

**T.C.  
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**



**THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF TERRORISM IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup>  
CENTURY: THE IRAQI CASE**

**THESIS**

**Amer Adil HADI**

**Department of Political Science and International Relations  
Political Science and International Relations Program**

**Thesis Advisor: Dr. Filiz KATMAN**

**February, 2019**

**T.C.  
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**



**THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF TERRORISM IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup>  
CENTURY: THE IRAQI CASE**

**THESIS**

**Amer Adil HADI  
(Y1412.110047)**

**Department of Political Science and International Relations  
Political Science and International Relations Program**

**Thesis Advisor: Dr. Filiz KATMAN**

**February, 2019**

T.C.  
İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ



YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZ ONAY FORMU

Enstitümüz Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler İngilizce Anabilim Dalı Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler İngilizce Tezli Yüksek Lisans Programı **Y1812.110047** numaralı öğrencisi **Amer Adıl Hadı HADI**'ın **“THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF TERRORISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY: A CASE STUDY IRAQ”** adlı tez çalışması Enstitümüz Yönetim Kurulunun 28.01.2019 tarih ve 2019/02 sayılı kararıyla oluşturulan jüri tarafından oybirliği/oyçokluğu ile Tezli Yüksek Lisans tezi 15.02.2019 tarihinde kabul edilmiştir.

	<u>Unvan</u>	<u>Adı Soyadı</u>	<u>Üniversite</u>	<u>İmza</u>
Danışman	Dr. Öğr. Üyesi	Filiz KATMAN	İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi	
Asıl Üye	Prof. Dr.	Hatice Deniz YÜKSEKER	İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi	
Asıl Üye	Doç. Dr.	Şakir DİNÇŞAHİN	Hasan Kalyoncu Üniversitesi	
Yedek Üye	Dr. Öğr. Üyesi	Özüm Sezin Uzun	İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi	
Yedek Üye	Doç. Dr.	Ateş USLU	İstanbul Üniversitesi	

ONAY

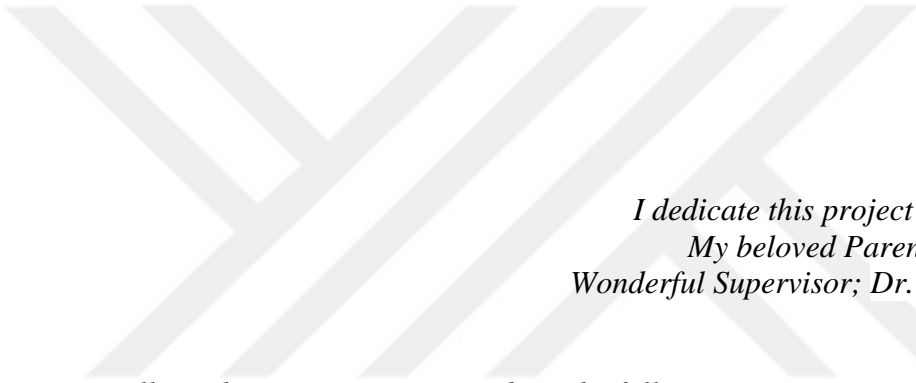
Prof. Dr. Ragıp Kutay KARACA  
Enstitü Müdürü

## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results, which are not original of this thesis. ( / /2019)

**Amer Adil HADI**





*I dedicate this project to the following;  
My beloved Parents; Mr. and Mrs.  
Wonderful Supervisor; Dr. FILIZ KATMAN  
My Siblings;*

*I equally wish to extern my gratitude to the following important persons who helped  
in guiding me though out this research work; Therence Atabong N. and all my  
friends.*

*I wish that this thesis will be useful for researchers in further study on fields related  
to this topic.*

## **FOREWORD**

This thesis is written in completion of Master's Program in Political Science and International Relations, at Istanbul Aydin University. The research is focused on "The Causes and Consequences of Terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: the Iraqi Case. It tries to analyze the various elements shaping the causes and consequences of terrorism, and also the dynamics used in resolving the problems of terrorism. Terrorism is so rampant in this 21<sup>st</sup> century around the world, and has affected the religious, cultural, socio-political and economic development of most states involved in terrorist attacks. To this note, this thesis therefore illustrates the main causes of terrorism, the impacts on both the people and the state, and shows the various ways applied in resolving issues of terrorism.

If I stumbled several times without falling, it was because I leaned on a handful of individuals and groups to whom I am deeply indebted. My profound appreciation goes to my supervisor Dr. Filiz KATMAN, whose ideas; criticisms, guidance, encouragement and devotion spurred me, and gave the shape and form of this study. Despite her very charged commitments, she created appropriate time to guide me, read carefully through my manuscript, made necessary corrections and observations, making sure I was on the right tract.

My sincere gratitude and appreciation goes to my beloved parents, all my grandparents, and friends.

**February, 2019**

**Amer Adil HADI**

## TABLE OF CONTENT

	<u>Page</u>
<b>FOREWORD</b> .....	v
<b>TABLE OF CONTENT</b> .....	vi
<b>ABBREVIATIONS</b> .....	viii
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b> .....	ix
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b> .....	x
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	xi
<b>ÖZET</b> .....	xii
<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b> .....	1
<b>2. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: TERRORISM</b> ....	3
2.1 Conceptual Framework .....	3
2.1.1 Definitions.....	3
2.1.1.1 Terrorism.....	3
2.1.1.2 International Relations/Terrorism .....	7
2.1.1.3 Diplomacy .....	8
2.1.1.4 Soft Power.....	9
2.1.1.5 Security .....	10
2.1.1.6 Iraq .....	12
2.2 Theoretical Framework .....	14
2.2.1 Instrumental approach.....	14
2.2.2 Organizational approach .....	15
2.2.3 Political communication in terrorism.....	16
2.2.4 Anarchy as a theory of terrorism.....	17
<b>3. HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK: DEVELOPMENT OF TERRORISM</b> .....	18
3.1 The Rise of Terrorism .....	18
3.2 Does terrorism work? .....	22
3.3 Approaches of Terrorism.....	24
3.3.1 Domestic approach.....	25
3.3.2 Bilateral action .....	25
3.3.3 International approach.....	27
3.4 Measuring Human Rights and Terrorism.....	30
3.5 Terrorists as rational actors .....	32
3.6 Modern Terrorism at the End of the 20 <sup>th</sup> Century and Early 21 <sup>st</sup> Century.....	34
<b>4. THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF TERRORISM IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY</b> .....	41
4.1 Causes of Terrorism .....	41
4.1.1 Economic deprivation .....	44
4.1.2 Socio-economic and demographic strains.....	45
4.1.3 Political and institutional order .....	46
4.1.4 Political transformation and instability .....	47
4.1.5 Identity and cultural clash .....	47
4.1.6 Global economic and political order .....	47

4.1.7 Contagion .....	48
4.2 Consequences of terrorism .....	48
<b>5. TERRORISM IN IRAQI CASE.....</b>	<b>55</b>
5.1 US Invasion of Iraq .....	55
5.2 Responses to the Challenges of Terrorism in Iraq .....	58
5.3 Data Analysis of Terrorism .....	60
<b>6. CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>RESUME.....</b>	<b>78</b>





## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>2SLS</b>	: Two-Stage Least Square
<b>ASALA</b>	: Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia
<b>CBRNE</b>	: Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear Explosives
<b>CPI-M</b>	: Communist Party of India-Maoist
<b>DAES</b>	: Ed-Davlat-ul Islamiye fi'l Irak ve es-Sam
<b>ECHR</b>	: European Convention on Human Rights
<b>EOKA</b>	: <i>Ethnik's Organosis Kypriou Agoniston</i>
<b>GDP</b>	: Gross Domestic Product
<b>GTD</b>	: Global Terrorism Database
<b>GTI</b>	: Global Terrorism Index
<b>HRA</b>	: The Human Rights Act
<b>OECD</b>	: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
<b>PITS</b>	: Person in the Street
<b>PPS</b>	: Percentage Point
<b>UK</b>	: United Kingdom
<b>UN</b>	: United Nations
<b>US</b>	: United States
<b>WMD</b>	: Weapons of Mass Destruction
<b>WWII</b>	: World War Two

## LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
<b>Figure 2.1</b> : Capturing the Impact of Terrorism from 2002-2011.....	4
<b>Figure 3.1</b> : Incidents by terrorist organization, 2002 to 2011 excluding unknown attacks .....	21
<b>Figure 3.2</b> : Transnational Terrorist incidents, 1968-2003 .....	28
<b>Figure 3.3</b> : Deaths per transnational terrorist incident, 1968-2003 .....	28
<b>Figure 3.4</b> : Map of the world by terrorist incidents .....	29
<b>Figure 3.5</b> : Terrorism imports and exports, 1968-2003 .....	30
<b>Figure 3.6</b> : Development of physical integrity rights over time .....	31
<b>Figure 3.7</b> : Development of empowerment rights over time .....	32
<b>Figure 3.8</b> : Books published with ‘terrorism’ in the title, 1995–2007.....	34
<b>Figure 3.9</b> : Research focused on Al-Qaeda .....	35
<b>Figure 3.10</b> : Percentage of research focused on militant Islamist groups .....	36
<b>Figure 3.11</b> : Total International attacks by region, 1998-2003.....	37
<b>Figure 3.12</b> : Total international casualties by region, 1998-2003 .....	38
<b>Figure 4.1</b> : Numbers of facilities struck by International attacks, 1998-2003.....	50
<b>Figure 4.2</b> : Numbers of terrorist incidents per year .....	52
<b>Figure 4.3</b> : Number of casualties due to terrorist incidents and number of countries with more than 50 deaths in a given year from terrorist activity .....	53
<b>Figure 4.4</b> : Numbers of person killed or wounded in Terrorist attacks, 2013 .....	54
<b>Figure 5.1</b> : Terrorist attacks per day on civilian targets in Iraq.....	56
<b>Figure 5.2</b> : Suicide attacks on civilian targets .....	57
<b>Figure 5.3</b> : Estimated effects of terrorism .....	60
<b>Figure 5.4</b> : Number of people who died as a result of terrorist attacks .....	63
<b>Figure 5.5</b> : Number of tourist who died as a result of terrorism from 2006-2014..	64
<b>Figure 5.6</b> : Types of targets for the five countries most affected by terrorism, total 2002-2011 incidents.....	67

## LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
<b>Table 4.1:</b> Determinants of terrorism .....	43
<b>Table 5.1:</b> Worst terrorist attacks from 2002-2011 .....	61
<b>Table 5.2:</b> Worst terrorist attacks in 2013 .....	62
<b>Table 5.3:</b> Ten countries most affected by terrorism in 2011 .....	65
<b>Table 5.4:</b> Countries with no terrorist impact in 2011 .....	66
<b>Table 5.5:</b> Countries where the impact of terrorism has increase or decrease the most from 2002 to 2011 .....	67
<b>Table 5.6:</b> Top ten countries most affected by terrorism in 2011 and their government type .....	68
<b>Table 5.7:</b> Top ten countries most affected by terrorism and their income group ....	69
<b>Table 5.8:</b> Ten cities with highest fatality rate from terrorism, 2014.....	69

# **THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF TERRORISM IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY: THE IRAQI CASE**

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis outlines main causes and consequences of terrorism in the world and specifically in Iraq. The hypothesis of the thesis is that terrorism is the phenomenon that created a lot of impacts in Iraq. Global terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has become one of the biggest domestic and international challenges for Iraq. It summarizes transformation of terrorism and the impacts that mark how it is evolved. Terrorism can backfire to a certain level in the political aims of terrorist factions and also reduce the willingness to make territorial and political concessions by targeted population. The evidence of terrorism effectiveness is somehow sparse. The nature of terrorism is being manifested clearly in our everyday life based on the number of victims it claims. The term "terrorism" stated since during the French Revolution in 1789, by the new region to consolidate its powers and intimidate all opponents. Most of the members of the regime were equally strong patriots of the old monarchy. The term was totally of a different connotation and was associated with the purpose of maintaining justice and democracy against the old order which was perceived to be tyrannical and corrupt. Terrorism for decades has always been a method in which the weak could use to overcome the oppressive and powerful. The researcher of this thesis is trying to identify the main causes of this terrorism that has increase so rapidly around world, especially Iraq after a War on Terror was declared by US and UK. Additionally, this thesis outlines how Iraq and international community policy-makers have responded to the challenges in the region. Terrorism poses a significant threat to the security in open societies and it inflicts grave harm upon modern economies and civilians. Problems in Iraq can bring tremendous consequences for the broader "war on terror".

**Keywords:** *Terrorism, Iraq, Global War on Terrorism.*

## 21. YÜZYILDA TERÖRİZMİN NEDENLERİ VE SONUÇLARI: IRAK ÖRNEĞİ

### ÖZET

Bu tez, bugün dünyamızda, özellikle de Irak'ta terörizmin başlıca sebep ve sonuçlarına genel bir bakış getiriyor. Bu tezin temel hipotezi terörizmin Irak'ta çok fazla etki yaratan bir olgu olduğudur. 21. yüzyıldaki küresel terörizm, Irak için en büyük ulusal ve uluslararası problemlerden biri haline geldi. Bu tez, terörizmin dönüşümünü ve onun nasıl geliştiğini gösteren başlıca etkileri özetlemektedir. Terörizm, terörist grupların siyasi hedeflerinde belirli bir düzeye kadar geri tepebilir ve ayrıca hedef kitle tarafından bölgesel ve politik imtiyazlar yapma isteğini azaltır. Terörün etkililiğinin kanıtı bir şekilde seyrekler. Terörizmin doğası, iddia ettiği kurbanların sayısına dayanarak günlük yaşamımızda açıkça ortaya konmaktadır. "Terörizm" terimi, 1789 Fransız Devrimi sırasında, yeni bölge tarafından yetkilerini pekiştirmek ve tüm rakipleri korkutmak için başladı. Rejim üyelerinin çoğu, eski monarşinin eşit derecede güçlü vatanseverleriydi. Bu terim tamamen farklı bir çağrışımdaydı ve haklı ve yozlaşmış olarak algılanan eski düzene karşı adalet ve demokrasiyi sürdürme amacı ile ilişkiliydi. On yıldır süren terörizm her zaman zayıfın baskıcı ve güçlü olanı aşmak için kullanabileceği bir yöntem olmuştur. Bu tezin araştırmacısı, ABD ve İngiltere tarafından Terörle Savaş ilan edildikten sonra, başta Irak olmak üzere dünya çapında hızla artan bu terörün ana nedenlerini tespit etmeye çalışıyor. Buna ek olarak, bu tez, bölgede yaşanan zorluklara Irak ve uluslararası toplum politika yapıcılarının nasıl tepki verdiğini de özetliyor. Terörizm, açık toplumların güvenliği için büyük bir tehdit oluşturuyor ve modern ekonomilere ve sivillere ciddi zarar veriyor. Irak'ın karşılaştığı sorunlar, daha geniş "teröre karşı savaş" için önemli sonuçlar doğurabilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Terörizm, Irak, Terörizmle Küresel Savaş.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of terrorism is one which is very important, yet very complex and one of the main issues facing so many states throughout the world. In recent years, there have been many papers analyzing some of the causes and consequences of terrorism, likewise the various ways used by terrorist groups in pursuit of their main goals. Terrorism can backfire to a certain level in the political aims of terrorist factions and also reduce the willingness to make territorial and political concessions by targeted population. The evidence of terrorism effectiveness is somehow sparse. The numerous wars in Iraq and national security, taxes, immigration and drug trafficking are all inflected through the prism of terrorism.

Terrorism is a term that originated during the French Revolution since during the period 1789-1799, with its main purpose in consolidating its intimidate opponents and power by the new regime. Most of the intimidate opponents were the old anarchy supporters. For over 100 years, terrorism was used as a method whereby the downtrodden and weak could overcome the oppressive and the power. Terrorism was developed to a different meaning by the eve of the Second World War. All these were in respect to the Stalinist Russia, Fascist-Italy and Nazi-Germany. Many questions have always been arising in the minds of many scholars, citizens and some politicians regarding the issue of terrorism in the globe. Some of which are; what are the trends in terrorism? What causes it? What are the consequences? What can be done to abate it? The 'Person In The Street' (the PITS) views that terrorism is on the increase and believe that it is done by extremists often religiously motivated and that it has vital adverse economic consequences. This thesis gives an overview of the trends in terrorism and the general perception that it is increasing; investigate the geographical distribution of terrorist incidents, construct a simple theory of terrorism building and literature, the economic consequences of terrorism.

The main research question is “what the trends of terrorism are, and the things that really causes terrorism”. Detail results from the hypothesis of this thesis is closely analyzed within the content of chapter’s two to five. This thesis is divided into six

chapters which shows more emphasis on the development of terrorism, its impact to the society. Chapter one is simply the introduction and gives brief idea for the proceedings chapters. Chapter two is the conceptual framework and theoretical framework; it also entails the definition of key words that is use in the study. It equally covers a detailed literature review of this paper. This chapter also aims at explaining key terminologies which defines the research question, likewise considering many variables that can be of support. Chapter three seeks to explain the development of terrorism, and the term “terrorism” stated since during the French Revolution in 1789 by the new region to consolidate its powers and intimidate all opponents. Chapter four critically studies the main causes and consequences of terrorism. In respect to the causes, this chapter tries to identify the main causes of terrorism that has increase so rapidly around world, especially Iraq after a War on Terror was declared by the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK). Looking at the economic consequences of terrorism, it is one of the major areas in which a lot of drastic effects often occur. It is worth noticing that terrorist attacks often have long lasting negative impacts on economic development. Chapter five focuses more on terrorism in Iraq. After the 9/11 incident, US invaded Iraq with the belief that it was a possible way to ensure that Iraq was not a comfortable zone for terrorist. It is rather seen on the contrary that with the US invasion of Iraq since March 2003, more doors of terrorism acts within the Iraq’s borders has rose precipitously. Several attempts have been put in place to try to resolve terrorism activities in Iraq and in the world at large. One of such attempts is the application of diplomacy to help increase global anti-terror coalition. The sixth chapter in the conclusion. This chapter presents a view on the measures that can be applied to combat terrorism.

Is respect to the methodology of this thesis, it is strictly limited to qualitative research. Much study is done which greatly review the thoughts of previous works that is carried out on the same subject. Some secondary research materials are taken into account when writing this thesis and this is on the account of examining the main causes and consequences of terrorism in Iraq. Moreover, tables, figures, and other illustrations are used to elucidate more on the subject. Official reports and supporting documents of Iraq’s foreign and domestic policies are used, as well as books, published thesis, articles, and journals/newspapers.

## **2. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: TERRORISM**

### **2.1 Conceptual Framework**

#### **2.1.1 Definitions**

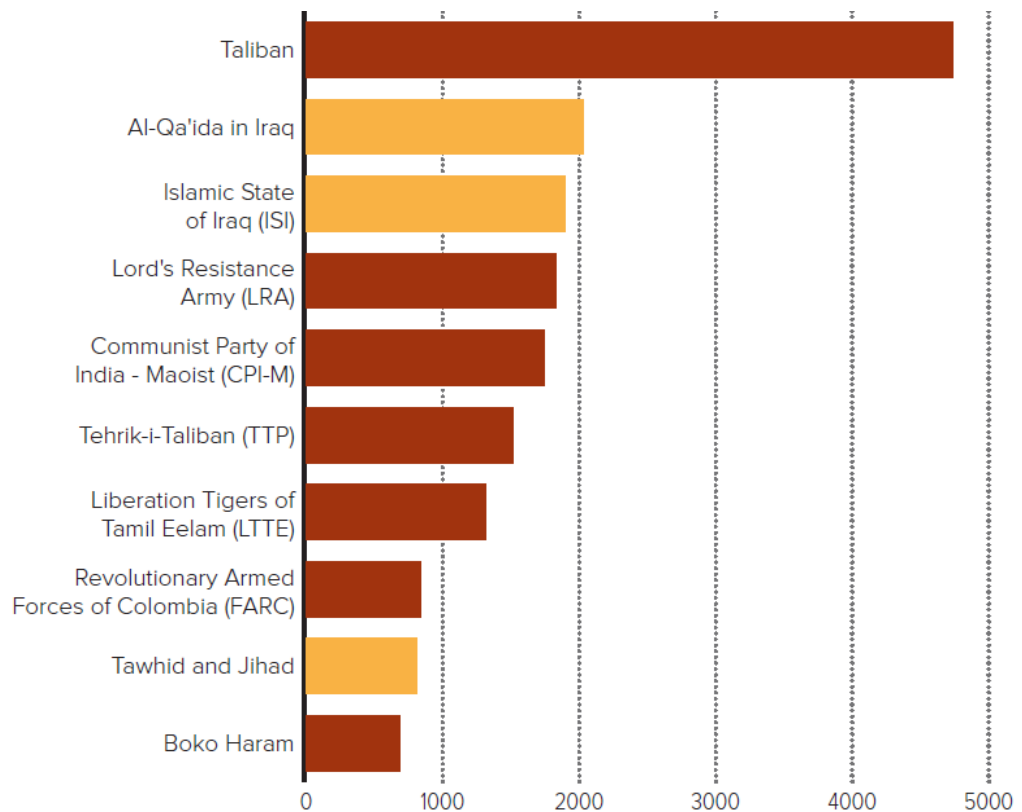
##### **2.1.1.1 Terrorism**

The term terrorism has become one of the main concerns of our present day societies and it is a little difficult to understand and study the real meaning of this term. The nature of terrorism is being manifested clearly in our everyday life based on the number of victims it claims. It is important to know that no international definition of terrorism has been set. Neither the United Nations (UN) Summit nor the Euromed Summit of 2005 adopted a tentative definition of terrorism. The summits strongly condemned the act of terrorism without giving any concrete definition of it. Cyrille (2006, p. 1989), explains that countries like Russia and China have a certain mentality that any act of violence that is carried out by irregular fighters against the state or government must be considered as “terrorist.” This however shows that terrorism is the sore enemy of the state. Other states have their own way of considering terrorist activities. Some states sees any act of violence against non-combatants or civilians as terrorist act, irrespective of the fact that the act can still be done by the state or by an official institution. This definition can be seen in other words that terrorism is the enemy of the society. The universal definition of terrorism remains elusive, regarding the fact that different organizations, government agencies and different bodies have totally different definitions that can authentically suit their purpose, particular role or bias.

According to the UN panel on March 17, 2005, terrorism was described by Kofi Annan, the then Secretary General of the United Nations, as an act “intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act” (Richards, 2015, p. 23). Many



definitions of terrorism have been suggested by many philosophers, scholars, politicians and academicians, but it is rather unfortunate that none of them is uncontroversial. Just by pronouncing the name terrorism, it sounds intrinsically relative and has a very strong negative connotation.



**Figure 2.1:** Capturing the Impact of Terrorism from 2002-2011

**Source:** Global Terrorism Index (2015), Capturing the Impact of Terrorism from 2002-2011, p. 32,

Figure 2.1 above some fatal terrorist organization around the globe from the period of 2002 to 2011. The three organizations which are Al-Qa'ida in Iraq, Islamic State of Iraq and Tawhid and Jihad were all headed by Abu Masab al-Zarqawl. The figure shows the order of fatalities cause by the organizations. For instance, Taliban tops the list with the highest number of fatalities, which amounts to 5000. The second is Al-Qa'eda in Iraq, with a total of 400. The other organizations follow the list progressively.

