



## Research Article

Volume-02|Issue-02|2022

## Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel: Predictive Indicators for Failure of Nigeria National Security

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### Article History

Received: 10.04.2021

Accepted: 18.04.2022

Published: 29.04.2022

### Citation

Adishi, E., Austin, O., Abdulaziz, B., & Aaron, A. (2022). Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel: Predictive Indicators for Failure of Nigeria National Security. *Indiana Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 2(2), 1-10.

**Abstract:** Intelligence is a security mix that pre-examines phenomenon, predicts mosaic outcome and provide solution through preventive, proactive and outright enforcements by the end users. However, the enforcers, implementers or end users of Intelligence products are often endangered not by the criminals or alleged offenders but by repudiating Commands by commanders and those in authority, and are often punished or killed unheralded as though they were entirely responsible for the act that led to being Scapegoated. It is superior versus inferior fratricidal relationships hence creates an enigma that predicatively undermines national security space. It is against this background that this research is conceived. Thus the research was guided by four specific research objectives as to examine the nature and extent of Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel in National Security space, to assess the impact of Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating in Nigeria National Security, to examine the reasons of Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of security personnel and Nigeria national security dilemma, to proffer solutions and recommendations for holistic approach at addressing Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating in order to promote morals, norms and create robust National Security. Also four research questions and hypotheses were used to ascertain the said objectives. For its theoretical framework, the research anchored and adopted theories of compliance and obedience by Stanley Migrams. Descriptive survey design method was also used. Sample sizes of 420 respondents were drawn from the population of study using cluster, purposive and snowball sampling techniques. The hypotheses formulated in the study were tested using chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) statistical techniques. The research finds out that there is high level, negative impacts and primordial reasons of Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of security personnel, hence Nigeria Intelligence architecture and operation is not robust, therefore rendering national security moribund. The research recommends amongst others the need to overhaul, re-strategize Intelligence architectures and operations. Building a robust agents/Commander/authority collaboration in order to sieve and fashion out rules of engagement and resolve the rigid superior commander supremacy, also the training and re- training of personnel for group cohesion and solidarity that drive service for nation buildings.

**Keywords:** Intelligence, Repudiation, Scapegoating, Denial, National Security, Security Personnel

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## INTRODUCTION

Nigeria security space is engrossed and preoccupied by a lot of national security issues and challenges akin to a state where one seems to be living in banana's republic or a Thomas Hobbe's state of nature, where life is nasty, brutish, solitary and short, where there is this natural condition of mankind without a government, no civilization, no laws and no common power to restrain human nature, a war of all against all in which human beings are constantly seeking to destroy each other in an incessant pursuit of power, social, religious and economic interest. However, Nigeria ought to be a society where men should keep their contracts, promises and honours their obligations to their citizens and country and on the other side the country and government reciprocate such gestures by doing things in tandem with the lay down rules and regulation for the protection of lives and properties.

The situation is a nightmare as regard Intelligence and National Security space in Nigeria. It has come to a situation where all hopes are dashed except for the coming of the lord. All formats, strategies

by security operatives seem to be naïve, comatose, ineptitude and simply not working than scare-crew security embellishment, window dressing, fake promises and hope in the midst of glaring security failures despite enormous budget, training and re-training, strategies and re-strategizing of security personnel.

Meanwhile, the fundamental objectives of intelligence are to source and implement robust national security direction or interest for the end users. Intelligence involves strategic formulation of policy that pertains information gathering, dissemination that requires security plans and operations for national interest. It is a critical tool of state craft; it provides the necessary warning of threats to policy makers and those in authority in order to protect it from being subjected to surprise. Its organized format that is able to avert imminent threats to a country by providing timely, accurate and processed information for National Security decision making Bodunde *et al.* (2019). While National Security is the ability of a nation to preserve her physical and territorial integrity, maintain its

economy, political, social, cultural, religious stability and create an enabling environment for peace, justice and development to thrive. Nobody can be secured above the quality of its intelligence dragnet (Suleiman, 2012). That is why nations of the world invest a lot of billions for its intelligence to nip it at the bud in case of any threat or the need for it.

Intelligence services provide the basis for intelligence knowledge and usage. An accurate adherence to the principles of intelligence (originality, authenticity, confidentiality, need to know, third rule of intelligence, access control, non-repudiation etc.) must at all times be actively able to warn of impending crimes and detect possible surprise, danger, threats or attacks in advance; (Laqueur, 1985). Intelligence has been adjudged when properly used as very resourceful in terms of combating crime and other social issues. However, it is an irony of life that in Nigeria the reverse is the case especially whereby security personnel not just lack training, motivation, funding, technical know-how, political will, but the worse scenario is repudiation/denial and scapegoating of personnel by commanders and those in authority after being involved in an intelligence operation Ndubusi (2013). A situation whereby intelligence detail which ought to be used by appropriate agent or enforcement units for the execution of the analytical results from intelligence product towards achieving a pre-designated idea or position are sometimes repudiated or denied by their commanders to allow the subordinate agent to face the consequences is better to be imagined than experienced (Soni, 2014).

