

**State Failure and International Terrorism: An
Analysis of the State of Nigeria as an Incubator of
Terror**

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Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
International Relations

Eastern Mediterranean University
July 2017
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

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ABSTRACT

The 'War on Terror' differs distinctly from the major security challenges that characterized the 20th century, particularly as it is defined by asymmetric warfare, where non-state actors challenge state security. ISIS and Boko Haram are two prominent jihadist groups involved in this conflict. In March 2015, Boko Haram in Nigeria became a branch of ISIS in the West Africa Region. Boko Haram has carried out a number of attacks in Central and West region of Africa against Nigeria, Chad, Niger and Cameroon, making it an international agent. Some queries are raised about the presence and the lack of control by the competent state authorities. Thus Nigeria is considered by some scholars as an incubator of global terror. This claim is also challenged by those who argue there is no clear link between failed or failing states and international terrorism.

The aim of this research is to find the relationship between failed or failing states and transnational terrorism. This study will contribute to the scholarly debate on international security. Thus, the topic aims to enrich the discussion on failed states and terrorism in international relations. The findings would seek to contribute to practitioner knowledge regarding potential failed state governments and the dangers these present to the international community as a whole.

Keywords: Failed states, Failing states, International terrorism, Nigeria

ÖZ

‘Teröre Karşı Savaş’, 20. yüzyıla damgasını vuran başlıca güvenlik zorluklarından, özellikle de devlet dışı aktörlerin devlet güvenliğine meydan okuduğu asimetrik savaş ile tanımlandığı gibi belirgin biçimde farklılık göstermektedir. DEAŞ ve Boko Haram, bu çatışmada yer alan önde gelen iki cihat grubudur. Mart 2015’te Nijerya’daki Boko Haram, Batı Afrika Bölgesi’nde DEAŞ’ın şubesi hükmünde olmuştur. Boko Haram, Afrika’nın Orta ve Batı bölgesinde Nijerya, Çad, Nijer ve Kamerun’a karşı bir dizi saldırı düzenlemiş ve cihatçı terörün uluslararası bir temsilcisi haline gelmiştir. Yetkili devlet makamlarının varlıkları ve kontrol eksiklikleri hakkında bazı sorular/sorunlar gündeme getirilmiştir. Böylece Nijerya, bazı araştırmacılar/akademisyenler tarafından küresel teröre karşı bir kuluçka kaynağı olarak düşünülür. Bu iddia, başarısız veya başaramayan devletler ile uluslararası terörizm arasında net bir bağlantı olmadığını iddia edenler tarafından da gündeme getirilmektedir.

Bu araştırmanın amacı, başarısız veya başaramayan devletler ile ulus aşırı/sınır aşırı terörizm arasındaki ilişkiyi bulmaktır. Bu çalışma, uluslararası güvenlik konusundaki akademik tartışmalara katkıda bulunacaktır. Böylece, konu uluslararası ilişkilerde başarısız devletler ve terörizm üzerine tartışmayı zenginleştirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Elde edilen bulgular, potansiyel başarısız devlet hükümetlerine münhasır uygulayıcı bilgiye katkıda bulunmak ve bu müşahhas tehditlerin bir bütün olarak uluslararası topluma sunulması niyetindedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Başarısız durum, Başarısız devlet, Uluslararası terörizm, Nijerya.

DEDICATION

To all innocent victims of global terrorism

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	The African National Congress
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CFAF	African Financial Community Franc
ETA	Basque Homeland and Liberty
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GTI	Global Terrorism Index
ICSS	The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ICU	The Islamic Courts Union
IMF	The International Monetary Fund
IRA	The Irish Republican Army
ISIS	The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
MEND	The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
TFG	The Transitional Federal Government
UK	The United Kingdom
UN	The United Nations
UNDP	The United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
USA	The United States of America

WMD

Weapons of Mass Destruction

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Recent activities of Boko Haram in Africa have enriched the ongoing debate about state failure and transnational terrorism. The Nigeria based terrorist group is struggling to implement a huge caliphate in Central and part of the West region of Africa. The Islamic group is well known for the Chibok schoolgirls kidnapping in April 2014 in the North of Nigeria. Founded in 2002, the terrorist group reached global recognition when his leader Abubakr Shekau openly declared war to the Nigerian government in 2009. At the end of 2014, Boko Haram was considered as the second deadliest terrorist groups on the planet behind The Islamic State in Syria and Iraq (DePetris, 2014, para. 8). The rising of this terrorist group that was inefficient or almost unknown ten years ago, raised relevant questions about the international security system. It also questions the status of Nigeria as a complete state capable of establishing authority within its boundaries.

There is currently a debate among scholars on the possible consequences of the upward movement of these religious fanatics groups on neighboring and far nation-states. These worries also bring on the table the issue of states which are not able to project their power or authority within their legal boundaries. There is an argument about the direct relationship between failed or fragile states and global terrorism. Proponents of this argument believe that if a state has strong institutions, controls its entire territory or satisfies the need of its population, it is less likely to create

conditions that would lead to the flourishing of terrorist groups. A national security document compared failed states as refuges for jihadist groups (National Security Council 2006, p. 15), which could later carry out attacks from those entities (weak states) to other states across the world. The former Secretary of States for President George Walker Bush even asserted that the major threats the United States faces today are determined by the forces within failed and failing states (Rice, 2006, para. 5). But is it true that failed and failing states are the only contributor to global terrorism? To an extent, external interventions of states and some organizations in domestic affairs of other states also contribute to transnational terrorism. It has been the case with the US intervention in Iraq in 2003. A few years after the invasion, the Islamic State took the control of some regions in Iraq due to the inability of the state to recover from the military intervention of the US. The group carried out many terrorist attacks not only in Iraq, but also in Europe and in the Middle East.

This study seeks to test two hypotheses: the first one is that failed or failing states do serve as incubators of transnational terror organizations; and the second one is that foreign interventions in domestic affairs cause state failure which lead to transnational terrorism. The body of the work will focus on an investigation of the State of Nigeria and its relationship with international terrorism.

1.1 Statement of the research problem

Terrorist attacks in Europe and Africa have increased since 2014. Germany, France, Belgium, the United Kingdom in Europe, and Nigeria, Somalia, Mali in Africa have recently been targeted by terrorist groups or lone wolves. These attacks not only contribute to sadness and fear in the life of innocent victims, it also encourages world policy makers to reexamine their counter-terrorist strategies, and motivates

researchers to deeply analyze the causes and effects of this phenomenon - terrorism. A number of important scholars and policymakers have raised a debate on international security regarding the threat posed by failing and failed states. For instance Charles Call in his article “The Fallacy of the ‘Failed state’” and Robert Rotberg in “Failed States in a World of terror” focus on the relationship between state failure and international security. This study is therefore part of a larger body of research on this issue. Its main focus will be on finding the relationship between state failure and global terrorism.

1.2 Justification of the study

This work will be helpful for the improvement of international security system. Knowing what contributes specifically to instability in the world, might generate ideas that could be relevant while engaging into potential solutions to solve a problem. Thus, the topic will enrich the debate on failed states and terrorism in international relations. The findings would bring more practical ideas and actions to potential failed states in particular on how to avoid such a situation – state failure. It will also create awareness on the international community on how to deal with global issues such as terrorism.

1.3 Research questions

- 1) What constitutes a failed or failing state, and is Nigeria representative of this?
- 2) How does state failure facilitate international terrorism organizations?
- 3) What is the relationship between foreign intervention, state failure and international terrorism?

1.4 Hypotheses

- Failed states or failing states are more likely to serve as the locus of transnational terrorism organizations than stable states.

- The external interventions of foreign states and international organizations are more likely to weaken states and promote the evolution of international terrorist organizations.

1.5 Methodology

This research will rely primarily on a qualitative approach, working with material related to secondary scholarly literature and media productions, as well as primary sources from non-governmental organizations and the government resources from countries of West and Central Africa affected by the emergence of Boko Haram. The paper is a case study of the state of Nigeria.

1.6 Conceptual Framework

The relationship between transnational terrorism and state failure can be analyzed with different theories such as rational choice or the psychological approach, just to name the few. This research will make use of Max Weber's definition of the state and Robert Jackson's concept of negative and positive sovereignty to better understand why some states especially in Sub-Saharan Africa are a threat to the international system.

A theory is 'an organized and systematic set of interrelated statements (concepts) that specify the nature of relationships between two or more variables, with the purpose of understanding a problem or the nature of things' (Fain, 2004, p. 103). Instead of focusing on a specific International Relations theory, this work will define some concepts - 'symbolic statements describing a phenomenon or a class of phenomena' - to guide our research (Fain, 2004, p. 108).

1.6.1 Weberian theory of State

Max Weber had a great influence on social theories and researches regarding the state. Among his deeds, he defines and explains what a modern state should look like. In the book *From Max Weber: essays in sociology* (2009), modern state is defined as a “human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory” (p. 78). In other words, the German sociologist asserts that the state is a legitimate entity found within well-defined boundaries that has a monopoly on violence or the right to use physical force. Thus, the term legitimate in the definition does not mean that the state is the only actor that can use violence, but that it is the only actor that has the right to its use. However, the state monopoly of power or violence can be challenged by non-state organizations such as political insurgents or terrorists who are against the policy of the state.

According to Weber’s definition of state, there are three main elements: territoriality, violence and legitimacy. Max Weber considers borders to be important for a state. The latter should be able to establish a clear difference between borders in order to avoid any conflict with other states while exercising its power. Thus territoriality is a vital part of a state.

The second element is violence. Citizens have the duty to show allegiance to the state, and anytime this principle is not met, the state has the right to use violent measures. Weber also considers that “force is certainly not the normal or only means of the state” (2009, p. 78). However, he emphasizes on the fact that power should be considered as a special means when necessity arises. He puts it this way, “The state is a relation of men dominating men, a relation supported by means of legitimate violence” (Weber, 2009, p. 78). In other words, it means that the use of force is

supported by legitimacy. Thus, state is the only element that is authorized to use violence.

Legitimacy is the third element. Something is considered legitimate, when it is acceptable or reasonable. Whenever the state uses force, it means that there is a justifiable reason behind that action, and this type of justifiability is called legitimacy. Therefore, “the legitimacy of the modern state is founded predominantly on ‘legal authority’, that is commitment to a ‘code of legal regulations’ ” (Held, 2006, p. 131). Institutions present in modern state can also be added among the three other elements aforementioned. These institutions are in different forms – social, economic, political and cultural. However, the institutions does not control the state, but are directly controlled by the state. In other words, they are not above the law. They are created to follow the regulations established by the state.

