

# Contextualizing the Boko Haram Insurgency in Northern Nigeria and U.N. Millennium Development Goals

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## Abstract

This paper attempts to articulate the implications of the Boko Haram insurgency on the United Nations established Millennium Development Goals and recommend possible solutions. Relative deprivation and frustration-aggression theories were applied to analyse the root cause of the Boko Haram insurgency which has negatively impacted the attainment of most of the Millennium development Goals of the government, in enhancing the regional development and welfare of the citizens. Thus, pragmatic and international collaboration and support are suggested as possible ways to neutralise this terror in order establish peace and social order in Nigeria, and in the affected regions.

**Key Words:** Boko Haram, insurgency, Millennium Development Goals.

## **Introduction**

In September 2000, leaders from 189 member states of the United Nations came together for the Millennium Summit where they endorsed the Millennium Declaration and agreed on a vision and commitment to Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), as a framework for development planning for countries around the world. To assist these countries, especially the developing nations, to monitor progress towards achieving the MDGs by 2015, the United Nations system, including the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as well as the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), identified peace and security (i.e., an environment devoid of war, conflicts, insecurity and terrorism) as ultimate catalysts for realisation of the MDGs (United Nations, 2013; UNDP, 2013; Brown, 2003). The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are eight international development goals, which aim to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and women empowerment; reduce child mortality rates; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and develop a global partnership for development.

Nigeria is one of the 189 nations that endorsed the MDGs in 2000, but she did not initiate any concrete policy or programme towards achieving these goals until 2004 when she adopted the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) and the Local Government Economic Empowerment and Development Strategies (LEEDS). NEEDS and LEEDS both seek to create wealth and generate employment; reduce poverty, hunger and diseases; reduce child and maternal mortality, promote gender equality and women empowerment; and increase children enrolment in school, amongst other. These initiatives are well placed to make important contributions in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Despite these efforts to integrate the MDGs into national development strategies, the constitutional responsibility for implementing almost all the MDGs rests with the states and local governments, while the political commitment to attain the goals by 2015, remains a policy drive and responsibility of the Federal government.

However, though the United Nations Millennium Development Goals marked a strong commitment to the right to development, however the terrorist activities of the Boko Haram insurgents in northern Nigeria continues to deliver spiralling and devastating effects on the possible realisation of the goals by 2015, because no meaningful development can be achieved in an environment threatened by unceasing conflicts, insecurity and terrorist activities.

Boko Haram, is a violent jihad terrorist organization that has spread across northern Nigeria. The group became known internationally as a terrorist group following its sectarian violence in Nigeria, which left over 1000 people dead at once (Wikipedia 2011). Since its inception, over 10,000 people have been reportedly killed by the group (Sanni 2011).

The group engages in suicide bombing and in the use of sophisticated weapons and poisonous bows and arrows. The group has claimed responsibility for a number of attacks specifically targeting police, military formations and facilities, government offices and international agencies like the United Nations offices, banks, innocent civilians, religious leaders, churches, mosques, schools, bars and club houses amongst other. The group upholds a virulent anti-secular/anti-western agenda, with a hard line ideology opposing any interaction with the west.

The term "Boko Haram" is derived from Hausa and Arabic language. In Hausa "*boko*" means "fake," which has been largely consigned to western education because when western education was introduced to Hausa land, the Islamic clerics rejected it and gave it a derogatory connotation as "fake education" (Sanni 2011). Sadly, this name has remained the standard translation of 'western education' today. And the Arabic word "*haram*" means "forbidden". Hence, this is figuratively translated to "western education is forbidden". The group earned this tag due to its strong opposition to Western education, which it sees as corrupting Islam. The group strongly opposes western education and seeks only to establish sharia in the country. According to Adesoji (2010) the Boko Haram sect's blossom was aided by the prevailing economic dislocation in the Nigerian society, the advent of party politics and the associated desperation of politicians for political power. Initially, the group was mobilized as mechanisms for organizing local politics and social order by the northern political elites. Over time, the sect grew in number recruiting members, especially, from neighbouring countries of Chad, Niger, Mali, Sudan and even Somalia (Sanni 2011). Boko Haram is seen in some quarters as Nigeria Taliban, because the way they operate has all the features of Al-Qaeda. Besides, it is believed that Al-Qaeda has been working in tandem with the Islamist group to perpetrate insurgency (Business Day 2011). They are secretly provided with information and funds by desperate politicians and some international Islamic bodies. At the initial stage, the group relied on donations from members and some local politicians. But its links with Al-Qaeda opened it up to more foreign funding especially from Islamist fundamentalist groups in Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Yemen, Somalia, Sudan, Pakistan, etc. Its other reported sources of funding include the Al –Mauntada Trust Fund, the Islamic World Society, and the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) (Sanni 2011).

