

**Research Article**

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Intelligence and National Security in Nigeria Democratic Governance 1999 – 2020**Adishi, Eric^{*1}, Baba-Ahmedu Abdulaziz¹, Anyianabie Aaron², & Gbenemene Kpae²**¹Department of Intelligent and Security Studies, Novena University, Ogume Delta State, Nigeria²Department of Social Work/Sociology, University of Port Harcourt, Rivers State, Nigeria**Article History**

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Abstract: Nigeria is currently living in a perilous time and has been adjudged to be the worse place to live on the surface of the earth outside of countries currently experiencing wars and natural disasters. The situation is beyond Thomas Hobbes state of Nature and unfortunately, the intelligence and security architecture to cushion the blood-letting is unabated and comatose, especially since the enshrinement of democratic Governance from 1999 till date. This has instigated some scholars and civil organizations to say that Nigeria is a failed or failing state Captives State, hence lacks its corporate existence. This has dove-tailed or predicated on the assumptions that Intelligence and National Security in Nigeria Democratic Governance is not working as evidenced in series of insecurity recorded since 1999 till date. This has instigated this research work; hence the research was guided by three (3) specific objectives such as, to ascertain the Nature and Extent of Intelligence and National Security Management in Nigeria 1999-2021, to identify and asses how intelligence operations support democratic principles in Nigeria and to proffer strategies on how intelligence can be used in democratic dispensation for robust national Security management. Also three (3) research questions and hypotheses were used to ascertain the said objectives. For its theoretical framework, the study adopted System Theory. Descriptive survey research design method was adopted for the study. A sample size of eight hundred and eighty five was drawn from the population using Taro Yamane and snow-ball sampling techniques. Questionnaire was administered to elicit opinions, attitudes and sentiments on issues asked. Tables, figures, simple percentages were used to analyze and present the data in answering the research questions. The hypotheses formulated in the study were tested using Chi-square (χ^2) statistical technique. The findings showed that there are diverse range of insecurity incidents and high level of intelligence failure in Nigeria democratic dispensation hence, insecurity pervades the Nation, and that the Intelligence and National Security apparatuses or tactics used is no longer feasible in mitigating the situation and that although democracy does not hinder intelligence operation but has elements of impediment. In all, the study recommends that intelligence should be reformed and re-strategized in line with democratic ethos to pre-empt any external or internal insurgency, terrorism and create a robust National Security Parlance.

Keywords: Intelligence, Democratic Ethos, National Security, Governance.

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INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is a complex, multi-ethnic, multi-religious country, diverse in socio-economic, political and geographical settings. The country is endowed with vast human and natural resources which well harnessed could translate into a developed and peaceful nation that could be the hub of economic and tourists' destination of the globe, (Obanite 2013). However the reverse is the case, since independence and after many years of military rule, to the return to democracy and rule of law in 1999 till date. There has been release of bottled emotions arising from the fact that people were long accustomed to denial of right to express themselves as a result of military fiat, impunity and democratic issues (Nte, 2012). The result was high risk factors and new security challenges, which have dove-tailed and arisen from resurgence of ethnic nationalism, mistrust, resource control agitations, re-structuring debacles, corruption, poverty, unemployment, social-economic grievance, climate change, militancy, kidnapping, cattle rustling, banditry, insurgency, and the worse scenario the Islamic extremism/terrorism self-styled Boko Haram/Islamic state of west Africa province (ISWAP),

Herdsmen farmers/land owners altercation, covid-19 pandemic, and #Endsars protest. These incidents exist as a result of the dangerous dimension of the insecurity challenges which also have become a great source of worry as experts affirm that what is on ground has gotten to the realm of anarchy and war where no one is safe. It is lamentable that the situation is adjudged by intelligence and law enforcement officers out of their seemingly cluelessness strategies and policies to be a sign of a failed or failing state (Adagba *et al.*, 2012). This questioned the effectiveness of our Intelligence in the management of democratic governance in Nigeria (Nte *et al.*, 2010; & Gbanite 2001).

Interestingly, a great number of measures have been taken place in Intelligence Organizations to manage this ugly and diver-stating scenario with contradicting results. The Security Management apparatuses and architectures have no idea other than body compliance, scare crew remedy and the rest hope for God. These boarder on how well to harness intelligence for national security (Ndubisi, 2012; & Ishiola, 2014). Intelligence here is the strategic

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formulation of policy that pertains to direction, collection, gathering, analysis or contemplation and dissemination of feedback that requires security plans and operations for national interest has lost its usefulness. Consequently high rate of crime, insecurity and terrorism pervades the land. However, Intelligence and Security Services are key components of any state, providing both internal and external protection, resulting in a strong viable nation. Intelligence is relevant to governments formulating and implementing policy in order to further its national interests and to deal with threats from actual or potential adversaries, (Shulsky & Schmitt, 2002). Intelligence helps to proactively prevent crime, combat and ward-off threat to National Security. The question now is why is it that Nigeria especially from 1999 – till date has experienced one form of intelligence failure and other security challenges that are now more rampant compared to the military era? Critical issues in which intelligence operators and those in authority express about intelligence product that is not useful in democratic operations are some of the contending issues (Ndubisi, 2015). Equally, the issue of effectiveness, nonpartisan, lack of political will and democratic ethos of intelligence sectors in taking proactive action and rapid response in containing these crises become a challenge in the management of crime, public safety, combating terrorism and threat to National Security, all these and other relevant questions are poised to be addressed in this work.

Statement of Problem

Nigeria is currently in a form of “Thomas Hobbes state of nature”, whereby lives are brutish, short and nasty: Human dignity and protection are left in the hands of the survival of the fittest and the elimination of the unfit. It is a jungle of its own and the most insecure and worse place on the surface of the earth outside of countries that are currently experiencing war and natural disasters. According to Pat Utomi (2021), he asserts that Nigeria is not being governed but the most miserable place to live on the surface of the earth. This situation has surprised all stakeholder including security and intelligence operators that one could say that Nigeria is either a captured state or at war and that the security organizations lack ideal on how best to assuage the situation.

