AN ANALYSIS OF GLOBALIZATION AS A CATALYST FOR INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

BY

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LEGON                                             AUGUST 2015
DECLARATION

I, Lawrencia Ashie, hereby declare that with the exception of duly acknowledged references, this dissertation is an original research work by me under the supervision of Dr. Philip Attuquayefio. I also declare that this dissertation has not been submitted either in part or in whole for any degree elsewhere.

LAWRENCIA ASHIE (STUDENT)

DATE

DR. PHILIP ATTUQUAYEFIO (SUPERVISOR)

DATE
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, Mr. Lawrence Ashie and Mrs. Harriet Ashie, and also my siblings, Mercedes and Christopher, for their support and encouragement.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>AQI</td>
<td>Al Qaeda in Iraq</td>
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<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<td>BC</td>
<td>Before Christ</td>
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<tr>
<td>DALF</td>
<td>Diplôme Approfondi de Langue Française (Diploma in Advanced French)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DELF</td>
<td>Diplôme d’études en Langue Française (Diploma in French Studies)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<td>GATT</td>
<td>General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade</td>
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<td>ICJ</td>
<td>International Court of Justice</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICT</td>
<td>Information and Communication Technology</td>
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<td>IELTS</td>
<td>International English Language Testing System</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>IS</td>
<td>Islamic State</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISIL</td>
<td>Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISIS</td>
<td>Islamic State of Iraq and Syria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MERCOSUR</td>
<td>Mercado Común del Sur</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>South African Development Community</td>
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<td>St.</td>
<td>Saint</td>
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<td>SU</td>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOEFL</td>
<td>Test of English as a Foreign Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<td>WWW</td>
<td>World Wide Web</td>
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ABSTRACT

Terrorism generically defined, as the use of violence for social, political, religious, or other motives is not a new phenomenon and originally traced to the French Revolution in the 18th Century. This notwithstanding, the phenomenon gained worldwide attention following the 9/11 2001 attack of the United States of America by Al Qaeda, an international terrorist group. The subsequent events including the declaration of the Global War on Terror by the United States has ensured that terrorism remains topical in discussion on international politics. One of the critical issues in that regard has been the conversation as regards the contribution of globalization to the phenomenon of international terrorism. This is due to the argument that some of the features of globalization such as the evolution and expansion of Information and Communication Technology as well as the enhanced fluidity of international finance can be catalysts to international terrorism. Using secondary data, subjected to qualitative analysis, this study sought to examine the concept of globalization as a catalyst to international terrorism. The study among others affirmed the positive linkages between globalization and terrorism. It noted, most importantly, that the drivers of globalization have consciously or inadvertently served as prime enhancers of international terrorism. Thus, in conclusion, the study calls for an admission of the reality of the relationship between globalization and international terrorism. Such an admission demands that advances in technology should elicit an expectation of advances in the modes of terrorist activities, and by implication lead to the development of more proactive counterterrorism measures.
CHAPTER ONE
RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Background to the Research Problem

One of the most widely defined concepts since the end of the Cold War is Terrorism. According to Matusitz, “Terrorism is the use of violence to create fear (i.e., terror, psychic fear) for (1) political, (2) religious, or (3) ideological reasons (ideologies are systems of belief derived from worldviews that frame human social and political conditions).”\(^1\) Krieger and Meierricks also define terrorism as the deliberate use of violence and intimidation directed at a large audience in order to coerce a community or its government into conceding politically or ideologically motivated demands.”\(^2\) While Mannick suggests that it is the “use of violence with the aim of creating fear in a wider audience in order to prevent various parties from doing something, or, on the contrary, to coerce them into a certain behaviour,”\(^3\) Badu also defines terrorism as “…any attack, or threat of attack, against unarmed targets, intended to influence, change, or divert major political decisions.”\(^4\)

It has been noted that most of the definitions of terrorism have been influenced by “individual perceptions or by national or regime considerations.”\(^5\) Considered in generic terms, terrorism can be described as the employment of violence to achieve political, religious, social, or other objectives specific to the perpetrator of the terrorist act. This generic definition arguably derives from the original use of the term during the “Reign of Terror” in France, a period of violence launched after the start of the French Revolution between September 1793 and July 1794.
In spite of the early origins of terrorism, it gained notoriety in contemporary international politics following events of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States of America (US). In that particular instance, two airplanes hijacked by terrorists were flown into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in Washington DC. The impact of the crush on the buildings resulted in massive fatalities of people on the ground and in the buildings. Around the same time, another airplane was hijacked and flown into the Pentagon, the heart of the US military power, killing all on board. Cumulatively, the socio-political and economic effects of the September 11 attacks arguably made it one of the pronounced attacks of terrorists in global history.

In response to the attacks, the US, under the George Walker Bush administration launched a Global War on Terror with the objectives of identifying, locating, and destroying terrorists along with their organizations, deny sponsorship, support and sanctuary to terrorists, diminish the underlying conditions that terrorists seek to exploit and defend US citizens and interests both at home and abroad.6

Pursuing the agenda for the Global War on Terror, the US intensified their confrontation of terrorism organisations such as al Qaeda and states that had until then sponsored the activities of terrorist organisations. In a highly controversial move, the US launched a pre-emptive strike against a Saddam Hussein-led Iraq citing the possession of weapons of mass destruction which could be acquired by terrorist organisations with intent to harm the US and its interests abroad. Although subsequent events revealed the US suggestions as deeply exaggerated, the fall of the Saddam regime was an effective achievement on the resume of the global war on terror. The US also launched attacks in Afghanistan, where a Taliban regime, widely considered as supportive
of al Qaeda had been in power for decades. In both Afghanistan and Iraq, the US succeeded in deposing regimes against its interests and disrupting the operations of numerous terrorist cells.

Notwithstanding the apparent successes chalked within the Global War on Terror, contemporary records suggest that the nature of terrorism and the factors motivating it has made it indifferent to traditional deterrence strategies. Statistics have, for instance, shown that the partial decapitation of al Qaeda leadership has led to a more decentralised mode of operation, with al Qaeda affiliates becoming more autonomous and striking softer targets. Thus, since 9/11, terrorist attacks claimed by al Qaeda and its affiliate in countries such as Indonesia, Morocco, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Kenya, Spain and Great Britain have shown that al Qaeda and its affiliates still retain the will and the capacity to operate around the world.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The quest to engender appropriate responses to contemporary incidents of international terrorism has motivated conversations about the phenomenon. An emerging aspect of this conversation is the relationship between globalisation and incidents of international terrorism. A number of observers have suggested various degrees of relationship between globalization and international terrorism.

Blomberg and Rosendorff posit that the augmented movement of goods, services and people across frontiers all in the name of globalization, has in one way led to international terrorism. Similarly, Karacasulu alludes to the fact that terrorism has become more of a menace during the
period of globalization, making counterterrorism a topmost concern for all nations. He further observes that some of the economic fallouts of the globalization such as the marginalization of groups arising from liberalization and socio-economic inequalities continue to serve as motivators for terror in some parts of the world. This enabled terrorism become more globalized as it garnered more backing from the masses that were sidelined in various nations.\(^{10}\)

Others like Zimmerman highlight the notion that there exists a negative relationship between globalization and international terrorism. He further adds that based on studies by others, although globalization can be associated with terrorism, there seems to be a decline over the years based on an opportunity cost argument, and that fewer terrorists’ activities should be expected if there is the increase in the exchange of goods.\(^{11}\)

Technically, the jury is still out on the relationship between globalization and international terrorism. The study interrogates this research problem by answering the under listed questions.

### 1.3 Research Questions

- What is globalization?
- What is international terrorism, and its causes?
- Does globalization facilitate international terrorism, and to what extent?

### 1.4 Objectives of the Study

With the proposed research topic, the following are the set goals to be achieved.

- To define and explain globalization
• To define and explain international terrorism
• To analyze the relationship between globalization and international terrorism.

1.5 Scope of the Study
The focus of this study is on international terrorism and the spate with which it is becoming a global phenomenon. The period from 11th September, 2001 till date is to be analyzed as the time frame for this work. The concept of globalization is being analyzed as a probable catalyst for international terrorism.

1.6 Rationale of the Study
In the light of an increase in international terrorism, coupled with evolving modern trends in its execution, this research seeks to analyze globalization as a propellant to international terrorism.

This study, in essence, adds to existing literature on the ongoing discourse on the linkage between the concepts of globalization and international terrorism.

1.7 Hypothesis
Globalization is a catalyst for international terrorism.

1.8 Theoretical Framework
The study is conducted within the framework of transnationalism. An increase in global capital and mass media has prompted discussions on the concepts of globalization, transnationalism and the crunch of the nation state. “A core theme in these discourses is the penetration of national cultures and political systems by global and local driving forces.”12 There are some particular
factors that aid in the comprehension of the complex theory of transnationalism. These are communication and technological developments; extension of social network systems that expedite proliferations in politics, economics, and transnational voyage; the widespread of capitalism with its undermining ramifications on countries with less industrialization; and universal political changes and the ubiquity of human rights.\textsuperscript{13}

Transnationalism theory can be linked to the pluralists’ school of thought. This theory brings to light the role of non-state actors in the decision-making process in international affairs. James Rosenau defines transnationalism as “the processes whereby international relations conducted by governments have been supplemented by relations among private individuals, groups, and societies that can and do have important consequences for the course of events.”\textsuperscript{14}

Transnationalism as a theory in international relations describes a situation whereby notwithstanding international borders with restraints such as laws and regulations, there exists global relations.\textsuperscript{15} Transnationalism usually outlines regular cross-border interactions in which non-state actors play a major role. This brings to mind the concept of globalization, whereby non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations, religious actors, as well as terrorist actors, among others, tend to influence interactions in the international system, thus doing away with the realist school of thought that posits that states are the dominant actors.

The relevance of the theory stems from its focus on interactions across borders, as well as the impact of non-state actors such as terrorist groups in such interactions.
1.9 Literature Review

In his article entitled “Between Conflict and Co-operation: Globalization and the Future of International Relations,” Attuquayefio highlights the upsurge of discourse on the concept of globalization while establishing both its positive and negative aspects. According to him, globalization as a concept not only encourages co-operation, but breeds conflict as well. He goes on to establish the fact that “…people and nation-states the world over, are being brought closer more than ever before.” He then makes reference to a number of definitions for globalization by some scholars such as Giddens, Held et al. He continues by indicating that the perceptions of the masses that globalization is the doing away with boundaries of some sort is addressed by Thomas Friedman’s view that “Globalization is enabling each of us to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper, and cheaper than ever before and it is enabling the world to reach into each of us farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before.”