However, in Nigeria, since independence, the quest to achieve meaningful development has attracted adoption of several International Development Associations' (IDA) development road maps to structure her local development initiatives and strategies but the endemic problem of corruption, violent political, inter tribal and religious conflicts, as well as poor implementation of the programmes have continued to rip the nation of success (Okumadewa, 2001). Since 2000, the country has been enveloped in palpable insecurity, from constant insurgency of Boko Haram militants in the north to the bloodbath of ethno-religious conflicts in the Plateau and tragic cycles of inter-tribal/communal conflicts in various parts of the Middle-Belt and the South. Since conflicts, violence and insecurity are not known to be catalysts for meaningful development, the Boko Haram unabated terrorist activities is not just our concern, but its implication on the realisation of the Millennium Development Goals in 2015.

So, this paper shall attempt to articulate the effects or implication of the frequency, magnitude and organisation of the Boko Haram insurgency on Millennium Development Goals in Nigeria. This effort will contextualise proper understanding of the complexity of the Boko-Haram phenomenon to sustainable socio-economic development in Nigeria. To properly situate this objective, the paper shall adopt the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) index to capture and examine the basic information required to illuminate the implication of the Boko Haram insurgency on MDGs in Nigeria.

## **Theoretical Framework**

Since Nigeria adopted the Millennium Development Goals road map, the success of this development programme has been profoundly slow if not completely thwarted by the Boko Haram insurgency in the country. Following this, the analysis of the effects of the heinous activities of the Boko Haram has provoked array of academic studies and discussion calling for theories of terrorism to unravel the root cause or causes of the insurgency. The intellectual crystallization of the novel theoretical perspectives of theories of terrorism is very complex but the general consensus is that any theory that is applied must provide structural diagnostic and analysis of the causation. Hence two important and related theories: relative deprivation theory and frustration-aggression theory of terrorism are adequate enough to explain the phenomenon of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

**Relative Deprivation Theory:** Though scholars and international agencies like the United Nations have not agreed on a single definition of terrorism, but for the purpose of this paper, the definition offered by the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations, Ambassador Yehuda Lancry, at the 56<sup>th</sup> Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, seems to be more appropriate in this context that: “the indiscriminate murder of innocent people to advance political or religious objectives is terrorism, no matter how its apologists seek to label or justify it. Terrorism is immoral as it is criminal. It violates basic human rights and human values. It is in fact a crime against humanity and an attack on human dignity. It is selfishly used as justification for religious, political and socio-economic deprivation and frustrations. It spawns violence, fear, insecurity and anarchy” (United Nations 2001).

In this paper, I adopted the relative deprivation theory to explain the cause or what motivates the insurgency group to commit terrorist attacks. In his book: *Why Men Rebel*, Gurr (1970) articulates that relative deprivation manifests a gap between expected and achieved socio-economic and political opportunities. He explains different kinds of political violence as the result of collective discontent caused by a sense of relative deprivation. This theoretical position appears to corroborate the current national incidence of terrorism, obviously because the terrorist activities in Nigeria can be explained in part as an expression of the country conditions of relative deprivation.