Intelligence ought to have been able to fathom the challenges on time just as it were in the military era, that within a few periods of days or weeks the root and immediate course would be noticed and settled. This may raise serious concern as what types of intelligence were used in the military era compared to that of democratic period. Either it might be seen that the type of intelligence services that were passed down from military regimes to the democratic period may pose significant conundrum, threat and its applicability to new democratic tenets for intelligence operation might not be feasible. In the case of most military or despotic

regimes it was not a problem because of military fiat which suppressed emotion of the civilian populace. These authoritarian periods were based on something other than military legitimacy. Intelligence ought to have been proactive in action and rapid response in countering these crises which becomes a challenge in the management of crime, combating threat and National Security in democratic dispensation. Comparatively, there were skeletal, pocketed security issues during the military era that were contained within a significant period but the reverse is the case of democratic rule since 1999 till date (Soni, 2014; & Donu, 2015), which recorded an increase in communal crises such as Hausa/Yoruba killings in Lagos, Ife/Modakeke hostilities, Hadejije/Jigawa crisis, Tsagari/Share conflict in Kwara, Ijaw/Urhobo/Itsekiri uprising in Delta, Amuleri/Aguleri violence, Odua People's Congress (OPC) near warfare, transport union uprising in Ibadan and Lagos, Movement for Actualization of the Sovereign State Of Biafra (MASSOB) Imbroglio, the Indigenous People Of Biafra (IPOB), Bakassi Boys Security altercation, Ezillo/Ezaa blood bath, Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) and other Niger Delta Militant group attacks in the South-South, and the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), Zakibiam onslaught in Benue, crises over planned introduction of sharia in Kano, Kaduna, Bauchi and the reprisal attack in Aba, Onitsha, Owerri and Tiv vs Azara as well as Gwandara vs Ombatse and the Alago vs Ombaste also, all in Agyaragu in Nasarawa state. Indigene — settler recurrent brouhaha in Plateau, the Okrika bomb explosion during APC political party rally and stopping of court proceeding over APC Congress in Rivers and Rivers State rerun and various terrorist attacks including kidnapping in all parts of the country, the badoo boys deadly cult attack in Western part of the country, the Shitte vs Nigeria Army, the Rann bombing of IDP camp, adoption of Chibok girls, and killings by Islamic extremist self-styled Boko-Haram, the Southern Kaduna bloodbaths, Elzarzakey clash with the convoy of the Chief of Army Staff, the skeletal mass killing of farmers, land owners, parishioners and church members in Benue State, the Offa Armed Robbery attack, the hijack of the Senate mace in presence of some Security operatives, the DSS blockage of National Assembly without due diligence, the sting operation against some high court judges, non-proper prosecution of those alleged to be corrupt by EFCC, Malami vs Magu, Akpabio NDDC saga, the easy access in the adoption of Dapchi school girls and other schools in the Northern part of Nigeria, the election and post-election violence perpetrated by either the security personnel or the parties involved, the armed banditries and miners in Zamfara State, hate speech by religious or political leaders, the mass-migration of Amajiria to the South during Covid-19 lockdown despite inter-state borders closure, #EndSars protest, Police brutality, Unknown Gunmen attack, the assassination of the husband of late Mrs. Dora Akunyili and other various security formation in the South East

by unknown Government, the bombing of Abuja/Kaduna railway that grounded NRC operations, the increase in territories of the ungoverned areas manned by bandits in some parts of Sokoto, Kastina, Zamfara, Kaduna, Niger where bandits determine access to farms, imposes levels on rural dwellers, collect taxes, directs activities including administrative decision and sanctions as well as adjudication of disputes in a sovereign Nation, Beacon Intel (2021). It is better to be imaging than experience. It is on record that in 2020 – 2021 has the highest number of death alone in Nigeria. The annual rate of death as a result of insecurity and terrorism is growing at an annual average of 1.24%. Nigeria also has been rated to be 149/180 in corruption perception index (Transparency International, 2020). In fact the security situation and high level of corruption has been such that prominent Nigerians have been raising serious concern on the issue of leadership, even questioning whether we really have a Commander-In-Chief in the country since 1999 till date (Dirisu, 2019; & Pat. Utomi, 2021). They went further to state that the apparent failure of government to tame criminality in the land and blood-letting is continuing unabated, to the extent that rather than give teeth to security and government and address biting National Security issues, the reverse is the case. These are predicated on the assumptions that intelligence operatives or tactics are no longer feasible to mitigate the situation. They either lack skill or are being skewed by democratic boomerang. Therefore, in response to these ugly and apparent helpless situations of our intelligence agencies to effectively combat crime, cushion terrorism, and maintain intelligence for national Security, the need arises to replant sanity to that order, hence, this study is geared towards examining intelligence in Nigeria democratic governance 1999-2020 which becomes imperative to provide laudable idea and provide answers for crime and National Security questions.

Objectives of the Study

As informed by the above statement of the problem, this study sets out to achieve the following objectives.

- To Ascertain The Nature and Extent of Intelligence and National Security Management in Nigeria 1999 – 2021.
- To Identify and Assess how Intelligence Operations Support Democratic Principles in Nigeria 1999-2021.
- To Proffer Strategies on how Intelligence can be used in Democratic Dispensation for Robust National Security Management.

Research Questions

The following questions were formulated to enhance the achievement of the objectives of the study. These include;

- To what Extent and Nature is Intelligence and National Security Management in Nigeria 1999 – 2021?
- To what Extent does Intelligence in Democratic Government Support the Conduct of National Security Operations in Nigeria 1999 – 2021?
- What are those Strategies and Prospects of Reforming Intelligence in order to Promote Democratic Ideas and Maintain Robust National Security Management?

Research Hypotheses

To achieve the purpose of the study, the following hypotheses were formulated as follows:

- Failure of Intelligence does not Increase Incidence of Crime and Threat to National Security Management in Nigeria 1999 – 2021.
- Adherence to Democratic Ethos does not Endanger Intelligence and National Security Management in Nigeria 1999 – 2021.
- The more Intelligence is reformed and Re-strategized in Nigeria Democratic Dispensation the more Reliable and Dependable National Security is not assured.

Significance of the Study

The study is to provide useful insights and thematic indications of subject matters and proffer solutions in consolidating intelligence in democratic governance. The finding of this study is to serve as guide to leaders of institutions saddled with responsibility of preventing crime and insecurity in Nigeria. Provide security and crime management strategies to their door step.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study focused on the relationship between intelligence and National Security in Democratic Governance 1999 - 2021. It examines and peeps into the presumed fratricidal relationship between Intelligence and Democracy. The study covered retired personnel (1999-2021) of core selected Intelligence Agencies and Human Right Bodies in Nigeria. The Agencies are; The Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), National Intelligence Agency (NIA) and Directorate of State Service (DSS) (NSA, 1986), Serving and Retired Diplomats. Also, selected are the Intelligence units of the Nigeria Police Force and Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps etc. These agencies were selected purposively because of the statutory functions they play in Intelligence and National Security formation. For instance, Police is saddled with Internal Security (Nigeria Police Act, 2011); NSCDC is saddled with the role of protecting the Nations Critical Infrastructure and National Asset while Defense Intelligence Agency was picked for both Foreign and Domestic Counter Intelligence Mechanism of Military nature that covers both NIA/Diplomat and DSS. This study has its own limitation because of the difficulties in gaining access to the respondents in a timely manner, because of the

nature and classified manner of this research, however, these limitations, do not in any way affect and undermine the quality of the research results and the validity of the hypotheses tested.