Philip Attuquayefio makes reference to the economic globalization which is often advocated for by way of market liberalization, which consequently encourages competition. He highlights the fact that although globalization is often considered a purely economic concept, it has political, environmental and socio-cultural dimensions. He also makes mention of other aspects that are affected by globalization such as the advocacy for human rights which is becoming an international pursuit, and culture which is also undergoing diversification and adulteration.

With regard to globalization encouraging co-operation, Philip Attuquayefio commences by making reference to Immanuel Kant’s *Towards Perpetual Peace* written in 1795. He highlights Kant’s view that economic interdependence, democracy, as well as membership of international
institutions which altogether form a tripod, ensure peace in international affairs. He also adds, that in order to enhance co-operation, there is the need for the abstract removal of territorial boundaries which goes to prevent disputes. Philip Attuquayefio continues by indicating the co-operation that arises from the ‘war on terror’ due to shared interests, environmental issues such as global warming and security, among others. The last point he makes on globalization enhancing co-operation is culturally-based, where he suggests it could be effective should there be a decrease in cultural differences.

With respect to globalization breeding conflict, Philip Attuquayefio, in his article, elaborates on the political interstate clashes that arise from the unwillingness of some states to practice democracy. He continues by pointing to cultural differences as another prospect for conflict. He further stresses on the internet being a prospect for conflict in international affairs due to the absence of operative governance. Philip Attuquayefio makes mention of terrorists using the internet for some of their activities, such as a medium of communication and also soliciting for funds. He goes on to add that due to rapid advances in technology, terrorists activities and the like are possibly not ending anytime soon.

Philip Attuquayefio concludes that with respect to the future of international relations, globalization enhances co-operation and engenders conflict. He goes on to add that inasmuch as globalization is regarded a positive concept, it has negative aspects that need to be acknowledged and addressed.
Although having touched on the fact that globalization spurs terrorism, the twofold perspective whereby terror groups employ drivers of the concept of globalization they appear to be kicking against, which the work aims to analyze.

Ekkart Zimmerman, in his article entitled “Globalization and Terrorism,” focuses on the concept of globalization and its connection to international terrorism. With respect to globalization, he consistently makes reference to the economical aspect, market structures, and the like, which appears to be the central focus of a number of writers on the concept. He highlights the notion that there exists a negative relationship between globalization and international terrorism. He further adds that based on studies by others, although globalization can be associated with terrorism, there seems to be a decline over the years based on an opportunity cost argument, and that fewer terrorists’ activities should be expected if there is the increase in the exchange of goods.

Zimmerman states, “A curvilinear relationship between globalization and (international) terrorism is not to be ruled out.” He goes on to add that so long as a state accepts globalization, both the economy and the political structure face difficulties as the system loses its power and the protesters gain strength. He thus reiterates his point that although not linear, there exists a relationship between globalization and international terrorism.

To add to the above, Zimmerman posits that globalization tends to increase transnational movement of refugees, as well as terrorists. Financial assistance is given to the terrorists by supporters such as governments, the diaspora and political well-wishers. He further states that
“through the internet in particular, globalization has eased communication and facilitated terror.” 21 Also, the decrease in operational charges enhances coordination and facilitates easier migration and travel. Mass communication has also served purposes of terrorists through the broadcasting of its activities.

In his conclusion, Zimmerman states that globalization can be regarded as a “background factor” for international terrorism. He says that it makes provision for the accessibility to weapons and financial support for terrorist activities.

Zimmerman establishes the relationship between globalization and international terrorism alright, but does not back it with definitive examples of terror groups and their activities to determine how they indeed act as a catalyst to international terrorism.

Florin Stibli in his article entitled “Terrorism in the context of globalization” 22 states that “Globalization is not merely a trend or a fad but rather an international system.” 23 He continues by adding that having its distinct rules and reason which could have a direct or otherwise impact on the affairs of a state, globalization happened to replace the era of the old Cold War. Quoting from Friedman he adds, that with respect to globalization, two questions usually asked are “How are you connected?” and “What speed is your modem?” as opposed to the Cold War era which was “Whose side are you?” 24

Stibli states, “Because of globalization, terrorism has changed the nature of time in this changing world.” 25 Based on statistics he gives, he indicates that there seems to have been an increase in
terrorism. He also highlights a point made by another writer that modern terrorists’ activities seem not to be targeted at governments, but citizens instead. He continues by saying that globalization induces “religious fundamentalism” which in turn leads to terrorism.

In his article, Stibili states that quite a number of the terrorists groups are “trans oriented” whereas some such as al Qaeda are international. He adds, that in present times, terrorists groups are using businesses and other means to ensure financial support. Stibili says, “Recruiting new followers knows no national boundaries, but is worldwide, although concentrated in North Africa and Southeast Asia.” He goes on to add that “chair and technical knowledge needed to attack are available online.” These can indeed be attributed to the concept of globalization. Stibili identifies modern technologies employed by terrorists groups as challenges to the ‘war on terror.’

Stibili indeed indicates that there is a relationship between both globalization and international terrorism, but does not hammer on the twofold perspective which my work seeks to achieve.

In his article entitled “Security and Globalization in the Context of International Terrorism,” Nulifer Karacasulu states that inasmuch as governments have been faced with the issue of globalization and terrorism since the 1980s, they constitute a part of the dominant issues discussed in the study of international relations. He goes on to define globalization as “an integration of economic, social and cultural relations across borders.” He adds that being a multifaceted concept, globalization has a major impact on the affairs of the state. He quotes Clarke, another writer who says that “Globalization also needs to be understood as a number of changes within a state, and not simply as a range of external forces set against it.”
Karacasulu states that international terrorism has become a matter of concern to nation-states in this age of globalization whereby states have become more connected and reliant on each other. He says, that although having existed for a long time, terrorism became a grave concern after the September 11 attacks in 2001. He goes on to add that it was this unfortunate incident that brought to light the fact that globalization was indeed being targeted, having the United States as the main forerunner. Karacasulu goes ahead to align the World Trade Centre with the economic aspect of globalization, and the Pentagon, the military and political branch, both of which were affected by the terrorists attack on that fateful day. In his view, “…terrorism has put globalization among its targets.”

The writer, although establishing the relationship between globalization and international terrorism, fails to talk about how terrorist groups employ the drivers of globalization in the quest to attack the phenomenon.

In the article “Terrorism from Above and Below in the Age of Globalization,” Asafa Jalata elaborates on how globalization as a modern concept has spurred terrorism. According to him, the quest for economic strength, unwillingness to submit to a hegemon, and “religious and ideological extremism” have escalated the occurrence of terrorism from both states and non-state actors, which he refers to as ‘above’ and ‘below’ respectively. He raises the point that terrorism, just like war, has been in existence for a long time and did not spring up in the nineteenth century as most people believe.
To add to his argument, he quotes Donald Black who says that “Rapid transportation and electronic communication shrink the world by shortening the time needed to travel and interact across the physical world … As physical distance loses its relevance, terrorists can more easily plan and launch attacks thousands of miles away from home, illustrated by the American attacks of September 11, 2001 – literally impossible less than a century earlier.”

The writer tackles the relationship between globalization and international terrorism from both perspectives without emphatically stating so, which this study aims to accomplish.

In a ‘ukessay’ paper entitled “International Terrorism has Benefitted from Globalization media essay,” the writer talks about the difficulty faced in defining terrorism, as it has no strict pattern, but says that terrorism “is always used to provoke political change and induce fear.” The writer defines globalization as “an integration of economic, social and cultural relations across borders.”

Paraphrasing from another’s work, the writer talks about the all-encompassing nature of globalization “including increasing international transactions, new communication technologies, an increasing complex division of labour and goods distribution, quick turnover of concepts and consumer patterns, and a significant increase in transnational institutions and political movements.” The writer adds that a relationship between globalization and terrorism can be established taking into consideration the prevalence of international terrorism and the awareness of globalization.
The writer continues by saying that international terrorism has gained from globalization due to new technologies that aid and boost communication and consequently the dissemination of information across the globe. The writer goes on to say that with the help of these technological advances brought on as a result of globalization, there has been an improvement in the abilities of terrorist groups to strategize and execute their activities.

To add to the above, the writer says that groups are able to save their money in international banks and conduct transfers around the world. The writer addresses the issue of increased mobility of persons thereby allowing these terrorists groups to move quicker from one state to another making it almost impossible to track them.

Although having addressed how international terrorism has gained from globalization, the fact that it is also a move geared towards opposing the concept was not dealt with.

1.10 Sources of Data and Methodology

For the purpose of this research, information is gathered solely from secondary sources, such as books, journal articles, reports, documents, news items and the internet. The research methodology selected for this study is qualitative and descriptive as this enables an in depth analysis of certain issues not previously touched upon. Information is analyzed, findings deduced and appropriate conclusions drawn.
1.11 Arrangement of Chapters

The study is organized into Four (4) Chapters. The First Chapter consists of the Research Design; the Second Chapter projects an Overview of Globalization and Terrorism; the Third Chapter provides an Analysis of Globalization as a Catalyst for International Terrorism; while the Fourth Chapter gives the Summary of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations.
Endnotes

13Ibid.
17Ibid.
18Ibid.
19Zimmerman, Ekkart., op. cit.
20Ibid.
21Ibid.
23Ibid.
24Ibid.
25Ibid.
26Ibid.
27Ibid.
28Karacasulu, Nilufer., op. cit.
29Ibid.
30Ibid.
31Ibid.
32Jalata, Asafa., op. cit.
33Ibid.
35Ibid.
36Ibid.
37Ibid.
CHAPTER TWO
AN OVERVIEW OF GLOBALIZATION AND TERRORISM

2.0 Introduction

As indicated in the first chapter, both globalization and international terrorism are concepts that have dominated conversations in international politics for the better part of the last two decades. As a premise to examining the extent to which globalization serves as a catalyst to international terrorism as hypothesized, this chapter presents an overview of globalization as well as terrorism. Discussions on the former focuses on the definitions as well as the various forms through which globalization manifests. The discussion on terrorism on the other hand focuses on the history and types of terrorism as well as some views on the causes of international terrorism.

2.1 The Concept of Globalization

The concept of globalization has attracted significant academic scholarship and practical references since the latter part of the twentieth century. Such scholarship and references have all indicated the extent to which globalisation depicts the withdrawal of traditional territorial boundaries and the intensification in the integration of communities and societies worldwide.

