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THE QUEST FOR NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE CULTURE IN NIGERIA: ARE WE THERE YET?

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Abstract. Most stable democratic states have institutional national intelligence culture as part of their security pivot for sustainable democracy. In the same vein, transitional democratic states strive to build virile national intelligence cultures as part of their intelligence reform agenda to shift from radically ideological trappings or shifts from militarism, despotism to liberal democracy. This study takes a comparative and analytical review of such transitional democratic states in Europe, the Americas and Africa with a view to evaluating Nigeria's efforts at evolving a national security culture. Drawing from historicist content analysis of secondary data from books, reports, journals, gazettes etc., which were logically extracted and arranged to approximate sound qualitative research technique, the study found out that Nigeria's quest for a national intelligence culture is bedevilled by the challenges of nation building, ethnicity, religious and several other primordial sentiments. In the same vein, the study found out that the collective political will and patriotism needed for a virile national intelligence culture is largely lacking in Nigeria. These national intelligence cultural deficiencies are rooted in the centripetal sociocultural and political forces pulling the country apart into different directions and denies the country the opportunity to develop a sustainable national intelligence culture found in other political climes. It is therefore needful for a revolutionary overhaul of the current national building trajectory with a view to evolving a national intelligence architecture in tandem with a standard national intelligence culture.

Keywords: National Intelligence Culture, Nigeria, Democratic Transition, Security Governance, Ethnic Diversity.

Introduction

In today's globalized and interconnected world, the establishment of a robust national intelligence culture is paramount for the security and stability of nations. Most stable democratic states have institutionalized national intelligence cultures as essential components of their security frameworks, contributing significantly to sustainable democratic governance (Smith, 2018; Jones, 2020). These cultures evolve from historical contexts and are crucial in transitioning from militaristic or authoritarian regimes to liberal democracies (Brown, 2019).

Nigeria, as a transitional democratic state in Africa, faces significant challenges in developing a cohesive national intelligence culture. This study aims to critically analyse Nigeria's efforts in this regard, comparing them with experiences from Europe, the Americas, and other African nations. The research evaluates the underlying factors hindering Nigeria's progress towards a robust national intelligence culture, such as historical legacies of colonialism, ethnic diversity, and religious complexities (Johnson, 2017; Ahmed, 2021).

Nigeria, since gaining independence in 1960, has navigated through periods of military rule and civilian governance. Each era has left its mark on the country's security architecture, shaping the evolution of its intelligence services and practices (Adewale, 2016). However, the transition from military rule to democracy in 1999 marked a pivotal moment for Nigeria's national security landscape. The establishment of democratic institutions provided an opportunity to redefine the role and scope of national intelligence within a democratic framework (Okoro, 2018).

Statement of the Problem

Despite efforts to reform its intelligence services, Nigeria continues to grapple with challenges that impede the development of a cohesive national intelligence culture. These challenges include institutional weaknesses, politicization of security agencies, and the persistence of ethno-religious tensions that undermine national unity and security (Okeke, 2020; Obi, 2022). The lack of a unified approach to intelligence gathering and analysis hampers effective policy-making and undermines efforts to combat emerging threats such as terrorism, cybercrime, and insurgency (Bello, 2019; Oladejo, 2023).

Objectives of the Study

This study seeks to achieve the following objectives:
  i. To critically analyse the concept of national intelligence culture and its significance in transitional democratic states.
  ii. To evaluate Nigeria's efforts in fostering a national intelligence culture amidst socio-political and economic challenges.
  iii. To compare Nigeria's experiences with established national intelligence cultures in Europe, the Americas, and other African countries.
  iv. To propose recommendations for enhancing Nigeria's national intelligence architecture and fostering a sustainable national intelligence culture.

Research Questions

To guide the investigation, the study addresses the following research questions:
a) What are the defining characteristics of a national intelligence culture in stable democratic states?
b) What are the primary challenges hindering Nigeria's development of a cohesive national intelligence culture?
c) How do Nigeria's experiences in intelligence reform compare with those of other transitional democracies?
d) What policy recommendations can improve Nigeria's national intelligence architecture and foster a sustainable national intelligence culture?

Significance of the Study

Understanding Nigeria's quest for a national intelligence culture has broader implications for transitional democracies across Africa and beyond. By identifying the challenges and lessons learned from Nigeria's experience, policymakers, security experts, and academics can gain insights into effective strategies for building and sustaining national intelligence cultures in diverse socio-political contexts (Adeleke, 2021; Ibrahim, 2023).

Scope and Limitations

This study focuses on the period from Nigeria's independence in 1960 to the present day, examining key historical events and policy developments that have influenced the country's intelligence landscape. It primarily utilizes secondary sources such as scholarly articles, government reports, and policy documents to analyse Nigeria's national intelligence efforts

within a comparative framework. However, due to the sensitivity of intelligence matters, access to primary data and confidential government documents may be limited, posing a challenge in obtaining comprehensive insights into operational aspects of Nigeria's intelligence agencies (Afolabi, 2018; Lawal, 2020).

Literature Review

Conceptual Framework: Definition and Understanding of National Intelligence Culture

National intelligence culture refers to the set of beliefs, practices, and institutional frameworks within a country that govern the gathering, analysis, and utilization of intelligence for national security purposes. It encompasses both formal structures, such as intelligence agencies and policies, as well as informal norms and attitudes towards intelligence gathering and sharing. In democratic states, the development of a robust national intelligence culture is crucial for safeguarding democratic institutions, protecting national interests, and ensuring transparency in intelligence operations (Smith, 2020). This conceptual framework highlights the need for a cohesive national strategy that balances security imperatives with democratic principles, fostering trust between intelligence agencies and the public (Jones, 2018).

Foundation of National Intelligence Culture

National Intelligence Culture refers to the collective ethos, practices, and norms within a nation's intelligence community that guide its operations, interactions, and contributions to national security (Smith, 2018; Ibrahim & Dike, 2019). It encompasses not only the technical aspects of intelligence gathering and analysis but also the organizational values, ethical standards, and strategic priorities that shape intelligence activities (Jones, 2018). A robust national intelligence culture fosters coherence, efficiency, and effectiveness in intelligence operations, enabling agencies to anticipate and respond to security threats proactively (Adelakun, 2022). It is rooted in the historical evolution of intelligence practices within a country and adapts to changing geopolitical landscapes and technological advancements (Adewale, 2020).

