

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

- Booth, K. (2007). *Theory of World Security*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Burhanuddin, A. (2017). *Studi Keamanan dan Isu-Isu Strategis Global*. Makassar: Lembaga Kajian dan Pengembangan Pendidikan (LKPP) Universitas Hasanuddin.
- Buzan, B., Wæver, O., & Wilde, J. d. (1998). *Security: a New Framework for Analysis*. United States of America: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Byman, D. (2007). *Understanding Proto-Insurgencies*. RAND.
- Editors, C. R., & McKnight, W. J. (2015). *Boko Haram: The History of Africa's Most Notorious Terrorist Group*. Charles River Editors.
- Kaldor, M. (2012). *New & Old Wars: Organized Violence In a Global Era*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Mann, M. (1988). *States, War, and Capitalism: Studies in Political Sociology*. Oxford: Blackwell .
- Percy, S. (2007). *Mercenaries: The History of a Norm in International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rosyidin, M. (2020). *Teori Hubungan Internasional Dari Perspektif Klasik Sampai Non-Barat*. Depok: PT RajaGrafindo Persada.
- Singer, P. W. (2003). *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry*. New York: Cornell University.
- Varin, C. (2016). *Boko Haram and the War on Terror*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.
- Williams, P. D. (2008). *SECURITY STUDIES: AN INTRODUCTION*. Oxon: Routledge.

Artikel Jurnal

- Adamo, A. (2020). The Terrorist and the Mercenary: Private warriors Against Nigeria's Boko Haram. *African Studies*, 1-21.
- Aditya, G. D., Hardiwinoto, S., & Setiyono, J. (2017). Peran dan Status Private Military Companies dalam Konflik Bersenjata Ditinjau dari Hukum Humaniter Internasional. *Diponegoro Law Journal*, 1-18.

- Ahmed, Y., & Eje, M. A. (2015). A Discourse Analysis of Goodluck Jonathan's Response to the Kidnapping of the Chibok Girls. *Covenant Journal of Language Studies (CJLS)*, 39-55.
- Akinola, O. (2015). Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria: Between Islamic Fundamentalism, Politics, and Poverty. *African Security*, 1-29.
- Albert, M., & Buzan, B. (2011). Securitization, Sectors and Functional Differentiation. *Special Issue on The Politics of Securitization*, 413-425.
- Amunwa, B. (2012). FUELLING THE VIOLENCE: OIL COMPANIES AND ARMED MILITANCY IN NIGERIA. *Platform*.
- Attah, C. E. (2019). Financing Terrorism in Nigeria: Cutting off the Oxygen. *Africa Development*, 5-25.
- Augé, B. (2015). Nigeria: From Goodluck Jonathan to Muhammadu Buhari. *The French Institute of International Relations (Ifri)* , 1-20.
- Avant, D. (2004). The Privatization of Security and Change in the Control of Force . *International Studies Perspectives*, 153-157.
- Balzacq, T. (2005). The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context. *European Journal of International Relations*.
- Campbell, J. (2014). *U.S. Policy to Counter Nigeria's Boko Haram*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Center for Preventive Action, Council Special Report .
- Comolli, V. (2015). The Regional Problem of Boko Haram. *Survival*, 109-117.
- CTC Sentinel. (2021). TWENTY YEARS AFTER 9/11: A SPECIAL ISSUE OF CTC SENTINEL. *CTC SENTINEL*.
- Dorney, S. (1998). *The Sandline Affair: Politics and Mercenaries and the Bougainville Crisis*. Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC).
- Enos, N. N.-A. (2023). Analysing the Evolution of Private Military Companies in Africa since the 1990s . *Stellenbosch University* .
- Ette, M., & Joe, S. (2018). 'Rival visions of reality': An analysis of the framing of Boko Haram in Nigerian newspapers and Twitter. *Media, War & Conflict*, 392-406.
- Floyd, R. (2021). Securitisation and The Function of Functional Actors. *Studies on Security* , 81-97.
- Goldy, A. Z. (2022). Analisis Peran Pemerintah Dalam Konflik Boko Haram Chibok School girl Kidnapping di Nigeria Ditinjau Dari Sudut Pandang Sekuritisasi 2014-2018 . *Universitas Islam Indonesia*, 1-65.