The concept in itself depicts a phenomenon that is not novel to human societies. In fact, the quest for enhanced contacts and integration among human societies dates many centuries to the earliest reported cases of human interaction, even before the birth of Christ. Luke 2:4 for instance, gives an account of Joseph’s journey from Galilee to Bethlehem, evidence of the migration of those days. However, from a more contemporary perspective, the latter part of the nineteenth century
has been noted as commencing a period of increase in global volumes in trade and capital transfers as well as migration patterns. These trends have been enabled by changes in Information and Communication Technology (ICT), improvements in modes of transport and intra and international migration. Consequently, people and states are being brought closer more than ever before.

A number of definitions has been offered in the explanation of Globalization. Monsod, for instance, indicates that Globalization entails a “widening and deepening of international flows of trade, and information in a single integrated global market or the increasing linkages between the world’s people (including the international spread of cultures...as well as diseases and crime) as natural and artificial barriers fall.”\(^1\) Nilufer also defines globalization as “An integration of economic, social and cultural relations across borders.”\(^2\) Touching on some of the processes of globalization, Princova defines globalization as “an irreversible process presented by the huge international market, the information revolution, and the universal advocacy of human rights, global cultural industry, and polycentric international politics with the impact on the everyday life of people.”\(^3\) Beaverstock and Faulconbridge also define globalization as referring to “spatio-temporal processes of change, which underpin a transformation in the organization of human affairs by linking together and expanding human activity across regions and continents.”\(^4\)

Notwithstanding the minor differences in the definitions above, they all register a common theme that can be explained through Friedman’s view that:

Globalization is enabling each of us to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before and it is enabling the world to reach into each of us farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before.\(^5\)
2.2 Manifestations of Globalization

In spite of the many references to globalization in economic terms, the phenomenon is multidimensional and can also manifest in political, cultural and environmental terms. To that extent that these manifestations can and in fact do have varied implications on international terrorism, the following section examines the various manifestations of globalization.

Economically, globalization refers to the expanding interdependence of world economies as a result of the rising scale of cross-border exchange of commodities and services and wide and rapid spread of technologies. This has manifested in dramatic changes in both national and international trade. Through advanced means of transport, international trade rules, increasing regionalization and the establishment of free trade zones, there is the rapid integration of national markets. Subsequently, goods from countries around the world compete in a global market. This has led to economic decisions that were previously local assuming international dimensions. In this scheme of things, economic players like Multinational Corporations have emerged as some of the dominant actors in the global economy. There are three main forces identified as accounting for the economic dimension of globalization. These are the liberalization of capital movements and deregulation of financial services; the opening of national markets to international competition and the critical role of ICT in the global economy.

Governments have also played vital roles, through international organizations. An example worthy of note in this instance is the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which later became the World Trade Organization (WTO). The extent of the WTO’s contribution to
economic globalization is evident in the opening of markets across the world by the frequent reduction in tariff barriers through trade negotiations.

Beyond the economic dimension, globalization also manifests politically often in the loose form of homogenisation of political systems occasioned by the end of the Cold War and the triumph of the West-led ideals of Liberal Democracy. Consequently, an overwhelming number of countries have accepted the Western idea of liberal democracy as the most favourable standard of governance. Politics is also occurring at the state level, through political integration structures like the European Union (EU), intergovernmental organizations such as the IMF, the WTO and the World Bank. Other political activities can also take place across borders through Non-Governmental Organizations and civil society groups through the formation of alliances, with the aid of global communications mechanisms or directly through actors other than their states. Further, as part of the political implications of globalisation in a growing trend towards multilateralism and toward the emergence of supranational organizations playing watchdog roles over the activities of governments under the mantra of global governance. Thus essentially, orthodoxy of domestic politics has been affected by global events over which the nation state has minimal control.

Environmental manifestations of globalization are also evident. This includes the collective efforts in confronting challenges to the climate such as a depleting ozone layer and global warming. Added to these are global efforts in confronting enormous increases in world population growth, adverse effects of industrial development such as the increase in the production of cash crops to the detriment of food crops, and the development and testing of
chemical and biological agents of mass destruction. These have all induced a global move to reach acceptable standards for environmental management and preservation.

Globalization is also reflected in the cultural sphere. Through developments in ICT as well as migration, cultural and traditional values previously unique to certain parts of the world are trickling over to other parts of the world. Through the internet and television signal carrying satellites (and radio waves) among others, people on opposite sides of the globe are gradually being exposed to some homogeneity in the way of life. As a result, cultural beliefs and ways of life unique to specific societies are being assimilated by people living in other parts of the world. Consequently, dichotomies in national cultures and traditional values are gradually giving way to a loose form of world culture. 10

2.3 Impact of Globalization

Primordial Romans symbolized the god Janus with two faces looking away from each other. Globalization is considered a Janus-faced phenomenon due to it having both merits and demerits. Whereas one face assures economic wealth, free political expression, and diversified culture, the other face portends economic insecurity, and political instability among others.11

2.3.1 Effects of Globalization on Education

The globalization of education has been aided by the expansion of information and knowledge in this epoch of information technology. Computers, the internet, and other means of learning such as e-mail, e-chat, webpage, et cetera, have contributed to information and knowledge diffusion to millions worldwide. Some critics have however, spoken against such methods as they believe
student and teacher face-to-face interaction is vital in the learning process. A researcher also need not travel to have access to articles, journals, books and research works, as these are available online. In spite of this innovative learning method making knowledge acquisition rapid and effectual, it tends to create a sense of isolation of an individual from his or her society. This notion was foreshadowed a long time ago by a renowned psychologist who posited, “Modern man is alienated from himself, from his fellow men, and from nature. He has been transformed into a commodity, experiences his life forces as an investment which must bring him the maximum profit obtainable under existing market conditions.”

2.3.2 Effects of Globalization on Culture

The learning and mastering of English seems inescapable for nationals in developing and underdeveloped countries. This is as a result of the founding of foreign universities and the utilization of software created in the western countries, and the internet, among others. This has sidelined many local dialects on some continents such as Asia and Africa. Instinctively or not, the learning of English language as an intercontinental language has led to the introduction of foreign culture across the globe. This is consequently causing a gradual disappearance of local culture which is being replaced by foreign culture.

2.3.3 Effects of Globalization on the Economy

Although there has been a global swell in economic growth over a number of decades, there appears to be a more widened gap between countries as it has been to the benefit of just a few. The income share proportion of the world’s richest as against the poorest continues to be disparate. If this continues to be the trend, the economic inequality between the industrialized
and unindustrialized countries will shift from inequitable to inhuman. For instance, sub-Saharan Africa must make tremendous efforts to tackle poverty. According to economic prognoses, if the present unequal economic development pattern lingers, the richest countries are more than likely to grow richer while the poorest countries grow poorer.\textsuperscript{14}

### 2.3.4 Effects of Globalization on Standard of Living

One key consequence of globalization is the growth in trade and investment. It is worthy to note that there has been a decrease in poverty in regions where trade and investment are thriving. For instance, India is experiencing a rapid increase in Foreign Direct Investment leading to poverty reduction. Mexico has also managed to conquer the macroeconomics crisis better as compared to its neighbours. Likewise, Zambia, Columbia and Poland have also benefited from the fall in prices.\textsuperscript{15}

### 2.3.5 Effects of Globalization on the Environment

Through technological advancements, humans have been made to be interested in their environment, thus, appreciating it. The bad side, however, is the fact that the ozone layer is depleted and quite a number of species destroyed, due to the development of transport. Also, in ensuring economic growth, countries are supposed to undergo industrialization which comprises the drawing out of toxic substances and harmful wastes that are detrimental to the health of humans. Despite these hostile realities, globalization is a necessary evil, so to speak, for economic growth.\textsuperscript{16}
2.3.6 Effects of Globalization on Multinational Corporations

In this current universally competitive setting, it is imperative to make maximum use of the available information technology. Globalization has led to an increase in multinational companies across the globe. The United States was the leading country that featured prominently in multinational companies before globalization became widespread. The United States had about 48.7% shares in multinational companies in the 1970s, which reduced to about 28% in the early 2000s.\(^\text{17}\)

2.3.7 Effects of Globalization on Technology

As a result of the development of an international technological set up such as telephones, wireless technologies, undersea fibre cables and the telecom as internet, dissemination of information crosses borders more easily. Also, the application of laws in relation to patents, copyrights and international agreements can be done with ease. The awareness and application of criminal laws is made easy, and swindles can easily be identified in international trade in society.\(^\text{18}\)

2.3.8 Effects of Globalization on Governments

The formation of international institutions such as the United Nations (UN), IMF, World Bank and the WTO act as regulatory bodies that oversee issues relating to human relations, justice, economic affairs and political issues.\(^\text{19}\) These institutions, thus, eliminate the idea of states being the sole actors in the international system, each playing its respective role.
2.4 Terrorism

2.4.1 History of Terrorism

Terrorism is indeed quite an old tactic. Records of terrorist activities were noted before the invention of the word with evidence from certain relics found within about fifty miles of Mosul in Iraq. This suggests that the King of Assyria from 884-860 BC, Assurnasirpal, erected stone monuments as a means of exercising his authority on acquired territories.

The word ‘terror’ which can be identified within the word ‘terrorism’, comes from the Latin word ‘terrere’ meaning ‘frighten’ or ‘tremble’. When suffixed with ‘isme’ from the French language which means ‘to practice’, then it connotes ‘practicing the tremble’ or ‘causing the frightening’. The words frightening and trembling are synonymous to words such as fear, panic and anxiety, which can be referred to as terror. The word terror has been in existence for more than 2000 years. The word ‘terror cimbricus’ referred to “a state of panic and emergency in response to the coming of the Cimbri tribe killers” in prehistoric Rome in 105 BC.

