

Political Economy of Counter-Terrorism in Nigeria: A Study of Boko-Haram Insurgency; 2021-2023

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Abstract: This study investigated the political economy of counterterrorism in Nigeria from 2011 to 2023, focusing on the emergence of Boko Haram and its political and economic implications. The study was a product of quantitative and qualitative research; it adopted a structured questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and Focus Group Discussion as instruments for collecting primary data, while secondary data was collected from textbooks, journal articles, newspapers, periodicals, theses, and internet materials. Descriptive survey design was adopted, and purposive sampling technique was utilized to derive a population of 7,696, the basis upon which a sample size of 367 was obtained through the Krejcie and Morgan table. The data collected were analyzed using frequency distribution, percentage, and mean scores. The qualitative data was transcribed using the Otter AI application and the transcribed information was analyzed using thematic and content analysis techniques. The study reveals that Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria is a result of global political games, driven by superpower actors for national interests rather than socio-political and economic issues. Counterinsurgency operations have mixed impacts on security, political economy, and people's economic activities, leading to increased poverty, destruction of Nigeria's international image, loss of foreign investor confidence, and worsening security in the West African subregion. The study found Nigeria's counter-terrorism strategies inadequate due to international political interference, Boko Haram terrorist group operations, and domestic challenges, indicating a need for improved best practices. The study suggests the international community should balance supporting Nigerian counterterrorism efforts with human rights concerns, redefining discrepancies in international humanitarian laws and human rights laws due to questionable neutrality principles.

Keywords: Political Economy, Boko-Haram Insurgency.

Introduction

Owing to globalization, some external threats are becoming internal security threats, like Boko Haram insurgency in the North east Nigeria, thereby overshadowing traditional threats of criminality and delinquency (Jean-Pierre & Sarraf, 2016). Section 217(2) (C) Constitution of the 1999 Federal Republic of Nigeria supports the use of the military for duties other than their core functions of national defense against external aggression and this is now gaining wide acceptance (Buratai, 2019). The engagement of the Nigeria Army in internal security duties in the country has been on the increase from battling armed robbery, to election- day duties,

containing ethnic-religious crisis, managing today's complex militancy and insurgency as well as combating violent extremism.

The Boko Haram insurgency is currently the most significant threat to Nigeria's national security. It gained international prominence in 2009 when the group exploited Nigeria's porous borders and its vast ungoverned space, within a few years, transformed itself from a minor insurgent group to a formidable force capable of launching transnational attacks within the Lake Chad region (Oluwole, 2021). According to United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR: 2019), the Boko Haram insurgency has resulted in the death of over 200,000 people in the countries around Lake Chad. Over 2 million people have become refugees, 24 million are internally displaced and 7 million people require urgent humanitarian assistances.

Furthermore, the group in the last few years has prolonged several damaging attacks which have led to loss of lives and property, food insecurity, human rights atrocities, and huge displacement of persons. The violence has also claimed and created over 75,000 orphans and caused over \$9 billion worth of damage. (Onuoha & Okafor, 2019; Onuoha, Nwangwu & Ugwueze, 2020).

Indeed, Boko Haram Insurgency has over a decade created a global attention to Nigeria, following the attack on Chibok girls and other several attacks that have created perilous humanitarian situations. This situation has fascinated the consideration of the Civil Society Organization (CSOs) and International Non-Governmental Organization (INGOs). In December 2018, not less than 2,600,000 Internal Displaced persons (IDPs) was recorded by the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (CIDC) (Oluwole, 2021).

In this regards, the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) has adopted various instruments to restrain the group and protect the populace. Such efforts include: adoption of the unprecedented National Anti- Terrorism Legislation as a Counter- Terrorism Strategy, the Terrorism Prevention Act of 2011, which was amended in 2013. This makes provision for extra-terrorism application of the Act and strengthens terrorist financing offences (Terrorism Act, 2013), deployment of Operation Flush in Borno State to tackle the up-rise, several operations have also been inaugurated, but Insurgency has equally proven resilient (Shuaibu 2014).

