Theophilus Oyime Adejumo, 2025, 3(2):150-159

Contextualizing the Political Tactics Motivating Global Terrorism: A Comparative Analysis of Boko Haram and ISIS

Theophilus Oyime Adejumo, PhD
Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution, University of Calabar, PMB 1115,
Eta Agbor, Calabar, Nigeria
Email: theophilusoyime@gmail.com
ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6275-5201

Abstract

This paper provides a comparative analysis of the political tactics motivating global terrorism, with a focus on Boko Haram and ISIS. It challenges the conventional belief that ideology and poverty are the primary drivers of global terrorism, arguing instead that the ambition to establish Islamic caliphates and exert political and economic control is the main motivation for terrorism across the world. The study examines the interconnectedness of terrorist networks across regions and the impact of globalization on their activities. It addresses key objectives including defining contemporary terrorism, identifying its root causes, comparing the operational strategies of Boko Haram and ISIS, and exploring the implications for global security. The paper also reviews the literature on political strategies driving global terrorism and theoretical explanations for its causes. It concludes with a discussion on the purposes of terrorism, including provocation, polarization, mobilization, and compellence, and the effectiveness of these tactics in achieving terrorist goals.

Keywords: Global terrorism, Boko Haram, ISIS, political tactics, & global security

INTRODUCTION

The political tactics motivating terrorism in the global environment currently seem to follow a regular model since it has been noticed that, along the boundaries of the crescent shaped Islamic bloc of nations from the bulge of Africa to central Asia, from Karbala in Iraq to the Caucasus in western Asia, terrorist operational tactics/strategies and psychology motivating their engagement and even weapons employed are becoming increasingly similar, highly combustible methods are adopted against groups considered enemies. Hence, small arms and light weapons proliferation and suicide bombings are no longer strong features in modern terrorist activities (Theophilus, *et al.* 2022:178).

This quote will influence the discussion. The government's security services have routinely used cruel and counterproductive techniques against Boko Haram and ISIS. The tendency toward terrorism that led to the 9/11 catastrophe has decreased but persisted. Various concerns related to terrorism persist, especially those linked to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, situations in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, and the fate of Kashmir and Indo-Pakistani ties, among other problems. These difficulties prompted the proclamation of a 'global war on terrorism,' military action in Afghanistan to overthrow the Taliban government and dismantle al-Qaeda's headquarters, and a preemptive invasion of Iraq in 2003.

Classical scholars of terrorism have often attributed the emergence of global terror primarily to factors such as ideology and poverty. However, this research aims to challenge the conventional belief by arguing that the primary motivation behind global terrorism is the ambition to establish Islamic caliphates and exert control over their political and economic influence. To support this argument, the study will analyze various terrorist organizations, including Boko Haram in West and Central Africa, ISIS in the Arabian Peninsula, as well as other active groups like Hezbollah and

Theophilus Oyime Adejumo, 2025, 3(2):150-159

Hamas in Lebanon, and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. These organizations are known to strategically select their methods and political strategies to seize territory from legitimate governments of sovereign nations (Theophilus *et al.* 2022; Caleb 2017).