Terrorism as term denotes, is a polemical word with a long provocative interpretation that discrepant in the international community. A terrorism expert by name Brian

Jenkins once said terrorism “seems to depend on one’s point of view if one party can successfully attach the label ‘terrorist’ to its opponent, then it has inherently persuaded others to adopt its moral viewpoints” (Lindberg, 2010, p. 1). In order to throw more light concerning terrorism, Lindberg (2010, p. 2) explains that terrorism experts like Walter Laqueur and Bruce Hoffman list certain distinctions as follows;

- Terrorism is power: these experts believe that the main interest of terrorists is to gain power. They argue that terrorism is equally designed to create power in situations where there is none or better still, to consolidate it where there is very little.
- Terrorism is systematic: this implies that terrorist enterprise is a well calculated, planned and systematic act. The argument that goes here is that terrorism is rather a method and not a set of adversaries or the main causes they pursue. Brian Jenkins in this context said “Terrorism is theater”.
- Terrorism is design to have the ripple effect of fear: Lindberg (2010, p. 2) argue that terrorism tries to go beyond the target victims and tries to look for far-reaching psychological repercussions. The main purpose behind terrorist attack is to instill fear in a high way so as to coerce others into giving in to their demands. Another importance issue regarding terrorist operations is its discriminate attacks against the masses with the evil intension of instilling fear; promote insecurity in the society and to create more havoc.
- Terrorism is non-state: the argument regarding this point is based on the point that terrorism is more useful to be used as a breach of peace that all non-state entities take part in. In the present century, what we see most is a networked, leaderless adversary, a sub-national group or non-state entity which is ideologically motivated. One of the most important things regarding terrorist narrative in this context is its sense of non-state essence. It is argued that terrorism fast growing into a form of asymmetric warfare which is mostly carried out by states in a demonstration of its chameleonic nature.
- Terrorism is rational: this concept shows that terrorists have a fundamental way of acting in an optimal way so as to achieve its goals in a demonstrative manner which is however a rational choice. Terrorists also consider the consequences of their actions with considerable reflection and debate, tries

to look at the cost and benefits of it before undertaking any murderous journey.

Another good definition of terrorism comes from the argument of Ganor (2002, p. 288), where he thinks that terrorism is “the deliberate use or the threat to use violence against civilians in order to attain political, ideological and religious aims.” However, this definition can clearly be examined as a way in which an attack which is aimed in opposition of government personnel can be regarded as terrorism. This is so especially when the main target was not part of the decision making position of the state’s counter-terrorism policy. Looking at the definition of terrorism, terrorist organizations can barely claim to be “freedom fighters” due to the fact that their fight is for one purpose which is national liberation or better still, some other worthy goal. In addition to this, Tompkins (1992, p. 4) argues that the US Department of Defense provided a very narrow definition of terrorism as; the unlawful citizens or properties with the sore aim of coercing the state, often for either ideological political purposes. Tompkins totally disagrees with this definition and fines it to be inadequate; with his reasons being that, it ignores actions of the government which can be appropriately labeled as terrorism.

Gibbs (1989, p. 330), view of terrorism comes after presenting a series of question such as: (1) Is terrorism necessarily illegal? (2) Is terrorism necessarily undertaken to realize some particular goals? (3) How does terrorism necessarily differ from conventional military operations? (4) Is it necessarily the case that only opponents of the government engage in terrorism? (5) Is terrorism necessarily a distinctive strategy in the use of violence? The answers to these questions are also the way Gibbs chooses to define terrorism. He began his definition by stating that terrorism can only be illegal or violence directed against humans or objects, if and only if it:

- is undertaken with the aim of disrupting, maintaining or altering a putative norm within any territorial population or unit;
- has very furtive, clandestine and secretive features which are of participants expectation to conceal future location and self-personal identity;
- Is not just ordered or undertaken to expand the permanent defense of some places.
- Is not geared toward a conventional warfare and no conceal personal identity, concealed of threats, spatial mobility and future location. Also,

only if the members are less vulnerable to any sort of conventional military action;

- Is seen by its members as contributing much to the normative goals that inculcated fear of violence in citizens.

### **2.1.1.2 International Relations/Terrorism**

International relations is a diverse program that welcomes all kinds of relations within other state boundaries, irrespective of whether there are cultural, legal, political private, religious or other character. It also welcomes all human behavior from one state boundary to another. Looking at terrorism, it turns to be the way a group of people or state react or behave in the society, especially when they desire for something that cannot be possible responded by the state. International terrorism simply means terrorism that involves citizens or territory of two or more countries. Terrorism is actually a multinational concept which is incorporate the use of force or better still violence, to set up in motion terror or fear. The interconnection between states though cultural, moral, social, political, economic and ideological goals has opened the gateway to international terrorism thus resulting to some international responses or repercussion. The case of *Ed-Davlat-ul Islamiye fi'l Irak ve es-Sam (DAES)* is a good example, constituting of members from many countries including Iraq and Syria. Uniting together as one to form such a movement is what we refer to as international relations, though their objectives are different from other political activities.

Scholars of international relations came up with definitions of international relations and pointing out that it has tremendous horizon that embodies varieties of relations such as economic relations, political relations, business and less relations between citizens and state to state. It could still be the positive or negative relations between one state and another, whereby, if it is negative, terrorist will try to invade the other state. Ghosh (2015, p. 3) outlines the views of Mathiesen by looking at International Relations as; “it all embraces all kinds of relations, traversing state boundaries, no matter whether they are of an economic, legal, political or any other character whether they are private or official and all human behaviors originating on one side of the state boundary and affecting human behaviors on the other side of the boundary.”

International Relations is more of creating either a positive or negative relations between a state and another state, for a common objective or purpose. These relations could bro from movements or organizations as well. Some terrorist groups are international and do operate in many countries with the aim of achieving a particular goal. The case of Al-Qaeda is an example, which has mounted a lot of attacks on civilians in many states. The bombing of the US Embassy in 1998, the Bali bombings of 2002 and the September 11 attacks are just examples of some of the main activities of terrorist internationally.

### **2.1.1.3 Diplomacy**

Several definitions of diplomacy are point out by experts and scholars. Many scholars look at diplomacy as the way official negotiations are being conducted between states, as well as the methods apply in handling official affairs without arousing any hostility. According to Gambo (2016, p. 1), diplomacy came from the word ‘diploma’, meaning ‘a letter of credence’. Diplomacy however entails managing mediation or an entity. Within the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the same notion of diplomacy is narrowed and considered as a process of managing official foreign affairs of countries.

In addition to the aforementioned, diplomacy represents a powerful tool which enables every state to use in fighting against modern forms of terrorism which has escalated beyond state boundaries. Diplomacy however plays a major role in anti-terrorist activities in many dimensions such as in negotiations, agreements, and mediation processes which are basically aimed at seeking peaceful anti-terrorist solutions. Kiraz (2014, p. 6) argues that there are great roles played by top political and diplomatic figures in resolving diplomatic anti-terrorist activities. Some of the aspects that these top officials can do are:

- Make sure there is a standardized approach regarding modern terrorism, especially through timely activities abroad, and making sure other countries do not provide any material or political support to terrorist groups and activities.
- Maintain strong removal of the things that causes terrorism, irrespective of the intensity or scope of the terrorist activity

- Come up with data and more evidence that can be of use in confirming the presence of terrorist groups or organizations, so as to ensure international support for the fight against terrorism
- Execute timely consultations which have relevant European, regional, and global political stakeholders mainly to obtain for planned anti-terrorist activities.

It is however worth noticing that diplomacy is the filial dialogue between one country and another for its interest. Diplomacy is also regarded as the art of conducting negotiations between one state and another. Tarte (2014, pp. 125-130), says in his book “Diplomacy in Fiji: A Place Called Home” that diplomacy is the conduct of relations between one country and another by peaceful means. However, diplomatic activities can be of help in creating conditions conducive for aggressive criticisms of states considered to be benevolent towards terrorists.

#### **2.1.1.4 Soft Power**

Soft power is viewed by most scholars as an emerging behavior. Trunkos (2013, p. 4) supports Joseph S. Nye’s argument of soft power, by agreeing that it deals with a nation’s national resources which is capable of affecting other nations so as to persuade eliciting positive attraction and framing agenda to have outcomes. The main cause of terrorism to an extern is tied to the interest of resources by a state, organization or group of people. The concept of power is centered on the capability of persuading others to do things that cannot be done otherwise. He presumes that power is either soft or hard. The main difference between the above researchers is that behavior-changing of the former is based on coercion, while the latter focus on persuasion and attraction. In line to this, Alshehri (2010, p. 8) argues that in order to deal with the acts of terrorism, power is needed, and this used of power is “the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes one wants. But there are several ways to affect the behavior of others”.

There is a great difference between the use of soft and hard power in combating terrorism. The hard power method is full of destructive results, which still does not solve the problem in anyway, while the soft power method is focus on addressing terrorism roots. The failure to implement soft power policy effectively can be the main reason behind the constant escalation of terrorism.

According to Nye (2004), he focused his argument on the idea that soft power is a cultural power. His reason for this is because power is the ability to alter other people's behavior so as to acquire expectations. Nye suggested three approaches of power: 1) attraction (Considered as soft power), 2) coercion (considered as sticks) and 3) payments (known as carrots). A country can gain its soft power through three resources. That is through: foreign policies, its culture and political values. Nye, however conceived that soft power is the ability for a country or individual to get what it wants, through the method of attraction and not by the method of payment or coercion.

According to Pallaver (2011, pp. 89-96), soft power is based on influence. He however back up his argument by saying that soft power is not just based on influence alone, because "influence" itself is not affiliated to "legitimacy". Most often, influence is confused to be equal to power. Pallaver went further saying that soft power is more of an autonomous form of power which is guided by rules, features, characteristics and an understanding of power in order to be able to efficiently employ it. It is important to know that many countries in the world have suffered a number of terrorist acts looking at contemporary history. A good example of such countries is Saudi Arabia. However, a lot of measures have been put in place to combat it. The use of soft power strategy in combating terrorism is so common nowadays and it has become an alternative strategy to hard power, regarding the fact that soft power policy helps to win the minds and attention of people to sort out the causes of terrorism and eliminate them.

#### **2.1.1.5 Security**

The term security does not possess any consensual or stable meaning. A general definition of security can be that it is the protection of an organization, building, person, or a country against threats such as attacks or crimes by external groups, organizations or foreign countries. In other words, security is the protection from any harm or degree of resistance to any harm. This is applied to valuable assets or vulnerable assets like; dwelling, community, person, item, country or organization. Security is seen in two phases: negative phase which constitute risk, threat, danger etc. and it requires military equipment, police, and armies. The other phase is positive phase, which constitute opportunities, profits, interest etc. and it needs education, social interaction or social capital. Security

in this paper is more focus on the negative phase, which is more of protecting the interest of the state and its citizens. Buzan (1997, p. 1) argues that due to the pressure of nuclear arms race, the Cold War witness a contraction of broad conceptualization of security which were in different terms such as; social, ideological, economic and military. The wider agenda of security re-emerged by the 1980s, thanks to the growing public opinion against the usefulness of armed conflicts or its effectiveness.

It is hard to believe that a tangible definition of security has not yet been offered by scholars, irrespective of numerous references of some security threats posed by non-state terrorism and numerous arguments for radical counterterrorism measures. Wolfendale (2007, p. 76) used the words of David Baldwin to describe the conditions of security as “the actor whose values are to be secured, the values concerned, the degree of security, the kinds of threats, the means for coping with such threats, the costs of doing so, and the relevant time period.”

According to Örmeci (2010, p. 1), security is an important concept in the discipline of International Relations regarding the fact that it is focused on protection and safety of nations and its citizens. He goes further with his argument that security is “freedom from danger, risk, etc.; safety” [1]. In line to this, Örmeci (2010, p. 1) also outlines that Edward A. Kolodziej looks at the word security to be a “special form of politics - a species of the general genus of politics” and a policy whereby some political affairs are different from security affairs. On the contrary, all security affairs are political problems. This discipline of security studies often involves macro actors such as corporations, associations, states, international organizations. Not all assaults and threats like criminal activities and petty offences are included into the domain of security.

In order to throw more light on what security is all about, it is also seen as “a relative freedom from war, couple with a relatively high expectation that defeat will not be a consequences of any war that should occur” (Örmeci, 2010, p.2). Security is also a concept that “implies both coercive means to check an aggressor and all manner of persuasion, bolstered by the prospect of mutually shared benefit, to transform hostility into cooperation” (Örmeci, 2010 p. 2). However, security studies can be more focus on the prevention of wars and survival of humans, massacres and killings. Even though security cannot be the



authentic solution in resolving or preventing all forms of threats but due to its developing strategies and managing power, much can be done to decrease the losses and threats. With the use of security, a country's cultural, economic, military power and political relationships are secured from possible dangers.

#### **2.1.1.6 Iraq**

Iraq is a country that is located within Western Asia and share borders with countries like; Kuwait to the Southeast, Turkey to the North, Saudi Arabia to the South, Iran to the East, Jordan to the Southwest and Syria to the West. According to Blanchard (2018, p. 3), Iraq has an estimated population of 39.192 million, where 595 are 24 years of age or under. The area surface is 438,317 square kilometers. By January 15, 2018 the country witness about 2.56 million internally displaced persons. Majority of the population are Muslims with 99% of the population (55-60% Shia, 40% Sunni), Christianity is another group, with just 0.1% of the population, and Yazidi with 0.1%. Blanchard goes further with his argument that the various ethnic groups include: Arab with 75-80%; Kurdish with 15-20%; Turkmen, Assyrian, Shabak, Yazidi, other all have 5%. The estimated Gross Domestic Product (GDP; growth rate) of 2016 was \$192.7 billion, and -0.4% in 2017. The Budget (revenues, expenditure; balance) was \$77.42 billion, \$88 billion, -\$10.58 billion respectively, by 2018. According to Katzman and Humud (2016, p. 1), that the territory of the present date Iraq was once under the rule of the Ottoman Empire in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century and was divided into three main provinces: Mosul Province, Baghdad Province and Basra Province. Britain took over Iraq which was at that time called Mesopotamia, under the League of Nations mandate but administered via Faysal I. He was a leader of the then Hashemite family (Katzman and Humud, 2016 p. 1), which still have autonomy in the present modern-day Jordan. In a nutshell, Iraq is located on a land known in the ancient world as "Mesopotamia. This territory came as result of Iraq's position while lies within two rivers. That is, Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. Many advantages within Iraq made it to be considered as a key site conducive enough for human civilization development. The good aspect of this location drew the attention of many outsiders and this led to the repeated invasions over the course of its history. A lot of activities happened in the

region after this period in invasions, for instance, the experienced of several forms of rule and many formal and informal legal systems.

Iraq has a variety of ethnic groups and the main ones are Arabs and Kurds. The other ones include Assyrians, Yazidis, Mandaeans, Turkmen, Armenians, Shabakis Kawliya and Circassians. The official languages are Arabic and Kurdish, with the main religion being Islam. The system of government there is based on Federal parliamentary republic, and the legislature is composed of council of Representatives. The area land surface is estimated to 437, 367 square kilometers and has about 950 square kilometers of water, thus ranking it the 59<sup>th</sup> largest country in the world. It also has a total area of about 438,367 square kilometers (Janssen, 2018). It is important to know that Iraq gained its independence in 1932 as sovereign state, from Turkey.



**Figure 2.2:** Map of Iraq

**Source:** United Nations (2018), Map of Iraq,

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

### **2.2.1 Instrumental approach**

According to Özdamar (2008, pp. 91-93), instrumental explanation of terrorism shows that terrorism is nothing other than a deliberate choice performed by political actors. From this statement, it suggests that terrorist organizations have their focus which is mainly to achieve political ends. Özdamar (2008, pp. 91-93) goes further with his argument that, violence is an intentional act by terrorists but it is not however the ends as suggest by approaches like psychological theories. He thinks that terrorist are not cowards who just feel like violating rules for violating sake, but rather terrorism is a way to achieve political ends. It is generally perceived that terrorism is an action which is mainly to change government ways and policies, and not necessary a warfare whereby those involved commit themselves in destroying each other militarily. There is always a common doubt in theories on how to adequately come up with a suitable definition of “success” in respect to a terrorist group. The views of instrumental theorist suggest that the definition of success is based on the accomplishment of political interest for a given terrorist group. For instance, if a given terrorist group is a nationalist/separatist in nature, success will definitely be achieved from an independent state Özdamar (2008, p. 92). It is however seen that no matter how strong, influential, or big a terrorist organization will be, the rival organization which is a state, supper passes and it’s more significantly stronger than other terrorist groups. It equally finds possible ways to deal with terrorists.

In line to the aforementioned, Özdamar (2008, pp. 91-93) believes that terrorist are very rational and the decisions are made in an interaction with other actors. Özdamar (2008, p. 92) borrowed the ideas of Martha Crenshaw by stating that only few terrorist organizations can achieve full ideological objectives. The question that puzzles the minds of readers is whether terrorism is a failure. Many answers can be seen regarding this question either politically or even polemical. An advocate of psychological approach can suggest an answer to be that it depends on the mind of the terrorist regarding his act of violent. In addition to this, an organizational approach analyst will argue that so long as a terrorist organization survives, the achievement of its success is what counts. In the case of an instrumental approach advocate, the attainment of political ends is very vital. Özdamar (2008, p. 92) crowns

this all by explaining that terrorist groups survive is best explained by the achievements of what is often called the intermediary aims.

Regarding all the strategies of how to solve terrorism issues, there is another question which is whether there is no other ways of achieving ultimate success for terrorists groups. Based on instrumental approach, it reviews that terrorism act is due to disagreements on certain political interest, results of actions that are not successful to achieve the things desired and ideological stands Özdamar (2008, p. 92). Instrumental approach to terrorism is considered as a developed approach in studying political science. Logical rules are used to infer the behavior of actors, and it provides an easier context of study but there is also a weakness in this approach. It does not clearly state the preferences in which actors are determined since it does not have internal sources of terrorist organizations.

### **2.2.2 Organizational approach**

This approach suggests that the main goal of any terrorist organization is 'survival', just the same as any other organization (be it state institution or commercial enterprise). It is portrayed that terrorism occurs as a result of organization struggle to survive, survive, usually in an environment that is highly competitive (Özdamar, 2008, p. 93). It is important to know that the main determinants of violent policies or political actions by terrorist groups are more of being organizational than ideological or political. There is a suggestion from organizational theories that the element that defines terrorist actions is not purposely on political ideology or actions. It is difficult to have a full understanding of terrorist acts, based on the fact that its actions are commonly on clandestine and internal dynamics of terrorist movement.

It is also seen that one of the difficult assumption in organizational approach is the fact that terrorist activities sometimes turn to appear in an unpredictable, inconsistent or erratic manner, (Özdamar, 2008, pp. 93-95). This happens because most terrorist do not act based on external pressures, for instance, from governments. It is a bit difficult to give explanations of the actions of terrorists using the organization approach, since there is little information about the inner activities and processes of these organizations. Özdamar (2008, pp. 93-95), explained in Albert O. Hirscham's (1970) Economic Theory of Organization that, terrorist organizations are just like a firm, regarding the fact that terrorist organizations compete in an environment where

there are likely to survive in. one of the main reasons for the survival of terrorist organizations though unable to achieve their ultimate goal is that they gear their attention just to survive, and focuses on material benefits. On the other hand, terrorist organizations do give financial resources to its members. Özdamar (2008, pp. 93-95) also points out that, Oots (1986), came up with another organization which is transnational terrorist organization and he thinks that it is similar to political organizations since as there are all political groups. The main objective of these terrorist organizations is purposely to serve the collective interest of its members.

### **2.2.3 Political communication in terrorism**

Analysis of this approach shows that terrorism is based on communicative purposes. This implies that terrorism uses political violence for communication purposes. It is generally perceived that terrorist movement is aim at spreading messages of politics and making segments of the society or pursuing the state do what is needed to be done. Özdamar (2008, p. 93-95) used the idea of Crelinsten (1987) to argue that terrorism is simply the deliberate use of threat or violence to cause terror or fear within a particular area or victim (s). It should be taken into consideration that terrorism ends can be of different categories, that is, it could be leftist, right-wing or religious terrorist movement. Kaplan argues that these acts are purposely designed to influence the relationship between a state and citizens in society (Özdamar, 2008 p. 93-95).

Communication approach in terrorism is quite different from other approaches and questions like: what kind of impact does it create on those target groups? How does a terrorist act influence different targets in a society? And how do relationships between terrorist, target groups and terrorist groups change? Looking at the Oklahoma bombing of 1996, terrorist made the attack to protest against the policies of US government. But it is rather unfortunate that most of the people he killed did not have any direct effect on these policies. The acts of terrorism shows that terrorist do use political communication to seek an allegiance from the US people. By using violence against the Americans, he wanted to weaken the allegiance relations that existed between the American government and the society.

#### **2.2.4 Anarchy as a theory of terrorism**

According to Abbasi and Khatwani (2014, p. 103), anarchy is regarded as the nineteenth century roots of terrorism. It is assumed that most of the major political assassinations and casualties of the ending nineteenth and early twentieth century were instigated by anarchist ideas thus labeled as anarchy terrorism. The constant killing by anarchists created a lot of fear in the governments and the assassination of Russian tsar Alexander II in 1881 and also French President Marie Francois Sadi Carnot, by anarchist Sante Geronimo Caserio in the year 1894, as well as the assassination of the American President (William Mckinley) in 1900, by Leon Czolgosz instigated more. In addition to the numerous calamities caused by anarchist terrorist like the case of Greenwich observatory which was bombed in London by French anarchist Martial Bourdin shows that anarchism was the main motivational idea when it concerned terrorism in the nineteenth century. The aforementioned justify the criminal actions of terrorism as tactics to achieving motives.

Abbasi and Khatwani (2014, p. 104) focused on Mikhail Bakunin that, once said that all terrorist groups, especially their intelligent and vigorous persons should be wipe out of the society first. Other scholars view the contrary to this. For instance, Abbasi and Khatwani (2014, p. 104) argue that Charles gallo, Emile Henry, August Vaillant and Claudius Konigstein stood contrary to the idea of targeting innocent citizens, public places, business centers just for the purpose of revolutionary struggle and change. The difference between anarchy and terrorism is that anarchy is more centered on political ideology and other form of governments, while terrorism is not a political idea.

### **3. HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK: DEVELOPMENT OF TERRORISM**

#### **3.1 The Rise of Terrorism**

Terrorism is one of the most influential used words in this 21<sup>st</sup> century. Most of the numerous obstacles such as national security, taxes, immigration, and corporate power and drug trafficking are all considered to be prism of terrorism. The term “terrorism” stated since during the French Revolution of 1789-1799, by the new region to consolidate its powers and intimidate all opponents. Most of the members of the regime were equally strong patriots of the old monarchy. The term was totally of a different connotation and was associated with the purpose of maintaining justice and democracy against the old order which was perceived to be tyrannical and corrupt. Terrorism for decades has always been a method in which the weak could use to overcome the oppressive and powerful. According to Munson (2008, pp. 78-79), the eve of the Second World War marked another turning point in the meaning of terrorism. The term during the period mentioned above was referred to the actions taken by established government authorities to suppress their own people and it was discussed in the context of fascist Italy, Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany. The way the term terrorism is considered today is different from what it was during the period it started. Many people, institutions, and even the government use the word today to describe actions seen as destabilizing, unjustified and threatening to democratic institutions and justice.

Terrorism became so alarming in Iraq after its invasion by US and United Kingdom on March 20, 2003. The rise of terrorist organizations, political instability, sectarian conflicts, crime rates and tribal rivalry has to an extern been related to the US invasion indirectly. Conspiracy theories have revived persuasively and blame the US for the act of September 11 Attack, giving that US had political and economic interest in the Middle East. It is beyond the scope of this research to know if the conspiracy theories are correct or not. It is obvious that after the September 11 incident, US-led coalition invaded Iraq in the name of War on Terror and overthrew

the Iraqi regime led by Saddam Husain. This however unavoidably escalated the rate of terrorist groups in Iraq and beyond.