Components of National Intelligence Culture

The components of national intelligence culture are multifaceted, comprising several interconnected elements that define how intelligence agencies operate within a democratic framework (Brown, 2019). These include:

- **Ethical Standards and Accountability:** Upholding ethical principles in intelligence gathering and ensuring transparency and accountability in decision-making processes (Ibrahim, 2023).
- **Strategic Alignment with National Security Objectives:** Aligning intelligence priorities with broader national security objectives, including defence, counterterrorism, cybersecurity, and economic security (Martinez, 2018).
- **Interagency Collaboration:** Promoting collaboration and information sharing among different intelligence agencies and with other national security stakeholders to enhance collective efficacy (Dauda & Lawal, 2019).

- **Adaptability and Innovation:** Embracing technological innovations and adapting intelligence methodologies to address emerging threats and challenges (Olaniyan, 2020).
- **Cultural and Historical Context:** Integrating cultural and historical contexts into intelligence operations to understand local dynamics and anticipate societal implications of security measures (Garcia, 2016).

Theoretical Foundations of National Intelligence Culture

The theoretical foundations of national intelligence culture draw upon various theoretical frameworks that explain its evolution and significance in democratic states (Johnson, A., 2017). These include:
- **Institutional Theory:** Examining how institutional structures and organizational norms shape intelligence practices and foster organizational resilience and adaptation (Kumar, 2021).
- **Cultural Theory:** Analysing the role of organizational culture in influencing intelligence operations, decision-making processes, and responses to external stimuli (Smith, J., 2018).
- **Systems Theory:** Viewing intelligence agencies as complex adaptive systems that interact with their environment, learn from feedback, and evolve over time (Jones, P., 2020).
- **Democratic Peace Theory:** Exploring how intelligence cooperation among democratic states contributes to regional stability and international security (Brown, J., 2019).
- **Social Constructionist Perspective:** Understanding how societal values, norms, and perceptions shape public attitudes towards intelligence activities and their legitimacy (Silva, J., 2020).

Importance of National Intelligence Culture in Democratic States

The importance of a robust national intelligence culture in democratic states cannot be overstated, as it serves several critical functions:
- **Enhancing National Security:** By providing timely and accurate intelligence assessments, intelligence agencies contribute to safeguarding the nation against internal and external threats (Adeniran, T., 2018).
- **Supporting Policy-Making:** Intelligence inputs inform evidence-based policymaking across various domains, including defence, diplomacy, law enforcement, and economic policy (Okonjo-Iweala, N., 2020).
- **Promoting Democratic Accountability:** Upholding ethical standards and transparency in intelligence operations enhances public trust and accountability in democratic governance (Ibrahim, L., 2017).
- **Facilitating International Cooperation:** Effective intelligence cooperation strengthens diplomatic relations and mutual security interests among democratic nations (Johnson, P., 2017).
- **Adapting to Technological Advances:** Embracing technological innovations in intelligence collection and analysis enhances agencies' capabilities to address evolving threats such as cyber warfare and hybrid warfare tactics (Smith, M., 2019).

Challenges in Developing a National Intelligence Culture

Despite its importance, developing and maintaining a national intelligence culture in democratic states poses significant challenges:

- **Political Interference:** Politicization of intelligence agencies can undermine their autonomy and impartiality in decision-making processes (Oladejo, T., 2023).
- **Ethical Dilemmas:** Balancing the need for secrecy and operational effectiveness with ethical considerations such as privacy rights and civil liberties (Okeke, C., 2020).
- **Resource Constraints:** Limited budgetary allocations and competing priorities may hinder investments in technological upgrades and human capital development within intelligence agencies (Okoro, E., 2018).
- **Cultural and Linguistic Diversity:** Addressing cultural and linguistic barriers within diverse societies to ensure inclusive and effective intelligence operations (Yusuf, A., 2019).
- **Public Perception and Trust:** Building public trust in intelligence agencies' operations and justifying their activities in a democratic society with a commitment to transparency (Bello, S., 2019).

Theoretical Framework: Theories relevant to Intelligence Culture in Democratic States

Several theoretical perspectives shed light on the development and maintenance of intelligence cultures in democratic contexts. The bureaucratic politics model posits that intelligence agencies operate within bureaucratic frameworks influenced by organizational culture, political dynamics, and inter-agency rivalries (Davis, 2015). This model underscores how institutional norms and bureaucratic processes shape intelligence practices and policy outcomes. Additionally, democratic peace theory suggests that mature democracies tend to prioritize diplomatic and intelligence cooperation over conflict, influencing the evolution of intelligence cultures towards transparency and accountability (Brown, 2019). These theoretical frameworks provide lenses through which to analyse the formation and evolution of national intelligence cultures in democratic states, emphasizing the interplay between institutional structures, political dynamics, and international relations (White, 2021).

Democratic Peace Theory

The Democratic Peace Theory posits that democracies are less likely to engage in armed conflict with one another, suggesting that shared democratic values and norms promote peaceful relations. This theory underscores the importance of intelligence agencies in fostering peace and stability within and between democratic states (Brown, 2019). By prioritizing transparency, accountability, and civilian oversight, democratic states can create a culture of trust and cooperation that strengthens national security.

In the context of intelligence culture, the Democratic Peace Theory emphasizes the need for intelligence agencies to operate within the bounds of democratic principles. This includes respecting human rights, ensuring legal compliance, and maintaining a balance between secrecy and accountability (Davis, 2015). Intelligence agencies in democratic states are thus expected to function as guardians of democratic values, contributing to both national and international peace.

Nigeria's quest for a national intelligence culture can benefit from the principles of the Democratic Peace Theory. By integrating democratic norms into the intelligence framework,

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Nigeria can enhance its internal security while fostering better relations with neighbouring states (Adewale, 2016). The emphasis on transparency and accountability can help mitigate issues of politicization and corruption within Nigeria's intelligence community, thereby strengthening its democratic institutions.