Before delving into the political techniques driving global terrorism, it is essential to establish that the vast territories controlled by these terrorist networks are intricately linked. According to Brown (2016), this interconnectedness has led to increased terrorist activity in a specific area stretching from the southern shores of Lake Chad, through Tripoli, to the northern Tigris region in the Arabian Peninsula. These factors collectively render the global environment susceptible to terrorist acts perpetrated by non-state actors. The phenomenon of globalization has further facilitated the well-structured connections and collaboration among terrorist organizations worldwide. As a result, terrorism has become more flexible, adaptable, and fluid, allowing it to thrive under various global conditions. Due to its transnational nature, terrorism has been successful in causing widespread destruction and humanitarian crises within national borders (Olasile 2015). This paper will address four key objectives: (a) defining contemporary terrorism, (b) identifying its root causes, (c) comparing the operational strategies of Boko Haram and ISIS, and (d) exploring the implications of terrorism for global security. Additionally, the study will examine how the international community has reacted to the threat of terrorism and what the future might hold in terms of counterterrorism efforts.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature on the political strategies driving global terrorism has been extensively reviewed, with contributions from scholars such as Theophilus et al. (2022), Theophilus et al. (2021), Banko (2016), Caleb (2017), Okafor (2017), Lamptey (2013), Crenshaw (2009), and others. These works highlight that terrorism as a political strategy is not a recent phenomenon, with historical instances of anarchist revolutionaries in Europe using bombings and assassinations to challenge organized government and capitalism during the nineteenth century. The September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon marked a significant moment in the history of terrorism, causing unprecedented death and destruction in the heart of American civilization. Despite the United States' military and economic power, these attacks exposed its vulnerability. However, 9/11 was not the first instance of Islamic fundamentalist organizations targeting the United States or Western countries. Prior attacks include bombings against a U.S. military base in Saudi Arabia in 1996, American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, and the naval ship USS Cole off the coast of Aden in 2000.

Post-9/11, notable terrorist incidents include the 2002 Bali nightclub bombing, which killed around 200 people, and the 2004 Madrid train bombings, which killed nearly 200 commuters and injured over 1,700. Recent times have also seen numerous terrorist acts resulting in the deaths of many Iraqi citizens after the fall of Saddam Hussein and an increasing number of Afghans. Caleb (2017) in his study "Terror economy: Re-examining the narrative motivating global terrorism" discusses the growing concern among governments about the political tactics driving terrorism post-9/11. He traces the origin of this concern to an editorial article in The Economist, which suggested that this would shape the discourse of a new era. Theophilus et al. (2022) support this claim by stating that political strategies driving global terrorism can be attributed to the use of terrorism as a powerful tool by insurgent rebels and armed groups operating within state boundaries. As long as sovereign governments are susceptible to rebel rule, terrorism will remain a favored tool for rebel organizations motivated by ideological, religious, and financial interests.

The complexity of the environments in which transnational non-state actors operate distinguishes terrorism as a significant and new aspect of the current threat to global security. Recent

attacks by the Palestinian militant group Hamas on Israel demonstrate a consistent pattern of terrorist tactics in the global environment. Hamas carried out unprecedented attacks by infiltrating communities near the Gaza Strip, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of residents and the abduction of dozens of hostages. Crenshaw (2009) and Schmid and Longman (2008) emphasize that the essence of terrorism is the intention or goal behind the violent act, which is to have a broader psychological impact beyond the direct victims. Hoffman (1998) adds that terrorism involves intentionally inducing fear through violence or the threat of violence to achieve political change. It is crafted to have an extensive psychological impact beyond the direct victims, aiming to inspire fear in a broader audience, which might include a competing ethnic or religious group, a whole nation, a government or political party, or public opinion in general.

Viewing terrorism as a technique or strategy helps us recognize that it is not limited to certain actors, as it has been used by a diverse range of groups beyond just terrorist organizations. Many participants in Islamic terrorist activities are motivated to join in Jihadist warfare, often using terror as a tool. However, in most cases, the primary incentive for engaging in terrorist actions is the pursuit of money, power, and geostrategic impact. Organizations such as Al-Qaida, Isis, Hamas, Hezbollah, Shia, Sunnis, Boko Haram, and the Taliban have resorted to using techniques such as bombings, arson, murder, armed assaults, hostage-taking, abduction, sabotage, threats, and hijacking to confront their much larger opponents (Theophilus et *al.* 2023; Ubong *et al.* 2022).

THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS TO THE CAUSES OF TERRORISM

Karin Von Hippel (2002), as cited in Norwitz (2009: 401-413), argued that terrorism cannot be fully explained by "basic causes." Despite millions of individuals living in great hardship and being exposed to extremist beliefs, only a small number become terrorists. Terrorism does not arise spontaneously in response to conditions, and various groups facing similar circumstances may choose different reactions. Discussions on the origins of terrorism are contentious, with some believing that emphasizing underlying reasons, motivations, and frustrations may be seen as indirectly supporting violence. A neutral perspective is necessary to comprehend the underlying factors and create successful long-term strategies. No thorough analysis currently exists that explains why some nations have a higher incidence of terrorism than others. Explanations are diverse and arguments arise. Explanations for terrorism often overlook the socio-economic and political factors that motivate terrorism. Researchers acknowledge that normalcy is a hallmark of terrorists, but emphasize that psycho-pathological issues within group leadership may also have a substantial impact. Additional hypotheses on the origins of terrorism, as discussed in the paper "Origins of Terrorism: An Expanded and Updated Review of the Literature" by Lia and Skjolberg (2004), include the perception of deprivation and inequity, particularly among culturally defined groups. This may result in civil unrest, possibly including acts of terrorism. Terrorism is a form of social control targeting symbols of central authority or a dominant society, often fueled by a lack of political legitimacy, continuity, and integration among political fringe groups, which fosters ideological terrorism. The potential is amplified by ethnic diversity.

Terrorism in a nation might spread to surrounding regions. Mass media may impact terrorism by shaping agendas, intensifying deadliness, and broadening its international scope. An imbalanced gender ratio and a large number of unmarried men contribute to a higher likelihood of intra-societal violence and instability, with young unmarried males mostly responsible for political and criminally motivated violence. Opportune moments when terrorist acts may be used to shape public opinion and access resources are significant. Radical members of coalition organizations in peace accords may continue and intensify hostilities to recover control and resist compromise, aiming to maintain their influence and avoid being marginalized. Achieving hegemony in the international system by one or

two players may lead to a significant increase in transnational anti-systematic terrorism as proxy wars escalate. Terrorism may be a reaction to globalization and modernization.

Terrorism may manifest in many forms and situations. Terrorists may come from various backgrounds, including those who are destitute, ignorant, or prosperous, and can be of any gender. It may happen in both developed and developing nations under various political systems and includes both ideology and religion. Although the root causes of terrorism may vary from the factors that sustain terrorism in the long term, more vulnerable cultures are often impoverished and have fragile governmental institutions. Less affluent nations are more susceptible to civil conflicts, thereby increasing the likelihood of terrorism. States in the process of transitioning to democracy, rather than being fully democratic or authoritarian, and semi-authoritarian regimes have the highest levels of transnational terrorism. Experiencing social changes due to modernization facilitates terrorism by enabling movement, communication, targeting a broad range of locations, and reaching diverse audiences. Fragile and destabilized governments fuel international terrorism. Reasons for terrorism may be present in ongoing or historical battles, with armed conflicts also facilitating transnational terrorism.

Terrorism may serve four purposes: provocation, polarization, mobilization, and compellence. Provocation involves using terrorism, particularly indiscriminate attacks on civilian populations, as a tactic to incite a government into an excessive response. Polarization occurs when terrorism exacerbates divisions within society by carrying out random attacks on members of different communities. Mobilization refers to the ability of terrorism to rally and energize supporters, highlighting and bringing attention to overlooked grievances. Compellence is the act of compelling an adversary to take a specific action, often used as a strategy of retribution and attrition to force disengagement from international commitments. It is important to emphasize that terrorism is not always effective in achieving these goals. For instance, the apparent effectiveness of a compellence tactic might be deceptive, and in many instances, it is difficult to definitively prove that terrorism directly caused certain political decisions. There are also many counterexamples, such as India not yielding to terrorist coercion in Kashmir and Russia not retreating from Chechnya.

WHAT IS TERRORISM TODAY?