Munson (2008, pp. 78-79) argues that most scientist define terrorism as the threat of violence directed at those who are not part of any belligerent for political purposes. The brutality of terrorism is horrifying and when police or soldiers react the same way, it is accepted. The case of Iraq is a good example where terrorist carry out their activities often. Terrorism has so much been socially constructed and this social construction results to a shift in public discussion. The number of women raped and murdered in Iraq as a result of the “War on Terrorism” has become a focal point for feminist studies. It is however noticed that the central mechanism in terrorism is the fear that comes up within targeted population whenever they hear that a scene is as a result of terrorism. In addition to this, Reuven Young (2006, p. 27) argues that “terrorism” has always been as a pejorative term for hundreds of years. This term is widely used by politicians to safeguard their interest in their political arena and sometimes to safeguard the interest of the state as well. This term however originated from a root word “terror” which in Latin stands for “*terrere*”, meaning “to frighten”. This term according to Young (2006, p. 27), became among Western European languages’ lexicons in the fourteenth century through the French. It was later used in English in 1528. The political connotations of “terrorism” were gained from its used since during the French Revolution. A drastic scene was seen under the mandate of Maximilien Robespierre, who was a French legislature. He ordered for the public execution of about 17,000 people (“*regime de la terreur*”) for the education of citizenry of the necessity of virtue. It was so much concern of aristocratic threat to the revolutionary government. Most of Robespierre supporters turned against him and these people had supported the use of terror. They accused him of supporting the use of terrorism in order to identify the illegitimate use of terror within the regions. The term terrorism was from the onset associated with state perpetrated violence, which later on shifted to describing non state actors in connection to its application towards the Russian and French anarchists within the period of 1880s to 1890s (Young, 2006, p. 27).

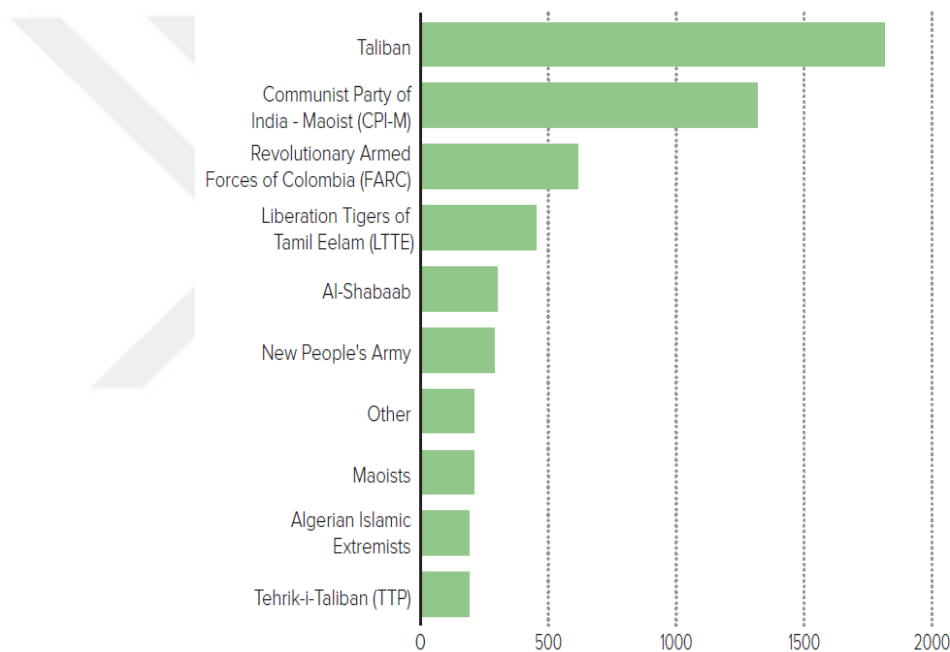
Young (2006, p. 28) strongly argues that terrorism during the era of World War II became a key tool to harness newly developed technology. It was a fear and relatively common occurrence for terrorist to hijack civil aviation aircraft during the



era of the war. USA responded to a series of terrorist acts on civilian and diplomats in 1970s and this was reactionary. In 1979, there was an International convention against the taking of hostages, though this did not lead to fewer hostage-taking incidents (Young, 2006, p. 28). Terrorism from its creation was taking different dimensions as times went by. For instance, terrorism that started within the 1990s is different from the one of 1960s and 1970s. Terrorism is quite motivated by the goals of decolonization in the Middle East and around the Kashmir and inter-alia. Terrorism in this century originates from a variety and mix religious affiliations which is intertwined with some sort of political ideologies and geo-political goals as well. This however has been posing a lot of threat to the entire human race, since as it modern terrorists are harder and firmer to deter than the terrorists of 1960s. Its main concern was to an extent reflected on the harmful consequences its actions lead to. But the terrorist in this modern world especially in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria etc. do not care about any consequences of their actions. Since 1989, the frequency of terrorist acts is said to have been relatively constant. A good example of these terrorist attacks are the September 11 attack, the Madrid and Bali bombings, Istanbul bombings, the siege at Beslan, just to name a few. The attack of September 11 is a good illustration to show that the act of terrorism can cross national and ethnic boundaries and the prevailing behavior to terrorism can change, likewise the reactions of influential nations. Young (2006) continues in his argument that the dependence of modern society on computer systems, the proliferation and high availability of massive weapons of mass destruction, and also the evolution of cyber-terrorism is a contributing factor to the likelihood of large scale and high impact terrorist acts in our society. These tools have really given an upper hand for terrorists to gain the opportunity to easily penetrate into the affairs of a state movement to destabilize it.

Khurshid (2006, p. 2) believes that terrorism is not a new phenomenon or started today. He thinks that it is rather unfortunate to have seen pertinent episodes of terrorism in most angles of the world and in different periods. Terrorism operations have never been peculiar to any particular political dispensation, culture, society, religion, or any historical period, be it medieval, ancient or modern. The 1<sup>st</sup> century struggle of Sicaris and Zealots to liberate Judea from Roman occupation can be seen as a good example. Other examples are; the blood stained dagger play of the eleventh

and twelfth century assassins, the Jacobit's blood bath during the eighteenth century, the Europe's anarchists in the nineteenth century and the Russians Narodnays Volyel (People's Will). Looking at terrorism in the twentieth century, a good example of terrorist groups include; the havoc-wreaking violent outburst of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), the Zionist armed brigades of Irgun, Stern and Haganah Gangs, Ethnik's Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (EOKA) of Cyprus, Mau Mau or the Land and Freedom Army in Kenya, Bader-Meinhof, Red Army Factors, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> June Movement of Germany, Fidayeen of Iran, Islamic Jihad of Palestine, just to name a few (Khurshid, 2016).



**Figure 3.1:** Incidents by terrorist organization, 2002 to 2011 excluding unknown attacks

**Source:** Global Terrorism Index (2015), Capturing the Impact of terrorism from 2002-2011, p. 32,

Figure 3.1 above shows the number of incidents caused by terrorist organizations as from 2002 to 2011, excluding unknown attacks. It is quite clear that the Taliban was responsible for the most incidents that ever occurred as compare to other terrorist organizations. The Taliban had almost 2000 incidents within this period, and the next organization after this was the 'Communist party of India-Maoist (CPI-M), with almost 1500 incidents. The rate of incidents is classified in order of majority.

It is perceived in the 21<sup>st</sup> century by scholars, academicians, states, media etc. that Al-Qaeda can be the present symbol of terrorism in our society, but the whole concept of terrorism is a political reality for state bodies to use to safeguard their interest and sometimes that of the state. Terrorism has always been an elusive and nebulous reality at the conceptual level.

### **3.2 Does terrorism work?**

The question as to whether terrorism works is purely a rhetorical exercise. According to Mannik (2011, p. 160), he argues that it is very necessary to know the extent to which terrorists managed to influence various state policies, keeping aside psychological and emotional impacts that terrorism has. Can it be possible in other words that terrorists have been successful in coercing states as a result of fear and other desired behavior patterns. In line to this, Mannik also outlines that Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter consider terrorism to be a form of costly signaling. They believe that terrorists are not strong enough to directly impose their will. They do everything possible to obtain their goals through the perceptions of the audience, with a full determination and ability to label any cost on the audience. Mannik (2011, p. 161) outlines five main goals that can be used to pursue terrorist activities. These include: regime change, territorial change, policy change, social control and status quo maintenance. All the above five goals are pursued through five other strategies which include: (1) attraction, (2) intimidation, (3) provocation, (4) spoiling and (5) outbidding. It is of interest to know that these rational strategies are equally being pursued by the use of suicide terrorism. Mannik (2011) believes that terrorists are one of the highest people who are well informed on a variety of elements that can help them operate well. They get information on how to communicate their will precisely and how to change perceptions. Democracy in this context plays a great role because it seems to be more susceptible to a whole lot of terrorist strategies than other regime types.

Looking at the case of Iraq, Al-Kadhimi (2016) argues that the government of Iraq is not able to secure most of its cities, including the capital city, Baghdad. This is because terrorist acts are often carried out in the heart of these cities. For instance, in July, 2016, there was a suicide car bombing at the security checkpoint around the entrance of the city's Shiite neighborhood of Al-Kadhimiya. Another car bombing,

hostage taking and shooting was in the crowded al-zahra shopping center, still in the Shiite majority area of New Baghdad. This attack left about 32 people death. From these attacks and bombings, one can easily tell if terrorism works or not. The aspect that puzzles many people and researchers is the doubt on how the terrorists managed to penetrate these areas despite the so many internal security forces and police checkpoints.

Al-Kadhimi also goes further to acknowledge the fact that some terrorists spoke on Iraqi Al-Sumaria TV about the means used by the *Ed-Davlat-ul Islamiye fi'l Irak ve es-Sam (DAES)* to carry out terrorist activities within the Shiite areas. It shows that IS pays people to help in their acts and put pressures on the others by giving threats to their families or take them hostage in their camps. The group of terrorists explained that they function in groups and each group is specialized in certain tasks. One group could be responsible on how to deliver explosive devices to targeted regions, while another group can be responsible to execute the delivery. This process also goes in stages, whereby some people are focused on dismantling, others focused on reconstructing the explosive devices and others accompanies the suicide bombers to the attack zones. Most often, the suicide fighters blows themselves up in the middle of the operation thus opening the way forward for their companions to launch the next stages of attacks. This next stage of attack could either be taking people hostage, killing or stealing important documents. Another reason why the suicide fighters blow themselves up is to avoid evidence of the perpetrators' identities and also to provide a cover for easy withdrawal.

Mannik (2011, p. 161), portrays the argument of Robert Pape's on the study of suicide terrorism, that, suicide terrorism to be a case where the coercers become the weaker actor and the stronger actor becomes the main target. It is however seen that the strength of terrorist is committed in evoking destruction and ready to sacrifice their own lives in the course. Mannik goes further with his argument that within 1980-2001, about 50% of coercive terror campaigns on suicide terrorism successfully changed policies of the state. About 30% of military coercion and international economic altered the necessary coerced states policies. In other to have concrete views of the aspect of terrorism, in 2001, Mannik confirmed that Max Abrams carried out an analysis of 28 terrorist organizations listed by the United State Department of States. His analysis showed that most terrorist organizations succeed

to achieve just about three out of 42 main policy objectives carried out, thus equaling just about 7% of success rate. It also showed that terrorists are more successful in their terror campaigns when they attack mostly military and political groups rather than civilians and with this their objectives are easily achieved. The main reason behind this is because states interpret assaults on its people just as indications of terrorist' desire to damage the values of any target state and the whole society. In conclusion, Mannik (pp. 161-162), equally argues that terrorism is a flawed method of coercion. This is because the attacks on target states or society and values of any target state are seen by many as threats.

Adding to the aforementioned, terror is regarded as a weapon of weak actors and it is said to work harder in cases where a country's interests are not so high. It is noticed that terrorists always do their best to moderate their use of violence and have no threat of fundamental values of the coerced society. What puzzles many people's minds is whether terrorism with the use of weapons of mass destruction has been fully successful in the achievement of its goals or aims. A total of about 18 terrorist attacks took place in the 20<sup>th</sup> century worldwide, employing biological agents. This incidents cause lots of death and casualties. An estimated number of deaths were nine, and about 985 casualties. From the periods 1970-1999, over 12 biological and chemical attacks took place on the soil of Americans, thus causing a fatality with over 772 injuries (Mannik, p. 162). Another case of terrorist attack was the Aum Shinrikyo's activities which showed the terrorists were fully determined to cause destruction and they tried several times to produce mass rate of casualties with the use of botulinum toxin, sarin, anthrax and cyanide. Terrorism according to Mannik is a tool used to induce fear and the society's idea of threat terrorism shows that despite the doubts that terrorism can effectively alter states' policies, it has gone a long way in influencing peoples' minds.

### **3.3 Approaches of Terrorism**

Elimma C. Ezeani (2012) came up with three viable perspectives of the approaches of terrorism, which include; domestic, bilateral, and international. These approaches are greatly tide to the terrorist situation of Iraq which is the case study of this research paper. These approaches are briefly outlined below.

### **3.3.1 Domestic approach**

Ezeani (2012, p. 161), argues that some states like Iraq have enacted anti-terrorism or related legislation which could be a designed legislation purposely to respond to any violent activity of dissident political institutions or for anti-terrorism purposes. It is perceived that the responses to terrorism at domestic level turn to be more reactive than proactive, and there is a high probability that states with experienced or having signs of witnessing some sort of terrorist activity obviously respond with the legislation. Even though not all will respond, but some may not. However, most terrorist threats are more of being domestic and not necessarily transnational. Ezeani also points out that Young and Findley have their own view looking at terrorism and terrorist threats. They looked at it as an issue in reaching a composite definition of the term terrorism since most findings reveal and “suggest that much of what we know might apply only to a small portion of overall terrorism.” (Ezeani, p. 161)

Terrorism is generally considered to be diverse in its causes, weaponry, targets, motives, leadership, organization, sophistication, agenda, mission, location, and aims at pursuing economic power. In order to find a way out into the issue of terrorism and response to terrorist threats, it requires an effective approach through law enforcement, human resources, and financial resources, and a vigorous judicial framework that can have full powers to look at the apprehending terror suspects. In this regards, states have a great role to play which is for them to understand the spillover effects of all the activities performed by terrorists. In cases where the threat is within the geographical space of the state involved, arming, funding and increase of the targets of perpetrators will not be left in the hands of the set geographical location alone. It is however because of this that bilateral action gives more preferences for a state to succeed in pulling its resources together and also establish bilateral mechanisms which will not cannot be without their own tests (Ezeani, 2012).

### **3.3.2 Bilateral action**

In respect to bilateral level, the ability of a state to apprehend or alleged terrorists is a test of a state’s political, security, and judicial capacity. In order to tighten a state against terrorist attacks, there should be a good structure of well-trained security forces, a good understanding between governments, and likewise a strong judicial

system to enshrine the rule of law and to make sure it is put in place. A good example of this bilateral action is the UK and US counter terrorism efforts during the post 9/11 which is so instructive.

#### *UK-US post 9/11 Extradition and Human Rights Challenges*

Individual rights and extradition has for the past years been a key issue in international law. The Human Rights Act (HRA) in UK is to an extent a point of contention in extradition demands by the US to UK primarily. There is also a level of the provisions on the prohibition of torture, and the right to fair trial. There are some considerations in the UK Extradition Act of 2003, under Section 21, regarding extradition to Category I territories which are outline as measures to take prior to extradition. In respect to Category II territories, which are countries not operating the European Arrest Warrant System, for instance US, in cases where the extradition is incompatible with respect to the Convention rights; there will be an order for the discharge of the people detained. The Secretary of State makes the final decision after when the judge decides in affirmation (Ezeani, 2012, p.163).

A good example to clarify the aforementioned is the case of Abu Hamza and three others who were wanted in the United States because of terrorism act. This situation reflects the challenges of extraditing terror suspects. The UK court and the Secretary of State had already approved the extradition of these four men and any step to appeal to the House of Lords had been declined. Three human rights arguments were raised against extradition during the High Court appeal by Hamza. The first argument was that the extradition was not in accordance to article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), which stipulate that the extradition was founded on evidence obtained through ill treatment or torture, the second argument was based on the availability of “disproportionate interference with his rights under Article 8”; and lastly, the passage of time that the alleged offences were committed was unjust and oppressive to order extradition. The European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), acknowledged on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July 2010 that some human rights questions needed answers from the UK government before any extradited action could be taking on Hamza and the others to US (Ezeani, 2012, p. 163).

The bilateral approach brings a lot of success despite its challenges, and the brief examination above can better give a better understanding. One of the best requirements regarding this issue is for both states to agree on the double criminality

requirement. For instance, it should be agreed that the criminal offence is in the two jurisdictions; to make sure there is a mutual extradition agreement between the two states, and to make sure that the courts have full satisfaction with the procedure for law enforcement.

### **3.3.3 International approach**

This approach stands on the fact that terrorism in contemporary times “has recently acquired a new intensity” (Ezeani, p. 163). The possibilities of addressing terrorism issues saw a marked improvement on what happened in 1972, when the United Nations made the first attempt to reach an agreement on the issue. Some measures have been put in place to resolve the issue of terrorism. For instance, about twenty international agreements exist to look into the issue of terrorism, among which five of them are from the United Nations, eight multilateral agreements, and seven of which at the regional level.

In addition to Ezeani (2012, p. 164), arguments, he explains that the UN’s position regarding terrorism has change from the struggle for self-determination to that of unjustifiable regardless of where and who committed the crime. It is however certain in this approach that “a customary rule of international law regarding the international crime of terrorism, at least in time of peace, has indeed emerged”. It is also critically reviewed that in looking at recent judicial decisions regarding terrorism, the Appeals Chamber noted such decisions “predicated on the notion that there exists an international obligation to prosecute and punish terrorism as a crime based on commonly accepted legal ingredients” Ezeani (2012, p. 164).

Figure 3.2 below gives a record of the number of international terrorist attacks that took place within the late 1960s to the early 2000s. The figure shows that terrorism rose in the first quarter of the period up to the mid-1980s, but it significantly dropped in the subsequent.

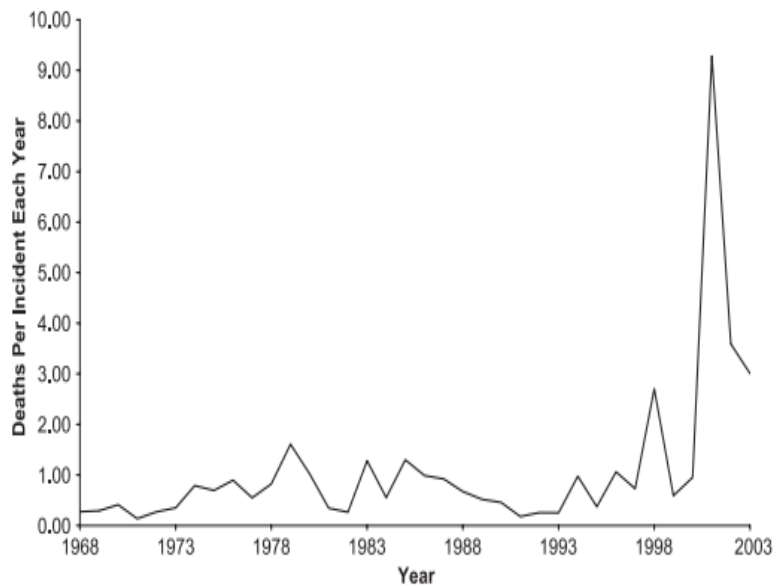




**Figure 3.2:** Transnational Terrorist incidents, 1968-2003

**Source:** Bird, G. et al. (2008), *International Terrorism: Causes, Consequences and Cures*, University of Surrey, UK, and Claremont McKenna College, USA, *\_Cures*

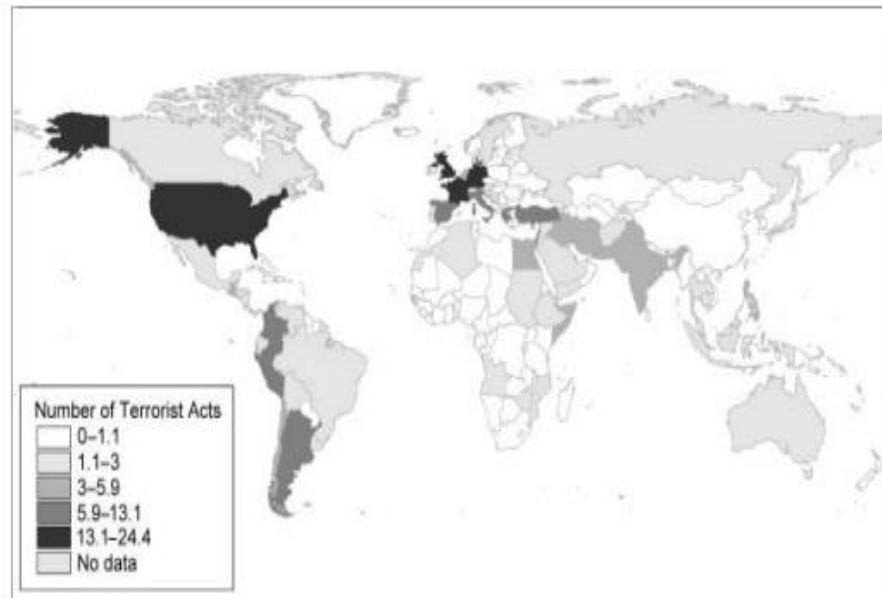
Bird et al. continue with their argument that some terrorism incidents create the impression of an increasing trend, whereas such trend might not have existed for a long time. However, perception is now affected due to the constant violence of terrorist attacks and the numerous incidences of attacks.



**Figure 3.3:** Deaths per transnational terrorist incident, 1968-2003

**Source:** Bird, G. et al. (2008), *International Terrorism: Causes, Consequences and Cures*, p. 257, University of Surrey, UK, and Claremont McKenna College, USA, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/4921378\\_International\\_Terrorism\\_Causes\\_Consequences\\_and\\_Cures](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/4921378_International_Terrorism_Causes_Consequences_and_Cures)

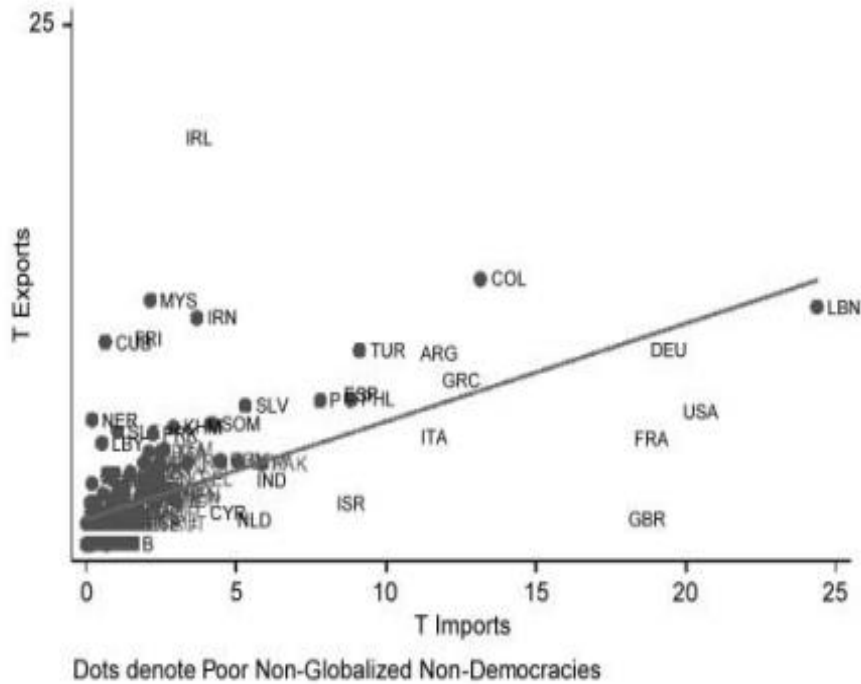
Figure 3.3 above shows that since the early 1990s, the number of deaths associated with terrorist attacks has increased. A sharp increase was seen in 2001 after the 9/11 incident. The World Trade Center attack was just one of the attacks committed by terrorist but thousands of people died and many others wounded.