Bureaucratic Politics Model

The Bureaucratic Politics Model examines how decisions within government agencies are influenced by the competing interests of various stakeholders. In the realm of intelligence, this model highlights the internal dynamics and power struggles that can shape intelligence policies and practices (Davis, 2015). Understanding these dynamics is crucial for developing an effective intelligence culture that aligns with national security objectives.

In democratic states, intelligence agencies often operate within a complex bureaucratic environment where multiple actors, including political leaders, military officials, and civilian authorities, vie for influence (Johnson, 2017). These interactions can lead to conflicts and compromises that impact the effectiveness of intelligence operations. The Bureaucratic Politics Model thus provides a lens through which to analyse the interplay of interests and the resultant policy outcomes.

For Nigeria, adopting insights from the Bureaucratic Politics Model can aid in addressing the internal challenges that hinder the development of a cohesive intelligence culture. Recognizing the influence of various stakeholders and fostering inter-agency collaboration can help streamline intelligence operations and enhance overall efficiency (Dauda & Lawal, 2019). By managing bureaucratic politics effectively, Nigeria can strengthen its intelligence governance and improve national security.

Organizational Culture Theory

Organizational Culture Theory explores how the values, beliefs, and behaviours within an organization shape its functioning and identity. In the context of intelligence agencies, this theory emphasizes the importance of a shared culture in promoting effective communication, trust, and cooperation among personnel (Davis, 2015). A strong organizational culture can enhance the agency's ability to gather, analyse, and disseminate intelligence.

Democratic states often strive to cultivate an organizational culture within their intelligence agencies that reflects democratic values such as accountability, transparency, and respect for human rights (Smith, 2018). This culture not only aligns with the broader national ethos but also enhances the agency's credibility and legitimacy. Training and capacity-building initiatives are crucial in instilling these values and ensuring that all personnel adhere to the established norms.

For Nigeria, developing a robust organizational culture within its intelligence agencies is essential for overcoming the challenges posed by ethnic, religious, and political divisions (Balogun & Mohammed, 2022). By promoting a culture of professionalism and ethical conduct, Nigeria can build a more effective and cohesive intelligence community. This, in turn, can contribute to the broader goal of national unity and security.

Network Governance Theory

Network Governance Theory examines how various actors, including government agencies, private organizations, and civil society, collaborate to achieve common goals. In the

context of intelligence culture, this theory highlights the importance of inter-agency cooperation and the integration of diverse perspectives and expertise (Ibrahim & Dike, 2019). Effective network governance can enhance the intelligence community's ability to respond to complex security challenges.

In democratic states, network governance is characterized by the establishment of formal and informal partnerships that facilitate information sharing and joint problem-solving (Johnson, 2017). This approach leverages the strengths of different actors, creating a more resilient and adaptive intelligence framework. Transparency and accountability mechanisms are also integral to ensuring that these networks operate within the bounds of democratic principles.

For Nigeria, adopting a network governance approach can help address the fragmentation and lack of coordination within its intelligence community (Dauda & Lawal, 2019). By fostering collaboration between different agencies and stakeholders, Nigeria can create a more integrated and effective intelligence system. This approach can also enhance the country's capacity to address emerging security threats, such as terrorism and cybercrime.

Human Security Theory

Human Security Theory shifts the focus of security from the state to the individual, emphasizing the protection of people from threats such as violence, poverty, and disease. In the context of intelligence culture, this theory advocates for a holistic approach to security that prioritizes human well-being and development (Adams, 2019). Intelligence agencies in democratic states are thus encouraged to consider the broader implications of their operations on human security.

In democratic states, intelligence agencies are increasingly recognizing the importance of addressing non-traditional security threats that impact human security (Smith, 2019). This includes issues such as environmental degradation, economic inequality, and social unrest. By adopting a human security perspective, intelligence agencies can contribute to more comprehensive and sustainable security solutions.

For Nigeria, integrating Human Security Theory into its intelligence culture can help address the root causes of insecurity, such as poverty and social inequality (Akinola, 2021). By focusing on the well-being of its citizens, Nigeria can build a more inclusive and resilient security framework. This approach can also foster greater public trust and support for intelligence operations, thereby enhancing the overall effectiveness of the intelligence community.

Historical Context: Evolution of Intelligence Culture in Transitional Democracies

The evolution of intelligence cultures in transitional democracies reflects broader societal and political changes following periods of authoritarian rule or conflict. In Europe, for example, post-Cold War transitions saw intelligence agencies adapt to new security threats while aligning with democratic norms and oversight mechanisms (Johnson, 2017). Similarly, in Latin America and Africa, transitions from military dictatorships to democratic governance necessitated reforms in intelligence practices to support democratic consolidation and human rights protections (Garcia, 2016). These historical contexts underscore the challenges and opportunities faced by transitional democracies in building credible and accountable intelligence institutions capable of serving national interests while upholding democratic values (Roberts, 2022).

Origins of Intelligence Services in Colonial and Post-Colonial States

a. Colonial Legacy

The origins of intelligence services in many transitional democracies can be traced back to colonial times. Colonial powers established intelligence frameworks to monitor and control local populations, ensuring colonial rule was maintained. These frameworks were often rudimentary but effective in quelling dissent and maintaining order (Johnson, 2017). In Nigeria, for instance, the British colonial administration set up various intelligence units to keep track of nationalist movements and other forms of resistance.

b. Post-Colonial Transition

Following independence, many newly-formed states inherited these colonial intelligence structures. However, the transition was not seamless. The colonial intelligence apparatus was often ill-suited to the needs of a newly sovereign state, leading to initial challenges in maintaining internal security (Adeniran, 2018). In Nigeria, the post-colonial period saw the transformation of colonial intelligence units into national agencies, which had to navigate a complex landscape of ethnic diversity and political instability.

c. Early Reforms

Early post-independence reforms aimed at indigenizing the intelligence services and making them more relevant to the new national context. These reforms included the training of local personnel and the restructuring of intelligence agencies to reflect national priorities (Adewale, 2020). Despite these efforts, the legacy of colonialism continued to influence the functioning of intelligence services, often leading to tensions between different ethnic and political groups within the state.

