages that provide “a positive alternative to extremist propaganda,” with the ultimate aim of deconstructing extremist views within a population.

In a policy brief for efforts to fight radicalisation in online platforms, there are three major categories of counter-narratives that the government could adopt<sup>139</sup>. The categories defined

include direct counter-narratives, positive alternatives, and critical reflection<sup>139</sup>. Direct counter-narratives are the category which squares up to the ideology and lifestyle of extremism<sup>140</sup>. For instance, the U.S. Department of State's Think Again Turn Away campaign is a direct counter-narrative approach which illuminates the mistakes that terror organisations have made and present an analysis of the testimonies by defectors to portray violent extremism as a negative and ill-thought strategy<sup>139</sup>. The second approach to counter-narratives is the use of positive alternatives, which elucidate the importance of moderation. This approach promotes the alternatives to 25 extremist religious views and radicalisation by painting an attractive picture of moderate ideologies, non-extremist leisure activities, and promoting solidarity based on common goals and shared values<sup>139</sup>.

This strategy influences the youth and other members of society who appreciate such ideas to adopt positive alternatives instead of falling back to religious or ideological extremism in fighting radicalisation. The third approach is the improvement of digital competences, which focus on young people's ability to critically review information to diminish the attractiveness of extremism. Governments and other anti-terrorist organisations can use this approach to build a society of democratic digital citizens who critically evaluate the information they come across from different media outlets to choose the side that provides the soundest ideas or has the best effects on the community. This approach helps the target audience make better and informed decisions when they encounter extremist propaganda by looking into the rationale and validity of violent actions<sup>141</sup>. Furthermore, such an investigative approach can be used in research to discredit inaccurate historical narratives<sup>140</sup>.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

### **2.2.1 Relative Deprivation and Grievance Theory**

Grievance theory goes back to questions of identity and group membership. It covers a whole range of topics related to the question of the relative position of the individual in a social context. Proponents of the theory believe that pain in close connection with greed theory, is used to analyse the causes of civil wars and insurrections. Also, grievance is expressed on four factors namely: expressions of ethnic or religious hatred, possibly based on past events, economic ills caused by unequal distribution of income or property, lack of political rights and successive autocratic or repressive governments, and government economic incompetence<sup>91</sup>.

Grievance theory may include various sub-theories, including the relative deprivation theory. Also, some view this theory as "the tension that arises from the gap between 'ought' and 'is,' the collective satisfaction of values that drives people to violence"<sup>92</sup>. It can be defined as the mismatch between expectations and the actual benefits they receive, and is therefore perceived in conflict as a built-up sense of being deprived of certain values and benefits that they rightly or proportionately believe they have that belong to them. Also, explaining the main conditions of relative deprivation should be: "Person A has no X; Person A wants X; Person A knows other people who have X; Person A thinks getting X is realistic. Relative Deprivation Theory focuses on the perceived gap between expectations and reality as a cause of conflict, while Grievance Theory emphasises perceived injustices and grievances as motivators for conflict. Both theories provide valuable insights into the complex dynamics of social and political conflicts and are often used in combination to analyse and understand these conflicts more comprehensively.

Relative deprivation theory emphasises the frustration and anger caused by unequal differences in societies or groups that can provoke violence and divide society<sup>93</sup>. In terms of analysis, relative deprivation theory can use measures of difference (ratio) between shared groups, comparing and measuring various socioeconomic factors and indicators to obtain objective results of possible inequality<sup>94</sup>. Both theories should be considered when analysing Nigerian society to propose alternative approaches to the oversimplified understanding of conflict as sectarian violence, since resentment theory is primarily concerned with relative deprivation in terms of common indicators.

### **2.2.2 Social Identity Theory**

Social identity theory is a general theory of group relations that argues that our social categories help determine our perception of events and our social action<sup>95</sup>. Accounting for conflicts between two or more different social categories or membership groups determines whether an individual perceives stressors as threatening<sup>96</sup>. Because social categorisation functions as a cognitive mechanism that determines social perception and action, activation of cognitive functions related to a person's social categorisation can result in behaviour that can be characterised as a continuum of behaviour between groups.

This implies that behaviour is determined by factors of social identity (e.g., beliefs and values derived from group membership) and non-interpersonal factors. Some evidence suggests that perceived threat is more likely to lead to aggressive and retaliatory responses when social identity is relevant<sup>97</sup>. The cognitive mechanism of social identity is useful both for reducing threatening circumstances that may incite terrorist organisations to take destructive action and for limiting retaliatory responses to terrorist acts that may be disproportionate to actual events. The former can be achieved through policies that reduce

the perception that Western culture is being imposed on the Middle East and the perception that the West is using its military power to unfairly extort resources from the Middle East. The latter can be achieved by guiding the victims of these terrorist attacks by reducing the focus on group homogeneity.

One of the implications of social identity theory for understanding terrorist activity is threat perception. Perceiving actions as threatening, especially when they are perceived as intentional and harmful, can lead to reactive aggression<sup>98</sup>. When the social identity is clear, the perception that the action is threatening is reinforced.

In addition, religious identity is a particularly strong social identity because it is built on core beliefs and values, and based on a sacred and eternal worldview<sup>99</sup>. Religious identity should help shape social psychological processes and guide behaviour in accordance with the norms and beliefs of religious groups. In a sample of Christians and Muslims, participants received a fictitious article suggesting that the majority of the population of each religious group was cold towards the participants and that the government intended to use this information to inform individuals limit available resources, religious group of participants. Groups Participants were then screened for negative emotions and conflicting intentions. Results suggest that participants with an innate religious orientation (i.e., those who seek spiritual guidance and meaning in religion) expressed greater anger and greater confrontational intentions. It was indicated that “threats directed against a religious group may provoke a more active response from those for whom the belief system is central to their identity”<sup>99</sup>.

In summary, when religious identity is central to religious terrorist and it becomes explicit, and threats may be perceived as more relevant to an active and valid identity, leading to increased anger and support for retaliatory or confrontational interactions. This suggests that

one way to reduce terrorism could be to reduce the perceived threat that highly religious groups perceive from the West. The mechanism suggests that this can be achieved by removing the threat or reducing the importance of religious identity for members of a terrorist group. While the empirical studies discussed above measure support for retaliatory and confrontational intentions at the individual level, summarising these responses in large groups can be particularly devastating. Changes at the national level (for example, the shaping of political discourse) can severely limit responses at the individual level. Some general suggestions were discussed. First, the West must redefine its perceived role in the Middle East, away from protecting Western interests and towards one that makes the peoples of the Middle East the target of Western interference. Labelling a Western engagement as a war (i.e., a "war on terror") can heighten perceptions of the threat from Islamic organisations, which may view the discourse as a "war on terror". "Islamic Tradition" or how George W. Bush proposed a crusade<sup>100</sup>.

Identifying ways to raise awareness of this redefinition would be a future avenue for policy-oriented communication and research. As a second general suggestion, religious identity should be downplayed. Media and politicians have emphasised the Islamic character of terrorism (although this context is disproportionate in the context of international terrorism), which can continually reinforce threat perceptions through the process of social identity visibility. A clear example is the terrorist attacks on the offices of Charlie Hebdo, in which the newspaper published cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed, which were considered highly defamatory by the Muslim community. Within the radical view of Islam, in which Islam is not only a religion but also a theocracy, this defamation requires punishment and radical Islamists revised their interpretation of punishment in 2011<sup>101</sup>.

The root cause can be seen in an increase in threat perception through the compatibility between the threat and a Muslim's relative social identity. What has been presented is a reflection on the theoretical development of social identity processes, threat perception and responses to perceived threats. However, it is important to consider the threat cycle in which perceived threat from Islamic organisations leads to retaliation, followed by increased threat perception from terrorist targets, which increases target threat perception and leads to further retaliation. Therefore, the next point of action is to reduce the importance of social identity in the target population after a terrorist attack.

### **2.2.3 Rationality and Rational Choice Theory**

The understanding of rationality in the social sciences today is largely based on the behavioural assumptions underlying the neoclassical concept of homo oeconomicus<sup>102</sup>. This has been the case since at least the 1950s, when the use of economic methods to explain political issues was widespread. This approach has become known as Rational Choice Theory (RCT) through the work of numerous authors<sup>103</sup>. To date, rational choice is considered the most influential theoretical model for understanding human behaviour in the social sciences. However, the concept has also been widely criticised and alternatives have been proposed by other disciplines such as psychology and sociology.

The theory of rational choice postulates as an object of analysis an individual who by definition has preferences and shows utility-maximising behaviour<sup>104</sup>. Within this concept, a basic distinction can be made between a narrow and a broad version of rational choice. The narrower version only allows actions that increase self-interest, so that individuals behave purely selfishly, while the broader version also allows for altruistic goals. In a broader version, behaviour that benefits not only the individual but also the group to which the

individual feels loyal can be viewed as rational. However, for most researchers, narrow-minded selfishness is seen as an integral part of rational behaviour, which is why the narrow-minded RCT approach is often favoured in the academic literature<sup>106</sup>.

A central feature of rational choice theory is the assumption of methodological individualism as an explanation of collective behaviour. From this perspective, collective behaviour is just a collection of individual choices, and group behaviour can be explained by individual behaviour. Hence, collective actors such as terrorist groups are said to behave like unified actors, reflecting a stable configuration of consistent preferences and goals. It has also been argued that a rational actor must have preferences. Rational choice theory only admits preferences that satisfy the basic conditions of associativity and transitivity such that preferences are stable. By translating the decisions of instrumentally rational individuals into economic language and applying those decisions to the issue of terrorism. Here terrorists are assumed to maximize their utility over time. They will then resort to violence as long as the expected benefits outweigh the expected costs.

However, the model does not take into account the differentiation of terrorist acts, for example based on the number of victims. Therefore, it is assumed that all other things being equal, any terrorist attack will result in the same benefits and costs for the terrorists. In fact, the marginal cost (represented on the supply curve) of terrorist attacks increases with each additional attack, causing the curve to rise. The argument for higher costs has traditionally been that further terrorist attacks would only be carried out at higher costs if easier targets were hit<sup>109</sup>. Acts of violence also promise certain advantages for terrorists, which are reflected on the demand curve. Further terrorist attacks are expected to bring relatively little

benefit to terrorists as societies learn to better respond to terrorist attacks and reduce the impact of such attacks.

As this condition is difficult to meet, researchers have tended to treat actors as if all information were available and as if individuals had calculated all options. Importantly, rational choice theory postulates the inclusion and explanation of all decision-making processes<sup>111</sup>. Even limited empirical evidence that refutes the premises of instrumental rationality would therefore show a significant reduction in the explanatory power of RCTs.

#### **2.2.4 Theory of Realism**

The theory of realism offers an alternative explanation the failure of idealism to reduce the problems for international peace and security caused by terrorism. Realists see the main players on the international stage as states looking after their own security, pursuing their national interests and fighting for power. The flip side of the realists' emphasis on power and self-interest is their scepticism about the importance of ethical norms in interstate relations. Another thought is that "national politics is the domain of might and law, while international politics, as it is sometimes argued, is a sphere without justice, characterised by active or potential conflicts between states".

This realistic vision underscores the nature and behaviour of states. National goals, values, interests, and international obligations compete with the security needs of collective action...national security takes precedence over collective, cultural, traditional, trade and investment, alliances, and ideology are balanced by a general commitment to world peace. Therefore, the selfish and competitive aspects of international relations pose a major challenge to the success of the collective security agenda at the regional and global levels.

