



Terrorism in the Age of Globalization

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Abstract

Globalization and Terrorism are two prominent terminology of modern world. In general globalization are considered as an economic phenomenon but it has political dimensions too. The relationship between globalization and terrorism are very complex. The concept of terrorism are undergoing with drastic changes under the influence of globalization. Globalization on the one hand works as the facilitator for terrorism while on the other hand it equips our security agencies with such technologies which are very helpful in checking the threat of terrorism. This paper is an attempt to understand the concept of globalisation with respect to terrorism. For example due to globalisation people are more free to move and settle from one country to another country. While shifting in new environment sometimes they feel difficulty in assimilating to new culture because these peoples have distinct set of ideas towards this new culture. Which becomes the cause of conflict between the new arrivals and the locals? In the same way globalization has amplified the effect of technology manifold which in turn helps security agencies in predicting and countering the terror act.

Keywords: Globalization, Terrorism, Technology, Security, Ideology

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Introduction

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon. Humanity had witnessed the act of terrorism in the past first century B.C., when Jews revolted against the tyranny of Roman Empire, to modern age of regime de la terreur. The English word, 'Terrorism' comes out from the French phrase 'regime de la terreur' during the French revolution^[1]. During all these years the word 'Terrorism' could not gain as much popularity as it has gained after the incident of 9/11. Incident of 9/11 on American soil compels us to think that terrorism knows no boundary. Human has been familiar with the technology since ancient times, but the process of globalization has helped the technology to develop at a very fast pace and also helped it to spread from one place to another place quickly. Due to this technological advancement it doesn't matter, in which part of the world you are living in. You might be a potential target of some terrorist group even if it is operating some thousand miles away from you. Now the terrorism is not limited to a particular



country. It has now reached to the every corner of the globe. This changing trend of terrorism is the outcome of globalization. Under this new phenomenon one can hostage someone from northern hemisphere of the world to fulfil his demand on the southern hemisphere of the earth. To understand this new phenomenon, we need to understand the relationship between globalization and terrorism. But before going deep into the topic it would be apt for us to understand the concept of globalization and terrorism. Without understanding the concept well, we could get a muddled picture of the concept which could further mislead us towards the issue. On the other hand, a sharp definition promotes knowledge, insight and interest that help us to move forward in positive direction. The whole article has been divided into three sections. First section will discuss the concept of globalization, second section will discuss about terrorism and finally the last section will discuss how globalization and terrorism is related and how globalization facilitates terrorism to spread all over the globe.

Globalization

Cambridge dictionary defines globalization as the process by which particular goods and services or social and cultural influences gradually become similar in all parts of the world^[2]. Merriam Webster defines globalization as the development of an increasingly integrated global economy marked especially by free trade, free flow of capital and tapping of cheaper foreign labour market^[3]. Both of the above definition emphasises globalisation as something which helps world to become more integrated and more similar. But globalization is not only about similarity or integration rather it is a vast and complex terminology. For example, Anthony Giddens describes globalisation something which transforms local characteristics into a worldwide phenomenon. "Globalization can thus be thought of as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa."^[4] Professor Roland Robertson defines globalisation as a tool which can compress the world as whole as well as a collective consciousness of the world. According to Robertson "Globalisation considers the world as a whole, going beyond conventional distinctions between the global and the local and between the universal and particular"^[5].

Generally, people considered globalization as an economic phenomenon which is not fully true rather it is a vast and complex terminology which comprises economic, social, political, cultural and historical dimensions. Anthony Giddens rightly said that "it is a fundamental mistake to conceptualize globalization in purely economic terms rather it is fundamentally social, cultural and political not just economic"^[6]. We can see such effect on food habits and dietary pattern of the world. The main determinants of globalization such as urbanization, foreign capital flows and market liberalization have brought changes in food system and dietary pattern worldwide^[7]. Paneer tikka Masala and Indian curry today, have a global reach, similarly the demand of western food is continuously increasing in developing countries including India^[8]. If we see its historical dimension then a question arises that does it make sense that a momentous concept like globalization emerged in only a few decades?. Many historians have found out the basis of deep and wide infrastructure of globalization in the past era without using the term globalization^[9]. The difference lies only in their scope and intensity. As Rudolph (2003) has rightly pointed