Unfortunately, the resilience of the insurgents informed the transformation of operation Zamani Lafiya to Operation Lafiya Dole in 2015. The Nigeria military has also led this effort with support from the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF). Despite these tremendous efforts, the country has maintained the third position among countries mostly affected by terrorism from 2014 till date (Amnesty International, 2019; Abba, 2007; Abbas, 2019). This is no doubt a clear manifestation of a failure of the application of the counter insurgency strategies in the country. On the basis of the above background and assertions, this study sets out to reconnoiter the political economy of counter-terrorism operation against the Boko Haram terrorism in the north east Nigeria with a focus on the period between 2011 and 2021.

1.2 Statement of Problem

The upsurge of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria has portrayed a disastrous path in the whole search for national security and development (Izu, Ishaka, & Bibi-Farouk, 2019). In fact, the outbreak of the insurgent group in north-east Nigeria since 2009 has dragged the country into one of the most unsafe states in Sub-Saharan Africa and in the world at large (Oluwole, 2021). The security situation in Nigeria has continued to deteriorate, as widely reflected in the current global ranking index. The security environment in Nigeria is a Hobbesian nightmare, a state of widespread anarchy characterized by nasty damage to belongings.

The implication of the above-exposed challenges is that they have made the war against the Boko Haram insurgency difficult to achieve at most and rendered the counter-terrorism operation a partial success. These therefore account for incessant insecurity in different forms, such as herders' and farmers' crises, kidnappings, armed banditry, among others, across the stretch and coverage of the country as occasioned by the unabated operations of the Boko Haram terrorist

group. This also explains why the Boko Haram group remains seemingly overwhelming in Nigeria.

1.3 Research Questions

This study is undertaken with a view to providing answers to the following research questions:

1. What are the causes of the rise of Boko Haram terrorist group in the north east Nigeria?
2. What are the political economy implications of counter-terrorism operations against Boko Haram terrorist group in the north east Nigeria?
3. What are the effects of the Boko Haram terrorist group operations on economic activities in the north east Nigeria?

1.4 Research Objectives

The aim of this study is to investigate the political economy of counter-terrorism in Nigeria. Specifically, the study sets out to:

1. query the causes of the rise of Boko Haram terrorist group in the north east Nigeria.
2. examine the political economy implications of counter-terrorism operations against Boko Haram terrorist group in the north east Nigeria,
3. investigate the effects of the Boko Haram terrorist group's operations on economic activities in the north east Nigeria,

1.5 Research Propositions

The following propositions guide the study thus:

1. The fundamental causes of the rise of the Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria are product of political game in the global political system rather than the prevailing worsening socio-political and economic conditions of the people in the north east Nigeria.
2. Certain international legal frameworks, domestic laws, geographical, socio-cultural compositions of Nigeria, economic constraints and increased military spending on counter-terrorism operations in northeastern Nigeria have significant negative implications for the Nigerian state in the counter-terrorism operations in the North eastern part of the country.
3. The operations of the Boko Haram terrorist group- abductions, kidnapping, bombing, attacks, killing, etc. have significant negative effects on agricultural productions and trading operations among the people in the North eastern region of Nigeria.

2.0 Literature Review

Several researchers have written on the subject of CT operations. Samson (2019) study contends that for Nigeria to record huge success in her counter insurgency operation civil-military co-ordination is the way to go. The study x-rays different approaches in winning the war against terrorism such as the terrorism protection. Act of 2011, operation state corridors, closed borders, etc. The study concludes that counter terrorism and civil-military coordination remain practically ineffective owing to corruption in the weapon procurement processes and porous nature of the Nigerian boarder, among several factors.

Muheeb (2017) contends that the efficacy of violence in political and power contestations accounts for the centrality of conflicts and violence manifesting in insurgency and terrorism in Nigeria's political economy and governance discourse. He attributes this to the failure of the state and its institution to proactively address perceived injustices. Accounts abound of insurgency and counterinsurgency vis-a vis agitation for resource control and self-agitation in the Niger Delta. Hence, insurgency becomes handy for mobilizing solidarity around varying concern. Like environmental degradation and social inequality while challenging the government

for a fair deal. Therefore, counter insurgency ensures to curtail or extinguish insurgent agitations in the region.

Adedire, Ake and Olowojulu (2016) in their study adopted thematic and content analyses, contend that the attack on Nigerian populace by the Islamic group called Boko Haram has threatened the security of the country. Also, the killing of innocent citizens and foreign investors by Boko Haram sector has called for international collaborations against violent crimes, terrorism and insurgency. However, the paper identifies poverty, unemployment, weak institutional structure, corruption, proliferation of weapons of war and religious factors as major causes of terrorism and insurgency.