1.6.2 Robert Jackson’s concept of ‘negative and positive sovereignty’

A lot has been said about sovereignty and its different types or levels. In political science, sovereignty is generally defined as an absolute or supreme control of a limited territory by a state. The concept of sovereignty is central in International Relations. Robert Jackson argues that there is a positive sovereignty and a negative sovereignty (1993, p. 1). While referring to states, he defines a “positively sovereign government” as “one which not only enjoys rights of nonintervention and other international immunities but also possesses the wherewithal to provide political goods for its citizens” (1993, p. 28). In other words, a state is positively sovereign when it provides welfare, security, and the rule of law to their own citizens. According to Jackson the implementation and the monitoring of these policies is what “enables states to take advantage of their independence” (1993, p. 29). On the other hand, he describes negative sovereignty as a “formal-legal entitlement and

therefore something which international society is capable of conferring” (Jackson, 1993, p. 29). This reward shows the immunity from external intervention that a state possesses. Thus Jackson sees negative sovereignty as “the legal foundation upon which a society of independent and formally equal states fundamentally rests.” (1993, p. 27).

However, the American attorney establishes a clear difference between the meaning of negative sovereignty during the post Westphalia period and the post-colonial period. Jackson argues that the negative connotation of the notion of sovereignty started just after the Second World War, and became well known during the period of decolonization. Beforehand that is from the Peace of Westphalia onward, the notion of negative sovereignty had a positive meaning. It was an international legal recognition attributed by stable states to other new states that satisfied all the criteria of positive sovereignty. Thus the conferral of negative sovereignty to a state was a kind of acknowledgment by other states to belong to the international community of recognized states. After the end of the Second World War, this form of legal recognition was interrupted. Groups of people around the world, especially in Africa decided to ask for independence from their colonizer. The creation of the United Nations and its multiple charters like human rights encouraged the implementation of such a policy. Colonizers were therefore forced to give independence to their former colonies.

1.6.3 The relationship between foreign intervention and global terrorism

Most of the times, leaders of quasi-states are considered as responsible for the poor performances of their countries. High level of corruption and self-interested policies are features of this kind of state. Moreover, some quasi-states do not have the monopoly of power within their boundaries. Such states are more vulnerable to other

actors within the country which are against their policies. This kind of situation tends to favour the creation and evolution of terrorist groups. The quasi- absence of an authority would enable these groups to plan and commit attacks within those states and in other states. Therefore, the incapacity of a state to implement positive sovereignty might have consequence for international terrorism. Though this argument is relevant, the major problem of the lack of development of quasi-states is coming from external interventions. Most of the time, less is said about external factors that contribute to the lack of development of quasi-states. Officially, quasi-states are internationally recognized as sovereign (negative sovereignty). However, the reality is different; one of the reasons of the absence of positive sovereignty in these states is the external intervention of strong states and non-political actors or international organizations in other states domestic affairs. This form of intervention immediately overrides the nonintervention pact between states. Nonintervention is defined as “the distinctive and reciprocal rights and duties of an international social contract between states” (Jackson, 1993, p. 27).

In general, one can consider two external factors as obstacles to the implementation of positive sovereignty in some states. The first one is known as the humanitarian intervention. In the Libyan case, the major argument behind the foreign military intervention led by the international coalition was to avoid “another Srebrenica” (Adler-Nissen and Pouliot, 2014, p. 13). In other words, the intervention aim was to stop the killing of innocent victims by Muammar Gaddafi’s regime. Years after the military intervention, Libya has not yet recovered from the 2011 military foreign intervention. There is a confused political situation with at least two political entities which claim to be legal governments. Moreover, the political instability has contributed to the security instability; terrorist groups have taken advantage of the

power vacuum to evolve not only in Libya but also in the region. The second external factor which reinforces systemic obstacles to positive sovereignty in some states is the current global order. This form of intervention is economic oriented and it is led by international organizations. In sub-Saharan Africa, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are considered as the purveyor of poverty instead of eradicating it. According to Ngaire Woods, “critics converge in accusing both institutions of contributing to an ongoing crisis of indebtedness, stagnation, and poverty” in Africa (2006, p. 3). Poverty or the incapacity of government to satisfy the basic needs of the population has many consequences. The poverty that reigns in the North of Nigeria has also contributed to the evolution of Boko Haram in the region.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

The research is structured into five chapters. Chapter two is the literature review. In this part of the study, concepts of terrorism and state failure are analyzed. Following, is the review of the existing literature on the relationship between state failure and transnational terrorism.

The third chapter is the methodology of the research. The focus here will be on the history of the evolution of the idea of sovereignty, then the survey of the external factors that lead to the absence of positive sovereignty in quasi-states, and the final section is the establishment of the relationship between external intervention and transnational terrorism.

In chapter four, there will first be an analysis and interpretation of state failure features in relation with Nigeria. Secondly, there will be an overview of the timeline of the evolution of Boko Haram, and an analysis of the major causes behind the

development of the jihadist group. Finally, the last part of the chapter will emphasize on the negative effects of Boko Haram in Nigeria and in Central and West sub-regions of Africa.

The last chapter is about the conclusion of the work and recommendations.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The relevance of this study depends on the better understanding of some concepts. Thus, this chapter is divided into two parts; it first analyzes key concepts of the research – terrorism and state failure. Secondly, it reviews the existing literature on the relationship between global terrorism and state failure.

2.1 Historical background of terrorism

The phenomenon of terrorism is with no doubt among the most complicated issue in the 21st century. Terrorist attacks carried out in Africa by groups such as Boko Haram, Al-Shabaab, and Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb have increased. These threats and other ones in the region clearly demonstrate the evolution of terrorism in the black continent (Wali, Sritharan, Mehes, Abdullah, & Rasheed, 2015, p. 201). Terrorism now involves almost all regions of the world. However, it occurs under different motivations and circumstances across the globe. It is evident that reasons behind terrorist activities of the armed branch of Hamas are different from the one of the Islamic State or Al-Qaeda. Hamas's aim is to liberate Palestine from the occupation of Israel, whereas ISIS and Al-Qaeda are fighting for the restoration of an Islamic caliphate with different strategies. Thus, history is just a repetition of political violence committed by different groups with the aim of achieving their objectives (Lutz and Lutz, 2004, p. 5).

The genesis of terrorism is controversial among scholars. Nevertheless, one can consider the Zealots- Sicarii revolt against the Roman Empire as the first terrorist activity. The Jewish terrorist group armed with daggers murdered a huge number of roman victims. Another early terrorist acts was conducted by Hindu Thugs and Muslims assassins in India. However, there is a growing unanimous idea that modern terrorism began during the French revolution (Rapoport, 2001, as cited in Cronin, 2003, p. 34).

One of the prominent figures of the French Revolution is Maximilien Robespierre who was part of the Jacobin Club (a political faction that was fighting against the “enemies of the revolution”). He is well known for his major role during the “Reign of Terror” – a period in the French Revolution that was marked with extreme violence initiated by two conflictual political factions opposed to a monarchy. Thus, one can say that terrorist activities started in Europe with the French Revolution in the 18th century. Another event that contributed to the expansion of terrorism in other regions of the world in the 20th century is the Second World War and its aftermath. The end of the war saw a change in the mentality of the people in non-western societies who went through colonialism. Movements opposed to colonialism were created; their purposes were to achieve complete independence from the colonial power in place. This struggle for autonomy was carried out with extreme violence acts by natives against colonial facilities and authorities. Though those acts of natives were violent, the controversy surrounding the idea of colonialism made it difficult to consider those organizations as terrorists (Guelke, 2006, p. 190).

Terrorism has evolved in the history of humanity. A timeline of terrorist activities that happened in the mid of the 20th century can better explained it. The year 1968

was marked with the onset of Palestinian terrorism and the Latin American insurgency, and the Shiite revolution in Iran in 1979. In addition, there is the 1983 barracks bombing in Beirut (Chaliand and Blin, 2007, p. 222) and the World Trade Center attacks in 1993 which established the end of the classical terrorism period.

This survey of the history of terrorism can help us to notice some important characteristics of this phenomenon. Some features among others are the belief that violence can greatly influence a political change; taking civilians as target would demonstrate the failure of the state to protect its population and citizens in a country are not able to engage in political violence according to terrorists (Roberts, 2002, p. 4). There are also lots of disagreements among scholars about the definition of the concept of terrorism as well as its origin.

2.2 Conceptual understanding of terrorism

There is not a general consensus on what terrorism is among scholars. These divergences on the definition of this concept make it difficult for policy makers to tackle it down. In order to solve a specific problem, one should know its exact nature. A universal understanding about the definition of terrorism will therefore contribute to put in place an efficient way of eradicating it. Conversely, the lack of a unanimous definition has permitted to state and non-state actors to define the concept according to their political and strategic interests. Hamas for example is considered as a terrorist group by the United States but not by Turkey. Thus as we mentioned above, a general agreement on this concept will enable scholars and policy makers to design appropriate approaches that will improve research (Richards, 2014, p. 220).

Anthony Richards defines terrorism as “the use of violence or the threat of violence with the primary purpose of generating a psychological impact beyond the immediate victims or object of attack for a political motive” (2014, p. 230). According to this author any violence directed towards civilians with any political claim behind the mind of the aggressor should be considered as a terrorist act. However, no matter how we would like to give a meaning to the concept of terrorism, one should take into consideration some relevant factors. First of all, terrorist activities do not only concern a specific group of people with a radical ideology; Individuals and states apparatus can also get involve in terrorism. Secondly, while defining the concept of terrorism, one should also take into consideration the nature of terrorist attacks. There are different forms of terrorism, a threat could be intentionally selective like what happened in the office of the French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo in January 2015 in Paris, or suicidal like the Twin Towers attacks in New York in 2001. Thirdly, while trying to define terrorism, we should also underline the reasons or motives behind the attacks. Thus, these three features aforementioned clearly indicate relevant elements that should constitute the definition of terrorism. These clarifications would enable us to make the difference between terrorism and any other act of violence. In addition to these characteristics, it is also important to know that targets of terrorists are not only civilians (Richards, 2014, p. 225).

The multifaceted meaning of the concept of terrorism makes it sometimes look elusive. In politics, it is pejorative and most often it is used to degrade the enemy. On the other hand, it refers to different entities, violence employed by a group of people or strategies used for violence.

Schmid elaborates on five different styles of terrorism in one of his seminal work (2004, p. 197). According to him, terrorism can be considered as a crime, and as such it is not only illegal but it is also illegitimate. There are laws in the domestic and global environment that strongly averse terrorism as a criminal act. Apart from the criminal status of terrorism, it is also view as a political instrument used by some government against those who are opposed to a state policy. In Turkey, “There was more than ample indication that Erdogan was playing a double game against the Syrian Kurds in support of ISIS” (Gordon and Bates, 2014, para. 4). The Turkish government has always been accused of such behavior by the opposition and some members of the international community. Turkey is considered “as the second state sponsor of terrorism across the Middle East, after Iran” (Gordon and Bates, 2014, para. 4). Another clime of terrorism is the used of intrastate violence. Guerilla warfare groups were always considered terrorists during the decolonization period. It was the case of the ANC (African National Congress) in South Africa for example, the group was considered terrorist by the apartheid government in power. Schmid (2004, p. 207) also sees the use of propaganda by terrorists with the only aim for notoriety. Amaq News Agency for instance is considered by some political actors as the media in charge of ISIS propaganda, though the latter does not acknowledge it as such. Finally, there is fundamentalism or the use of religious texts or ideologies by terrorists to explain their attacks. The aim is to impose their ideas about religion to other people through violence. History is made up of many instances of religious fundamentalism attacks (2004, p. 210).