All-over the world, no security operation or mission is simple or safe. Thus it is disservice to an officer sent on such missions to get denied when mission fails not as a result of the fault of the enforcers but the fault of the commander who failed or when mission was accomplished but the outcome turned to be anti-people, anti-social or un-defendable action by government. Hence are jig of the position in order to protect the image of the commander or those in authority and government at the expense and personal risk of the assigned agent. Such officers become scapegoated. The worse is where they do not succeed and governments' clandestine hands and motive could be traced to the act by opposition, populace, citizen and that such act could send a dangerous signal and reduce the image of those in authority and government, such missions are most often repudiated or denied. This creates serious conundrum, outrage between the commander and theatre operatives/agents. To the extent that issues bordering on intelligence enforcement without written operational order that later turned out to be anti-people and or outrageous are easily denied. This negates or affects national security, by rendering agents of intelligence implementation confused, repudiated and mostly left alone and Punished. The issue now is when such agent or other agents are sent for such mission

again; it might affect their performance and sabotage national security. What then or measures could be put in place if such issues arise again? How come this scourge? What is the extent and nature of this scourge? And how has it affected intelligence operations and National Security issues. It is against this background that this work is conceived to look into.

### **Statement of Problem**

It is no longer news that Nigeria security space is facing a continuous feverish environment that could be termed a failed or failing state. Major issues and challenges the nation is facing include the containment of diverse manifestations of insecurity, crimes, violent tendencies, insurgency, banditry, herdsmen attacks, inappropriate intelligence management and enforcement, fledgling democracy, corruption, nepotism, cronyism, sectionalism and intelligence repudiation, scapegoating and denial (Oko, 2019.)

In Nigeria, intelligence enforcement has grappled with these challenges of commanders repudiating commands and implementation. Thereby scapegoating the operating security personnel, especially when intelligence fails or turned out to be anti- people and government become so worrisome to the extent that operators or implementers try to clean-up the mess to the detriment of citizens leading to abuse of human rights and democratic ethos, hence, the operators in order not to be labelled or denied and scapegoated, try to either not comply or clean up all trace elements and may use the form of gestapo or clandestine methods that might undermine the rule of law or engagement. Consequently, the abuse of fundamental human rights or may frame up sister agencies for such actions. Issues are abound where security personnel engaged fellow agents, commanders or sisters agencies on scuffle in Nigeria security clime as a result of repudiation. These actions undermine the principles of intelligence such as authenticity, diligence, confidentiality, non-repudiation, the need to know and, third rule of intelligence. They also undermine National security and rule of law. The scapegoating can occur in form of denial, blame, and verbal abuse, frame-up, isolation, spun, accusation, labelling, demotion, dismissal, compulsory retirement, jail, kidnap, hostage taking, incarceration, situation magnification, sabotage and assassination.

Historically, scapegoat is as old as man going from the book of Nehemiah chapter 16 verses 8 in the holy bible, which refers to a goat upon which Aaron cast all sins of Israel and then banished it into the wilderness. Though, the goat is presumably blameless but was essentially punished for the sins of the people of Israel. Sigmund Freud a Vienne psychologist in his "*displaced hostility* or transfer of aggression exemplified it with how a girl who had a fight with her boy-friend goes hitting the pet dog who knew nothing about the quarrel and who cannot retaliate or beating up

your son after failure of business escapade that the fault is not his. This is a situation where the principal is likely to lose reputation, scorn, demotion; psychological trauma if identified with the act of the agent, the principal could suffer significant damage if he consented to such failed operation. Consequently denies the assigned agent or personnel in line with the dictum of “he who pays the piper dictates the tune”. The principal at all times plays safe and in this field, the baby is thrown away with the bath water!