The relative deprivation theory holds some predictive value that the regions in the country that are relatively deprived of socio-economic and political opportunities are more likely to stage terrorist attacks to weaken the hated political authority. The relative deprivation theorists seem to have adopted the Marxian ideological premise by identifying socio-economic deprivation, inequality, marginalization and unequal access to opportunities. The argument here is that violent and terrorist criminality is an ultimate consequence of socio-economic and political deprivation, marginalization and unequal access to opportunities. The Boko Haram uprising in Nigeria was aided by the prevailing unequal access to economic opportunities, the advent of party politics and the associated deprivation and desperation of politicians for political power and to discredit the government of President Jonathan after the 2011 Presidential elections (Adesoji 2012). Especially, a cursory look at the backwardness of the Northern Nigeria suggests evidence of deprivation, unequal access to opportunities and attendant social problems of illiteracy, poverty, unemployment and high maternal and child mortality rate. The implication therefore is the adoption of aggression, violence and terrorist criminality to address their frustrations.

**Frustration-Aggression Theory:** This theory dwells on the premise that aggression is always the consequences of frustration resulting from deprivation. Frustration-aggression theory therefore provides psychological approach to explain how collective discontent manifest as violence and terrorism. That the existence of frustration induces some form of aggression. And the anger induced by frustration is the motivating force that disposes the terrorists to aggression. Frustration-aggression relationship is very well founded in the nature and activities of the terrorists because much of the terrorist behaviour is a response to the frustration of various socio-economic and political deprivations. In Nigeria, the terrorist (Boko Haram) uprisings evolved as ultimate reaction to the fallout of frustration arising from political and economic deprivation, corruption, and attendant social malaise of poverty and unemployment (Sanni 2001). Frustration caused by relative deprivation induces all forms of civil unrests and terrorism. Once terrorist group is formed, it recruits the idle youths. Idleness deprivation, oppression, and frustration allows or somewhat make terrorism more popular. This is obviously right because in Northern Nigeria, there are ready made jobless youths (popularly called Al-Majeris in the region) without any meaningful source of livelihood (or income) that are ready to be manipulated with a token, for the political and economic gains of their principals. The terrorist act is frequently intended to create situation where counter action of the government will produce a context to justify further aggression like killing of the innocent civilians, kidnapping, bombing the police and military formations, and launching suicide attacks. Also, it increases the probability of a military coup (Alexander and Finger 1977).

## **Eradication of Extreme Poverty and Hunger**

The first of the eight Millennium Development Goals set at the 2000 United Nations Millennium Summit was to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger by 2015 (United Nations, 2013). Yet, over the years, progress in this direction has been profoundly slow if not completely thwarted by the Boko Haram insurgency in the country. In 2010, Nigeria's level of absolute poverty was 62 percent, but in 8 of the 12 far northern states the figure exceeded 70 percent (Thomas-Greenfield 2013). The Boko Haram insurgency has impacted negatively on the efforts to eradicate poverty and hunger and has equally had serious spiraling effects on other regions in the country, especially the major towns and cities in the south-west where the complex entanglement or synergy and the effects of the violence on food security are greatly felt. Though violent conflicts have been noted to be associated with poverty and hunger in the developing countries due to their detrimental effects on the agricultural sector and on the economy as a whole (Jeanty and Hitzhusen, 2006), however a cursory look at the hunger and poverty consequences of Boko Haram insurgency in northern and southern Nigeria, suggest evidence that farmers in the North have been forced to flee their home land, crops cannot be planted, tended or harvested, food crops and livestock are being destroyed, thus, negatively affecting agricultural productivity, with the resultant soaring of food prices. Other economic activities of the region have also been paralysed, traders and business organisations have been forced to close down or relocate, and income generating activities of the people in the region virtually destroyed, and market supply of food to other regions hugely interrupted. Besides, transportation of food and non-food items from the remote villages in the north to the urban centres in the south-west and other regions has also been seriously hindered as only few transporters could take the risk. The cumulative effect of all of these has been irresistible rise in food insecurity, hunger and poverty.

Consequent upon this, agriculture is now rapidly being reduced to subsistence and survival level by the few farmers who manage to stay. Recruitment of young men into Boko-Haram and thousands of battle-related deaths of bread winners in the crises have not only subjected most families in the region to poverty but have also taken away much needed labour from agriculture. On the other hand, restriction of movement and exploitation on the high way by the Nigerian police in many cases, are other issues threatening food security, just as the soaring cost of food items also do, especially in major urban centres in the south-west. The attendant effects of all these are quite frustrating on the millennium development goal one, centring on eradicating poverty and hunger.