Terrorism is related to threat in the form of extreme force on the population with the purpose of creating disorder in the society that would lead to social or political change of the system (Brinkel and Aithida, 2012, p.3). Thus we can consider

terrorism as a response to an issue in the society. Unlike other forms of process to achieve a political change, it does not respect the normal methods used in democracy. One can acknowledge two types of terrorism from the argument above. There are those who exist in liberal societies and other under authoritative government. The first one could operate in societies where the majority of the community does not agree with their objectives. In authoritative regimes they may rather gain the support of the general public who could believe that the only way to bring change is through violence and not through democratic peaceful processes (Clapman, 2003, p. 20).

The final objectives terrorists seek to achieve are many and differ depending on groups. It can be to seek the change of the policies or the leadership or the whole structure of the government. The ANC in South Africa who was considered as terrorist by the then government is an example. Other groups can instead seek very complicated purposes like the modification or adjustment of the borders of a state, an independent region, a federation with another state or finally an autonomous state of their own. This latter example is what the Islamic State is looking for. So, the objective of each group is what determines whether there is a need to resort to violence or not (Lutz and Lutz, 2006, p. 1).

In sum, the survey of some definitions of the concept of terrorism by some scholars shows us that despite some slight disagreements, there are some rooms for consensus. Thus, terrorism is a predictable and voluntarily use of violence, it targets an important number of the population with the major purpose of intimidating the authority in place to give away some request. In this research however, the term

terrorism would mean the disproportionate use of coercive power on innocent people with the objective of achieving a political, economic, social or religious goal.

2.2.1 Terrorism and modernity

It is evident that there is a difference between terrorist activities during the French revolution and nowadays terrorism. There is a considerable evolution of the concept of terrorism in our modern world, and that evolution unfortunately contributes to the loss of many human beings. There are therefore a number of factors one can identify as catalysts of modern terrorist activities. Firstly, weapons used by terrorist groups can not be compared to modern states arms; this unequal situation lead to an asymmetrical war initiated by terrorists to make their voice heard. Thus, methods such as car bombing, explosive belt bombers, artisanal mines, ram trucks attacks and so on are the modern fabrics of terrorists. Secondly, the likelihood for terrorists to make many victims nowadays is high due to the booming of urbanization compared to past years. This situation has contributed to an increase in number of victims of terrorism. In September 2001, many people who were inside the Twin towers lose their lives. Thirdly, the evolution of information and communication technologies has enabled terrorism to spread their ideology, and to gain many combatants and support around the world. Finally, technology has contributed to the production of extremely dangerous weapons and when fall in terrorists hands enable them to achieve a great impact on their attacks (Adegbulu, 2013, p. 267).

Another essential feature of the evolution of terrorism is the motivation of terrorists, precisely religious motivation. There are some statistics of a research conducted by St Andrews University which is related to the chronology of international terrorism. The data shows that 1968 terrorist attacks could not be considered as religiously

driven. However, there were two events by 1980 that were considered as such. There was an increment to 25 out of 58 attacks noticed in 1995 (Cronin, 2003, p. 40).

Nevertheless, there is a relationship between history and the development into modern day's terrorism. Started in 1880, the first wave or the anarchist one was based on the assassination of government officials with the only aim to demise the authority. The second wave was against colonialism and began in the 1920's. In this period the major targets were those who represented the colonial power in the colonized country. Completely opposed to the growing of the West imperialism, the third wave started in the late 1960's and was associated with methods such as hostage taking, assassinations and kidnapping. As we mentioned in the paragraph above, the promotion of a particular religion by terrorists from 1979 is the final wave. The motivation behind this form of terrorism is the establishment of a religious state, by employing sharia rules and extreme violence (Lutz and Lutz, 2004, p. 64).

In addition to what has been said about modern terrorism, one can notice a shift in terrorists targets according to Walter Laqueur (2000). He argued that classical terrorism targeted selected people whereas modern terrorism does not make any difference between people in order to have a high number of victims (as cited in Alapiki, 2015, p. 20).

However, the decrease in power of Al-Qaeda could lead to the demise of the religious motivated wave and the beginning of the next wave associated with lone wolf terrorists who will be more harmful in the community (Brighi, 2015, p. 153).

2.2.3 The root causes of terrorism

There is a contentious debate among scholars about the importance to exactly know the reasons behind terrorism. It is due to the fact that the analysis would make it easy for policy makers to define concrete ways that would reduce the effect of that phenomenon. What one should know is that the cause of terrorism depends on the different agenda of these groups.

For instance religious terrorist groups have a clear, define, specific agenda. This form of terrorism can be perpetuated by either members of the majority or minority religion in the society. The aim of these kinds of groups is to enforce the government to adhere into a form of state influenced by laws and specific religious doctrines (Lutz and Lutz, 2004, p. 64).

Another essential factor of terrorism is the socio-economic situation of a country. It is clear that the poor condition of the economy would lead to poverty, unemployment and illiteracy. These factors especially unemployment will give opportunities to terrorists to enroll well educated citizens who will target state properties (Benmelech, Berrebi and Klor, 2012, p. 12). Furthermore, early works on poverty demonstrate that individuals get involve in terrorism to express their opposition to social injustices, and others even commit suicide bombing so that their family receive an amount of money (von Hippel, 2002, p. 27).

Conversely, the harmful effects of globalization are other causes of terrorism (Williams, 2007, p. 3). According to Williams, the weakening of the economic policy of the government due to globalization has enabled terrorists to get access to arms easily in the global market. Similarly, Hoffmann claims that globalization has led to the creation of inequalities in the domestic and international level (2002, p. 108). He

goes further by saying that the growth of capitalism caused by globalization has affected the domestic economy and influenced the reaction through violence of individuals (as cited in Lutz and Lutz, 2004, p. 17).

Moreover, the complete marginalization of minorities in a society has contributed to the rise of this group against the government through terrorist activities (Piazza, 2011, p. 341). Similarly, societies that are divided will encourage terrorism. The absence of social connections and respect among different members in the society will lead to a social fragmentation (Ozdogan, 2008, p. 111).

One can also consider nationalistic ideas of some ethnic groups in the society as a root cause of terrorism. Nationalistic ideas which are rejected by the authority in power can create frustration among a particular group, and lead to violence against the power in place. It was the case during the independence period in the 20th century where some native groups resorted to violence in order to gain their independence (Grothaus, 2011, para. 3).

2.3 Conceptual understanding of state failure

Since its creation, the concept of ‘state failure’ has been commonly related to security and development. Robert Rotberg definition of the concept illustrates the link between these terms. He associates ‘state failure’ to any state which is “consumed by internal violence and cease delivering positive political goods to their inhabitants” (Rotberg, 2004, p. 1). According to Rotberg, the priority for a state to function well is to be able to project its power within its boundaries. As a result, other relevant elements such as political participation, education, rule of law and health care that also contribute to the good functioning of the state will automatically

evolve. However, there is an argument about the definition of a state itself. “The once broadly accepted Weberian definition of the state as that authority with the legitimate monopoly of violence over defined territory seems to be undergoing challenge in many global regions” (Kapferer, 2005, p. 286). This complexity of what a state is automatically influence state failure concept. There is not also a clear consensus among scholars about the concept of state failure. Some scholars clearly negate the existence of such an idea and relate it to a strategy used by some states to control other ones.

2.3.1 Strong state, weak state and state failure

According to Max Weber, a nation-state is an entity that legitimately exercises the total control of power within the state (1968, para. 4). The history of the world can testify about the multiple forms of authorities employed by leaders. Thus, human history experience kingdoms, empire, regimes and modern nations-states. The latter form is the “building blocks of world order” according to Rotberg (2004, p. 1). Nation-states are viewed as the norm in the international system. The purpose of a nation-state is to make sure to apply some rules and to satisfy some obligations towards the people; unfortunately not all states have the capacity to fulfill those basic duties (Rotberg, 2004, p. 4). Those who somehow succeed by delivering political goods to their population are known as strong states. Their focus is on the demands and concerns of people that live within their boundaries. On the other hand, we have the concept of “weak states” (Rotberg, 2002, p. 85). These states “show a mixed profile, fulfilling expectations in some areas and performing poorly in others” (Rotberg, 2003, p. 4). Robert Jackson is the first person to mention this form of state – ‘quasi-states’. His major concern was to expose those kinds of states that do not completely satisfy the basic obligations of a sovereign state and are part of the

international system. He argues that the issue “is that underdeveloped states claim both security rights and development rights and the international community desires to acknowledge both claims but classical rules of sovereign states-systems get in the way” (1993, p. 44). Therefore, these kinds of states which are part of the international system are theoretically correct but different politically.

Though they are considered as weak, they still have the capacity to monopolize power, satisfy some basic needs of citizens but are potential failed states. As a result, there are main differences between weak states and strong ones. According to Rotberg, strong states outshine weak states on the capacity to deliver political goods and implement effective security within borders (2004, p. 4). Though weak states provide such needs as well, their level of effectiveness can not be compared with the strong states ones. Rotberg cites some major features of weak states: fundamental limited economy, internal ethnic, religious, linguistic tensions, corruption, hunger, external threat, suppression, and harassment of the civil society and sometimes ruled by legitimate or illegitimate dictators (2004, p. 4).

“State failure” refers to the incapacity of a central government to maintain control or authority over its territory and to deliver public services to its citizens. In other words, state authority does not almost exist. The concept of ‘state failure’ has three categories of states: failing, failed and collapsed. ‘Failing states’ are those who are in the transition from ‘weak’ to ‘failed’. The more a weak state performs poorly, the weaker they become and the more that weakness tends towards failing. According to Rotberg, “the subcategory of weakness is termed failing” (2004, p. 4).

Contrary to weak states, failed states can not control their national boundaries, are unable to monopolize power throughout the state, and are always confronted to groups within the territory who demand secession or engage in civil war (Rotberg, 2003, p. 5). Apart from “coercive incapacity”, failed states are affected by “administrative incapacity” (Hehir, 2007, p. 314). Furthermore, Rotberg (2002) emphasizes the fact that failed states are not able to provide “political goods” (p. 85). Among other features of failed states there is embezzlement, archaic government infrastructures that does not allow civil servant to be efficient in their work, immigration of the population who can no more cope with the system, impunity and lawlessness that contribute to the thrive of some criminal groups.

Nevertheless, Daniel Lambach argues that there is not a specific warning sign for state failure (2004, p. 2). There are important differences between a failed states and a collapsed state. The latter happened when the central authority completely give up its role; in other words the state is disintegrated, its legitimacy lost and can not even ensure a small amount of order in the society. Similarly, William Zartman qualifies this situation to as “long-term degenerative disease” (1995, p. 8). Moreover, Christopher Clapham argues that state failure is caused by the spilt up of the central government (2003, p. 20).