Onuoha (2016), noted that the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) implementation of carrot and stick strategy in the COIN operation gives opportunity for members to relinquish violence. The argument is that the COIN Operation should be all encompassing to include improvement of socio-economic activities, poverty reduction among others. The stick approach employed by the security forces has yielded positively and that, in September 2011, the Joint Task Force known as Operation Restore Order successfully arrested Ali Sahati and five others, who were highly ranked Boko Haram Commanders. Though the study considered the non-kinetic and military approaches to COIN operation, the CIMIC activities in the military operation was not established.

Shuaibu, Salleh and Shehu (2015), categorized CIMIC efforts collectively under stabilization and reconstruction, which envelopes a wide run of overlapping missions that are themselves components of a wide range of diverse engagements and approaches. The work argued that stabilization is a necessary precondition for reconstruction otherwise subsequent efforts would not be sustainable. The authors noted that stabilization is the key to ending violence. Reconstruction by contrast, is believed to help prevent a relapse to violence by addressing the root causes of violent conflicts. However, the study focused more on the long term reconstruction activities, rather than address the immediate actions of CIMIC. It did not suggest how CIMIC could be effectively used in COIN operations.

3.0 Method

This study was carried out in the three most affected states of north east Nigeria by the operations of Boko Haram terrorist group namely: Borno, Adamawa and Yobe. This study adopted a combination of the descriptive survey and applied research design. The population of this study was drawn from the victims of the Boko Haram terrorism most especially the affected population of women and children in the IDP camps, the military and the local and international humanitarian organization. The sample size for this study was drawn using Krajcie and Morgan (1970) International table for determining sample size. This study adopted inductive-qualitative method of data collection. In order to ensure high degree of empiricism in the validity of the findings of the study. Specifically, the study relied heavily on quantitative and qualitative data which were sourced from primary and secondary methods of data collection. Under the primary data, information was sourced through the use of structure questionnaire and semi-structure oral interview. Meanwhile, under the secondary source of data, the study relied on secondary evidences inform of published books, journal articles, newspapers, government official documents, seminar papers, conference papers as well as related information from the internet. In this study, the researcher adopted inductive research approach such interview schedules (IS), personal observation, visual and audio devices as well as closed-items questionnaire to generate secondary data for the study. The study adopted Construct Method to establish the validity of the instruments for the study. Accordingly, the instruments were piloted in agreement with the study's designed objectives and questions. In order to ascertain whether the instrument-questionnaire and the interview protocol achieve what they both intended to validate, the study supervision championed the validation exercise of the instruments by way of correcting the structure and contents of the instruments where necessary. Descriptive statistics was used for

data analysis which includes: percentage distribution, frequency distribution tables and content and thematic analytical tools.

4.0 Data Presentation, Interpretation and Analysis of Results

Research Question 1: What are the causes/emergence of Boko Haram terrorist group in the north east Nigeria?

Table 4.1: Showing Respondents Opinions on the causes/emergence of Boko Haram terrorist group in the north east Nigeria

S/N	Response Options:	SA	A	SD	D	Mean	Decision
1.	Religious extremism	86	13	156	45	2.47	Reject
2	Economic inequality	159	94	27	20	3.30	Accept
3	Political marginalization	174	112	8	6	3.51	Accept
4	Lack of education	230	52	10	8	3.7	Accept
5	Youth unemployment	99	114	47	40	2.91	Accept
Grand Mean Sore						3.17	Accept

Source: Researcher Field Survey, Feb.-May, 2023

Table 4.1 indicates analysis of respondents on the causes/emergence of Boko Haram terrorist group in the north east Nigeria. Evidence from the table item 4 which has the highest mean value of 3.7 revealed that respondents agreed to the fact that lack of education resulting from political marginalization, economic inequality and youth unemployment which recorded mean values of 3.51, 3.30 and 2.91 respectively are the causes of the emergence of the Boko Haram terrorist group in the North eastern Nigeria. However, it is also evident from the table that religious extremism with the mean score of 2.4, which is below the cutoff point of 2.50, is not a major factor for the uprise of the Boko Haram insurgency in the study area. Also, the results from the table revealed that the mean values of all the items except that of the item 1, rated by respondents are greater than the cut-off mean value of 2.50, indicating that all of the respondents agreed that all of the items except item 1 are the causes of the emergence of Boko Haram terrorist group in the north east Nigeria. The mean scores ranged from 2.47 to 3.7 indicating that the respondents' opinions differed from the mean based on their rating and level of agreement.