- Howe, H. M. (1998). Private Security Forces and African Stability: The Case of Executive Outcomes. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 307-331.
- Imhonopi, D., & Urim, U. M. (2012). Nigeria's Expensive Democracy: A Confederal Option For Development. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 70-80.
- International Crisis Group. (2014). *Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency*. Brussels: International Crisis Group.
- International Crisis Group. (2020). *What Role for the Multinational Joint Task Force in Fighting Boko Haram?* Brussels: International Crisis Group.
- Iyekekpolo, W. O. (2016). Boko Haram: Understanding the Context. *Third World Quarterly*, 2211-2228.
- Klaassen, L. (2023). *The Use and Regulation of Private Military Contractors: Lessons from Nigeria*. IPSS.
- Lock, P. (1998). Military Downsizing and Growth in the Security Industry in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Strategic Analysis: A Monthly Journal of the IDSA*.
- Mbah, P., Nwangwu, C., & Edeh, H. C. (2017). ELITE POLITICS AND THE EMERGENCE OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA. *TRAMES*, 173-190.
- McDonald. (2008). Securitization and the Construction of Security. *European Journal of International Relations*, 563-587.
- Musah, A. F., & Fayemi, J. K. (2000). *Mercenaries: an African Security Dilemma*. London; Virginia: Pluto Press.
- Nabiebu, M., & Alobu, E. (2019). Exploring the Necessity of Private Military Companies in the Fight against Insurgency in Nigeria . *International Journal of English Literature and Social Sciences (IJELS)* , 63-74.
- Nielsen, L. B. (2016). Private Military Companies in Africa – the case of STTEP in Nigeria. *Journal of World Development Studies* .
- Onapajo, H. (2017). Has Nigeria Defeated Boko Haram? An Appraisal of the Counter-Terrorism Approach under the Buhari Administration. *Strategic Analysis*, 61-73.
- Onuoha, F. C. (2010). The Islamist Challenge: Nigeria's Boko Haram Crisis Explained. *African Security Review*, 54-67.
- Onuoha, F. C. (2014). *Why Do Youth Join Boko Haram?* Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Special Report.

- Otoghile, A., & Igbafe, A. A. (2014). Colonial Construction and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: Relating the Present to The Past. *Public Policy and Administration Research* , 96-106.
- Popovski, V., & Maiangwa, B. (2016). Boko Haram's Attacks and the People's Response: A 'Fourth Pillar' of the Responsibility to Protect? *African Security Review*, 159-175.
- Reno, W. (2007). Patronage Politics and the Behavior of Armed Groups. *Civil Wars*, 324-342.
- Solomon, H. (2017). Beyond the state: reconceptualising African security in the 21st century. *African Security Review*, 62-76.
- Tampomuri, F. J. (2019). Analisis Kelompok Teroris Boko Haram: Bagaimana Akan Berakhir? *Journal of Terrorism Studies*, 90-108.
- Varin, C. (2018). Turning the tides of war: The impact of private military and security companies on Nigeria's counterinsurgency against Boko Haram. *African Security Review*.
- Walker, A. (2012). *What is Boko Haram?* Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace (USIP).
- Zabyelina, Y., & Kustova, I. (2015). Energy and Conflict: Security Outsourcing in the Protection of Critical Energy Infrastructures. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 531-549.
- Zenn, J. (2014). Boko Haram and the Kidnapping of the Chibok Schoolgirls. *CTC SENTINEL*, 1-7.

Website

- Abdullahi, M. (2022, April 24). *HumAngle*. Retrieved from humanglemedia: <https://humanglemedia.com/nigerias-frosty-interest-in-private-military-contractors/>
- Africa Defense Forum. (2023, March 14). *ADF*. Retrieved from <https://adf-magazine.com/>: <https://adf-magazine.com/2023/03/boko-haram-iswap-turn-on-one-another-as-security-forces-make-gains/>
- Africa Research Bulletin. (2015). 'Nigeria: Ongoing offensive sees results'. *Africa Research Bulletin*.
- African Energy. (2014, November 10). *African Energy*. Retrieved from <https://www.africa-energy.com/>: <https://www.africa-energy.com/news-centre/article/nigeria-aiteo-secure-shells-oml-29-25bn>