In addition, Zartman elaborates more on the transition from a failed state to a collapsed state by saying that “State collapse is both the cause and the result of internal or civil wars, as weak and illegitimate order permit violence and violence consumes legitimacy and order” (Franzkowiak, Vilombo, Ouardani, 2005, p. 19). However, there are some scholars and political actors who see the notion of state

failure as a concept created by strong states to expand their imperialistic ideas on other states.

2.3.2 Against the conventional wisdom

State failure “was held responsible for just about every threat to international peace and security that existed: civil war, mass migration, ethnic conflict, environmental degradation, drug smuggling, arms trafficking and terrorism” (Gourevitch, 2004, p. 257). However, a lot has been said by some scholars about flaws identified on the concept of state failure. One can say that the main limitation of the “state failure” concept is the lack of agreement on particular features that describes it. Policy makers and scholars are still opposed on the topic. Charles Call even states that indicators mentioned by scholars to evaluate the reality of the concept are idiosyncratic (2008, p. 2). For instance the annual Failed Index produced by the Fund of Peace features are completely different from the ones offered by Robert Rotberg. The latter considers characteristics such as rampant corruption, incapacity to control the territory, civil wars, criminal violence, and poor economic growth to be peculiar to the concept (2003, p. 8). Meanwhile, the former focuses only on factors such as income inequality, freedom, rule of law, gross human rights abuse, child mortality and under-nourishment, just to name a few (Rice & Patrick, 2008. p. 15).

However, the state failure discourse faces oppositions. Ideas behind these antitheses aim to prove that there are incoherencies about the concept. First, it does not take into consideration the difference types of statehood that are present on the ground. Some arguments in the current literature also combine the absence of a central authority with anarchy. Finally, it creates a useless difference between ‘accomplished’ and ‘failed’ states. African states are always at the center of this debate and are also consider as the epitome of the state failure concept. Some

western governments and humanitarian organizations define state failure in Africa both as ‘a moral catastrophe’ and ‘a security threat’ for the international system. (Williams, 2007, p. 1). It is undoubtedly true that some African states are weaker than European counterparts, but it is also true that the same can be said about some states in the Caucasus and in South America. Proponents against the state failure concept challenge the ‘states converge’ thesis. In other words, the idea which says that all states after a long period should follow a model of Western liberal democracy. They instead believe that the formation of the state should not necessarily follow the western liberal democracy idea and it should also take into consideration the local realities. So, it is not because a state does not look like a western liberal democracy that it has failed. In the Somali context for instance, there is a “new forms of governance beyond the state” (Engel and Mehler, 2005, p. 87). Somalia is always referred as the epitome of a failed state in Africa (see, e.g., International Crisis Group, 2002). Since the overthrow of Siad Barre, Somalia has gone through a series of calamities that have led to an environment of unprecedented insecurity and deprivation (Bakonyi and Stuvøy, 2005, p. 364). The central authority is quasi- in-existent as well as features of a sovereign state. However, the situation does not necessarily mean that total anarchy reigns in that country. There are alternative actors within Somalia that attempt to fill the gap left by the collapsed government. For instance, the religious role in the society is managed by koranic schools. Alongside, the main judicial system is made up of a sharia-based Islamic courts system. All these adjustments contributed to the creation of ICU (The Islamic Courts Union), which took over the control of the country from the ineffective and externally made TFG (The Transitional Federal Government) in 2006. The new government first focus was to bring back stability in the country, and later on to

manage to reopen Mogadishu international airport which has been closed since 1995. It is therefore suspicious that the description of Somalia as a failed state became more prominent after some degree of statehood implemented by the unifying Islamic force. There is no more security in the capital since US operation to overthrow the ICU government in December 2006. This example illustrates how the description of state as failed is sometimes bias. Its main purpose is to satisfy the interests of western powers.

Christian Lund (2006, p. 694) states that in Africa, political authority goes beyond the formal way and often presents themselves in the form of 'twilight institutions'. That is between state and society and between public and private. For international observers such a shape or form seems irrational and dysfunctional. However, Chabal and Daloz (1999, p. 155) understand such behavior as "the outcome of different rationalities and causalities".

Consequently, proponents of this concept of twilight institutions assume a political order as the sum of formal (legal arrangements) and informal (ordinary people participation) with no reference to national boundaries. As mentioned by Franz von Benda-Beckmann (2002, p. 52) it is important to understand the dualism between different types of authority and law. Based on arguments mentioned above, scholars who challenge the state failure concept draw its shortcomings. Firstly, they consider that the absence of a central government should not necessarily mean that there is anarchy or a state has 'failed' or 'collapsed' like most analysts declare; it is simply because other components like ordinary people can still contribute to the functioning of the state. Secondly, the 'state convergence' is a biased idea originated from Europe and North America societies. It tries to show that states which follow that

logic (state convergence) are ‘accomplished’, ‘stable’ and ‘mature’, and those which do not follow it are ‘failed’, ‘undeveloped’ and ‘fragile’ states. Finally, research on the concept of state failure always lead to recommendations on how to fix weak or collapses states only in Africa than other parts of the world. Though some scholars undermine the concept of state failure, others recognize such a concept and even argue that it is one of the main causes of international terrorism.

2.4 Review of existing literature on state failure and transnational terrorism

Like other issues in the international relations field, there is also a debate among scholars about the relationship between state failure and transnational terrorism. Francis Fukuyama asserts that “weak and failing states have arguably become the single most important problem for international order” (2004, p. 92). Among many other scholars, Ray Takeyh and Nikolas Gvosdev contributed to this debate with a clear explanation of the existing link between the two variables (2002, p. 95). Other scholars also believe that international terrorism can be avoided by making sure to keep political stability within countries (Goldstone et al. 2010, p. 192). However, a consensus has not yet been reached among scholars and policy makers. Some politicians even asserted that “Terrorists are strongest where states are weakest” (Straw, 2002, p. 98). Others argue that the difficulties the world face nowadays “come not from rival global powers, but from weak states” (Hagel, 2004, para. 4).

To begin with, administrative and coercive incapacity found in failed and failing states contribute a lot to thrive terrorist groups and transnational terrorism as a result. The fact that the central authority is unable to operate in the whole territory both by projecting its power and by having effective law enforcement institutions, give more

space to terrorists to operate within the country. Terrorist groups can therefore use those “stateless areas” within the country to develop their capabilities. The 9/11 commission report states that “terrorist organizations have fled to some of the least governed, most lawless places in the world” to find safe havens (2011, p. 366). Moreover, Stephen van Evera maintain that “Al-Qaeda and other terror groups grow and thrive in failed states” using them “as havens where they can establish secure bases that can mass-produce terror” (2006, p. 4). They can create their training camps, generate revenues from illicit business and develop their logistic capabilities. Furthermore, Hagel states that “the war on terrorism cannot be considered in isolation, without taking into account the wider crisis of governance throughout the developing world” (2004, para. 1). The lack of scrutiny and impunity would enable those criminal groups to build their own government that might be strong enough to challenge the central authority, and also enable them to plan easily their attacks in other countries in the world. An example is ISIS in Syria and Iraq. They took the control and established their authorities in stateless cities like Raqqa and Mossoul respectively in Syria and Iraq. Another instance is Boko Haram in the Sambisa forest stronghold in the Borno state.

Second, the relentless political violence of the government towards some citizens could create frustration and lead to disloyal behaviors against the state. These kinds of insecure and alienated citizens are easy preys for terrorists who see them as potential recruits. Therefore the probability for terrorists to enroll frustrated citizens is high (Krieger and Meirriecks, 2011, p. 6). Moreover, Jianguo Liu and Ehrlich Paul posit that “basic conditions” contribute to the growth of terrorist activities (2002, p. 183). The incapacity of failed states to provide a modicum of security and economic sustenance to their people is also a factor of terrorism. Furthermore, Gunaratma

(2002, p. 33) believes that features of failed states such as corruption, lack of human rights, mismanagement, and slow economy could be used by some politicians to gain the favor of the population. This “political goods vacuums” created by the poor governance in the country could be satisfied by terrorist groups who can close those gaps and win the heart of the population who can later join their cause.

Another feature of state failure that can lead to transnational terrorism is the international status of a state. Failed states keep the “outward signs of sovereignty” in the international system (Takeyh and Gvosdev, 2002, p. 100). This situation contributes to global terrorism in two ways. First of all, it illegitimizes a foreign intervention of other states who have the military capabilities to effectively fight terrorism in those failed or failing states. Secondly, failed states are legally recognized and so their government officials. These latter who are not well paid most of times could exchange relevant documents like passport, visas and so on with terrorist groups for money. Like some scholars posit that state failure leads to global terrorism, others disagree that failed states are not key factors of transnational terrorism.

2.4.1 Counter theories

Though there is a great awareness of the international community regarding terrorism and the implementation of diverse measures to face that threat, there is still little evidence linking state failure to transnational terrorism (Patrick, 2011, p. 62). According to some scholars, it is still unclear whether failed or failing states are one of the sources of global terrorism.

However, some critiques are raised against the conventional wisdom about a simple linear relationship between failed states and transnational terrorism. According to Ken Menkhaus, it is less likely for a terrorist group to be based in a failed state

(2003, para. 19). He argues that these states – failed – could be easily attacked by foreign states due to the fact that their sovereign status is no more recognized like the one of a stable state (2003, para. 20). While Menkhaus (2003, para. 17) agrees with Takeyh and Gvosdev (2002, p. 100) that “quasi-states” can more likely to be compared as safe havens for terrorist groups, Von Hippel (2002, p. 35) considers powerful states precisely “authoritarian states in the Middle East” as the main incubators for terrorist groups. Most of poorest states in Africa such as Central African Republic, South Sudan, Guinea and Burundi are not related to international terrorism. There is even another theory which says that modern global terrorism is organized in many countries which are not always failed and failing ones (Schneckener, 2004, p. 14). Some scholars argue that the logistical and economic opportunities in stable states can inspire terrorist groups to be based over there. It has been the case with the September 11 attacks in New York. Al-Qaeda group members who perpetrated the attack were based in Germany and USA. Schneckener argues that though these attacks were initiated in Afghanistan (a failed state), the logistical support came from two countries in central Europe who are not failed states – Germany and Spain. The ‘Hamburg Cell’ based in Germany played a major role in the attacks. Three of its members had US visas and were in charge of three of the four aircrafts that hit USA. In addition, many other terrorist groups were created and operated in stable countries. It is the case with Aum Shinrikyo in Japan, IRA (The Irish Republican Army) in North Ireland and ETA (Basque Homeland and Liberty). According to this argument there is therefore not a linear relationship between failed states and transnational terrorism. Furthermore, Aidan Hehir (2007, p. 314) uses descriptive statistics to show that terrorist groups do not necessarily improve in failed

states more than strong states nor are failed states epicenters of terrorist attacks more than other states.

These arguments clearly demonstrate that the relationship between state failure and terrorism is controversial. Though, the relationship seems feasible, it might be difficult to analyze the subject with a proper methodology.