## **Universal Basic Primary Education**

This Millennium Development Goal marked a strong commitment of the United Nations Convention to the rights of a child to education. Article 28 Section 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child stipulates that "state parties should recognise the rights of the child to education".

Section (a) of the same article goes on to state that “primary education must be compulsory, available and free for all” (UNICEF, 1995). Hence, the second Millennium Development Goal, which mandate member states of the United Nations to increase children enrolment in schools (as a matter of the right of the child to education) and ensure that they are able to complete at least the basic universal primary education, suffers a major setback as a result of the Boko Haram insurgency. Though northern Nigeria has long lagged behind the South in education and economic development, but by 2010, out of Nigeria’s estimated 10.5 million children who do not attend school, 92 percent are estimated to be in the North (Thomas-Greenfield 2013). Boko Haram insurgency has almost completely paralysed the educational system in the northern part of the country. This occurs in different ways as: abduction and killing of school children, school closure, destruction of school buildings, flight of teachers, forced migration of households and unending insecurity which makes parents keep their children and wards at home.

The latest Boko Haram abduction of 276 Government Secondary School girls at Chibok, Borno State, is one of such many cases (UCLA African Studies Centre 2014). On 25<sup>th</sup> February 2014, fifty-nine students were gruesomely murdered at the Federal Government College, Buni-Yadi, Yobe State. Twenty –four buildings of the school were also burnt down. Those students who attempted to escape were slaughtered with knife. This was the fourth recorded attack on Schools in Yobe State, with number of students reportedly killed (Wikipedia 2014). At Mubi, Adamawa State fourty students of Federal Polytechnic, Adamawa State University and School of Health Technology were killed in a midnight attack. The attack was selective as hostel residents were pin-pointed and students were selectively killed. Most of the victims were however, Christians (Ekwere007live 2012). With this, more children of school age are likely to drop out of school.

Hence, the effect may particularly be strong for children who might have lost their parents, because violent conflicts produce many orphans of which may have a similar effect on their schooling (Alderman, et al 2001). This situation strongly reinforces the Boko-Haran sects’ opposition to western education, which it sees as corrupting Islam. Contrarily, Quranic education attracts more attendance of young boys who mostly end-up as “Almajiris”, who are mostly readymade jobless adolescents without any meaningful source of livelihood (or income) and who are easier prone to manipulation with a token for the terrorist activities of their principal, the Boko Haram sect. The situation is even worse for the girl child, who for religious reasons mostly associated with purdah culture and early marriage, are seldom allowed to enrol in schools. This is so especially because in conflict situation girls suffer greater loss in education compared to boys. This can be attributed to concerns over safety and low returns to the girls’ education (Shemyakina 2006)

Though, the statistics from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) MDGs progress monitoring shows that about 88.8% of children of school age in Nigeria are now enrolled in school, there are still notable regional differences in the progress made so far. In particular, the progress has been abysmally low in northern Nigeria (UNDP, 2007).

The poor progress made in the north is no doubt associated largely with the attendant effects of the Boko Haram insurgency. In particular, the implication of the frequency, magnitude and sophistication of the Boko Haram insurgency in the north suggest that the MDG target on achieving universal basic primary education will be difficult to meet because the progress requires to be more equitable and broad based.

## **Promoting Gender Equality and Women Empowerment**

Promoting gender equality and women empowerment is the third Millennium Development Goal, specifically hinged on the following: access to education; skills acquisition/training and other economic/income generating activities; and participation in decision making, as critical to gender equality and women empowerment. The belief is that this goal targeting gender equality and women empowerment will impact positively on the women income generating capacity and poverty alleviation. This suggests that women will increasingly share in the family economic burden, spend their income on themselves, their children education and other dependants. The involvement of women in sharing their families' economic burden will clearly explain the strength of their increasingly active participation in family decision making, since participation in family decision making is an important aspect of gender equality and women empowerment.