Thus when Late Assistant Inspector General of Police Raphael Ige (retired) was sent by the former Nigeria president Obasanjo to kidnap and perfect former governor Chris Ngige’s removal from office in Anambra State on July 10, 2003 and was later thwarted, both the Inspector General of Police and President Obasanjo denied and repudiated the AIG’s actions and compulsorily retired him for the “offence he did not commit except obeying superior command Igboanugo (2003). Still on the issue or denial on the 12<sup>th</sup> April, 2017, at apartment 7B of No. 16 Osborne Road Ikoyi the sum of \$43,000,000 (N23, 000,000,000) and 27,800pounds was found. While the ownership of the apartment was traced to the then NIA Director Mr. Ayodele Oke who was promptly investigated, dismissed and now facing trial – as a scapegoat though it later became clear that it was government money meant for classified operations in the execution of 2015 general election. (Soniya & Iriekpen 2017 as cited in Adepegba & Aluko (2019). The search for arms and other violent implement in the resident of Pa E K Clark is another worrisome scenario. The police personnel were repudiated and dismissed. The sergeant Roger case of killer’s squad and even in the foreign sphere Jamal khashoggi murder are cases in point where all were scapegoated and punished even when it is clear that they were obeying superior order. Scapegoating is becoming more rampant and committed more by security agencies and government whose intents is to hide their blame and lay it on another who are usually “innocent” Thus from 1999 till date these blame mechanism has been a re-occurring decimal with negative effect on agents, the agency and national security space.

While the phenomenon lasts, the agents continue to claim to be obeying orders from above, but authority will be quick to say he was not authorized or sent by us. Unfortunately, the scapegoat has no enough power if any to counter his masters. It is a superior against an inferior relationship saga. It is a service moral killer, creates tension, dishonest, distrust, fear, disrespect for norms and ethics. These have become more of the contending issues, which further indicate an explosion waiting to happen. If not properly nipped in the bud it can compromise organizational and collective objectives of Nigeria’s national security. Hence in response to these apparent situations, the work is

conceived and geared towards providing solution to this fratricide situation in Nigeria.

### **Aim and Objectives of the Study**

The aim of this study is to examine Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel; As Predictive Indicators for failure of Nigeria National Security. While the specific objectives are to;

- Examine the Nature and Extent of Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel and Failure of Nigeria National Security.
- Assess the Impact of Intelligence Repudiation, Scapegoating of Security Personnel and Failure of Nigeria National Security.
- Examine the Reasons for Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel and Nigeria National Security Dilemma.
- Proffer Solutions and Recommendations for a Holistic Approach at Addressing Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating in order to Promote Moral and Create Robust National Security

### **Research Questions**

This work is driven by the following research questions;

- To what Extent and Nature are Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel Experienced in Nigeria National Security Management?
- What are the Impacts of Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel and Failure of Nigeria National Security?
- What are the reasons for Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel and its implication to Nigeria National Security Management?
- What are the Probable Solutions that can Mitigate Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel to Promote Moral and Robust National Security?

### **Research Hypotheses**

- There are significant levels of Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel in Nigeria leading to Failure of Nigeria National Security.
- There are significant impacts of Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel and Failure of Nigeria National Security Management.
- There are Significant Reasons why Intelligence Officers Repudiate and Scapegoat their Personnel in the Management of Nigeria National Security.
- The more Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel are Resolved Proactively the more National Security is not Guaranteed?

### Significance of the Study

There has been scanty attention to this scourge. Consequently there are apparent gaps in the literatures. The few works found did not really take deep interest as to the cause of the scourge or proffered adequate solutions. Moreover the incidents are prevalent in Nigerian and yet, no one is bold enough to give detailed study of its impacts, causes, preventions or managements. Since knowledge is a continuum, this research will not only fill the gap already identified but will avail government, law enforcement officers, researchers and stakeholders, ways of appreciating the problems and pay attention towards tackling them. It will also serve as a springboard for further research in this area.

### Scope and Limitation of the Study

The scope of this study is selected cases of intelligence repudiated and scapegoated personnel in Nigeria intelligence community from 1999 till date. The work of this nature is bound to face some challenges because of the classified manner of the research, whereby respondents were economical with words. However despite the constrained and restrictive expositions, the researchers were able to surmount difficulties because they are amicus to some intelligence communities hence did not compromise the standard of the work.

### Definition of Key Variables

- **National Security:** This is the ability of a nation to preserve her physical and territorial integrity, maintain its economy, political, social, cultural and religious stability and thereby create an enabling environment for peace and justice to thrive.
- **Repudiation;** is denial of the truth or validity of something. It is breach of order or contract or directives.
- **Scapegoat:** A Scapegoat is a person or group singled-out, blamed or punished for the problems or mistakes of others that is not his fault.
- **Scapegoating:** Is the act of planning, executing or controlling the paraphernalia of creating or singling out a scape goat. It involves setting someone or group as target of blame, criticism or ostracism.
- **Intelligence:** It is the strategic formulation of policy that requires security plans and operation for national security interest, is a critical tool of state craft which provides the necessary warning of threats to policy makers in order to protect a nation from being subjected to surprise.
- **Security Dilemma;** Is a situation where the actions taken by a state to increase its own security cause reactions from other angles which leads to a decrease rather than an increase in the state security.
- **Security Personnel;** Connotes government or private employee assigned the onerous role of executing any security intelligence related decision

or act. He could be called a seal, secret agent, spy counterspy, a tail or a mole.