The study found that people are needy, vulnerable, and easily misled by our attempts to learn about the world and communities around us, so we may act selfishly and impulsively based on flawed one's reflections or theologies<sup>112</sup>.

## **2.3 Review of Empirical Studies**

### **2.3.1 Review of Empirical Studies on Terrorism**

Terrorism has evolved from its historical origins in the French Revolution to today's specialty crime. The difference between terrorism and common crime is that crime is primarily driven by need, greed, or passion. Furthermore, conventional criminals do not seek to terrorize the masses to blackmail governments. However, terrorism is not driven by passion or necessity, it is sometimes defended for political reasons, sometimes it is supported by governments. Its motives and bases are selfishness, intolerance, lack of dialogue and inhumanity, greed and irresponsibility. Widely condemned acts of terrorism treated as crimes of peace or war need to be investigated, and the problem of identifying suitable victims is the scourge of terrorism. When targeting a corrupt company, it is difficult to deal any significant blow to that company's image.

Terrorism frequently entails the utilisation of asymmetrical, indiscriminate force against unsuspecting individuals who are typically unarmed and uninformed about the motives underlying their selection as targets. The enigmatic characteristics of terrorist violence have sparked an increasing scholarly curiosity in comprehending its strategic logic. The quantity of search results pertaining to the "definition of terrorism" has exhibited exponential growth, surging from 48 million in 2014 to 238 million by mid-2022. This notable increase in search activity serves as an indication of the escalating interest in this particular domain.

While there are those who endeavour to perceive terrorism as a discrete manifestation of politically motivated criminal activity, there has been a movement in attention among others towards the concept of "violent extremism". Nevertheless, this shift in nomenclature does not inherently offer a solution. In contrast to terms such as "terrorism" or "radicalism," it is worth noting that the term "extremism" has not traditionally been employed as a self-identification by militant political entities throughout history. The term "label" initially garnered recognition throughout the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, predominantly denoting communist and fascist activities, as well as, to a lesser degree, occurrences of hyper-nationalism.

While there may exist certain similarities in the ideas embraced by terrorists and extremists, it is important to note that "extremism," even when it manifests in a violent manner, should not be equated with terrorism. Although there are individuals who may not explicitly identify themselves as extremists, it is worth noting that several terrorists, both in the past and present, have publicly acknowledged and welcomed this designation. For example, Osama Bin Laden recognised the involvement of Al Qaeda in what he referred to as "positive terrorism." However, establishing comparisons between "positive terrorism" and "ethical warfare" would be deceptive. The present literary work explores the intricacies and subtleties associated with the definition of terrorism, providing insight into a highly disputed and ever developing notion<sup>116</sup>.

The most accessible target is the people, and it is very convenient to extend the concept of the enemy to anyone who is not actively involved in the overthrow of society. The line between revolutionary action and violent crime is blurred and the program of terrorism degenerates into mass and arbitrary terror and gangsterism<sup>114</sup>. Terrorism is different conventional and partly also guerrilla warfare in defiance of the principles of chivalry and

humanity contained in the Hague Regulations and in the Geneva Conventions<sup>115</sup>. However, the Hague Regulations and the Geneva Conventions do not adequately regulate wartime terrorism, since wartime terrorism is committed to varying degrees and for different reasons, such as to demoralise the enemy through propaganda campaigns, and only these illustrate manifestly unacceptable forms of terrorism. The definition of terrorist acts also harbours further uncertainties in the determination for lawful acts of war or crimes.

Blowing up a bridge or sinking a freighter are considered acts of war but were not legal before the war. Terrorism has historically had revolutionary connotations such as: anarchists in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The revolutionary context of terrorism continues into modern times, with organizations such as the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the Front de Liberation du Québec (FLQ) and the Basque ETA claiming freedom and independence. What one group views as terrorism may be viewed differently by others as heroism, foreign policy, or justice. For example, during World War II, the French resistance, the Polish resistance and the Greek partisans were considered terrorists by the Nazi occupation. Guerrilla warfare has traditionally involved attacks on military personnel, government officials and local workers, while terrorism has traditionally targeted innocent, defenceless, independent people. The guerrillas attempt to build a conventional army via covert support networks and eventually emerge; Terrorists build nothing and go beyond everything else but terrorism. After the events of September 11, 2001, the United Nations sought to respond constructively to the emerging international alliance against terrorism<sup>116</sup>.

On September 12, 2001, the United Nations Security Council officially recognised international acts of terrorism as a threat to world peace and security for the first time. The preamble to the Charter of the United Nations mentions their purpose "to promote social

progress and better standards of living under conditions of greater freedom, and to this end...join our forces to maintain international peace and security"<sup>114</sup>. Consensus is a problem and an obstacle to leading the international community in the fight against terrorism. To determine what matters, any act of terrorism other than attacking defenceless or innocent people must have universal definitions of what is generally accepted as legitimate warfare in guerrilla campaigns. Since World War II, nearly 120 conflicts have involved some degree of terrorism.

Defining terrorism is an area of dispute where delegates from some Middle Eastern and Asian states argue the need to distinguish between terrorism, which they agree is unjust, and acts done in the name of ethnic or national self-determination, which they view as legitimate. Western nations, led by the United States, find this unacceptable and the debate over one man's freedom fighter is another's terrorism begins<sup>115</sup>.

It is important to note that there is no universally accepted definition of terrorism but it is clear that the act and impact is visible to every nation Terrorism is primarily political and inherently about the pursuit, acquisition, and the use of power. It is the use or threat of violence for the service or quest of a political agenda. A universal definition must be sufficiently broad in order to unify efforts for the containment of terrorism and improvement of international security. Based upon the research, assumptions, reason, and jubilation, the following definition of terrorism can be construed: Terrorism is an attack on unrelated and or undefended persons and or property for political objectives committed by either an individual, non-state organisation, or legitimate government. It is the use of illegal force and methods to steal or punish or to bring about change against the will of the greater part. The principal targets are political, destructive violence is used, and the actions are carried out by groups

operating clandestinely and sporadically. Terrorism transgresses the rules of civilised conflict in which the unrelated, defenceless, and innocent are the primary target for political motivations on the part of the aggressor to bring about change<sup>116</sup>.

Terrorism has become a global monster that is ravaging the peace of nations locally, internationally and even in the religious spheres. Countries are face with no option than to fight to keep the relative peace that is being threatened by inhuman callous barbaric act of wickedness, cruelty and crudeness of heart. This has given rise concepts like counter terrorism. Counterterrorism is a top priority for many countries, including NATO member states, the United Nations, and the United States. NATO's Counter-Terrorism Policy Guidelines focus on three main areas: awareness, capabilities, and engagement. NATO's counter-terrorism work spans across the Alliance's three core tasks: deterrence and defence, crisis prevention and management, and cooperative security. A comprehensive action plan defines and determines NATO's role in the international community's fight against terrorism. NATO also has a Terrorism Intelligence Cell at its headquarters. The NATO Science for Peace and Security (SPS) Programme enhances cooperation and dialogue between scientists and experts from Allies and partners, contributing to a better understanding of the terrorist threat, the development of detection and response measures, and fostering a network of experts<sup>118</sup>.

The United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism (UNOCT) was established in 2017 to provide leadership on the implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. The strategy is based on four pillars: addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, preventing and combating terrorism, building states' capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and to strengthen the role of the United Nations system in this regard, and

ensuring respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis for the fight against terrorism. The UNOCT works with Member States to implement the strategy and provides technical assistance and capacity-building support<sup>119</sup>.

The United States Department of State works to build global consensus to degrade and defeat terrorist groups such as ISIS, al-Qa'ida, and Hizballah. Through a combination of diplomatic engagement and foreign assistance, the Department works with foreign government partners to build the capabilities necessary to prevent, degrade, detect, and respond to terrorist threats. This includes efforts to strengthen law enforcement and judicial capabilities, expand aviation and border security, deepen global information sharing, counter terrorist financing, improve crisis response, and counter violent extremism. The State Department also works closely with other government departments to lead an integrated whole-of-government approach to international counterterrorism.

The National Strategy for Counterterrorism of the United States of America was released in October 2018. The strategy recognizes that today's terrorist landscape is more fluid and complex than ever. The principal terrorist enemies are radical Islamist terrorist groups that seek to conduct attacks globally, violate borders, and radicalise and recruit potential extremists within the United States and abroad. The strategy also acknowledges that terrorists motivated by other forms of extremism also use violence to threaten the homeland and challenge United States interests. The strategy outlines the government's approach to counterterrorism, which includes disrupting terrorist plots, preventing radicalisation and recruitment, protecting American citizens and interests, and working with partners to counter terrorism globally<sup>118</sup>.

Considering the negative effect of terrorism on the life of victims, an exploration of anti-terrorism policy implementation in Nigeria found that according to the victims interviewed in relation to this topic, a total of twelve respondents indicated that the presence of terrorist organisations like Boko Haram has resulted in a decline in the overall security of Nigeria, primarily due to the adverse economic consequences experienced by the nation. The escalation of terrorist operations has resulted in a significant reduction in economic activities across several sectors of the Nigerian economy. The extant literature aligns with the findings of the present study in regard to the adverse economic consequences of terrorism. For instance, the attacks instigated by the Boko Haram insurgency have further exacerbated the already fragile economic development of the region<sup>132</sup>. Consequently, this has resulted in a diminished level of economic progress in Nigeria. A literature provides additional support for the theme concerning the adverse economic consequences resulting from terrorist activities. Their study reveals that the root cause of Boko Haram's terrorist actions can be attributed to the failure to meet the socio-economic demands of the Nigerian economy<sup>134</sup>. Furthermore, these setbacks have served as catalysts for the infringement of fundamental human rights, corruption, poverty, and illicit activities in the northern region of Nigeria<sup>134</sup>. Furthermore, a participant in the study conveyed that the operations of Boko Haram have had a detrimental impact on the Nigerian economy, resulting in a decline that has instilled fear in both domestic and foreign investors. The activities of Boko Haram have resulted in a significant decline and substantial contraction of the Nigerian economy. Based on the insights provided by the participants, specifically those included in the focus group discussions, it was observed that the terrorist actions perpetrated by Boko Haram had the effect of undermining the perceived effectiveness of Nigerian security forces in safeguarding

the nation against attacks, hence jeopardising the economic development endeavours of traders. Furthermore, the atypical state of the business environment resulted in the devaluation of the Nigerian currency within Nigeria. This devaluation can be attributed to the terrorist activities of Boko Haram, which instil fear in both domestic and foreign investors, discouraging them from engaging in commercial activities within the country's borders<sup>134</sup>. The existing empirical research provides further evidence in support of the notion regarding the impact of Boko Haram on the Nigerian economy. An analysis was conducted on the rise of Boko Haram terrorism and its economic consequences in Nigeria, examining the issue from multiple viewpoints. The destruction of infrastructure and property resulting from this direct effect leads to a subsequent loss of production. The government's unanticipated military expansion in response to counter terrorist activities has resulted in indirect consequences<sup>134</sup>.

In the Nigeria context, several methods have been developed to combat terrorism. In 2011, an act was enacted called Terrorism Prevention Act. The Act was made to completely eradicate or reduce maximally terrorist heinous and barbaric act. In a study on the influence of the Act. The overall findings show that 13 of the 15 participants in the interviews and all the 15 focus group participants did not believe the TPA was effective in the fight against Boko Haram and recommended four ways to implement TPA policies effectively. The themes were the TPA was not effective, need for acquiring more modern warfare equipment, increasing training, and expanding community policing and intelligence gathering were all suggested. Out of all the participants, just two individuals expressed their belief that the TPA's antiterrorist policies were successful in mitigating the activities of terrorist organisations and their acts of terrorism.