**Figure 3.4:** Map of the world by terrorist incidents

**Source:** Graham Bird, S. Brock Blomberg and Gregory D. Hess (2008), *International Terrorism: Causes, Consequences and Cures*, p. 258, University of Surrey, UK, and Claremont McKenna College, USA,

Figure 3.4 above shows the geographical location of terrorist events within the year 1998 to 2003. The map above shows that terrorism frequently occurs in rich democratic societies and in the Middle East. One can notice that areas like Canada, New Zealand and the Nordic region are hardly affected by terrorists. There are relatively free from terrorism.



**Figure 3.5:** Terrorism imports and exports, 1968-2003

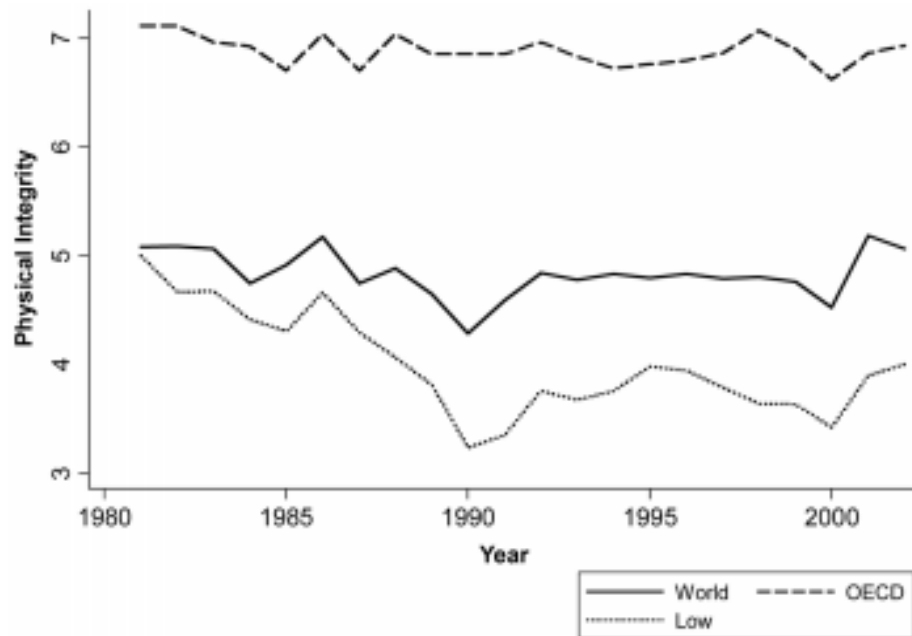
**Source:** Graham Bird, S. Brock Blomberg and Gregory D. Hess (2008), *International Terrorism: Causes, Consequences and Cures*, p. 261, University of Surrey, UK, and Claremont McKenna College, USA,

Figure 3.5 is in confirmation of figure 3. From the era of 1968-2003, terrorism occurred in rich democracies. It shows that most countries are net importers of terrorism to a greater extent than the norm. The net exporters of terrorism tend to be poor, undemocratic and are not effectively engaged in globalization. Countries considered to be importers of terrorism include the United States, Great Britain, Israel, and France, while exporters of terrorism include Iran, Cuba and Iran.

### 3.4 Measuring Human Rights and Terrorism

According to Dreher et al. (2010, pp. 9-10), human rights activists like Cingranelli and Richards argue that Human Rights Dataset was specifically designed to enable the easy testing of theories concerning the main causes and consequences of human rights violations. The data drawn by Cingranelli and Richards (CIRI) are taken from two sources; that is, the US Department of State's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices and Amnesty International's annual reports. Both sources give a great clue of human rights activities happening in many countries across the world. The CIRI

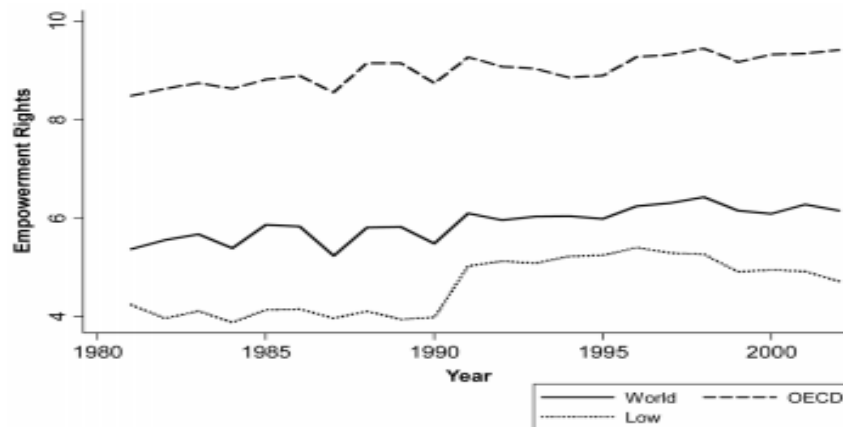
data deal more on extra-judicial killings, rampant disappearance of citizens as a result of political reasons, political imprisonment, torture, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, political participation, freedom of movement, and above all workers' rights.



**Figure 3.6:** Development of physical integrity rights over time

**Source:** Dreher, A. et al. (2010). Does Terrorism Threaten Human Rights? Evidence from Panel Data, *The Journal of Law & Economics*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (February 2010), pp. 65-93,

Figure 3.6 above shows two composite index. The first demonstrate the physical integrity rights between the periods of 1980 to 2000. It equally shows the additive of the absence of political imprisonments, extrajudicial killings, torture and disappearance on a scale from 0 to 8. The second index merely demonstrates the empowerment rights, which are made up of freedom of speech, workers' rights, freedom of movement, freedom of religion and political participation. The second index also has a scale that ranges from 0 to 10. The dashed line in figure 3.1 is an indication of the physical integrity index for Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries within 1981-2004. The dotted line shows the average for countries with low income, while the solid line is the unweighted world average.



**Figure 3.7:** Development of empowerment rights over time

**Source:** Dreher, A. et al. (2010). Does Terrorism Threaten Human Rights? Evidence from Panel Data, *The Journal of Law & Economics*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (February 2010), pp. 65-93,

Figure 3.7 above presents the development of empowerment rights. Empowerment rights increased in 1990, in low-income states. The index mean for low-income states is above 4, which makes it greater than 8 for OECD states and almost 6 as a general world sample.

### 3.5 Terrorists as rational actors

Irrespective of the numerous definition of terrorism, what remains clear is that its facets can be well understood when terrorist are modeled as rational actors. Many scholars in the past years have always dominated their literature on terrorism with sociologist and psychologists, who try to search on some of the psychosocial reasons that underline behavior which sometimes seems absurdly irrational. Shughart (2013, p. 11) believes that there is an outward aberration of terrorism which is not just the terrorist willingness to take away innocent lives but, the readiness to take away his/her own life in the cause. This is common with the case of suicide bombers. In line to this, Shughart inline to this also points out using the argument of Laqueur that most terrorist are very young people, and a vast majority of them are male, with no common threat of ethnicity, income, race, education, social status or employment.

Shughart (2013, p. 8), also explains that scholars such as Landes (1978), Sandler, Tschirhart, and Cauley (1983), Crenshaw (1990), Enders and Sanler (1993, 1995), and Frey (2004), stand on the fact that terrorists and terrorist groups are actors whose behavior can be modeled in a framework geared toward the development of

economists to examine the actions of humans in a more ordinary process. The decision to join a terrorist group depends on the individuals based on the evaluation of the benefits and consequences that might be at the end. Looking at the benefits, the potential gains for members who participate in the act wealth, fame, power and patronage, if and only if the group is successful in its projects. On the other way round, the costs of being part of the terrorist group or becoming a terrorist includes; arrest, imprisonment, death, and injury. Most terrorist groups face a lot of economic problems in allocating sufficient and the effective cost of manpower, in both potential targets and over time, so as to limit its violent campaign net returns.

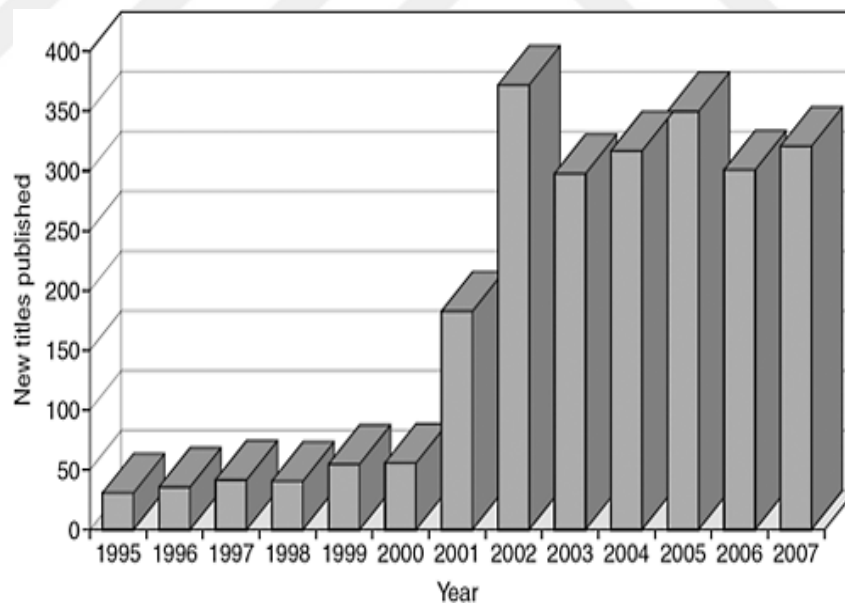
Additionally, Shughart (p. 10) used the ideas of Hirshleifer (1991) and Sandler (2005), to express his argument that, it is important to know there are certain tactical and strategic advantages enjoyed by terrorists over government policymakers who have as a prime responsibility to protect their homeland against any terrorist attacks. Because of the inability of a government to safeguard people and properties in every angle of a territory, terrorist groups use it as a means to strike wherever countermeasures remain feeble. Terrorists groups are well informed about the weaknesses and strengths of a nation's defensive strategies and are less hierarchical in organizations wise, more independent in operations wise, more innovative and nimble in acting.

Shughart (2013) goes further with his argument that democratic governments are constrained to an extent their responses to terrorism by the massive reactions of public views. Terrorist have other ways of creating fear, which might be for them to gain their objectives by provoking governments to adopt repressive countermeasures that can undermine civil liberties or disrupt daily life activities so much so that the citizens can instead turn to be against the governing regime and not against the terrorist themselves. The historical record suggests most terrorist groups were kidnapping and assassinating foreign-service personnel and bombing embassies, despite the measures put in place to protect all embassies against such threats. Shughart (p. 10) also argue that Sandller (2005, 2006), in the era of transnational terrorism, defensive actions taken by a state could instead induce terrorists to deviate their attacks to other less-secure places abroad. Terrorism emerges from inter-group conflict, due to physical resources or land dispute, over political power crisis, etc. Shughart equally emphasize that "individual self-interest can often successfully be

matched with group interest”. This statement in a nutshell means that collective actions are easier to organize. This is however possible when a group’s “benefit comes from the suppression of another group’s interest” (Shughart, 2013).

### 3.6 Modern Terrorism at the End of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century

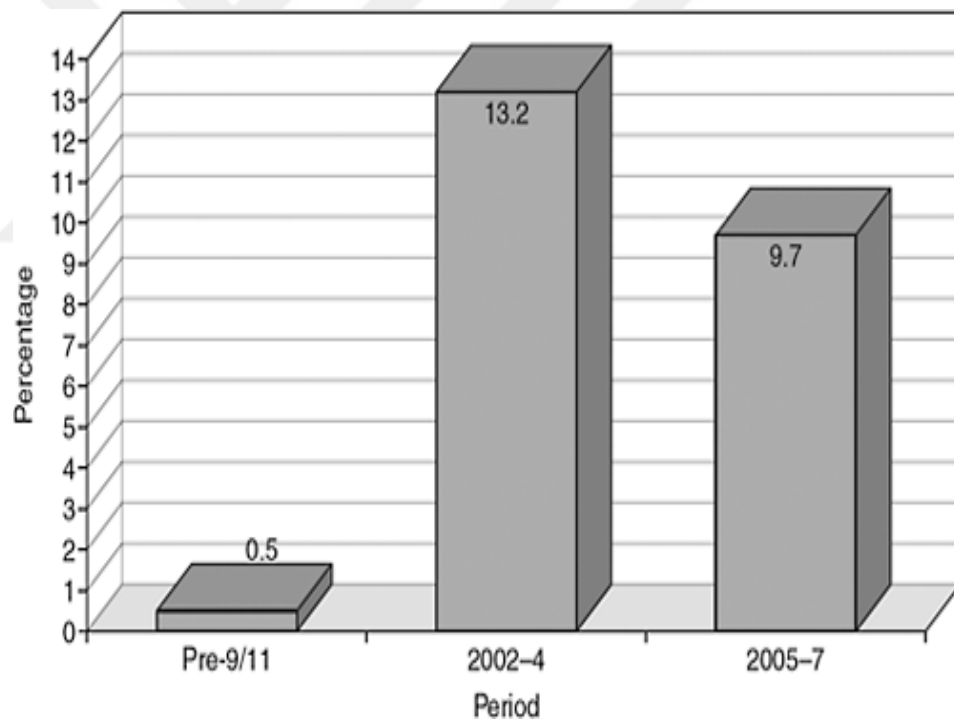
Modern terrorism became so common toward the end of the twentieth century because of the following; the development of new weapons, advance in technology, and the activities of some states at the end of World War II. During the cold war era and nuclear deterrence, another alternative of traditional warfare developed and was masterminded by state-sponsored terrorism. It is so obvious that most terrorist organizations were in the framework of local conflicts and they used it as a measure tool to successfully expand superpowers global influence, an example is the Soviets. Ganor (2009, p. 15) argues that terrorism that were sponsored by states such as Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Sudan decrease by the end of the twentieth century, while other states like Pakistan and Afghanistan, became so much involved into all sorts of terrorist groups.



**Figure 3.8:** Books published with ‘terrorism’ in the title, 1995–2007

**Source:** Silke, A. (2009) “Contemporary terrorism studies: issues in research”, in R. Jackson, M. B. Smyth and J. Gunning, eds., *Critical Terrorism Studies: A new research agenda* (Abingdon: Routledge), p. 35

Figure 3.8 above shows the rate at which the study of terrorism went on within 1995 to 2007. It is clear that the whole idea about terrorism increase as from the year 2001. The incident of 11 September 2001 was a call for concern, and it created a drastic shock to the world, great powers, and most especially the United States. The chart shows that terrorism rose to its peak after the 9/11 incident. It is also shocking that this incident happened by non-state actors in US, which is something that has never happened before. From 1995 to the year 2000, the rate of terrorism research was less than 100. But today, there are over 300 research rate of terrorism. However, this called for a great demand on academics by the US government to be able to know and understand why and how the incident happened, so as to be able to avoid future attacks as such in the nearest future. As a consequence, the number of studies on terrorism has increased significantly. The figure above gives the stages of the study of terrorism, thus showing how important it is in our society today.



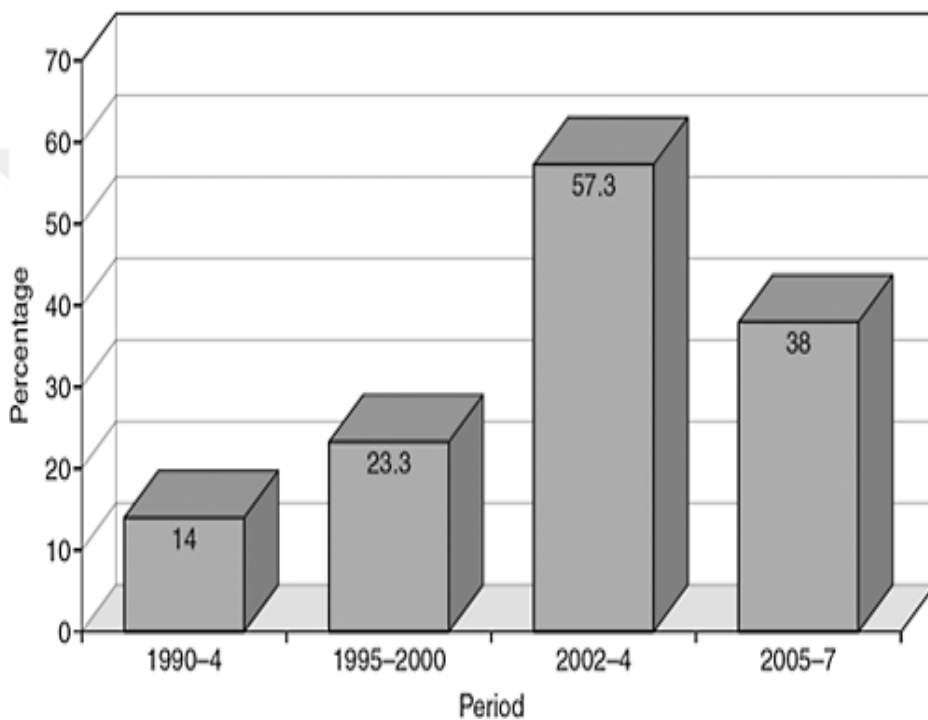
**Figure 3.9:** Research focused on Al-Qaeda

**Source:** Silke, A. (2009) “Contemporary terrorism studies: issues in research”, in R. Jackson, M. B. Smyth and J. Gunning, eds., *Critical Terrorism Studies: A new research agenda* (Abingdon: Routledge), p. 42.

Figure 3.9 above shows the percentage of the research made on Al-Qaeda. A focus on Al-Qaeda because it is said to be the sore responsible movement in the 9/11



incident in the United States which caused a lot of damages to the world at large. From a view of the figure, it will be clear that just little efforts of about 0.5% was put in place to know more about this movement (Al-Qaeda), but immediately after the 9/11 attack, the study of al-Qaeda went up to 13.2% from 2002-2004. From 2005-2007, the percentage rate of research focused on Al-Qaeda was 9.7. All the research put in place by academicians is to understand why and how terrorist launched and keep launching operations across the world. This will help in avoiding future attacks of reoccurring.

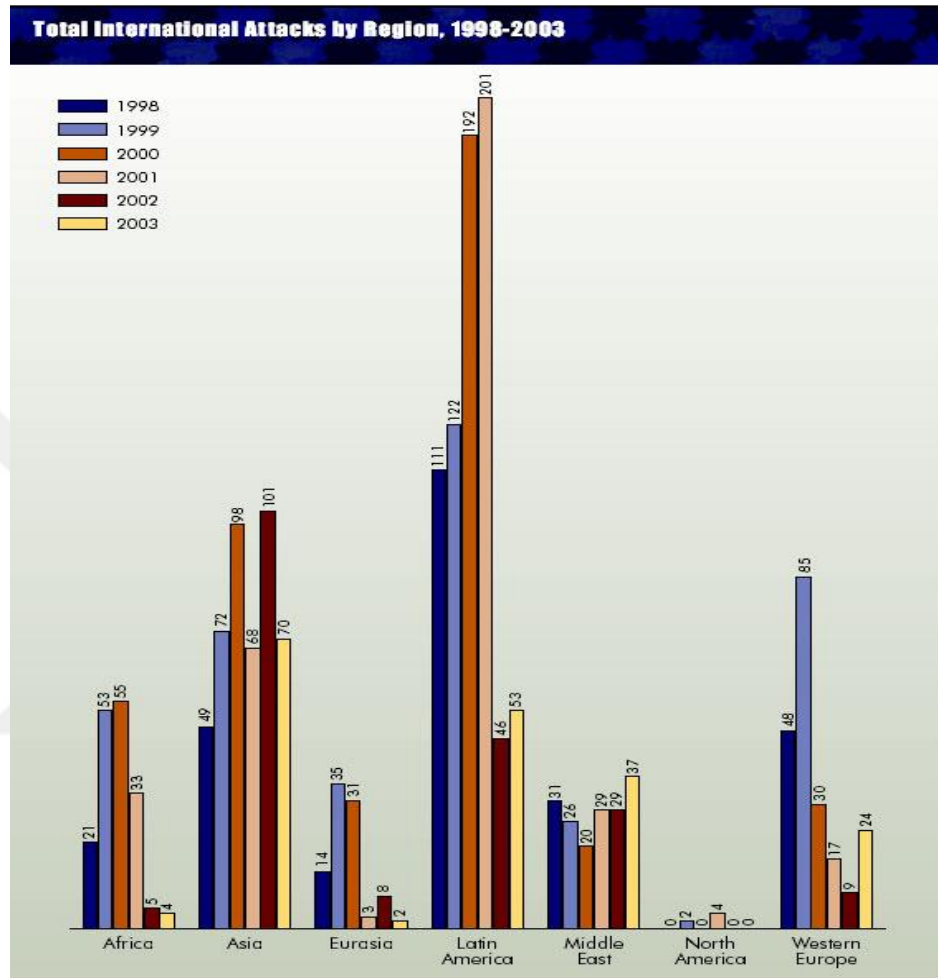


**Figure 3.10:** Percentage of research focused on militant Islamist groups

**Source:** Silke, A. (2009) “Contemporary terrorism studies: issues in research”, in R. Jackson, M. B. Smyth and J. Gunning, eds., *Critical Terrorism Studies: A new research agenda* (Abingdon: Routledge), p. 42.

Figure 3.10 shows the percentages in which research was carried on within some yearly intervals. For instance, it shows that from 1990-1994; studies on military Islamic groups were not that rampant. It was approximately 14%. As years went by, the number of studies increased. A high rate was witness within 2002 to 2004, which went up to 57.3% and this happened to be during the period after the 9/11 incident. This high rate could mean that something was really wrong and needed investigations to it. From 2005 to 2007, the percentage rate of military Islamist

groups was 38. Many studies are ongoing to better understand why and how these terrorist groups keep attacking and ruining the society. From the answers to these questions of why and how, some solutions will be put in place to avoid future attacks.