The word terrorism, was devised during the Reign of Terror of the French Revolution between 1793 and 1794. The Reign of Terror was a movement of mass violence by the French republican government where about 16,000 to 40,000 people lost their lives in a little over a year. The initial definition of terrorism in French was given years later. In 1798, the French released an addition to the Académie Française dictionary which is a leading French scholarly body that deals with issues relating to the French language. The term was explicated as the “système, régime de la terreur”, which means “government of terror.” The English form of the word terrorism is credited to a British man’s portrayal of the carnage he had observed from a distance in France, during the Revolution.
The genesis of terrorism stirred by nationalist ambitions, that is, during the second half of the twentieth century can be unswervingly drawn from the choices made by the vanquishers at the Paris Peace Conference that brought an end to the First World War. President Woodrow Wilson had unenthusiastically disheveled the United States in European matters and stalled American troops in France and Belgium, as he guilelessly presumed that the ‘War to end all Wars’ had, by entirely damaging the Ottoman Empire, meant a chance for the advancement of nation-building with ‘self-determination’ as a guiding principle.\textsuperscript{24}

World War Two gave birth to what was referred to as a ‘post-colonial’ or ‘anti-colonial’ terror trend that was already ongoing in the 1920s. It went on for a period of about twenty years, faded for some time and resurfaced in the last decade of the twentieth century in the form of a reprisal. This terror trend appeared to be more nationalistic and of an ethnic separatist nature which was definitive more so with the formation of the new states such as Israel, Cyprus, Algeria and Iceland, to mention a few.\textsuperscript{25}

The term imperialism was adopted by Lenin, to define the modes of expansionism that outshined the decline of the great empires, regarded as the curtain raiser to capitalism. The balance of powers which formed the core of the Westphalian order declined with World War 1. This also signified a possible end to European hegemony on the global front, which was final by 1945. It was a helpless system that could not nip nationalist threats in the bud.\textsuperscript{26}
The overly steady rise of democratic freedoms gave protestors the wherewithal to make their requests known in a manner that was unfathomable. Such activities, however, gained authorization due to the very uneven and feeble nature of the fresh squalls of freedom. In other parts, people had resorted to violence as the ultimate choice for altering the status quo.\textsuperscript{27}

It was during the 1970s that terrorism appeared in the headlines again, but reached a highpoint in the mid-1980s. Between 1975 and 1984, there was an increase in the average number of terrorist attacks from ten a week to almost ten a day.\textsuperscript{28}

\textbf{2.4.2 Old and New Terrorism}

“The comparison between old and new terrorism can be explained through the evolution of terrorism in four waves, the fourth being new terrorism”.\textsuperscript{29} The very first wave was during the late 19\textsuperscript{th} and early 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries. The second wave was ‘the colonial wave’ which was cramped within national terrestrial frontiers from 1921 till today. The third wave was the ‘contemporary wave’ which began in the 1960s, and introduced international terrorism, extending beyond national borders. The fourth wave is represented by “religious justification for killing, international scope, unparalleled gory tactics and weapons, and dependence on technologies of modernity.”\textsuperscript{30}

Although a number of reasons have been identified for the occurrence of the first wave, two are outstanding. The first is the alteration in communication and transportation forms, such as the telegraph, day-to-day mass-newspapers, and railroads for the period of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The happenings in one country were known in another within a day or so. A
great number of expatriations were enabled as a result of mass transportation. Successive inventions continued to bridge time and space gaps. Lastly, the invention of dynamite was a contributing factor. Although having been developed for industrial use, it served other purposes, such as it being used as bombs. The second reason for the first wave is ‘doctrine and or culture’, whereby each religious tradition had its peculiar kind of terrorist although having similar tactics at times.  

The second wave was sparked by the Versailles Peace Treaty which led to the end of World War I. The vanquishers made it a point to bring down the empires of the conquered states, which were mostly in Europe. The non-European states that were considered to be unprepared to be independent, became pawns, so to speak, under the League of Nations, for the distinct triumphant powers until they were deemed ready for independence. Acts of terrorism were fundamental to the formation of new states such as Algeria, Cyprus and Israel, to name a few. The wave ebbed with the dissolution of empires.  

The beginnings of the third wave of terrorism can be traced from Afghanistan, occupied by the then Soviet Union (SU). The warfare against the mujaheddin ended in 1989, lasting for a decade due to the Soviet’s removal of its troops who were being attacked by ‘Arab Afghans’. The Afghan war was a contributing factor in the upsurge of Islamist terrorism in numerous ways. One of these is the fact that militants not of Afghan origin were equipped with the expertise in the usage of firearms and explosives. The second is the fact that it catapulted Osama bin Laden to fame as a terrorist magnate. Afghanistan was left with both financial and military wealth, thereby having vast resources to finance Islamist terrorism. The last driving force behind the third wave
The terrorist attacks of September 11 facilitated the Fourth Wave of terrorism on a global scale. The dependence on technologies of modernity comprises communications, easy movement across borders, as well as labour, capital and weaponry mobility. The fourth wave is characterized by the use of any kind of weapon which is seen as a justifiable means. The fourth wave proposes a ‘Culture of Terror’ which denotes both a tangible and intangible collapse of America and the West through immense carnages, the consistent accessibility and usage of weapons of mass destruction, as well as ‘religious legitimation’ for attacks by terrorists against civilians.  

2.4.3 Definitions of Terrorism

Defining terrorism is problematic, but undoubtedly important to be able to comprehend the phenomenon. The definitional issue stems from many aspects such as the various entities who have utilized violence to arouse terror. Numerous justifications have been given for such violence, and a great number of parties giving varying definitions for terrorism that appear to be somewhat biased. It is thus, not alarming that there exists over a hundred definitions of terrorism.
Below are a number of them:

- “Terrorism is the use of violence to create fear (i.e., terror, psychic fear) for (1) political, (2) religious, or (3) ideological reasons (ideologies are systems of belief derived from worldviews that frame human social and political conditions).”\(^{36}\)

- “Terrorism is any attack, or threat of attack, against unarmed targets, intended to influence, change, or divert major political decisions.”\(^{37}\)

- “It is commonly defined as the deliberate use of violence and intimidation directed at a large audience in order to coerce a community or its government into conceding politically or ideologically motivated demands.”\(^{38}\)

- “The use of violence with the aim of creating fear in a wider audience in order to prevent various parties from doing something, or, on the contrary, to coerce them into a certain behaviour.”\(^{39}\)

- “Acts of violence (as opposed to threats or more general coercion) intentionally perpetrated on civilian non-combatants with the goal of furthering some ideological, religious or political objective.”\(^{40}\)

- “Terrorism refers to a criminal tactic of conflict-waging, involving some of the same acts of violence which would qualify as war crimes if a state of war existed – deliberate attacks on civilians, non-combatants and third parties, willful murder, the taking of hostages and the killing of prisoners (kidnapped persons).”\(^{41}\)

- “Terrorism is violence, or the threat of violence, calculated to create an atmosphere of fear and alarm.”\(^{42}\)
“...criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act, which constitute offences within the scope of and as defined in the international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism...”

“Any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that occurs for the advancement, of an individual or collective criminal agenda, causing terror among people, causing fear by harming them, or placing their lives, liberty or security in danger, or aiming to cause damage to the environment or to public or private installations or property or to occupy or to seize them, or aiming to jeopardize a national resource.”

“Premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents”

“Terrorism is the premeditated use or threat to use violence by individuals or subnational groups against noncombatants in order to obtain a political or social objective through the intimidation of a large audience beyond that of the immediate victim.”

### 2.5 International Terrorism

Terrorism becomes transnational when a terrorist act in a particular country encompasses victims, targets, institutions, governments, or citizens of another country.

Numerous international terrorist movements sprung up during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Acts of the Balkans, Armenians, Indiana, and nationals of some other
countries were imitations of Russian populists as well as French and Italian anarchists’ examples. The decades prior to the First World War were a period of extreme alterations in both the political and economic domain. It was characterized by an impetuous growth in capitalism and industrial revolution. It was witness to the zenith of a number of colonial kingdoms, such as France, England and Russia, and the weakening of some others such as Austria and Turkey.\textsuperscript{48}

The peak of international terrorism was in the year 1890 which is also referred to as the ‘Golden Age of Assassination’, when presidents, prime ministers, and monarchs were assassinated one after the other by assassins who managed to move across borders with ease. Governments that were closely affected appealed for foreign police assistance and for improved frontier regulations, thought to be an initial effort towards the elimination of terrorism by President Theodore Roosevelt.\textsuperscript{49}

It was agreed upon by all enlightened powers that “anarchy is a crime against the whole human race, and all mankind should band together against the anarchist. His crimes should be made crime against the law of nations.”\textsuperscript{50} This consensus, however, ended after only three days, with the US not wanting to send a representative to a signing for a German or Russian-backed protocol for the purposes of these goals, in Saint Petersburg. In addition, the Americans ignored a second call to that effect, fearing an active participation in European politics would be expected of them, thereafter. Italy, although not for the same reason, also refused, which was presumed to be due to a fear of its domestic plights becoming more of an issue than its international ones if anarchists were made to return to their countries of origin.\textsuperscript{51}
The foremost attempt to deal with the phenomenon proved unsuccessful as a result of the interplay of varying national interests, and the disunity contributed to the development of newfangled terms as the century advanced. Macedonian nationals were given asylum and grounds to facilitate operations in the Ottoman Empire by the Bulgarians. The First World War was based on the suspicion of Serbia’s assistance in the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand. The zeal for assassination tactics became the order of the day in the four dreadful years that followed.  

There were two gory terrorist operations in 1986 and 1995, firstly, by Iranians, and then, the Armed Islamic Group, in France. Radical Islamism developed into a politically-militarized independent movement as a result of the 1991 US war against Iraq.

A maiden attack on the World Trade Centre occurred in 1993, by a car bomb, although the perpetrators did not attain anticipated results. The offenders then, broadcast that the US had become a target for Islamist troops. There was an underestimation of an attack in Khobar, Saudi Arabia by the US in which nineteen American soldiers perished. There was another attack again in Saudi Arabia, but in Dahran this time round, with Osama bin Laden calling for a withdrawal of the US from Saudi territory.

With the support of the US, Pakistan formed the Taliban, and became rulers of Afghanistan. With time, the Taliban was influenced by Osama bin laden and also, Ahmed al-Zawahiri and Muhammad Atef, who were Egyptians. Osama bin laden went on to declare war on ‘the crusaders of the Jews’, in February 1998. That same year, embassies in East Africa belonging to
the US were attacked. Two years later, in the year 2000, a US vessel (USS Cole), was bombed at
the port of Aden, in Yemen.\textsuperscript{55}

Another notable occurrence was the September 11, 2001 attack, which resulted in a call for a
global war on terror because of the modes employed and devastating effects.\textsuperscript{56}

\section*{2.6 Other Types of Terrorism}

International terrorism is one of three main types of terrorism. The other two are state terrorism
and domestic terrorism.