- **Predictive Indicators:** Prognostic, anticipatory or likelihood of occurrence.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Empirical Review

Intelligence is a refined, detailed and precursor tools for state craft in the management of national security issues. It envisages and provides necessary warning and parameter to avert imminent danger and not to be subjected to surprise. In a general parlance, intelligence is information analysed for policy formulation and proactive action for national interest. So nations of the world cannot developed outside its intelligence dragnet, which is why billions of dollars are spent to ensure positive outcome on intelligence. But surprisingly Nigeria is inundated and grappling with a lot of Security challenges especially within the command structure whereby operators or agents are sometimes repudiated, denied and scapegoated for actions or inactions that was not their faults but as a result of obeying operational order especially when such operations might be clandestine in nature and does not have the popular support. These situations abound and if not checked could undermine national development, be it economy, religion, political and security setting. According to Brahm (2004) ones one has been scapegoated and denied, it affects his next line of action in case of another engagement. He could independently or contingently take whatever actions that suite the situation without order or can clandestinely overcome it against intelligence directives, hence a conundrums is created. These contradictory or paradoxical relationship of obeying order later to be denied, repudiated and scapegoated or exercising discretion without intelligence order that ends up in failed exercise or mission is dangerous and negate national security interest. Intelligence personnel have grappled with these challenges of intelligence implementation to the detriment of security and agencies in Nigeria. Scapegoating and denial phenomena create an opportunity to explain failure, misdeeds while maintaining ones or agency's positive image.

The word 'scapegoat' was first coined by English Protestant Scholar William Tyndale in his 1530 English translation of the bible and was popularized by David Dawson (2013) as cited in Ebong (2016) who opined that Tyndale who was deciphering Hebrew descriptions of Yom Kippur rituals from the book of Leviticus, recorded a ceremony in which a goat was selected by Lot. A high priest would place his hand on the goat's head and confess his peoples sin. Thus transferring them to the animal before casting it out into the wilderness to rid Israel of its transgression, Tyndale coined the word "scapegoat" to describe the sin-bearing creature or the goat that departs or escapes. Over the centuries, the word scapegoat disassociated with its

biblical meaning and it eventually becomes used as a metaphor to describe a person who shoulders the blame of any wrong doing or symbolic bearer of sins that is ordinarily not his fault.

Psychologically, it is to displace or transfer aggression. Sigmund Freud exemplified it with how a woman had a fight with her boyfriend and goes hitting her pet who knew nothing about the fiasco and who cannot retaliate. In such circumstances superior power gives superior order and the inferiors are bound to obey even when such order is inimical to the lay down rules. It is this obedience or blind compliance that makes Scapegoat. Brahm (2004) in his work on Scapegoating observed that when it comes to interpersonal conflict, humans prefer to blame or situational attribute it to others instead of personal disposition. Chris Ejiofor (2003) as cited in Akpor (2011) categorized it as deception which is a Nigerian phenomenon. All things float on top, (Oga at the top does no wrong) hypocrisy, sycophancy, mediocrity, confusion and cajoled subjects for failure. These are the issues that the scapegoated agent or agency suffers.

In the Torah, it is said that those who engage in immoral sexual acts should be stone to death but men are hardly caught. It is the women who get stoned while the men who could have participated in the sexual escapade could be part of those stoning her to death. Thus the scapegoat is one whom has been labelled by those in authority at the spur of the moment. Scheidlinger (1982) in his work 'a chilling truth about human behaviour' observed that when it comes to interpersonal conflict, humans prefer to blame others rather than blame themselves.

This scenario is no longer news in Nigeria security parlance, because issues of intelligence repudiation and scapegoating abound on how implementers/enforcers of security operations are later to be denied and scapegoated to the extent that there are accused, labelled, dismissed and worse scenarios killed. For instance, one of the celebrated intelligence repudiation and scapegoating in Nigeria is Sgt Rogers and Major Al-Mustapha the Abacha's hitmen. Sgt Rogers and Major Mustapha were members of the Strike Force and Presidential Body Guards, which were specialized military squads believed to have been used by Abacha's junta to get at the opponents of that regime. Rogers was said to be serving at a unit in Jaji then a signal came that he should report to Abuja for training as a member of the special squad. Shortly after Abacha's death in 1998, the public was regaled with tales of horror that took place during his regime and the names that frequently kept coming up as the men behind the atrocities included Rogers, Frank Omenka and Mustapha. That was when 'this days newspaper news magazine' ran the picture of Rogers and others donned in black khaftan with a machine gun across their shoulders with the caption, 'The hit men who killed for