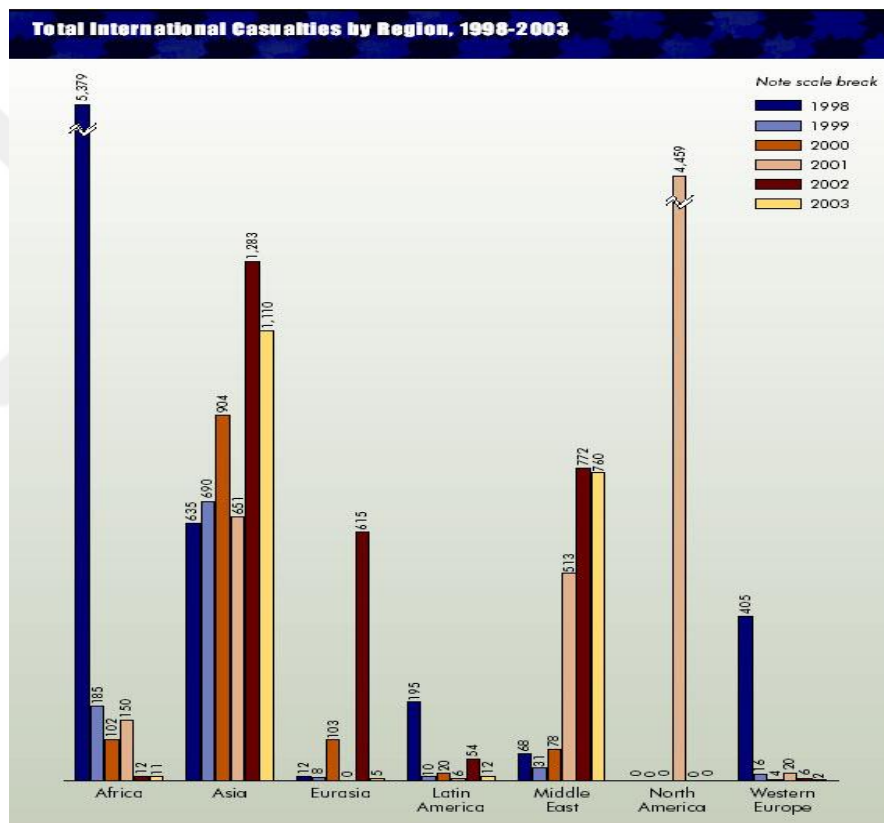


**Figure 3.11:** Total International attacks by region, 1998-2003

**Source:** US Department of State (2004), Patterns of Global Terrorism, office of the coordinator for counterterrorism, April 29, 2004,

Figure 3.11 above presents a detailed analysis of regions affected by attacks internationally, from 1998 to 2003. Latin America had the highest number of attacks, followed by Asia, Western Europe, Africa, Middle East, Eurasia and North America respectively. In 2001, the highest number of attacks was witnessed. That is, 201 international attacks from Latin America alone, 33 from Africa, 68 from Asia, 3 from Eurasia, 29 from Middle East, 4 from North America and 17 from Western Europe. In the year 2000, Latin America still had the highest number of attacks. That is, 192, while it was 55 from Africa, 98 from Asia, 31 Eurasia, 20 from the Middle East, and

30 from Western Europe. No attacks were found in North America in the year 1998, 2000, 2002 and 2003. In 1999, Latin America had 122 attacks, 53 from Africa, 72 from Asia, 35 from Eurasia, 26 from Middle East, 2 from North America and 85 from Western Europe. In 1998, Latin America was still top with 111 attacks, 21 from Africa, 49 from Asia, 14 from Eurasia, 31 from the Middle East and 48 from Western Europe. The number of attacks decreased in Latin America in 2002 to 46, while other regions like Africa had 5, Asia topped with 101, 8 from Eurasia, 29 from the Middle East, and 9 from Western Europe. Lastly, in 2003, Latin America had 53 attacks, Asia topped again with 70 attacks, Africa had 4, 2 from Eurasia, 37 from the Middle East, and 24 from Western Europe.

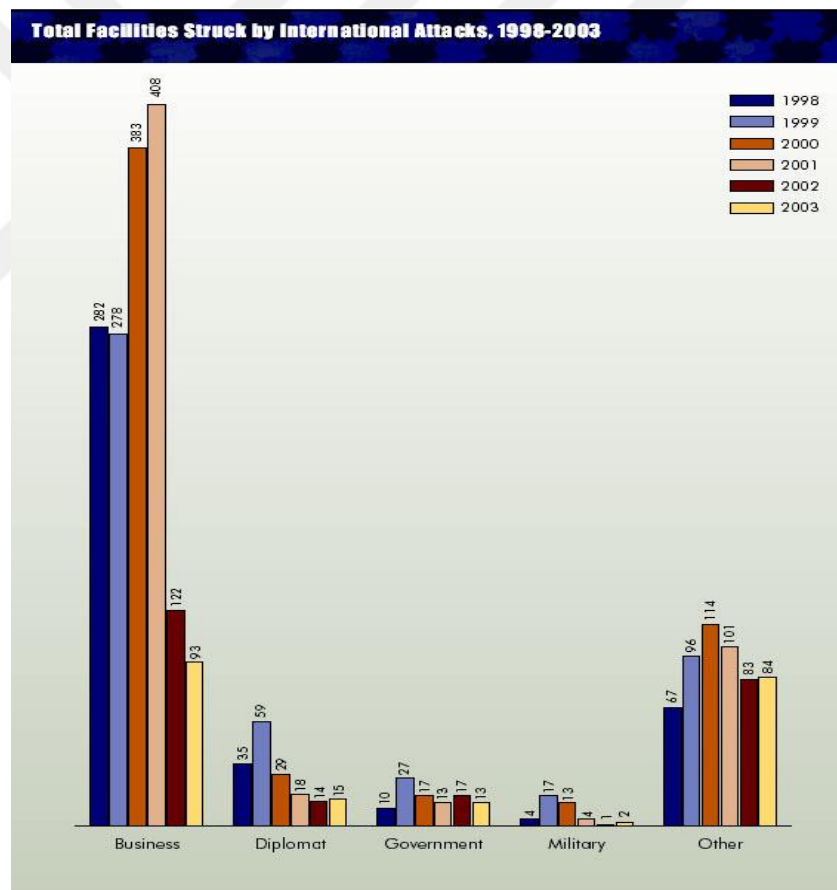


**Figure 3.12:** Total international casualties by region, 1998-2003

**Source:** US Department of State (2004), Patterns of Global Terrorism, office of the coordinator for counterterrorism, April 29, 2004,

Figure 3.12 above shows that massive international casualties took place in some areas between 1998 and 2003, while other regions had little or no casualties. For instance, Africa witnessed the greatest number of casualties in 1998; with about 5,379 losses of lives. In this same year, Asia had 635 casualties, 12 from Eurasia, 195 from Latin America, 68 from the Middle East, zero from North America and 405

from Western Europe. Another worst period was in 2001 where North America had 4,459 casualties, Africa had 150, 651 in Asia, zero from Eurasia, 6 from Latin America, 513 from the Middle East and 20 from Western Europe. In 1999, Africa had 185 casualties, 690 from Asia, 8 from Eurasia, 10 from Latin America, 31 from the Middle East, zero from North America and 16 from Western Europe. In the year 2000, 102 casualties came from, 904 from Asia, 103 from Eurasia, 20 from Latin America, 78 from Middle East, zero from North America and 4 from Western Europe. Many casualties were also seen in 2002. For instance, over 1, 283 casualties in Asia, 12 in Africa, 615 in Eurasia, 54 in Latin America, 772 in the Middle East, zero from North America and 6 from Western Europe. Lastly, in 2003, just 11 casualties were found in Africa, 1,110 from Asia, 5 from Eurasia, 12 from Latin America, 760 from the Middle East, zero from America and 2 from Western Europe.



**Figure 3.13:** Total Facilities Struck by International Attacks, 1998-2003

**Source:** US Department of State (2004), Patterns of Global Terrorism, office of the coordinator for counterterrorism, April 29, 2004,

Figure 3.13 above shows the international attacks facilities struck within the period of 1998 to 2003. In the figure, it is presented that in 1998, there were about 282 facilities struck in the area of Business, 35 in Diplomat, 10 in Government, 4 in Military and 67 in others. In 1999, the number was 278 in Business, 59 in Diplomat, 27 in Government, 17 in Military and 96 in others. In the year 2000, the number increase to 383 in Business, 29 in Diplomat, 17 in Government, 13 in military, 114 in others. Business was the top in 2001 with 408, 18 for Diplomat, 13 for Government, 4 for Military and 101 for others. In 2002, it was 122 for Business, 14 for Diplomat, 17 for Government, 1 for Military and 83 for others. Lastly, in 2003, Business was 93, 15 for Diplomat, 13 for Government, 2 for Military and 84 for others.



## **4. THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF TERRORISM IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY**

### **4.1 Causes of Terrorism**

Innocent people across the world are now facing a lot terrorism challenges and paying the price of the “Iraq Effect” which came as a result of the War of Terror. Many people from state to state, country to country, have lost their lives, properties destroyed and rampant migration; all these directly linked to the invasion and occupation of Iraq and other neighboring countries by British and U.S forces. The researcher’s main interest here is to identify the main causes of this terrorism that has increase so rapidly around world, especially Iraq after a War on Terror was declared by US and UK. According to Meierrieks and Krieger (2011, p. 3), an argument from the former US President, George W. Bush in 2002, reveals that there was the existence of a vicious circle of disenfranchisement, state failure and terror, with his words being “[...] persistent poverty and oppression can lead to hopelessness and despair [...] failed states can become havens for terror.” In line to the incident and the act of terrorism, the then German Chancellor Gerhard Schroder argued in 2003 that “[...] to address the root causes of terrorism and insecurity [...] we must ensure social and material but also cultural security.” Examining the causes of terrorism is very vital in the sense that it is so costly to affected countries, which in order words decreases its economic value. Meierrieks and Krieger (2011, p. 4) also argue in line with Tavares (2004) that most of the short term objectives of terrorism are (1) to gain public and media attention, (2) to destabilize polity and (3) to damage economies. On the other hand which is centered on long term objectives of terrorism, terrorism acts are as a result of the quest of redistribution of power, wealth and influence. Terrorist groups often use tactics like hostage-takings, assassination etc. to achieve their strategic goals and use violence as a major means to abstract objectives.

Dated back to the terrorist incident of 11 September, 2001 in USA, many politicians as well as the public have embarked on bringing to light the main factors that

provoked the terror. A good number of scholars and policy makers have been pre-occupied with the phenomenon of modern international terrorism and longing for theoretical explanations. In an attempt to come up with explanations regarding the causes of terrorism which is more centered on; how, where and why terrorism occurs, scholars have done a lot of several theories in respect to terrorism and terrorist attacks. After haven see the definition of terrorism, it is still important to understand it when looking at its causes. It is often defined as the intentional use of intimidation and violence directly on civilians so as to obtain a political end. The main causes of terrorism can be easily identified after knowing its category. That is, whether it is a domestic or international terrorism. When the act of terrorism involves more than one territory, it is called transnational or international terrorism. On the other hand, when the act of terrorism is within the territory of a given state, it is called domestic terrorism. A good example to differentiate the two forms of terrorism is; (1) the assassination of President Sadat of Egypt by Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood is what is referred to as domestic terrorism and (2) the 11 September attacks on the World Trade Center in US and Pentagon by Al-Qaeda are considered as international terrorism. Other examples includes; the tons of murder and bombs in the cities of Iraq, the murders of more than thirty people in Afghanistan on April 18, 2015, by suicide bomber said to be affiliated with DAES and also the beheading of American-Israeli journalist with the names Steven Sotloff, in Syria on September 2, 2014, by the militants of DAES (Tombul, 2015, p. 3).

Tombul (2015, p. 3) outlined that there are three main short-run goals of terrorism; (1) to gain the attention of the public, (2) to delegitimize the constitutional political structure, and (3) to cause lot of damage especially material damage. He equally points out that the goals of terrorism are mostly the redistribution of power and wealth power among others. It is certain that terrorists are rational actors whose main goal is based on violence to maximize their utility. One of the points also raised by Tombul as a cause of terrorism is economic conditions. He put forward that economic conditions such as slow growth, trade disadvantages, poverty, and poor investment can cause the emergence of terrorism, because of lack of individual material reward such as low income can in other words leads to strong terrorist activity. Tombul uses Caplan's ideas to argue that when the cost of participating in terrorism falls; people fine it less risky to kill more enemies. Tombul (2015, p. 5)

also demonstrate the arguments of Krueger and Maleckova that terrorism does not just occur because of socioeconomic reasons but with sociopolitical reasons as well. For instance, looking at the Arab-Israeli conflict, Palestinian suicide bombers are not less economically prosperous or less educated than the rest of other Arab world.

Meierrieks and Krieger (2011, p. 4) goes further to say that terrorism occurs sometimes as a result of the dominance of group dynamics, group or state leaders, and other psychological factors. This argument looks simple and maybe even wrong. Looking at the economic perspective of terrorism, it is assumed that terrorists are rational set of people, and Meierrieks and Krieger (2011, p. 4) used Caplan (2006) ideas to sum this up by saying that the average terrorist behaves just like a *homo-economicus*. Terrorist are regarded as rational actors who operate on different bases, which are more of a violent to maximize utility, weighing the costs, benefits and constraints linked to actions.

**Table 4.1:** Determinants of terrorism

<b>Global hypothesis</b>	<b>Potential determinant (Abbreviation)</b>	<b>Possible indicators</b>
Economic Deprivation (GH1)	Economic Conditions (DEV)	GDP p.c., poverty, inequality
Modernization Strain (GH2)	Economic Performance (PERF) Population Dynamics (POP)	GDP growth, unemployment, inflation
Institutional Order (GH3)	Education (EDU) Political institutions (POL) Economic Institution (ECON) Government (GOV)	Population growth, size, age structure, urbanization Literacy, school attainment Political rights, civil liberties Economic freedom, property rights protection Welfare policies, government spending
Political Transformation (GH4)	Political Stability (STAB)	Regime Stability, Civil Was Proxy
Identity Conflict (GH5)	Minorities (MIN) Religion (REL)	Linguistic or Ethnic fractionalization proportions of religious, religious fractionalization
Global Order (GH6)	Economic Integration (INT) International Politics (INTPOL)	FDI, terms of trade, trade openness Alliances incidences of conflict or crisis, foreign aid
Contagion (GH7)	Contagion (CONT) Geography (GEO)	Spatial, temporal proximity to terrorism Climate, elevation, latitude

**Source:** Meierrieks, D. and T. Krieger (2011). What Causes Terrorism?



It is foreseen that every country's specific factors impacts terrorist's cost benefit matrices, likewise their behavior as well. Table 4.1 above shows the global hypotheses relation to some particular determinants. It outlines some examples of the way such determinants are being measured empirically. The role of economic deprivation is stressed by the global hypotheses. Also, there is a stress on the demographic and socio-economic change, identity, resulting strain, political order, political transformation, global economic order and temporal and spatial contagion to give more explanation on terrorist activity. The table also portrays the aggregate country-specific factors impacts of terrorism, their various cost and benefit matrices, and their behavior as well. It is possible that the determinants lower the opportunity cost or price of terrorism thus leading to an increase or decline in terrorist activities. In line to this, some scholars put forward some specific 'Global Hypotheses (GH) to trace the value of some factors used to determine terrorism. Table 4.1 above shows the relationship between specific determinants and global hypotheses. It shows how these determinants are empirically measured. Economic deprivation (GH1), Socio-economic and demographic change and resulting strain (GH2), Political transformation (GH4), Identity (GH5), Global economic and political order (GH6) and temporal and special contagion (GH7) are stressed by global hypotheses in explaining terrorist activity.

Some of the causes of terrorism are well examine under the following; Socio economic and demographic strain, economic deprivation, political and institutional order, political and transformation, instability, global economy and political order, identity and cultural clash and contagion. The outline from these topics will clearly give an understanding of what really causes terrorism. It is however cleared to the researcher that the aforementioned objectives and causes of terrorism depicts what happened and still happening in Iraq.

#### **4.1.1 Economic deprivation**

Terrorism is rooted in economic deprivation, that is, within states inequality and poverty. According to Schneider et al. (2009, p. 16), he portrays the idea of Gurr (1970) which denotes that, the main idea of what he termed 'relative deprivation' is in situations whereby violence is being generated when there is inconsistency within the things people think of and also the things they receive via Economic distribution process. Frustration often comes as a result of the

creation of poor economic structural conditions which obviously makes violence inevitable. Taking the case of Iraq, the demand for change and better conditions in the country has pushed many citizens to be frustrated, and the outcome has been violence. The economic deprivation link to terrorism is very important especially to the source of state terrorism. For example, terrorist movements should consider it less costly and easier recruit frustrated supporters when economic deprivation prevails.

Meierrieks and Krieger (2009, p. 6) put forward that relative economic deprivation might often lead to more terrorism if there is lower cost opportunities of violence and inciting frustration of supporters. Concerning targeted states of terrorism, the economic success may be of attraction to more attacks, especially in cases where economic deprivation is assessed within the rich and poor nations.

#### **4.1.2 Socio-economic and demographic strains**

The argument of some scholars shows that the act of terrorism is being promoted by modernization. Modernization is seen as something that involves economic growth, economic growth, lifestyle, new ideas, and new forms of communication. According to Schneider et al. (2009, p. 16), Robisson et al. stress on the fact that most factors can create grievances that are associated with demographic strain and socio-economic strain. An instance of this is when economic growth is associated with the restructuring of labor markets, whereby a lot of grievances are created among modernization losers who in other words are unemployed because of economic change. Another good example could be in situations whereby modern forms of communication turn to be the main challenger of traditional elements of a society and generate social conflict. Terrorist movements on the other hand can modern means of communication to disseminate opinions effectively. Schneider et al. (2009, p. 16) also believes that the generation of majority of grievances are done during the transitional period to a modern society. It is often obvious that terrorists can capitalize the grievances of 'modernization losers' which is linked too challenges to traditional social patterns, economic dissatisfaction or other new methods of alienated living. This however starts operating on financing, recruitment or any other forms of support that can be realize.

The relevance of the modernization mechanism is more appropriate to the origin of terrorism. In general views, modernization is more in conjunction to the socio-economic and demographic changes which could just be another way to feed through conflicts. It is however hard to capture these changes when using empirical analyses. Therefore, particular socio-economic factors like demographic factor and low educational attainment like population growth factor like population growth are used by researchers to indicate the outcome of modernization on terrorism.

#### **4.1.3 Political and institutional order**

The aspect of political and institutional order is also an important aspect that calls for concrete arguments to matters related to terrorism. According to Schneider et al., Bruck and Meierrieks (2009, pp. 16-17), they argue that base on regimes, democratic regimes or states can do their best to offer non-violent means dissent voicing but it is equally impossible to realize the hard counter terrorism measures which comes as a result of civil liberties obligation. This process can reduce the rate of terrorism in countries that terrorism originated, but the probabilities of terrorist attacks are high especially in targeted countries. Looking at the case of autocratic regimes, Li put forward that this regime can be capitalize in respect to their capability of repression, which can however generate grievances that are linked to political disenfranchisement at the same time. If the level of political openness is low, there is a probability of having the development of terrorism but the rate of terrorist attacks will be lessens.

Generally, there is no political regime that can effectively fend off the notion of terrorism. Many scholars believe that partial democratic nations are more prone to terrorism regarding the fact that they cannot fully capitalize the gains of pure regimes having non-linear connections between political institutions and terrorism

Irrespective of the type of regime, be it structure type like centralized and decentralized, government strength type like police power or military, policies type like welfare policies, ideological affiliation type like the left-wing and right-wing, it may definitely influence terrorists' calculi (Schneider et al., 2009, pp. 16-17). In line to this, a great scale of government may make it hard for social groups to pursue rent-keeping, thus opening additional attraction to gain rents through the method of violence.

#### **4.1.4 Political transformation and instability**

One of the causes of terrorism is political transformation and instability. Political change often sometimes creates political vacuums which however enable terrorist organizations to infiltrate their agendas. The attractiveness of such vacuums is seen when radical movements become less likely to have any challenge by an instable weak government or making terrorism less costly. According to Schneider, Bruck and Meierrieks (2009, p. 17), they argue that failed states or instable states can serve as a school for international terrorism whereby, when it comes to situations of domestic instability like civil war, citizens acquire education in violence which can enable them to use for internationalized terrorist campaigns. It is likely true that political transformation can amplify terrorist behavior giving that this process can be influenced by the decisions of target terrorists and production of terrorism.

#### **4.1.5 Identity and cultural clash**

Another main factor that causes terrorism is the issue of cultural clash and identity. Identity in this case is said to probably be linked to the beginning of transnational terrorism. Schneider et al. (2009, p. 22), in his argument on ethnic identity conflict, he did not see any significant association existing between linguistic ethnic fractionalization and terrorism generation. In line to this, more homogeneous populations are likely to generate less terrorism. In the area of religious identity conflict, Schneider et al. (2009, p. 24), put forth that religiously fractionalized states often turn to generate less transnational terrorism.

Many other perspectives are put forth regarding what causes terrorism in this domain. For instance, Schneider et al. (2009, p. 24), also argue that the origin of transnational terrorism is as a result of the function of state degree of tension within its ethnic regions. The high level of ethnic tension is probably linked with the high level of terrorism production.

#### **4.1.6 Global economic and political order**

In the area of global economic order, trade openness is used often to know the rate of economic integration. Schneider et al. (2009, p. 26), supports the fact that high levels of the integration of economy reduces terrorism generation in one way or the other. Additionally, high levels of trade openness can lead to the production of more terror

in advance developed nations, while on the other hand, openness turn to decrease terrorism in the less develop countries or economies.

Looking at the case of global political order, Schneider et al. (2009, p. 26), equally argue that seeking foreign aid has a high probability of decreasing a nation's rate of producing more terrorism. Political integration like World Trade Organization membership can also reduce the rate of terrorism. Schneider et al. also believe international political cooperation may decrease the rate of transnational terrorism production. The involvement in inter-state war is often linked with more terrorism and there is a strong linkage between a state that sponsors terrorism and the probability of it generating terrorism. International alliances membership increases the chances of transnational terrorism between one state and another, especially when one states is stronger than the other.

#### **4.1.7 Contagion**

Schneider et al. (2009, p.26) argue that the proximity of states suffering from terrorism makes terrorism production on their own regions to be more likely. Statistics indicate that past incidence of terrorism turn to foresee most terrorist activities today, thus hinting at the constant insistence of terrorism.