Military Rule and Intelligence Services

i. Centralization of Power

Military regimes often centralized power within intelligence agencies to maintain control over the state. In Nigeria, successive military governments from the 1960s to the 1990s relied heavily on intelligence services to suppress opposition and control the population (Okoro, 2018). This period saw the expansion of intelligence activities and the establishment of new agencies tasked with internal and external security.

ii. Repression and Human Rights Abuses

Under military rule, intelligence services were frequently used as tools of repression. Arbitrary arrests, surveillance, and human rights abuses were common, with intelligence agencies operating with little oversight (Dauda & Lawal, 2019). These practices not only undermined public trust in intelligence services but also entrenched a culture of impunity and fear.

iii. Shifts toward Professionalisation

Towards the end of military rule, there were concerted efforts to professionalize intelligence services. These efforts were driven by both internal and external pressures, including the need to improve international relations and address internal security challenges more effectively (Garcia, 2016). In Nigeria, these efforts laid the groundwork for subsequent reforms in the democratic era, although the legacy of militarization continued to pose challenges.

Democratic Transition and Intelligence Reform

a. Establishing Civilian Oversight

The transition to democratic governance brought about significant changes in the oversight and functioning of intelligence services. One of the key reforms was the establishment of civilian oversight mechanisms to ensure accountability and transparency (Ibrahim & Dike, 2019). In Nigeria, the return to civilian rule in 1999 marked a new era of intelligence reform, with a focus on integrating intelligence services into the democratic framework.

b. Legislative Frameworks

Developing robust legislative frameworks was crucial for the democratization of intelligence services. Laws and regulations were enacted to define the roles, responsibilities, and limits of intelligence agencies (Adelakun, 2022). These frameworks aimed to balance the need for national security with the protection of civil liberties, a challenging but essential task in transitional democracies.

c. Challenges and Setbacks

Despite these reforms, the transition was not without challenges. Issues such as politicization, corruption, and inadequate resources continued to hamper the effectiveness of intelligence services (Okeke & Ibrahim, 2018). Additionally, the remnants of authoritarian practices and mind-sets within the agencies often clashed with democratic principles, complicating the reform process.

Comparative Analysis: Lessons from Other Regions

i. Latin America

Latin American countries provide valuable lessons for Nigeria and other African states in terms of intelligence reform. Following periods of authoritarian rule, many Latin American countries undertook extensive intelligence reforms to ensure civilian oversight and protect human rights (Silva, 2020). These reforms included disbanding repressive agencies, creating new institutions, and enhancing legislative oversight.

The structure and functioning of the intelligence community in the Americas are influenced by various factors such as the strategic context, historical background, political culture, traditions, and legacies (Brandão, 2010, Bruneau and Boraz, 2007; Coates, 2013; Estevez, 2014a, Markowitz, 2011; Piedra Cobo, 2012; Ravndal, 2009; Zegart, 1999). Latin American nations saw significant transitional periods from fascist and totalitarian military dictatorships to socialism, reflecting the profound geopolitical dynamics of the Cold War era. The entire region exhibited a blend of nationalist revolutionary rhetoric, which resulted in the establishment of oppressive governments supported by intelligence agencies tasked with safeguarding these regimes and conducting covert counterintelligence activities.

During the 1970s and 1980s, there was an increased awareness and determination to reform the intelligence and security sectors in order to align them with the democratic advancements in the region. The subsequent illustrations represent commendable endeavours undertaken by certain Latin American nations in implementing substantial reforms in the field of intelligence. Scholars and experts in the field of politics and public policy concur that the matter of accountability and reforms inside intelligence services is of utmost significance in Latin America. The current state of affairs is based on the understanding that the establishment and reinforcement of democratic principles and values is an ongoing endeavour. The region underwent an extended period of militarism, characterised by a pervasive sense of fear of "internal enemies," which was addressed by the implementation of the National Security

Doctrine. In addition to the moral and political abuses resulting from the widespread utilisation of intelligence as a coercive instrument, the preoccupation of that era with internal security functions yielded at least two regressive outcomes. The presence of resistance hindered the acceptance of analytical intelligence as a customary and valid component inside the modern democratic state. Furthermore, the aforementioned policy has the effect of impeding intelligence agencies in several nations from engaging in the recruitment, training, and retention of professionals with expertise in the acquisition and evaluation of foreign intelligence (Cepik and Atunnes, 2001).

The Latin American countries presents a dynamic intelligence culture that mirrors what obtains in a lot of transitional democracies worldwide. Consequently, the work will review the national intelligence cultures of some of the selected countries in the region.

Mexico: The Mexican intelligence culture is massively influenced by the fluidity and dynamics of the transition of power from the Institutional Revolutionary party to the Fox Administration in 2000. It was essentially a weak institution that was polarized along deviant economic lines and the underground economy dominated by 'drug- warlodism'. The manifest conse3quence was that by 2007, the National Security Research Center (CISEN), was unable to warn about the terrorist attacks perpetrated by the People's Revolutionary Army (EPR). The copious ineptitude and weakness of the Intel community in Mexico dominated the entire spectrum of statecraft in the country. The emergence of the Felipe's administration marked a turning point in reinventing a proactive intelligence culture in Mexico through proper funding, staffing and equipment. This development according to Balcázar, gave a substantial perk to the development of a somewhat virile national intelligence culture where there was clear separation of separation of analytic and operational components of CISEN and production of timeous and actionable intelligence.

Columbia: Colombia presents a very interesting spectacle. The intelligence system and architecture is an aggregation of a set of security apparatus with a very daunting tasks of neutralizing the impregnable threats from narco-trafficking, insurgents, paramilitaries, and organized scofflaws. This kind omnibus internal and external threats across the country created a captured national intelligence culture which was so overwhelmed by these threats that called for extreme intelligence reforms to reposition the intelligence community for a culture of greater efficiency and professionalism. This eventually led the Uribe's government in 2005 to extensively overhaul the DAS (Administrative Department of Security). Be that as it may, unhealthy rivalry between the civilian intelligence community and the military intelligence has remain pervasive. The net effect is the stunted development of a virile intelligence culture that guarantee the national security and public safety of the country.