The definition of terrorist actions is not universally agreed upon. In recent decades, economic and cultural globalization has inadvertently fueled the rise of international terrorism. The spread of capitalism, Western values, culture, democracy, fast-food chains like McDonald's, and Hollywood movies has led many individuals in developing countries, particularly Islamic fundamentalists, to feel overwhelmed and spiritually tainted by Western influence. This situation is worsened when individuals find themselves living in nations with limited military power and global influence, leading them to view terrorism as their only means of defending themselves and upholding their religious and ideological beliefs. In times when hostilities between countries have decreased and conflict between major powers is almost inconceivable, terrorism has become a primary concern in international affairs. Terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda operate covertly, making them difficult to target compared to non-state entities. Their unpredictable behavior instills extreme fear.

According to a study by Ubong et al. (2022) titled "World Environmental Security and the Nuclear Arms Race," the primary threat of nuclear attacks comes from terrorist organizations smuggling weapons into their target countries, rather than from missiles. This danger is expected to persist for many years. Terrorist organizations, regardless of size, find opportunities that align with their political goals and use methods that support their objectives. Left-wing terrorists such as the German RAF (Red Army Faction) and Italian RB (Red Brigade) have abducted and killed individuals they held responsible for economic exploitation or political repression to gain attention and advance

Theophilus Oyime Adejumo, 2025, 3(2):150-159

a Marxist-Leninist revolution. Furthermore, terrorist attacks driven by religious beliefs can include indiscriminate violence against a broad range of individuals beyond their stated opponents, including those who may not share their religious beliefs. Acts by ethno-nationalist/separatist organizations may be considered to lie halfway between these two models. Recently, terrorism has been characterized by many patterns, leading to worrisome outcomes. The resurgence of terrorism driven by religious beliefs and official support in the early 1980s initiated significant changes in the characteristics, motives, and talents of terrorists that continue to evolve. In the 1990s, the emergence of professional terrorist groups and the increase in amateur terrorists not formally connected to existing groups helped transform terrorism into a more widespread and less defined phenomenon.

THE BOKO HARAM VERSUS ISLAMIC STATE OF IRAN AND SYRIA (ISIS): A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

According to Andrew Walker's 2012 "Special Report" for the United States Institute of Peace, Boko Haram is an Islamic sect that perceives politics in northern Nigeria as controlled by a corrupt faction of insincere Muslims. I want to initiate a war against them and the Federal Republic of Nigeria in order to establish a "Pure" Islamic State governed by Sharia Law. Since August 2011, Boko Haram has regularly placed explosive devices in public areas and churches in northeastern Nigeria. The organisation has expanded its goals to include setting fire to schools. In March 2012, over twelve public schools in Maiduguri were set on fire overnight, leading to the displacement of around 10,000 students from their education. Walker pointed out that Boko Haram is not included in the same global Jihadist category as Algeria's Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb or Somalia's Al-Shabab. Although Boko Haram successfully attacked the UN facility in Abuja in August 2011, the group is not focused on targeting Western interests. The strategies used by the Nigerian government to combat Boko Haram have been repeatedly harsh and ineffective. Their use of extrajudicial executions in Nigeria not only led to the creation of Boko Haram as it exists now but also nurtures and fuels its growth.

Caleb Ayuba (2017) analysed the origin of the Boko Haram sect and noted that the group has had a strong influence over West Coast and Central African states for nearly a decade. These sub-regional blocs have come within the group's geostrategic sphere of influence. The group's main motivation is to establish an Islamic state in Nigeria and the surrounding area by reshaping it according to its own beliefs. Theophilus et al (2022) assert that Boko Haram's ideology is rooted in global fundamentalist beliefs and has an international support base, challenging the notion that it does not pose a threat to international peace and security. It is important to clarify that Islam does not support the violent actions and techniques of groups like ISIS, AQIM, Boko Haram, al-Shabaab, Al Qaeda core, and others. These organisations commit acts of violence against children, women, and other vulnerable individuals in society, which contradicts and goes against the principles of this religion that is part of the Abrahamic belief system.