#### **4.2 Consequences of terrorism**

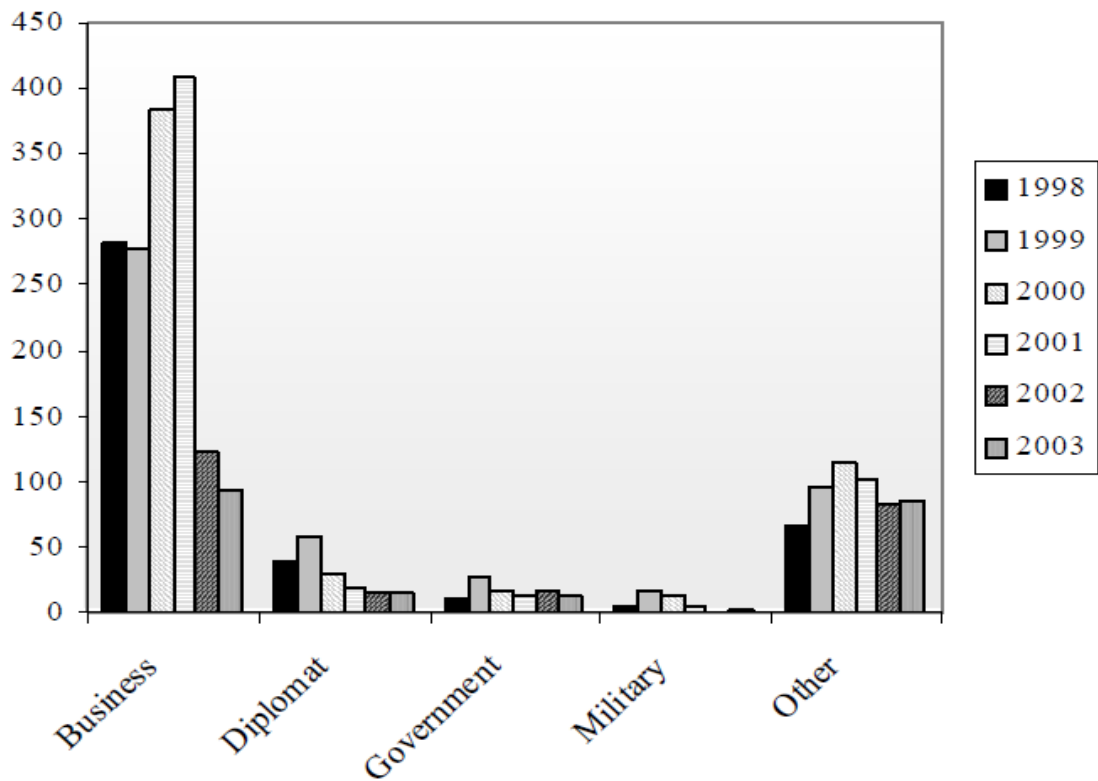
Reports from the Global Terrorism Index (2015, p. 2) shows that 2014 was a year with the highest number of terrorist incidents. The total number of deaths as a result of terrorist attacks increased by 80%, thus becoming nine-fold death increased and ranging from a rise of 3,329 in the year 2000, to 32,685 in 2014. Iraq still remains one of the highest concentrated grounds for terrorist activities, followed by other countries like Nigeria, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Syria. The constant increased rates of terrorism and state based conflicts have been a major cause for the massive flow of refugees and the displacement of civilians. Countries like Iraq, Nigeria, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Syria, with the highest level of terrorist attacks have witness more death rate and high level of refugees, likewise internally displaced people around the globe. 57% of attacks and 78% of deaths occurred within the few countries listed above. In addition to this, there has been a drastic increase in the economic cost of terrorism due to increase in terrorist activities. The estimated economic cost reached

its highest level in 2014, with a sum of \$52.9 billion (Global Terrorism Index, 2015, p. 3) thus giving a ten-fold increase since 2000, and about 61% increase compared to previous years.

From the Global Terrorism Index (2015, p. 12) report, there was a huge outcome of fatalities and injuries cause by DAES on the 10 June 2014 in Badush-Iraq. This happened at the time which assailants stormed a prison, went further to release the Sunni inmates and killed about 670 Shiite prisoners. Few months after this incident, another major one happened. On the 05/08/2014, in the city of Sinjar-Iraq, DAES group launched another attack where Yezidi civilians were attacked by assailants in Sinjar town and killed about 500 people. Still in the same scene, over 300 women were kidnapped. On the 16/12/2014, the same DAES assailants executed over 150 women who denied taking part in jihad marriages. This incident happened precisely in Fallujah city of Iraq. The rates of attacks continue within the region. The Iraqi city of Mosul was also a victim of such attacks on the 07/09/2014, where 150 former security members were executed by assailants. In October 29, 2014, another incident occurred. DAES assailants kidnapped 150 Albu Nimr tribe members from villages nearby the city of Ramadi. All the victims were sentence and buried in the area of Albu Ali al-Jasim.

According Schneider et al (2009, p. 29), terrorism reduces governmental stability. Terrorism may negatively impact capital flow and trade and thus economic development. It is obvious that he act of terrorism can lead to a grave loss of lives and properties. Bassil (2012, pp. 3-4) argues that the occupation of Iraq by the US and British forces, as well as the disappearance of Saddam Hussein contributed greatly to increase activities in Iraq and the Islamic world today. However, this increase of terrorism began during the destruction of Al-Qaeda's pyramid structure during the invasion of Afghanistan. The damages on citizen's infrastructure, roads, power plants, hospitals, etc. was a hindrance to the proper functioning of economic and public services of Iraq and other Islamic states. Iraq was however considered to be a home for terrorism.

According to Johnston and Nedelescu (2005, p. 3), most attacks affected both the national and global economy. The economic consequences are either divided into; short term-term direct effect, medium-term confidence effect or long-term productivity effects.



**Figure 4.1:** Numbers of facilities struck by International attacks, 1998-2003

**Source:** Johnston, R. B. and Nedelescu, O. M. (2005). The impact of Terrorism on Financial Markets, IMF Working Paper, p. 3,

Figure 4.1 above demonstrate how business facilities were the preferred target of international terrorist attacks since the year 1998. The figure shows that the situation was worst in 2001, with over 400 attacks. In the sector of military, it appears to be the least on the list with the number of attacks.

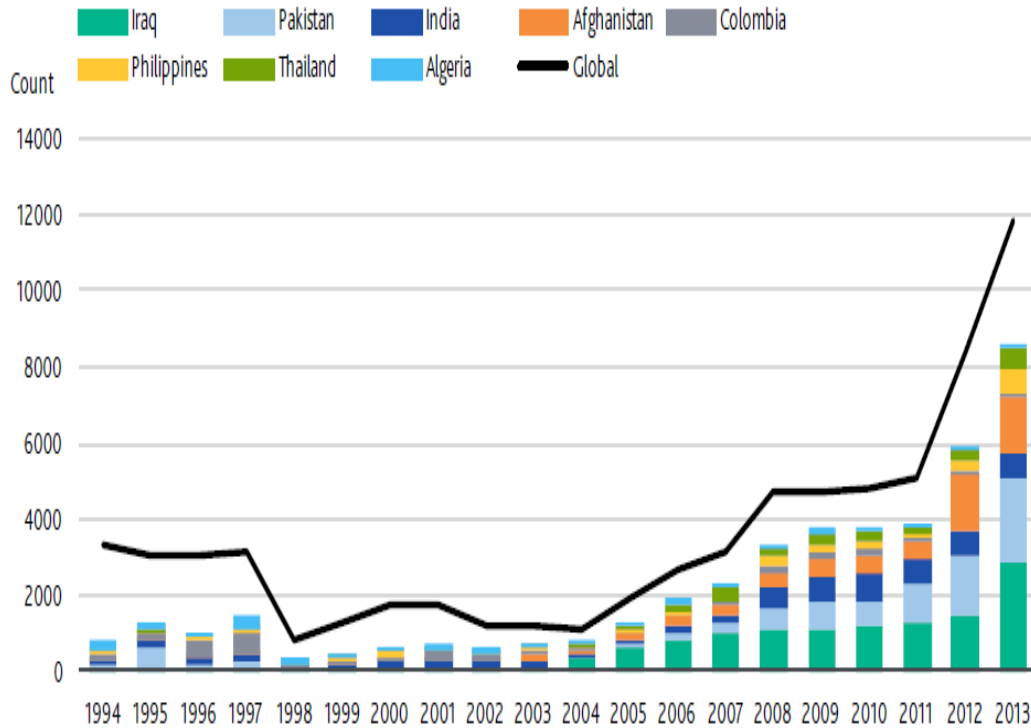
In respect to the political consequences of terrorism, terror activities have a lot of aggravated political consequences. Such activities often erupt in cases of electoral outcomes within countries. For example, Indridason (2008, pp. 243-244) used the idea of Montalvo to put forth an argument that the train bombing that took place in Madrid witness a substantial consequence Spanish general elections outcome in 2004. Additionally, Schneider et al (2009, p.26), uses the idea of Berrebi and Klor (2006) postulated that terrorism often affects the voting procedure and behavior of electorates. It is clear by many studies that terrorism profoundly affects both governments and individuals. Terrorism has dampening psychological effect at the individual level. On the other hand, research at the level of the state shows that terrorism can contribute to counter-productive outcomes for terrorist. Terrorist

activities can cause effects among political parties and lead to a unified front in all the opposition parties to the demands of the terrorist groups.

Looking at the economic consequences of terrorism, it is one of the major areas in which a lot of drastic effects often occur. It is worth noticing that terrorist attacks often have long lasting negative impacts on economic development. Bart et al. (2015) argue that terrorism greatly strain the finances of the public and consequently contribute to an increase in a country's sovereign borrowing cost. The above scholars regards terrorism as being quantified by its impact on government expenditure, the cost of borrowing, economic growth and investment. Global Terrorism Database (GTD) covering about 156 countries from within the period of 1994-2013, shows that, the frequency and type of terrorism in top 10 nations with high rate of inflicted terrorist in 2013 weakened the GDP growth of 0.51 and 0.80 Percentage Point (PPS). The rate of growth deteriorated between 0.37 and 0.59 pps in the space of over one year. It also witness a 0.5 pps and 0.07 pps within three years. Additionally, the activity of terrorist reduces investment growth and impairs potential growth. This can be between 1.3 pps and 2.1 pps in a year in cases of terrorist attacks. Bart et al. further argue that over 60% of terrorist acts within 2013 were focus in four different countries: Iraq being the first with 24%, Pakistan follows with 19%, Afghanistan came up with 12% and India had 5.8%. This however shows that Iraq was affected than any other country.

Terrorist activities eventually and directly destroyed lots of infrastructures, human and physical capital thus reducing economic growth and production. It also destroys investment plans and household and business spending, likewise divert foreign direct investment. It is of great significance to know that the outcome of terrorist acts often leads to reallocation of resources from growth enhancing investment to the design of spending, so as to capture terrorists and their assets, and add national security.





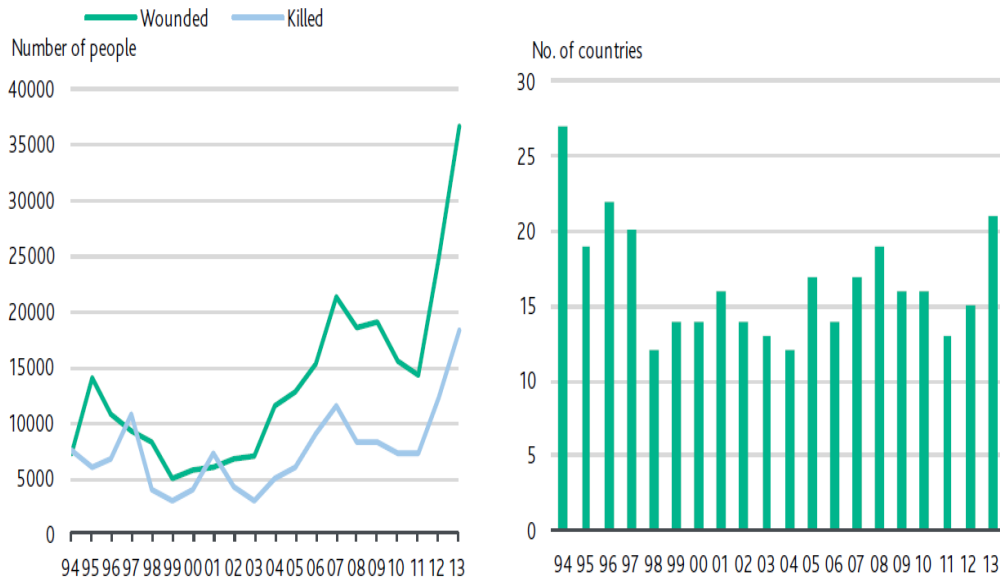
**Figure 4.2:** Numbers of terrorist incidents per year

**Source:** Bart, O. et al. (2015). Terrorism Has a Long-lasting Negative impact on Economic Activity and Government Borrowing Cost, Sovereigns and Terrorism, Moody's Investment Service, p. 5,

Figure 4.2 above shows the number of terrorist incidents within the period of 1994-2013. Countries like; India, Thailand, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Algeria, Philippines and Colombia faced a lot of incidents within this period. 2013 is seen to be the worst year with the highest rate of terrorist incidents. The black line represents the Global demarcation of the terrorist activities within the time frame of 1994 to 2013.

Number of Casualties due to Terrorist Incidents

Number of Countries with More than 50 Deaths in a Given Year from Terrorist Activity

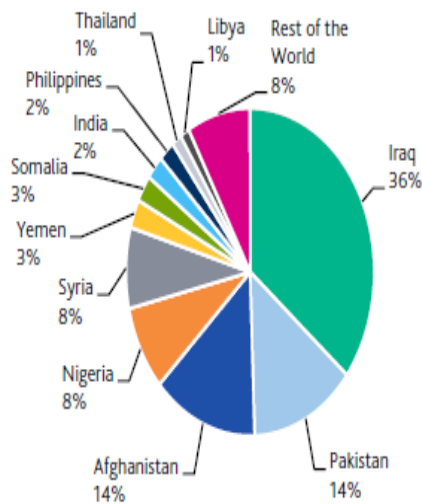


**Figure 4.3:** Number of casualties due to terrorist incidents and number of countries with more than 50 deaths in a given year from terrorist activity

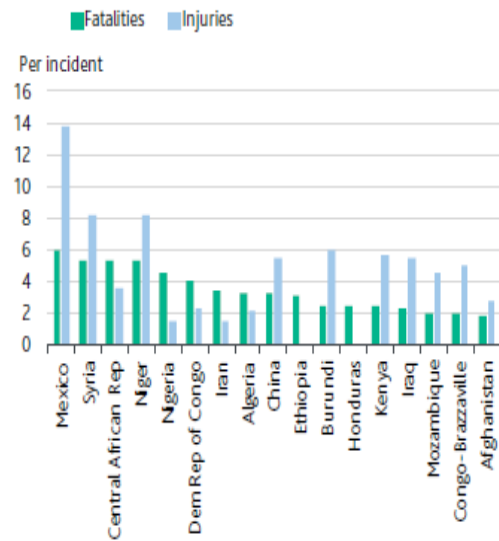
**Source:** Oosterveld, B. et al. (2015). Terrorism Has a Long-lasting Negative impact on Economic Activity and Government Borrowing Cost, Sovereigns and Terrorism, Moody’s Investment Service, p. 5,

Figure 4.3 shows that the rate of victims killed or wounded in a year as a result of terrorist attacks is increasing rapidly. Comparing with the attacks of 2007, the rate of people killed and injured in the year 2013 increased from 73 percent to 36,708 people and about 60 percent to 18,337 people. About 27 nations witness over 50 deaths in 1994, while in 2013, the number of countries with over 50 deaths were 21. However, in connection to figure 4.4 below, it shows that Iraq was one of the countries involved in the terrorist attacks incidents and incurred almost the top rate of casualties. In the area of the number of casualties, the number rose rapidly (Oosterveld, B. et al., 2015, p. 5).

Total Killed in Terrorist Attacks, 2013



Killed or Wounded per Terrorist Incident, 2013



**Figure 4.4:** Numbers of person killed or wounded in Terrorist attacks, 2013

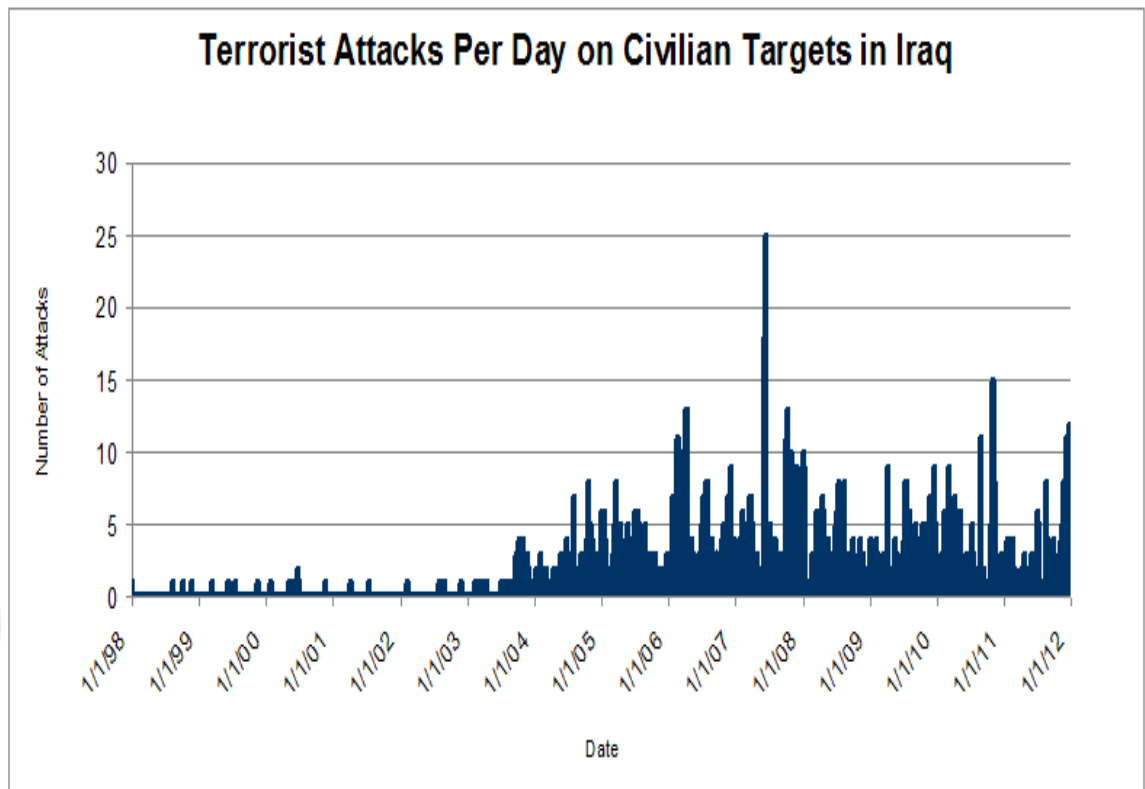
**Source:** Oosterveld, B. et al. (2015). Terrorism Has a Long-lasting Negative impact on Economic Activity and Government Borrowing Cost, Sovereigns and Terrorism, Moody’s Investment Service, p. 5,

Figure 4.4 shows that the countries having the greatest victims of wounded or killed persons are the same countries having highest rate of terrorist attacks. These countries involved include; Yemen, Pakistan, Syria, Iraq and Nigeria. More than 60% of deaths as a result of terrorist attacks in 2013 occurred in states with high rate of terrorist. The top three of these countries were; Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan. However, in 2013, other countries like Syria, Mexico, Niger, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria also had high rate of fatalities. For example, Mexico had about 5.9 fatalities incident in 2013. Iraq alone had 36% of the total killed in terrorist attacks in 2013.

## **5. TERRORISM IN IRAQI CASE**

### **5.1 US Invasion of Iraq**

After the 9/11 incident, U.S invaded Iraq with the belief that it was a possible way to ensure that Iraq was not a comfortable zone for terrorist. It is rather seen on the contrary that with the US invasion of Iraq since March 2003, more doors of terrorism acts within the Iraq's borders has rose precipitously. Little or no terrorist act cause by DAES was witness in Iraq from the beginning of 2001 till the end of 2002. However, Stern and McBride (2003, p. 1), points out that a total of over 372 incidents was seen as from 2003 to 2010 in Iraq and associated with DAES. From 2011 to 2013, a total of 711 cases were noticed related to terrorist attacks and associated with DAES. Stern and McBride (2013, p. 1) also argues that over 78 attacks were seen within the first week of the Unites State's invasion of Iraq and within twelve months, this figure so much increased to over 302 attacks. In 2007, terrorist killed about 5,425 civilians and over 9,878 injuries during the Iraq war. Stern and McBride denote that the presence of the US troops during the war was a massive recruitment tool. The then American President Bush once claimed in his speech that Iraq is a "central front" in the war of terrorism (Stern and McBride, 2013, p. 1). But McBride and Stern argues that this same front was created by the United States. In line to the aforementioned, an Al-Qaeda strategist named Mustafa Bin Abd al Qadir claimed that Iraq war nearly single-handedly saved the jihadi movement. The saddest situation is that after US troops left Iraq, terrorist groups still bore the incident of the conflict and as a result, Al-Qaeda is not only resurgent inside Iraq, but have become a regional movement rebuilding its enormous connections in many other countries like Jordan, Libya, Syria, just to name a few.



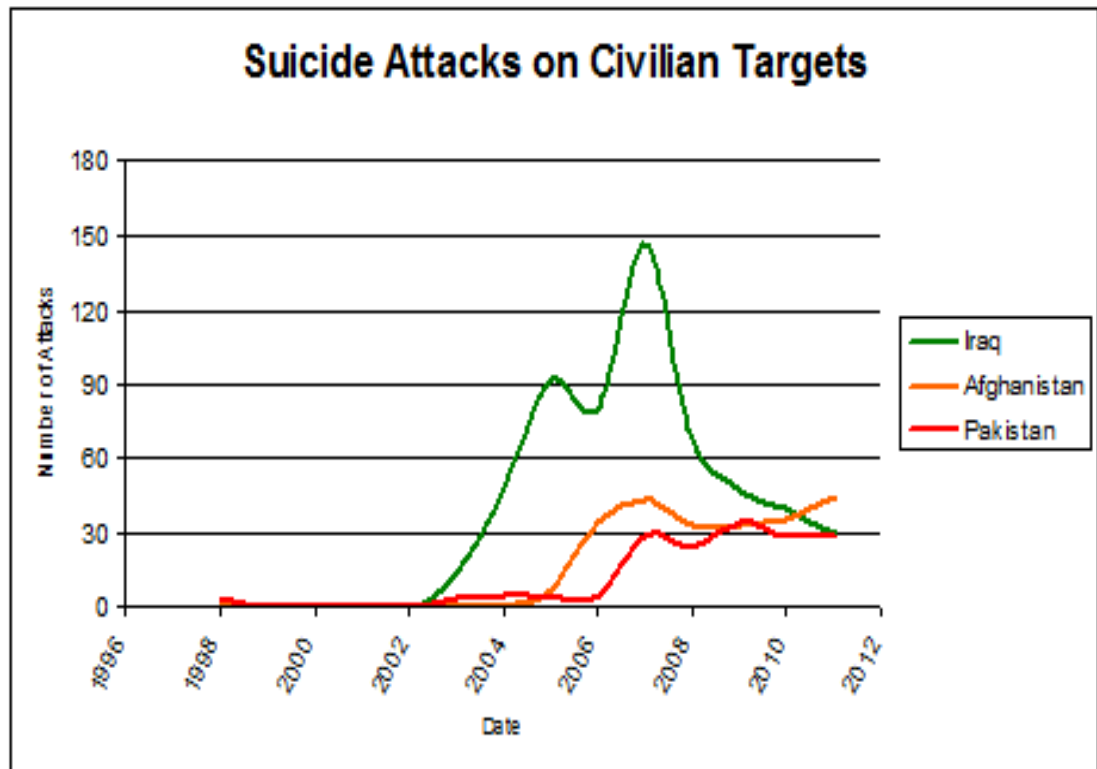
**Figure 5.1:** Terrorist attacks per day on civilian targets in Iraq

**Source:** Stern J. and McBride M. K. (2013), *Terrorism after the 2003 invasion of Iraq*, p. 2,

Figure 5.1 above shows the number of attacks that occurred in Iraq within the period of 1998 to 2012. The rates of attacks were very low until after 2003. The worst period of attacks was in 2008, with a total of 30 attacks. A lot of consequences were witness during the attacks, such as lost properties, deaths, and injuries. It rendered many civilians jobless and displace many others. Al-Qaeda members received unprecedented education, thus had the opportunity to test their mettle on the best trained military in the world (United States military). This also let to the perfection of new tactics and the use of improvised explosive devices. Many new alliances were forged by the terrorists groups and the Salafi-jihadist’s arsenal had the opportunity to fully use propaganda.

Stern and McBride (2013, p. 2), put forward that members of Al-Qaeda group were trained against the most sophisticated military in the world and work together with former Iraqi state officials. They are good in forgery, smuggling, counter-intelligence, and gun-running. Suicide attacks were used in an increasing frequency rate by some Iraqi actors within 2003 and 2005 before the migration of the tactic to other neighboring states like Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is notably that in 2010,

there were more suicide attacks within Afghanistan than Iraq. It is also noticed that Iraq seems to be the suitable place for terrorist to perfect the use of vehicles-bombs and car bombs improvised explosive devices. For instance, just in the first twelve months of US invasion of Iraq, about 19 vehicle-born were faced with bomb attacks. This number increases to 54 attacks in 2004, 82 in 2005, 101 attacks in 2006, and 204 attacks in 2007 (Stern and McBride, 2003, p. 4).



