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National Insecurity and the Non-Integration of Indigenous Intelligence Gathering Systems

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Abstract:

The question of insecurity in Nigeria today as one of the factors accounting for the underdevelopment of the country has taken the centre stage in national discourse, at the level of the government and the society in general. While the military and security forces are being over stretched in terms of their strength and capabilities, the government has remained fixated with their official policy of deploying the military and security forces to troubled areas at their own peril. Ironically, the military and security forces have evidently not been able to proactively contend with such crises, criminality and conflict. They have often lagged behind in their responses to such situations, due to inadequate intelligence. Through the qualitative-descriptive method, with data from secondary and tertiary sources, the paper discusses the lacuna in the intelligence gathering system of the Nigerian armed forces and security services which has been constraining them from effectively securing the country. The paper argues that the top-down approach to such situations of crisis, criminality and conflict by the Nigerian armed forces and security services is what has been responsible for their ineptitude. The paper recommends that a bottom-up approach should be the norm in intelligence gathering in the various situations of crises, criminality and conflict, this is because the secret information from the internal forces, feelers and agents in such situations of crises, criminality and conflict is the critical factor in intelligence gathering.

Keywords: Insecurity, intelligence gathering, armed forces, intelligence services

1. Introduction

The problem of insecurity in the contemporary Nigerian society, especially in the current political dispensation is worsening by the day, with the glaring inability of successive governments to deal with the problem. In the deplorable situation, the armed forces and other security forces whose duty it is to protect the citizens and government have become inept and incapable to act proactively in solving most of such crises, criminality and conflict plaguing the country. The insecurity and the obvious ineffectiveness of the government to protect and secure the lives and property of the citizens has brought to the fore the issue of the age-old alienation of the Nigerian peoples by the ruling elites (Ake, 1981).

With the end of military rule in 1999 with the return to civilian rule, the country has witnessed an unprecedented increase in various kinds of crises, criminality and conflict. A dispensation that was supposedly instituted to guarantee the freedom of citizens under the rule of law appears to have engendered the propensity to pursue various kinds of destructive agendas of conflict, criminality and primitive accumulation at the expense of human lives, peace and the general well-being of the society. From ethno-religious conflicts, kidnapping, armed robbery, political conflict, militancy, Islamic terrorist and insurgency conflict by the Boko Haram, the Islamic State of West African Province (ISWAP) and other sects, as well as ritual killing, to other kinds of criminality and crisis creating insecurity in the country, the list seems endless. Currently, the situation is apparently spiraling out of control. The era of democratic freedom appears to have given a free rein to malevolent minds and malefactors who are taking over many ungoverned spaces in the polity (Salawu, 2012). In a neo-liberal economic framework of governance reliant on the market in terms of development policies and programmes, the growing mass poverty, in the context of the burgeoning wealth of the country's elite classes, with their renter character, is exacerbating the problem of insecurity in the country (Miguel, 2007). Security is one of the fundamental needs of the human Society. Therefore, a society where there is no security, the populace is bound to be vulnerable to all kinds of threats and attacks. The primary purpose for the emergence of the state and its existence is to provide security for its citizens. As argued by Thomas Hobbes, the state was created to put an end to the state of nature that existed in the condition which he described as 'warre' where everyone was in perpetual struggle against one another, a self-destructive competition accompanied with diffidence and love of glory (Appadorai, 1968, 21-24). Basically the state exist for the provision of security against all kinds of threats, fear or attack by or against its citizen.

In the contexts of the worsening state of insecurity in the country today, the failure of the Nigerian state to provide security for its citizenry has made it clear that the country is a weak and failing state. As argued by Rice (2007) most of the weak states in the world are considered weak because they failed in their primary function of providing security for the citizens (Rice, 2007). Insecurity is the state of being exposed to threats and attacks. It is a state of anxiety and palpable fear. Aja Akpuru-Aja argues that a nation is secure to the extent that it is not in a position to lose its core values, life, property

and liberty, and being able to deter aggression or win war when unavoidable (Akpuru-Aja, 2009). This implies that security provides the enabling atmosphere for good social and political order in a system.