Abacha. Those alleged to have received the bitter treatment of Rogers include Alex Ibru, Kudirat Abiola and Alfred Rewane, among others. Iriekpan & Akinwale (2008). It was not surprising therefore that those names featured among several petitions submitted to the Human Rights Violation and Investigation Commission, also known as the Oputa panel when it was set up in the early days of the Olusegun Obasanjo administration. In most of the petitions, the hit men were alleged to have trailed their victims with uncommon viciousness, and physically assaulted and tortured them. Some of the victims like the former Chief of General Staff; Oladipo Diya openly testified against Rogers and recalled how he took active part in torturing them while in detention. Rogers who was given the opportunity to defend himself painted the picture of a man driven by patriotism and commitment to duty as opposed to sadist who derives joy from seeing people in pains. The sergeant explained that he was under a command and that he was only obeying the orders of his superiors and that he was made to believe that carrying out the orders was what was best for the country at that time. "I'm under the command of the army and under the federal government. I'm a servant, you know, a servant doing my service to the nation. Just like the Centurion said, if they say go, I go, come, I come; do this and I will do it; don't do this and I don't do it (Mustapha 2011). Muyiwa (2017) The end of the Abacha administration it appeared, did not draw the curtains on the Abacha hit men as successive government tried to paint them black, label, slander and punish them for an act directed by the commander and government at that time, Iriekpan & Akinwale (2008).

Another serious scapegoating scenario is the case reported by Igboanugo (2003) about the former Assistant Inspector General of Police AIG Rapheal Ige acting on instructions to arrest Chris Ngige former governor of Anambra state on July 10th 2003, but was later thwarted by certain circumstances. The action was denied by both the inspector general of police and President Olusegun Obasanjo and he was compulsorily retired for the offense even when he had only three weeks to attain his meritorious 35years normal retirement age. He died few months after that traumatic experience.

The case of Ayodele Oke, the former director general of National Intelligence Agency (NIA) is still fresh as a dilemma in Nigeria security parlance. According to Soniyi and Iriekpen (2017) as cited in Adepegba and Aluko (2019) who reported that on April 12th 2017 at no. 16 Osborne Road Ikoyi \$43,000,000 ie (#23,000,000,000) and 27,800pounds were found. The department is owned by wife of the then director NIA. The director was promptly arrested, hurriedly dismissed, charged to court. Even when the auditor general of Nigeria accepted that the money belonged to the joint venture cash call account at Nigeria's JP Morgan chase Bank. It is Intelligence knowledge that

certain intelligence operation requires no proper documentation because of the process to be used that might be covert in nature and does not require public or official knowledge except for those in higher authority. Thus Ayodele Oke could not let the cat out of the bag based on security ethics and he faced occupational hazard of scapegoating.

Umeh (2018) in Guardian Newspaper reported that ASP David Dominic and team of policemen affected search for arms and other violence implements in the residence of Chief Edwin Clark a notable Ijaw and south south leader. The team had on 18th September 2018 acting on information, armed with search warrant, entered the chief's house and duly carried out unsuccessful operation. They were later denied and dismissed as scapegoats even when it is a known fact that they were given operational order from superior commander who later repudiated such actions.

Former commissioner of police Benue state as reported by Adepegha & Aluko (2019) defended his actions and explained that he could not fall victim of a scapegoat while serving as commissioner of police Benue state for not adhering to superior command. That is not in tandem with security laws and rule of engagement. He opined that there was serious conflict created between Benue State and Federal governments by herdsmen whereby there was wrong assessment of situation on ground by the federal government who instructed that he should take a destructive action against the indigenes. He was merely removed from Benue state command because he avoided destructive compliance.

It is a chagrin to note that it is not only in Nigeria that this issue is. It is pandemic in nature to the extent that even developed countries of the world are not ruled out. The Jamal Khashoggi's murder is a case in point. He was reportedly murdered at the alleged authorization by the Saudi Crown Prince. Aktay (2021) reported that the Saudi government's special squad operation in Saudi Consulate Instabul in Turkey, set up a hit squad code named " the Saudi Rapid Intervention Group (SRIG) whose duties included kidnapping, detention, torture and assassination of some Saudi clerics, intellectuals, activists and those he perceived as enemy to the kingdom. On 2nd Oct. 2018, Jamal Khashoggi was murdered at the Saudi Arabia Consulate in Istanbul, Turkey, Khashoggi was a reporter for New York Times, known for allegedly reporting issues unfavorable to the Saudi Crown Prince and USA. The Saudi government was alleged to have deceptively repudiated and scapegoated the operator and charged eleven of the agents to court for the murder and sentenced them to death. Although, it was alleged or assumed a command and directive from the government which the world observed with thunderous outrage against the act with a dim hope of success. This is a

clear scapegoating which the agents paid a supreme price for actions that was authorized.