**Figure 5.2:** Suicide attacks on civilian targets

**Source:** Stern J. and McBride M. K. (2013), *Terrorism after the 2003 invasion of Iraq*, p. 5,

Figure 5.2 above shows the number of suicide attacks on civilians within the year 1996 till 2012. The rate of attacks in 1996 was less than 30. But by 2002, the number started increasing and the worst period was between 2006 and 2008 where it was almost 150 attacks. Afghanistan and Pakistan also started witnessing attacks since from 1998 and the number kept increasing as time passed-by.

The regime of Bush implicated the United States into a long war with Iraq. US invaded Iraq with the pretext of launching what is termed “War on Terror” and this invasion turned to become the channel of terrorism growth. Following the ideas of Bassil (2012, pp. 3-4), the cost of the wars of aggression in Iraq was dreadful, with

an estimate of 4.538 U.S soldiers killed. Over 29,780 other US soldiers sustained injuries. The RAND Corporation study showed that about 300.000 US soldiers suffered post-traumatic stress or major depression after being part of the Iraq war or terror in Afghanistan where over 320.000 people were victims of brain damage. On the other hand, about 1.2 million Iraqis lost their lives, over 2 million fled to other countries, and millions were displaced within Iraq. A lot of homes, infrastructures and environment excessive were damage.

## **5.2 Responses to the Challenges of Terrorism in Iraq**

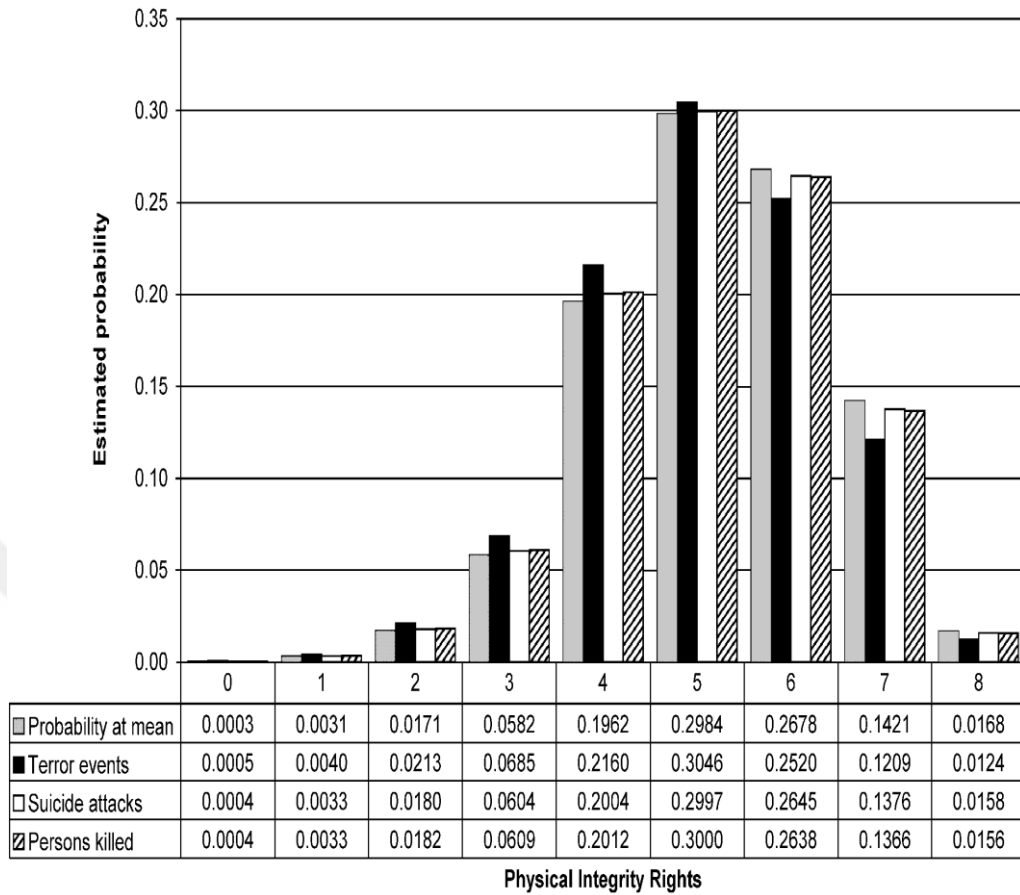
Several attempts have been put in place to try to resolve terrorism activities in Iraq and in the world at large. One of such attempts is the application of diplomacy to help increase global anti-terror coalition. Perl (2007, p. 14) explains that the application of diplomacy was a key aspect in leading to the composition of the USA led-coalition against the Taliban. The United Nations Security Council also urges the stop of terrorism in the Middle East. From the reports of the Security Council 7419<sup>th</sup> Meeting of March 27, 2015, an Iraqi Lawmaker voiced out saying “We Are Being slaughtered”. In line to this, the formal Secretary General Ban Ki-moon told the Council that “The members of this Council – and all those with influence – must help the people of this region reclaim its history diversity and dynamism,” “I condemn in the strongest terms all persecution and violations of the rights to life and physical integrity of individuals and communities based on religious, ethnic, national, racial or other grounds”. According to Pecht (2016, p. 1), he argues that the international community has tried to find consensus on an effective response to the threat of terrorism that is posed, though have often falls back on intensifying measures which are largely ineffective and incoherent. Pecht believes that in order to fight terrorist groups like DAES and others, it is important and necessary to evaluate the reasons why current measures are working so as to look for potential alternatives. Combating terrorist groups in affected countries like Iraq needs longer-term efforts to tackle political injustices, increase economic output, restore security and promote effective governance.

Pecht (2016, p.1) goes further to point out that external military operations against terrorist groups like DAES, Al-Qaeda etc. have been more on airstrikes. By December 2015, the US and its coalition partners had carried out about 6217

airstrikes in Iraq and 3162 in Syria, on a total of about 18388 targets. Another means to tackle this issue has been on Military support to allies. Some countries are doing a lot of contributions to support the US-led military operations by providing training or advice and providing arm equipment. Taking the case of Iraq for example, USA spent over \$25 billion between the year 2003 and 2011 just on training the Iraqi security forces. In addition to the aforementioned, 'boots on the ground' is another method used by international community and Iraq to tackle terrorism. Due to the limited effectiveness of airstrikes, some private citizens and other US veterans opted to fight against DAES. Economic sanctions and cutting off supply chains has been another way of trying to solve terrorism issues in Iraq and other neighboring countries. Pecht continues by saying that, cutting off DAES source of funding is a possible alternative of weakening its operations. The UN Security Council adopted what is called resolution 2199, in February 2015, to reaffirm and clarify UN sanctions applications that was levied on DAES and her related members. Same procedure was levied on any other entities that provided passive or active financial support to the organization.



### 5.3 Data Analysis of Terrorism



**Figure 5.3:** Estimated effects of terrorism

**Source:** Axel D. and Martin G. and Lars-H. S. (2010). Does Terrorism Threaten Human Rights? Evidence from Panel Data, the Journal of Law & Economics, Vol. 53, No. 1 (February 2010), pp. 65-93,

Figure 5.3 simply summarizes the estimated effects of terrorism and its Physical Integrity Rights. Iraq and many other neighboring countries have suffered a lot in the hands of terrorist and the figure above shows some of the outcome of terrorism that threaten human rights. This figure demonstrates the observed probability of all the categories after when relevant measures of terrorism have increase by a standard deviation. It is worth noticing that the index values above or below the mean (this encompasses value 3, 5 and 7) are affected strongly. There is a high probability to be in categories which represent low levels of human rights that can increase as a consequence of terrorism. Additionally, there is also a high probability that being in category 6-8 can substantially reduce regarding the number of terrorist attacks.

From the details of the table given below, it is seen that Iraq witness the highest number of worst terrorist attacks across the globe between 2002 and 2011. The number of fatalities and injuries in Iraq between 2002 and 2011 outnumbers the rest of the countries if sum together.

**Table 5.1:** Worst terrorist attacks from 2002-2011

Rank	Country	City	Date	Fatalities	Injuries
1	Nepal	Beni	21/3/2004	518	216
2	Spain	Madrid	11/3/2004	191	1800
3	Russia	Beslan	1/9/2004	344	727
4	Iraq	Tal Afar	30/3/2007	290	340
5	India	Mumbal	12/7/2006	187	817
6	Nigeria	Maiduguri	27/7/2009	304	Unknown
7	Iraq	Baghdad	14/10/2009	153	720
8	Indonesia	Kuta	12/10/2002	202	300
9	Iraq	Baghdad	14/9/2005	160	542
10	Iraq	Baghdad	23/11/2006	202	257
11	Iraq	Baghdad	3/12/2006	183	278
12	Iraq	Kahtaniyah	15/8/2007	200	170
13	India	Mumbai	26/11/2008	183	252
14	Iraq	Baghdad	8/12/2009	132	500
15	Iraq	Tal Afar	27/3/2007	153	351
16	Afghanistan	Heart	12/5/2006	206	1
17	Iraq	Mosul	16/8/2007	200	Unknown
18	Iraq	Baghdad	19/8/2009	104	568
19	United Kingdom	London	7/7/2005	56	784
20	Iraq	Amerli	7/7/2007	150	250

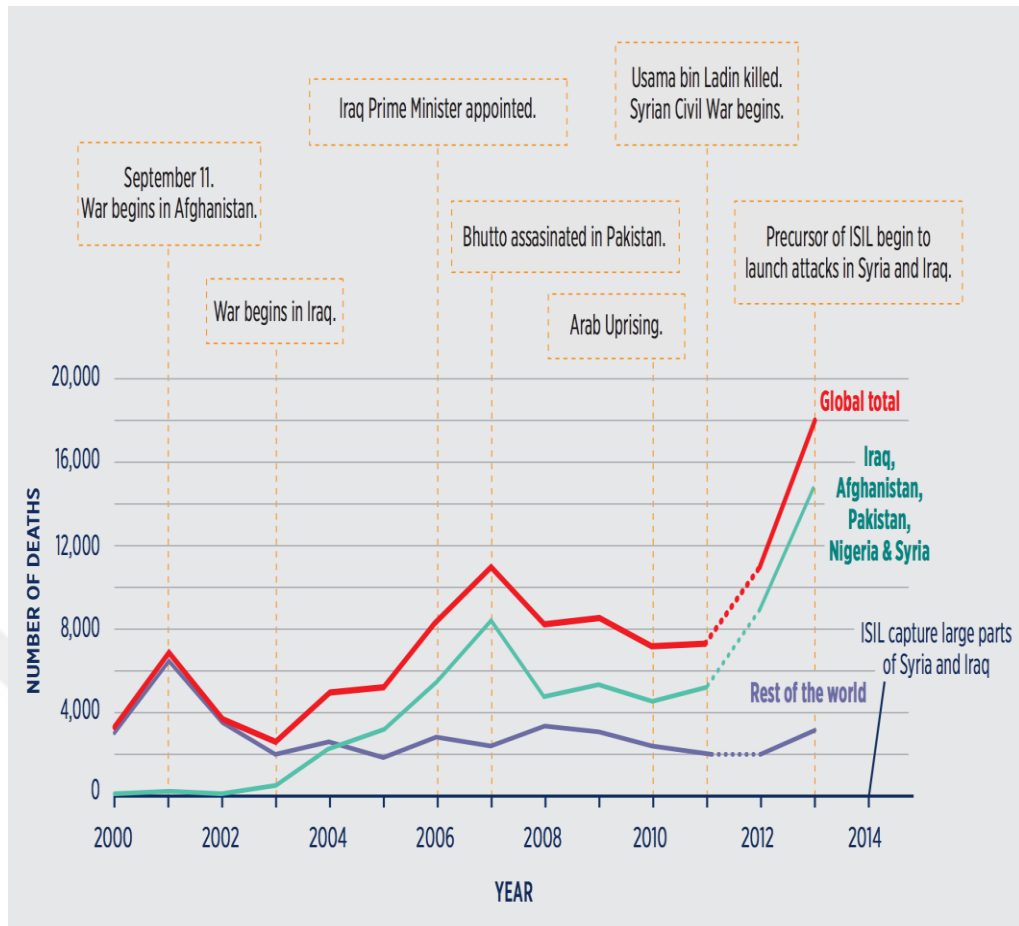
**Source:** Global Terrorism Index (2015), Capturing the Impact of terrorism from 2002-2011, p. 15,

**Table 5.2: Worst terrorist attacks in 2013**

Rank	Country	SCORE	Rank	Country	SCORE	Rank	Country	SCORE
1	Iraq	10	29	Greece	4.73	57	Guatemala	2.61
2	Afghanistan	9.39	30	United States	4.71	58	Chile	2.59
3	Pakistan	9.37	31	Indonesia	4.67	59	Niger	2.59
4	Nigeria	8.58	32	Israel	4.66	69	Bulgaria	2.58
5	Syria	8.12	33	Mexico	4.66	61	Georgia	2.58
6	India	7.86	34	Bahrain	4.41	62	Italy	2.55
7	Somalia	7.41	35	Myanmar	4.24	63	Eritrea	2.45
8	Yemen	7.31	36	Mozambique	4.01	64	Honduras	2.38
9	Philippines	7.29	37	Sri Lanka	4.01	65	Kazakhstan	2.37
10	Thailand	7.19	38	Rwanda	4	66	Cyprus	2.3
11	Russia	6.76	39	Burundi	3.97	67	Morocco	2.11
12	Kenya	6.58	40	Cote d'Ivoire	3.76	68	Tajikistan	1.99
13	Egypt	6.5	41	Tanzania	3.71	69	Spain	1.84
14	Lebanon	6.4	42	Ethiopia	3.7	70	Jordan	1.76
15	Libya	6.25	43	Paraguay	3.63	71	Argentina	1.73
16	Colombia	6.24	44	Norway	3.57	72	Brazil	1.72
17	Turkey	5.98	45	Senegal	3.55	73	Republic of Congo	1.59
18	Democratic Rep. of Congo	5.9	46	Tunisia	3.29	74	Trinidad&Tobago	1.54
19	Sudan	5.77	47	Ireland	3.09	75	Cameroon	1.45
20	South Sudan	5.6	48	Malaysia	3.04	76	Macedonia (FYR)	1.45
21	Algeria	5.52	49	South Africa	3.04	77	Switzerland	1.34
22	Mali	5.29	50	Peru	2.96	78	Madagascar	1.26
23	Bangladesh	5.25	51	Ukraine	2.95	79	Ecuador	1.18
24	Nepal	5.23	52	Uganda	2.93	80	Zimbabwe	1.16
25	China	5.21	53	Belarus	2.85			
26	Central African Republic	5.19	54	Kosovo	2.73			
27	United Kingdom	5.17	55	Saudi Arabia	2.71			
28	Iran	4.9	56	France	2.67			

**Source:** Krishna Ranabhat (2015). Effects of terrorism in tourism industry, A case study of 9/11 terrorist Attacks in World Trade center, p. 5,

Table 5.2 above shows top 80 countries with worst terrorist attacks in the year 2013 across the globe. Top on the list is Iraq with a score of 10. There is a great difference between the first position score rate and the 80<sup>th</sup>. This however indicates that Iraq is a hub of terrorist activities. Other countries like Afghanistan, Syria Nigeria, India and Pakistan also faced huge number of terrorist attacks during this period and consequently more number of dead, destruction of properties, high rate of injuries and huge displacement of civilians. Many researchers and politicians have always considered Iraq to be among the top terrorist countries in the world and from the analysis of most researchers; Iraq often appears at the top of the page.

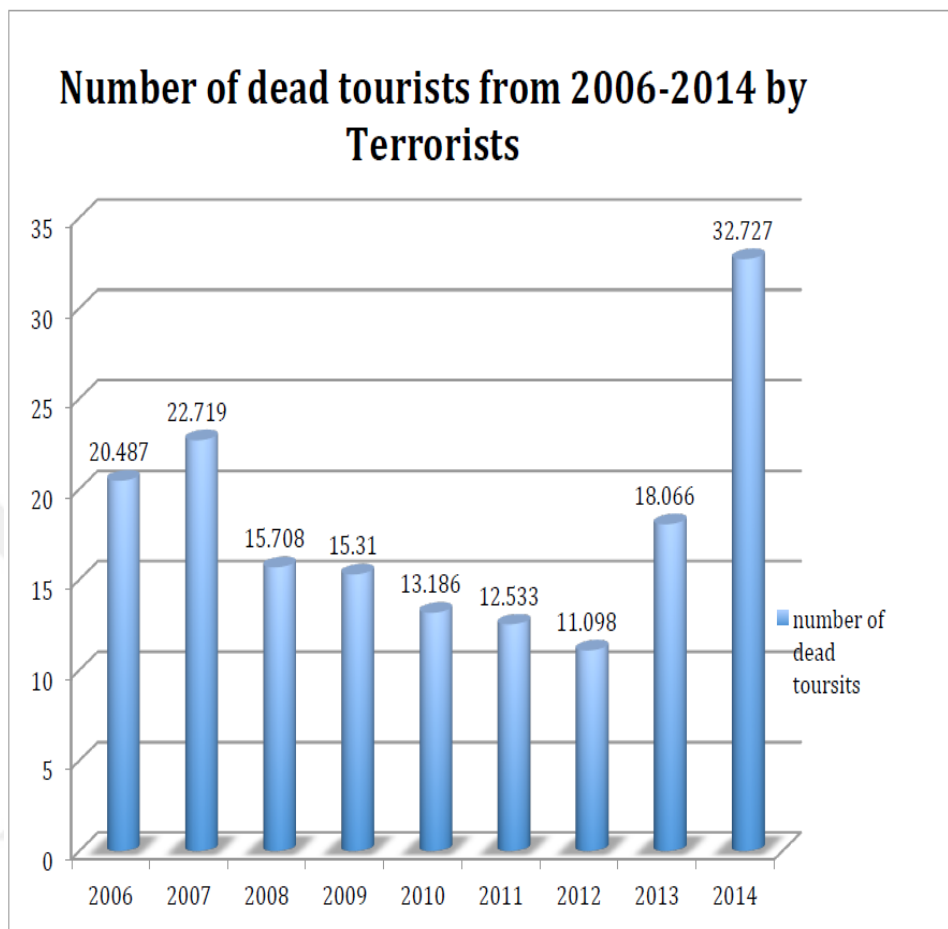


**Figure 5.4:** Number of people who died as a result of terrorist attacks

**Source:** Ranabhat, K. (2015). Effects of terrorism in tourism industry, A case study of 9/11 terrorist Attacks in World Trade center, p. 8,

Figure 5.4 above shows the total number of people who lose their lives between the year 2000 and 2014 during terrorist attacks. The red line indicates the number of dead as a global total, while the green line presents the number of people who died in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria and Syria. Additionally, the purple line shows the people who died in the rest of the world. That is, subtracting the global total and the 5 major countries faced with casualties. The figure also shows what happened during the period mentioned above. There was a lot of unrest during these periods. For instance, between 2000 and 2002, there was the beginning of war in Afghanistan. Between 2002 and 2004, Iraq started its own war. In 2006, there was the appointment of Iraqi new Prime minister. Between 2006 and 2008, Bhutto was assassinated in Pakistan. The Arab Uprising began in 2010, and between this period and 2012, Usama bin Ladin was killed thus resulted to the beginning of Syrian Civil War. Between 2012 and 2014, precursor of DAES began to launch massive attacks in Iraq

and Syria. From the aforementioned, one can picture what has happened and is still happening in Iraq in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.



**Figure 5.5:** Number of tourist who died as a result of terrorism from 2006-2014

**Source:** Ranabhat, D. (2015). Effects of terrorism in tourism industry, A case study of 9/11 terrorist Attacks in World Trade center, p. 12,

Figure 5.5 presents a view of total tourist who lose their lives as from 2006 to 2014 in terrorist attacks. In 2006, about 20.487 tourists died as a result of terrorist attacks. The dead rate in 2014 was higher than any other year, with a total of 32.727. The number of dead tourist in 2012 was lesser as compare to other years. 11.098 people died as a cause of terrorist attacks. DAES captured most parts of Iraq and Syria by 2014 and had many tourists hostage and demanded huge sum of money for their released. They killed many citizens, seized belongings and torture others. This spirit of brutality eventually calls the attention of the world to see Iraq as one of the worst places. Despite all the efforts put in place by the Iraqi government and international

body to put an end to this terrorist activities the situation keeps rising daily. More attacks and captures are heard every time from Iraq.

**Table 5.3:** Ten countries most affected by terrorism in 2011

<b>RANK</b>	<b>COUNTRY</b>	<b>GTI SCORE</b>
<b>1</b>	Iraq	9.56
<b>2</b>	Pakistan	9.05
<b>3</b>	Afghanistan	8.67
<b>4</b>	India	8.15
<b>5</b>	Yemen	7.30
<b>6</b>	Somalia	7.24
<b>7</b>	Nigeria	7.24
<b>8</b>	Thailand	7.09
<b>9</b>	Russia	7.07
<b>10</b>	Philippines	6.80

**Source:** Global Terrorism Index (2015), Capturing the Impact of terrorism from 2002-2011, p. 12, Table 5.3 above shows the Global Terrorism Index (GTI) score rate of top ten countries affected by terrorist attacks in the year 2011. The table shows that Iraq was affected most and had a high rate of terrorism attacks. Iraq topped the list with a GTI of 9.56; Pakistan comes second with 9.05; Afghanistan with 8.67 and so on. Philippines comes the tenth on the list with a GTI of 6.80.

**Table 5.4:** Countries with no terrorist impact in 2011

Country		
Brazil	Iceland	Panama
Botswana	Jamaica	Poland
Burkina Faso	South Korea	Romania
Republic of Congo	Laos	Sierra Leone
Costa Rica	Latvia	Singapore
Croatia	Liberia	Slovakia
Cuba	Lithuania	Taiwan
Djibouti	Malawi	Trinidad and Tobago
Dominican Republic	Mauritius	Turkmenistan
El Salvador	Mongolia	Uruguay
Gabon	Montenegro	Slovenia
Gambia	Namibia	Vietnam
Ghana	Nicaragua	Zambia
Guatemala	North Korea	
Guinea	Oman	

**Source:** Global Terrorism Index (2015), Capturing the Impact of terrorism from 2002-2011, p. 13,

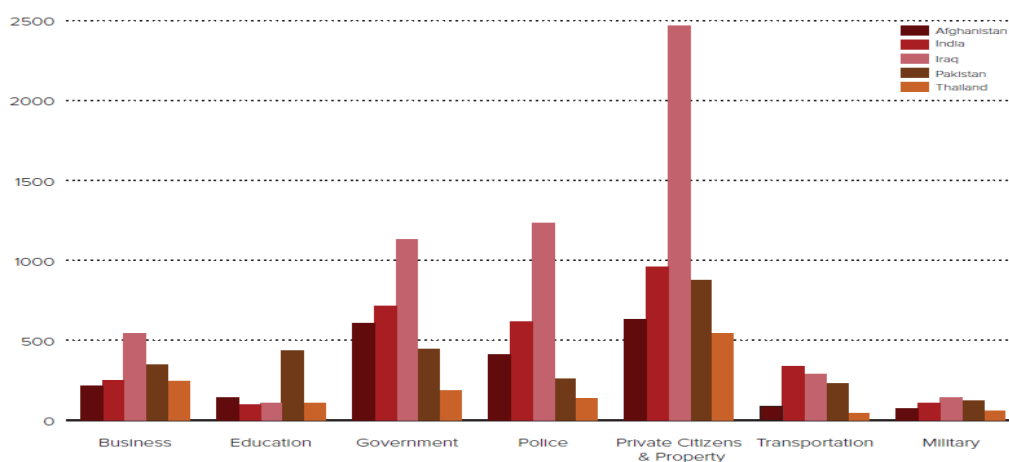
Table 5.4 above shows a list of some countries that did not face any challenge of terrorist attack in 2011. This is a clear picture that terrorist aim for some particular target and therefore chose where to carry on their operations. It doesn't mean that these countries listed on the table are totally free from terrorist attacks. They did not witness it in 2011 but probably did in other years. Despite the fact that Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan etc. were suffering in the mists of terrorist attacks in 2011, other countries were totally free and calm. This gives an impression that terrorist groups always have a reason for launching attacks in specific places and at specific times.