EMPIRICAL REVIEW

The extent and Nature of Intelligence and National Security Management in Nigeria (1999-2020)

The idea of exploring the role of Intelligence for National Security dates back to ancient history. It is perhaps not surprising that across the world, intelligence organizations are often the primary providers of protection, information, knowledge for investigation and probable action by the state (Arase, 2013). It is associated with first hand awareness for precaution, readiness, action for and against threat and adversaries. The lack or inefficiencies or failure of which is often a contributing factor of crime, and threat to national security. Hence, intelligence is the hub by which a nation protects its cooperative existence. It is the horse that propels the cart of national security. However, in Nigeria the reverse is the case, as insecurity prevails all facet of our society that ranges larceny, kidnapping, armed robbery, proliferation of light weapons and weapons of mass destructions, banditry, insurgency and terrorism. These have occurred with high rate of fatalities that watchers and scholars have termed Nigeria as “Banana’s Republic” going by daily records of killings and vast land of ungoverned territories with reckless abandon as if it’s at war or a captured territory and the security architecture and operations is either complaisant or comatose. This gave rise to a critical situation in which some intelligence commanders, directors and senior security personnel expressed that it lacks analytical skill, real-time intelligence and that the intelligence product is not useful in operations (Nte, 2012). Also officers specifically trained to deal with espionage and counter espionage in these democratic openings are yet to see any evidence of that in the management of the current helpless scenario.

Intelligence: its Meaning and Definitions

Intelligence has been defined in various ways by scholars with no agreed upon definition. This is evidence of a field of study still in its infancy (Michael, 1985; Ekpenyong, 2011; & Muhammed, 2012). Ekpenyong (2012) in his view asserts that despite this absence of a precise and agreed upon definition, several already formulated definitions of intelligence do offer a foundation with which to work. A lack of consensus among this definition does not lessen their importance. As some of the definition specify problems that are arising pertaining to a failure to cover one intelligence element or the other. These definitions, although limited, prove to be appropriate starting point for

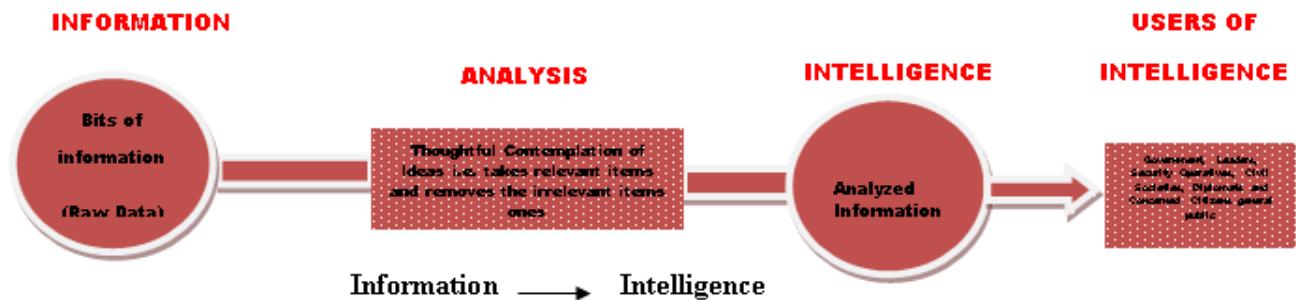
exploring the field of Intelligence Studies. He sees intelligence as the knowledge used to tackle impending issues or challenges for proactive actions and policies. While Michael (1985) sees intelligence as service that provides the basics for intelligence knowledge, wisdom and awareness at all time, actively able to warn of impending crimes and detect possible surprise, dangers, threats or attacks in advance. Liqueur (1985) recognizes that intelligence is indeed both information and an organized system for collection and exploiting it. It is both an activity and a product of that activity. For Michael (1985), intelligence is the knowledge which our highly placed civilians, military and security men must have to safeguard the nation’s welfare”.

In a much narrow sense, Intelligence is a subset of the broader category of information, which in the hierarchy underlying modern knowledge or information management theory which is a step in the chain creation. Thus, information is anything that can be known, regardless of the way in which it is discovered, Intelligence refers to knowledge that meets the stated needs of policy as to the entire process but which data and information are identified, obtained and analyzed so as to respond or not taken by surprise to these needs, Ekpenyong (2012).

Most intelligence output involves a significant element of “processing”. It is this processing that is reflected in the military distinction between “unprocessed data of any description” defined as information and “the product resulting from the processing of information for proactive action for National interest defined as intelligence.

Hence, all intelligence is information; but not all information is Intelligence. Information has to be both evaluated and actionable in the sense that it must be actual, factual and actionable/caution-able to be acted upon. Hence a bogus information like rumors, hearsay, looking or spying out ones feelings, and intention are not proactive i.e. actionable as something which will strengthen the security apparatus. One manner of differentiating among these terms is the extent to which values have been added to the raw data collected either through overt or clandestine means.

These two terms, information and intelligence exist along a continuum, with information at the far left and intelligence at the far right; as one moves from left to right additional values and context is added while unnecessary term(s) are removed to discrete or posited facts that to provide and enhance holistic meaning to the ultimate consumer or policy maker for proactive action in the interest of the state.



However, collected information is considered “raw” until its sources have been evaluated, combined or collaborated by other sources, then analyzed and due diligence methodologies apply to ascertain its value of which lack of such critical evaluations can be “flawed intelligence” being provided to consumers who may take action that is based on it.

From the above diagram, information can also be seen as unprocessed data of various kinds that may be used in the production of intelligence, while intelligence is the end product of information that has been subjected to the intelligence process; (planning/direction, collection/evaluations, analysis and dissemination or reporting and used for National interest). On the whole, intelligence just like other social phenomenon may be seen from different angles, but despite that, it has a synergy. The simplest and clearest of this is “information analyzed and proactively used for National Security interest:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{It can be put mathematically as;} \\
 \text{Intelligence (Int.) assumed} &= a \\
 \text{Information (Inf.) assumed} &= b \\
 \text{Analysis (Ana.) assumed} &= c \\
 \text{Therefore} & a = b \\
 & \quad c \\
 \text{Assuming Information} &= 20 \text{ items} \\
 \text{” Analysis} &= 4 \\
 \text{Intelligence will now be} &= \underline{20} = 5 \\
 & \quad 4
 \end{aligned}$$

Therefore the 5th item is assumed to be intelligence that can be used for policy action.

“For information to be useful, it must be analyzed by experts. Analysis here requires thoughtful contemplation that results in conclusions and recommendations. In other words, analyzed information tells officials everything they need to know before they knowledgeably choose a course that can inform critical decisions and actions. By its very nature, intelligence is a form of knowledge that is usually more than information but less/more than formally established fact. In its broadest sense, intelligence is knowledge and/or foreknowledge that can be used to advance or defend the interests of organized society. Ideally, intelligence provides meaningful, useable knowledge that is accurate and timely; it provides the consumer with a factual description of a state of affairs, an

interpretation of current events, or the forecasting of future events or trend (Zem, 2013).