Without doubt, the situation of insecurity in the contemporary Nigerian society became intensified with the activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group who have been the source of the greatest threats to the life of Nigerian people, especially in the north-eastern part of the country (Bodunde, Ola & Afolabi, 2014). Since the year 2009, till date, Boko Haram has killed tens of thousands of people, both civilians, military and other security operatives. It is important to note at this point that the policies of the Nigerian state regarding security, over the years have been crafted from the traditional notion of state security operationalized by the armed forces and other security agencies in a top-down approach where the grassroots elements and indigenous socio-cultural structures only play marginal roles. This approach is consistent with the socio-economic alienation of the country's citizens by the country's ruling elite (Ake, 1981). It is therefore not surprising that the intelligence needed in situations of crises, criminality and conflict to enable the armed forces and security agencies to act proactively have always been difficult to gather. This is because intelligence gathering requires the active cooperation and participation of the grassroots elements and local community actors whenever the armed forces and security agency intervenes. Historically, the intelligence services cannot succeed without the intimate knowledge of the environment. This is the reason why Sun Tzu in *The Art of War* noted that topography is the decisive factor in dealing with any threat or war (Leary 2005).

The knowledge of the environment, contingency planning and timely warning as noted by Herman Michael are the pre-requisites for effective crises management (Herman, 2001). Therefore, it is not surprising that the crises of insecurity in Nigeria is spiraling out of control because the successive governments of Nigeria have been transfixed with the traditional notion of state security which has been championed as national security policy (Abolurin, 2011). It is trite to state here that the notion of state security does not constitutionally require the participation of grassroots elements and actors in the resolution of the crises, criminality and conflict ravaging the country, rather, the armed forces and security agents are usually compelled by the government to intervene in such situations without a policy which would ensure the integration of the indigenous systems of intelligence gathering with the official system, as if the armed forces and security agents are omniscient. Unfortunately, this has been the albatross of the armed forces and security operatives in the many situations of crises, criminality and conflict that have been creating insecurity in the country.

Given the above backdrop, this paper will attempt the followings: First, it will examine some of the concepts involved in the issue of security, second, it will discuss the theoretical perspective that helps to throw more light on the issue of insecurity and also clarify issues of intelligence gathering, third, it will discuss the lacuna in the nation's intelligence gathering system, in the context of the crises, criminality and conflict in Nigeria, lastly, it will conclude the discourse by making some recommendations on what needed to be done to achieve efficient intelligence gathering in the situations of the crises, criminality and conflict in the country.

1.1. Clarification of Concept

1.1.1. Security

In a normative sense, security is about orderly existence of things (Sturua, 1989). Security has both objective and subjective meaning. At the objective level, security measure the absence of threats to life, liberty, property and core values (Akpuru-Aja, 2009). At the subjective level, security measures the absence of fear, anxiety, tension or apprehension of being in danger of losing life, liberty, property and core values. Therefore, security can be taken to mean the absence of threat and fear in the social system. As noted by Walter Lippmann, the nation is secured to the extent that it is not in a position to lose its core values, life, property and liberty and to be able to, if it wishes to deter aggression or win war when unavoidable (Lippmann, 1979). Security provides the enabling atmosphere for good social and political order in the system. Every aspect of life in a society hinges on the function of security. That is why no nation in the world takes issues of security for granted. Security should be uppermost in the priority of any nation's national interest. It is the fundamental interest of the modern nation (Vogt, 1986). It is the absolute value that gives meaning and essence to life. Security is the condition of existence of being free from stress, strain or fear of losing life or other valuables of life. It goes beyond the provision of personal or physical security by people carrying firearms. This is the persisting error of the successive governments of Nigeria and it is a legacy of the colonial masters. Security goes beyond the functions of the armed forces and the security agencies. In a holistic sense, security measures all policies, laws and institutional set-up aimed at allowing the citizens to enjoy an assured psychological feeling of internal and external vigilance and freedom from fear of losing core values (Lippmann, 1979).

1.1.2. National Security

National security presupposes the existence of a nation with shared historical cum cultural consciousness as a people who have mutual aspirations in their existential realities. In such a national community, the collective survival and well-being of the people is uppermost to individuals, associations, political parties and pressure groups, the military and paramilitary bodies (Ekoko, 1990). In such contexts, national security is not seen as an exclusive duty of the military and paramilitary bodies, but the collective responsibility of everyone. This spirit of patriotism implies that every citizen is a national security asset as well as security operative. Nations develop and maintain internal and external security policies and agencies for the purposes of national Security. Internally, national security policies are developed for the creation of social harmony and political understanding as well as the provision for the general well-being of the people (Adisa, 1990).