out that the process of globalization has always been prevailing in the society but in modern days it has become more complex and faster than ever before ^[10]. There is lot of evidence which suggests that globalization is not a new phenomenon rather it has a long historical origin. For example, first movement of people out of Africa into other parts of world or since the 3rd millennium BC when the world system emerges or since the so-called axial age in the 1st millennium BC or only from the great geographical discoveries or in the nineteenth century or after the 1945 or only since late 1980s. Each of these dates has its own justification ^[11]. Sociologist Martin Albrow and Elizabeth King define globalization as “all those process by which the people of the world are incorporated into a single world society ^[12]. Another sociologist Ruediger Korfsee globalisations as a generalisation of localisation. He argued that sometimes people describe globalisation as Americanization or Westernization. He further discusses that local or global is not real issue. The real issue is power differentiation. In other words, among several ‘Local’ only those local will become global who are more powerful from the rest **Error! Reference source not found.**¹.

All the above definitions of globalisation indicate following traits of globalisation:

- Integration of world economy
- Mitigating the difference among cultures
- Intensification of distant social relations
- Establishment of uniform standard for the whole world
- Making the world more interdependent
- Encouraging technological advancement

After analysing all the above definition of globalization, we can conclude that it is a multifaceted phenomenon which includes not only economic aspect but social, cultural and political aspect also. Globalization is not a permanent phenomenon but it is an ongoing process which has past, present and future. We can see globalization as a vector also which facilitated social changes to occur. It provides a medium on which a social phenomenon travels from one place to another place.

Terrorism

The term “terrorism” was initially coined to describe the reign of terror, the period of French revolution from 5 September 1793 to 27 July 1794, during which the revolutionary government directed violent and harsh measures against citizens suspected of being enemies of the revolution ^[14].

Most of the definitions about terrorism has been given during the colonial times. During these times freedom fighter and the colonial forces used to blame each other for terrorist act. Neumann has described terrorism as an individual act of freedom fighters against the colonial powers in the eighteenth century ^[16]. Bruce Hoffman of Georgetown university has defined terrorism as ‘violence –or equally important, the threat of violence –used and directed in pursuit of or in service of, a political aim. Similarly, Louise Richardson of Oxford university believes terrorism



is ‘deliberately and violently targeting civilians for political purpose.’^[16]. Terrorist often achieved success against weak and unstable government. That’s why Giddens and W. Sutton, (2013), says that terrorism is the consequence of weak governance ^[17]. Another definition is given by Council on Foreign Relations which says ‘Terrorism is ineluctably political. It represents an input to intimidate, coerce, punish or otherwise influence others by violence or the threat of violence because of their political view’s affiliation, or position. Describing of terrorism is often complicated by gaps between the strict legal definition and more general societal interpretations ^[18].

In the United States of America “Terrorism” is defined in Title 22 chapter 38 U.S. code 2656f(d) as “ Premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non combatant targets by sub national group or clandestine agents^[19]. In general, terrorism is classified as

- The use of violence or of the threat of violence in pursuit of political, religious, ideological or social objectives.
- Acts committed by non-state actors serving n behalf of their respective governments.
- Acts reaching more than the immediate target victims and also directed at targets consisting of a larger spectrum of society.

After growing incidences of terrorism, United Kingdom tried to define terrorist act in the name of United Kingdom Terrorism Act, 2000, which describes terrorism as following:^[20]

- (a) When the attack is meant to bring terror among the people.
- (b) When the threat is to spread religious ideas or ideologies.
- (c) When verbal and physical violence is exercised against a person.
- (d) Brings about significant damage to property.
- (e) When the life of an individual is at risk.
- (f) When it poses a risk to the health or safety of the public or a part of the public, or
- (g) when it comes to breaking an electronic system.

United Nations defined terrorism (2015) as any action that seeks to cause a civilian injury or death if the purpose of such an act is intimidation of people or the obligation of a particular organization or government make or not make a certain action ^[21].

Every definition has its own its own limitations however there are some common ground upon which they are unanimously agreed such as-

- (1) Act of terrorism
- (2) Political motivation
- (3) To intimidate or coerce a civilian population
- (4) To influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion
- (5) To affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination or kidnapping.