The Purpose of Intelligence

The purpose of intelligence is too enormous to the fact that without it there will be no National Security. Thus intelligence when properly used is a precursor and helps to contributes to government ability to safeguard the security and wellbeing of the nation and its people, to ensure good governance, and provide efficient and effective functioning of the state. One can assert that in the hands of a responsible leader, intelligence is the major contributing factors to the status, absolute obligation to his people by making sure that threat to security are detected on time for them to be countered. According to Lowenthal (2003) as cited by Ekpenyong (2011), he asserts that for all intent and purpose and with respect to its mission, intelligence seeks to help in the following ways:

- Intelligence is a critical precursor and which functions at all levels of decision making. Its primary mission is to collect, analyze, evaluate and disseminate information in order to assist policy makers in making decision relating to National interest.
- It is used in production of position and policy statements.
- It helps in establishing doctrine and its translation into operation and usage.
- The definition of National interest.
- Provide timely, accurate and relevant knowledge of the state or environment.
- Provide early warning signal and avoid strategic surprise.
- Helps to protect the secrecy of information, needs, sources and methods.
- Support the policy process and development to thrive be it economy, political, social, religious, geographical and cultural environment.
- Assist in protecting counter intelligence action.
- Guide activities within a certain framework and establish timely fashion requirements.
- It strategically places a nation ahead of others in the committee of nations.
- To combat crime and other social menace.

Thus when properly used, intelligence services help to correlate different events and

individuals so that particular threats can be identified and resolved more effectively and thoroughly especially its contribution to a democratic ability to safeguard the security and wellbeing of the nation and its people, to “good governance”, and to the efficient and effective functioning of the state”. It aids both regulatory and policy compliance by proactively monitoring diverse information across board. Provide accountability, transparency, measurability, reliability and validity of facts.

However, the 21st century is likely to be fraught with new perils and insecurity, that expert in the field of Criminology and Security Studies concur that Nigeria is in turmoil, conflict or outright war, poverty, hunger, underdevelopment, plaques, terrorism that have eaten dip coupled with more uncertainty and unpredictability than any other time in history (Adagba et al., 2012; Arase, 2013; & Zem, 2013). Leadership and democratic issues have become more complicated given the multiplication of actors, sources of crises, and means of conflict, increasing economic interdependence, accelerating technological developments and the growing interconnect of information and communications, and thus the new dynamics and vulnerabilities of crime, conflicts and terrorism at play. The problem is not why it has occurred but why it's unwiring posture of the perpetration to the extent that government is becoming complaisant and demoralized (Dirisu, 2019). Hence the pertinent issue of the need for Intelligence and Security Sector reform in Nigeria was re-ignited, therefore, Government must understand this emerging terrain in order to respond to it and it is often the case that the options available will depend upon knowing what the consequences are to be. Once a course of action is chosen, it is vital to know what the effects of the decision are likely to be, so that any necessary adjustments can be made. Making the right choice will hinge upon the quality of the information available, hence informed decisions and policy making require adequate intelligence, assessment and warning. Only when top decision and policy makers, and their planners and councilors are sufficiently informed coupled with the political will about the state of the world then, likely developments can exist and potential threats, dangers and risks can be averted through sound critical thinking and decision making.

Issues on National Security

The concept of National Security is as old as the cradle or beginning of nations – state. It goes back to the emergence of nations maintaining National sovereignty. It stretches back since the Roman Empire. While the general concepts of keeping a nation secured is not new, the term “National Security” came into existence in 20th Century English. Meanwhile, strategies, procedures and methodologies to ensure, achieve and maintain the highest possible desired state

of a nation have been consistently developed over the modern period.

The term “National Security” is a contested concept that has been used by politicians and general public as a rhetoric catch-phrase. In other words, it has no universal acceptance due to its many-sidedness arising from ideology and time frame as well as the lens of analyst. Lippman, (1945) defined national security explicitly to mean that a nation is secured to the extent that “it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interest to avoid war, and is able if challenged, to maintain them by war. Buzan (2012) as cited in Dirisu (2019) sees National Security as the “survival and pursuit of freedom from threats and the ability to maintain a nation independence, identity and functional integrity against forces of change that are seen as hostile. In the view of Zabudo (2001), he sees the concept as often invoked to justify the expenditures of enormous sum of money allocated to Defense by nations, while Vernon (1960) believes that National Security embodies the sovereignty of a state, the vulnerability of its territorial boundaries and the right to individual and collective self-defense against internal and external threats. These definitions see national security from the realist prism. Thus, emphasis is placed on military might and the ability to deter or win wars if it becomes inevitable. Brown (2005) also sees it also from Lipman’s prism as:

“the ability of a nation to preserve her physical integrity and territory, to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to protect its nationals, institutions and governance from disruption from outside or within, and to control its borders”

Like most realist, these definitions encapsulate the primacy of the armed forces as the final instrument of national security. The realist view of National Security is not broad enough as it did not consider the multiple facets of human security such as food, employment issues, environmental issues, new democracy, technology development, climate change and pandemic. He sees it as the ability to cushion crime, threat and war. On the strength of these, a more broader one was given by the National Defense College, Canada (2009) which posits that:

“National security is the preservation of a way of life acceptable to the people and compatible with the needs and legitimate aspirations of others. It includes freedom from military attack or coercion, freedom from internal subversion and freedom from the erosion of the political, economic and social values which are essential to the quality of life”.

This definition is broad in perspective as it introduces the social and economic aspects of national security. According to Mroz (1990) National Security is the relative freedom from harm; by this, it means that

National Security is underscored by the need to protect a Nation against threat such as kidnapping, Armed robbery, espionage, sabotage, terrorism etc. The editors of the Africa Research Bulletin (2000) construct national security in terms of avoidance of conflicts and confrontations, and the preservation of lives of the people in the society. He went further to stress that national security in terms of capacity to achieve reconciliation among the diverse groups in the society. However, Obi (2011) sees it as absence of violence whether military, economic or social. In fact Obi continues that environmental issues count as security problem, such as environmental biodiversity depletion, climate change, ozone layer depletion, urban slums and shanties. In the work of Irekpita (1998) he states that "National Security is government providing for National unity, territorial integrity, security of the individual with respect to food sufficiency, shelter, adequate health, equality of opportunity, self-actualization, promotion of National ethics, self-discipline, self-reliance and patriotism and the National mobilization of all citizens and their participation in defense and security matter etc.

The human aspect of national security was captured by McNamara (1991) as cited in Nwabughigu (2015). For him;

"Security means development, security is not military activity, though it may need it, security is not military activity, though it may encompass it, security is not military hardware, though it may include it. Security is development and without development there can be no security".

This definition identifies development as the cornerstone of security. It recognizes that in addition to military capacity, it includes economic, social and food security. The quality of life of the people is an important dimension in assessing National Security with the federal government articulating the grand strategy for National Security. The document stated in part that National Security is the: "aggregate of security interests of all individuals, communities and ethnic groups". He went further to state the primary objective of national security is: "the strengthening of Federal Republic of Nigeria, to advance her interest and objectives, to contend instability, control crime, eliminate corruption, to ensure private and public safety, enhance genuine development progress and growth, and improve the welfare, well-being and quality of life of every citizen". (Atobo 2007; Adesola, 2001; & Atobo 2013)

The above definitions have shown that views on national security are varied as there are authors. Synthesizing the above concepts, this study sees national security as, the ability of a nation to safeguard its territorial integrity, protect the environment, cultivate the economic progress of her citizens,

guaranty private and public safety of the people and its national core values from internal and external attacks.