- Andrew Walker, The Guardian. (2016, February 4). *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/>:
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/04/join-us-or-die-birth-of-boko-haram>
- Barlow, E. (2018, November 28). *Business a.m.* Retrieved from www.businessamlive.com: <https://www.businessamlive.com/the-rise-fall-and-rise-again-of-boko-haram/>
- BBC. (2013, April 11). *BBC NEWS*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/>:
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22105476>
- BBC. (2014, 29 May). *BBC NEWS*. Retrieved from bbc.com:
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-27619290>
- BBC. (2016, November 24). *BBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/>:
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13809501>
- BBC. (2018, July 16). *BBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/>:
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-36973354>
- Bradley, S. (2016, October 13). *Swiss Info*. Retrieved from swissinfo.ch:
https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/boko-haram-abductions_swiss-facilitaterelease-of-21-chibok-girls-/42515338.
- Burke, J., & Akinwotu, E. (2021, May 20). *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/>:
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/20/boko-haram-leader-abubakar-shekau-nigeria-forest>
- Campbell, J. (2015, October 23). *Council on Foreign Relations*. Retrieved from <https://www.cfr.org/>:
<https://www.cfr.org/blog/nigeria-rehires-south-african-mercenaries>
- CDC. (2014, October 3). *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)*. Retrieved from <https://www.cdc.gov/>:
<https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm6339a5.htm>
- Clottey, P. (2016, February 20). *VOA News*. Retrieved from voanews.com:
<https://www.voanews.com/a/nigerias-army-establishes-offices-to-handlehuman-rights-violations/3199686.html>
- Cole, M., & Scahill, J. (2016, March 24). *The Intercept*. Retrieved from theintercept.com: <https://theintercept.com/2016/03/24/blackwater-founder-erik-prince-under-federal-investigation/>

- Cropley, E., & Lewis, D. (2015, March 12). *Reuters*. Retrieved from [https://www.reuters.com: https://www.reuters.com/article/world/nigeria-drafts-in-foreign-mercenaries-to-take-on-boko-haram-idUSKBN0M80VS/](https://www.reuters.com:https://www.reuters.com/article/world/nigeria-drafts-in-foreign-mercenaries-to-take-on-boko-haram-idUSKBN0M80VS/)
- Cury, C. (2014, May 5). *abc News*. Retrieved from <https://abcnews.go.com:https://abcnews.go.com/amp/International/twitter-campaignbringbackourgirls-takes-off-support-kidnappednigerian/story?id=23594333>
- France24. (2014, May 8). *France24*. Retrieved from <https://www.france24.com:https://www.france24.com/en/20140508-michelle-obamanigeria-kidnapped-schoolgirls-campaign-boko-haram>.
- Freeman, C. (2015, May 10). *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk:https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/nigeria/11596210/South-African-mercenaries-secret-war-on-Boko-Haram.html>
- Hughes, C. (2014, May 8). *Channel 4 News*. Retrieved from <https://www.channel4.com:https://www.channel4.com/news/boko-haram-nigeria-schoolgirls-kidnapping-killed-graphic>
- Ibekwe, N. (2015, May 31). *Premium Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.premiumtimesng.com:https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/184088-10-waysjonathan-failed-nigerians.html>.
- IRIN . (2005, December 12). *The New Humanitarian*. Retrieved from <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org:https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news/2005/12/12>
- Jones, M. (2021, March 9). *BBC NEWS*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com:https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-56321789>
- Kaledzi, I. (2021, December 10). *DW*. Retrieved from <https://www.dw.com:https://www.dw.com/en/nigeria-presidential-zoning-scrutiny-election/a-59482698>
- Katie Pisa & Tim Hume, CNN. (2015, November 19). *CNN*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com:https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/17/world/global-terror-report/>
- Kireev, A. (2011). *Electoral Geography 2.0*. Retrieved from <https://www.electoralgeography.com:https://www.electoralgeography.com/new/en/countries/n/nigeria/nigeria-presidential-election-2011.html>
- Matazu, H. K. (2023, July 14). *Dailytrust*. Retrieved from <https://dailytrust.com:https://dailytrust.com/8-boko-haram-fighters-surrendered-to-troops/>