Chapter 3

NEW GLOBAL ORDER AND STATE FAILURE

The purpose of this chapter is to show that though failed or failing states contribute to transnational terrorism, one of the real cause of international terrorism is external intervention of strong states or international organizations in the affairs of so called ‘failed’ or ‘failing’ states . This chapter will first analyze the evolution of both concepts of ‘state’ and ‘sovereignty’; secondly, it will demonstrate the negative impacts of external intervention on the international security.

3.1 The evolution of ideas of state and sovereignty

“Sovereignty refers to political organization based on the exclusion of external actors from authority structures within a given territory” (Krasner, 1999, p.4). The peculiarity of sovereignty as it is mentioned in the definition above is the freedom of an independent territory from external actors. The concept of sovereignty has always been a debate throughout the history of nation states. It is the basic principle of the Westphalia model of state formation.

3.1.1 The classical European system of states

Max weber is the prominent figure of the classical European state formation model. He defines the state as a government that controls a territory and its population, and that have the legitimate use of violence. (2009, p.78) Modern states draw their inspiration from the classical European model. During that period, European states were obliged to always perform well in order not to lose their independence. For a state to be considered sovereign (negative sovereignty) by other states, it was

supposed to continuously satisfy the economic and social needs of its citizens. This situation created a competition and a kind of arms race between classical European states; the purpose was to keep their status as strong states. This competitiveness encourages some states to explore other continents in order to have more power. By the end of the nineteenth century, almost all sub-Saharan Africa, most of North Africa and the Middle East and a part of Asia were under the control of European powers. Around 1850, international law implemented the Eurocentric concepts of sovereignty as the norm and conditions to follow in order for any states to be recognized (Brownlie, 1984, p. 39). The Second World War brought a change in the mentality of people and states. The desire of many groups of people to become autonomous led to the abandon of such international laws.

3.1.2 The concept of sovereignty after the Second World War

After the creation of the United Nations in 1945, the idea people had about sovereignty changed, especially in former colonies. The desire to become independent became a shared reality among former colonies, especially in Africa. It is also important to mention that during the colonization period, it was legal for strong state to colonize others who did not have empirical characteristics of European modern states. The Westphalia state formation was considered as the norm, and any state that does not respect those features could not be recognized as sovereign states (rewarded of negative sovereignty).

The concept of negative sovereignty became more central because of the process of decolonization. During that period states considered sovereignty as their rights rather than a status to be earned by proving their capacity to be governed by themselves. Positive sovereignty became therefore an important political goal to achieve rather than a precondition for autonomy. The result of this ‘new sovereignty game’ Jackson

asserts has given birth to what we know today as ‘quasi-states’, (1993, p.5) which do not have positive but negative sovereignty. The status of these new political actors is not different from other stable states in the new sovereignty game. Nonetheless, there is an important difference at the domestic level of each category of states. Though both (real and quasi-states) are internationally recognized, the major difference is on the fact that the latter are not able to satisfy domestic responsibilities towards their citizens and are not capable to completely guarantee their security as well. It is also important to note that during the Cold War period, some quasi-states were allowed obtaining their independence just to regulate the conflict between super powers. One can also say that the recognition of quasi-states was beneficial to the super powers in the international system. It led to more economic markets, wherein only stronger states could survive.

3.2 External factors as obstacles to positive sovereignty of states

One of the reasons of the absence of positive sovereignty in some states is the external interventions of other states or international organizations in states’ domestic affairs. This work will focus on two forms of interventions. The first one is led by states; and instead of being purely for humanitarian purposes, it tends to seek the interests of states that intervene. The second one’s official aim is to reduce poverty in states where they intervene and it is led by international organizations. Results of both forms of interventions are always the same, the political, economic and social disintegration of states which go through the intervention. This incapacity of government in these countries to be fully effective due to the intervention often leads to the creation of international terrorist groups.

3.2.1 The Responsibility to Protect

In 2001, the ICSS (international commission on intervention and state sovereignty) implemented a concept known as the Responsibility to protect (Evans, 2011, p.35). The argument behind the concept is that human life should be considered as number one priority of states whenever there is a conflict somewhere in the world. Anywhere humanity is threatened; it is the responsibility of other states to protect “people from atrocity crimes” (Benner et al, 2015, p.3). The problem with this form of intervention is that it has been used by some states for their own interests. It has also contributed to the disintegration of other states in the world, especially in the Middle East and North Africa. A proper example is the invasion of Iraq by George Walker Bush administration in 2004. The official reason behind the intervention was that the former Iraq president Saddam Hussein detained a huge amount of weapons of massive destruction, and that he could share them with terrorist groups - “the question of Iraq’s link to terrorism grew more urgent with Saddam’s suspected determination to develop weapons of mass destruction (WMD), which Bush administration officials feared he might share with terrorists who could launch devastating attacks against the United States” (Council on Foreign Relations, 2005). In his speech on The State of the Union one year after 9/11 attacks, Bush declared that US would not make any difference between terrorist groups and states which support or arm the former (2001).

However, unofficially, there are many different arguments. Some believe that the main reason behind the invasion was to “achieve its primary goal of demonstrating its power to allies and competitors alike, and of avoiding the appearance of post-9/11 decline” (Lieberfeld, 2005, p.4), and others that it was more about interests than humanitarian: “Iraq’s oil resources are part of what makes it an important and influential state in the Middle East, and thus one where it was hoped that change

would serve as a catalyst for change elsewhere in the region” (Pillar, 2008, para. 5). No matter the real reason behind the intervention, aftermaths are still present nowadays in Iraq in particular and the Middle East region in general. Apart from the destruction of the country, another consequence is the creation and evolution of the Islamist State, which is considered as one of the deadliest terrorist groups in the world. According to the fragile states index presented by the Fund for Peace, Iraq has the 10th position in its last report (2017).

The same foreign military intervention happened in Libya in 2011. NATO’s intervention through a UN mandate was completely a disastrous. Instead of protecting civilians as they were told to do, they contributed to increase the death toll. The non-governmental organization Human Rights Watch reported that 70 civilians among which women and children lost their lives in NATO’s bombardment (BBC, 2012). Furthermore, the New York Times found that “significant damage to civilian infrastructure from certain attacks for which a rationale was not evident or risks to civilians were clear” (Chivers and Schmitt, 2011, p.17). These evidences demonstrate that states involve in the offensive in Libya were not really motivated by the protection of civilians. Marxist theorists believe that the intervention was purely economic and political. There is an argument that the purpose of the offensive was to oust Colonel Gaddafi, who was considered as an obstacle for the exploitation of Libyan resources by western states. Phillip Hammond, the then British secretary of Defense suggested to some British firms to “pack their suitcases” and go to Libya (Adetundji, 2011, para. 1). The British official added that “great care had been taken” to avoid the destruction of potential infrastructures for future business operations (Adetundji, 2011, para. 2). No matter the true reason behind such an intervention in

Libya, current complex political and economic situation in the state shows that the external intervention was a mistake for the international security.

However, both interventions that is, in Iraq and Libya have in common as aftermath not only the destabilization of their domestic policies, but also the creation and evolution of terrorist groups. Though Saddam Hussein was considered as an authoritarian leader in the western world, he had the ability to control internal policies and to maintain peace within the country. The same can be said about the former Libyan leader. There was no presence of terrorist organizations in these states during their regime. Unfortunately, since the execution of both leaders, these countries had also become safe havens for terrorist groups such as ISIS in Iraq and Ansar al-Sharia in Libya. The former is known for its multiple deadly terrorist attacks in Central Europe, North America, North Africa and the Middle East. It is considered as one of the biggest threat to the international security. The latter is a Salafist-jihadist Militia based in Benghazi. It advocates the implementation of the sharia law in the country and is well known for its participation in the 2012 Benghazi attacks at the US diplomatic missions.

3.2.2 Economic interventions

Some critics believe that it is the political unfairness of the global order which creates unjustifiable obstacles for some states towards positive sovereignty. Thomas Pogge clearly states that the global order contributes to the lack of positive sovereignty in newly formed states by generating extreme poverty over there (2008, p. 30). As we mentioned earlier, negative sovereignty is the recognition of a specific state as part of the international community by other states. Positive sovereignty on the other hand cannot be bestowed; it is the task a government has to achieve in order to satisfy the basic needs of the people. Due to the fact that the process towards

positive sovereignty is long and challenging, each country should benefit of favorable conditions in order to achieve it. The global order tends to put in place some conditions that do not help states to achieve positive sovereignty. This is exactly one problematic role played by the international system. It tends to hinder the effective exercise of domestic sovereignty. This opposition of the global order towards some states happens in one way: by partially imposing international rules and norms.

3.2.3 Structural adjustment programs

One way the global order negatively influences the development of some states is by imposing rules and norms through the Bretton woods institutions. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund were created with the purpose of assisting developing countries to eradicate poverty through their structural adjustment programs. These programs' agenda is to assist countries that are ready to implement domestic economic reforms with a set of loans (Kapur et al. 1997, p. 505–6). Unfortunately, these institutions are biased in the sense that they limit the capacity of developing states to achieve positive sovereignty. The foreign assistance given to developing countries by those institutions is conditional. They follow a neoliberal agenda of controlled inflation, liberalization of export trade, privatization of national companies, reduction of subsidies and austere monetary policies. In Nigeria, external borrowing started during the colonial period. The finance of the Borno Railway extension by the World Bank in 1958 was the last colonial loan. The 1983 loan of IMF to Nigeria made the life very difficult for the people with massive cuts in public subsidies.

The multiple structural adjustment programs of the International Monetary Fund have had catastrophic adverse effects for the majority of the population. Poverty has

increased due to the decline in government expenditure on social services (Obadan, 1999). Moreover, both internal and external Nigeria's debt is evaluated to constitute around more than 30 per cent of the GDP (Ali & Pyke, 2003, p. 24). Onibokum elaborates more on the external influences of such organizations in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular by pointing out that the huge amount of debt which "mortgages a large part of export earnings and considerably restricts their already limited economic possibilities" (1996, p. 49). Regarding the debt issue, some international organizations believe that it is more political than technical. According to a human development report of the United Nations Development Programme, the debt is political because "it diminishes the sovereignty of the country and confers power on the creditors (both internal and external creditors)" (2001). With such obstacles it is more difficult for a developing state to achieve domestic sovereignty. Though the rate of economic growth increases, the same is observed with poverty. Education and health care is affected by the removal of subsidies by the government on social services. Some scholars question whether this policy is the best way to remove the country in this state of poverty (Stiglitz & Charlton, 2006, p. 8). Another example is the escalating trade tariffs implemented by the regime of global trade. It makes developing countries to depend on trade and export economy which also make them highly vulnerable to economic crises. Nigeria is just one of many African states which are struggling with such austere measures.

The IMF's intervention in Somalia in the early 1980 contributed a lot to the current situation of the state. Many sectors such as food agriculture, livestock's economy, education and health care were affected by the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). Somalia was self-sufficient in food until 1970 and "livestock contributed to 80 percent of export earnings until 1983" (Chossudovsky,

2003, p. 95). After the implementation of SAPs the country started to disintegrate, Chossudovsky declared that:

The devaluation of the Somali shilling, imposed by the IMF in June 1981, was followed by periodic devaluations, leading to hikes in the prices of fuel, fertilizer and farm inputs. The impact on agricultural producers was immediate particularly in rain-fed agriculture, as well as in the areas of irrigated farming. Urban purchasing power declined dramatically, government extension programs were curtailed, infrastructure collapsed, the deregulation of the grain market and the influx of 'food aid' led to the impoverishment of farming communities (2003, p. 95).