We find the Quran urging believers to fight wrong doers and rescue the weak from their evil, saying and why should you not fight in the cause of Allah and of those who are, being weak, are ill-treated and oppressed-women, children and even men whose cry is Lord, rescue us from this town whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from You one who will protect; and raise for us from You one who will help.

The Quran narrates the story of Cain murdering Abel, leading Allah to establish a law for the children of Israel. According to this law, anyone who unjustly kills a person, without it being in retaliation or for causing corruption in the land, is considered as if they have killed all of humanity (Quran 5:32). This emphasizes the gravity of taking a life unjustly, equating it to the destruction of an entire population and condemning the perpetrator to eternal damnation. Certain organizations

Theophilus Oyime Adejumo, 2025, 3(2):150-159

have been classified as Kharijites due to their harmful actions towards society, including violence against vulnerable individuals such as men, women, and children. These groups, characterized by their narrow-minded and aggressive stance on religion and life, reject, criticize, and distrust others, including fellow Islamists, while holding their own views in high regard. Sha D. P. (2017) suggests that if groups like ISIS, AQIM, Al Qaeda core, and al-Shabaab delve into classical knowledge, they might find that Islamic traditions offer valuable lessons, just as they have learned from Western civilization, despite their ideological opposition.

Boko Haram is seen as a product of globalization, drawing its roots from various global influences, including the Middle East and the mosques of London (Ribadu 2015). The movement has been influenced by immigrant preachers in Europe, particularly the UK, who arrived with fiery rhetoric in the late 20th century, leading to the development of terrorist ideologies. Boko Haram has also received training from organizations like al-Shabaab in Somalia and AQIM in the Central Saharan zone (Erin et al., 2019). The anti-modern mindset in northern Nigeria, similar to other unstable regions like Somalia, Afghanistan, and Iraq, has been influenced by Nigerians like Abu Umar and Mohammed Ali, who interacted with Syrian preacher Abu albasir al Dardusi in Yemen. They promoted the rejection of Western symbols, education, and values through indoctrination. Upon returning to Nigeria, these preachers attracted followers, particularly young Sunni preachers with extreme beliefs. Mohammed Yusuf and Bello Doma, knowledgeable Islamic preachers, were influenced by Umar and Ali's teachings, leading to Yusuf's rise as a primary leader of the movement. After internal conflicts, the organization split but later reunited under Yusuf's leadership following Ali's death and Umar's imprisonment (Bakut B. T. 2017).

The complexity of Nigerian politics has hindered understanding of the group. Keay (2012) and Theophilus et al (2022) highlight the connection between global terrorism and rising crime rates, attributing it to the post-modernist phenomenon of globalization. They argue that economic analysis downplays the role of religion, focusing instead on the conflict between the Western capitalist system and the expanding Muslim community, plagued by corruption and dishonesty. Boko Haram's request for a fifty-billion-dollar ransom for the kidnapped Chibok girls underscores the role of money and power as motivators. The group has also used dowries from forced marriages and offered loans to small and medium-scale businesses as tactics to attract members and fund their operations. The Nigerian military has warned that those unable to repay loans from Boko Haram are faced with the ultimatum of joining the group or facing death.

THE ISIS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS), also known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria or the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), has been referred to as the Islamic State since June 2014. This study consistently uses the term ISIS, following previous research, despite ongoing debates over its nomenclature. The terms ISIS, ISIL, and IS are largely interchangeable. ISIS was established in 1999 by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, a Jordanian extremist. Within five years, al-Zarqawi's organization aligned with Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda. ISIS is often associated with Islamic fanaticism, Islamism, or Jihadism, closely linked to the concept of Jihad or "struggle." Analysts note that while groups like the Taliban, Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda, Hamas, and Hezbollah have been prominent for years, ISIS is unique in its extremism (Morley 2016).