The above scenario has created dyadic rift between commanders and agents as Muiyiwa (2017) alluded to that security operations are only geared towards commander's interest, seeking personal glory to the detriment of the enforcers. Consequently, some enforcers of intelligence operation have been scapegoated and denied, while others have observed colleagues scapegoated for operations that failed or later turned out to be antisocial. This they may be complaisant, naive, and compromised such commands. These negate and undermine national security. Myer (2002) " Social Psychology' highlights the conflict that this double standard might cause, it might lead to noncompliance of order, disobedience to appropriate authority or taking the decisions at will or fail to act or pretend to have acted. It might lead to inconsistency, contravening, and could lead to firm refusal to accept as true or concede or to acknowledge the existence or claim of fact, hence disobedience and non-compliance to rule and regulation.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Theoretically, this work is anchored on the theory of compliance and obedience by Stanley Migrams. The theory opined that compliance level is strengthened when the doer is not in a knit with the victims, and that in as much as the inflictor of pain is getting directive from a superior order, it is assumed that the evil is not from the agent but the commander who directs and command authority depending on the situation in respective or regardless of the consequence of the actions Migram (1986). Security personnel or even ordinary people have the tendency to try to please those in authority or those incharge. Psychological evidence indicates that people tend to respect and follow those whom they perceive to have legitimate authority regardless of their actions and inaction. It also asserts that personnel comply with the request not because they like what they are doing but they are concerned with compliance and obedience to rules and regulations. Conversely, the commander or those in charge in such questions don't see past the simplicity, how comfortable he feels and what you know. Therefore agents fall into traps by the illusion of their commanders after repudiating their actions, hence, scapegoating them. In his experiment, he used teacher and a learner in the application of electric shock to a victim within a distance. It was observed that when the victim is closer to the learner who is applying the shock he finds it difficult to continue, but when farther away he increases. It shows compliance and obedience depend on the level of proximity, so when proximity is clearer the more the learner know the consequence of his actions and might decline. He concluded the experiment focusing on the conflict between authority and obedience and personal consciousness. Situating this to repudiation, denial and scapegoating of security

operations, one is deemed to comply with authority or denied ever given such instructions to cover up authority or to protect ones leader. Situations abound whereby agents are intimidated not to foreclose or reveal such directives in other to avoid stiff punishment. Sometimes the scapegoat agent might be promised a juicy reward after the dilemma later to be denied and punished. When this scenario becomes a reoccurring decimal within the security sector disobedience, noncompliance to rule become the order of the day and these could undermine national security and consequently intelligence failure. On the strength of its impact to National Security, this work is geared to proffer solutions.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### **Research Method**

The descriptive survey design was used. This design tries to assess character of whole population of study and other situational variables by studying the representative samples as regard the research interest.

### **Population of Study**

The population of the study is selected repudiated, scapegoated and denied agents of members of intelligence community in Nigeria from 1999 till date.

### **Sampling Technique**

The research study adopted Cluster, Purposive and Snowball sampling techniques. The cluster and purposive sampling techniques involve process of choosing population of respondents based on core value of the research interest while the snowball sampling method begins with the selection of the initial respondents which is part of the total sample in a cluster or a known person in the organization who introduces or refers you to other possible respondents within the organization. A major issue on this technique is known as "expert opinion" it refers to a situation where a person is consulted specifically because he is supposed to be in custody of a particular type of information. On the whole 420 personnel were selected.

### **Sources of Data Collection**

Both primary and secondary sources were used. Primary sources are direct questions and interview administered to the respondents which elicit response while secondary sources are derived from reported materials already investigated and opinion sought e.g. incident report records, journals, magazines, bulletins, national dailies, class room discussions, conference proceedings, e-mail, internet etc.

### **Method of Data Analysis**

The study adopts simple percentage to show the trend of responses and to ascertain while it is so. Also statistical analysis was used using frequency distribution while differences in values were assessed using chi- square test in testing the hypotheses.

### **Reliability of the Research**

Basically, reliability focuses on the consistency of the research instruments to give similar result if applied severally in the same circumstances. It suggests consistency and dependability of data. It further helps to determine whether an instrument adopted would prove simitude of results if repeated. Hence alternate measures rather than a score of a single measure. Therefore, it is better to test reliability through repeated application of same measuring instrument. In the light of the above, Test- Retest Method of reliability was used. The reliability coefficient of the two tests was determined by using spearman's rank order correlation statistics using a coefficient of 0.85 and was considered adequate for the study.

### **Validity of the Research Study**

Validity is measurement instrument that is targeted at making sure the instrument measures what it intended, designed, supposed to measure. Face and content Validity were used. Face Validity is ultimately a matter of judgment while content Validity measures the core value of the research interest.

