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# **Prognosis of Theories of Intelligence in Counter-Terrorism:** The Case of the Northwestern Nigeria

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#### **ABSTRACT**

The Northern-West part of Nigeria is faced with several security challenges that have threatened the existence of peace and security in the region. These threats to public safety and regional security have greatly undermined the government's primary responsibility of guaranteeing public safety and national security. This work, therefore, is on the prognosis of theories of intelligence in counterterrorism: The case of North-Western Nigeria. The study utilised primary and secondary data sources. The Primary data sources were from questionnaires administered physically and electronically via emails while, secondary data came from published books, journals, articles, lecture guides and videos. Acquired data were statistically analysed using simple percentage and Chi-Square statistics. Sequel to the statistical results, findings revealed that there is a significant relationship between intelligence gathering and terrorism in Nort-West, Nigeria. The study recommends that there should be training and retraining of personnel of the intelligence community to be able to meet up with the current trends and changes in the contemporary Nigerian environments for the effective gathering of intelligence and the ability to utilize it for productive law enforcement.

**KEYWORDS:** Prognosis, Intelligence, Terrorism, insecurity, counter-terrorism

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# INTRODUCTION

Nigeria has had an unprecedented degree of insecurity in recent times. This has undermined the cornerstone of national defense, through which many vast efforts have gone into it to hold it at bay. Achumba, Igbomereho, and Akpan-Robaro (2013) maintained that the vast allocation of the national budget has gone to defense in Nigeria. Security issues in Nigeria are evident in many aspects, and people have often been troubled by a series of crimes that they are not acquainted with every day in the world. Phenson, Ojie, Esin, and Atai (2014) explain that security lapses and threats manifest regularly which includes youth restiveness, insurgency, and guerrilla assaults, ransoms, political assassinations, vandalism, murder, cult-related activities, mass demonstrations, and so on.

However, North-West is one of Nigeria's six geopolitical zones which comprise seven of the country's 36 states, and these are Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto, and Zamfara. It covers an area of 216,065 sq km or 25.75 percent of the country's total landmass (National Bureau of Statistics, 2020). Its major ethnic groups are the Hausa and Fulani, who historically share strong cultural ties and are very much intermixed, with other smaller groups, especially in Kaduna state. The region is beset by violence between herders and farmers, which has been compounded by an explosion in criminal activity and infiltration by jihadist groups into the region. The last decade has seen thousands of people killed and hundreds of thousands displaced, with many fleeing into the Niger Republic next door (Olabanji, 2019).

More recently, the North-West has also suffered a surge of violence between pastoralists and allied armed groups frequently called "bandits", on one hand, and farmers supported by the community and state-sponsored vigilantes, on the other. The situation has been further aggravated by the proliferation of deadly criminal gangs, thriving in a region awash with arms and which state security forces struggle to control. Largely occurring in rural areas, the violence has spread from its epicentre in Zamfara state to Kano, Kaduna, Katsina, Kebbi and Sokoto states in the North West and into Niger state in North Central Nigeria. Accurate fatality records are unavailable, but several reports point to at least 8,000 people killed from 2011 to the present, predominantly in Zamfara state and mostly over the last five years. Jihadist groups are slowly but surely stepping up their presence in the region, taking advantage of the security crisis and surge in criminality (Olabanji, 2019).

Meanwhile, there have been series of arguments by scholars and political analysts that intelligence gathering is some of the sophisticated methods that law enforcement authorities should use to tackle security challenges, especially in the North. This is to help them gather information sufficient to prevent terrorist activities (Ngboawaji, 2013; Oghi, 2014). However, the word "intelligence" means many things to different people. Looking at the United States Joint Chief of Staff (as cited in Duyan, 2012) intelligence is an opponent's information and expertise gained through discovery, investigation, interpretation, or understanding. According to

the CIA (as cited in Warner 2015) intelligence is the information and foreknowledge of the world around us, a prelude to political decision-making and intervention. Hoffman (2011) as cited in Oghi (2014) sees intelligence as "collecting, reviewing, assessing, combining, understanding all available information applicable to tactical areas and potentially important to readiness.

Specifically, the security intelligence or intelligence gathering process according to Lownthal (2012) is the process by which specific types of information relevant to national security are requested, collected, analyzed and sent to policy makers; the products of that process; the protection of those processes and information by counter-intelligence activities; and the carrying out of such activities; Before every law enforcement organization may continue responding to criminal threats, it must first understand them. Law enforcement officers are required to recognize and work efficiently in a diverse social, political and organizational context (Casey and Mitchell, 2017). Murray (2010) also argued that it is important for law enforcement authorities to provide an awareness of the current climate and formulate policies and plans to address the perceived issues. This can only be done by collecting information. Capacity must be created to gather, compile, analyze and disseminate intelligence on illegal activity and various security issues, in order to enable the requisite law enforcement officers to respond efficiently in the fight against such challenges.