Roles of Intelligence in National Security Management in Nigeria

Issues abound in the role of intelligence in national security. The Editor of Africa Research Bulletin (2000) posits that intelligence is the main tool used by leaders of nations to carry out long range forecasts of socio-economic, political and military trends of other nations and for planning counter measures against threats to national security. The analysis of all information from the intelligence community and other sources is used to build a big picture of the strategic environment. This is then deployed by nations to prevent or deter potential foes whether internally or externally sponsored. (Adekunle, 2011; & Nwabughigu, 2015)

Intelligence is the key instrument used in ensuring the long term sustainability of national security. Without intelligence, the forecast of future national security trends is virtually impossible. Systematic and long-term planning could be impaired with the dire consequences of ad-hoc and reactionary policies. Intelligence for national security are two complementary pursuits of governance. It provides the fundamental input into national security policies while the latter is the driving force that keeps the former active (Arase, 2013).

Inadvertently, information which is the hub of intelligence can also be put to all sorts of illegitimate use. An Intelligence agency of course, can legitimately use personal information to prevent crime and combat terrorism. But if not properly taken can also be used to suppress the speech and other right of the people. Within the realm of democratic intelligence relation, probably the most problematic issue is control of intelligence service. This is due not only to the legacies of the prior, non-democratic regimes, in which intelligence or security apparatus was key element of control, and in which human right abuses were the order of the day.

Adetayo (2012) in his findings posits that Nigeria must understand the use and limits of effective intelligence as an effective tool for crime and national security management, he asserts that intelligence need to be proactive, preventive and intelligence-led, not law enforcement after violation or re-activeness which may not be enough to cushion crime and insecurity. In the view of Karolis (2013) as cited by Dirisu, (2019) intelligence has an enormous role to play in the extent of nations and National Security management, Intelligence methods have been applied in order to disrupt the activities of criminal organization. Since 9/11 terrorist attack, nations of the world have developed, reformed and strategized new intelligence methods for crime management and early detection of

criminal activities especially in a democratic dispensation. However, in Nigeria, the intelligence is vague and have been the style copied from the military and colonial period with little or no modification or with no or little technological know-how. Hence, Nigeria, since the enshrinement of democracy 1999 till date has been enmeshed in a lot of security firebox leading to the feeling that Nigeria is either a failed or failing State. These security challenges have occurred with high rate of fatalities and deaths of both the civilians and security personnel forcing the populace to ask a critical question "if our intelligence is actually working especially in democratic dispensation (Bodunde *et al.*, 2019).

Democracy entails and requires enshrinement of democratic and human right ethos irrespective of the threat to National Security. While intelligence service by contrast operates outside the confines of democratic transparency. These create a conundrum that needs urgent solution. (Emeh, 2007; & Enahoro, 2010). In established modern democracies such as United States and Great Britain, National intelligence organizations exist for one primary purpose: to inform and support policy- decision makers and create a robust collaboration between intelligence, governance and human right issues (Imobighe, 2001, 2003). While Nigeria democracy is witnessing extreme security challenges with alarming increase of acts of armed insurgency, violent destruction of lives & property, piracy, kidnapping, cultism, banditry, militancy and terrorism (Arase, 2013), At this rate, the indication on our common future is uncertain and unfortunately Ominous, and for our democratic tenet to turn the tide of such, Ominous future, Rakpene (2013) as cited by Arase, (2013) opined that we all have a duty to urgently review and reform intelligence architecture to suit the democratic elements, usher in sustainable and value added measures to our intelligence architectures and facilitate the removal of intelligence Democratic conundrum. That is our best option.

Theoretical Framework

In order to enhance the theoretical meaning, relevance and focus of this study (which forms the pivot) and proffer direction on the search for a panacea to the problems, this research, adopted the system theory. The original basis for the system theory is drawn from functionalist perspective. It has its root in the founding fathers like August Comte and Emile Dukheim. The theory focused on the assumption that society has its different components which must perform its functions towards the functioning of the whole system. Each aspect of intelligence and democracy are interdependent and contribute to functioning of the whole. Systems Theory explains that organizations such as intelligence, National Security issues and democratic ethos are either examined by both inward and outward relationship. Institutions have purpose, and in order to achieve this purpose, certain

characteristics have to be formed. Such as social solidarity, consensus, social order and equilibrium, it also must be adaptive and responsive to change around them, and have needs to meet (Obi, 2011). The theory further explains activities in relation to the role they play in keeping a given system in a proper working order and they maintain equilibrium. According to Ekpenyong (2014) "A system is comprehensive in the sense that it includes all the interactions-input, the mutual relationship that makes organizations to function in close knit which make it blend, separate and make distinct organizations into one, hence change in the organization operation to match with the democratic principles in these security firebox becomes imperative.

Against these background, one can deduce that the intelligence organization in Nigeria is not responding to these democratic influence or vice versa as most intelligence techniques such as gathering, analyzes and making projection that is in tandem with democratic norms are either not available or archaic, or act of complacency which one may perceive to be the cause of intelligence democratic crises hence failure to, manage Crime and threat to National Security.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The survey research design was used. Survey design elicits opinions from responses of people to questions asked through questionnaire about a specific issue on a particular topic. Hence this study adopts a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods using measurement instrument procedures of 6-Point-Rensis Likert-type-scale that is relevant to the research study. The research populations are retired personnel of selected intelligence agencies such as DIA, NIA, Diplomats, DSS, Police NSCDC NMS Immigration and some human right activists and non-governmental organizations. The essence of using the retired personnel is because they were willing to give out information, while the serving agents were economical in their response, although some of them were also excused with the confidentiality principles. The human right and non-government organizations were selected because of their knowledge pertaining to rule of law and enshrinement of democratic principles, while NIA are foreign diplomats that are saddled with foreign intelligence, DIA is responsible for both foreign and domestic intelligence of military nature, while DSS/Police NSCDC Immigration were clustered together because of their roles in domestic intelligence and internal security. The sampling procedures and sample size determination is purposive and also cluster procedure of those members involved. Because of the nature of intelligence and National Security question, snowball sampling technique was used. This begins with the selection of the initial respondents, part of the sample in a cluster or known person in the organization who introduces or refers you to other possible respondents within the organization.

On the whole respondents from intelligence

organization and some expert opinions were selected.