Nowadays, Somalia is still considered among the poorest states in the world, and "the IMF-World Bank structural adjustment program bears a direct relationship to the process of famine formation because it systematically undermines all categories of economic activity, whether urban or rural, which do not directly serve the interests of the global market system." (Chossudovsky, 2003, p. 102).

The high level of poverty in Nigeria and Somalia contribute to the insecurity stability in some regions in those countries. Both countries have in common the fact that they are considered as safe havens for international terrorist organizations. In Nigeria, illiteracy and poverty in North East has contributed to the creation of Boko Haram, and in Somalia the jihadist group Al-Shabaab is in war with the government. However, lack of effective leadership of some head of states also contributes to the impoverishment of their people.

3.2.4 Failure in leadership

The lack of positive sovereignty in some states especially in Africa is not only caused by external interventions. In some cases, the government incapacity and mismanagement is to blame. There are some countries in Africa where leaders have spent more than twenty years in power without bringing a real development in the country. In Cameroon for instance, President Paul Biya has been in power since

1982, yet the country is still struggling with its economy. “Despite the low level of inflation recorded, the economic growth of Cameroon remains fragile” (Tabi & Ondo, 2011, p. 1). The practice of corruption is found in all entities of these states. In Nigeria, during the regime of President Shehu Shagari from 1979 to 1983, it was reported that not less than \$5 million was embezzled by public servants and kept in private accounts abroad (Diamond, 1984). Such practices have been common in such countries. In Democratic Republic of Congo, the government members were working only for the then President Mobutu Seseseko, “During four decades, hardly any money was devoted to uplifting the Congolese people, improving their welfare, building infrastructures, or even providing more than rudimentary security” (Rotberg, 2002, p.94). It is evident that corrupt leaders are not encouraging the positive development of their countries.

The achievement of positive sovereignty in developing countries can be hindered by internal and external factors. In order to tackle these problems one has to establish more powerful and more independent institutions that can regulate the international system.

3.3 Nigeria and the challenge of the new global order

Most of quasi-states or failing states are former colonies of European super powers, and are mostly found in Africa. States such as Nigeria are internationally recognized but lack positive sovereignty. The country is not completely autonomous, because it still depends on the foreign aids introduced in 1986 under the Structural Adjustment Programs provided by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to countries that face economic crises. (Anwu, 1992, p.5) The state of Nigeria does not have the monopoly of power and the ability to control some regions within its

borders. There was a civil war from 1967 to 1970 and the country is currently facing the threat of a terrorist group that has the control of some regions in North. In addition, other illegal criminal groups are fighting against the central government for the control of oil reserves in the region of the Niger Delta. We can also mention the fact that there is a higher level of corruption in the state (Ali & Pyke, 2003, p.19), and the economic growth is declining. Moreover, politicians are no more legitimate in the eyes of the citizens due to their mismanagement and hypocrisy towards the people.

A lot can be said about the current situation of so called quasi-states, but it is also very important to understand why these states failed or are failing. Most of times the emphasis is laid on failing and failed states as the major threat of international security, but less is said about the reason behind their incapacity to become complete and stable states. Though the failure in leadership of Africans head of states can be considered as one of the reason behind the incapacity of quasi-states to rise, the major problem is coming from the external intervention of former colonies or international organizations in these states. The truth is that some European countries have never really accepted to give independence to their former colonies. The vast resources of African states are so important for the development of western countries. France for instance still maintains its presence in Africa through a currency (CFA Franc) imposed to its former colonies. The currency has been criticized for making developing countries economy not to grow (Boughton, 1993, p. 97). Other actors such as international organizations seen as the tools of super powers by realist theorists also contribute to the impoverishment of Africa. The so called Structural Adjustment programs of IMF and the World Bank that are supposed to help African

countries to face financial crisis, are instead considered to be the cause of the high debts of some African states:

The advanced nations are perpetrating the present inequitable international division of labour, selling their manufactured goods, securing raw materials and exporting their surplus capital with maximum benefits. While they preach deregulation, decontrol, free trade and the elimination of subsidies to poor nations like Nigeria, they themselves control their foreign trade, and maintain welfare schemes and various subsidies (Anwu, 1992, p. 20).

Many other non-governmental organizations are part of the game. Though Nigeria and other post-colonial African states are internationally recognized as states, it is a fact that these entities lack features of positive sovereignty and therefore considered as potential threat to the international security system.

Chapter 4

AN OVERVIEW OF THE STATE OF NIGERIA AS AN INCUBATOR OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

This chapter will mainly focus on the state of Nigeria in its relationship to transnational terrorism. It will firstly seek to establish whether Nigeria is a failed state or not; secondly, study Boko haram and other criminal groups within Nigeria, and finally analyze the effects of these groups in the central and west sub-regions of Africa.

4.1 State failure and Nigeria

Nigeria like many other former colonies is internationally recognized. Though it does not display all the criteria of a modern state, it is considered as a sovereign one. Nonetheless, there is a debate among theorists of state formation who argue that a clear distinction between states should be established. Rotberg declares that “strong states may be distinguished from weak ones and weak states from failed or collapsed state” (2003, p. 2). He goes further by detailing criteria of strong states:

They perform well according to indicators like GDP per capita, the UNDP Human Development Index, Transparency International’s Corruption Perception Index, and Freedom House’s Freedom of the World Report [...] offer high levels of security from political and criminal violence, ensure political freedom and civil liberties, and create environments conducive to the growth of economic opportunity. The rule of law prevails. Judges are independent. Road networks are well maintained. Telephones work. Snail mail and e-mail both arrive quickly. Schools, universities, and students flourish. Hospitals and clinics serve patients effectively (Rotberg, 2003, p. 4)

These bundles of political goods are the one to take into consideration while ranking modern nation states. On the other hand, Rotberg asserts that weak states are “temporarily or situationally weak because of internal antagonisms, management flaws, greed, despotism, or external attacks; and a mixture of the two [...] it harbors ethnic, religious, linguistic, or other intercommunal tensions” (2003, p. 4). In addition, the crime rate is high, infrastructures are poor, the GDP is declining and the level of corruption is high and escalating. They are also most of times ruled by despots who are not sometimes elected.

Intensify violence is one of the major characteristics of a failed state. Though violence is also noticeable in weak states, it differs from failed states by the longevity. There is a long lasting character of violence in failed states. Rotberg describes failed states as “deeply conflicted, dangerous, and contested bitterly by warring factions[...]the civil wars that characterize failed states usually stem from or have roots in ethnic, religious, linguistic, or other intercommunal enmity”(2003, p. 5). These kinds of states display a limited quantity of political goods and do not have the control of their borders.

There is just a slightly difference between a failed state and a collapsed state. Rotberg asserts that a collapsed state is “an extreme version of a failed state” (2002, p. 90). The main difference between these two is the presence or absence of the authority. In a failed state, there is an authority though its capacity to deliver political goods is weak; and in a collapsed state, there is a ‘vacuum of authority’. For instance, the collapse of Sierra Leone in 1990 led to a civil war. Apart from Rotberg indicators approach, there are other specific characteristics that can be used to demonstrate the status of a state. The fragile state index uses other specific indicators

to assess the status of a state. For the purpose of this study, we will make use of the variables of this annual report to test whether Nigeria from 2009 to 2015 has failed or not.

4.1.1 Is Nigeria failing?

Formerly known as the failed state index, the fragile state index is a report published annually by the magazine Foreign Policy, and produced by the Fund for Peace since 2005. (Rice & Patrick, 2008, p. 8) Its aim is to rank sovereign states recognized by the United Nations through assessing their vulnerability to conflict or collapse. The fragile state index uses indicators which are divided into three categories: social, economic and political. The table below presents the different sub-indicators.

Table 4.1: Indicators and sub-indicators of fragile states

INDICATORS	SUB-INDICATORS
Social	Demographic pressure, Refugees, Group grievances, human flight and Brain Drain
Economic	Uneven economic development, Poverty and economic decline
Political and Military	Corruption, Human Rights, Public services, Security apparatus, External interventions and factionalized groups

Note: for further reading, check the Fund for Peace website: <http://global.fundforpeace.org/>

To begin with, social indicator lists demographic pressures, refugees, group grievances, human flight and brain drain as its sub-indicator.

Demographic pressures

Nigeria is known of having the highest population growth in Africa (UN department of economics and social affairs, 2015). A high population can be an advantage or a disadvantage for the development of a country. According to a World Bank survey of countries with highest population in 2015, China is first and USA third (2017). Yet these countries are considered as most developed in the world and also superpowers. These statistics clearly show us that a country can have a high population but still meet the basic need of its people. The case of Nigeria is different in the sense that the population is not well distributed all over the country, and it automatically affects the economic structure. A document of the Department of Economics and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat states that poverty in Nigeria is due to the uneven population distribution between rural and urban environment (World Population Prospects, 2009). The overpopulation in cities will lead to a high level of unemployment which is not a positive indicator for development; and development means the improvement of people's lives (Eyo & Ogo, 2013, p.262). Apart from overpopulation, many other factors like mass migration contribute to the underdevelopment of a country.

Refugees

Since the beginning of the war declared by Boko Haram to the state of Nigeria in 2009, the number of Nigerian refugees has been rising both in Nigeria and in neighboring countries like Niger and Cameroon. A Cameroonian official in charge of youth affairs and civic education said that the Minawao camp (in Far North Cameroon) now has 55,000 people and 50 babies included who are coming from Nigeria (Kindzeka, 2015, para. 4). The Cameroonian minister goes further by declaring that "the humanitarian crisis here in the Far North is very preoccupying and displaced persons and refugees constitute a challenge for the government and its

partners” (Kindzeka, 2015, para. 5). The population displacement strains public services and has the capacity to affect the security of the state of Nigeria and its incapacity to control potential disease related to displacement.

Group grievances

This indicator refers to ethnic, communal, religious and sectarian violence. In the history of Nigeria, conflicts among groups have always made the headlines of newspapers. The most recurrent clashes between groups lately happened in the central Nigeria city of Jos in 2010. The two groups involved were the Hausa-Fulani Muslims against the Yoruba and Igbo Christians. According to some media the real reason behind those clashes is not “ethnic or religious differences but the scramble for land, scarce resources and political clout” (Handley, 2010). Both protagonists are driven by “Poverty, joblessness and corrupt politics” (Ibid.). No matter the reason behind these conflicts, it is clear that the outcome is not beneficial for the state of Nigeria. Whenever there are tensions and violence between groups within a country, the government ability to provide security is undermined and other violence might escalate.