This suggests that the TPA policies were well recognised by the two safety officials. However, the Nigerian government officials show a lack of comprehension regarding these regulations and hence failed to effectively implement them. Three further participants indicated that they lacked sufficient understanding of the TPA antiterrorist policy or had not yet developed any stance on the matter. In this context, possessing sufficient understanding of the TPA policies played a crucial role in their successful execution for the purpose of effectively countering Boko Haram in Nigeria. The lack of effectiveness of the TPA in countering terrorism in Africa, namely in Nigeria, can be attributed to the expressed opinions of the three participants<sup>135</sup>.

In keeping with this overarching concept, the remaining 25 individuals conveyed their belief that the TPA's antiterrorist policy exhibited ineffectiveness in countering the emergence of Boko Haram in Nigeria and the broader region of the African continent. Based on the responses provided by the 25 participants, their perception of the TPA was predominantly influenced by two factors: the perceived inadequacy of the policy's stated content and the perceived lack of effective implementation<sup>135</sup>.

The comprehension of the TPA (Terrorism Prevention Act) has exerted a notable influence on the implementation and execution of counterterrorism measures, particularly within the Nigerian government's safety officials. These officials play a crucial role in safeguarding the Nigerian populace against terrorist attacks perpetrated by the Boko Haram extremist group, which has adopted a new jihadist ideology originating from the Middle East. One participant expressed that the TPA antiterrorist policy failed to explore the underlying causes or motivations behind terrorism in Nigeria.

During the interview, the participant emphasised the probable underlying factors contributing to terrorism in Nigeria, including but not limited to poverty, unemployment, and corruption. More so, all 25 participants shared the belief that the TPA antiterrorist policy was ineffectual in combating the Boko Haram terrorists in Nigeria. Furthermore, they had a unanimous perspective regarding the underlying factors contributing to the ineffectiveness of the TPA. Based on the perspectives of the participants, it was found that the antiterrorist policy implemented by the TPA had a greater number of drawbacks as compared to its benefits. The participants had the belief that the creation of these TPA policies was primarily motivated by political propaganda, religious disparities, and corrupt practices<sup>135</sup>.

In a study on the impact of terrorism on economic life of the people, the primary aim of this study is to analyse the socio-economic ramifications of insecurity on both the general population and the national economy. The prevalence of insecurity in Nigeria, characterised by a range of complex expressions such as bombings, kidnapping/hostage taking, and the loss of life and property, has emerged as a formidable challenge that security agencies seem unable to effectively tackle. The findings of the study indicate that the issue of insecurity has significant negative implications for the overall welfare of individuals, leading to various consequences such as a decline in quality of life, displacement of populations, loss of life, destruction of businesses, buildings, and equipment, as well as the relocation and closure of businesses. The report proposes that it is imperative for the Nigerian government and its security agencies to adopt a proactive approach in their reactions, enhance their information gathering methods, generate additional employment prospects for the unemployed, and provide better resources and incentives to their security forces<sup>142</sup>.

Another study focused on examining the effects of terrorism on the economic development of Northern Nigeria within the time frame of 2000 to 2017. The data utilised in this study was obtained through interviews with relevant individuals, as well as through the examination of newspapers and scholarly articles. Historical and analytical methods were employed to analyse the data. The findings indicate that terrorism has had a detrimental effect on the economic development of Northern Nigeria. As a result, the government has been compelled to allocate resources originally intended for economic development towards security measures. It is worth noting that the government's expenditure on security has had a positive influence on the region's economic development. It is thus advisable that the government use a proactive approach in addressing security concerns in order to effectively manage security challenges.

The government should prioritise the acceleration of economic growth by establishing a robust economic and physical infrastructure that can effectively support business and industrial expansion. Additionally, the government should demonstrate unwavering commitment to combating terrorism by declaring a concerted effort and seeking guidance from international communities that have successfully confronted similar challenges in the past. To address the needs of cattle rearers, it is advisable to establish grazing grounds and ranches in the region. Furthermore, it is crucial for relevant security agencies to receive comprehensive training and collaborate with international security experts to acquire modern tactics for combating terrorism. Lastly, religious leaders, governments, business associations, and NGOs should intensify their efforts in promoting enlightenment, awareness, education, and sensitization campaigns regarding the detrimental impact of terrorism on social and economic development in the region<sup>143</sup>.

On the effect of terrorism on peace a study on the effects of terrorism on peace and national development in Nigeria employed the Frustration-Aggression theory as its theoretical framework. The study utilised a cross-sectional research methodology and gathered data through a survey of 300 participants in the South-South geopolitical zone of Nigeria, employing non-probabilistic sampling approaches. The data gathered in this study were subjected to analysis using several statistical methods, including percentages, Pearson's Coefficient of correlation, and linear regression analysis. These analyses were performed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 23. The values of the correlation coefficient ( $r$ ) are -0.369 and -0.353. The findings indicate a robust inverse correlation between terrorism and both peace and national development. Based on the aforementioned findings, it is advised that the Nigerian government take measures to address the issue of young unemployment in the South-South geopolitical zone. This may be achieved through the creation of employment opportunities specifically targeted towards unemployed youths.

Additionally, the government should develop and implement programs aimed at improving infrastructural facilities in the region. Furthermore, genuine efforts should be made to empower women in order to promote gender equality and inclusivity. The imposition of penalties on corrupt politicians is necessary in order to provide a deterrent effect on potential wrongdoers who have intentions of engaging in the misappropriation of a nation's resources. In order to effectively combat criminality, terrorism, and insecurity, it is imperative for governments at all levels to abstain from engaging in corrupt practices. The current democratic system should prioritise the provision of essential social benefits in order to enhance the quality of life for Nigerians and alleviate the persistent state of extreme poverty

experienced by many individuals residing in the South-South geopolitical zone. The government ought to address all channels through which limited resources are being diverted, in order to allocate resources more effectively towards national development and the enhancement of the military's capacity to fulfil its mandate of ensuring peace and security for the Nigerian populace<sup>144</sup>.

In another African country, a study on the cost of terrorism, asserted that terrorist operatives have perpetrated conspicuous assaults targeting both civilian populations and military personnel, so engendering a pivotal moment in security predicament. The current crisis can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, it is linked to neighbouring regions that have a long history of conflict. Secondly, it is influenced by the close diplomatic ties between Kenya, Israel, and the United States. Israel is often criticised for its treatment of the Palestinian people, and its strong relationship with the US further exacerbates tensions. Thirdly, the thriving tourism industry along the Coast poses a threat to the local Islamic culture. Lastly, there is a perception that the Muslim community in Kenya is marginalised and excluded from active participation in the social, political, and economic spheres of the country. The impacts of these acts of terrorism encompass several significant consequences.

Firstly, there have been both civilian and military casualties resulting from these attacks. Secondly, the families directly affected by these incidents continue to endure enduring psychological and emotional distress. Thirdly, the broader Kenyan population, as well as visitors to the country, experience trauma and anxiety as a result of these events. Fourthly, the tourism industry and the overall Kenyan economy have been severely affected, experiencing a decline in activity. Fifthly, businesses face increased expenses due to the implementation of advanced surveillance technologies and the employment of additional

security personnel. Lastly, the commitment of national funds to security measures has contributed to a rise in the cost of living for Kenyan citizens. The study advocates for the proactive coordination of actions between the Kenyan government and various local, regional, and international actors in order to effectively address the underlying causes and consequences of terrorism<sup>145</sup>.

In a regional study that undertook a reassessment of the magnitude of terrorist challenges to the national security of independent nations in light of contemporary circumstances. The utilisation of secondary sources and the non-participant observational method for data collection, the discussion brought to light the significant extent of jihadist terrorism in the Sahel and Lake Chad Basin regions of West Africa. This is evident in the aggressive activities of various extremist groups such as Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidalis Awati WaL-Jihad (commonly known as Boko Haram), the Islamic State of West Africa Province (affiliated with ISIL), the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara, and Jama'a Nusrat UL-Islam WaL al Muslim (an affiliate of AL-Qaida). In addition to the loss of thousands of lives, the Sahel region experienced internal displacement of 5.3 million individuals. Furthermore, 6.9 million people in the same region encountered acute food insecurity, and a staggering 457,000 children under the age of five were exposed to severe malnutrition in the Lake Chad Basin.

The persistence of offensives and the humanitarian catastrophe has been observed in spite of the ongoing efforts made by coalition forces, such as the G5 in Sahel and the Multinational Joint Task Force in the Lake Chad Basin. In the pursuit of a methodological perspective, the textual approach is employed to examine these events and shed light on the underlying reasons and actions derived from the ECOWAS protocols, as well as the United Nations Office for West Africa and Sahel (UNOWA) and the West. Based on the aforementioned

findings, this paper proposes several measures to enhance the capabilities of coalition forces in the Sahel and Lake Chad Basin regions. These measures include a thorough evaluation of the national security strategies employed by countries in the Sahelian and Lake Chad Basin regions, the implementation of a national empowerment scheme, and the establishment of a national deradicalisation program within the sovereign states of the Sahel and Lake Chad Basin. These proposed initiatives are intended to complement existing efforts aimed at curbing the rise of terrorism in West Africa<sup>146</sup>.

The commendable nature of the African Union's Agenda 2063, with its noble ambitions and aspirations aimed at addressing the developmental requirements of the African populace, is noteworthy. Equally praiseworthy are the ongoing efforts to foster collective action, despite the prevalence of corrupt leaders who often seek refuge behind the shield of sovereignty. Nevertheless, the commendable goals and ambitions of Agenda 2063 may face challenges and risks due to the rise of militant Islamism and the proliferation of terrorism both within Africa and outside its borders. Regrettably, this pressing issue remains unattended within the framework of Agenda 2063. However, it is important to note that although Agenda 2063 does not explicitly aim to tackle the complex issues presented by terrorist networks operating within the continent, which represent significant threats to human security, as well as the sovereignty, territorial integrity, legitimacy, and political stability of governments, these concerns are indeed central to the agenda. This article posits that there is a need for Agenda 2063 to enhance its endeavours in addressing the underlying causes of terrorism and the detrimental impact that terrorism has on development<sup>147</sup>.

In a bid to fight against terrorism, several measures have been taken. For instance, a study that examines the efficacy of government procedures in combating terrorism, with a specific

focus on the bundling and unbundling of ten governance dynamics. The empirical evidence in this study is derived from a panel dataset consisting of 53 African countries throughout the period of 1998 to 2012. The analysis employs the generalised method of moments (GMM) estimation technique. The aforementioned findings have been established. Primarily, it can be observed that political governance and its constituents exert predominantly adverse impacts on several dimensions of terrorism, exhibiting a constant ascending hierarchy of negative influence: ambiguous terrorism, transnational terrorism, domestic terrorism, and overall terrorism. Furthermore, it is evident that economic and institutional governances have a significant impact on terrorism, resulting in severe consequences. This impact is particularly pronounced in the context of domestic terrorism, where the scale of the effect is typically greater than that observed in transnational terrorism. Thirdly, in the majority of cases, the impact of overall governance consistently demonstrates a negative correlation with variables related to terrorism<sup>148</sup>.