Globalisation as a facilitator to terrorism

After understanding the concept of globalization and terrorism now we can discuss how globalization is facilitating terrorism? We will try to understand the relationship between globalisation and terrorism by analysing the following factor:

- (1) How policies of globalisation pushed people into poverty and their poverty compel people to support and indulge in terrorist activities.
- (2) How globalisation help to propagate local and menial issues into a global and burning issue.
- (3) How globalisation facilitates terrorist to use modern technology to propagate their agenda and ideology.
- (4) Grater and easy mobility of terrorist
- (5) Extension of terrorist organization to global reach
- (6) Better and Organised structure of terrorist organization
- (7) Increased affectivity i.e. damages per attack, posing higher risk and rapidly increasing deterrence cost like insurance

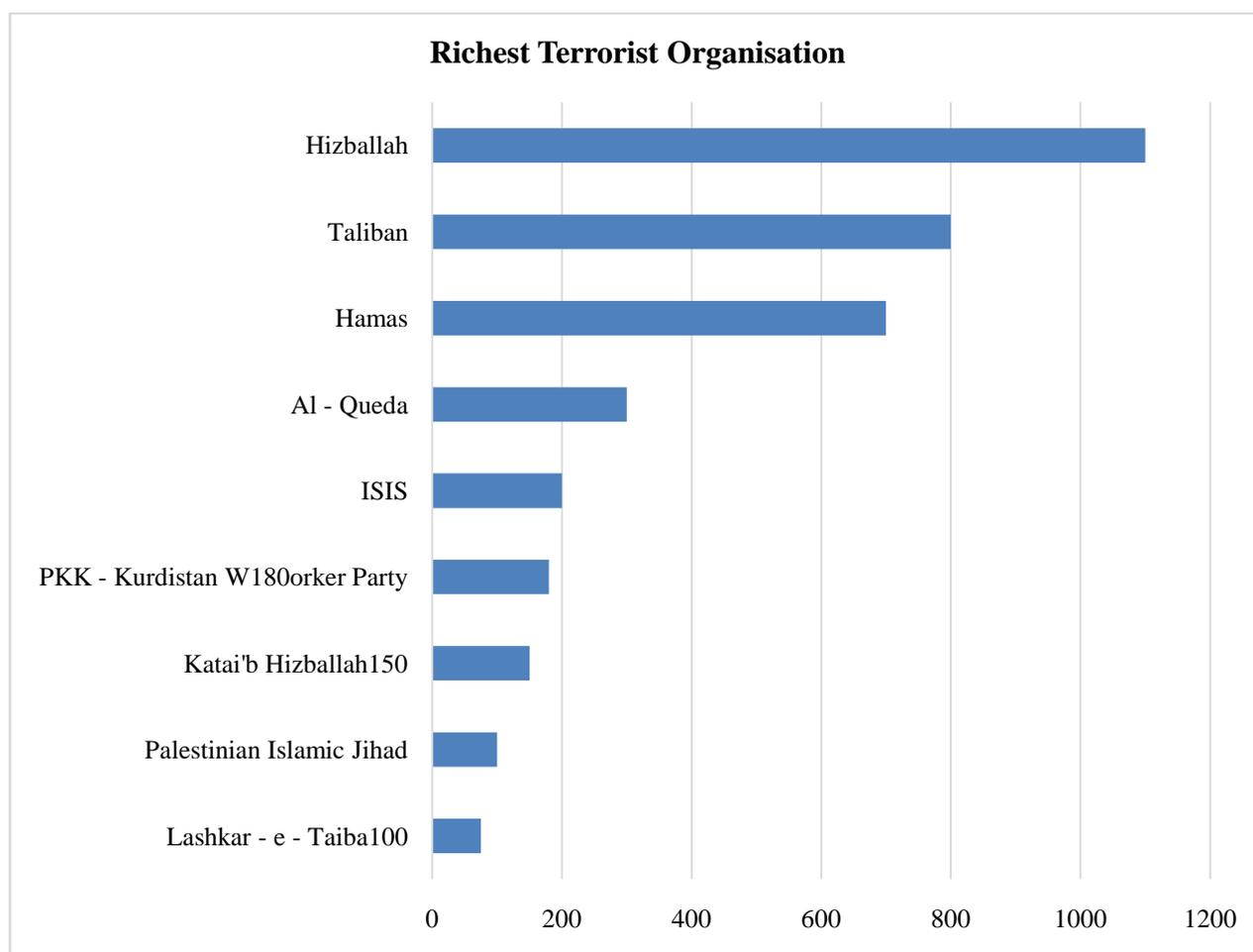
After the emergence of Bin Laden as the head of Al Qaeda, it had been widely argued by various think tanks that terrorism is not the result of poverty rather the possibility of affluent people to indulge in terrorist activity is more prone than the poor people. Alan B. Kruger and Jitka Maleckowa in their study suggest that the occurrence of hate crimes is largely independent of economic conditions. He analyzes data on support for attacks against Israeli targets from public opinion polls conducted in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. These polls indicate that support for violent attacks does not decrease among those with higher education and higher living standards^[22]. The finding of Alan B. Kriger and Jitka Maleckowa are supported by a report published in Forbes magazine. According to this report the most lethal terror organizations in the world are also the wealthiest(2018, June 06.)^[23].