A simple analysis of the implicit impact of violent conflicts on gender equality and women empowerment is that violent conflicts are disruptive to gender policies because they strongly reinforce and exacerbate gender discrimination. When it comes to gender equality and women empowerment, discrimination and inequalities generally harm women more severely. Though, gender-based discrimination, and the denial of the rights of women and girls, remains the single most widespread driver of inequalities in northern Nigeria, yet, marginalization of the vulnerable (women and girls) in this region characterized by protracted Boko Haram insurgency is worse because generally, the adverse effects of violent conflicts hit women and girls harder than it does on their male counterparts. Women and girls become especially vulnerable in violent conflicts. Their psychological, reproductive and overall well-being are also severely compromised. Especially, essential services such as basic health care, including reproductive health care and counselling on which women heavily depend for their well-being are often disrupted or become inaccessible in such conflict situation (UNFPA, 2002). Hence, since Boko Haram exhibits extreme violence and has considerably disrupted education, health, income generating activities, traditional life and forced several women to flee their homes, it is possible to conclude that its frequency of attack, sophistication and magnitude of violence are sufficient to mar the realisation of gender equality and women empowerment in Nigeria by 2015. The success of the MDG on gender equality and women empowerment need to be more equitable and broad based.



But since women are more vulnerable to hardship in conflict situations, the success of gender equality and women empowerment goal appears to be non-realistic in a conflict situation like the Boko Haram insurgency. More importantly, when conflict erupts, women face more repercussions like socio-economic disempowerment. And where social, cultural and economic disempowerment is compounded by poverty, the combination produces a context in which women are susceptible to sexual exploitation (UNFPA 2002).

## **Reducing Child Mortality Rate**

Reducing child mortality is the fourth goal of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. Children's health and mortality rate makes a good indicator of a healthy nation and of development. In Nigeria, the explicit evidence of poverty, hunger and malnutrition are sufficient to suggest that Nigerian children are more vulnerable to low birth weight, wasting and several other preventive diseases like cerebrospinal meningitis, polio, malaria, yellow fever, etc, associated with mortality rate. Nigeria is among African countries where food insecurity is the most visible descriptor of poverty. This is because food production in Nigeria has been falling and has failed to keep pace with rapid population growth; yet Boko Haram insurgency in the northern region have further worsened the situation. Following this, it is possible to expect that children in this region will be more vulnerable to lower and poor nutritional and dietary intake occasioned by food insecurity. In this context, deficiency in vital protein and micro-nutrients such as iron, calcium, phosphorus, magnesium and vitamins including B-complex, vitamin A and D, and essential polyunsaturated fatty acids and iodine could give cause for more concern in terms of health challenges and mortality rate among children in the region.

Though very little progress seems to have been made in southern Nigeria, where under-five mortality has falling from 201 deaths per 1000 live births in 2003, to 157 deaths per 1000 live births in 2008 and infant mortality rate from 100 to 75 deaths per 1000 live births (UNDP 2007), the statistical evidence from the MDGs monitoring report shows that nationally, health and reduction of child mortality goal of the MDGs remain daunting because of the critical barrier and challenges facing the health sector especially where doctors and nurses are largely poorly paid, deployed and supported; fake and shortage of drugs are a common phenomenon and per capital health spending is ridiculously low and does not focus on quality primary health delivery. Poverty, food insecurity and the protracted effects of Boko Haram insurgency in the north where access and affordability of primary health care has assumed serious dimension are also major factors militating against the realisation of this MDG.

Polio and malaria are the commonest ailment associated with child mortality in Nigeria. Taking into account the increasing rate of child mortality during violent conflicts like the Boko haram insurgency, essential health services such as routine immunisation against polio, and access to primary healthcare is notably obstructed.

For example, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reports that assailants believed to be Boko Haram insurgents attacked health workers administering polio vaccine in northern Nigeria. The group and some Muslim clerics believe that the programme designed to eradicate polio, sponsored by the World Health Organisation (WHO) was an attack against Muslims and also, a sinister move by the West to sterilise the children. This misconception led to the killing of the health workers (BBC 2013). Hence, since MDG progress on reduction of child mortality need to be more equitable and broad based, the pockets of health related challenges compounded by terrorist activities of Boko Haram are enough to suggest that the target on reduction of child mortality will be difficult to meet except the institutional capacity of the government to address the problems attracts immediate response.