In 2014, Al-Qaeda publicly distanced itself from ISIS due to the latter's extreme violence and negative publicity. ISIS has demonstrated its power and ruthlessness, expanding its control in the Middle East and instilling fear in an unprepared region. ISIS adheres to an extreme form of Islam called Salafism, derived from the Arabic term "salaf al salih," meaning the "pious ancestors." It advocates violence and killing to establish and maintain Qur'anic dominance, strictly following the

Qur'an and Sharia law. ISIS embraces an apocalyptic theology, anticipating the arrival of the Mahdi, who will save Islam. The group has declared a holy war against all non-believers, including Westerners, Christians, Jews, and Muslims who do not pledge allegiance to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi as the new caliph. ISIS is known for its brutal tactics, including beheadings, rape, and burning captives alive, aiming to establish Islamic dominance and intimidate the world. The organization recognizes no boundaries and recruits globally, training individuals in the Middle East who then return to their home countries to carry out attacks. Unlike other radical factions in Islamic culture, ISIS glorifies death and despises life. The moral disparity between a group that celebrates killing and a society that values human life remains a challenge (The Washington Post 2023).

THREAT PERCEPTIONS OF GLOBAL TERRORISM TO INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Threat perception is a concept that relates to how individuals or groups perceive situations as threatening to their desires and aspirations, especially in places they consider their natural habitats. This perception of danger leads to feelings of insecurity, prompting a need for self-defense or collective defense. According to Yorom (2017), the complexity of threat perception makes predicting conflict outcomes challenging when motives are unclear, creating a sense of danger and perceived threats. The perception of global terrorism as a threat to international security is intensified by globalization, as both state and non-state actors compete for security to protect their interests and values globally. Martha Crenshaw (2004) emphasized that after the 9/11 attacks, international relations experts called for a new approach to terrorism, recognizing it as a primary concern for both domestic and global security. Crenshaw raised questions about the risks posed by terrorism and why it continues to be seen as a significant threat. She argued that, unlike during the Cold War, states do not face "mutual assured destruction," but the persistent threat of terrorism, its unpredictability, and the potential for mass civilian casualties make it a continuous concern.

Terrorism creates fear due to its unpredictability, with the timing, location, and identity of the perpetrators often unknown. This unpredictability, coupled with media attention, heightens the sense of danger, especially in stable societies unaccustomed to such risks. Governments must be vigilant in maintaining their sovereignty, reputation, and the security of their citizens. Contemporary terrorism is more menacing due to its global reach, the ability of its perpetrators to inflict significant civilian harm, and the persistent nature of the jihadist movement driving it. The current communication age has made us more aware of these threats. Pippa Norris and colleagues (2003) supported Crenshaw's view that while terrorism has always had a transnational aspect, the current threat is more widespread in terms of attack locations, planning sites, resources, and the nationalities involved. The high fatality rate of the 9/11 attacks changed perceptions of terrorists' capabilities, making previously unbelievable threats more tangible. Terrorism is now seen as a threat to identity rather than just interests, and despite the accuracy of the portrayal of terrorism's motives, the narrative has a strong emotional impact.

RECOMMENDATIONS, CONCLUSION AND THE FUTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Combating crime and defending states are primarily the responsibilities of individual member nations. The sequence of attacks following 9/11, including recent assaults by Palestinian terrorist organizations like Hamas on Israel, underscores the collective duty of all states to ensure security. This research at the global level corroborates earlier findings, highlighting the necessity of collaboration and a united front in the global fight against terrorism. Overcoming the threat of

terrorism poses a significant challenge. The political strategies driving global terrorism have complicated efforts to monitor its trajectory and evolution. The United States-led coalition against terror aims to diminish ISIS's power in Syria and Iraq. The global joint task force program in the Lake Chad Basin nations represents a notable collaborative effort proving effective in addressing the security threats posed by Boko Haram. The group's adaptability and stealth in operational methods necessitate the formation of a united front for effective management. Boko Haram is a transnational group that disregards norms and international law, freely crossing the borders of Niger, Chad, and Cameroon. Therefore, only the combined forces of soldiers across the affected region can effectively prevent Boko Haram from establishing a large caliphate according to its vision. (Theophilus *et al.* 2022).