The following bar chart shows that Top 10 terrorist organization of the world who are operating in millions of dollars.



Richest Terrorist Organisations

Figure 1



Funds in US Million Dollar

Source: Forbes Israel, June 06,2018.

In contrast to Alan B. Kruger and Jetika Maleckowa, Ambassador David Shinn shows in his study of Sub – Saharan Africa, that however poverty is not the root cause of terrorism but it is one of a myriad of factors that contributes to the progression of terrorism in sub-Saharan Africa. Poverty has contributed to an environment that has enabled terrorist organizations to draw support ^[24]. Similar view has been presented by Sidhartha Mitra in his article ‘Poverty and Terrorism’. In his study of North Eastern state of India, he shows the relationship between poverty and terrorist activities. In his case study of Mizoram, Tripura and Assam he pointed out



that relative deprivation is the main cause of unrest among masses. In Mizoram there was a cyclic ecological phenomenon which is known as the 'Mautam', During mautam millions of rats attracted towards bamboo flowers and destroy the crops, it eventually leads the situation of famine. The Mautam of 1959, caused an enormous incidence of hunger and starvation. The Mizo leader Lal Denga took advantage of this famine situation and organized Mizo people against the government. Thus grim economic conditions of Mizo people play an important role in rising insurgency in Mizoram. Economic policies had played crucial role in the formation of United Liberation of Asom. During colonial period, British government acquired lands from the Assamese people without any compensation and converted it into tea big estates. Deprived of large tracts of land, Assamese people felt exploited and this sense of exploitation continued for hundreds of years culminating in the formation of United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA). In the same way Tripura is felt deprived when millions of refugees from neighbouring Bangladesh settled in Tripura and outnumbered the indigenous people in their own land^[25]. These two studies suggest that poverty and inequality were and are among the driving forces behind the terrorist activities.

Thus, it has become clear that however poverty is not the sole reason behind the terrorist activities but is one of the most important factors in spreading the act of terrorism. The economic policies sometimes create such an environment which eventually pushed people of marginal sections into vicious cycle of poverty and these poor people further endorse and get indulged in terrorist activities themselves. As we know that globalization encourages free market and free markets are dominated by multinational companies. These companies continuously tried to reduce their cost and want to sell their product in the third world countries in competitive prices. This is only possible when the third world countries did not subsidize their farmers, products and companies. Therefore, these multinational companies create such environment under which subsidies are considered bad for free market which forced developing countries to cut their subsidies which further resulted in less productivity and in unemployment in developing countries. Due to these policies of globalization number of people from developing nations is gradually being pushed towards the poverty line. How the process of globalization pushes marginalised sections into poverty, can be illustrated through the example of agriculture sector in India. According to India Economic Survey 2018, more than 50 percent of total work force are employed in agriculture sector, which contributes around 17% – 18% of Country's GDP^[26].

Therefore, any adverse policies towards agriculture sector would have a cascading effect on whole rural economy. Dr. Anand Teltumbde has nicely described how continuous decrease in fertilizer subsidy affects the growth of agriculture product. The subsidy on fertilizers had played a crucial role in quadrupling food grain production from 46 million tonnes for a population of 363 million in 1951 to 170 million tonnes in 1991 for a population of 832 million. But after the launch of reforms, the subsidy was reduced. It slid from .82% of GDP in 1990 – 91 to .75% of GDP in 1995 – 96. The prices of the phosphatic and potassium-based fertilizers were decontrolled and that of nitrogen-based fertilizers were reduced by 10 percent. The prices of phosphatic and potassium-based fertilizers were soared to international level resulting into sharp fall in their consumption. Consumption of phosphatic fertilizer once fell from 3.3 million tonnes



of nutrients in 1991 – 92 to 2.7million tonnes in 1993 – 94 and that of potassic fell from 1.4 to .9 million tonnes in the same period. Some amount of substitution effect raised the consumption of nitrogen – based fertiliser from 8 million tonnes in 1991 – 92 to 10.8 million tonnes in 1995 – 96 resulting in skewing of the nutrient balance. The imbalance is said to have an adverse effect on soil quality and in turn on its productivity ^[27].