Human Flight and Brain Drain

People migrate most of times when there is little opportunity in their country of origin. Millions of Nigerians have emigrated to other part of the world after 1990. “The Nigerian Diaspora covers practically every part of the world but the largest populations of Nigerians can be found in the UK, USA and South Africa” (“The Nigerian Diaspora”, n.d). Some leave their homeland for a better education while others to increase their chances to find out better jobs. This vacuum of human capital created by the human flight and brain drain affect the development of the country, in the sense that those who have the potential (finance and educated) to improve local

institutions are leaving. The economic indicator has two sub-indicators: uneven economic development, poverty and economic decline.

Uneven economic development

Nigeria and South Africa are the two biggest economies in Africa (“South Africa regains Africa's 'biggest economy' title from Nigeria”, 2016). Yet, the benefits of that growth in Nigeria are not distributed equally. When there are many ethnic or religious groups within a country, the government tends to be biased. It fails to commit to its social contract, and this situation most of times lead to a domestic turmoil. In his speech during the 52nd Independence Anniversary Lecture at Abuja, the former president of Ghana John Kufuor stated that “Naturally, imbalanced development that involves horizontal inequalities is an important source of conflict and that is costing Nigeria the opportunity to be the giant nation that it can and should be” (2012). During the same event, in his speech the then President Goodluck Jonathan attributed the insecurity in the country as a result of the mismanagement of some members of the Nigerian polity.

Poverty and economic decline

As we mentioned earlier, Nigeria is among the two biggest economies in Africa. The country has vast resources such as petroleum and oil. Though Nigeria has one of the fastest economies in the world, its economy did not perform well recent years ago. According to the World Bank statistics, Nigeria real GDP growth has declined. It has dropped from 11.3 % in 2010 to 2.7% (2015). In addition, there is a dichotomy of wealth and poverty in the country. Although, Nigeria is rich in natural resources, the government is not yet able to satisfy basic needs of the population. Poverty in Nigeria “still remains one of the most critical challenges facing the country and population growth rates have meant a steady increase in the number of poor.”

(Unicef, n.d.). The incapacity of the state to provide for its citizens because of poverty and a declining economy can lead to clashes between ‘have’ and ‘have nots’.

Political and military indicators

The first sub-indicator is the **state legitimacy**. The paradox of the state of Nigeria is to be one of the richest countries in the world and at the same time having a huge number of poor people. One of the reasons behind such a paradox is the level of corruption in the country. Incomes generated from the most exploited natural resources in Nigeria – oil – are embezzled by a small group of people (Ali & Pyke, 2003, p. 2). The money that is supposed to be used to improve the conditions of life of people is going into private bank account. In 2014 for instance a former central bank governor was sacked after claiming that \$20 billion was missing. Nigeria is well known for such immoral/illegal actions. Some economists from the PricewaterhouseCoopers even compared Nigeria to another resource producing country - Ghana which is less corrupt (“Corruption in Nigeria, The \$20-billion hole in Africa’s largest economy,” 2016). The results stipulate that if the level of corruption in Nigeria was closer to the one in Ghana, Nigeria’s economy might have been 22% bigger than what it was in 2014 – \$513 billion (Ibid.). It is evident that a country with a higher level of corruption such as Nigeria will always find it difficult to develop.

Nigeria like many other countries in the world has **human rights violations**. Women in Nigeria are treated like second citizens in various domains. Even when they are educated, the society considers that their primary role is in the family as the mother or housewife instead of embracing a specific professional career. Despite the fact that Nigeria women play an important role in almost all domains in the society (Ali & Pyke, 2003, p. 48), they are always marginalized. “They experience social exclusion

and violations of their human, civil, legal and reproductive rights” (Ibid.). In addition, women are subjected to traditional pressures. Traditions demands to a widow to act in a certain way. They must first be alone in a room for a long period of time, and then they are not allowed to shower and change their clothes. All these practices vary depending on cultures. There is also child labor and child marriage, “young girls are often taken out of school to satisfy the cultural norms of childhood marriage” (Ali & Pyke, 2003, p. 52). Moreover, the U.S Department of Labor had noticed that children of 5 to 14 years old are engaged in force labor work (2015). Anytime human rights are violated within a country, the state is failing to achieve its duties towards citizens.

In a stable state, the monopoly of power belongs to the state. Whenever there are other groups within the state which illegitimately use power, the social contract is weakened. The Nigerian **security apparatus** is no more effective since 2009 in the North East part of the country. The Islamic sect Boko Haram has taken the control of a part of a state in North and has implemented the sharia law. On the 14 of February 2014 they made headlines by kidnapping chibok schoolgirls in Borno State. The Islamic sect became so powerful in the region until the then president Goodluck Jonathan declared in the Wall Street Journal that “If Nigeria has a problem, and then I expect the US to come and assist us.” (Salvaterra and Hinshaw, 2015). Though US never sent troops in Nigeria since the rising of Boko Haram, it gave to the country intelligence and logistical assistance. The external interventions finally came from neighboring countries like Chad and Cameroon. In 2015, a Chadian army officer said that “Our troops entered Nigeria this morning. The combat is ongoing” (Nako, 2015). This foreign intervention in Nigeria by the Chadian army helped to retake the northeastern town of Gambaru. Furthermore, the Cameroon army rescued Nitsch

Eberhard Robert – a German citizen – who was abducted by the Boko Haram, in a successful operation in Nigeria in January 2015. Unfortunately, the state of Nigeria failed to meet its domestic and international obligations. This awkward situation led to the intervention of external actors to provide services to fight back Boko Haram.

The analysis of the state of Nigeria using some indicators of the Fund for Peace clearly shows that state failure features are represented in that western African state. However, some scholars and international actors trace this failure of state such as Nigeria from past incidents in the history.

4.2 Terrorism and Nigeria

The incapacity of the state of Nigeria to have the control of all its territory has given the opportunity to other actors within the country to thrive. Since 2009, Nigeria is making headlines of news related to terrorism. The rise of Boko Haram in Nigeria has negatively affected the image of the country in the world. In its second edition, the Global Terrorism Index ranked Nigeria as the 4th most terrorized country in the world (GTI Index, 2014). Prior to Boko Haram, Nigerian authorities had to face other criminal groups such as the Niger delta militants that are opposed to the government policy on oil revenues in the Delta region.

4.2.1 Boko Haram

Nigeria's Islamist group Boko Haram's aim is to overthrow the government and establish an Islamic caliphate. Initially, its purpose was to oppose any political or social activities related to Western society. As a matter of fact the name Boko Haram means in Hausa language "Western education is sinful". It is said that the militants of the group are influenced by the Koranic phrase: "Anyone who is not governed by what Allah has revealed is among the transgressors". The official name of the group

is Jama'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da'wah wa'l-Jihad which means “People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad”; but the media and the general public know them as Boko Haram (Murtada, 2013). The group is also known for recruiting young people disappointed by authorities and unemployed graduates (Shola, 2015, p. 3).

Founded in Maiduguri in 2002 by the charismatic Muslim cleric Mohammed Yusuf, Boko Haram carried out its first attack on 2003 on security forces in the North Eastern state of Yobe. Though it is an Islamist group, its ideas are different from the majority of Nigerian Muslims (Pham, 2012, p. 49). It is in 2009 that Boko Haram gained the international recognition after attacking police stations and government buildings in Maiduguri. That same year, the leader and founder of the group was captured and killed by Nigeria’s security forces. The death of Yusuf did not stop activities of the group; Abubakar Shekau stepped up and assumed more responsibilities than his predecessor. Boko Haram became huge in numbers with a possible relationship to Al-Qaeda (Gourley, 2012, p. 7). The group increased its numbers of attacks in the region and central Nigeria. They bombed churches; military barracks, police stations and the UN headquarter in Abuja. In 2014, Shekau declared a caliphate in areas controlled by Boko Haram in the north of the country. He said “For us there is nothing like Nigeria but Islamic Caliphate” (Odunsi, 2014). The Islamist group is also involved in kidnappings and the most famous of them is the abduction of 270 school girls in Chibok in April 2014. The ordeal created by Boko Haram in Nigeria led to a massive movement of refugees to neighboring countries of Cameroon, Niger and Chad (Alexander, 2015, p. 12). Apart from Boko Haram, there are other groups within Nigeria that contribute to insecurity in and out the country.

4.2.2 Niger Delta Militants

From 2003 on, security forces in the Southern part of Nigeria are facing piracy and kidnappings committed by different groups of militants. The trademark of these groups is hostage-taking, abductions, assassinations and attacks on military personnel (Obi, 2015, p. 12).

Niger Delta militancy was initiated by a former police officer who was against the Nigerian state policy in the Niger Delta region. Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro created an organization and trained young people on the use of guns and explosives. The first clash between his organization and the authorities was in 1966. Few days later, he declared the independence of the Niger Delta region from Nigeria. The unilateral declaration of the independence of the Niger Delta region lasted 2 weeks and was defeated by Nigerian forces. In 1990, an environmental activist known as Ken Saro-Wiwa resumed the fight against the government for the betterment of living conditions of the Niger Delta population. His movement killed four pro-government protesters in a riot in 1994. This incident led to the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa by the junta of General Sani Abacha (Sampson, 2009, p. 32).

In 1998, the movement came back to existence, but now with non-violence actions. The Ijaw youths published the pacific Kaiyamam declaration. It set the stage for a new form of militancy in the Niger Delta (Ibid, p. 32). Few years later, the movement changed again, this time they seek to influence the government to improve its policies on oil revenues and the protection of the environment in the region. Due to the fact that authorities undermine their plights, the group resumed with terrorism. The great level of poverty in the region led to the creation of groups such as The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) that carried out attacks

against the government and multinational corporations. The presence of other actors within the state of Nigeria that have the capacity of projecting power might be a threat for neighboring countries.

4.3 Transnational aftermath of Nigeria failure

Nigeria is considered as a nation at risk of failure by many international political actors. The incapacity of successive governments to provide political goods and project power within the whole country is a threat for nearby states. Some states like Cameroon, Chad and Niger are experiencing the consequences of the ineffectiveness of the Nigerian authorities in terms of security these recent years. Due to its potential in terms of oil resources, international economic analysts fear the impact on the global economy if Nigeria completely fails.

4.3.1 The state of Cameroon with the challenge of Nigerian security

The relationship between Nigeria and Cameroon has never really been in good terms. Both countries had a dispute on the oil and gas rich peninsula of Bakassi. The territorial dispute led to bloody confrontations between the two states in the 1990s. Bakassi was finally handed over to Cameroon in 2006 after the case was settled in the International Court of Justice. The settlement of that issue did not stop Niger Delta militants to launch raids in Cameroon territory. On 2007, “suspected Nigerian gunmen killed up to 21 Cameroonian soldiers in Bakassi” (Shirbon, 2007). However, the Niger Delta region is not the only insecure area in Nigeria. The insurgency of Boko Haram against the state of Nigeria does not only make victims in the former. The conflict spilled across Cameroonian borders; the loss of the control of Maiduguri by the state of Nigeria in 2014 inspired Boko Haram to enlarge its caliphate in the northern part of Cameroon. On December 2014, Boko Haram conducted a number of

attacks in Cameroon Far North region, killing civilians and government soldiers. These attacks in Cameroon have affected the economy and education in that region.