It is generally agreed by scholars that effective intelligence reports and analyses could help quench the uprising of terrorism activities in the Northern part of Nigeria (Achumba, Ighomereho, & Akpan-Robaro, 2013; Aliemeka, 2012). However, the collection and analysis of intelligence is the least visible but in some ways the most important counter-terrorism tool and is rightly thought of as the "first line of defense" against terrorism. But this instrument also has its limitations, chief of which is that the type of very specific, tactical intelligence required to thwart terrorist plots is rare (Hughbankand Githens, 2018). It is, however, of great importance to look at intelligence in counterterrorism: The case of North-Western Nigeria.

#### **Statement of Problem**

The challenges of security in North-West Nigeria can be traced back to the lack of intelligence gathering to tackle bandits' activities in the region. As important as intelligence can be, Nigeria's security forces have not been able to maximize the use of tactical and strategic intelligence to counter terrorist activities (Olabanji, 2019). This is evident with the growing terrorism activities springing up in the North West. As the violence has unfolded between the vigilantes and herder-allied groups, it has also increasingly drawn in people and communities that were not previously directly implicated. Some have taken sides voluntarily, lending support to fighters from their ethnic groups; others have been coerced into collaboration following threats. Security intelligence that could help to quench security breaches are not utilized by agencies responsible. This has further encouraged criminal gangs like bandits to have seen kidnapping as means of generating revenue and raiding communities for loot across the North West.

#### Objective of the study

This study is on the prognosis of theories of intelligence in counter-terrorism, while other specific objectives are:

- 1. To examine the relationship between intelligence gathering and terrorism in North-West, Nigeria.
- To ascertain how citizen's unwillingness to share intelligence with the security agencies affects security in North-West, Nigeria.

#### **Research Questions**

- 1. Is there a relationship between intelligence gathering and terrorism in North-West, Nigeria?
- Is citizen's unwillingness to share intelligence with the security agencies affects security in North-West, Nigeria?

## Literature Review Conceptual

# The Concept of Intelligence

The term intelligence has different meanings. The term intellect is seen as the capacity to gain and apply information (The American Heritage Dictionary, 2010). Intelligence is a very general mental capacity that includes, among other things, the ability to reason, prepare, solve problems, think abstractly, understand complex concepts, learn rapidly and learn from experience; the ability to learn facts and skills and to apply them, particularly when this ability is highly developed (Encarta World English Dictionary, 2016). Intelligence is a property of the mind that includes many similar mental capacities, such as the ability to reason, prepare, solve problems, think abstractly, understand concepts and words, and read.

It is worth noting, though, that information is not intelligence, and that information collection is not competitive intelligence (Rudolph, Gilmont, Magee & Smith, 2011). According to Lowenthal (2015), intelligence is the mechanism through which particular forms of knowledge relevant to national security are requested, gathered, processed and delivered to policy makers; the products of that phase; the protection of those processes and information by counter-intelligence activities; and the conduct of operations as required by lawful authority. Aliemeka (2012) opined that intelligence collection is a vital method for statecraft to provide the requisite warning about potential threats to policy makers in order to prevent a country from being exposed to unexpected military attacks. Intelligence as an organization can prevent potential threats to a country by delivering timely, processed intelligence to national security decision-makers. The collection of intelligence (information) that is essential to national security is gathered, analyzed and disseminated for use in support of the policy.

However, there is no connection between intelligence producers and intelligence consumers in Nigeria. The value of intelligence in the eyes of its customers, not of its producers; intelligence is at its finest when it is completely incorporated with its users. Efficient cooperation between intelligence and security services is then established in order ensure the consistency of national security. Aliemeka(2012) argues that Nigeria has had to struggle over the years with the problem of insufficient information exchange between its defense and law enforcement agencies. Information is important for countries, thus the need to set up and maintain national intelligence organisations. Among the security agencies of the Federal Government of Nigeria, the Department of State Services (DSS) is also known as the SSS, the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) and the National Intelligence Community (NIC). Modern intelligence gathering relies essentially on both human efforts and electronic gadgets. It transcends mere stealing of someone's secrete and it is operated strategically in a comprehensive environment and more often than not covertly (Ngboawaji, 2013).

#### **Terrorism**

Terrorism has been a major concern for the United Nations and national governments since the 1960s. The 9/11 attacks changed the structure, character, actors and concepts of terrorism. Terrorism has been an important cause of insecurity in the world. "Terrorism also represents the most serious threat to human life and liberty, democracy and other fundamental values that the democratic communities promote" (National Security Strategy of Romania, 2017). Terrorist attacks are designed to achieve three goals: to create a sense of insecurity among the public, to show the inability to contain terrorism, and to promote the ideology of the terrorists (Hazard Mitigation Plan, 2011). However, there have been several debates over the years on what the concept of terrorism means. The fact that there is no universally accepted definition of the concept has made it difficult for intelligence to be carried out on terrorist

However, the word 'terrorism' in general is linked to the French word 'terreur' which means fear or dread. The term is also linked to the Latin derivative 'terrorem', which equally means fright, fear, or terror. Literally, terrorism is defined as 'the systematic use of violence, terror and intimidation to achieve an end' (Oche, 2017). Their targets are usually the government, the public, or individual and the objective is political.