Table 1. The Selected (Clustered) Agencies/Bodies

Intelligence Agencies	Number Distributed	Number Collated	Percentage (%) Of Respondents Collated
DIA/NIA/Diplomat/DSS	329	320	97%
Police/NSCDC Immigration	325	310	95%
Non-Governmental/Organization	200	152	76%
Human Right Activist			
TOTAL	855	782	91%

Sources: Field Survey, 2021

Test of Research Questions

This section provides the required information that is needed to answer the research questions raised in this study. Hence, issues and question such as the nature and extent of intelligence and national security management in Nigeria 1999 – 2021. To what extent does intelligence in democratic government support the conduct of national security questions? What are those

strategies and prospects of reforming intelligence in order to promote democratic ideas and maintain national security are all to be addressed here from figure 1 to 3 below.

Research Question 1

To what Extent and Nature is Intelligence and National Security Management in Nigeria 1999 – 2021?

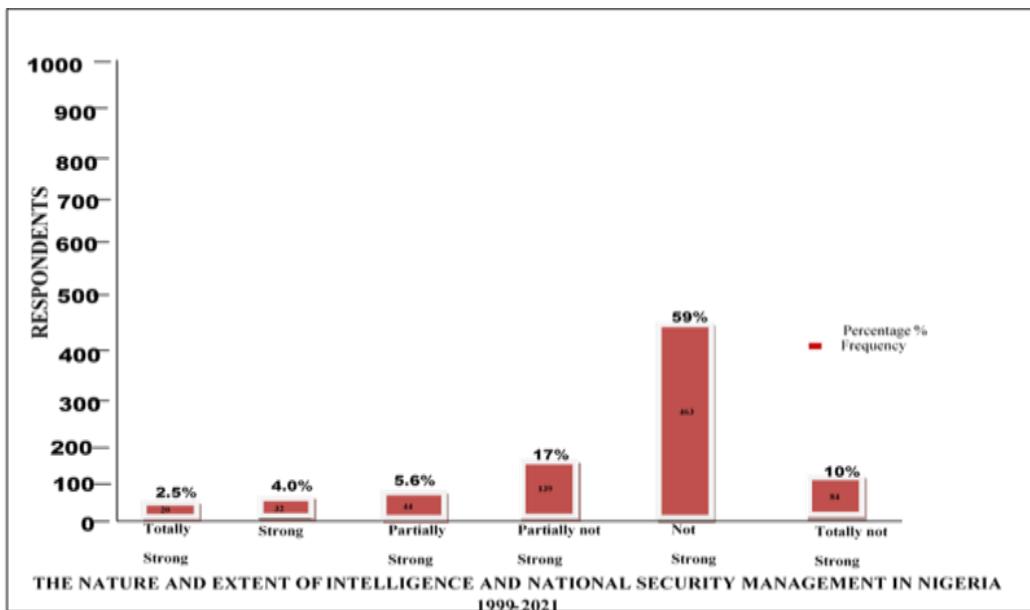


Figure 1: The Extent and Nature is Intelligence and National Security Management in Nigeria 1999 – 2021

Sources: Field Survey, 2021

The data in Figure 1 above shows the extent and Nature of intelligence and national security management in Nigeria. It indicates 84 responded (10%) totally not strong, 463 (59%) not strong, 139 (17%) partially not strong while 44 (5.6%) opined that intelligence is partially strong, also 32 (4.0%) claimed to be strong and 20 (2.5%) totally strong. That means 686 at of 782 i.e. 89% respondents agree that Intelligence and National Security management is

partially not strong, not strong or totally not strong, which is the cause of insecurity challenges, hence, failure of National Security in Nigeria.

Research Question 2

To what Extent does Intelligence in Democratic Government Support the Conduct of Security Operations in Nigeria 1999 - 2021?

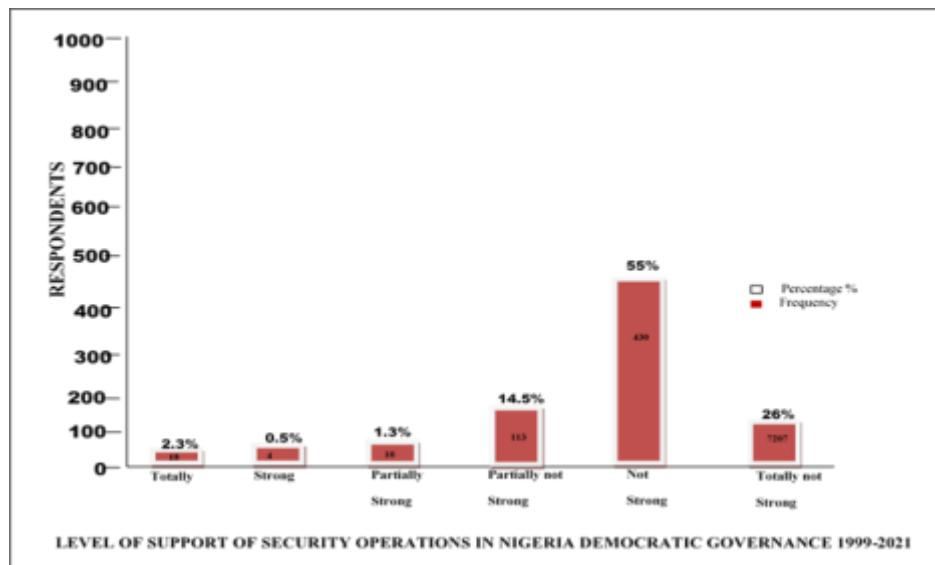


Figure 2: Level of Support of Security Operations in Nigeria Democratic Governance 1999-2021
Source: Field Survey, 2021

Figure 2 above provides data on the extent to which intelligence in democratic government supports the conduct of security operations in Nigeria. From the above figure it is seen that 18 (2.3%) respondents are very strong in their view, that intelligence in democratic government has supported the conduct of its personnel, while 4 (0.5%) respondents assert that it is strong, in support of its operation while also 102 (1.3%) respondents claimed it is partially strong or aided its performance, while 113 (14.5%) respondents are of the opinion that it is partially not strong while 430 (55%)

responded not strong in support and 207 (26%) totally not strong in support of security operations. In summary, it indicates that 96% is of the view that intelligence in democratic environment do not support security operation hence affects its performance.

Research Question 3

What are those Strategies and Prospects of Reforming Intelligence in Order to Promote Democratic Ideas and Maintain Robust National Security Management?