Another researcher, advocating democracy as a way of combating terrorism, the objective of the study was to examine the causal relationships between democracy, regime longevity, and terrorism in a sample of 53 African countries from 1980 to 2012. The study utilises a negative binomial regression estimator because to the discrete character of terrorism data. The empirical approach is grounded in four distinct categories of terrorism, specifically: domestic terrorism, transnational terrorism, uncertain terrorism, and total terrorism, respectively. The subsequent information presents the principal discoveries: In regard to the aspect of uncertain terrorism, it is worth noting that democracy was observed to have a detrimental impact on the remaining three dimensions of terrorism. Furthermore, the

influence of regime durability on terrorism was generally positive, although there were some inconsistencies, particularly in relation to uncertain terrorism.

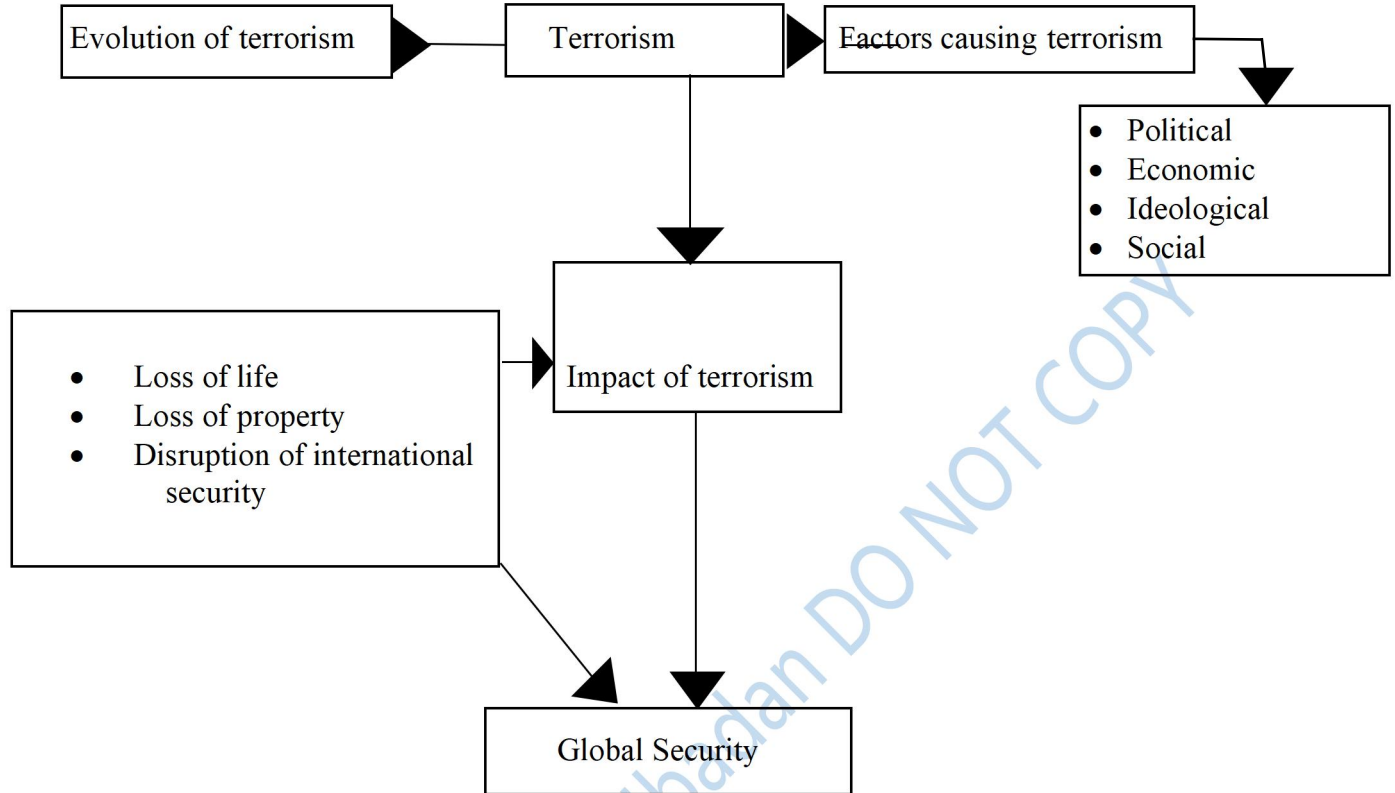
Furthermore, it is seen that the relationship between democracy and the longevity of a regime has a good impact on most forms of terrorism, with the exception of uncertain terrorism. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the overall impact of the interplay between democracy and regime durability on terrorist metrics is consistently beneficial across multiple models. Finally, the theoretical assumptions regarding the prior probabilities of other covariates are equally substantiated when considering various indicators of terrorism. In the realm of policy, effectively addressing terrorism necessitates the adoption of democratic governance and the integration of associated principles into the political and institutional framework, albeit with caution about the extension of regime duration<sup>149</sup>.

In a Nigeria specific study, does counter-terrorist finance (CTF) play a comprehensive role in facilitating the worldwide efforts to combat terrorism? The identification of solutions to this inquiry aids in mitigating the challenges encountered by pertinent stakeholders in the eradication of the Boko Haram (BH) extremist organisation. This article explores the diverse funding techniques employed by BH, with the reactions at the state, sub-regional, and regional levels, which have encountered challenges in curbing the expansion of this terrorist organization in the northeastern region and around Lake Chad. The research employed qualitative research methodologies, namely Key Informant Interviews (KII), in order to collect data that would address the primary inquiry of the study. The article's findings indicate that despite attempts to restrict the financial resources of this terrorist organization, there are persistent obstacles in effectively implementing the diverse counter-terrorism financing (CTF) regulations by the essential stakeholders. The challenges encompass various

aspects, such as institutional and techno-scientific challenges, the *cui bono* and *prodest* effect observed among beneficiaries of terrorism, uncoordinated counterterrorism (CT) strategies, the absence of political determination among relevant actors to tackle the challenge of terrorist financing (TF), and the structural conditions that hinder the effectiveness of counterterrorist financing (CTF) policies and contribute to the sustenance of funding operations for this particular terrorist group.

The research proposes the adoption of diverse counterterrorism financing (CTF) strategies and initiatives, among other recommendations. Primarily, it is crucial to incorporate efficient border management and control, alongside robust information and counterintelligence gathering mechanisms, in order to effectively monitor and track the unlawful movement of funds intended for terrorist activities. Enhancing the effectiveness of countering the financing of terrorism (CTF) can be achieved by the reinforcement of pertinent institutions that are tasked with addressing financial crimes, transnational threats, as well as apprehending and prosecuting individuals or entities that support terrorism. Nevertheless, the policies and actions of the Counter-Terrorism Financing (CTF) framework necessitate the rejuvenation of the commitment of pertinent stakeholders to tackle the underlying structural and systemic factors that enable the financing operations of Boko Haram (BH) in the Lake Chad region<sup>150</sup>.

## 2.4 Conceptual Framework



**Figure 2.1:** Conceptual Framework on Terrorism and Global Security

**Source:** Researcher's Fieldwork 2022

The conceptual framework depicts the systematic flow of the study. From framework and studies, it is affirmed that terrorism is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that involves the use of violence or the threat of violence to achieve political, ideological, religious, or social objectives. It typically targets civilians, non-combatants, or infrastructure with the intent to create fear, panic, and disruption in society. Terrorism is often carried out by non-state actors, although it can also be employed by some state actors or sponsored by them. It is a tactic that is condemned by the international community, as it violates fundamental principles of human rights, peace, and security. Moreover, it is clear that defining terrorism precisely is challenging because it is a highly contested and politically

charged concept. Various organisations, governments, and scholars have different definitions. However, a common understanding of terrorism includes the following elements like the use of violence.

Terrorism involves the use of violence, or the threat of violence, as a means to achieve its objectives. It is Politically, Ideologically, or Religiously motivated. The means that terrorism is driven by political, ideological, religious, or social motives, and it aims to bring about a change in the status quo or advance a particular agenda. More so, Terrorism targets civilians. It often targets civilians or non-combatants intentionally, as well as infrastructure, with the purpose of generating fear and chaos. More so, terrorism is typically associated with non-state actors, such as terrorist groups or individuals acting independently. Furthermore, terrorism seeks to create psychological and emotional impact by sowing fear, disruption, and insecurity in society<sup>151</sup>.

Terrorism has evolved over time in response to changing political, technological, and social dynamics. Some key stages in its evolution include the Nationalist and Revolutionary Movements. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, terrorism was often associated with nationalist and revolutionary movements seeking independence from colonial rule or oppressive regimes, more so, Ideological and Religious Terrorism. In the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, ideological and religious motivations became prominent, exemplified by groups like Al-Qaeda and the Irish Republican Army. The late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries saw terrorism adapting to globalised communication and transportation, making it easier for groups to operate transnationally, finally is the Lone-Wolf and Self-Radicalisation. The emergence of lone-wolf terrorists, often self-radicalised online, presents new challenges for counterterrorism efforts<sup>151</sup>.

The causes of terrorism are numerous and complex. Among the causes is Political Grievances: Perceived injustices, political oppression, or lack of political representation can lead to the radicalisation of individuals or groups. Another cause is Ideological Beliefs. Extremist ideologies, such as religious fundamentalism or extremist nationalism, can motivate acts of terrorism. Moreover, it is the Socioeconomic Factors like Poverty, unemployment, and social marginalisation that can make individuals more susceptible to extremist ideologies and recruitment. Another cause of terrorism is Ethnic and Religious Conflicts: Long-standing ethnic or religious conflicts can fuel acts of terrorism as a means to address grievances or assert identity. It was also found that terrorism could be State Sponsored. Some states have sponsored terrorist groups as a tool of foreign policy or to destabilise rivals<sup>151</sup>.

Terrorism has far-reaching consequences, and impact among which is Loss of Life. Terrorism results in the loss of innocent lives, both immediate victims and those affected indirectly. Terrorist acts can disrupt economies, causing damage to infrastructure and reducing investor confidence. Terrorism inflicts psychological trauma on individuals and communities, leading to fear, anxiety, and distrust. It can destabilise societies, provoke authoritarian responses, and exacerbate conflicts.

Terrorism can cause erosion of civil liberties. Governments may respond to terrorism by imposing restrictive laws that curtail civil liberties.

Terrorism is a global issue influenced by various factors, including: Transnational Networks: Many terrorist groups operate across borders, making it a global challenge. Ideological Spillover: Radical ideologies can spread across regions and inspire individuals or groups worldwide. Global Counterterrorism Cooperation: International efforts are made to counter

terrorism through organisations like the United Nations and regional coalitions. Media and Technology: Modern communication tools facilitate global reach and the rapid dissemination of extremist propaganda<sup>151</sup>.

Foreign Policy: Global politics, conflicts, and foreign interventions can shape the environment in which terrorism thrives. In summary, terrorism is a multifaceted phenomenon with a long history of evolution. It is driven by various causes, has profound impacts on societies, and is influenced by global factors, necessitating international cooperation to address its challenges effectively.