In complement of the analysis of the quantitative data above, findings from the analysis of the qualitative data gathered from the field survey revealed that the emergence of terrorism in the north east Nigeria is a complex issue with multiple contributing factors such as poverty, unemployment, and lack of education. Boko Haram has been able to recruit members from among the poor and unemployed youth of Nigeria, these young people are often drawn to the group's promises of economic opportunity and social justice. Also, because of lack of education, Boko Haram's ideology is based on a rejection of Western education and a return to traditional Islamic values (DMBH 1). The group's leaders have repeatedly claimed that Western education is corrupting and leading young people astray. Another factor is political marginalization as the North East of Nigeria is one of the poorest and most marginalized regions of the country (DMBH 2). The region has long been neglected by the federal government, and this has created a sense of resentment and alienation among the population (**BSGSEMA 1, Oral Interview, 2023**).

However, according to **NMil. 1; INGHOS 1 and LNGHO2, (Oral interview, 2023)**,

Several conspiracy theories have emerged, attributing the emergence of terrorist group phenomenon to hidden agendas of the super-power actors. Particularly, state-sponsored terrorism which implies that governments of the powerful countries, often with foreign agendas, orchestrate or support terrorist organisations to destabilize rivals, create fear, or justify military interventions. Such historical instances of governments using paramilitary groups for covert

operations. Also, the false flag operations is attributed to the fact that in most cases governments stage terrorist attacks to manipulate public opinion and justify increased security measures or military action. Also, you see intelligence agencies from the superpower countries have also been alleged to deliberately create or exacerbate terrorism to justify their budgets and expand their power in Nigeria as powerful corporations and wealthy individuals have also been suspected of fueling conflicts and instability to maintain access to resources and manipulate markets through arms manufacturers and oil companies in supporting or benefiting from wars, raising concerns about their potential influence on global security. However, establishing direct links between economic interests and the emergence of terrorism may not be challenging in the north east Nigeria as long as there are competing economic interests among the international community in Nigeria. For example, some countries are interested in accessing Nigeria's oil and gas resources, while others are interested in promoting trade and investment with Nigeria. These competing economic interests can make it difficult for the international community to develop a united front on counterterrorism in Nigeria.

Moreso, geopolitical rivalries between major powers in the region such as the United States, China, and France. These rivalries can make it difficult for the international community to develop a coordinated and comprehensive approach to counterterrorism in Nigeria. Thus, the international community needs to carefully consider its interests and conflicting interests when developing and implementing counterterrorism strategies in Nigeria. It is important to find a balance between the need to address the security threat posed by terrorism and the need to protect human rights and promote sustainable development. Hence, this certainly ignores and overwhelms the underlying socio-economic and political factors fueling terrorism in the north east Nigeria (**NiMI 1, Oral Interview, 2023**).

In another continuum, according to **NMil. 1 and NMil. 2 (Oral Interviews, 2023)** from the international dimension, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) through porous borders has intensified the activities and operations of Boko Haram terrorist group. Also, the rise of transnational terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda and ISIS and the radicalization of young people through online propaganda are major causes of the emergence and growth of the Boko Haram terrorist group in the North East Nigeria

Research Question 2: What are the political economy implications of counter-terrorism operation against Boko Haram terrorist group in the north east Nigeria?

Table 4.2.: Showing Opinions of Respondents on political economy implications of counter-terrorism operation against Boko Haram terrorist group in the north east Nigeria.

S/N	Response Options:	SA	A	SD	D	Mean	Decision
1.	Increased militarization of the north east region	99	72	62	72	2.69	Accept
2	Displacement of people and communities	186	100	10	4	3.56	Accept
3	Disruption of economic activities	165	71	42	22	3.26	Accept
4	Increased corruption	147	80	43	30	3.15	Accept
5	Increased poverty	120	86	24	20	3.35	Accept
Grand Mean Sore						3.2	Accept

Source: Researcher Field Survey, Feb.-May, 2023

Table 4.2. shows the respondents level of agreement on the political economy implications of counter-terrorism operation against Boko Haram terrorist group in the north east Nigeria. The results revealed that item 2 has the highest mean score of 3.56 which agreed with the fact that displacement of people and communities has far reaching negative major political

and economic implications for the counter terrorism operations in the north east. Moreso, statistical evidences presented in the table also show that all items have unanimously agreed with the statement with the mean scores more than 2.50, which ranged from 2.69 to 3.56, indicating that increased militarization of the north east region; disruption of economic activities; increased corruption, and poverty are other political and economic consequences of the counterterrorism operations in the study area.