## **Improving Maternal Health**

Improving maternal health is the fifth United Nations Millennium Development Goal. In Nigeria, the recent progress towards realising this goal seems quite promising. Maternal mortality has fallen by 32 per cent, from 800 deaths per 100,000 live births in 2003 to 545 deaths per 100,000 live births in 2008. Yet, the Boko Haram insurgency in the north and the low proportion of births attended to by a skilled health worker are some critical problems threatening to thwart the progress made so far (UNDP 2007). Today, northern Nigeria has the highest rates of maternal, new-born and child mortality in the world (Health Partners International 2010). Boko Haram insurgency has ensured that access to, and affordability of primary health care have assumed serious dimension. Following this, more women die of causes related to pregnancy and child birth. While maternal mortality is related to a variety of health, social and economic factors, the majority of deaths are directly caused by a limited number of complications such as haemorrhage, hypertensive disorders, sepsis, obstructed labour (which requires access to emergency obstetric and intensive care), delay in decision to seek medical care, in reaching health facility and receiving quality health care on arrival. All these could be attributed to poverty, distance to hospital and the protracted insurgency.

However, though some ethnographic and quantitative studies have shown a link between violent insurgency and maternal health (Mukhida, 2006; Sidel and Levy 2004, etc.), the violent insurgency of the Boko Haram group has recorded profound consequences for the health of affected populations, especially women. These consequences have not only included the direct effects of violence, such as mortality and morbidity, but also impacts related to displacement, disruption of health care services, elevated risk of disease transmission and food scarcity. Health workers were killed and many others were harassed, threatened and kidnapped. The insurgency aggravated the already poor health services where health centres are operated with poor health workers. Torture and sexual-abuse related to conflict and insurgency are also prominent. The insurgency also hindered the MDG health programme implemented by the government. All these have given rise to complex humanitarian emergencies associated with maternal health report leading to a palpable fear of achieving the goal.

## **Combating HIV/Aids, Malaria and Other Diseases**

Combating HIV-AIDS, malaria and other diseases is the sixth goal of the MDGs. Poverty, poor nutrition and vulnerability to infection and disease are close linked. Poverty leads to reduced access to health services and greatly expose to nutritional deficiencies and increased susceptibility to infections and diseases. Consequently upon food insecurity, underfed and ill-health individuals have weakened immune systems and are more vulnerable to HIV infection and the eventual development of AIDS (Drimie 2002). Malnutrition is also a serious morbidity syndrome and disease complication that exhausts the body's immune system and makes people become increasingly susceptible to infections such as incurable malaria and tuberculosis after HIV infection (Haddad and Gillespie 2001).

The first two cases of HIV/AIDS in Nigeria were identified in 1985 and were reported at an international AIDS conference in 1986. At first the Nigerian government was slow to respond to the increasing rates of HIV/AIDS transmission. By 2009, the statistical evidence of HIV/ AIDS in Nigeria shows that an estimated 3.6 percent of the population was living with HIV/AIDS and approximately 220,000 people died from AIDS in 2009 alone (Nigeria News 2011). With AIDS claiming so many lives, life expectancy in Nigeria has declined significantly to 48 for women and 46 for men, by 2009. That same year (2009), HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment, care and counseling became one of the government's primary concerns. Hence, the Presidential Committee on HIV/AIDS and the National Action Committee on AIDS (NACA) were created, and in 2001, the government set up a three-year HIV/AIDS Emergency Action Plan (HEAP). And in 2010 NACA launched its comprehensive National Strategic Framework to cover 2010 to 2015, which requires an estimated N756 billion (around US \$5 billion) to implement. Some of the main aims included in the framework are to reach 80 percent of sexually active adults and 80 percent of most at-risk populations with HIV counseling and testing by 2015; ensure 80 percent of eligible adults and 100 percent of eligible children are receiving anti-retroviral therapy (ART) by 2015; and to improve access to quality care and support services to at least 50 percent of people living with HIV by 2015 (Nigeria News 2011).