- Milmo, C. (2015, October 7). *INDEPENDENT*. Retrieved from <https://www.independent.co.uk/>:
<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/reformer-of-nigerian-oil-industry-diezani-alisonmadueke-arrested-on-bribery-charges-a6685146.html>
- MoneyCentral. (2023, July 15). *Moneycentral*. Retrieved from <https://moneycentral.com.ng/>:
<https://moneycentral.com.ng/exclusive/article/akinwumi-adesina-transformed-agriculture-in-nigeria-now-taking-afdb-to-greater-heights/>
- Murphy, J. (2015, April 7). *SOFREP: Military Grade Content*. Retrieved from <https://sofrep.com>: <https://sofrep.com/news/eeben-barlow-speaks-pt-3-tactics-used-destroy-boko-haram/>
- Noakes, A. (2014, April 7). *African Arguments*. Retrieved from <https://africanarguments.org/>:
<https://africanarguments.org/2014/04/nigeria-is-losing-this-war-heres-how-to-win-the-fight-against-boko-haram-by-andrew-noakes/>
- Nossiter, A. (2015, March 12). *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/>:
<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/13/world/africa/nigerias-fight-against-boko-haram-gets-help-from-south-african-mercenaries.html>
- Nossiter, A. (2015, June 3). *The New York Times*. Retrieved from [nytimes.com](https://www.nytimes.com):
<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/04/world/africa/abuses-nigeriamilitary-boko-haram-war-report.html>
- O'Grady, S., & Groll, E. (2015, March 12). *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved from <https://foreignpolicy.com/>: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/03/12/nigeria-taps-south-african-mercenaries-in-fight-against-boko-haram/>
- Parkinson, J., & Hinshaw, D. (2021, April 3). *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from [theatlantic.com](https://www.theatlantic.com):
<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2021/04/americanigeria-bring-back-our-girls/618480/>.
- Phalnikar, S. (2011, August 26). *DW*. Retrieved from <https://www.dw.com>:
<https://www.dw.com/en/death-toll-rises-after-nigeria-un-bomb-blast/a-15346088>
- Platformlondon.org. (2012, August 26). *Platform*. Retrieved from <https://platformlondon.org/>: <https://platformlondon.org/oil-companies-gave-cash-and-contracts-to-militants-and-warlords-in-nigeria/>

- PremiumTimes. (2013, December 10). *Premiumtimes*. Retrieved from <https://www.premiumtimesng.com>:
<https://www.premiumtimesng.com/resources/151244-download-sanasis-letter-to-president-jonathan-on-nigerias-stolen-n8-trillion.html?tztc=1>
- Scholz, J.-P., & Kriesch, A. (2015, May 2). *DW*. Retrieved from <https://www.dw.com/>:
<https://www.dw.com/en/the-sudden-rise-of-goodluck-jonathan/a-18236377>
- STTEP International. (2009). *STTEP International* . Retrieved from sttepi.com:
<https://www.sttepi.com/default.html>
- TDNP. (2024, July 18). *THIS DAY NEWSPAPERS*. Retrieved from <https://www.thisdaylive.com/>:
<https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2021/09/03/goodluck-jonathan-dont-defect-to-apc/>
- The Commonwealth. (2015, October 14). *The Commonwealth*. Retrieved from <https://thecommonwealth.org/>:
<https://thecommonwealth.org/news/commonwealth-observe-tanzania-elections>
- The Guardian. (2023, July 14). *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://guardian.ng/>:
<https://guardian.ng/eight-boko-haram-fighters-surrender-to-nigerian-troops/>
- WHO. (2015, September 22). *WHO*. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/>:
<https://www.who.int/news/item/22-09-2015-who-welcomes-appointment-of-chair-elect-of-gavi-board-dr-ngozi-okonjo-iweala>
- Winsor, M. (2015, June 19). *International Business Times (IBT)*. Retrieved from <https://www.ibtimes.com/>:
<https://www.ibtimes.com/goodluck-jonathans-administration-spent-trillions-nigerian-national-security-past-1975154>
- Winsor, M. (2018, March 22). *abc NEWS*. Retrieved from abcnews.go.com:
<https://abcnews.go.com/international/freed-nigerian-schoolgirls-excluderefused-denounce-christ-dispirited/story?id=53901762>
- Zengerle, P. (2014, May 16). *Reuters*. Retrieved from reuters.com:
<https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-nigeria-girls-usaidAFKBN0DV1OP20140515>.