Argentina: According to Ugarte (2014) in his comprehensive essays on the transformation of the Argentine intelligence institutions saw the need for a conscious move from intriguing cultural idiosyncrasies where loyalties of Intel personnel were largely towards political personalities and successive governments instead of service to the Argentine state. For him, this challenge can be surmounted through increased professionalism, analytical proficiency, budgetary efficiency and autonomy aimed at reinventing the sacred role of the Intel services as the protector of the state and its citizenry. He posited that this would make the services apolitical and save it from being oppressive and anti-liberty (Ash, 2007). Silone also advocated the liberalization of intelligence management away from pure military foundations to make it all inclusive in the mounting face of global threats of terrorism in Argentina while Auel was quite pessimistic about the dying culture of sound strategic intelligence management and preponderance of anti- institutional laws that have greatly weakened the Argentine Intel

services capacity to counter threats from non- state actors. For Auel, the way of this security imbroglio is to quickly fix this lethargy to reinvigorate the Intel services in the country.

Peru: Peru has an interesting scenario where concerted efforts aimed at reforming intelligence to respond to domestic security threats was largely seen by some analysts as ending in little or no success as those efforts seem to be reduced to mere ashes as a result of inefficiency and the combine actions of both the autocrats and democrats within the system (Torre and Bolívar, 2007).

ii. Africa

Within Africa, countries like South Africa have made significant strides in intelligence reform. Post-apartheid South Africa focused on creating a transparent and accountable intelligence service that respects human rights (Bello, 2019). These reforms were part of a broader effort to democratize state institutions and build public trust in the security sector.

In Africa, the wind of democratization and the collapse of communism brought about sweeping changes and the drive to reform the intelligence sector to conform to democratic ethos and norms. . Potentially, authors and experts in security in Africa are unanimous that undemocratic regimes and autocrats could face threats from either outside or inside the country, either from the upper echelons of their own ruling elite or from society itself. Because of this concern for their own survival, many autocrats use security services to further their interests, not those of the state. Especially during the Cold War, national security services in sub-Saharan Africa occupied themselves with regime security, often receiving aid from their Cold War allies for this purpose. This practice has included intelligence services as well where these agencies are manipulated to serve the interest of the military juntas on the continent.

Even during the era of so-called socialist popularity amongst African countries when dozens of them really attempted to introduce eastern European socialist ideas, the politicization and manipulation of the intelligence services became rampant as in the case of Ethiopia.

The trend was copious in sub-Saharan Africa where due to in decision-making processes, largely undisturbed by any civilian oversight and control at all. This situation inevitably culminated in rampant corruption and poor management of the national security forces. Corruption, poor ministerial planning, and the lack of oversight have left many of sub- Saharan Africa's armies and intelligence services ill prepared for current challenges, from an increase in the trade of narcotics in Western Africa to the threat of radical Islamism in the Horn of Africa.

This legacy has weakened armies and intelligence services alike, not least because these two institutions share important features. Both exist to protect the state, but both command the power to become its greatest threat on the continent. Experts have largely identified it was common to note that intelligence and security services in Africa were rooted in primordial patronage. For example, like many military forces in sub- Saharan Africa, intelligence services in autocracies have been and frequently are still dominated by the ethnic group that seized power in the nation, however small that group.

Although intelligence services in sub-Saharan Africa originally mirrored their colonial counterparts Francophone Africa tend to be dominated by highly centralized criminal intelligence architecture built to protect regimes threatened by countless coup de tat. In the wake of such coups, newly established regimes quickly moved to redirect the work of intelligence services to their own safety and often subsumed intelligence command structures under military leadership, creating a highly politicized and militarized intelligence community that worked solely toward regime security. The trend has been largely the same in Anglophone Africa.

iii.Nigeria: Nation Building and the Jinx of National Intelligence Culture

According to Elaigwu (1985), who conducted an in-depth analysis of the nature and dynamics of Nigeria's national-building challenges, "nation-building" in Nigeria means "the progressive acceptance by citizenry of the Nigerian polity of the legitimacy and the necessity for a functional and controlling central government that bequeaths on itself a solemn identity of a nation with all attendant paraphernalia. Consequently, public approval is crucial to the accomplishment of any national-building goals. This is necessary but not sufficient for the establishment of a progressive state, much alone a progressive method of constructing a nation. Similarly, the horizontal dimension of nation formation entails the widespread incorporation of all citizens as full and equal participants in the corporate nation, regardless of their own tribal or religious backgrounds. Multicultural nation states are characterised by this feature. No nation-building effort can be successful if its citizens are marginalised. Disenfranchisement and anger are natural outcomes of marginalisation, as are tension and aggressiveness. Aggression causes social breakdown. This anarchy might easily escalate into a crisis if not handled correctly.

One of the darkest periods in Nigeria's political history, the country's civil war has left a deep scar on the country's attempts at nation building. The South East is today mired in secessionists' agenda and movements, which pose exponential dangers to national security and public safety, and which are a direct result of that battle. When compared to the rest of the globe in the fast-moving globalised world driven by ICT, Nigeria has regressed in all of her nation-building frontiers during the past six decades after achieving independence. Accordingly, Falode (2019) has emphasised that such nation-building issues that have plagued Nigeria since independence have taken the form of unchecked corruption, religious extremism, cum deadly ideologies, ethnic intolerance, an unstable democracy, and, more recently, various shades of terrorism and insurgencies. Indeed, the voids left by failed attempts at nation-building are obvious and urgently require filling. Sadly, it seems that these voids are being filled by the numerous centrifugal and divisive factors that have slowed Nigeria's development towards becoming a progressive nation state. As the last remaining pillars of national strength crumble, the country is now in its last days. It is impossible to overstate the importance of this fact in creating a sustainable national intelligence culture and, ultimately, an actionable intelligence community. Strong nationalistic ethos, exemplified by unadulterated patriotism and the age-old drive to see one's country thrive, is the bedrock of national intelligence. Therefore, common sense dictates that the integrity of intelligence management will always be at risk in the absence of a progressive nation. Currently, this best describes the story being told in Nigeria.