As for malaria, Nigeria has the highest prevalence of malaria and worst health care delivery system in Africa (*The Guardian* newspaper, May 24, 2011). With constantly dilapidating health care infrastructure, poorly motivated health care personnel, fake, substandard and expensive drugs, very low doctor-patient ratio, among others, malaria has attained an endemic level in the country. Despite this, government seems to have concentrated more on the curative with the "Roll Back Malaria Programme" rather than preventive measure. It is also worrisome that the programme is not being replicated at the state and local government levels. Incidentally, most of the recorded deaths associated with malaria occur at the grass roots. Regrettably also, a child under five years in age dies every 30 minutes in Nigeria from malaria related conditions. This translates to about 300,000 deaths annually (*The Guardian* newspaper, May 24 2011).

However, the statistics from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) MDGs progress monitoring shows that some progress seems to have been made, especially in the south where the prevalence of HIV among pregnant young women aged 15-24 has reduced from 5.8% in 2001 to 4.2 % in 2008. Importantly also, there has been a sharp decrease in malaria prevalence rates as nationwide distribution of 72 million long-lasting insecticide-treated bed nets protected twice as many as 10.9% children in 2009 compared to 5.5% in 2008. Similar progress has also been made with tuberculosis and Polio (UNDP 2007). Despite these achievements, however, there are still regional differences because the progress has been abysmally low especially in the north where the prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis and polio is still very high largely because of the attendant effects of the Boko Haram insurgency. Poliomyelitis (or Polio) is a contagious viral infection that leads to paralysis, breathing problems and even death. It affects mostly children under the age of five and spreads through overcrowding, unclean environment and improper disposal of waste fluids. However, security challenges of Boko Haram in the northern part of the country, which had been the epicentre of the transmission of the virus, has reduced the pace with which Nigeria can tackle the polio scourge. Areas where the insurgency has been most profound especially Borno, Yobe, Nasarawa, Plateau, Kaduna and Kano states; account for seventy percent of the cases of polio in 2013 (Salami 2014). The violent insurgency of the Boko Haram group in the north has recorded profound negative consequences on the health sector where access to basic primary health care has been rather difficult. Since the success of the MDG relating to combating HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis and polio need to be national and broad based, it is sufficient to say that the 2015 target for achieving this particular goal nationwide will be difficult except if the institutional capacity of the government to deal with the insurgency is vigorously pursued.

## **Creation of Global Partnership for Development**

Creating global partnership for development with target for direct foreign investment and trade is the eighth agenda of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Boko Haram's heinous terrorist activities started around the time when Nigeria was supposed to start enjoying the gains of democracy and economic development through global partnership by direct foreign investment and trade. But the decline in Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) and the mass exodus of multinational companies hitherto operating in Nigeria to more relatively stable economies in the sub-region could be attributed to the increasing rate of insecurity in the country, as well as corruption and infrastructural decay in the power sector of the economy (Thomas-Greenfield 2013). Though corruption is one major bane hindering the country's efforts to generate electricity, attract investment, expand infrastructure and enforce the rule of law, yet, the violent activities of Boko Haram seems to have more devastating effect on Foreign Direct Investments because their violent activities tend to have increased tensions even far beyond northern Nigeria, interrupted development, frightened investors and foreigners, and alarmed Nigeria's neighbours.

Especially, the level of insecurity occasioned by the terrorist activities of Boko Haram is preventing the inflow of Foreign Direct Investments into the country while those ones on ground are gradually divesting from Nigeria due to the worsening security crisis. If there is anything foreign investors are scared of, it is insecurity. No investor would want to invest in any economy grappling with the problem of insecurity because in a heightened state of insecurity, investment suffers.

A recent World Investment Report (WIP) of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) reports that, FDI flows to Nigeria fell to \$6.1 billion (N933.3 billion) in 2010, a decline of about 29 per cent from the \$8.65 billion (N1.33 trillion) realized in 2009 fiscal year due to the activities of the Nigerian terrorists. In the same vein, the figures obtained from the 2010 annual report by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) shows that the total foreign capital inflow into the Nigerian economy in 2010 was \$5.99 billion. The record shows that FDI represented about 78.1 per cent drop from \$3.31 billion in 2009, due to the worsening security crisis of the Boko Haram (Okoronkwo 2012). Though the UNCTAD figures are at variance with that of the Central Bank of Nigeria, yet, they separately show the quantum of loss of Foreign Direct Investments to the economy, which could also be measured with the recurring depreciating value and daily huge losses at the stock market, which is the barometer to measure the growth or otherwise of the economy.