The end of the Cold War and the fall of the USSR sparked widespread discussion about the future of the international order. For President George H. W. Bush, the cessation of hostilities between the two superpowers marked the end of an old order and the dawn of a new era. Scholars and intellectuals have been eager to share their visions of this new global order. Will it be the "end of history" as described by Francis Fukuyama? Or will it be characterized by a "clash of civilizations" as outlined by Samuel Huntington? Or perhaps it will see the resurgence of old rivalries among nation-states and the weakening of the nation-state due to the opposing forces of tribalism and globalization, as described by Ted Carpenter in Bassey (2012).

The analysis suggests that the challenge of managing a complex global system with crises beyond individual states' regulatory capacity in the 20th and 21st centuries led to the rapid development of multilateral institutions like the United Nations, African Union (AU), European Union (EU), and Arab League. This development was driven by advancements in technology and transnational forces, resulting in what James Rosenau termed "Turbulence in world politics" (Rosenau 2000). Hence, it is imperative to collaboratively address the issue of global terrorism in specific countries where it operates, along with other challenges that may arise from nations coexisting. This requires immediate coordinated action from the international community. (Morley 2016).

REFERENCES

Andrew, W. 2012. 'What is Boko Haram?', United States Institute of Peace, Special Report, June, pp. 1-15. Available at: www.usip.org.

Bakut, T.B. 2017. 'New nationalism and the quest for physiological security: Value embedded notions of security in Africa', in Gwola, P.A. & Ubi, E.N. (eds) *Nigeria in global governance, peace and security*. Lagos: Okoye Honeybees Ltd, pp. 347-383.

Banko, O.H. 2016. 'Global trends in arms proliferation in Third World countries and the impending apocalypse of the human race: A case study of arms race and security challenges in Nigeria', *International Journal of Innovative Research and Development*, 5(9), pp. 192-205.

Caleb, A. 2017. 'Terror economy: Re-examining the narrative motivating global terrorism', in Gwaza, P.A. & Ubi, R.E.N. (eds) *Nigeria in global governance, peace and security*. Lagos: Gloye Honeybees Ltd.

Carpenter, T. 2012. 'The new world order', *Foreign Policy*, 84 (Fall).

Crenshaw, M. 2001. 'Counterterrorism policy and the political process', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 24(5), pp. 329-338.

Crenshaw, M. 2004. 'Terrorism, strategies, and grand strategies', pp. 74-93, in Cronin, A.K. & Luder, J.M. (eds) *Attacking terrorism: Elements of a grand strategy*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Theophilus Oyime Adejumo, 2025, 3(2):150-159

Erin, M.K., Allison, E.B. & Anthony, F.L. 2019. 'Why do some terrorist attacks receive more media attention than others?', *Justice Quarterly*, 36(6), pp. 985-1022. Available at: http://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2018.1524507.

Ethridge, M. & Handelmun, H. 2010. *Politics in a changing world: A comparative introduction to political science*. Canada: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, pp. 594-598. Available at: www.cengage.com.

Fukuyama, F. 1992. *The end of history and the last man*. New York: Perennial.

Global Terrorism Index. 2015. *Measuring and understanding the impact of terrorism*. Sydney: Institute for Economics and Peace, p. 3.

Hoffman, B. 1998. *Inside terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 43-49.

Hoffman, L. 2015. 'Nigeria: Challenges and opportunities at a time of cheap oil and a costly insurgency', in Theophilus, O.A., John, A.A. & Gabriel, T.A. (2022) 'Terrorism and Abrahamic religious tradition: A focus on Boko Haram Islamic fundamentalism in the North-Eastern Nigeria', *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs*, 8(2), pp. 177-201. Available at: https://doi.org/10.47305/JUA22821779.

Huntington, S. 1997. *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Keay, P. 2012. 'The new economy of terror: Motivations and driving forces behind contemporary Islamist insurgencies', in Darweish, M. & Bank, C. (eds) *Peace building and reconciliation: Contemporary themes and challenges*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 139-144.