## **2.5 Summary of Gap in Literature Reviewed**

Terrorism has been the subject of much dispute among academics, but most people agree that it can be defined as the use of physical force or the threat of physical force in order to inspire fear and further one's own political, ideological, or religious agenda. There have been many different classifications of terrorism put up, the most common of which are state-sponsored terrorism, religious terrorism, and nationalist terrorism. Research has also looked into the ideology and reasons behind the actions of terrorist organisations. These can range from nationalism or separatism to religious fanaticism (such the terrorism committed by Islamists, for example). A primary concern should be getting to the bottom of what drives terrorist acts. The process of radicalisation that causes individuals to join terrorist organisations has been the subject of investigation in a number of studies. Several aspects, including personal grudges and personal grievances, as well as social networks and internet propaganda, have been investigated.

Literature studies also cover the methods and strategies used by terrorist groups, such as bombings, hijackings, kidnappings, and suicide assaults, among other possible examples. It is crucial for efforts to counter terrorism to have a solid understanding of these strategies. Researchers have conducted an analysis of the many policies and tactics used by governments to fight terrorism in their respective countries. The gathering of intelligence, the enforcement of laws, the conduct of military actions, and the cooperation of nations are frequently involved in these initiatives. Academics have conducted research to determine how successful anti-terrorism tactics are. This includes doing an analysis of the effect that security measures have on averting terrorist attacks as well as the unintended effects, such as abuses of civil freedoms. Community engagement and deradicalisation programs have gained more and more recognition as important components of counterterrorism efforts in recent years. There is a growing body of research that investigates the possible advantages of integrating communities in efforts to counteract extremism and violence. Technology and the fight against terrorism have undergone a sea change as a direct result of technological advancements. Several studies have been conducted to investigate the role that surveillance, cybersecurity, and online monitoring play in the prevention of terrorist acts.

**Humanitarian Consequences:** A substantial amount of research has been conducted to highlight the severe humanitarian consequences of terrorism. These consequences include the loss of lives, injuries, displacement, and psychological trauma experienced by victims and impacted communities. The literature analyses the economic costs of terrorism, such as the destruction of infrastructure, the reduction of tourism, and the increase in spending for security. It has been demonstrated in the research that terrorism can have significant repercussions on both society and politics.

Some examples of these repercussions include the narrowing of political perspectives, the restriction of civil freedoms, and the modification of official policies. The following are the voids that were discovered. More research is required to determine how to effectively combat online radicalisation and recruiting in light of the growing prevalence of terrorist propaganda and recruitment activities that take place online. In addition to this, there is a greater need to focus more attention on the topic of assessing the long-term consequences that counter-terrorism efforts have had on the communities and cultures that have been impacted. In addition, the majority of the research that has been done thus far focuses on Western environments. In non-Western regions and circumstances, there is a pressing need for additional study on terrorism and counterterrorism. In addition, comparative studies that evaluate the efficacy of various anti-terrorism methods implemented in a variety of nations and locations may be able to assist in the identification of beneficial policies and procedures. In summary, the literature on terrorism and counter-terrorism is extensive and covers a wide range of topics. It underscores the importance of understanding the causes and consequences of terrorism, as well as the development of effective counter-terrorism strategies while addressing various knowledge gaps in the field.

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## **Chapter Three**

### **Methodology**

#### **3.1 Research Design**

In this study, descriptive research design was adopted to examine the relationship between terrorism and global security. The purpose of adopting this research design is to understand the views of others by asking questions and evaluating a phenomenon from a broader perspective<sup>1</sup>. Ideally, research design is a strategic roadmap of actions used in establishing connections between stated research questions and proper implementation of the research<sup>2</sup>. With research designs, researchers can observe, make choices and obtain data desired. Since the purpose of this study is to examine the nexus between terrorism and global security, then descriptive research design is the perfect fit.

#### **3.2 Population of the Study**

Since the study made use of secondary sources to gather data, the population of the study are the various stakeholders within the limit of the secondary sources of data used.

#### **3.3 Sample and Sampling Techniques**

For this study, purposive sampling technique is used focusing on materials such as books, journals, internet sources, etc.

#### **3.4 Instrument for Data Collection**

The data is collected from existing literature based on the common parameter used in measuring terrorism and security. As such, the researcher developed a checklist focusing on literature relating to terrorism and security.

### **3.5 Validity of the Research Instrument**

Since the study made use of secondary data, validity of the researcher instrument is not necessary. The articles studied and analysed are within the scope of the study. All these were done to ensure that the sources correspond with the objectives of the research.

### **3.6 Reliability of the Research Instrument**

The reliability of the research ensured that the reports, articles, journals and so on, gathered and studied were consistent with the theme and objectives of the research.

### **3.7 Method of Data Collection**

This study examines the global implication of terrorism and in achieving this, the study adopts a review which focuses on the effect of terrorism from a global perspective. This was implemented by examining previous studies on the subject as it remains relevant to the concept. Also, this study develops inclusion and exclusion criteria that informed the literatures that are fit for adoption.

### **3.8 Method of Data Analysis**

For the analysis of data, the researcher deployed content analysis method. Furthermore, analysis of data is based on deductions from the issues raised in the study, the issues and prospects pertaining to the connection between terrorism and security issues, mainly in the light of various data gathered from secondary sources (periodicals documentaries, archives, textbooks, journals, seminar paper, newspapers and magazines, internet printouts, government documents and other relevant documents) were consulted.

## Endnotes

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## Chapter Four

### Result and Discussion of Findings

#### 4.1 Presentation of Research Questions

##### 4.1.1 Research Question One: How has the Historical and Contextual Factors Contributed to the Rise and Spread of Terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?

The twenty-first century has witnessed a worrying rise in terrorism around the world, with many groups and organizations resorting to violence to advance their political, religious and ideological agendas. This alarming trend stands on complex historical, socio-economic and political factors<sup>1</sup>.

Notably, historical grievances and simmering resentments are among the main motivations for terrorism. These, alongside deeper issues generate anger and frustration among marginalised groups, often pushing them towards conservative views<sup>2</sup>. For instance, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict persists, which has been a confusing aversion to terrorism in the Middle East. Extremist organisations such as Hamas and Hezbollah have resorted to violence and an option to advance their political goals, leaving a trail of destruction in their wake<sup>3</sup>. Extremist ideologies, especially those based on Islamic principles, have also played an important role in the rise of terrorism in the twenty-first century<sup>4</sup>.

In addition, the digital age and the ubiquity of social media and the internet have given young people an open mind and unlimited access to information so desired. This enormous opportunity and network allow extremist groups to attract individuals worldwide and mobilize them to commit acts of terrorism<sup>5</sup>. For example, ISIS's online recruitment efforts are popular because they have attracted disaffected individuals from various backgrounds.

This stance is also coupled with the global economics and politics which also fuel the rise of terrorism<sup>6</sup>. In fact, economic inequality, poverty and social exclusion all remain a fertile ground for radical ideology, especially the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia. Although, the frustration caused by economic inequality often drives individuals into austerity causing them to seek opportunities to air their grievances<sup>7</sup>.

In Nigeria, the Boko Haram insurgency has plagued the country for years. The group's origins can be traced back to grievances over economic inequality, opposing stance to westerner education and living, corruption, and government neglect in the northern region of the nation. Just like Boko Haram, many terror organizations are fighting to establish their reign in a bid to enforce their belief, which they perceive will improve lives of citizenry<sup>8</sup>. Moreover, geopolitical conflicts and power struggles between nations have greatly accelerated the destabilisation of many regions, opening the way for the spread of terrorism. It is right that economic dimension of terrorism is particularly evident in conflict zones<sup>9</sup>.

In some cases, political unrest can directly lead to terrorism. Initially, the Arab Spring uprisings stemmed from calls for democracy and freedom but resulted in powerful violence and instability in many Middle Eastern countries<sup>10</sup>. These turbulent environments gave rise to extremist groups such as Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), were able to use violence, establish a foothold and expand their influence<sup>11</sup>. In addition, the role of the media in magnifying the impact of terrorism cannot be underestimated. Crime is often widely reported in the media, surprising the perpetrators and their motives. This broad perspective can serve as a tool to recruit potential sympathizers, while looking to gain global recognition for the terrorists' actions<sup>12</sup>. For example, the 2019 attacks on churches in Christchurch, New

Zealand, were designed to maximize media coverage, thereby increasing their influence and spreading extremist ideology<sup>13</sup>.

Globalisation has also facilitated the movement of individuals, funds, and ideas, making it easier for terrorist organizations to operate on a transnational scale. The interconnectedness of the modern world allows for the rapid dissemination of extremist propaganda, recruitment efforts, and financial support, transcending national borders<sup>14</sup>. Globalisation also aids commerce and many terrorist organizations rely largely on this to fund their operations. For instance, in Afghanistan, the opium trade has become an important source of income for insurgent groups such as the Taliban. This illegal business thrives amid the chaotic conflict, providing insurgents with economic means to maintain their businesses and further destabilize the country<sup>15</sup>. Also, globalisation makes localised conflicts to gain more attention and this situation if unchecked can quickly escalate into international security threats<sup>16</sup>.

Foreign occupation and intervention present another dimension to the causes and drivers of terrorism. Although, it should serve as an intervention and control measure to wide spread reign of terror but the redeployment or relocation of soldiers of foreign nations out of conflict zones leaves a vacuum that fosters the growth of terrorism<sup>17</sup>. The aftermath of the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 led to the destabilisation of the country leaving a power vacuum that extremist groups eagerly filled<sup>18</sup>. Notably, ISIS emerged from the chaos and proceeded to carry out a plethora of terrorist attacks, not only in Iraq but also in neighbouring regions and beyond<sup>18</sup>. The experience was similar in the 1980s with the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan as the situation attracted many terror groups from various regions. The withdrawal of Soviet troops left Afghanistan in a state of turmoil, eventually paving the way for the rise of the

Taliban and other extremist groups. These groups, having gained expertise and resources during the conflict, continued to perpetrate terrorist acts both regionally and globally<sup>19</sup>.

Populism and nationalism in a way have led and contributed to the rise of terrorism as the ideology keeps reigning supreme. In many parts of the world, populist and nationalist movements have gained traction by demonizing certain groups and promoting xenophobia and Islamophobia<sup>20</sup>. Such divisive rhetoric creates an environment conducive to the radicalisation of individuals, who may then gravitate towards extremist ideologies. This has given rise to a surge in hate crimes and various other forms of violence, all of which collectively contribute to the growth and dissemination of terrorism<sup>21</sup>. This is closely knitted to the drastic rise of xenophobic tendencies and anti-immigrant attacks and motives that is on the rise in Europe. This situation is spread by supremacist groups that believe that they are superior to some race or religion; hence the reason why their territory must be protected by any means necessary including terror<sup>22</sup>. The massacre of fifty-one people at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, by a white supremacist is a stark reminder of the global reach of extremist ideologies<sup>24</sup>.

#### **4.1.2 Research Question Two: How has the Nature and Scope of Terrorism Evolved in the Contemporary Global Landscape?**

In the contemporary global landscape, the nature and scope of terrorism have undergone significant changes, with the emergence of new actors, tactics, and technologies shaping the way in which terrorist activities are carried out<sup>25</sup>.

One of the most significant changes in the nature of terrorism is the emergence of non-state actors as major players in this field. While terrorist activities were once primarily carried out

by state-sponsored groups or organizations with clear political agendas, the rise of non-state actors such as ISIS and Al Qaeda has fundamentally changed the nature of terrorism. These groups operate independently of any state or government, and often pursue ideological or religious objectives that are not tied to any particular national or political agenda<sup>26</sup>.