These difficulties didn't appear out of thin air, and they didn't begin with Nigeria's independence; rather, they originated during the colonial era, when the British had inconsistent alignments with the many regions that would eventually form Nigeria. Using the well-known divide and rule strategy, the British colonial era in Nigeria exacerbated the colony's already-present ethno-religious consciousness. By giving the country to the faithful North after independence, the British left Nigeria open to their manipulation and looting when colonial rule ended. This shift evolved into the postcolonial trajectory. Nigeria had a variety of civilian and military leaders between 1960 and 1998, yet none of them were able to successfully address the country's nation building difficulties. Major Kaduna Ezeogwu staged a coup d'etat that ended the First Republic in 1967 (Falode, 2011). From this point forward, the country would be ruled by the military until 1998. The First Republic of Nigeria collapsed due to the government's ineffectiveness in addressing corruption and ethnic tensions. Consequently, the military used Shagari's ineffectiveness in addressing corruption, governance, and ethnicity during the second republic, which began in 1979, as justification for a second intervention into Nigerian politics

in 1983 (Falode, 2019). When the military took over, they resorted to the same old methods they had always used: decrees and harsh laws designed to turn the populace into mindless drones. This occurs because Nigeria's top officials don't realise that national cultures, along with national values and ethos, are something that must be lived rather than legislated. The nation-building problems that have plagued Nigeria since its 1960 declaration of independence were not resolved during any of the military governments that ruled the country from 1967 to 1999. With the advent of the Fourth Republic in 1999 came a new and more perilous obstacle for Nigeria to overcome before it can develop into a strong and sustainable nation: terrorism.

Ethnicity has been cited by Canci and Odukoya (2016) as a significant barrier to nation formation in Nigeria. They argue that the manifestation of ethnicity as a social phenomenon occurs when members of different ethnic groups interact within a political system where language and culture play vital roles. Conflicts over ethnicity are unavoidable in a country home to so many different peoples. Despite the country's diversity, just three of Nigeria's more than 400 languages are widely spoken outside of the country's minority communities. Moreover, the distribution of these languages is directly proportional to both political and socio-economic power, therefore one's status in society is determined by the linguistic group to which he or she belongs. In a nation striving for national harmony, this is intolerable on every level. According to Elaigwu (2004), establishing a strong and fair federal government in Nigeria is the best way to address the country's myriad of problems with nation-building since gaining independence. He was well-aware of the country's entrenched religious and ethnic divisions, as well as its nepotism, social exclusion, and corruption. The complexity and scope of these issues have made their resolution a formidable challenge. Adetoro (2000) points to issues of corruption, ethnicity, and religion as impediments to Nigerians' pursuit of national unity, and he argues for mandatory political education and civic engagement as a solution.

Contemporary Challenges and Future Directions

a. Ethnic and Religious Tensions

In Nigeria, ethnic and religious tensions remain significant barriers to the development of a cohesive national intelligence culture. These divisions often result in fragmented intelligence efforts and hinder effective collaboration among agencies (Balogun & Mohammed, 2022). Addressing these issues requires a concerted effort to promote national unity and inclusivity within intelligence services.

b. Technological Innovations

Technological advancements present both opportunities and challenges for intelligence services in transitional democracies. On one hand, modern technology can enhance intelligence gathering and analysis capabilities (Olaniyan, 2020). On the other hand, there is a need for continuous capacity building to ensure that intelligence personnel are adequately equipped to handle new technologies.

c. Need for Sustainable Reforms

Sustainable intelligence reform in Nigeria requires a comprehensive and multi-faceted approach. This includes ongoing training and professional development, strengthening legislative frameworks, and fostering a culture of accountability and transparency (Adewale, 2016). By learning from both domestic experiences and international best practices, Nigeria can develop an effective and sustainable national intelligence culture.

Comparative Analysis: Case Studies from Europe, the Americas, and Africa

A comparative analysis of intelligence cultures across regions provides insights into the diverse approaches to intelligence governance and reform. In Europe, countries like Germany and the United Kingdom have established robust oversight mechanisms and legal frameworks to ensure accountability and transparency in intelligence operations (Adams, 2019). Conversely, in Latin America, countries such as Brazil and Chile have grappled with legacies of authoritarianism, leading to ongoing debates over the role of intelligence in democratic governance (Martinez, 2018). In Africa, countries like South Africa have implemented reforms to integrate intelligence agencies into democratic structures, promoting national security while safeguarding civil liberties (Nguyen, 2020). These case studies highlight the varied trajectories and challenges in developing effective intelligence cultures within democratic frameworks, shaped by historical legacies, regional dynamics, and global security pressures (Kumar, 2021).

Nigeria's National Intelligence Efforts: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives

Nigeria's journey towards establishing a national intelligence culture has been marked by significant challenges and evolving strategies in response to internal and external threats. Historically, Nigeria's intelligence community has navigated political instability, ethnic tensions, and security crises, influencing the development of intelligence practices and policies (Okoro, 2018). The country's intelligence landscape has evolved from colonial-era security apparatus to post-independence agencies tasked with addressing diverse security threats, including terrorism, insurgency, and organized crime (Okafor, 2020). Contemporary efforts focus on enhancing coordination among intelligence agencies, improving human and technical capabilities, and fostering greater transparency and accountability in intelligence operations (Eze, 2019). Despite these efforts, Nigeria continues to face obstacles such as corruption, political interference, and inadequate resources, hampering the effectiveness of its intelligence community in safeguarding national security and promoting democratic governance (Ugwu, 2021).

Methodology

Research Design

This study adopts a comparative and analytical approach to examine the evolution and current status of national intelligence culture in Nigeria, drawing insights from similar transitional democratic states in Europe, the Americas, and Africa. Comparative analysis allows for a nuanced understanding of the challenges and potential solutions concerning Nigeria's efforts to cultivate a robust national intelligence culture amidst socio-political complexities.

Data Collection Methods

The research relies predominantly on secondary data sources obtained from scholarly articles, government reports, policy documents, and relevant publications from international organizations such as the United Nations and World Bank. These sources provide a comprehensive foundation for analysing historical trends and contemporary developments in national intelligence practices across different regions.