In Nigeria, at the institutional level, the Ministry of Internal affairs, along with the security and intelligence agencies, such as the Nigeria Police Force, the State Security Services and other paramilitary bodies, were established for the maintenance of law and order and internal security measures. In extreme cases where by the internal security agencies are not able to adequately perform their duties, the Armed Forces are usually brought in to boost the operational confidence and capacity of the internal security agencies. Every State in Nigeria currently has the presence of the military, who are involved in internal security operations, to protect life, liberty and property in the face of the spiraling insecurity situations in the country. In practical terms, national security is measured by the prevailing condition of freedom from fear or threat of aggression or subversion from within or outside and where unavoidable, the state should have the capabilities to prevail in armed hostilities (Pick & Critchley, 1974). When national Security is a society wide consciousness, citizens' associations, political parties, military and paramilitary are organized to serve the nation not persons nor the state or regime or class. The armed forces are established to defend the territorial sovereignty and independence of the nation and its core value from all forms of threat, subversions, or aggressions either from the air, ground or sea.

1.1.2.1. State Security

There seems to be a tendency to confuse state security for national security in the discourse of security in Nigeria. Even though there is a relationship between state security and national security, the two are not the same. This contradiction is a product of the trajectory of the country like other developing countries from colonialism where the state came before the nation, unlike in Europe where the nation came before the state. Nigeria is a perfect example where there is a state but no tone unified nation. (Akpan, 2020). Nigeria is a country that is yet to become a nation. Nigeria can achieve nationhood when the various ethnic nationality groups, religious groups and other different structures and elements become unified in their shared aspirations for their collective well-being. Where the notion of national security is state security, the armed forces and internal security agencies are oriented to safe guard and protect the interest of the dominant or ruling elites. This is the context whereby a state concentrates its policies, fortunes and opportunities within itself. A situation whereby the state concentrates all the wealth to itself and also act as the chief contractor in the system as wellbeing the sole arbitrator of law. In such contexts, the security policy is oriented to protect and preserve the state more than the people. Hence state security policy is far from being an instrument for the promotion of the broad-based issues of social harmony, national unity and national security, which it is ostensibly crafted to be. This is typically the historic experience of the Nigerian state, given the socio-economic disarticulation and alienation of the citizens by its ruling elites.

1.1.2.2. Human Security

Human security is a paradigm for understanding global vulnerability, whose proponents challenged the traditional notion of national or state security by insisting that the proper referent for security should be the individuals rather than the state. Human security holds that a people-centered view of security is necessary for national, regional and global stability. The concept emerged from the post-Cold War multi-disciplinary understanding of the concept of security. The United Nations Development Programme's 1994 Human Development Report is considered to be a milestone publication in the discourse of human security, with its argument that insuring freedom from want and freedom from fear for all persons is the best path to tackling the problem of global insecurity (UNDP, 1994). The UNDP's 1994 Human Development Report's definition of human security argues that the scope of global security should be expanded to include threats in seven areas as follows: (1) Economic security, (2) Food security, (3) Health security, (4) Environment security, (5) Personal security, (6) Community security, (7) Political security.

The concept of human security emerged as a challenge to the idea of traditional security. However, human and traditional or national security are not mutually exclusive concepts. What is obvious is that without human security, traditional state security cannot be attained and vice versa (Sunga, 2009). The ramifications of the concept of human security are the well-being of individuals and the response to ordinary people's needs in dealing with sources of threat. In addition to protecting the state from external aggression, human security expands the scope of protection to include a broader range of threats including environmental pollution, infectious diseases and economic deprivation. The realization of human security involves not only the governments but a broader participation of different actors, local communities, non-governmental organizations, regional and other international organizations (Thomas, 2001). Human security not only protects but also empowers people and societies as a means of security. People contribute by identifying and implementing solutions to insecurity (Paris, 2001).

1.2. Intelligence

Intelligence could be defined variously, but for this paper, it is defined as secret information required to deal with situations of threat or crisis. It is specific information needed to grasp the significant factors of a complex problem or situation. Intelligence is a product of the intimate knowledge of the environment, which include the complexities involved in the situation of threat, crises and hostilities. The intimate knowledge of the strategic situation, the possible and probable developments, the risks, dangers, threats and opportunities and the development of adequate policies, strategies and their necessary adjustment in practical situations. In other words, efficient intelligent service must function to contend with unforeseen situations and develop functional approaches not only to detect impending attack or threat but to proactively prevent them from occurring (Carl & Bancroft, 1990). While the acquisition of confidential information is the prime function of the intelligence services, they also carry out counter-intelligence activities to prevent others from acquiring information about their strategy through deception and the spread of false information or disinformation (Prunckun, 2012).