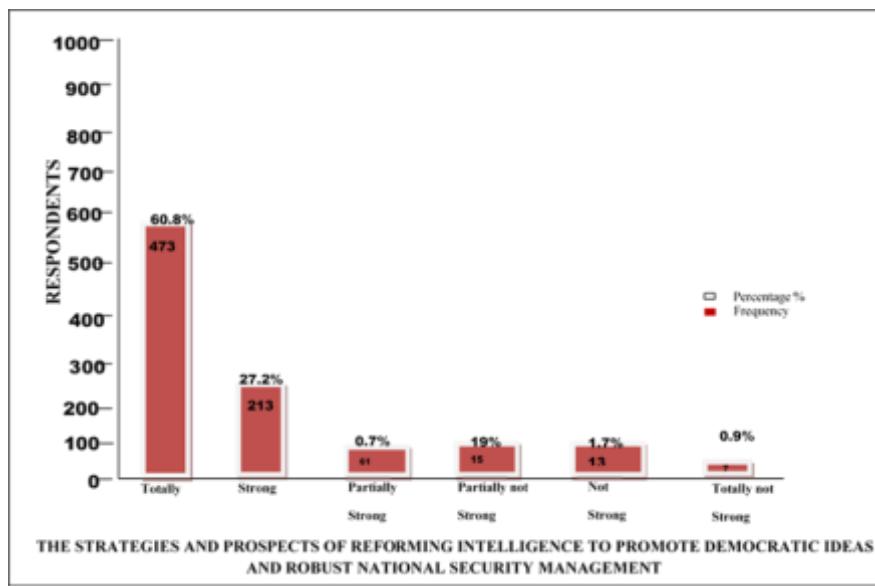


Figure 3: The Strategies and Prospects of Reforming Intelligence in Order to Promote Democratic Ideas and Maintain Robust National Security Management
Source: Field Survey, 2021

Figure 3 reveals that 473 (60.8%) respondents totally and strongly agreed for the need to reform intelligence in other to promote democratic ideas for national security, while 213 (27.2%) of the respondents

are strong in that direction of reforming intelligence, also 61(07.8%) partially strong, whereas 15 (19%) partially not strong, 13 (1.7%) not strong and 7 (0.9%) totally not strong. In summary, it indicates that 90% of

the whole respondent is of the view of reforming intelligence which will boast National Security. Also the following strategies were adduced.

- Reforming Intelligence that will match contemporary issues.
- Constitutional amendment and restructuring of the security architecture
- Training and retraining of personnel
- Robust Political will by those in authority and government
- Attitudinal change by citizens and government
- Technological knowhow

- Fairness, equity and justice should be the watch word
- Building a strong institution

Test of Hypotheses

This section deals with the test of hypotheses that were formulated in this study. These formulated hypotheses were tested below using the chi-square (X^2) statistical techniques.

HYPOTHESIS 1

Failure of Intelligence does not increase incidence of Crime and Threat to National Security Management in Nigeria 1999-2021.

Table 1. Show Respondents View of Hypothesis I

Respondents	Totally Strong (TS)	Strong (S)	Partially Strong (PS)	Partially Not Strong (PNS)	Not Strong (NS)	Totally Not Strong (TNS)	Total
NIA/DIA/ Diplomat/DSS	4	6	10	30	42	60	152
Police/NSCDC Immigration	1	4	23	42	70	180	320
Human Right Organizations / Non State actors	20	5	19	54	71	140	310
TOTAL	25	15	52	126	184	380	782

Source: Field Survey, 2021

This information is tested with Chi-square (X^2) at 0.05 level of significance

Table 2. Chi-Square Computation from Hypothesis I

Respondents	0	E	0 - E	$(0 + E)^2$	$(0 - E)^2$
NIA/DIA/ Diplomat/ DSS	4	4.86	-0.86	0.74	0.15
	6	2.92	3.08	9.49	3.25
	10	10.11	-0.11	0.01	0.001
	30	24.49	5.51	30.36	1.24
	42	35.77	6.23	38.81	1.09
	60	73.87	-13.87	192.38	2.60
Police/NSCDC Immigration	1	10.23	-9.23	85.19	9.33
	4	6.14	-2.14	4.58	0.75
	23	21.28	1.72	2.96	0.14
	42	51.56	-9.56	91.39	1.77
	70	75.29	-5.29	27.98	0.37
	180	155.50	24.5	600.25	3.86
Human Right Organizations / Non State actors	20	9.91	10.09	101.81	10.27
	5	5.95	-0.95	0.90	0.15
	19	20.61	-1.61	2.59	0.13
	54	49.75	4.25	18.06	0.33
	72	72.94	-0.94	0.88	0.01
	140	150.63	-10.63	6.7	0.75

$\Sigma=35.19$

From the table above, the chi-square (X^2) calculated value for hypothesis I is as follows;

$$\text{Chi-square } X^2 = \Sigma (0 - E)^2$$

E

E Where 0 = observed frequency

E = expected frequency

 $\Sigma = 35.19$ **Note**

Expected frequency is obtained by multiplying the row total by column total for each response and divide by total number of respondents. After this check χ^2 table value based on the calculated degree of freedom (d.f). Hence, to ascertain the degree of freedom the following formula applies.

$$DF = (R1)(C-1) = (3-1)(6-1) = (2 \times 5) = 10$$

At 10 degree of freedom, the table value of χ^2 at 0.05 level of significance is 18.31.

Decision Rule

Reject null hypothesis when the calculated value is greater than table value. In this study, since

calculated value for χ^2 is 35.19 and table value is 18.31, the null hypothesis which states that “Failure of intelligence does not increase incidence of Crime and Threat to National Security Management in Nigeria 1999-2021” is hereby rejected. It now means that failure of intelligence increases incidence of Crime and Threat to National Security Management in Nigeria.

HYPOTHESIS 2

Adherence to Democratic Ethos does not Endanger Intelligence and National Security Management in Nigeria 1999-2021.

Table 3. Show Respondent View of Hypothesis II

Respondents	TS	S	PS	PNS	NS	TNS	Total
NIA/DIA/Diplomat/DSS	2	5	11	13	46	75	152
Police/NSCDC Immigration	6	17	22	44	71	160	320
Human Right Organizations / Non State actors	5	20	20	53	60	15	310
TOTAL	13	42	53	110	177	387	782

Source: Field Survey, 2021
This information is tested with Chi-square (χ^2) at 0.05 levels of significance.

Table 4. Chi-Square Computation for Hypothesis II

Respondents	0	E	0-E	(0+E)2	(0-E)2
NIA/DIA/Diplomat/DSS	2	2.53	-0.53	0.28	0.11
	5	8.16	-3.16	9.99	1.22
	U	10.30	0.7	0.49	0.05
	13	31.38	-8.38	7.02	3.28
	46	34.41	11.59	134.33	3.90
	75	75.23	-0.23	0.05	0.001
Police/NSCDC Immigration	6	5.32	0.68	0.46	0.09
	17	17.19	-0.19	0.04	0.001
	22	21.69	0.31	0.10	0.001
	44	45.01	-1.01	1.02	0.02
	71	72.43	-1.43	2.04	0.03
	160	158.36	1.64	2.69	0.02
Human Right Organizations / Non State actors	5	5.15	0.02	0.001	10.27
	20	16.65	11.22	0.67	0.15
	20	21.01	1.02	0.05	0.13
	53	43.60	88.36	2.03	0.33
	60	70.16	103.23	1.47	0.01
	152	154.41	1.99	0.01	0.75

 $\Sigma=12.95$ From the table above, the chi-square (χ^2) calculated value for hypothesis II is as follows;

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

E

E Where 0 = observed frequency

E = expected frequency

 $\Sigma = 12.95$

Note

Expected frequency is obtained by multiplying the row total by column total for each response and divide by total number of respondents. After this, X^2 calculated value based on the calculated degree of freedom (df). Hence, to ascertain the degree of freedom the following formula applies.

$$DF = (R1)(C-1) = (3-1) = (2 \times 5) = 10$$

At 10 degree of freedom, the table value of X^2 at 0.05 levels of significances 18.31

Decision Rule

Reject null hypothesis when the calculated value is greater than table value. In this study, since

calculated value for X^2 is 12.95 and table value is 18.31, the null hypothesis which states that “Adherence to democratic ethos does not endanger intelligence and national security Management in Nigeria” is accepted. It implies that adherence to democratic ethos does not endanger intelligence and national security management in Nigeria.