Analysis and synthesis of the qualitative data revealed that the Nigeria Military in her counterterrorist operations is committed to defeating Boko Haram and ISWAP, but that the fight against terrorism is a complex and long-term one. In addition, the counter insurgency operations in the North East have had a mixed impact on the security and political economy of the region. On the one hand, the operations have led to a reduction in the number of terrorist attacks and the capture or killing of many Boko Haram and ISWAP members, that one of the most positive implications of the counter-insurgency operations is that they have helped to reduce the number of terrorist attacks. He noted that in the early years of the conflict, Boko Haram and ISWAP were carrying out attacks on a daily basis. However, in recent years, the number of attacks has decreased significantly (**NMi12 & BSGSEMA 1, Oral Interviews, 2023**).

On the other hand, the operations have also caused a humanitarian crisis, with millions of people displaced from their homes and many communities destroyed, particularly, the conflict has had a disproportionate impact on women and children. Women have been particularly vulnerable to sexual violence and exploitation. Children have been killed, recruited as child soldiers, and deprived of an education (**NMil 1, Oral Interview, 2023**).

Meanwhile, **NGHOs, LNGHOs 1 BSGSEMA 1 and BSGMRRR 2 (Oral Interviews, 2023)** stated that although, the Nigerian government has made progress in recent years in the fight against Boko Haram and ISWAP, but there is still more work to be done. The implications of the counter-insurgency operations in the North East are complex and far-reaching. The conflict has caused a humanitarian crisis in the region, with millions of people displaced from their homes. It has also had a devastating impact on the economy and infrastructure of the North East. The counter-insurgency operations have also raised concerns about human rights abuses and the militarization of the region. This has led to a shortage of food, water, and shelter, and has made it difficult for people to access basic services such as healthcare and education. The activities of the terrorist group in the north east have the humanitarian crisis in the North East is the worst in Nigeria's history. It is estimated that over 2 million people are displaced from their homes and that over 10,000 people have been killed in the conflict. The international community has provided financial, humanitarian, and technical assistance to Nigeria in its fight against terrorism (**DMBH 1**). However, there are also some conflicting interests among the international community on this issue. For example, some countries are more interested in supporting counterterrorism efforts that focus on military solutions, while others are more interested in supporting efforts that address the root causes of terrorism, such as poverty, unemployment, and lack of education (**LNGHOs 1, NMi2 & INGHO2**).

In another continuum, **NMil2 and BSGSEMA 1, (Oral Interviews, 2023)** argued the economic and political factors that contribute to CT/COIN challenges and explores potential solutions from a global perspective include limited economic opportunities and social disparities create fertile ground for recruitment by extremist groups. Addressing unemployment, promoting inclusive economic growth, and ensuring equitable distribution of resources are crucial to counteracting this vulnerability. Also, competition for scarce resources like water, land, and oil can fuel conflict and provide funding for terrorist organizations while illegal economies such as drug trafficking, arms smuggling, and other criminal activities generate significant profits for terrorist and insurgent groups. It was suggested that strengthening law enforcement, tackling corruption, and disrupting illicit financial networks are critical for undermining their funding sources. However, some corporations have been accused of contributing to conflict and instability through unethical business practices, such as resource exploitation and human rights

abuses. Promoting corporate social responsibility and ensuring compliance with international standards can mitigate these negative impacts.

From the political point of view, lack of good governance which manifested in weak institutions, corruption, and lack of accountability create conditions for grievances and resentment, making populations vulnerable to extremist narratives as well as ideological polarization. Political and religious extremism fuel conflict and hamper peaceful resolution. While external assistance can be valuable in CT/COIN efforts, poorly designed interventions can exacerbate existing tensions and inadvertently create new grievances. Respecting local sovereignty, prioritizing diplomacy and development over military solutions, and ensuring transparency and accountability are essential for effective external intervention. In fact, globalized media and communications such as social media and online platforms can be exploited by terrorist and insurgent groups for propaganda and recruitment. Countering online radicalization, promoting media literacy, and regulating online content without infringing on freedom of expression are crucial challenges (**NiMI1, INGHO2, LNGHO2 & BSGMRRR 2, Oral Interview, 2023**).