Lamptey, A.A. 2013. 'Rethinking border management strategies in West Africa: Experiences from the Sahel', Kofi Annan Centre for International Peacekeeping Training, in Theophilus, O.A., Owa, O.E. & Poter, O.A. (2021) *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs*, 7(3), pp. 196-217. Available at: https://doi.org/10.47305/JLIA2137196a.

Lia, B. & Skjolberg, K. 2004. 'Causes of terrorism: An expanded and updated review of literature?', FFI/RAPPORT – 2004/04307, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, Kjeller. Accessed 30/10/23.

Lohmann, A. 2011. 'Who owns the Sahara? Old conflicts, new menaces: Mali and the central Sahara between the Tuareg, Al Qaida and organized crime', Abuja: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Lustick, L. 2018. 'Discussion of solipsistic terrorism', in Crenshaw, M. (ed.) *Terrorism in the Arab-Israeli conflict: Targets and audience*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing, pp. 401-413.

Morley, R. 2016. 'How much radicalism is in the Muslim community?', *Philadelphia Trumpet*, 27(2), pp. 19.

Norris, P., Kern, M. & Just, M. (eds). 2003. *Framing terrorism: The news media, the government, and the public*. New York: Routledge.

Okafor, G.I. 2017. 'Arms tracing and the Niger Delta amnesty programme: Dilemmas, opportunities and lessons for improving security in Nigeria', in Gwaza, P.A. & Nubi, E.N. (eds) *Lagos: Kaye Honeybees Ltd*, pp. 425-456.

Olabile, R.S. 2015. 'Boko Haram: The menace of small arms and light weapons proliferation in Nigeria', *International Journal for Education Research (USA)*, 1(1), pp. 16-33. Available at: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.01.

Ribadu, N. 2015. 'Boko Haram and the global terror network', *Thisday*, 10 June, p. 56.

Rosenau, J. 2000. *Turbulence in world politics: A theory of change or continuity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schmid, A. & Longman, A. 2008. *Political terrorism*. Transaction Books, 3rd edn, pp. 3.

Sha, D.P. 2017. 'Conflicts and human rights violations in Africa: The Nigerian experience', in Gwaza, P.A. & Ubi, E.N. (eds) *Lagos: Okyohoneybees Ltd*, pp. 307-346.

Theophilus, O.A., Emmanuel, E. & Gabriel, T.A. 2023. 'Privatization of military and security companies: A threat and risk analysis to the security of the Nigerian state', *Journal of Public Administration, Policy and Governance Research (JPAPGR)*, 1(3), Sept. Available at: https://jpapgr.com/index.php/research.

Theophilus, O.A., John, A.A. & Gabriel, T.A. 2022. 'Terrorism and Abrahamic religious tradition: A focus on Boko Haram Islamic fundamentalism in the North-Eastern Nigeria', *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs*, 8(2), pp. 177-201. Available at: https://www.doi.org/.

Theophilus, O.A., Owa, E.O. & Ojie, A.P. 2021. 'Migrants and the proliferation of small arms and legal weapons in third world countries: A study of North-Eastern Nigeria since 1999', *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs*, 7(3), pp. 96-217. Available at: https://doi.org/10.47305/JUA21371969.

Time Magazine. 2015. p. 49.

Ubong, E.E., Gregory, A.O. & Theophilus, O.A. 2022. 'World environmental security and the nuclear arms race', *Cagita Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, XIV(1), March.

Washington Post. 2023. 'A brief history of ISIS', Available at: www.washingtonpost.com/world/middleeast/al-qaeda-disavows-any-ties-with-radical-islamist-isis-group-in-syria-iraq (Accessed: 28 October 2023).

Yorom, G.J. 2017. 'Global security, ECOWAS and threat perceptions in West Africa', *Lagos: Okoye Honeybees Ltd*, pp. 407-424.