4.3.2 Niger and Chad as alternative targets of Boko Haram

Boko Haram became a regional threat since its establishment as an Islamic state in the North of Nigeria. As we said earlier, Boko Haram second objective was to create a caliphate in North of Nigeria and some parts of neighboring countries. Therefore, states such as Chad and Niger were also potential targets of Boko Haram. In 2015, the Islamic group launched a series of attacks in Niger's towns of Bosso and Diffa. In June 2016, N'djamena, the Chadian capital was hit by two suicide bombings blamed on Boko Haram. This incident led the Chadian government to ban burqas and vehicles with tinted windows (O'gara, 2015).

The multiple attacks of Boko Haram in neighboring countries led to a regional conflict. The negative effects of Boko Haram on the economy and security within the region encouraged the creation of a multi-national task force with the objective to eradicate the Nigerian based group. Leaders of "Chad, Niger, Benin, Cameroon, and Nigeria agreed to expand their military campaign against the group, setting up a new regional task force of 8,700 soldiers" (Ibid.).

4.5 Results of the research

This research focuses on the relationship between failed or failing states and transnational terrorism. The thesis tested two hypotheses: the first one is failed or failing states are more likely to serve as the locus of transnational terror organizations than stable states. The second one is external interventions of foreign states and international organizations are more likely to weaken states and promote the evolution of international terrorist organizations. The first hypothesis was tested

on the state of Nigeria from the period of 2009 to 2015; and the second on Iraq, Libya, Nigeria and Somalia.

4.5.1 Nigeria as a failing state

Like many other states in sub-Saharan Africa, the status of Nigeria as a state is controversial. Though it is internationally recognized (negative sovereignty) by other states in the international system, the state of Nigeria fails to satisfy the basic needs of its population (positive sovereignty). In order to fully test these hypotheses and produce robust findings, this research made use of the ‘fragile states index’ indicators to analyze the status of Nigeria from 2009 to 2015.

One can say that during the Olusegun Obasanjo’s regime (1999- 2007), Nigeria was considered as a weak state. It was performing well in some domains and poor in others, but it did not face the threat of a terrorist group like Boko Haram. In the Northeast, the group “has killed thousands since it burst onto the scene in the summer of 2009” (Haken, 2015, para. 3). Since the insurgency of Boko Haram, Nigeria status as a state has worsened. According to the fragile state index report, it is also due to the 2015 pre-election tensions and the economic crisis affected by the oil prices falling (2015). Though “there were reports of rigging and violence at various levels” (Haken, 2015, para. 1) during the elections, President Goodluck Jonathan called Muhammadu Buhari to congratulate him for his controversial victory. It is clear that this act contributed to set the tone for a peaceful transition. However, the new government immediately faces the reality within the country:

The conflict drivers have not gone away. After the election, a strike by fuel importers brought the economy to a temporary standstill; long lines of cars and trucks formed at gas stations, sitting immobile for hours at a time. Black market prices spiked. And now it appears that the ex-militants in the Niger Delta are starting to rattle their sabers once again, threatening violence in a bid to influence the new administration (Haken, 2015, para. 5).

Meanwhile, communal violence and conflicts continue, and in North, Boko Haram has intensified its presence. For some other scholars, Nigeria is considered as a failing state even before Olusegun Obasanjo became president in 1999. Jeffrey Herbst clearly states that Nigeria: “is failing not from a grave natural disaster or from unusually bad leadership or because it terminated its transition to democracy or even because it executed Ken Saro-Wiwa in November 1995 but from a particular pattern of policies as usual that threatens to even further impoverish the population and to cause a catastrophic collapse” (1996, p. 151). Therefore, one can say that Nigeria might be considered as a failing state. It has not yet failed because the state still has the control over the majority of the country. In addition, it still provides for many citizens even though its efforts are slowed down by corruption and mismanagement. No matter when and why Nigeria has started to fail, it is important for the international community to find solutions before further economic decline will bring an impact on the entire West African region. (Herbst, 1996, p. 151).

4.5.2 Nigeria as an incubator of global terror

The state of Nigeria is confronted with many groups that are against its policies within its boundaries. Some of those groups are under the control of the government (Niger militants Delta) and others are not (Boko Haram). The latter has even taken the control of some regions in the North East. Boko Haram has the control over part of the population and resources in the Borno and Yobe states. Those parts of Nigeria are considered as safe havens for the Islamist group by some political analysts. They also believe that Nigeria's lack of control of those regions is a danger for the international security. The year 2015 has proven that this argument is relevant. Countries in central Africa that share borders with Nigeria are suffering of multiple attacks by Boko Haram. Apart from fighting against the western civilization, Boko

Haram wants to implement a huge caliphate in parts of West and Central Africa. Nigeria can therefore be considered as an incubator of global terrorism as far as it contains within its boundaries a terrorist group that conduct attacks in other sovereign states.

4.5.3 Aftermath of foreign military interventions

The second hypothesis was applied on states such as Iraq, Libya, Nigeria and Somalia. Results show that before foreign military interventions in Libya and Iraq, these states were stable in terms of politics, economic and security. Though Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi were considered as authoritarian leaders, they had the ability to satisfy basic needs of their respective population. However, “since the 2011 overthrow of the Qaddafi regime, Libya’s path has been tumultuous” (Chivis & Martini, 2014, p.ix); the country face serious difficulties with politics and security. The fragility of these states has encouraged the evolution of international terrorist groups. In Libya “Jihadist groups—some linked to al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), an al Qaeda affiliate—meanwhile made use of the security vacuum to establish a foothold nationwide” (Chivis & Martini, 2014, p. 2). In Iraq, ISIS took the control of the rich oil region of Mosul as their headquarters. Thus, one can say that the foreign military interventions in Iraq and Libya are the major causes of both countries failure, and at the origin of the existence of international terrorist groups - the Islamist state and Ansar al-Sharia.

4.5.4 The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as catalysts of poverty

Regarding economic interventions, this paper demonstrated with instances adverse effects of the IMF and the World Bank on developing countries such as Nigeria and Somalia. Generally speaking these institutions have always been facing long standing

criticisms. The IMF and the World Bank are accused of aggravating poverty in the sub-Saharan Africa:

In country after country, structural adjustment programs (SAPs) have reversed the development successes of the 1960s and 1970s, with [...] million sliding into poverty every year. Even the World Bank has had to accept that SAPs have failed the poor, with a special burden falling on women and children. Yet together with the IMF it still demands that developing countries persist with SAPs (Easterly, 2003, p. 362).

In Nigeria for instance, banks have become more corrupt due to the liberalization of the financial sector (Lewis and Stein, 1997, p. 10). Corruption in Nigeria is one of the main factors of poverty. In Somalia and other sub-Saharan African countries, the IMF and the World Bank programs “have been disastrous: their [Somalia, DR Congo, Sudan, Liberia, Rwanda] economies are in worse shape now than they were thirty or forty years ago” (Danaher, 2011, p. 74). With such economic complications, countries such as Nigeria and Somalia are easiest preys for international terrorism. Terrorist organizations are thriving more easily in countries where the level of poverty is high. Boko Haram in Nigeria and Al-Shabaab in Somalia are hurting people not only within both respective countries, but also in neighboring countries.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

As previously stated, this research main focus is to provide empirical evidence for the argument that failed or failing states are incubator of transnational terror organizations; and that external intervention is one of the major causes of international terrorist groups' evolution. In the age of the global war on terror, detecting and contributing in the development of potential failed states will be important for the international security. Results of the research demonstrate that transnational terrorism is more susceptible to be caused by terrorist groups found in states that have a high degree of state failure. We applied social, economic and political indicators of the annual fund for peace report on the state of Nigeria. Results show us that Nigeria from 2009 to 2015 is more likely to be a failing states than a weak state. Moreover, we also found out that Nigeria based group Boko Haram is becoming an international security threat, not only because it joined with ISIS, but also because of the turmoil it causes in neighboring countries such as Cameroon, Chad and Niger. In this paper, we also learned about the negative aspects of external interventions in sovereign states, in the Middle East, North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. Despite the fact that African leaders play a role for the lack of development in their countries, we learned that the major problem of the absence of positive sovereignty in those states is due to multiple forms of external interventions. States of Iraq and Libya completely disintegrated after the foreign military interventions of

the US and NATO respectively. In Nigeria and Somalia, the controversial conditionnalities imposed by the IMF and the World Bank increased the level of poverty that led to the evolution of international terrorist organization such as Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab.

5.2 Recommendations

When it concerns the relationship between global terrorism and states, recommendations are always the same. The source of transnational terrorism is coming from states; therefore it is within those states which are potential threat to the international security that solutions have to come first. The former United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan developed a comprehensive global strategy against terrorism which emphasizes on the strengthening of state capacity. The report stipulates that good governance and the rule of law are building blocks a state must have in order to avoid terrorist groups to operate from within. The building of a strong state must therefore be “the cornerstone of the global counter-terrorism effort.”(Annan,2005). Therefore, leaders in power on potential failed states should learn to be more responsible by strictly respecting the rule of law, and putting in place policies that favor the majority of the population and not a particular group of people or clan.

Reducing corruption should be the number one priority of governments in potential fragile states. They can do that by creating a special institution in charge of controlling other institutions management. Government of potential failed states should reduce and control arms race. More weapons circulating within a less secure state is an opportunity for groups that are completely against the policy of the central government to thrive. Furthermore, the governments should alleviate poverty and

unemployment by providing basic needs to the population. This will reduce the opportunities for terrorist groups to recruit potential members.

On the international level, something has to be done as well to avoid state failure and transnational terrorism. The ideal scenario is to have a global order that can create independent intergovernmental organizations which will implement strict and fair regulations for the international system. The IMF and the World Bank with their multiple unfair adjustment programs have shown their limits in Sub-Saharan Africa. Unfortunately, an international organization can not really be independent because it will have shareholders, stakeholders, interest groups, fundings and etc. Even one (The United Nations) of the well-known intergovernmental organizations is still at a cross roads and fails so many times from making small countries fall prey to big ones. This instance leads to the conclusion that security solutions of the international system can not be managed by an intergovernmental organization. Rather, State sovereignty, legitimacy and monitored globalization are keys for a fair and secured international system. It is also the hazardous interventions of strong states in the domestic affairs of other states that led to the weakness of the latter. It has been the case with Iraq, Libya, Syria, Afghanistan; security in the international system also depends on the mutual respect between states. External interventions are necessary when the real purpose is to assist other states in need. However, it should not be unilateral and it should be purely humanitarian and, void of any particular interest. Let every country also determine their economic part and road map.

Another solution to terror is for policy makers to have long term strategy not short ones; The USA was blinded by the soviets in such a way that they armed Taliban who are now considered as a terrorist movement by western powers. Most terror

groups where once oppositions lauded and supported by foreign powers that used them for their own goal, which in turn caused chaos. The beginning foothold for terror is mostly from people blinded by interests that they forego reason.

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