Another significant change in the nature of terrorism is the shift towards more decentralised and diffused networks of actors. Rather than operating as hierarchical organisations with clear lines of command and control, many terrorist groups now function as loose networks of individuals and cells that are difficult to track and monitor<sup>27</sup>. This has made it more challenging for law enforcement and intelligence agencies to detect and prevent terrorist activities<sup>28</sup>. The use of technology and social media has also had a profound impact on the nature and scope of terrorism<sup>29</sup>. The use of drones and other unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) by terrorist groups has also emerged as a significant threat in recent years. These devices can be used to conduct surveillance, gather intelligence, and carry out attacks with precision and accuracy. The use of UAVs by terrorist groups has raised concerns about the potential for these devices to be used in attacks on critical infrastructure and other targets<sup>30</sup>.

In another vein, cyberterrorism and hybrid threats represents emerging dimensions of terrorism in the twenty-first century. The digital landscape has given rise to new forms of terrorism, including cyberattacks targeting critical infrastructure, service disruption, or sensitive information theft. It is alarming as this new dimension of hybrid threats involve the blending of conventional and non-conventional tactics, such as cyberattacks combined with traditional acts of terrorism<sup>31</sup>.

Furthermore, the proliferation of weapons, both conventional and unconventional, has significantly enhanced the capabilities of terrorist groups. Access to advanced weaponry and

technology can exponentially escalate the impact of their actions<sup>32</sup>. The conflict in Syria, for instance, has seen the proliferation of arms, with various factions, including extremist groups, obtaining sophisticated weaponry, intensifying the violence and extending the duration of the civil war. These tools have enabled terrorist groups to coordinate their activities more effectively, disseminate propaganda, and radicalise individuals on a global scale<sup>33</sup>. The use of encryption and other secure communication technologies has also made it more difficult for law enforcement and intelligence agencies to monitor and track terrorist activities<sup>34</sup>.

Moreover, the tactics and methods used by terrorists have also evolved in recent years, with a greater emphasis on asymmetrical warfare and attacks on soft targets. Rather than engaging in large-scale military operations or conventional warfare, many terrorist groups now focus on carrying out attacks on civilians and other non-combatants, using tactics such as suicide bombings, vehicle attacks, and knife attacks<sup>35,36</sup>. This has made it more difficult for law enforcement and intelligence agencies to predict and prevent terrorist activities. The globalization of terrorism has also had a profound impact on the nature and scope of this phenomenon. With the rise of transnational terrorist networks and the increasing interconnectedness of the world, terrorist activities can now occur in virtually any part of the globe. This has made it more challenging for law enforcement and intelligence agencies to coordinate their activities and share information, and has also increased the risk of terrorist attacks occurring in unexpected locations<sup>37</sup>.

Also, there is a growing perspective on the rising trend of the women in terror operations; a situation that only began recently as women have always been in the background. This change also involves the use of children in terror agendas by the many dreaded organizations<sup>38</sup>. In the past, women and children were often viewed as passive victims of

terrorism, but today they are increasingly being used as active participants in terrorist activities. The involvement of women in terrorism, either as active participants or supporters, has garnered increasing attention<sup>39</sup>. Some terrorist organizations, such as Boko Haram, forcibly recruit women, while others attract willing female members due to ideological beliefs or personal grievances. Women's roles in terrorism can encompass a wide range of activities, from suicide bombings to recruitment, financing, and propaganda dissemination<sup>40</sup>.

The financing of terrorism has also evolved significantly in recent years, with terrorist groups using a range of illicit activities to generate revenue<sup>41</sup>. These activities include drug trafficking, arms smuggling, and kidnapping for ransom. The use of cryptocurrencies and other forms of digital currency has also emerged as a new means of financing terrorism, as these currencies provide a high degree of anonymity and can be used to transfer funds across borders with ease<sup>42</sup>.

The new trends on terrorism makes it difficult for intelligence gathering and international cooperation<sup>43</sup>. Alternatively, the use of targeted **drone strikes** and other forms of precise military actions had been effective in disrupting and dismantling terrorist networks but many of these terror organizations now use this same technology in staying ahead of collaborative and national agencies<sup>44</sup>.

The recent trend in terrorism is that of environmental factors causing terrorism. This twist is influenced by natural disasters and resource scarcity and this is exacerbated by existing conflicts and created conditions conducive to terrorism<sup>45</sup>. The competition over limited resources, such as water and arable land, has led to violence in many regions especially in Africa where Fulani herdsmen are disrupting economic and livelihoods of farming households. Also, climate change-induced environmental stressors have contributed to

conflicts and population displacement, providing terrorist groups with potential recruits among displaced populations in parts of Africa<sup>46</sup>.

In addition, migration and diaspora communities have also become significant factors in the terrorism landscape. The movement of people across borders, whether due to conflict, economic factors, or seeking asylum, presents challenges for security agencies<sup>47</sup>. Diaspora communities, in particular, can become fertile ground for radicalization, as disaffected individuals may feel marginalized in their host countries. European nations, for example, have grappled with the radicalization of some members of immigrant communities, raising concerns about homegrown extremism and the potential for domestic attacks<sup>49</sup>.

There are individual motivations and psychological factors that play a crucial role in driving people toward terrorism. Feelings of alienation, disenfranchisement, and a desire for significance can propel individuals into extremist ideologies<sup>50</sup>. Understanding these complex motivations is essential for effective counterterrorism efforts. The 2013 Boston Marathon bombing in the United States, perpetrated by two brothers of Chechen descent, exemplifies how personal grievances and perceived injustices can lead to acts of terrorism<sup>51</sup>. Although, this individual decision remains a core motivation for radicalism but many disgruntled people are not affiliated to terror organisations; and they feel disgruntled with happenings or state of the nation hence the reason they lend their “violent” voice as they deem fit<sup>51</sup>.

The nature and scope of terrorism is unarguably dynamic as it keeps evolving significantly in the contemporary global landscape, with the emergence of non-state actors, diffuse networks, and new technologies fundamentally changing the way in which terrorist activities are carried out<sup>52</sup>. Addressing these challenges will require a coordinated and comprehensive approach that involves cooperation between governments, civil society organizations, and

other stakeholders, as well as a focus on promoting peace, stability, and economic development in regions affected by terrorism. Ultimately, the fight against terrorism will require a long-term and sustained effort, as the underlying causes and drivers of this phenomenon are complex and multifaceted<sup>53</sup>.

#### **4.1.3 Research Question Three: What are the Major Consequences and Implications of Terrorism on National and International Security?**

The consequences of terrorism are significant and carry implications for both national and international security. These repercussions span various dimensions, from political and economic to social and psychological, and have evolved in the 21st century<sup>54</sup>. First, terrorism poses a direct threat to human lives and safety. Terrorist attacks, whether carried out by individuals or organized groups, can result in mass casualties, injuries, and fatalities<sup>55</sup>. These attacks often target civilians, and the fear generated can have a profound psychological impact on the affected populations<sup>56</sup>. The loss of life and injuries caused by terrorism are not limited to immediate physical harm; they can also lead to long-term trauma, which has far-reaching social and psychological implications<sup>57</sup>.

The immediate aftermath of a terrorist attack is often a scene of chaos and devastation, where lives are shattered, and futures irrevocably altered<sup>58</sup>. The loss of innocent lives and the infliction of injuries cast a long shadow over communities, leaving survivors grappling with the physical and emotional scars of their experiences. The pain and suffering endured by those directly affected are only part of the tragedy; the broader community bears witness to the profound human toll, further deepening the collective trauma. This communal trauma, while less visible, permeates the fabric of society, leaving a legacy of grief, anxiety, and distress<sup>59</sup>. Beyond the physical injuries, the psychological impact of terrorism is profound

and enduring. Individuals who have experienced or witnessed acts of terror often grapple with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety, depression, and a host of other mental health challenges<sup>60</sup>. The nightmares, flashbacks, and heightened states of vigilance that characterize PTSD are painful reminders of the traumatic event, disrupting daily life and impairing overall well-being. Moreover, the psychological wounds inflicted by terrorism extend to a broader societal context, as communities wrestle with a collective sense of vulnerability, distrust, and fear<sup>61</sup>. The insidious nature of terrorism's psychological impact is its ability to extend far beyond the immediate aftermath of an attack. Long-term trauma manifests in myriad ways, affecting individuals' relationships, work, and overall quality of life<sup>62</sup>. The scars left by terrorism can endure for years, even decades, leaving individuals and communities grappling with the enduring legacy of violence and fear. Recognizing and addressing the psychological toll of terrorism is integral to understanding its full spectrum of consequences, as these hidden wounds can persist long after the physical debris has been cleared<sup>63</sup>.

From a political perspective, the impact of terrorism on nations is profound and multifaceted, often instigating a chain of events that reverberate throughout society. Acts of terrorism have the potential to destabilize nations by shaking the very foundations of governance and challenging the legitimacy of governments<sup>63</sup>. These acts of violence cast doubt on the government's fundamental responsibility to provide security and maintain order, eroding the trust citizens place in their leadership. This erosion of trust can set in motion a cascade of consequences, including political unrest and a clamor for change<sup>64</sup>. Unfortunately, in responding to acts of terrorism, governments are frequently compelled to take swift and decisive action to protect their citizens and maintain social order. This often entails an

increase in security measures aimed at preventing further attacks and apprehending those responsible<sup>65</sup>. However, this heightened state of security can come at a cost, as governments may implement restrictions on civil liberties in their pursuit of enhanced national security. For example, many nations are faced with significant privacy concerns and ignited debates about the balance between security and individual freedoms especially as security agents are wire-tapping to strengthen surveillance<sup>66</sup>. Also, ethnic and cultural profiling remains persistent especially after the 9/11 World Trade Centre bombing. With this, many nations have implemented policies that disproportionately target specific ethnic or religious communities and these actions not only violate civil liberties but also perpetuate cultural stereotypes and contribute to social divisions; and ultimately foster mistrust between some communities and law enforcement<sup>67</sup>. The delicate balance between safeguarding the nation against terrorist threats and preserving individual freedoms becomes a central concern in such situations. Citizens grapple with the trade-off between security and personal liberties, raising complex ethical and legal questions<sup>68</sup>.

Moreover, terrorist organisations frequently employ tactics aimed at disrupting or discrediting political processes, including elections, as part of their broader objectives. By targeting the democratic foundations of a nation, these groups seek to sow chaos, undermine the credibility of electoral systems, and advance their own agendas<sup>69</sup>. This interference in the democratic process not only poses a direct threat to the integrity of elections but also challenges the very essence of democratic governance. It forces governments to navigate the treacherous waters of ensuring both the safety and the sanctity of the electoral process encompasses a complex web of challenges that involve the erosion of trust in government, further disrupting the delicate balance between security and civil liberties, and the integrity

of democratic processes<sup>70</sup>. Terrorism's impact on politics is profound, often requiring nations to grapple with difficult choices as they strive to safeguard both their citizens and the democratic principles upon which their governance rests<sup>71</sup>.

Economically, terrorism inflicts substantial and enduring consequences that affect nation's financial well-being and prospects for growth. Terrorist attack disrupts the normal functioning of businesses, causing financial losses, interruptions in production, and supply chain disruptions<sup>72</sup>. In fact, infrastructure, the backbone of economic activity, often crumbles to these attacks, necessitating costly repairs and reconstruction efforts. The damage to critical infrastructure, such as transportation hubs, energy facilities, and communication networks, not only results in substantial repair expenses but also hampers a nation's ability to conduct commerce efficiently<sup>73</sup>.