\subsection*{2.6.1 State Terrorism}

“Active state sponsorship is traditionally conceived of as a deliberate regime decision to provide
critical support to a terrorist group, typically in the form of weapons, money, propaganda and
media, or a safe haven.”\textsuperscript{57}

“State terrorism as domestic policy refers to a state’s politically motivated application of force
inside its own borders.”\textsuperscript{58} Some institutions that serve this purpose are those of the military, law
enforcement, and some other security organizations. Some governments resort to terrorism as a
means of proving supremacy while intimidating the opposition. An example of this was in South
Africa during the apartheid when incumbent government of the Inkatha Freedom Party organized
the assassination of members of the opposition African National Congress party both within and
beyond its borders.\textsuperscript{59}
2.6.2 Domestic Terrorism

This type of terrorism can be defined as “terrorist activities that focus on facilities or populations without foreign direction.” The difference between domestic terrorism and state terrorism is in reference to the origin of the persons who commit the acts and not where the acts were committed. An example is the bombing of the Murrah Federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995, because the perpetrators were American nationals. “In the most general statutory terms, a domestic terrorist engages in terrorist activity that occurs in the homeland.”

2.7 Causes of Terrorism

Ever since the New York and Washington terror attacks, politicians and the general public have made efforts to ascertain the factors that spur such occurrences. In 2002, the then president of the US, George W. Bush Jnr. claimed that there appears to be a malicious sphere of marginalization, failure of states and terror, indicating that because “…persistent poverty and oppression can lead to hopelessness and despair… failed states can become havens for terror.” Correspondingly, the then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Tony Blair, in 2004 also claimed that “…poverty and instability leads to weak states which can become havens for terrorists…”

It so seemed that the media and the general public were in concurrence with the aforementioned arguments that highlighted terrorism’s connection to economic, social and political underdevelopment. Thus, measures were put in place to eliminate such underdevelopment issues, such as a lessening of political and socio-economic instability. In 2003, Gerhard Shröder, the German Chancellor at the time stated that, “…to address the root causes of terrorism and insecurity… we must ensure social and material but also cultural security.”
Besides social, economic and political factors which have been stated as causes of terrorism in the preceding paragraphs, there are others. These are psychological, ideological, and religious, among others.

The paragraphs that follow will throw more light on some of the aforementioned factors that cause terrorism.

2.7.1 Psychological Factors

“It is not going too far to assert that terrorists are psychologically ‘normal’ in the sense of not being clinically psychotic.” It can also be emphasized that they are not depressed, lunatics, or emotionally unstable, as terrorist groups conduct regular checks to part with emotionally disturbed persons as they can be security threats.

There is a sense of peculiarity when it comes to motives. Whereas some engage in it for power, revenge is the sole reason for others. For some, however, it is to attain a level of relevance. As such, even within each group, there are individual motivations which could conflict with the collective good. Terrorists have therefore, had to do away with personal motives so as to serve the group’s interest. For nationalist or separatist terrorist groups, there is a timely establishment of collective identity, placing emphasis on the socio-cultural perspective which defines the equilibrium of individual and collective identity.

2.7.2 Political Factors

There appears to be a consensus among experts in the field of terrorism on terrorism as a form of political action being its fundamental principle. Nationalist, revolutionary, and religious
ideologies, as well as a defense of what is considered a status quo have all stirred terrorism. Past
occurrences coupled with the intents of minor, radicalized political conspiracies are indeed
essential in the explanation of terrorism.\textsuperscript{69}

A primary concern is terrorism’s connection to democracy. The rights of the minority are not
well-regarded by all democracies. Majority of the operational democracies across the globe tend
to be discriminatory against the minority and are thus, deemed partial. Diversified social, ethnic
and political units within a state seem to be a vital variable with extremely belligerent
communities mostly being linked to terrorism.\textsuperscript{70}

Necessary information concerning the root causes of terrorism can be obtained through a
scrutiny of an existing political regime and its governance. Such an investigation, however, must
include an analysis from about forty years prior to the existing political regime. For instance,
terrorism stemming from ethnic lines may be as a result of the marginalization of some ethnic
groups whereby some have been considered superior to others.\textsuperscript{71}

\subsection*{2.7.3 Economic Factors}

There appears to be divergent opinions on the issue of economic situations being a cause of
terrorism. Quite a number of scholars believe economic situations such as poverty and income
disparities create tensions among the affected as they tend to develop sentiments associated with
discrimination, and therefore, political strain which is a matter of concern for terrorism. Other
scholars, however, claim to have difficulty establishing a direct relationship between economic
situations and terrorism.\textsuperscript{72}
“Poverty can breed resentment and desperation and support for political extremism.” The emergence of fanaticism has been commonly associated with underdevelopment and failed states, which in turn may not have the wherewithal to thwart such acts. Also, there is the notion that states that are economically deficient and lack legitimacy give room for terrorists groups to thrive.

There is an indication that members belonging to a lot of terrorist groups are usually not poor or uneducated, making the relationship between terrorism and social conditions quite blurry. Managerial and technological expertise is required for contemporary terrorist groups, which can be found among the middle and upper classes of society. However, there is also the need for infantries who are often recruited from the underprivileged in the society.

2.7.4 Social Factors

Urbanization, particularly being juxtaposed with poverty and unemployment has been associated with terrorist acts. With a growing intensity of poverty, the world’s poor is being exposed to disease, crime, violence and family disorder. Urbanization, increasing unequal income levels, and rising class distinctions have generated a topographical focus of wealth and insufficiency across the globe, forming a deep-seated alteration in the geographic foundation of human society.

Distinctive national, religious, cultural and ethnic groups being affected by poverty and inequality tend to breed conflict. An amalgamation of social pressures can lead to a social revolution, political extremism, and even civil war.
Women’s status is also significant. Although women are hardly in support of terrorism, some of them are recruited as suicide bombers. Transnational studies indicate that political violence and instability are less frequent with a relatively higher educational background and political participation of women.\textsuperscript{78}

\subsection{2.7.5 Ideological and Religious Factors}

To some scholars, religion is not a direct cause of terrorism, but merely a justification for it, as they perceive it to be a means of mobilizing support. “Appeals to religion are likely to be a way of framing or representing a struggle in terms that a potential constituency will understand rather than the determinants of a strategic choice.”\textsuperscript{79} Justifications for the religious factor are often placed side by side with nationalistic, or overtly political ambitions.\textsuperscript{80}

“Radical doctrines can profoundly affect how people interpret their situation, respond to efforts to mobilize them, and choose among alternative strategies of political action.”\textsuperscript{81} It has been proven that terrorist groups usually adopt ideologically appealing messages for a greater recruitment. One alteration worthy to note over the past years in the field of terrorism, is the upturn in the number of terrorist groups which justify their actions on the basis of religious beliefs.\textsuperscript{82}

The Islamic religion tends to be associated with terrorism violence by a great number of the global populace. Islamic religious ethics however, stress “orderly and peaceful relations and condemn clandestine violence against defenseless victims”.\textsuperscript{83} Again, “Islamic law prohibits all violence except in official punishment of crime, strict private self-defense or against combatants
in formally declared legitimate war as regulated by law.\textsuperscript{84} The methods and actions of the Islamist terrorists therefore, contravene Islamic law.\textsuperscript{85}

Preconceptions about one or more of other religions among believers of the various religions are due to inadequate information or unawareness. The more acquainted human beings become with each other, the greater the realization for collaboration which all religions of the world advocate, rather than competition being propagated by some people.\textsuperscript{86}

\section*{2.8 Conclusion}

Due to the myriad of scholars in both fields of globalization and terrorism, there is no universally accepted definition for either. This chapter sought to give an overview of globalization and international terrorism. With regard to globalization, various definitions by scholars were given, along with its manifestations. The history of terrorism, its types, and causes of international terrorism were dealt with. The next chapter will delve deeper into the concept of globalization: its drivers, establishing its relationship with international terrorism, and going on to analyze it as a catalyst for international terrorism. Some notorious terrorist groups and their activities will also assist in this analysis.
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CHAPTER THREE

AN ANALYSIS OF GLOBALIZATION AS A CATALYST FOR INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

3.0 Introduction

Scholars in the field of terrorism have attributed the phenomenon to a number of factors. This chapter examines globalization as one of those factors, and the extent to which it acts as a catalyst for international terrorism. In doing this, the role of globalization with respect to its drivers will be analyzed to determine how they result in globalization acting as a catalyst for international terrorism. Also, the relationship between globalization and international terrorism will be established, and terrorist activities will be evaluated with respect to varying modes of execution and evolving trends in the advent of globalization.

3.1 Establishing the Relationship between Globalization and International Terrorism

Some scholars believe that terrorism is “a weapon that the weak use against the strong”\(^1\) who feel cheated in the advent of globalization, while others also are of the view that terrorists carry out their attacks because they see globalization as “harmful to them and their communities culturally.”\(^2\)

As earlier indicated in chapter two, globalization is considered to be a Janus-faced phenomenon, due to it having both merits and demerits. Although globalization came about due to the need for economic cooperation, and later for closer interactions and the interconnectedness of the world, it appears to be aiding not only domestic, but transnational criminal activities, including acts of violence across the globe. One identified negative outcome of the phenomenon is international
terrorism which can be defined as extremely violent acts committed by persons in countries other than their own with devastating consequences.

In the assertion of Audrey Cronin, “this current wave of international terrorism, characterized by unpredictable and unprecedented threats from non-state actors, not only is a reaction to globalization, but facilitated by it;…”

Although as a means of opposing globalization appears to be a root cause of international terrorism, terrorist groups also make optimum use of technological inventions geared towards ensuring a successful globalization process to rather advance their heinous acts. These consequently result in globalization serving the destructive purposes of terrorists groups, and acting as a catalyst to the phenomenon. There are some elements of globalization, some of which happen to contribute immensely to international terrorism, collectively referred to as ‘drivers of globalization’.

3.2 Drivers of Globalization

There are a number of features that enable the process of globalization to be a reality. These features can be referred to as the drivers of globalization. These drivers tend to shape the entire process of globalization into what it is known to be. The drivers of globalization can be placed into four main categories, being technological, social, economic, and political.

3.2.1 Technological Drivers

Technology is always evolving with new inventions such as innovative concepts and state-of-the-art equipment. Although not the sole driver of globalization, technology is a highly fundamental driver of globalization. Technology, is indeed playing a very crucial role in the
globalization process towards ensuring efficacy and maximum productivity. According to Archibugi and Iammarino, “New technologies play a fundamental part in making globalization possible.”

It is imperative to note that technology also contributes immensely to the realization of other drivers in the globalization process. Some of these technological inventions that are developed for developmental purposes, are however, employed by terror groups in the execution of their terror acts as a means of expressing their disapproval for a globalizing world. For instance, as earlier indicated in chapter two, the dynamite, one of many technological inventions which was meant for economic purposes, that is, industrial use, later became a weapon that was used to cause a lot of havoc, as it was being used as a bomb.