Decrease in food productivity had resulted in hunger among Indian rural people during the economic reform period i.e. 1991 to 2007. Usha Patnaik,(Professor of Economics at the centre for Economic Studies and Planning at Jawahar Lal Nehru University) had rightly said that India has had a growing problem with food output and availability for the mass of the population since the inception of neoliberal economic reforms in 1991. A deep agricultural depression and rising unemployment rates resulting from “reform” policies have made the problem especially acute over the past decade. There has been a sharp decline in per capita grain output as well as grain consumption in the economy as a whole. Income has been shifting away from the majority towards the wealthy minority and a substantial segment of the population is being forced to eat less food and wear older clothing than before^[28].

Globalisation are not only facilitating terrorism through its economic policies but it has capacity to propagate local issue of conflict into global one which sometimes creates unrest among people which many times appears in the form of terrorism. The primary objective of a terrorist group to attract attention of the world press. Therefore, they choose such targets which is internationally known and attached with the feelings of large section of the society^[29]. This could be the persons and building which symbolizes a certain kind of ideology, life style of centre of power of a state. For example, the incident of shooting in Al-Noor mosque on 15 march 2019 in New Zealand, where a gunman entered in a mosque and open fire on people killing more than 50 people. Almost a month later on 21 April 2019 on the holy day of Easter three luxury hotels in the commercial capital Colombo were targeted in a series of coordinated terrorist attack.

Both incidents are the finest example of how one incident somewhere in the globe generates reaction in other part of the globe which is thousand miles away from the origin of incident. These two incidents cannot be seen in isolation. According to Srilankan official devastating Easter bombings in Srilanka were a retaliation for recent deadly attack on mosque in New Zealand^[30].This statement clearly shows us that under the effect of globalization today terrorist activities has not been limited to only one place but it has a global reach and influence. The attack on French satire weekly newspaper Charlie Hebdo is also an apt example where a gunman associated with the terrorist organization Al – Qaeda, killed 12 people and injured several others^[31]. This incident of terrorism indicates two important things. First is, due to globalisation the caricature published by news paper had reached to distant corner of the globe much faster than usual. Secondly the tools of globalisation facilitate this caricature for the purpose of satire, to reach every part of the globe in its original form which has been considered offensive in some part of the globe due to cultural differences. Therefore, when the caricature of Prophet Muhammad reached to those places which are considered the countries of rigid ideas has been taken as offensive rather than as humorous.



Counter Terrorism In the age of Globalization

Globalization not only changed the phenomenon of terrorism but it has also changed the policies of counter terrorism. These changes could be understood under three broad categories.

- (1) How globalization has changed the phenomenon of security?
- (2) How technology and information revolution help countries to fight against terrorism
- (3) How can globalization help countries to increase awareness, capability and engagement to fight against the terrorism?