In addition, foreign investments, a vital component of economic growth, can be significantly affected by actions of terror organisation<sup>74</sup>. Potential investors weigh the risks associated with investing in countries vulnerable to terrorist threats, leading to reduced foreign direct investments (FDI). In many cases, the reduction in FDI can impede economic development and hinder job creation, particularly in regions heavily reliant on foreign capital for growth<sup>75</sup>.

The cost of responding to and recovering from terrorist attacks is immense, encompassing expenditures on emergency response, medical care, and law enforcement efforts<sup>76</sup>. The allocation of resources to address the aftermath of terrorism diverts funds that could have otherwise been directed toward productive investments and social programs. Government budgets become strained, and the allocation of public funds may tilt toward security and counterterrorism efforts, leaving less funding available for essential services like education and healthcare<sup>77</sup>.

Also, tourism, a key sector that is vital to the economies of many countries, bears a severe brunt when terror groups strike<sup>78</sup>. Tourists are often deterred from visiting destinations perceived as high-risk, leading to a decline in tourist arrivals. The loss of revenue from tourism has a cascading effect on related industries, including hospitality, transportation, and entertainment<sup>79</sup>. Reduced tourist activity translates into lower income for businesses and individuals dependent on this sector for their livelihoods<sup>80</sup>. Without doubt, the long-term economic implications of terrorism extend to reduced economic growth prospects<sup>81</sup>. Economic growth, a key driver of job creation and prosperity, remain stifled as a nation grapple with the aftermath of terrorist attacks. The uncertainty generated by these events can deter domestic and foreign investment, hampering economic expansion<sup>82</sup>. This is in addition with decreased employment opportunities that arise from reduced economic growth, which impacts the livelihoods of individuals and communities<sup>83</sup>.

Also, terrorism can have a profound influence on social cohesion and communal relations within nations<sup>84</sup>. It can exacerbate divisions along ethnic, religious, or cultural lines. Terrorist attacks can foster fear and suspicion, leading to the marginalisation or stigmatisation of certain communities<sup>85</sup>. This can further radicalise individuals and contribute to a cycle of violence, as marginalized individuals may be more susceptible to extremist ideologies and recruitment efforts<sup>86</sup>.

Another significant implication of terrorism is the erosion of civil liberties and privacy<sup>87</sup>. In response to terrorist threats, governments often enact legislation that enhances their surveillance capabilities and curtails individual freedoms. These measures, such as increased surveillance, data collection, and the expansion of security agencies' powers, raise concerns

about the balance between security and personal privacy. The erosion of civil liberties can lead to debates about the extent to which a society is willing to sacrifice freedom for safety<sup>88</sup>. Furthermore, the threat of terrorism has led to increased militarisation in many regions. States invest heavily in defence and security apparatus to protect against potential threats, including terrorism<sup>89</sup>. This militarization can divert resources away from social programs and development, exacerbating economic and social disparities<sup>90</sup>. Additionally, the proliferation of military weapons and technology can have unintended consequences, as these resources may fall into the hands of non-state actors and fuel conflicts<sup>91</sup>. Terrorism also affects international cooperation and diplomacy. It can strain alliances and disrupt diplomatic efforts aimed at resolving conflicts peacefully. As expected, states become less willing to engage in diplomacy and become more inclined toward military responses when faced with terrorism. The complexity of addressing terrorism on a global scale necessitates cooperation among nations, but the political dynamics surrounding terrorism can hinder effective collaboration<sup>92</sup>.

#### **4.1.4 Research Question Four: What are the Key Challenges and Obstacles in Countering Terrorism Effectively?**

The dynamic nature of terrorism makes it difficult to combat headlong<sup>93</sup>. In fact, terrorism is not a static phenomenon; it continually evolves, adapting to changing circumstances and exploiting new opportunities<sup>94</sup>. For instance, the emergence of online platforms and encrypted communication has enabled terrorist organizations to disseminate propaganda, recruit sympathizers, and coordinate attacks globally<sup>95</sup>. The online presence of groups like ISIS has attracted individuals from various backgrounds, making it challenging for law enforcement agencies to monitor and combat this virtual threat effectively<sup>96</sup>. Moreover, the use of emerging technologies, such as drones and cyberattacks, has expanded terrorists'

operational capabilities<sup>97</sup>. In regions like Africa, extremist groups have employed drones for surveillance and reconnaissance purposes, allowing them to adapt their strategies in response to evolving counterterrorism efforts<sup>98</sup>.

Furthermore, the transnational nature of terrorist organizations presents a significant obstacle to effective counterterrorism efforts. Groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIS operate in multiple countries, making it difficult to contain their influence and activities within national boundaries<sup>99</sup>. The 2015 Paris attacks and the 2016 Brussels bombings reveals how coordinated terror organizations are with strategies, mapping and communication thus exploiting the weaknesses in international cooperation and intelligence sharing<sup>100</sup>. These terror groups further exploit porous nature of many nations' border especially regions with ongoing conflicts to facilitate movement of terrorist, weapons and funds across national borders thus posing a huge challenge to counterterrorism efforts and agencies<sup>101</sup>.

Another challenge is the varying and changing recruitment tactics that shown that the process of radicalisation seems untamable<sup>102</sup>. The radicalisation process is fast becoming a mystery as it can occur beyond online propaganda, social networks and exposure to recruiters or mentors<sup>103</sup>. For example, the case of the "Underwear Bomber," Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, who attempted to detonate explosives on a flight to Detroit in 2009, highlights the recruitment and radicalisation efforts of groups like Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). Abdulmutallab was influenced by AQAP's propaganda and underwent a radicalization process that culminated in a terrorist plot<sup>104</sup>. Furthermore, efforts to curb radicalisation and terrorism are strongly linked to accurate and timely intelligence gathering and sharing among security agencies with and across nations. Gathering intelligence on terrorist activities, networks, and intentions is a daunting task, often requiring covert

operations and infiltrating extremist circles<sup>105</sup>. The successful tracking of Osama bin Laden by intelligence agencies exemplifies the importance of intelligence in counterterrorism efforts<sup>106</sup>. However, intelligence sharing among nations remains a complex challenge. While international cooperation is crucial, it can be hampered by political considerations, differing national interests, and concerns about data privacy. Balancing the need for information sharing with the protection of sensitive intelligence sources can be a delicate and intricate process<sup>107</sup>.

In another dimension, certain lines are crossed in curbing and countering terrorism. Balancing the imperative of counterterrorism with the preservation of civil liberties is indeed an ongoing challenge. The response to terrorist threats often involves enhanced surveillance, data collection, and expanded powers for security agencies<sup>108</sup>. Unfortunately, in democratic societies those expanded powers are subjected to scrutiny thus hampering effective delivery and performance of counterterrorism agencies. In the United States, the 9/11 attack led to the passage the USA PATRIOT Act, which granted law enforcement agencies broader surveillance authority<sup>109</sup>. Balancing these measures with the protection of individual rights and freedoms is a contentious issue, often requiring legal and policy frameworks that strike a delicate equilibrium<sup>110</sup>.

Also, there is a lack of international consensus on achieving a comprehensive effort especially on what works and strategies to be adopted in combating terrorism. This lack of consensus rightly starts with definitions of terrorism, priorities, and ideologies that hampers the unified actions and coordinated efforts<sup>111</sup>. Some nations may label groups as terrorists, while others see them as freedom fighters, complicating international cooperation and

diplomatic efforts<sup>112</sup>. This is also worsened by complex legal frameworks across numerous nations that makes extradition and prosecution complex and close to impossible<sup>113</sup>.

#### **4.1.5 Research Question Five: How are the Strategies, Policies, and Counter Measures Enhancing Global Security and Counter the Threat of Terrorism?**

Managing, curbing or preventing terrorist attack is important and the first strategy is intelligence gathering. This involves gathering information about potential threats and analysing them to prevent attacks<sup>114</sup>. The 9/11 attacks in the US have shown that intelligence gathering and prompt action of security agencies is important to prevent terrorist from striking. Intelligence gathering as a tool can be helpful on many fronts as it can aid global efforts at understanding the strategies, identification of means of communication adopted by terrorist among others<sup>115</sup>. This medium can also be deployed with the strict border control and policy across the globe as terrorist are known to network deploy resources but human and non-human where needed<sup>116</sup>. This is evident globally as many nations are tending towards conservationist policies that prevent migration from certain nations that serves as popular hub for terrorist<sup>117</sup>.

Another dimension for mitigating the threat of terrorism in a bid to enhance global security is an effective public awareness campaign<sup>118</sup>. Truly, inactive terror cells and terror organisations are spread globally and they exist within every other human, families living their normal day-to-day life. Regardless of their latent and dual lives, security agencies are of the strong opinion that suspicious signs should be reported<sup>119</sup>. In fact, many nations have championed this cause and public campaigns. In the United Kingdom, the “See it, Say it, Sorted” campaign encourages citizens to report dubious and suspicious acts and characters to some dedicated lines and contact<sup>120</sup>. In South Western Nigeria, local policing; “Amotekun” was

also introduced to forestall peace and enhance stability at the local and communal level. This is same strategy can be adopted at the communal level as every terror attack is planned at the community level but has national and global impact<sup>121</sup>.

Another important countermeasure to be adopted to prevent terror organisation from performing their deadly act is disruption of terror-financing. Terrorists require funding to carry out their activities, and disrupting their financial networks can significantly weaken them<sup>122</sup>. To implement this, nations should check illicit flow of funds in and out of their borders and freeze suspicious accounts and assets. This medium can be coupled with strict cyberterrorism plans which will mitigate the medium of recruiting and training new members<sup>123</sup>.

However, security agencies need to find ample resources to monitor and track communication of terror organisations and its members<sup>124</sup>. This evidently helps in stopping radicalisation and reducing the numbers of new recruit<sup>125</sup>. In fact, it helps better when religion and inter-faith dialogue is added to the equation of things as there is an obvious but latent notion that religion plays a huge and strong role in radicalisation and desire to join terror groups<sup>126</sup>.

Alternatively, nations need to identify the root causes of terrorism as peculiar to their borders. Examining this proffer, a bottom-to-top approach that will aid the effective curbing of terror operations needs to be applied. For instance, some terror groups are fighting for freedom or secession, equal rights to natural resources while others are fighting for the declaration of their religion. Basically, in addressing the root causes of terrorism, political leaders should rejig the instruments of good governance that can translate to improved social economic development<sup>127</sup>. In many cases as with developing nations, many organisations that have

been declared and proscribed as terror groups are fighting for improved standard of living and equal representation or access to natural resources available in their region. This is the case of Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) also referred to as Niger Delta Militant whose modus operandi is blowing up of petroleum pipelines and kidnapping of oil workers in the Niger Delta region of the country. Addressing issues of terror groups with social or economic causes can help prevent loss of lives and economic gains<sup>128</sup>.

Nations can also rejuvenate emergency response capabilities. In the event of a terrorist attack, a swift and effective emergency response can save lives and mitigate damage<sup>129</sup>. In fact, it is important that government establishments, security agencies and public establishments should have emergency unit for a coordinated response in the wake of any emergency. This also helps intelligence and covert operations of security outfits and no organization is overwhelmed in the process of forestalling or managing an attack<sup>130</sup>.