There are a number of innovations to be elaborated upon under the technological drivers of globalization that happen to contribute to international terrorism. These can be listed broadly as information and communication development, and transportation systems:

- **Information and Communication change**
  “...the production, trade and information sharing within and amongst terrorist groups has also profited from the IT-revolution.” Under information and communication development, one can make mention of the computer, the internet, the telephone, e-mail, facsimile, smartphones, and the radio, among others. Prior to some of the aforementioned inventions which allow for easier and faster communication, means of communication used to take longer and proved somewhat difficult.
According to Vagadia, “The web broadened the audience for the internet from its roots as a communications medium used primarily by the academic community and geeks to something that made the internet accessible by everyone.”

The internet and the World Wide Web (www) since their inventions, have been, and continue to be of immense assistance to individuals, groups, businesses, and a greater majority of the world populace. These are enabling communication over long distances and assisting in maintaining relationships, enhancing economic operations, as well as financial transactions all over the world. Thanks to the internet, as well as the WWW, information is easily and readily available within the shortest possible time to individuals such as researchers, students, business persons, and even criminals. Also, events taking place in one place are known almost all over the world within a matter of minutes, or even less.

The role of the media as instruments of globalization cannot be exempted from the information and communication change discourse. The media is considered to be one of many forms of communication channels for the broadcast of all kinds of information, be it education, sports, entertainment, and health, among others. With the abundance of media outlets and a variety of media forms, information availability and accessibility is on the rise. Information, therefore, is being shared across borders, and among large sections of the world populace. To add to the above, the infiltration of social media, such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and the like, also happen to assist in the seemingly rapid dissemination of information, from one individual to another, and across borders.
The media is also being used to advance courses, propagate issues, and disseminate information. For instance, the west seems to be making maximum usage of its media to advocate democracy as the universally accepted system of governance, and humanitarian issues such as rights and freedom of the individual and many other matters of concern to them. Examples of these channels are the radio, the television, newspapers, magazines, as well as social media.

Just as the media is being employed to promote globalization on a global scale, terrorist groups are also using the media in their propaganda, recruitment, and rationalization of mostly Muslims or people who happen to be in agreement with their ideological beliefs. Some of the terror groups use the information and communication technologies to advertise, so to speak, their acts which also tend to lure people to their camps in their respective countries, or even urge or appeal to interested persons to commit atrocities on their behalf in some countries. For instance, the terror group Islamic State (IS), uploads videos of its atrocities online which can be seen on electronic media outlets such as YouTube. Also, activities of other terror groups are broadcast on some media platforms which eventually arouse sentiments such as fear, panic, and the like which the terror groups aim to achieve.

- **Development of Transportation systems**

The evolution of transportation systems is indeed indisputable. The means of transportation as we have them now are able to make longer distances seem shorter and allow for faster travel from one place to another. As such, in certain parts of the world, an individual could be living in one city and be working in another, within a particular country. Also, moving across borders
from one country into another has also been made easy. Some examples of these new transport systems are the commercial jet airliners and the fast train.

With the inception of trade aided by the development of transportation systems, there was the inevitability of human interactions and the need for healthy human relations. This called for the need to learn other languages, and other cultures as well. The advancements in the transportation systems have enabled trade in the form of movement of goods and services across borders with ease, which has also resulted in more human contact, and consequently, the world becoming a ‘global village’, hence, globalization.

The development of transportation systems help terrorist groups in their activities as they are able to move quite freely from one place to another to carry out their terrorist acts. Also, as seen in the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack against the US, the perpetrators managed to convert commercial jet airliners into weapons for the terrible destruction.

3.2.2 Economic Drivers

Two main aspects of the economic drivers of globalization can be identified. These are a decline in the barriers to trade and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).

- **Decline in the Barriers to Trade**

Both local and transnational economic policies have been the driving force behind the contemporary trend of globalization with governments engaging in negotiations towards a decline in trade barriers for an increase in trade. With the intent of protecting infant industries
from internationally acclaimed competitive markets, there was the placing of trade barriers restricting the movement of goods and services across borders. As such, whereas some countries experienced shortage of some goods and services, others had surplus of goods and services on their markets to deal with. With this issue came the realization and need for trade among nations to ensure development. Communication and transportation come into play here also as trade highlights the relevance of interaction and modern technology for effective human relations and the transfer of goods and services respectively.

One notable international organization that pushes for the removal of such trade barriers, is the WTO, formerly known as GATT. Although meant to work towards the good of all and sundry, it appears to be favouring some nations over others, thus introducing the element of discrimination among the marginalized sections. In addition to this international organization, there are regional blocs that also work to encourage the easy movement of goods and services across borders.

Foreign Direct Investment

Another noteworthy economic driver of globalization is FDI. An international manufacturing and monetary industry is key in the process of globalization, for which reason new opportunities are being exploited for the creation of foreign markets. The WTO, together with these economic regional blocs also put measures in place to allow for FDIs as a profitable course for development. Examples of some of these regional blocs are ECOWAS, MERCOSUR, EU, SADC, and ASEAN.
With foreign direct investment, multinational companies that tend to establish branches, in countries other than their home countries introduce their cultures and new technology, among others, towards promoting growth. Again, the element of communication is evident here as there needs to be human interaction to effect trade relations.

As seen from the above paragraphs, economic drivers of globalization seek to create trade, investment, as well as employment opportunities for people. However, the terror groups happen to employ the technologies developed to facilitate their terror acts. For instance, money transfers have been made easier, which the terror groups take advantage of to solicit funding.

### 3.2.3 Political Drivers

The international system used to be one reliant on the theory of realism, thus, having an anarchical structure with no central authority. With realism, states are viewed as the sole and dominant actors, with no regard for non-state actors. A criticism to realism, which is liberalism happens to contradict this ideology. Liberalism as a theory in international relations acknowledges the existence of non-state actors and the significant roles they play.

- **Democratic Governance**

Terror groups make use of the characteristics of democracy such as free press and freedom of speech, and are able to spread fright and nervousness among people. Other characteristics of democracy which facilitate terrorism are freedom of religion, association and movement as they create enabling environments for terrorists in their operations.⁹
Liberalism advocates the need for democracy as the universally accepted form of governance. Among the non-state actors are intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations, transnational corporations and even terrorist groups. All these entities affect international politics in one way or another. The demise of the cold war as well as the triumph of liberalism universalized liberalism and capitalism, making them the drivers of change.

- **International Institutions**

As liberalism and capitalism began to gain global popularity, universality of norms and values such as the responsibility to protect promoted by liberalism seemed to draw nations closer. This then resulted in the formation of global institutions such as the UN, the ICJ, the IMF, and the World Bank, just to mention a few aimed at ensuring political globalization.

Nations that become members of such international institutions are bound by the stipulations in a charter, or its kind. For instance, the UN charter has four purposes; “to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations, to cooperate in solving international problems and in promoting respect for human rights, and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations.” Member states, therefore, are expected to adopt these purposes as guiding principles for their relations with one another.¹⁰

With most, if not all of these organizations, there exists the discriminatory factor whereby some nations regarded as ‘superpowers’ have more impact and power in the affairs and administration of these organizations. Also, the global advocacy for democracy as the universally accepted
form of governance seems not to go down well with some sections of the world population who tend to view it as a move towards westernization.

The origins and objectives of these terror groups appear to point towards a revolt against westernization including democracy, which is deemed a western form of governance that is being globally imposed. As earlier stated, globalization not only propels terrorism, but is also a reaction to it, and the political drivers of globalization go to explain this point.

3.2.4 Social Drivers

Among the drivers of globalization are social reforms. Key features of the social drivers of globalization are education, expertise and culture.

➢ Education

Education is a key ingredient in every development agenda, of which globalization happens to deal with. At present, there are quite a number of western universities that have been established all across the globe. With majority of these universities having the English language as their main medium of impartation, the English language has been internationalized making it a basic requirement sort of, for enrollment. To this effect, there are a number of organized proficiency tests such as the IELTS and TOEFL conducted globally. French, which happens to be the second most spoken international language also has similar tests in the form of DELF and DALF. Also, thanks to technology, online programs and degrees organized by some educational institutions have made it possible for individuals to obtain academic certificates without being in the classroom, or resident in the country of the enrolled institution.
➢ **Expertise**

With respect to expertise as a social driver of globalization, the globalization process requires some level of expertise in specialized areas. Not only is the English Language required for student enrollment, but also for most business transactions as well. This system is gradually marginalizing a lot of local languages especially on the African continent, and other parts of the world, with a sentiment of discrimination being aroused in some sections of the world populace. Globalization is also encouraging the trading of not only goods, but services which include skills and technical know-how.

➢ **Culture**

Culture can be defined as a way of life of a people. Culture is very dynamic and always evolving. Due to advancements in technology such as the radio, television, and other means of communication and disseminating information, nationals of some countries are adapting some aspects of certain cultures.

For instance, due to trade, movies, foods, clothes, and other tradable goods are transported from one country to another. Also, due to the watching of movies, foreign to a people, styles of dressing, among others are imbibed by some.

The role of the media is also essential in this domain with the broadcast of the day to day activities of various nationals across the world. This enables people in a particular part of the world know more about the culture of a people in another part of the world. For instance, the
BBC and other global news networks have allocated some airtime to the broadcast of cultures of the world. Also, social media platforms such as Snapchat give insights into some cultures in other parts of the world.

Furthermore, the movement of people across borders thanks to advancements in the means of transportation also exposes travellers to the cultures of their destination countries through trade, vacations, business purposes, and excursions, among others.

With respect to the social drivers facilitating terrorism, just like the political drivers, acts of terrorism are more of an opposing reaction to ‘westernization’. This can be attributed to the adaption of western cultures as a result of the infiltration of western cultures

3.3 Some International Terrorists and Their Activities

There exist quite a number of terrorist organizations across the globe. This work, however, focuses on four terrorist groups that have been making waves on the global front over a period of time. These are al Qaeda, Boko Haram, al Shabab, and IS, whose activities will be outlined for analysis.

3.3.1 Al Qaeda

Al Qaeda, which literally translates, as “the base” from Arabic to English, is an Islamic militant group with its origins in Afghanistan. The group’s name came about due to their training grounds being referred to as such. Al Qaeda as a terrorist organization long existed before the horrendous September 11 attack on the US. However, it appears it was this incident that shot the group to
fame. Al Qaeda as a terrorist group had Osama bin Laden as its leader prior to his killing, which was executed by US troops in collaboration with the CIA in May, 2011.