Globalization and Security

Since globalization is a vast term, therefore it would be apt for us to know the reference point of globalization according to the need of our study. We know that globalisation is not a static term rather globalization is a dynamic term. Therefore, it is difficult to find out any reference point on which we can say that particular era is the starting point of globalization. Globalization has few characteristics which has been increasing with the advent of new technologies. After the development of information technology, the process of globalisation has reached its new peak. As the Trupti Lamba and Harmeet Malhotra has rightly pointed out that technology is the vital force in the modern form of business globalization^[32]. Technology has revolutionized the global economy and has become critical competitive strategy. It has globalized the world, which drive all the countries to more ethical standards. Technology revolution is sweeping the globe and the transition from manual to electronic delivery of services both in public and private sector leads to advancement of business community throughout the world. Globalization has lead to new markets and information technology is one of the technologies fostered to the new market in this increasing competitive world. Technology has helped us in overcoming the major hurdles of globalization and international trade such as trade barrier, lack of common ethical standard, transportation cost and delay in information exchange, thereby changing the market place. Globalization is not only the outcome of economic or technological advancement rather globalization is also reshaping authoritarian regimes into the democratic regimes. For example, European union was originally an economic community, now requires democratic government as a pre-condition for membership. The Organization of American States, once a diplomatic forum for both democratic and nondemocratic governments, now works actively to restore democracy when it is imperilled in member states. The Organization of African Unity, also a traditional diplomatic group, is attempting to forge a regional human rights code model after the Helsinki process in Europe^[33]. Thus, whenever we will discuss about the globalization with reference to counter terrorism it will include how technological advancement making changes in the act of counter terrorism and how globalization is propagating liberal values which are very helpful in countering the terrorist act. If countries want to design an effective counter terror policy then these liberal values must be included into their policies.

After understanding the concept of globalization with reference to counter terrorism, the concept of security would also be very helpful for us to understand the concept of countering the



terrorism. The concept of security in the age of globalization has changed drastically than that the cold war era. Barry Buzan rightly mentioned that the meaning of security is not limited to only military aspect rather it has comprises social, political, economic and environmental issues^[34]. Thus, discussion on the broadening of security has started towards other domains even before the end of the Cold War era, indicating that we cannot only focus on military issues, which is also well noted by the Copenhagen School. In the age globalization the role of state has also decreased and the role of multinational companies, financial institutions has been increased. Domestic issues transform into a global issue.

Conclusion

Globalization is an irreversible phenomenon. It has become integral part of our daily life. If indigenous companies are facing tough competition due to globalization it is equally true that we are getting world class product only because of globalization. So, it would not be wise for us to stop the course of globalization in order to put an end to global terrorism. So, what else can we do to check the menace of global terrorism?

Terrorism as we know is the outcome of injustice and ignorance. When a group of people in some part of the world is deprived by their basic rights, they feel frustrated and this frustration is generally released in the form of violence which sometimes took the form of terrorism. So, it is quite clear that globalization is not the reason for terrorist activities rather it works as a facilitator in amplifying the small issue of injustice into a kind of huge injustice. Therefore, to eradicate terrorism the foremost condition is to eradicate injustice first because it is the root cause of any terrorist activities. On the other hand, there are some measures by which we can minimize the negative impact of globalization such as:

- The main weapon of globalization is media. Media is a vehicle upon which globalization travels around the world. But sometimes media becomes the source of fake news and rumours which only helps in spreading hates among people. So, government need to formulate such policies by which media can be regulated in such a way that people can get only real news not titbits.
- Sometimes globalization left people jobless. Globalization left people displaced from their ancestral place which left people deprived from basic needs. Here government cannot be a moot spectator rather government should address the grievances of the affected people immediately.
- Any mega projects like dams etc should be established only after prior consent of the people.
- Immigration is the integral part of globalization. People migrate from one place to another place to get livelihood. This sometimes creates tension among locals and migrants. So, migrants and locals both should respect each other culture.
- In the era of globalization, technology is changing every second. With the development of technology, the life of common people is becoming easier, on the other hand, terrorist is also taking advantage of this simplified technology to carry out their operations. In such a situation it is necessary to adopt such counter terrorism policy which can face the threat of terrorism with the changing technology.



- Terrorist often use multiple false identities to in order to cross the border. This highlights the need of a data bank related to people who want to cross the border of one country to another. This data should be shared among the relevant authorities, law enforcement and intelligence agencies.
- To check the false identification biometric matching service should also be installed to facilitate identification in border crossing check points.
- Terrorist often carried out their violent operations with the help of illegal weapon. Therefore, it is necessary to reduce access to dangerous and illegal weapon.

We can have endless suggestions but the crux of the matter is that if we want peace under the influence of globalization then we need to train ourselves in such a way where we can able to scrutinize even small issue in a positive and transparent manner. It is the duty of common people to not get instigated on miniscule issues. We have been the witness of two world wars in which no one had come out as winner. We can calculate only their degree of defeat. Large number of humans have lost their life in both the world war. So, to avoid any kind of conflict should be our common goal. We have to learn to live in multicultural world because they now have become the integral part of our life. This is the only way to cope with the negative impact of globalization and terrorism.



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