1.2.1. Intelligence Gathering

Intelligence is gathered in two ways, that is, Technical and Human. Technical intelligence is referred to as 'Sigint' that is, signal intelligence and 'Elint' which means electronic intelligence. Human intelligence is called 'Humint', and it refers primarily to espionage. It is a mistake to assume that technical intelligence through the use of spy satellites, sensitive listening devices, early warning aircrafts and space ships has rendered human intelligence obsolete (Pruncun, 2012). There are some kinds of information, for example, classified documents or likely intentions of decision-makers, adversaries and other actors that are not externally detectable, no matter how sophisticated the technology involved is. An agent or highly trained individual on the spot or a reliable informant who is able to eavesdrop, purloin or otherwise glean sensitive information is still an essential instrument of intelligence services. In any case, since the problem of avoiding strategic or political surprises lies more in analysis than in gathering information, human intelligence will always be paramount.

Fundamentally intelligence has been classified into two broad categories, viz., Security intelligence which is information and its analysis necessary for internal security and foreign intelligence which is information and its analysis necessary for external security. The mission of internal security is spelt out in the instrument that established them. For instance, the mission of the Nigerian State Security Service (DSS) is spelt out in Instruments N0. SSS1-National Security Agency's Decree of 1986 in Section 2(1) as: prevention and investigation of (a) Threats of espionage, (b) Threats of subversion, (c) Threats of sabotage, (d) Economic crimes of national dimension, (e) Terrorist activities, (f) Separatist agitations and inter-group conflicts, (G) Threats to law and order (National Security Agencies Decree, 1986). Their other activities include: Prevention of the proliferation of small and light weapons, Illegal arms dealing, Illegal migration, Electronic attacks, hacking and prevention of child pornography, vetting of government officials before being appointed and the prevention of the illicit development of weapons of mass destruction. Their operational methodology most often include: (a) Interception of communication, (b) Eavesdropping, (c) Planting of agents within target organizations, (d) Surveillance

On the other hand, external security, that is, National Defense Intelligence, has to do with obtaining, correlating and evaluation of foreign intelligence relevant for defense purposes, especially for early warning purposes. External intelligence services are a function of the changing nature of the international system. Its missions include the followings: (a) Securing of the foreign policy of the country, (b) Support for defense planning and military operations, (c) Support of national economics intelligence, (d) Support and Monitoring of treaties and other agreements entered into by the state. External intelligence is carried out through the collaboration of the State Security Services (DSS), Military Intelligence and the Federal Investigation and Intelligence Bureau (FIIB), and the National Intelligence Agency, all coordinated and harmonized by the National Security Adviser (NSA).

1.3. Theoretical Perspective

The social contract theory as an explanation of the origin of state is fundamental in the understanding of the relationship between the citizens, the state and government. Even though the three major exponents of the theory did not agree on how the condition of the 'State of Nature' was, yet their ideas are fundamental in the understanding of the contract between the state and its citizens. As postulated by Thomas Hobbes, life in the state of nature was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short because law and justice were absent, as every man was in perpetual struggle against one another, a condition which he described as 'warre', with competition, diffidence and love of glory being the three main causes. He argued that the only way to peace was for men to give up so much of their natural right as inconsistent with living in peace. In the process, a supreme coercive power was instituted. He insisted that the contracting parties are not the community and the government but subject and subject. Despite his preference for an absolute sovereign in the name of securing the state, Hobbes gave a clue to the function of the government in crisis and conflict situations. His political thoughts were a reflection of his experience during the Civil War in England from 1642 to 1651 (Appadorai, 1986).

In his own version of the social contract theory, John Locke argued, unlike Hobbes, that the state of nature was not a state of war, though it was still full of fears and continual dangers and man's enjoyment of rights was very insecure and that the peace among men may have been so insecure as not to be easily distinguished from the anarchy depicted by Hobbes. Locke argued that the state or political society was instituted by way of remedy for the inconvenience of the state of nature, to avert, not to escape from the state of nature. The state as argued by Locke was created through the medium of a contract in which each individual agrees with every other to give up to the community, the natural right of enforcing the law of reason, in order that life, liberty and property may be preserved. Locke unlike Hobbes gives the power to the community, not to a government. In Locke's contract, the legislative power constituted by the consent of the people becomes the supreme power in the commonwealth. Therefore, the government that was constituted was to depend on the consent of the people, which is a constitutional government.