**Table 5.5:** Countries where the impact of terrorism has increase or decrease the most from 2002 to 2011

RANK	INCREASING	DECREASING
1	Iraq	United States
2	Pakistan	Algeria
3	Afghanistan	Colombia
4	Yemen	Israel
5	Somalia	Indonesia

**Source:** Global Terrorism Index (2015), Capturing the Impact of terrorism from 2002-2011, p. 21,

Table 5.5 above explains the changes that have occurred in the previous years as per terrorist attacks. It shows that countries like Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yemen and Somalia had so much increase in terrorism as from 2002 to 2011. On the other hand, other countries like United States, Algeria, Colombia, Israel and Indonesia had decrease in terrorism. The high rate or increase in terrorism in the aforementioned countries is a sign of how vulnerable there are when it comes to terrorists and terrorist attacks.



**Figure 5.6:** Types of targets for the five countries most affected by terrorism, total 2002-2011 incidents

**Source:** Global Terrorism Index (2015), Capturing the Impact of terrorism from 2002-2011, p. 27,

Figure 5.6 above illustrate the various targets affected by top five countries by terrorism within the period of 2002 to 2011. Areas that are mostly affected by terrorist are in the sector of businesses, education, government, police, private



citizens and properties, transportation and military. In the area of private citizens and property, Figure 5.6 shows that Iraq was affected the most, followed by India, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Thailand. Iraq also topped in the sector of government, business, police and military, with the highest number of terrorist attacks

**Table 5.6:** Top ten countries most affected by terrorism in 2011 and their government type

COUNTRY	GOVERNMENT TYPE	Region Type
Afghanistan	Authoritarian regime	
India	Flawed democracy	Asia-Pacific
Iraq	Hybrid regime	Middle East and North Africa
Nigeria	Authoritarian regime	Sub Saharan Africa
Pakistan	Hybrid regime	Asia Paific
Philippines	Flawed democracy	Asia-Pacific
Russia	Hybrid regime	Central and Eastern europe
Somalia	Unclassified	Sub Saharan Africa
Thailand	Flawed democracy	Asia-Pacific
Yemen	Authoritarian regime	Middle East and North Africa

**Source:** Global Terrorism Index (2015), Capturing the Impact of terrorism from 2002-2011, p. 28,

Table 5.6 above presents top ten nations that were victims of the 2011 terrorism, with their government type inclusive; Afghanistan had an authoritarian regime type thus open to more terrorist attacks in the sense that minor groups could easily come up to suppress other powers to achieve a given task. India had a flawed democracy system, the regime of Iraq was hybrid, and Nigeria also had an authoritarian system type just like Yemen as well. Pakistan and Russia practiced a hybrid regime type, Philippines and Thailand had a flawed democracy, while Somalia had an unclassified regime type. The aforementioned however shows that Iraq was among the top ten most affected states by terrorism and its regime system being hybrid regime. Most countries which are

not democratic always faced a lot of terrorism attacks or served as a hub for terrorists.

**Table 5.7:** Top ten countries most affected by terrorism and their income group

COUNTRY	INCOME GROUP
Afghanistan	Low income
India	Lower middle income
Iraq	Lower middle income
Nigeria	Lower middle income
Pakistan	Lower middle income
Philippines	Lower middle income
Russia	Upper middle income
Somalia	Lower income
Thailand	Lower middle income
Yemen	Lower middle income

**Source:** Global Terrorism Index (2015), Capturing the Impact of terrorism from 2002-2011,

Table 5.7 above shows a list of some countries that are highly affected by terrorist activities and their per capital income group. Most often, countries with lower income group are likely to face a lot of terrorist activities. From the chart above, Iraq is again sited as being among the countries being most affected by terrorism and having a lower middle income. Countries with low middle income have witness high rate of terrorist activities within the decades, with a rampart increase in 2002. The table equally illustrate seven out of the ten countries impacted by terrorism are classified in the category of them are classified in the category of Lower middle income. Just two countries out of the ten listed countries have lower income. This is a clear indication to indicate that lower income nations do not necessarily lead to becoming or having a high frequency of terrorism. It is obvious that lower income states like Somalia and Afghanistan has for the past years increase in terrorist activities compare to their level in 2002. The upper middle income group which is Russia, has witness just few incidents of terrorist activities since 2002 and remained relatively stable.

**Table 5.8:** Ten cities with highest fatality rate from terrorism, 2014

<b>CITY</b>	<b>COUNTRY</b>	<b>DEATHS FROM TERRORISM</b>	<b>POPULATION</b>	<b>RATE PER 100,000</b>
Baghdad	Iraq	2,454	5,673,000	43
Maiduguri	Nigeria	431	1,112,000	39
Mosul	Iraq	510	1,740,000	29
Peshawar	Pakistan	304	1,219,000	25
Donetsk	Ukraine	102	1,025,000	10
Kabul	Afghanistan	206	3,044,000	7
Kano	Nigeria	184	3,626,000	5
Odessa	Ukraine	46	1,002,000	5
Karachi	Pakistan	374	11,624,000	3
Kaduna	Nigeria	46	1,582,000	3

**Source:** Global Terrorism Index (2015), Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism, p. 32,

Table 5.8 above shows a list of top ten cities and countries that witness the greatest fatality rate from terrorism in the year 2014. Baghdad-Iraq tops the list with high deaths rate from terrorist acts, and the highest rate per 100,000 (2,454 and 43 respectively). Incurring this number of deaths just on one city is a huge lose. These are some of the reasons why man

y people consider Iraq to a center of terrorism. A lot of attacks go on in the cities of Iraq yearly. This however scares many tourists from visiting the cities or exploring Iraq for leisure. From the table above, the second highest number of deaths still occurred in Iraq, precisely in Mosul. Over 510 people were killed.

## 6. CONCLUSION

This thesis sought to brief the history of terrorism, and embody the internal and external causes of terrorism, the outcome of rampant terrorist acts, the impact of US-led invasion of Iraq, the contributions of the international community in alleviating terrorism in the world and in Iraq to be specific. The term terrorism is often terminologically contradicted for the use of terrorist activities as a tool by criminals, freedom fighters who fight for self-determination rights and likewise the states in order to legitimize orders and suppress their opponents. Many scholars assumed that terrorism is practiced in many areas such as in political, nationalists, religious, revolutionary and ruling class, so as to achieve designed objectives or promote their plans to as to attain a goal. The case of Iraq is quite clear, where almost all the areas are practiced. For example, many scholars consider religious extremism to be among the main causes of terrorism in Iraq. The creation of strong religious groups like DAES in Iraq and Syria is a contributing factor to show that Religion plays a great role as the main driver of terrorism. Members of DAES are of the same religion backgrounds and work for a common objective. The strategy and struggle to achieve such objectives transform terrorism into violence, which is however used against non-combatants and the main target being the common people. This thesis reveals that there are several ways and system of terrorism, but each of which has the same goal which is that of affecting change within a political system by mean of violence. The act of terrorism can either be internal or external, and it could also be as a result of religious extremism or state sponsored terrorism.

The main aim of terrorism is to have power. Most political ideologies we see today and some that happened in the past were practiced through terrorist activities. Examples of such could be anarchism, anti-colonial movements, fascism and religious movements. For instance, historically, anarchists who were working class citizens had to use it for their rights against the industrialists and this led to the assassination of political personalities. On the other hand,

fascist state of Italy used this power method to oppress their opponents. Freedom fighters used the same tool or act as nationalists against colonial powers.

The literature of terrorism offers many definitions and its contextual description plays a vital role. There are common points to draw from the definitions which are centered on the limited number of actors or perpetrators to non-state groups and the actions of political aims. Throughout the thesis, there has been a constant eager to know what causes terrorism. The causes are highlighted through several approaches like; socio-economic and demographic strains, economic deprivation, political transformation and stability, political and institutional order, global economic and political order, identity and cultural clash, and contagion. Despite the efforts put in place to resolve terrorist activities and dissolve terrorist groups like DAES, it is rather unfortunate that the same group called DAES, deals mainly in cash and operates outside legitimate channels. So, levying sanctions on any active or passive financial support to the group (DAES) with the aim of dissolving it does not really affect them. The most common counterterrorism financial policy tools are not adequate in the case of DAES.

In addition to the aforementioned, the researcher noticed that terrorists can be of different categories such as; individuals who act independently, individuals who are supported by a nation state or group who act independently either in trans-state groups or intra-state groups who are supported by states. Most often, the things that actually motivate terrorism includes; Religious, social, political, ethnic and racial, cultural, economic, personal power, greed, revenge etc. Terrorism is carried on in respect to targets. For instance, some terrorism targets are specific institutions or people, concentrations of people, symbolic people, institutions monuments, critical infrastructures, other aspects such as food, public health, agriculture, water, government, emergency services, defense industrial base, telecommunications and information, banking and finance, energy, transportation, postal and chemical industry shipping centers. It is also examined in the aforementioned that terrorists have various modes of attacks which can either be; weapons and technologies like Weapons of Mass Destruction, conventional weapons which include Biological, Chemical,

Nuclear and Radiological Explosives (CBRNE) and cyber. They also have employment methods such as suicide and non-suicide attacks. As earlier discussed in the aforementioned, it reviews that terrorism comes as a result of gradual growth opposition and commitment, a group whose development is depended on government action. Once terrorist takes a direction, they do their best to get to the end so as not to be discouraged by interplay commitment, solidarity, risk, loyalty, revenge, guilt and isolation. Terrorist are capable of enduring until they are physically destroyed.

In respect to the aforementioned, it is therefore important to recommend the following; political mobilization should be well encouraging. This will however create awareness and openness among citizens and any secretive movement will be easily discovered at its early stage of creation. Also, public denunciation of violence should be promoted. It is quite clear that many citizens are unaware of the consistent and strong public denunciations following incidents that occur within a state or abroad. Creating awareness of non-violence will help to easily identify violent groups. They should be a reinforcement of self-policing efforts especially by improving strong relationship between Muslims communities and Law enforcements. They should be a strong assistance in community-building efforts. With this, people in those communities will not have anything to revolt on. They would be contented with what they have. Outreach by social service agencies should be well promoted. This kind of engagement will create more opportunities for citizens to become stakeholders in their communities thus the notion of getting into rebellious groups to get desired goals will be limited. People strike when they are hungry of which in normal circumstances they think hunger is not supposed to be. When citizens are busy and have something doing that can keep them happy, they forget about anything that can bring destruction whereas the reverse is true. Religious literacy should be enhanced as well. Civil rights enforcement should be increased. They should be no discrimination in any form, because it breeds bigotry and radicalization. The concern of most Muslims will be addressed through the enhancement of civil rights enforcement at the level of the state, local and federal levels.

## REFERENCES

- Abbasi, I. and M. K. Khatwani (2014)**, “An Overview of the Political Theories of Terrorism”, <http://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol19-issue8/Version-5/P01985103107.pdf>
- Al-Kadhimi, M. (2016)**, “Iraq struggles to combat evolving terrorist threat”, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/01/iraq-islamic-state-new-pattern-attack-suicide-fighting-.html>
- Alshehri, C. A. (2010)**, “Soft Power as an Alternative to Hard Power in Counterterrorism in Saudi Arabia”, [www.dtic.mil/get-tr-doc/pdf?AD=ADA522010](http://www.dtic.mil/get-tr-doc/pdf?AD=ADA522010)
- Richards, R. (2015)**, “Conceptualizing terrorism”, <https://books.google.com.tr/books?isbn=0198746962>
- Bart, O. et al. (2015)**. Terrorism Has a Long-lasting Negative impact on Economic Activity and Government Borrowing Cost, Sovereigns and Terrorism, Moody’s Investment Service, p. 5, <http://www.lefigaro.fr/assets/terrorisme.pdf>
- Bassil, Y. (2012)**, “The 2003 Iraq War: Operations, Causes, and Consequences”, <http://www.lacsc.org/papers/papera1.pdf>
- Bird, G. et al. (2008)**, “International Terrorism: Causes, Consequences and Cures”, *World Economy*, 31(2), pp. 255-274, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/4921378\\_International\\_Terrorism\\_Causes\\_Consequences\\_and\\_Cures](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/4921378_International_Terrorism_Causes_Consequences_and_Cures)
- Blanchard, C. M. (2018)**, “Iraq: In Brief”, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R45096.pdf>
- Buzan, B. (1997)**, “Rethinking Security after the cold War, Cooperation and Conflict”, Vol. 32, No. 1 (1997) <https://cluelesspoliticalscientist.wordpress.com/2017/04/13/rethinking-security-after-the-cold-war-by-barry-buzan-a-summary/>
- Cyrille, B. B. (2006)**, “The Definition of Terrorism and the Challenge of Relativism”, <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/806f/1ab0c63a0f4ac45b96e02167f3244a9792e3.pdf>
- Dreher, A. et al. (2010)**, “Does Terrorism Threaten Human Rights? Evidence from Panel Data”. *The Journal of Law & Economics*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (February 2010), pp. 65-93, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/596021>
- Ezeani, E. C. (2012)**, “The 21<sup>st</sup> Century Terrorist: Hostis Human Generis”? [http://file.scirp.org/pdf/BLR20120400002\\_91650645.pdf](http://file.scirp.org/pdf/BLR20120400002_91650645.pdf)
- Gambo, H. (2016)**, “The Origin of Diplomacy, accessed at: DAY.MONTH.YEAR”, address: <http://nigeriapolicy.blogspot.com.tr/2016/02/the-origin-of-diplomacy.html>
- Ganor, B. (2002)**, “Defining Terrorism: Is one Man’s Terrorist another Man’s freedom fighter?” *Police Practice and Research*, 2002, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 287–304,

- <http://www.rageuniversity.org/PRISONESCAPE/UK%20ANTI-TERROR%20LAW/One-Mans-Terrorist.pdf>
- Ganor, B. (2009)**, “Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century”, file:///C:/Users/SOFIA%202/Downloads/9780387094113-c1%20(2).pdf
- Ghosh, P. (2015)**, “International Relations, third Edition” (Revised), <https://books.google.com.tr/books?isbn=8120347234>
- Gibbs, J. P. (1989)**, “Conceptualization of Terrorism”. *American Sociological Review*, 54, pp. 329-340, <http://people.uncw.edu/ricej/SOC490/Conceptualization%20of%20Terrorism%20by%20Jack%20Gibbs.pdf>
- Global Terrorism Index (2015)**, Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism, <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2015.pdf>
- Gregor, B. (2013)**, “Definition of Terrorism-Social and Political Effects”, *Journal of Military and Veterans' Health*, Volume 21 No. 2, <http://jmvh.org/article/definitionof-terrorism-social-and-political-effects/>
- Indridason, I. H. (2008)**, “Incidents Does Terrorism Influence Domestic Politics?” Coalition Formation and Terrorist, <http://indridason.politicaldata.org/publications/Indridason,%20I%20-%20Does%20terrorism%20influence%20domestic%20politics.pdf>
- Janssen S. (2018)**, “The World Almanac and Book of Facts”, 2017 Special features and year in review, 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary edition, [https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=8bevDgAAQBAJ&pg=RA3-PA2007&lpg=RA3-PA2007&dq=the+world+almanac+and+book+of+facts+2017+Iraq&source=bl&ots=\\_6-yBLdkk4&sig=3TLCTeqgYpK961cawn3YUPrTZ5I&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj4xJmUhbjeAhVGECwKHQ0XDJAQ6AEwDHoECAoQAQ#v=onepage&q=the%20world%20almanac%20and%20book%20of%20facts%202017%20Iraq&f=false](https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=8bevDgAAQBAJ&pg=RA3-PA2007&lpg=RA3-PA2007&dq=the+world+almanac+and+book+of+facts+2017+Iraq&source=bl&ots=_6-yBLdkk4&sig=3TLCTeqgYpK961cawn3YUPrTZ5I&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj4xJmUhbjeAhVGECwKHQ0XDJAQ6AEwDHoECAoQAQ#v=onepage&q=the%20world%20almanac%20and%20book%20of%20facts%202017%20Iraq&f=false)
- Johnston, R. B. and O. M. Nedelescu (2005)**, “The Impact of Terrorism on Financial Markets”, IMF Working Paper, <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2005/wp0560.pdf>
- Katzman, K. and C. E. Humud (2016)**, “Iraq: Politics and Governance”, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RS21968.pdf>
- Khurshid, A. (2006)**, “Terrorism and War against Terrorism: Some fundamental Issues”, <http://www.ips.org.pk/global-issues-and-politics/1125-terrorism-and-war-against-terrorism-some-fundamental-issues>
- Kiraz, I. I. (2014)**, “Soft Power and Diplomacy in Counter-Terrorism”, Center for Strategic Research, <https://www.slideshare.net/IlkimIlaydaKiraz/soft-power-and-diplomacy-in-counter>
- Kirk, R. M. (1983)**, “Political terrorism and the size of government: a positive institutional analysis of violent political activity”. *Public Choice*, 40, pp. 41–52.
- Lindberg, M. (2010)**, “Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century”, Analisis no 7561, [http://www.gees.org/files/article/20022010093237\\_Analisis-07561.pdf](http://www.gees.org/files/article/20022010093237_Analisis-07561.pdf)



- Mannik, E. (2011)**, “Terrorism: Its Past, Present and Future Prospects”, [http://www.ksk.edu.ee/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/KVUOA\\_Toimetised\\_12-M%C3%A4nnik.pdf](http://www.ksk.edu.ee/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/KVUOA_Toimetised_12-M%C3%A4nnik.pdf)
- Meierrieks, D. and Krieger, T. (2009)**, “Terrorism in the worlds of welfare capitalism”. CIE Working Paper 009-04, University of Paderborn, <http://groups.uni-paderborn.de/fiwi/RePEc/Working%20Paper%20neutral/WP22%20-%202009-04.pdf>
- Meierrieks, D. and Krieger, T. (2011)**, “What Causes Terrorism?” [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/5224314\\_What\\_causes\\_terrorism](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/5224314_What_causes_terrorism)
- Merriam-Webster Dictionary (1828)**, “Definition of relation”, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/relation>
- Munson, Z. (2008)**, “Terrorism”, *Contexts*, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 78–79 <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1525/ctx.2008.7.4.78>
- Nye, J. (2004)**, “The benefits of Soft Power, Working Knowledge-Business Research for Business Leaders”, <http://hbswk.hbs.edu/archive/4290.html>
- Oosterveld, B. et al. (2015)**, “Terrorism Has a Long-lasting Negative impact on Economic Activity and Government Borrowing Cost, Sovereigns and Terrorism, Moody’s Investment Service”, <http://www.lefigaro.fr/assets/terrorisme.pdf>
- Örmeci, O. (2010)**, “The Concept of Security and Security Studies”, <http://ydemokrat.blogspot.com.tr/2010/09/concept-of-security-and-security.html>
- Özdamar, Ö. (2008)**, “Theorizing Terrorist Behavior: Major Approaches and their Characteristics”, <http://ozgur.bilkent.edu.tr/download/06Theorizing%20Terrorist%20Behavior%20Major%20Approaches%20and%20Their%20Characteristics.pdf>
- Pallaver, M. (2011)**, “Power and Its Forms: Hard, Soft, Smart. The London School of Economics and Political Science”, [http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/220/1/Pallaver\\_Power\\_and\\_Its\\_Forms.pdf](http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/220/1/Pallaver_Power_and_Its_Forms.pdf)
- Pecht, M. (2016)**, “International Responses to ISIS (and why they are failing)”, <https://www.sipri.org/commentary/essay/2016/international-responses-isis-and-why-they-are-failing>
- Perl, R. F. (2017)**, “International terrorism: Threat, Policy, and Response”, Congressional Research service (CRS) Report for Congress, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RL33600.pdf>
- Schneider, F. et al. (2009)**, “The Economics of Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism: A Survey”, <https://www.aeaweb.org/conference/2010/retrieve.php?pdfid=235>
- Shughart, II. W. F. (2013)**, “An Analytical history of Terrorism, 1945-2000”, [http://www.guillaumenicaise.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/analytical-history-of-terrorism\\_shughart.pdf](http://www.guillaumenicaise.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/analytical-history-of-terrorism_shughart.pdf)
- Stern, J. and McBride, M. K. (2013)**, “Terrorism after the 2003 invasion of Iraq”, <http://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2013/Terrorism%20after%20the%202003%20Invasion%20of%20Iraq.pdf>

- Tarte, D. (2014)**, “FIJI A Place called Home, Australian National University Press”,  
<http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p301541/pdf/book.pdf?referer=207>
- Tombul, O. (2015)**, “The Emergence of ISIS in Iraq: An Economic Approach to the “Root Causes” of Terrorism”,  
[https://www.academia.edu/12302320/The\\_Emergence\\_of\\_ISIS\\_in\\_Iraq\\_An\\_Economic\\_Approach\\_to\\_the\\_Root\\_Causes\\_of\\_Terrorism](https://www.academia.edu/12302320/The_Emergence_of_ISIS_in_Iraq_An_Economic_Approach_to_the_Root_Causes_of_Terrorism)
- Tompkins, E. C. (1992)**, “Political Terrorism: A Conceptual and Theoretical Framework”,  
<http://summit.sfu.ca/system/files/iritems1/3838/b14263683.pdf>
- Trunkos, J. (2013)**, “What is Soft Power Capability and How Does it Impact Foreign Policy?”,  
<http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/2013-acdusa/What-Is-Soft-Power-Capability-And-How-Does-It-Impact-Foreign-Policy--Judith-Trunkos.pdf>
- Wolfendale, J. (2007)**, “Terrorism, Security, and the Threat of Counterterrorism”,  
[http://archives.cerium.ca/IMG/pdf/WOLFENDALE\\_2007\\_Terrorism\\_Security\\_and\\_the\\_Threat\\_of\\_Counterterrorism.pdf](http://archives.cerium.ca/IMG/pdf/WOLFENDALE_2007_Terrorism_Security_and_the_Threat_of_Counterterrorism.pdf)
- Young, R. (2006)**, Defining Terrorism: “The Evolution of Terrorism as a Legal Concept in International Law and Its Influence on Definitions in Domestic Legislation”, *Boston College International and Comparative Law Review*, Volume 29/Issue 1, Article 3,  
<http://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1054&context=iclr>

## RESUME

**Name/Surname:** Amer Adil HADI  
**Place and Date of Birth:** 15.06.1975  
**Nationality:** Iraq  
**E-mail:** [hamerhadel@gmail.com](mailto:hamerhadel@gmail.com)



## EDUCATION

- ❖ **Bachelor:** 2002, Erbil Salahaddin University College of Rights
- ❖ **Masters:** 2017, Istanbul Aydin University, Social Sciences Institute, Department of Political Science and International Relations