### **Limitation**

Every level of analysis has its own restrictions to a certain parameter. Although, this research study has actualized its aim and objectives, yet there were some unavoidable limitations. The first is the unwilling nature of the respondents to give information; this is because of the classified nature of the research area despite assurances of confidentiality. Respondents had to be pressurized and followed heel to heel in order to get them complete the questionnaire. Increasing cost of research materials, transportation, and time factor. However, these limitations or constraints do not in any way affect, undermine or compromise the quality, reliability, validity of the research results and the hypotheses tested.

### **Data Analysis and Interpretation**

This area presents an analysis of research data and findings gathered through the administration of questionnaire in a logical and objective manner after which the four research hypotheses were tested.

### **Presentation of Data Analysis**

The data is presented using the hypothetical questions enumerated.

### **Hypothesis 1**

There are Significant Level of Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel in Nigeria Leading to Failure of Nigeria National Security.

**Table 1.** Computation of Chi-Square for Hypothesis 1

Cell	Fo	Fe	fo - fe	(fo-fe) <sup>2</sup>	(fo-fe) <sup>2</sup>
R <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub>	102	11.3	0.7	0.49	0.005
R <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	72	101.3	-29.3	585.49	8.475
R <sub>1</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	130	101.3	-28.7	823.69	8.132
R <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub>	38	38.7	-0.7	0.49	0.013
R <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	68	38.7	29.3	858.48	22.183
R <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	10	38.7	38.7	823.69	21.284
$\chi^2$					60.092

Chi-square formula  $\chi^2 = \frac{\sum(O-E)^2}{E}$

Where O = observed frequency, E = expected frequency

Degree of Freedom (df) = (R - D) (C - D), = (2 - D) (3 - 1) = 2

$\chi^2$  5% level of significance at 2 degree of Freedom = 5.991

**Decision Rule**

Since the critical value of Chi- Square = ( $\chi^2 = 5.991$ ) which is less than the computed value of chi-square ( $\chi^2 = 60.092$ ) we hereby accept that there are significant levels of Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel in Nigeria leading to Failure of Nigeria National Security.

**Hypothesis 2**

There are Significant Impacts of Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel and Failure of Nigeria National Security Management?

**Table 2.** Computation of Chi-Square for Hypothesis 2

CCCCell	Fo	Fe	fo - fe	(fo - fe) <sup>2</sup>	(fo - fe) <sup>2</sup> /fe
R <sub>1</sub> R <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub>	110	100	100	100	1.000
R <sub>1</sub> R <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	90	100	10	100	1.000
R <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub>	30	40	10	100	2.500
R <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	50	40	10	100	2.500
$\chi^2$					7.000

Degree of Freedom (df) = (12 - 1) (C - 1), = (2 - 1) (2 - 1) = 1

$\chi^2$  at 0.05 level of significance at 1 degree of freedom = 3.841.

**Decision Rule**

Computed value of chi-square ( $\chi^2 = 7.00$ ) is greater than the critical value of chi-square ( $\chi^2 = 3.841$ ), we hereby accept and conclude that there are significant impacts of Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel and Failure of Nigeria National Security Management.

**Hypothesis 3**

There are Significant Reasons why Intelligence Officers Repudiate and Scapegoat their Personnel in the Management of Nigeria National Security?

**Table 3.** Computation of Chi-square for hypothesis 3

Cell	Fo	Fe	F1 - fe	(fo - fe) <sup>2</sup>	(fo - fe) <sup>2</sup> /fe
R <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub>	98	112.7	14.7	216.09	1.917
R <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	130	112.7	17.3	299.29	21.656
R <sub>1</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	110	112.7	-2.7	7.29	0.065
R <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub>	43	27.3	14.7	266.09	7.915
R <sub>2</sub> R <sub>2</sub>	10	27.3	-17.3	299.29	10.963
R <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	30	27.3	2.7	7.29	0.267
$\chi^2$					23.783

Degree of freedom (df) = (R - 1) (R - 1), = (2 - 1) (3 - 1) = 2

$\chi^2$  at 0.5 level of significance at 2 degree of freedom (df) = 5.991

**Decision**

Since the computed value of chi-square ( $\chi^2 = 23.783$ ) is greater than the critical value of chi-square ( $\chi^2 = 5.991$ ) we hereby accept and conclude that there are significant reasons why intelligence officers repudiate and scapegoat their personnel in the management of Nigeria National Security?

**Hypothesis 4**

The more Intelligence Repudiation and Scapegoating of Security Personnel are Resolved proactively the more National Security Management is not Guaranteed.