In Jean Jacques Rousseau's version of the social contract theory, the state of nature was a period of idyllic happiness, men being free and equal, and with the introduction of private property and the growth of numbers, quarrels arose and man was compelled to give up his natural freedom. Therefore, everyone surrendered to the community, like in Locke's argument, not to the government as in Hobbes, all his rights. Rousseau also argued that the community became the sovereign, not the government, as in Hobbes. Rousseau's idea of the contract rests on the concept of popular sovereignty which was to be in continual exercise, unlike the supremacy of the people in Locke which is held in reserve and manifest only when the government acts contrary to its trust. Rousseau's theory is said to serve as the basis of democracy and the justification of revolution against arbitrary rule (Appadorai, 1968).

The three versions of the social contract theory are relevant to the discourse of the state of insecurity today in Nigeria. One, absolute sovereignty of the government as postulated by Hobbes was needed in so many contexts of the crises, criminality and conflict ravaging so many parts of the country today, which can be described as the state of 'warre'. Again, the version of the theory as postulated by Locke that governments rest on the consent of the people is indicative of the need to institute a constitutional government that must first and foremost be able to secure the lives and property of the citizens, also the idea of popular sovereignty in Rousseau's version of the theory is a constant reminder to the governments that the people reserved the right, not only to revolt against arbitrary rule, but to also restructure, reorganize or institute a new form of government that will not only secure their lives and property but also pursue their general wellbeing and peace, as government exist for the welfare of the people who have the power to continually exercise their sovereignty.

1.3.1. Intelligence Gathering in Nigeria

The successive governments of Nigeria have sustained the same security policy which is centered on the state not a policy that is suggestive of the existence of a nation whereby you can be talking about the ideal of national security. Unlike in Europe, where the nation came before the state, Nigeria, like other African countries, is yet to attain nationhood, where the ideal of national security could be understood. After independence, the Nigerian leadership could not fabricate new political institutions and structure of governance that would make the country to become a nation where all the different ethnic nationality groups, religious groups and differing elements and structures would become unified. The fully formed polity that the new leadership inherited imposed certain logic and rigidity on the course of future development and this logic was essentially one that favoured the persistence of, and even the reinforcement of the syndrome of ethnicity, religious bigotry and fanaticism, disunity and insecurity. Therefore, the intelligence services that were established after independence were oriented to safeguard and protect the interest of the dominant or ruling elites.

Due to such orientations, the intelligence services that were developed over the years became repressive intelligence services, whose functions were at variance with the security and general wellbeing of the citizens. The intelligence services were used to consolidate power by the ruling elites, to identify and closely watch dissenting opinions and monitor domestic apathy, through a variety of means, including the control of the media. Consequently, the intelligence services became fixated with the idea of counter-intelligence for the protection of state secret. Their overwhelming focus was more on the containment of domestic opposition (Bodunde, Ola, & Afolabi, 2014). They were notorious in human rights abuses and the information they collected was through abusive methods and were used in arbitrary and violent ways to eliminate the opposition of the ruling elites.

Therefore, the intelligence services increasingly lost touch with the complexity of the crises and criminality and conflict taking place in the country. The reason for this development is not farfetched because all along, their continual existence depended largely on securing the ruling elites who have personified the Nigerian state. Again, the deficiency of the Nigerian intelligence services became intensified over the years, as the ruling elites increasingly restricted the functions of the state to serve their own interest, as they became the sole custodian of wealth, the chief contractors in the system, and the sole arbiter of law. On the whole, the intelligence services became oriented to protecting and preserving the Nigerian ruling elites, as they have constituted themselves to be the state. Hence, the Nigerian intelligence services have not been able to function to promote national unity, broad based harmony, national security and national security consciousness.

By and large, the intelligence services have remained reactive not proactive with respect to intelligence gathering, as their orientation had been repressive not collaborative with the Nigerian citizenry, as they have always been appendages of the ruling classes. Consequently, in situations of crises, criminality and conflict, they have not always been able to gather early warning intelligence to enable them act proactively and decisively to protect the lives and property of the Nigerian populace. Again, due to the fact that their orientation has been towards the security of the ruling elites, as the state, not the people, they have not been able to develop the necessary analytical capacity for the efficient performance of their functions (Abolurin, 2011). Also, given the underlined character of the Nigerian intelligence services, most of the agencies have only become just a means of political patronage among the ruling elites, for the employment of their cronies, that made up the bloated work force, that is not in tune with the character of the crises, criminality and conflict taking place in the country. In addition to the above stated is the fact that they have remained un-innovative, lacking the necessary technology and know-how to contend with the changing character of the problems of insecurity in the country. It is germane to also state that the intelligence services had been jaundiced by the persisting problems of corruption, extortion and racketeering which are reflection of the renter character of their principals, the country's ruling elites (Oromareghake, Arisi & Igbo)