Data Analysis Techniques

Data analysis involves qualitative methods, including thematic analysis and content analysis of literature, to identify recurring themes and patterns related to the establishment and evolution of national intelligence cultures. Comparative frameworks enable the juxtaposition of Nigeria's experiences with those of other democracies, offering insights into factors influencing the success or failure of intelligence reforms.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations in this study primarily revolve around ensuring the accuracy and reliability of sourced data while respecting intellectual property rights. All sources are appropriately cited to acknowledge the original authors and maintain academic integrity. Additionally, the study adheres to ethical standards regarding the use of data from publicly available sources, ensuring transparency and accountability in reporting findings.

The ethical framework also emphasizes the sensitivity of intelligence-related topics and the need to handle information responsibly to avoid misinterpretation or misrepresentation. Confidentiality and anonymity are maintained concerning any sensitive data used in case studies or examples, ensuring that no individuals or organizations are identifiable without explicit consent.

Analysis and Findings and Discussions

Challenges in Nigeria's National Intelligence Culture

a. Nation Building

Challenges in Nation Building	Impact on Intelligence Culture
Historical grievances and colonial legacies	Fragmented national narrative affecting trust and cooperation within intelligence agencies.
Ethno-regional disparities	Difficulty in establishing unified security strategies across diverse regions.

Nation building in Nigeria has been a complex endeavour marked by ethnic diversity, regional disparities, and historical grievances. The challenge lies in forging a unified national identity amidst these diversities. As observed by scholars (Smith, 2019; Okonjo-Iweala, 2020), the historical context of colonialism and subsequent ethno-political struggles has hindered the development of a cohesive national narrative. This fragmentation affects intelligence efforts, as national security strategies must navigate sensitivities and perceptions shaped by historical injustices and marginalization.

b. Ethnicity

Challenges in Nation Building	Impact on Intelligence Culture
Politicization of ethnic identities	Influences on intelligence gathering and analysis, affecting neutrality and trustworthiness.
Resource disparities along ethnic lines	Hinders equitable distribution of intelligence resources and strategies.

Ethnic diversity in Nigeria presents a dual challenge: it enriches the cultural fabric but also strains national cohesion and security. According to recent studies (Adeniran, 2018;

Akinola, 2021), ethnic identities often influence political allegiances and perceptions of security threats. This politicization of ethnicity complicates intelligence gathering and analysis, as security agencies must navigate suspicions and loyalties tied to ethnic affiliations. Moreover, disparities in development and access to resources along ethnic lines exacerbate tensions, undermining efforts to build trust and cooperation within the intelligence community.

c. Religious Sentiments

Challenges in Nation Building	Impact on Intelligence Culture
Religious extremism	Requires specialized counterterrorism strategies, affecting resource allocation and public trust
Inter-religious conflicts	Challenges in maintaining impartiality and inclusivity in intelligence operations.

Religious diversity in Nigeria, particularly between Christians and Muslims, adds another layer of complexity to national intelligence efforts. Religious sentiments often intersect with political agendas, shaping perceptions of security threats and responses. Scholars (Ibrahim, 2017; Yusuf, 2019) argue that religious extremism and inter-religious conflicts pose significant challenges to intelligence gathering and counterterrorism strategies. Effective intelligence culture requires strategies that address these dynamics while promoting religious tolerance and inclusivity in security initiatives.

d. Primordial Sentiments

Challenges in Nation Building	Impact on Intelligence Culture
Regionalism and local allegiances	Complicates centralized security strategies, requiring localized intelligence approaches
Historical grievances	Hinders national unity and cohesion, affecting public trust in intelligence institutions.

Beyond ethnicity and religion, Nigeria grapples with primordial sentiments rooted in cultural identities and historical grievances. These sentiments, ranging from regionalism to traditional allegiances, shape perceptions of state legitimacy and authority. As noted by experts (Ogundiya, 2020; Ojo, 2021), addressing primordial sentiments requires a nuanced understanding of local contexts and histories. Intelligence agencies must adapt strategies that acknowledge and respect these identities while fostering national unity and trust in security institutions.

Comparative Analysis of Transitional Democracies

Key Lessons from Europe, the Americas, and Africa:

Comparative Insights	Lessons for Nigeria
Legislative oversight	Importance of parliamentary scrutiny to enhance transparency and accountability in intelligence operations.
Civil-military relations	Balancing security imperatives with civilian oversight to prevent abuse of power and ensure democratic governance

Comparative analysis of intelligence cultures in transitional democracies provides valuable insights for Nigeria. Countries such as South Africa, Brazil, and Spain have navigated transitions from authoritarian rule to democracy, each shaping unique intelligence architectures. Lessons from these transitions emphasize the importance of legislative oversight, civil-military relations, and public accountability in intelligence operations (Jones, 2018; Silva, 2020). These

countries have developed mechanisms to balance security imperatives with democratic norms, fostering trust and transparency in intelligence agencies.

Evaluation of Nigeria's Efforts

Evaluation Criteria	Nigeria's Performance
Institutional framework (e.g., DSS, NIA)	Establishment of key agencies demonstrates commitment to national security

Coordination Challenges Persist in interagency Collaboration that Impacts on Operational Efficiency

Achievements and Shortcomings: Nigeria's efforts to build a national intelligence culture have achieved notable milestones amidst significant challenges. The establishment of agencies like the Department of State Services (DSS) and the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) reflects institutional commitments to national security (Adebayo, 2019; Mohammed, 2021). However, shortcomings persist, including insufficient coordination among agencies, inadequate funding, and limited public trust. These factors undermine the effectiveness of intelligence operations and hinder proactive threat assessment and mitigation strategies.

Political Will and Patriotism:

Factors Influencing Political Will	Implications for Intelligence Culture
Leadership commitment	Critical for driving intelligence reforms and overcoming bureaucratic obstacles.
Nationalism and patriotism	Enhances morale and cohesion within intelligence community, supporting national security objectives.

Political will and patriotism are critical determinants of Nigeria's intelligence reform agenda. Scholars (Alemika, 2016; Akpotor, 2022) argue that sustained political commitment is essential for overcoming bureaucratic inertia and fostering inter-agency collaboration. Moreover, fostering a culture of patriotism among security personnel enhances morale and commitment to national security objectives. Effective leadership and strategic vision are needed to align intelligence priorities with national interests and promote a unified approach to security challenges.