**Table 4.** Computer of Chi - square for hypothesis 4

Cell	Fo	fe	fo-fe	(fo-fe) <sup>2</sup>	(fo-fe) <sup>2</sup> /fe
R <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub>	80	85	5	25	0.294
R <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	90	85	5	25	0.294
R <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	60	55	5	25	0.455
R <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	50	55	5	25	0.455
$\chi^2$					1.498

Degree of Freedom (df) = (2 - 1) (C - 1), = (2 - 1) (2 - 1) = 1

$\chi^2$  at 0.05 level of significance at 1 df = 3.841

**Decision Rule**

Since the computed value of chi-square ( $\chi^2 = 1.498$ ) is less than the critical chi-square value of ( $\chi^2_c = 3.841$ ). We therefore reject the hypothesis and conclude that the more intelligence repudiation and scapegoating of security personnel are resolved proactively the more National Security Management is guaranteed.

**FINDINGS**

Scapegoating is as old as Man. It is an act of repudiating ones decision/action and blame who rationally ought not to be blamed or otherwise blameless? The scourge is with high rate of fatalities and casualties that the unlucky ones die and could not live to tell their woes while the lucky ones are either suffering a hard life or perpetually languishing in prisons. This has occurred and is more rampant in intelligence communities, obviously among those in intelligence operations. These seem to be the norms and

mores of intelligence operations and socialization. At the time of recruitment, one is meant to swear an oath of allegiance and pledge loyalty to the country. This loyalty is displayed through compliance and obedience to officer(s) and commanders, which has been structured in a way that those at the lower level of implementation are coerced to be robotic in action in assignments that might be delicate and dangerous. Assignment here could be difficult to implement except one uses his contingent discretion which if successful, the government, bosses, commanders share the larger praise, reward, gratification, but when it fails, the agent is on his own, denied, embarrassed, punished and scapegoated.

It is a truism that security environment is highly regimented. The organogram is such in a ranked order of superiority which hold the wisdom and might that preset, direct and punished who they perceived to be scapegoated. Hence rules are set against disobedience to lawful orders if the action of the agent fails and even when the order was given by commander. The agent might not be allowed to explain herself out before scapegoated. In the Police for example, the 'law' means 'any rule of action prescribed by the superior for the inferior to obey whether rationally or irrationally. The definition cages the agent/officers. The scapegoated are really the inferior who has very narrow or no opportunity to explain and escape from scapegoating in view of his tight (inferior) predicament.

It is also observed that the reasons for scapegoat is to avoid punishment, labelling, primordial consideration, situational dispositions and national security interest that is above the scapegoated agents who could be sacrificed and denied. In creating a scapegoat, government could deliberately embark on propaganda to ensure that the scapegoat, not government or those in authorities suffer the consequence. The scapegoated agents lick their wounds and leave much to be desired, in respect to future performance and management of National security cohesion, agency conformity and national pride. The continuous repudiation and scapegoating of personnel have created very negative impression on the Nigeria National Security space and law enforcement agents are not motivated, demeaned and invariably lack the zeal for service. A situation whereby agents clandestinely cover up operations to avoid being scapegoated, or failed to act because of fear of scapegoating, underground superior versus agents internal rift all those negate national interest and poor intelligence and failure of national security. Hence, intelligence and National Security become comatose, naïve and moribund.

It is also observed from our findings that this menaces if not checked could cripple security thrust among members, negate the essential meaning of their existence and affect national security. Hence suggestion

of reformation of intelligence order and compliance and other principles of intelligence should be rejigged to protect the field agents and commanders. The authority should lay claim to failed order and give reasons for such instead of repudiating their agents.

### Recommendations

Based on the findings, the following recommendations have been made:

- There is need to overhaul and enhance intelligence capabilities of Nigeria security space i.e. intelligence reforms is highly needed.
- Building agents/commanders/ government collective responsible of operations whether failed or successful outcome. They should come inwardly and punish offender within the organizational set rules.
- There should be cleared legal deceleration for agents and agencies that implicitly fashion out rules of engagement for actual intelligence enforcers.
- To achieve proper protections, agents should tactically maneuver commanders to get hold of operational orders or evidence before embarking on a mission in case of failed or anti-social operations that might likely be denied.
- Proper training and re-training of personnel for group cohesion and solidarity that for Nation-building.
- Intelligence should adopt democratic ethos towards an egalitarian societies, building community/agency support and consolidation.

## CONCLUSION

The study has affirmed high extent and enormous nature of intelligence repudiation and scapegoating which constitute threat and negates the National security arena. Reasons for such actions are personal ego, avoidance of punishment, primordial consideration, lacks of political will, situational disposition and fear of the unknown. It has identified those threats through literatures and responses from expert opinions concerned from Nigeria security space. It is truism that as it stands today security personnel are on their own as regard failure of intelligence operations, hence those recommendations could be used to cushion the effect. It is hoped that this research work will improve their knowledge on intelligence repudiation and scapegoating that it exist in high magnitude which if not checked could undermine national security space.

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