Consequently, instead of the pursuit of the security and wellbeing of the citizens as the proper referent for national security, the Nigerian intelligence services have become dwarfed in their expertise, as they had concentrated most of their professional training on the tradition of protecting the ruling elites that are personifying the state. Due to this protracted amnesia with regards to the complexities of the emerging trends of crisis, criminality and conflict in the country, it is not surprising that the Nigerian intelligence services have always been reactive not proactive, lagging behind the spiraling problems of insecurity in the country (Katsina, 1989). Again, due to their anti-people orientation, right from the foundation of the intelligence services, they have also found themselves in a dilemma of public apathy and unwillingness of citizens to come forward to give secret information that the intelligence services needed to act proactively and decisively.

Whereas the social contract theory espoused by the three major exponents, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, have hinged the constitution of the state on the security and wellbeing of the citizens, the Nigerian intelligence services have not been oriented to serve the security needs of the people. They, instead have existed for the protection of their principals, the ruling elites. In the context, they have not been able to develop the discipline and orientation that would have availed them with the trust and collaborative confidence of Nigerian citizens in the various situations of crises, criminality and conflict in the country.

Given the above contradictions inherent in the orientations of the Nigerian intelligence services, there is an urgent need to re-think the Nigerian security policy regarding the intelligence services, in order to make them function properly, to serve the security needs of the people, thereby making the citizens the proper referent of national security, not the ruling elites masquerading as the state. This would involve a broad spectrum of activities which include national reconciliation, peace building, socio-economic empowerment of the citizens at the community and grass root levels. This would require a more socialistic relationship between the government and people. This is the context where the people would be socialized to own the process of securing their communities, especially with regards to the provision of sensitive information for effective security operations of the armed forces and security agencies in the country. However, this would require a whole lot of re-education and re-orientation of the intelligence services, the armed forces and other security forces, towards the ideals of the concept of 'Human Security' as enunciated by the UNDP's 1994 Human Development Report, which underpinned people's security as against the contemporary practice which is state-centric or the security of the ruling elites.

This would require short- and long-term measures. However, in the immediate context, the socio-economic empowerment of the people in areas of crises and conflicts could come in form of the provision of basic needs. This would also go along with the integration of identified key elements of indigenous and grass root structures, such as heads of extended family groups, women groups, hunters, farmers, artisans, native doctors, traders, youth groups, and other elements, in the areas afflicted. Basic to this integration, is the creation of networks of communication through the provision of solar-powered customized cell phones, which would not need air time to function, to the identified elements. Evidently, this would facilitate intelligence gathering in areas afflicted by crises, criminality and conflict.

It is instructive to also underline the need for the development of a programme for writing contemporary intelligence reports on the various communities in Nigeria, through the deployment of experts, from the various disciplines of history, sociology, political science, anthropology, linguistics, psychology, geography and other disciplines, who would collaborate with the personnel of the intelligence services to develop contemporary intelligence reports. These reports would expose the ignorance of the ruling elites as well as the armed forces and intelligence services, with regards to their lack of working knowledge regarding the topography as well as the changes and complexities inherent in the socio-cultural milieu of Nigerian communities.

In the final analysis, this paper argues that emphasis should shift from the policy of state security to the ideal of human security, whereby the government would have to develop enlightened policies to guarantee national security on the basis of the seven parameters of economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.

2. Conclusion

The grave problem of insecurity in Nigeria and the obvious contradictions in the policy and practice of state security in Nigeria that had been championed by the successive governments of the country, has brought to the fore the continuous alienation of the Nigerian peoples. The orientation of the intelligence services, armed forces, and security agencies which have made them to be occupational and repressive in character, have also made them to be reactive instead of being proactive. Their orientation over the years had disenfranchised Nigerian peoples from collaborating with the nation's intelligence operatives. Instead of being people centered they have been state centered or state-centric, making it impossible for them to gather the needed intelligence that would help all concerned agencies to act proactively and decisively in situations of crises, criminality and conflict, as well as the prevention of such untoward activities. Consequently, the paper posits that, from the perspective of the social contract theory, it is germane to state that the state and its apparatuses exist primarily for the security and wellbeing of the citizens. Therefore, the concept of human security which holds that a people centered view of security is what would guarantee positive peace and security, is an ideal that the Nigerian peoples and their government should seek to actualize.

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