Discussions

Synthesis of Findings

In synthesizing the findings from this study, it becomes evident that Nigeria faces significant challenges in developing a robust national intelligence culture. The analysis of transitional democratic states in Europe, the Americas, and Africa reveals that successful integration of national intelligence into democratic frameworks requires strong political will, institutional stability, and a cohesive national identity (Smith, 2018; Jones & Brown, 2020). Nigeria, however, grapples with deep-seated issues such as ethnic diversity, religious tensions, and historical mistrust between regions, which undermine efforts to foster a unified intelligence culture (Akande, 2019; Ojo, 2021).

Moreover, the comparative analysis highlights disparities in intelligence governance structures and practices across different regions. While some countries have managed to navigate transitions from authoritarian regimes to democratic systems by reforming their

intelligence apparatus (Kane, 2017; García, 2019), Nigeria's journey has been marked by sporadic reforms often influenced by political expediency rather than long-term strategic planning (Adewale, 2020). These findings underscore the complexity of nurturing a national intelligence culture amidst Nigeria's socio-political landscape and suggest that achieving such a culture requires not only structural reforms but also a fundamental shift in national mind-set towards security and governance (Balogun & Mohammed, 2022).

Implications for Policy and Practice

The implications drawn from the findings emphasize the critical need for comprehensive policy reforms and practical measures to strengthen Nigeria's national intelligence capabilities. Firstly, policymakers must prioritize the development of a cohesive national security strategy that integrates intelligence as a pivotal component (Oladipo & Adekunle, 2023). This strategy should encompass clear objectives for intelligence gathering, analysis, and dissemination, supported by robust legislative frameworks to ensure accountability and transparency (Okeke & Ibrahim, 2018).

Secondly, enhancing inter-agency collaboration and coordination is essential to overcome fragmentation within Nigeria's intelligence community (Yusuf & Ahmed, 2021). Effective collaboration can foster information-sharing mechanisms, joint training programs, and standardized operational procedures, thereby enhancing responsiveness to emerging security threats (Dauda & Lawal, 2019). Additionally, investing in technological advancements and capacity-building initiatives will equip intelligence agencies with the tools and expertise needed to adapt to evolving security challenges (Olaniyan, 2020).

Recommendations for Overhauling Nigeria's Intelligence Architecture

To overhaul Nigeria's intelligence architecture, several strategic recommendations are proposed. Firstly, there is a critical need for legislative reforms to clarify the mandate and operational boundaries of intelligence agencies, ensuring adherence to human rights principles and constitutional safeguards (Adelakun, 2022). Strengthening oversight mechanisms through parliamentary committees and independent watchdogs can enhance accountability and mitigate risks of abuse of power (Ibrahim & Dike, 2019).

Furthermore, fostering a culture of professionalism and meritocracy within intelligence agencies is essential to attract and retain skilled personnel (Okoli & Eze, 2021). This includes revising recruitment practices to emphasize competence over political patronage and providing continuous training opportunities to enhance skills in intelligence analysis, cybersecurity, and counter-terrorism (Akinola & Bala, 2023). Additionally, promoting public awareness and civic engagement in national security matters can build trust between citizens and intelligence agencies, facilitating cooperation in combating threats to national stability (Nwachukwu & Onuoha, 2021).

The transformation of Nigeria's intelligence architecture demands a holistic approach encompassing legislative reforms, institutional capacity-building, and societal engagement. By addressing these recommendations, Nigeria can aspire towards a more resilient and responsive national intelligence culture that aligns with democratic principles and safeguards national security interests.

Conclusions

The quest for a robust national intelligence culture in Nigeria remains fraught with challenges stemming from historical, ethnic, and religious complexities. This study has highlighted that while Nigeria has made efforts to reform its intelligence architecture, significant barriers persist, hindering the establishment of a cohesive and effective intelligence community. The comparative analysis with transitional democratic states underscores the importance of political will, institutional stability, and societal trust in fostering a sustainable intelligence culture (Okeke & Ibrahim, 2018; Adewale, 2020).

Moreover, the findings emphasize the need for a paradigm shift towards a more inclusive and transparent approach to national security. Addressing these challenges requires not only structural reforms within intelligence agencies but also broader societal engagement to cultivate a national consensus on security priorities and strategies (Balogun & Mohammed, 2022). Despite these obstacles, there are opportunities for Nigeria to learn from global best practices and tailor solutions that align with its unique socio-political context, thereby strengthening its resilience against emerging security threats.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, several recommendations are proposed to overhaul Nigeria's intelligence architecture and foster a more resilient national intelligence culture:

1. **Legislative Reforms:** Implement legislative reforms to clarify the roles, responsibilities, and oversight mechanisms of intelligence agencies, ensuring adherence to constitutional principles and human rights standards (Adelakun, 2022).
2. **Capacity Building:** Prioritize continuous training and professional development programs for intelligence personnel to enhance skills in intelligence analysis, cybersecurity, and counter-terrorism (Olaniyan, 2020).
3. **Inter-Agency Collaboration:** Strengthen inter-agency collaboration and information-sharing frameworks to improve coordination and response capabilities across security agencies (Dauda & Lawal, 2019).
4. **Public Awareness Campaigns:** Launch public awareness campaigns to promote civic engagement in national security matters and build trust between citizens and intelligence agencies (Nwachukwu & Onuoha, 2021).
5. **Ethnic and Religious Dialogue:** Facilitate constructive dialogue among diverse ethnic and religious groups to mitigate tensions and foster a shared national identity essential for effective intelligence operations (Akande, 2019).
6. **Technological Integration:** Invest in advanced technologies and data analytics tools to enhance intelligence gathering, processing, and dissemination capabilities (Smith, 2018).

Implementing these recommendations requires sustained political commitment, stakeholder engagement, and adaptive leadership to navigate Nigeria's complex socio-political landscape. By embracing these reforms, Nigeria can aspire to develop a national intelligence culture that safeguards democratic principles, promotes national unity, and ensures the security and prosperity of its citizens.

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