HYPOTHESIS 3

The More Intelligence is Reformed and Re-Strategized in Nigeria Democratic Dispensation, the more Reliable and Dependable National Security is not Assured.

Table 5. Show Respondents View for Hypothesis III

Respondents	TS	S	PS	PNS	NS	TNS	Total
NIA/DIA/Diplomat/DSS	83	49	10	5	3	2	152
Police/NSCDC	154	76	46	25	11	8	320
Immigration							
Human Organizations / State actors	Right	167	67	55	14	9	310
Non							
Total		394	192	111	44	23	782

Source: Field Survey, 2021

This information is tested with Chi-square (X^2) at 0.05 levels of significance.

Table 6. Chi-Square Computation for Hypothesis III

Respondents	O	E	O-E	(O+E)²	(O-E)²
NIA/DIA/ Diplomat/ DSS Police/NSCDC immigration	83	76.59	6.41	41.09	0.54
	49	37.32	11.68	136.42	3.66
	10	21.58	-11.58	134.10	6.21
	5	8.55	-3.55	12.60	1.47
	3	4.47	-1.47	2.16	0.48
	2	3.50	-1.5	2.25	0.64
Human Right Organizations / Non State actors	154	161.22	-7.22	52.13	0.32
	76	78.57	-2.57	6.60	0.08
	46	45.42	0.58	0.34	0.01
	25	18	7	49	2.72
	11	9.41	1.59	2.53	0.27
	8	7.37	0.63	0.40	0.54
NIA/DIA/ Diplomat/ DSS	157	156.18	0.82	0.67	0.001
	67	76.11	-9.11	82.99	1.09
	55	44	11	121	2.75
	14	17.44	-3.44	11.83	0.68
	9	9.12	-0.12	0.01	0.001
	8	7.40	0.6	0.36	0.10

$\Sigma=21.56$

From the table above, the chi-square (X^2) calculated value for hypothesis III is a follows;

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

E Where O = observed frequency

E = expected frequency

$\Sigma=21.56$

Note

Expected frequency is obtained by multiplying the row total by column total for each response and

divide by total number of respondents. After this, X^2 calculated value is compared with X^2 table valued based on the calculated degree of freedom (d.f). Hence,

to ascertain the degree of freedom the following formula applies.

$$DF = (R1)(C-1) = (3-1)(6-1) = (2 \times 5) = 10$$

At 10 degree of freedom, the table value of X^2 at 0.05 levels of significance is 18.31.

Decision Rule

Reject null hypothesis when the calculated value is greater than table value. In this study, since calculated value for X^2 is 21.56 and the table value is 18.31, the null hypothesis is hereby rejected. It follows that the more intelligence is reformed, and re-strategized in Nigeria democratic dispensation the more reliable and dependable National Security is assured.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

- One of the major findings is that Nigeria is currently living in a perilous time beyond Thomas Hobbes state of nature and the security architecture that is saddled with the responsibility to cushion the blood-letting is continuously unabated. Hence Nigeria is aggressively in search of peace, but people and government appear ostensibly confused on how best to re-assert sanity and restore order in that direction.
- Findings also revealed that since independence and after many years of military rule to return to democracy and rule of law in 1999 till date, there have been release of bottled emotions by Nigerians that were long accustomed to denial of rights to express themselves as a result of military impunity and democratic issues, the result was a high risk factor and new security challenges.
- It is also observed that the Intelligence and national Security apparatuses or tactics used is no longer feasible in mitigating the situation. It either lack skill or are skewed with democratic bottle-neck. To the extent that authorities have adjudged the nation as a failed or a failing state situating it to Syria, Afghanistan and some war turned countries.
- The work also finds out that although adherence to democratic ethos does not endanger intelligence work but has some militating elements hence a conundrum or rift is created as the result of the research question two and the chi-square result of hypothesis 2 indicate contradictions. These conundrum between intelligence and democratic issues need to be resolved by constitutional review and restructuring of our security and democratic structures and functions.
- Based on this conundrum, the instrument or policy directive of government, security operatives and those in authority lack analytical skills, real-time intelligence and that the intelligence product is not useful, obsolete in operation, hence comatose and creates national security dilemma.
- The work also observed that lack political will and ethnic/religious bigotry play vital role in failed intelligence and insecurity in Nigeria.

Recommendation

It recommends that:

- Intelligence and National security is the hub that contributes to proper existence and for development to thrive, thus the need to create robust intelligence architecture for robust National Security Management is sacrosanct.
- A proper synergy should be made for better understanding of the contemporary significance of democracy and intelligence consolidation in Nigeria in order to solve the intelligence/democratic rifts.
- Overhauling institutional framework whereby democratically elected civilian can control the intelligence agencies without compromising its standard and at the same time maximize their potential for intelligence effectiveness and professionalism..
- That intelligence should be reformed and made robust to suit the contemporary challenges that are contingent to the situation at hand; that the need to reform intelligence is overdue, hence delay is dangerous.
- Also recommended is to restructure, constitutional review of basic political/security institutions to be in tandem with best world democratic practice – to also fit within intelligence net-work.
- Strong political will, devoid of ethnic/religious inclination should be the watch word.

CONCLUSION

This study has revealed and discussed extant literature, which are relevant to the theme of study. The methodology adopted was descriptive research design that involves the use of quantitative and qualitative analyses. Data were collected from the field and analyzed, using simple percentages and graphs. Chi-square was used to test hypotheses as earlier said. Opinions were sort through questionnaire and interviews. Having done all that, we hereby conclude that there is a relationship between Intelligence and National Security thus proper intelligence work leads to enhancement of National Security not only in Nigeria but in other countries of the world.

It equally asserts that adherence to democratic ethos does not endanger intelligence and National Security, however, the democratization of intelligence i.e. combining democratic control with intelligence effectiveness need to be ameliorated to help solve the metabolic relationship of democracy and intelligence.

Also intelligence should be reformed; this will enhance the reliability and dependability of National Security. Achieving a balance between intelligence effectiveness and democratic control is a challenge in any new democracy, hence reforming intelligence that suite or neutralizes intelligence — democratic conundrum becomes imperative.

Finally, that research on the direct activity of the intervening variables on intelligence and National Security will provide room for further research in intelligence and other related issues in Nigeria Security Architecture.

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