Research Question 3: What are the impacts of the Boko Haram terrorist group operations on economic activities in the north east Nigeria?

Table 4.2.3: Showing Opinions of Respondents on the impacts of the Boko Haram terrorist group operations on economic activities in the north east Nigeria.

S/N	Response Options:	SA	A	SD	D	Mean	Decision
1.	Destruction of infrastructure	162	98	33	7	3.38	Accept
2	Loss of agricultural production	158	120	18	04	3.44	Accept
3	Decline in tourism	84	100	69	47	2.74	Accept
4	Increased unemployment	144	124	20	12	3.3	Accept
5	Increased poverty	201	99	00	00	3.67	Accept
Grand Mean Sore						3.3	Accept

Source: Researcher Field Survey, Feb.-May, 2023

Table 4.2.3 indicates that analysis on the respondents on the impacts of the Boko Haram terrorist group operations on economic activities in the north east Nigeria. From the table item 5, which has the highest mean value of 3.67 and which is generally accepted and shows that respondents agree to the fact that increase in the rate of poverty is a major negative economic impact of the activities and operations of the Boko Haram Terrorist group on the people of the north east Nigeria. Meanwhile, evidences from the table also showed that the mean values of all the items rated by respondents were greater than the cut-off mean of 2.50, indicating that all of the respondents agreed that all of the items could be fallout of the negative economic consequences of the operations of the terrorist group on the inhabitants of the north east Nigeria. The mean scores ranged from 2.74 to 3.67, indicating that the respondent's opinions differed in terms of rating from the mean

In addition, a synthesis of the analysed qualitative data has shown that the counterterrorist operations have had a negative impact on the local economy, disrupting agriculture, trade, and tourism. The operations have also been costly for the Nigerian government, both in terms of human life and financial resources. This has triggered the conflict and has also led to the rise of extremist groups such as Boko Haram and ISWAP, which pose a threat to regional and international security (**BSGSEMA 1, & NiMI2, Oral Interviews, 2023**).

In addition, according to **BSGSEMA 2 (Oral Interview, 2023)** the conflict has had a negative impact on the local economy. Since subsistent farming is the main stay of the economy and

means of livelihood of the rural inhabitants in the north east, the activities and operations of the Boko Haram group have led to displacement of this people. Many were forced to abandon their farm land due to increasing number of IDPs in the region and beyond occasioned by incessant bombing and other destructive operations of this group. You know what? This people could not access their farms, market activities where many women earn their living were put on hold. Hence, the economic hardship of the people intensified, it is a bad economic situation for the people of the region.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study concluded that Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria is a result of global political games, driven by superpower actors for national interests rather than socio-political and economic issues. Counterinsurgency operations have mixed impacts on security, political economy, and people's economic activities, leading to increased poverty, destruction of Nigeria's international image, loss of foreign investor confidence, and worsening security in the West African subregion. The study found Nigeria's counter-terrorism strategies inadequate due to international political interference, Boko Haram terrorist group operations, and domestic challenges, indicating a need for improved best practices.

In consonance with the academic traditions and in line with the major findings of the study, the following recommendations are offered:

1. The international community needs to find a way to balance its interests in supporting counterterrorism efforts in Nigeria with its concerns about human rights, redefine the discrepancies in the International Humanitarian Laws, and International Human Right Laws as the principles of neutrality and impartiality of the Hos is questionable in the counterterrorism operations in the north east. This will require a coordinated and comprehensive approach that addresses both the security and root causes of terrorism.
2. The government needs to make the counterterrorism operations more effective by addressing the domestic root causes of the conflict and by increasing transparency and accountability from the security forces. This could be achieved through mass investment in economic development, infrastructure and education in the North East,
3. The government needs to work with the international community to develop a comprehensive strategy for addressing the conflict in the North East as the supports of the international community in addressing the root causes of terrorism and in providing humanitarian assistance to the affected population are required and timely.

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