On the other hand, the domestic implication of the violent activities of Boko Haram on local investors could best be imagined with the sudden drop of economic and commercial activities in northern Nigeria. Local investors are badly hit as a large chunk of operational cost is diverted to security logistics. Also the cost of insuring investments is at its highest even when the insurance companies are reluctant to insure business investments in the affected northern states. Consequently, banks, local markets and other commercial activities are being forced to close down while traders, employers of labour and employees flee the troubled zone. The resultant implication of this mass exodus of human capital from the conflict affected northern states could have some serious economic effects such as mass repatriation of funds and dearth of skilled labour. Eventually, this will cripple the economy of the northern states and with spiraling effect on the overall Nigerian economy. With the unabated violent activities of Boko Haram, it will be difficult to achieve the 2015 Millennium Development Goal on global partnership for development targeting foreign investment and trade, except the institutional capacity of the government to tackle the security challenges attracts prompt and drastic response to win the confidence of both foreign and local investors.

Following this, Nigeria has been able to establish diplomatic collaboration and global partnership for peace and development with the United States (US) to tackle the Boko Haram insurgency because Nigeria, with a population of about 170 million, is of strategic importance to peace, order and regional security in Africa south of the Sahara. Nigeria is the 22nd fastest-growing economy in the world, the 13th largest supplier of oil to the global market, and the second largest destination for U.S. private investment in Africa.

Nigeria is also the second largest African contributor to UN peacekeeping operations around the world. The significant mutual interests that Nigeria share with the United States have led to a robust bilateral relationship, which have deepened and broadened through the US-Nigeria Binational Commission.

Through this Commission, the United States is committed to assisting the Nigerian Government and people to counter the threat posed by Boko Haram and associated violent extremist groups. Reporting the catalogue of achievement of the diplomatic collaboration, the United States Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of African Affairs, Linda Thomas-Greenfield, notes that the United States has worked to help isolate Boko Haram's leaders. In June 2012, the State Department designated Boko Haram's top commanders as Specially Designated Global Terrorists under section 1(b) of Executive Order 13224. In June 2013, the State Department added Abubakar Shekau, Boko Haram's official leader, and offered a reward of \$7 million for information leading to his location and arrest. The United States has also sought to enhance the capacity of Nigeria and its neighbours to detect, disrupt, respond to, investigate, and prosecute terrorist incidents. Through the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership, the United States has helped to build the military, law enforcement, and civilian capacity and resilience across the Sahel and Maghreb regions to counter terrorism. The United States has continued to train and equip Nigerian law enforcement units to strengthen leadership, improve crisis management, enhance investigations and forensics, and counter improvised explosive devices (IEDs). The State Department of the US has also funded a Legal Adviser to help the Nigerian Government strengthen its anti-money laundering and counter terrorist financing regime. The United States is also assisting Nigeria to shift to a strategy that focuses on protecting citizens with programme supporting civil society-led efforts in Nigeria to counter Boko Haram's violent extremist message, the believe is that such a strategy would reduce Boko Haram's appeal and ability to recruit because Boko Haram has been exploiting religious rhetoric in an attempt to justify its violence, castigating the state as hopelessly corrupt and un-Islamic (Thomas-Greenfield 2013).

## **Conclusion and Recommendation**

The Nigerian state in the last few years has witnessed perhaps a most unprecedented threat to internal security, as orchestrated by the Boko Haram insurgency. This extreme Islamic organisation seeks primarily to establish a "pure" sharia society in Nigeria, starting with the northern states. Their violent attacks have targeted United Nations and government offices, security formations, churches, mosques, schools, social gatherings and prominent Islamic personalities, among others. Ironically, the proclamation of a state of emergency in Yobe, Adamawa and Borno states by President Jonathan in May, 2013, only provoked even more daring attacks! Indeed it appears the insurgency has tasked the capacity of the Nigerian security apparatus, such that changes in the security leadership have produced very little success in caging the "bull".

The social cost of the insurgency has been quite enormous with an inevitable impact on attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Consequently, a pragmatic approach to the challenge may hold significant potential to neutralise the terror, and a UN backed international collaboration in the effort is also suggested

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