The main objectives of the al Qaeda terrorist organization are to drive away Americans and their influence from Saudi Arabia as well as other Muslim nations; cause the demise of Israel; eliminate all forms of Western autocracy in Middle Eastern countries; and also bring all Muslims together. Some notable terrorist activities for which al Qaeda was believed to have claimed responsibility for include the 11th September, 2001 attack on the United States; the 11th March, 2004 Madrid bombing; and the 7th July, 2005 London bombing.11

3.3.2 Analysis of Globalization in Terror Acts of al Qaeda

Development in transportation systems is considered one aspect of the technological drivers of globalization. Commercial jet airliners, a step towards technological advancements which aids in the globalization process, was invented. This invention, however inadvertently happened to contribute towards the execution of the ploy of the terror group al Qaeda, in its September 11 attack against the US.

On that fateful day, nineteen terrorists hijacked four commercial jet airliners, which the terrorists converted into flying missiles. Two of the planes crashed into the World Trade Centre in New York City, the third hit the Pentagon near Washington D.C., whereas the fourth crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. The death and destruction as a result of this incident was unprecedented. Close to about 3000 people perished with the inclusion of firefighters and police officials numbering about 400.12
The airliners were said to have been loaded with large amounts of fuel for their long journeys ahead. For instance, the first plane was loaded with about 20,000 gallons of jet fuel before hitting the north tower of the World Trade Center in New York City. This crash, thus, created a wide, fiery hole just around the 80th floor of the 110-storey skyscraper. Then, after about 18 minutes, a second hit the south tower close to the 60th floor, the impact of the burning fuel managed to cause the collapse of the building.13

Another aspect of the technological drivers identified in the September 11 attack carried out by al Qaeda is information and communication change. With an attack of such magnitude, almost every station across the world had a live broadcast of a greater part of the events that day. Terror groups aim to incite fear, and panic among particular groups, and al Qaeda, knowing very well this would be the end result in the line of propaganda, planned this attack perfectly to a fault. Although the crash of the first hit could not have been viewed live by the world, security cameras captured it. However, with subsequent planes having been prudently steered to hit their targets (with the exception of the last one which crashed in a field with its destination unknown), this objective was ultimately achieved. Also, even though the selected terrorists who were based in the US for the attack had their hub, leader, and teammates in another country (Afghanistan), cross-border communication was enabled, and they were also able to take directives from their superiors.
This particular attack becomes a manifestation of the ‘hijacking’ of the drivers of globalization for terrorist acts. It further highlights the ability of terror groups to improvise, using harmless innovations to carry out destructive terror acts.

In as much as terror groups employ the drivers of globalization to carry out their terrorist acts, acts of some of the terror groups are considered a revolt to the entire globalization process, which consequently makes globalization a propellant to international terrorism. For instance, the reason given by scholars for the September 11 attack by al Qaeda against the US points to that fact. A further confirmation was drawn from a released video recording of Osama bin Laden claiming responsibility for the attack while sending out a warning to the US to withdraw its troops from Iraq. Also, the World Trade Centre and The Pentagon were symbols of America’s leadership in worldwide capitalism, and America’s supremacy and influence respectively.\(^{14}\)

A second terrorist attack by al Qaeda to be analyzed for the role of the drivers of globalization is the 11\(^{th}\) March, 2004 attack in Madrid, Spain. Information and communication change as well as development in transportation systems as technological drivers can be identified in the Madrid bombing. On that day, a total of 10 bombs were detonated by the use of mobile phones on four trains in three Madrid train stations. The attack was marked as one of the most fatal attacks on any European territory carried out against civilians since the 1988 Lockerbie bombing of an airplane. Investigations carried out after the attack indicated the bombs had been placed in backpacks taken onto the trains.\(^{15}\)
The Madrid Atocha Station where seven of the bombs went off, seemed to have been the target of the terrorists. The remaining three bombs which were detonated aboard trains close to the El Poso del Tio Raimundo and Santa Eugenia stations were believed to have occurred as a result of a delay in the expected arrival time of the trains at their destination. Three other bombs were not detonated as intended as they were found intact. Following the attacks, a total of 191 people were killed, and about 2000 injured.\textsuperscript{16}

Based on the mode of execution of the terror attack, one technological driver that can be identified is that of information and communication change. The mobile phone is one of many inventions geared towards easing communication and the dissemination of information. The benefits of the mobile phone are indeed undeniable, such as the ability to make a call without restriction to a certain radius as compared to the cordless phone, the ability to transact mobile banking and payments, just to mention a few. The mode of execution with regard to this attack was orchestrated without having to hijack the trains or the perpetrators having to be present to offset the bombs, but through the use of mobile phones which detonated explosives in backpacks that were placed on the trains.

Transportation systems is another technological driver of globalization also evident in this Madrid bombing. The invention of trains is one of many others geared towards easing transportation pressures in relation to longer distances and durations. The al Qaeda terror group, however, in its quest to cause serious damage, targeted this transportation system as it mostly transports a large number of people at a time.
Another means by which globalization had a role to play in this terror attack is the fact that the terror attack was a move to protest the presence of Spanish troops in Iran at the time. For fear of future attacks in like manner, the Spanish government eventually heeded ‘the call’ and withdrew its troops from Iraq.

3.3.3 Boko Haram

Boko Haram is an Islamic militant group operating mostly in the northern part of Nigeria, West Africa, with Abubakar Shekau as its leader. Boko Haram Islamists hold the view that westernization is “haram”, that is, forbidden. As such, any activity, be it social, political, or economic that has to do with the West is a taboo, and thus, acts contrary to these beliefs are punishable. Some of these include voting in elections, and receiving secular education. This campaign by Boko Haram has been extended into neighbouring countries that happen to have joined forces with the Nigerian military forces to counter them.17

Although widely known as Boko Haram, the group’s actual name is Jama’atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’awati wal-Jihad in Arabic, which means “People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet’s Teachings and Jihad”. The name ‘Boko Haram’ was given to the group by the residents of the city of Maiduguri in the north-eastern part of Nigeria, recognized as the headquarters of the group. Translated from Hausa to English, the meaning reads as “Western Education is forbidden.”18

With more than just an interest in education, the former leader Mohammed Yusuf formed the group in 2002, in Maiduguri, and established a mosque and Islamic school to groom individuals
as jihadists. This was meant to ensure a successful political takeover in the quest to make Nigeria an Islamic state.\textsuperscript{19}

Some terrorist activities by Boko Haram include the 2009 string of attacks on government buildings and police stations in Maiduguri, Nigeria; the April 2014 abduction of the 200 Chibok schoolgirls in Borno state; and the 9\textsuperscript{th} February, 2015 attacks in both Cameroon and Niger.

\subsection*{3.3.4 Analysis of Globalization in Terror Attacks of Boko Haram}

As earlier indicated, Boko Haram as a terrorist group aims to turn the country of Nigeria into an Islamic state run by Islamic principles, for which reason starts a war with whoever interferes with this ambition of theirs. Cameroon and Niger are among a number of countries who intend to form a coalition with Nigeria to combat the terror group, making them targets of Boko Haram also.

Democratic governance is an example of the political drivers of globalization with periodic elections and voting one of its features. This system of governance, however, is deemed western and rejected by the Boko Haram terror group. The terror group in demonstrating against this carries out attacks against Nigeria, and consequently extends this to the neighbouring countries assisting the country fight them.

On 9\textsuperscript{th} February, 2015, both Cameroon and Niger suffered attacks believed to have been executed by Islamist terror group Boko Haram. About five people were killed in a bomb attack
in a town near the Niger border, and about 20 people abducted after the bus they were in was hijacked in Cameroon.\(^{20}\)

In Diffa, a town in Niger, an explosion was heard, believed to have been as a result of a car bomb close to the market, where one person was reported dead and fifteen people injured. The bus, which was hijacked in Cameroon was seized in Koza, an area near the border, and driven to the Nigerian border about 18 kilometres (km) away.\(^{21}\)

This twin attack, is one of many attacks being carried out by the Islamist terror group, Boko Haram in its quest to ensure Nigeria becomes an Islamist state, and in opposition to westernization.

### 3.3.5 Al Shabab

The Islamist group al Shabab is based in Somalia but has carried a number of attacks in neighbouring Kenya. Al Shabab translated from Arabic to English means “The Youth”, and has pledged allegiance to al Qaeda, another terrorist group. The emergence of the group is linked to the current inoperative Union of Islamic courts, formerly the radical Somalia youth wing that had control over Mogadishu in 2006, before Ethiopian forces forced them out.\(^{22}\)

Somalia had been without an operational government for more than twenty (20) years, and was a war-torn country. Al Shabab, thus, garnered support due to its promising offer of security to the people of Somalia, but lost its credence after refusing Western aid during its 2011 drought and famine crisis. The group appears to be in contention with the ‘UN-backed government’ in
Some terrorist activities by al Shabab include the September 2013 attack on the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya; and the 2 April, 2015 carnage at Garissa University, situated close to the Somali border.

3.3.6 Analysis of Globalization in Terror Attacks of al Shabab

A decline in the barriers to trade is one aspect of the economic drivers of globalization. With a reduction in trade barriers, also came the ability of persons to move across borders with ease. This positive move for cross-border trading, however, is being manipulated by international terror groups who manage to commute from one country to another, and even with weaponry.

One terror attack by the al Shabab terrorist group to be analyzed for globalization is the September, 2013 Westgate Mall attack in Nairobi, Kenya. This siege lasted for a period of four days from the 21st of September till the 24th of September. From the accounts of some witnesses, the armed persons made their way into the shopping mall via three entry points. One of the groups made their way into the shopping mall by driving up to the entrance, the second entered from a rooftop parking space onto the second floor, while the third made their way to the basement of the mall ‘down a ramp’.23

The attack occurred around noon when the shopping mall was packed with a lot of people, some of whom were having lunch. The first group of perpetrators threw grenades and started shooting...
as soon as they entered, sending people running for their lives. Concurrently, the second group also shot at both children and adults on the rooftop parking area where there was an ongoing cooking competition for the kids. A number of people were taken and held hostage in the cinema and casino of the shopping mall. It was reported that an attempt was made at a distinction of Muslims from non-Muslims.\textsuperscript{24}

Information gathered from security forces indicated that some Islamists had rented a shop in the mall a few weeks before the attack, giving them access to some service lifts allowing them stock arsenal. This was an added advantage for the attackers who were able to engage in a gun battle with security forces as they were able to rearm themselves immediately, and without much difficulty leading to the siege lasting four days. After the four-day siege, a total of 67 people were reported to have died, including 6 security officers.\textsuperscript{25}

This four-day attack executed by the terror group al-Shabab indeed highlights how globalization is serving the purposes of terror groups.