Counter measures should be holistic and dynamic covering every sector and corners of a nation. To this end, another strategy that can be employed is to strengthen aviation security<sup>131</sup>. Notable, suicide plane attacks are rare forms of terrorism globally as it varies across different regions but the 9/11 event remains a wake-up call to many nations to strictly scrutinize their aviation sector by tightening security and implement effective measures to safeguard lives and properties<sup>132</sup>. Counter measures can also include improving of critical infrastructure. Terrorist targets critical infrastructure such as power plants, transportation systems, and communication networks; and nations but be a step ahead by improving the resilience of critical infrastructure can ensure that these systems continue to function in the event of an attack<sup>133</sup>.

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## Chapter Five

### Conclusion

#### 5.1 Summary of Findings

In the 21st century, terrorism has surged globally, driven by a complex interplay of factors. Historical grievances and simmering resentments serve as significant motivators, fuelling anger and frustration among marginalised groups and pushing some toward extremist views. For example, the long-standing Israeli-Palestinian conflict has contributed to extremism in the Middle East, with groups like Hamas resorting to violence to advance their political agendas.

Also, the digital age has amplified the reach of extremist ideologies, thanks to social media and the internet, offering disaffected individuals worldwide access to radical content. ISIS's online recruitment efforts, in particular, have drawn individuals from diverse backgrounds into the fold. Economic inequality and poverty further provide fertile ground for radicalization, with regions like the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia grappling with such issues. Nigeria's experience with Boko Haram illustrates how economic disparities, lack of access to education, corruption, and government neglect in the north fuelled terrorism. Geopolitical conflicts and power struggles between nations have also played a role in destabilizing regions, creating opportunities for terrorism to spread, especially in conflict zones.

Political unrest can directly lead to terrorism, as seen in the aftermath of the Arab Spring uprisings in the Middle East. The media's role in magnifying terrorism's impact cannot be underestimated, as widespread coverage can attract sympathisers and provide terrorists with a global platform. Globalisation has facilitated the movement of individuals, funds, and ideas, enabling terrorist organisations to operate across borders. Trade and commerce have become significant funding sources for terror groups, exemplified by the opium trade in Afghanistan, which sustains the Taliban's activities. Additionally, globalisation amplifies localised conflicts, potentially escalating them into international security threats.

Foreign occupation and intervention, while aimed at curbing terrorism, can inadvertently foster its growth. The withdrawal of foreign troops from conflict zones often creates power vacuums that extremist groups exploit. The aftermath of the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 witnessed the rise of ISIS, while the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in the 1980s set the stage for the emergence of the Taliban and other extremist groups.

In addition, populism and nationalism have further fuelled terrorism by demonizing specific groups and promoting xenophobia and Islamophobia. These divisive ideologies have led to a surge in hate crimes and violence, contributing to the dissemination and growth of terrorism. Recent events like the Christ church mosque shootings in New Zealand, carried out by a white supremacist, underscore the global reach of extremist ideologies. Summarily, terrorism in the 21st century is propelled by historical grievances, socio-economic disparities, political unrest, the digital age, globalization, foreign intervention, and the rise of populist and nationalist ideologies. Understanding these underlying causes is vital for developing effective strategies to counter terrorism and foster global peace and security.

Also, there is a significant evolution in the scope and nature of terrorism. The twenty-first century has witnessed the emergence of non-state actors like ISIS and Al Qaeda as major players. These groups operate independently, driven by ideological or religious motives, rather than clear political agendas. This shift has made terrorism more complex to combat. Moreover, terrorism has become more decentralised, with loose networks of individuals and cells replacing hierarchical organisations. Technology, especially drones and the internet, has empowered terrorists, posing new threats and challenges. Cyberterrorism and hybrid threats have emerged, blending conventional and non-conventional tactics. Globalisation has facilitated the movement of funds and ideas, while foreign occupation can inadvertently fuel terrorism, as seen in the aftermath of interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Terrorists now focus on asymmetrical warfare, targeting soft civilian targets with tactics like suicide bombings and vehicle attacks. Women and children are increasingly involved in terrorism, and financing has evolved, including cryptocurrency use. Environmental factors and resource scarcity have also become terrorism drivers, especially in Africa. Diaspora communities and individual motivations further complicate counterterrorism efforts. Addressing these challenges demands a coordinated, comprehensive approach involving governments, civil society, and global cooperation to promote peace, stability, and development in affected regions. The fight against terrorism requires sustained efforts due to its complex and evolving nature.

Terrorism's ever-evolving nature poses formidable challenges to counterterrorism efforts. The advent of online platforms and encrypted communication enables global propaganda dissemination, recruitment, and coordination, making it difficult for law enforcement agencies to combat virtual threats effectively. Emerging technologies like drones and

cyberattacks expand terrorists' operational capabilities. Transnational terror groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIS operate across borders, exploiting weak international cooperation and intelligence sharing, as seen in the Paris and Brussels attacks. The enigma of radicalisation further complicates efforts, occurring beyond online exposure and social networks, making timely intelligence gathering essential. Intelligence sharing among nations is hindered by political considerations and data privacy concerns, despite its critical role in counterterrorism. Balancing counterterrorism with civil liberties is a delicate task, with expanded surveillance powers often facing scrutiny. The lack of international consensus on terrorism definitions and strategies, as well as complex legal frameworks, hampers unified and coordinated efforts in combating this global menace.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

The concept of terrorism is dynamic and multifaceted for many reasons. Historical grievances and simmering resentments, often exacerbated by socio-economic disparities, have generated anger and frustration among marginalised groups. Extremist ideologies, particularly those grounded in religious principles, have played a significant role in the surge of terrorism. Also, the digital age and the ubiquity of social media have provided extremist groups with unprecedented access to global audiences, facilitating recruitment and the dissemination of propaganda. Unfortunately, global economics and politics have contributed to the rise of terrorism, with economic inequality, poverty, and social exclusion serving as fertile ground for radicalisation.

By extension, geopolitical conflicts, power struggles, and foreign interventions have further destabilized regions, enabling the spread of terrorism. This is even more worrisome as the decentralized and diffused networks of actors, coupled with advanced technologies like

drones and cyberattacks, have transformed the operational landscape of terrorist groups. The transnational nature of terrorism makes it challenging for states to contain their influence within national boundaries, as demonstrated by the Paris and Brussels attacks. Moreover, terrorism has increasingly become a global phenomenon, posing unexpected security threats across the world.

In fact, women and children are no longer passive victims but active participants in terrorist activities, and financing methods have evolved, including cryptocurrencies and illicit activities. Migration and diaspora communities have introduced new complexities, as these groups may become fertile ground for radicalization, highlighting the need for effective counterterrorism strategies. Understanding the individual motivations and psychological factors driving people toward terrorism is crucial for devising effective solutions. However, combating terrorism is not without its challenges. The evolving nature of terrorism has made it difficult for intelligence gathering and international cooperation. Balancing counterterrorism measures with civil liberties remains a contentious issue, and there is a lack of international consensus on terrorism definitions and strategies. Complex legal frameworks across nations further complicate extradition and prosecution efforts.

In light of these challenges, addressing terrorism requires a comprehensive and coordinated approach. It demands cooperation between governments, civil society organizations, and other stakeholders, with a focus on promoting peace, stability, and economic development in regions affected by terrorism. A sustained effort is necessary, recognizing that the underlying causes and drivers of terrorism are multifaceted and ever-evolving. Only through concerted global efforts can we hope to mitigate the complex threat that terrorism poses to the world in the 21st century.

### 5.3 Recommendations

The global landscape has witnessed a seismic shift in the nature and scope of terrorism. Traditional concepts of terrorism have been upended, necessitating a comprehensive counterterrorism policy. This study outlines a holistic framework for countering terrorism thus recognising the complex challenges and dynamic threats. Specifically, this study recommends that:

1. There should be a common, designation and understanding of the concept of terrorism as achieving a unified definition of terrorism is a fundamental in tackling the menace. Such clarity would significantly reduce political ambiguities and facilitate global cooperation in combating terrorism.
2. An effective and comprehensive countermeasures, framework and policy should be created and re-evaluated occasionally due to the dynamic nature of terrorism. This approach is proactive as state and non-state-sponsored entities are seeing new ways to enforce their reign.
3. The need to create and strengthen international cooperation is rife due to the transnational nature of terrorism which needs a coordinated global response. This fosters intelligence gathering and sharing that can harmonize counterterrorism effort.
4. A holistic framework that is comprehensive and has a clear balance that preserves civil liberties in a democratic dispensation but effective in curbing the menace of terror organizations should be drafted and implemented.
5. There is need to address the root causes of terrorism that have long fuelled the dastard acts of terror groups. Addressing these causes and concerns can lead to economic prosperity, promotion of education, fostering social inclusion, cohesion among others.

#### **5.4 Contribution to Knowledge**

This thesis represents a significant contribution to the field of terrorism and counterterrorism studies by proposing a comprehensive and adaptive policy framework tailored to the challenges of the twenty-first century. In recognising the evolving nature of terrorism, it offers a novel perspective on the shift from state-sponsored to non-state actors as major players in this current day. In addition, it emphasises the critical role of international cooperation, intelligence sharing, and the harmonization of counterterrorism strategies in the face of transnational threats. Also, the policy's commitment to preserving civil liberties through transparency and oversight strikes a delicate balance between security imperatives and individual rights, addressing a persistent ethical concern. Furthermore, the call for a unified definition of terrorism and streamlined legal frameworks for extradition and prosecution is a pragmatic step toward reducing political ambiguities in international counterterrorism efforts. By addressing root causes, countering radicalisation, and tackling environmental factors, this study provides a holistic approach to mitigating the acts of terrorism. In addition, there is the need to focus on technology, cybersecurity, and the engagement of diaspora communities to ensure that there is a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted nature of modern terrorism.

#### **5.5 Suggested Areas for Further Research**

The study offers a detailed analysis on the concept of terrorism and its adjoining issues. This study also builds a comprehensive counterterrorism approach and policy that can be adopted

to the recent changes and trends of terrorism. However, this study offers several crucial areas that is worthy of further research and examination in the future.

There is a dire need to delve into the practical implementation and effectiveness of international intelligence-sharing mechanisms, considering the complexities of data privacy and the balancing act between national security and individual rights. Also, a comparative analysis of counterterrorism legal frameworks across nations, examining their strengths, weaknesses, and harmonisation potential, would also provide valuable insights into streamlining extradition and prosecution processes. In addition, it is pertinent to understand the dynamics of radicalisation and the factors that influence individuals' paths towards extremism. This examination should include examination of online platforms, social networks, and psychological motivations in the radicalisation process.

A detailed exploration of the impact of technology on terrorism, such as emerging threats in the realm of cyberterrorism and the use of drones is necessary as it is a contemporary issue. Alternatively, research should focus on the interconnectedness of environmental factors, climate change, and terrorism, particularly in regions experiencing resource-related conflicts.

In addition, there is need to constantly examine the effectiveness of counterterrorism programs aimed at countering recruitment, radicalisation attempts and general terror campaigns of all terror organisations.

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## **Report**

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## **Thesis/Dissertation**

Ben-Edet, E. *Terrorism: A Case Study of the Global Security Threat of Boko Haram and the ISIS Alliance in Nigeria* (Doctoral Dissertation, Texas Southern University). 2022.

Osemwende, W. M. O. O. *An Exploration of Anti-Terrorism Policy Implementation in Nigeria* (Doctoral Dissertation, Walden University). 2022.

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### The University Compliance Certification

This is to certify that this thesis was written by Omolara Eunice AKINLABI with matriculation number LCU/PG/003064 in the Department of Politics and International

Relations, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Lead City University, Ibadan is in full compliance with the approved University format and style.

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