The responsibility to protect is one feature of the political drivers of globalization which forms part of the objectives of some of the international institutions of which most countries are members of. This usually occurs in the light of humanitarian issues where the right of individuals are being infringed upon, or when the lives of people are threatened. This is evident from the interference of Kenya in Somalia. This interference, however, led to Kenya becoming a target for the Islamist group Al Shabab.
In October 2011, Kenyan troops made their way into Somalia as a move to prevent the Islamists from attacking people. This however, infuriated the Islamists the more increasing the number and intensity of their attacks in Kenya. The Garissa University carnage is one of many attacks by the militant group al Shabab against Kenya.\(^\text{26}\)

On 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) April, 2015, a total of about 147 people, a majority of them being students, were killed when a number of armed attackers embarked on a shooting spree on the premises of the Garissa University in Kenya. The indiscriminate shooting started after the gunmen shot and killed the 2 guards of the university. The militants separated Christians from Muslims and shot at the Christians. Over 500 students were able to escape with about 79 of them sustaining injuries. Four of the gunmen were believed to have died when their suicide vests blew up.\(^\text{27}\)

This attack goes to highlight how globalization contributes to international terrorism as a means of expressing disapproval of a global village, but executed using the very tools of globalization they are not in support of.

### 3.3.7 Islamic State

The Islamic State as it is currently called, was first known as ISIS and later ISIL. With Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi as its leader, the IS is a terrorist group operating within the environs of Syria and Iraq. It was in the year 2014 that the terror group gained popularity on the international front after exercising territorial jurisdiction in most parts of Syria and Iraq. In June, 2014, the Islamic State terror group made a formal declaration towards setting up a state governed by Islamic law.\(^\text{28}\)
The origin of the terror group Islamic State can be traced as far back as 2002 as a counter attack group to the US-led Iraq invasion. It was aligned to al-Qaeda due to their leader at the time, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi who pledged allegiance to Osama bin Laden. The group’s name was thus, AQI. Al-Qaeda leaders, however, were not in support of the overly extreme measures employed by the AQI. After the death of their leader, the group faced some challenges resulting in a collapse of the group. In 2010, an ex-detainee of the US made efforts towards its reformation as the group’s leader, and by 2013, they had swung into full action as they were behind a number of attacks in Iraq.²⁹

3.3.8 Analysis of Globalization in Terror Attacks of IS

Information and communication technology has evolved and continues to do so. One aspect that has undergone tremendous change is the media. The media plays a very significant role in the globalization process. The media has made it possible for acts of terrorism to be committed without the actual members of the terror group being present, or having to carry out these acts themselves. As a social driver of globalization, the media is highly employed by the terror group IS, and has demonstrated a mastery of this, for propaganda purposes, recruitment purposes, radicalization, and the like.³⁰

Videos of some of their acts, mostly executions of hostages are also posted online and made available to the public for viewing. This not only incites fear, and panic among people, but also serves as a way of motivating people on their side in other countries. IS is also able to convince people over to their camp through their videos which happen to go viral online. An example is
the British girls who left their home country of Britain, to travel all the way to Syria after being radicalized from some of these videos.

IS is also making use of the media as they issue messages that urge some people who happen to share in their beliefs and ideologies to commit terror acts on their behalf. An example of this attack was evident in the terror attacks in the countries of France, Kuwait, and Tunisia, after the terror group made a call for violence. About 39 people were killed when a gunman opened fire on tourists at a Tunisian resort in Sousse. There was also a bomb attack on a mosque in Kuwait, and another attack on a US-owned factory in France that comprised a beheading. A link between the three incidents was speculated after the Islamist terror group urged their ‘fans’ “to make Ramadan a month of calamities for the nonbelievers.”

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter sought to analyze globalization as a catalyst for international terrorism. The drivers of globalization, being technological, social, economic, and political, were found to be evident in the activities of some selected terrorist groups. A relationship between globalization and international terrorism was, therefore, established, per the analysis. The next chapter will give a summary of findings, a general conclusion, and recommendations.
Endnotes


2 Ibid.


8 Ibid.


13 Ibid.


15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.


18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.


21 Ibid.


24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.


27 Ibid.


29 Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This work sought to analyze the concept of globalization as a catalyst for international terrorism. The drivers of globalization were examined to ascertain how the concept fuels international terrorism, with respect to recruitment procedures, arsenal strength, propaganda, soliciting for funds, and other means by which acts of terrorism are facilitated. The objective of the study was to explain both concepts of globalization and international terrorism, and analyze the relationship between them. This chapter first summarizes the findings, gives a conclusion, and finally, offers a few recommendations.

4.1 Summary of Findings

From my findings, it is evident that there is indeed a relationship between the phenomena of globalization and international terrorism. Defining both globalization and terrorism is a daunting task due to their complexities. For this reason, they are both without a universally accepted definition, and with a myriad of scholars in both fields. The relationship between the two can be identified from a twofold-perspective as terrorists commit terror acts to oppose globalization, and also employ instruments of globalization in their activities.

Four drivers of globalization were identified, being; technological, economic, political and social. Under the technological drivers are information and communication change, and also development in transportation systems; a decline in barriers to trade and foreign direct
investment under the economic drivers; democratic governance and international institutions under political drivers; and education, expertise, and culture under social drivers. These drivers of globalization inadvertently happen to assist terror groups in the execution of their terror activities.

The ease in communication and transportation technologies has aided terror groups communicate and plan attacks. The ease in transportation systems has further facilitated their ability to carry out attacks in different locations, while avoiding attacks. The improvements in communication has also provided them with victims- as the massive number of commuters or travellers on buses, trains, et cetera, become vulnerable to attacks.

Two features of economic globalization that were highlighted were the decline of barriers to trade and FDI. There has been a considerable reduction of trade barriers which has also resulted in the relatively free movement of persons across borders, all geared towards fostering good trade relations. This inadvertently aids terrorist groups in their movement from one country to another. FDIs also allows for the mixing of cultures, and again, the learning of, and imbibing of foreign cultures which go to contradict the lifestyles of people who resort to terrorism as a means of obstructing globalization.

Politically, the acceptance of western liberal democracy has come with associated discontent among sections of cultures, including the Arab world who find many of the liberal principles unacceptable. Thus, democracy has also inadvertently ‘raised’ protests as terrorists are determined to stop its proliferation in parts of the world.
Again, the attempt by the west to spread democracy to other parts of the world has not only met resistance, but also resulted in terror networks whose purpose is to hinder the progress of the effort. September 11, for example, is believed to have been carried out to register the discontent of al Qaeda of the presence of the US in Saudi Arabia, and in the Middle East in general.

Education, the media and culture as social drivers of globalization also have unintended contributions to acts of international terrorism. Western education is going international with the establishment of western educational institutes in countries and continents other than their own. This has internationalized the English Language as it is the medium of communication for these institutions, and the learning of the language introduces the learner to the culture of the people. This in turn leads to the adaptation of some aspects of the western culture which seem to be in contradiction with the ideology, beliefs and customs of some, especially those of the Arab nations.

For instance, an individual who intends to enroll at such institutions needs to take some English proficiency tests such as IELTS and TOEFL to prove a good command of the English Language. The media also adds to the infiltration of western culture arising from the abundance of, and transnational nature of varied media forms such as the television, radio, and internet, among others. This is another aspect of globalization that proves seemingly unfavourable to some sections of the global populace, for which some terror acts are executed.

After identifying some terror groups that operate on an international level and assessing some terror activities of theirs, the role of globalization was highly evident. It was established that
whereas on one hand, the drivers of globalization happen to facilitate acts of terrorism through the methods employed by terror groups, these same drivers propel terrorism in the name of rebelling against globalization.

4.2 Conclusion

It is evident from the analysis that globalization is assisting terrorists in the execution of their inhumane atrocities. From aiding their ability to communicate with each other, to providing them with new ‘weapons’ as well as providing large gatherings of people, globalization has inadvertently aided terrorists in their destructive acts.

Globalization has, and continues to contribute in a lot of fields all across the globe. Some of these have been through information and communication enhancement, transportation systems. Other sectors that also gain from globalization include education, finance, and humanitarian issues, to mention a few.

At present, the media is being of immense assistance to terror groups as they are able to radicalize people, and also impact on sympathizers to commit acts of terrorism on their behalf. Furthermore, the media coverage provided not only provides information on attacks, but also satisfies the desire of terrorists to reach large numbers of viewers, and thus, cause panic. This panic goes a long way to grant them ‘audience’.

Globalization is, thus, considered to be a catalyst to terrorist activities, as opposing factions have resorted to terrorism as a means of portraying their displeasure to the fact that the world is
becoming more and more globalized. Ironically, however, terrorists employ the instruments of globalization, which they are highly opposed to, in the execution of their ferocious deeds.

4.3 Recommendations

International terrorism is indeed a horrible phenomenon that requires tackling. However, measures being employed to do so seem to be terrorism in itself, when making reference to some definitions, some of which were given in chapter two. In as much as the targets are the offenders or perpetrators of the acts, a lot of innocent lives are lost in the process.

One recommendation is to increase security by applying stringent measures in curbing activities of terrorists. Just as there continues to be advancements in the globalization process towards a ‘global village’, new trends are likely to surface from the camp of terrorists with regard to their activities. This, therefore, calls for innovative concepts and new inventions that can overpower whatever terrorists decide to come up with, to be able to deal with this global issue.

Another recommendation is to develop mechanisms that can prevent the media coverage available to terrorists which they use to radicalize, gain support, fund, and incite fear. This would go a very long way in tackling terrorism with the very recent extraordinary patronage of the media by terrorists.

In addition to the above, social drivers of globalization that happen to marginalize or discriminate against aspects of the cultures of people should be handled meticulously so as not to generate unwarranted conflicts that culminate into acts of terrorists as a reaction to such.
It is indeed worthy to note, that with the spate and developing trends and modes of execution, no country can be sure of its safety from a terror act, and calls for stringent global security measures to help counter and curb this menace. Every individual therefore, needs to adopt a sense of vigilance and awareness of one’s surroundings as anyone at all can be among a targeted group by terrorists as a result of the instruments of globalization.
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