Imobighe (2016) contends that terrorism and counterterrorism are mutually linked in a confrontational, actionreaction relationship and 'have been with the human race since the dawn of recorded history'. However, terrorism assumed a global scale after the September 11, 2001, bombing of the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington D.C. in the United States.

The US government defines terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience" (US Department of State, 2011). The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defines terrorism as "the unlawful use of force against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in the furtherance of political or social objectives." This definition includes three elements: terrorist activities are illegal and involve the use of force, the actions intend to intimidate or coerce, and the actions are committed in support of political or social objectives.

United Nations General Assembly Resolution 49/60 of 1994 defines terrorism as "criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.

However, in the Nigerian context terrorism is a crime codified by law. The Organization for African Unity, now the African Union, 1999 Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism defines terrorism Article 1:

Any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a state and which may endanger the life, physical integrity, freedom, or cause serious injury or death to, any person, any member of or group of persons, or cause or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage, and is calculated or intended to intimidate, put fear, force, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint or to act according to certain principles or; disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or create a public emergency or; create general insurrection in a state.

Nigeria's Terrorism Prevention Act 2011, as Amended in 2013, (Part 1, Sections 1&2, Pg. 4) defines a "terrorist as a person who knowingly does, attempts or threatens to do an act preparatory to or in furtherance of an act of terrorism; commits to do anything that is reasonably necessary to promote an act of terrorism; or assists or facilitates the activities of persons engaged in an act of terrorism commits an offence under this Act."

However, demonstration or stoppage of work is not a terrorist act within the meaning of this definition provided that the act is not intended to result in any harm referred to in subsection (2) (b) (i), (ii), or (iv) of this section. In the context of law enforcement and policing, terrorism presents itself in deliberate incidents and acts of sabotage, criminal bombings, arsons, vandalism; assassination; kidnapping; armed robbery, militancy, trafficking in illegal small arms and light weapons, transnational organised crimes, subversion and propaganda, espionage, cyber-terror, echoterror, bioterror and the attendant criminal acts and consequences.

#### Theoretical Framework

The study adopted Critical Theory to give a theoretical foundation to this study. The critical Theory was developed by Max Horkheimer in 1937. The theory is an approach to social philosophy that focuses on reflective assessment and critique of society and culture in order to reveal and challenge power structures. It offers a descriptive and normative foundation for social inquiry and is designed to decrease domination and increase freedom in all forms (Stanford, 2016). It is applied through critiquing and analyzing the social issues that are responsible for the domination of tribes that have emerged as terrorists, using inhumanity as a justification for their actions.

Critical theory was developed in response to conventional approaches to uncover the ideological, conceptual, and institutional foundations of terrorism. It is used to critique dominant conventional approaches that link terrorism with technical capitalism and claims that violent activities used by the state, in a case of state terrorism against its citizens, have been ignored by traditional terrorism scholars (George & Kline, 2016).

Critical theory is concerned with critiquing and changing society in its entirety, as against traditional theory, concerned only with understanding or explaining it. It is aimed at digging into social life, to reveal the assumptions that keep people from a true and complete understanding of how the world works. The critical theory emerged from the Marxist tradition and was advanced by a group of sociologists at the University of Frankfurt in Germany, referred to as Frankfurt School (Crossman, 2019).

Looking critically at the causes of terrorism in Nigeria and the strategies applied in countering insurgency, state terrorism which encompasses violent action against citizens, neglect, domination, and deprivation has been a leading cause of terrorism in Nigeria and must be addressed as one of the strategies to combat terrorism. Because "a theory is critical to the extent that it seeks human emancipation from slavery, acts as a liberating influence, and works to create a world which satisfies the needs and powers of human (Horkheimer 1972, 246), counterterrorism strategies applied in Nigeria must absorb these considerations in seeking solutions to the insurgency.

#### **Empirical Review**

Nte, Abdulaziz and Uzorka (2020) reviewed the applicability of Geospatial Intelligence and all its components and subfield, with a view to understanding and or establishing their respective relevance in devising effective counter-terrorism strategies in Nigeria. This was done, taking Boko Haram activities between 2015 and 2018 for specific study, against the background of Geospatial-Intelligence capabilities. The researchers utilised primary and secondary data sources in this work. The Primary data sources were from questionnaires administered physically and electronically via emails while, secondary data came from published books, journals, articles, lecture guides, videos etc. Acquired data were statistically analysed using simple percentage and Chi-Square statistics. Sequel to the statistical results, findings were made that Geospatial-Intelligence is relevant and remains the most potent frontier in developing effective counter-terrorism strategies against Boko Haram and indeed other similar insurgencies in Nigeria.

Ngboawaji (2013) carried out an analysis of intelligence support to security operations in Nigeria: A review of some Joint Task Force Operations. The study adopted the quantitative and analytical methods of analyzing data from primary and secondary sources to arrive at the conclusion and recommendations. The study revealed that intelligence gathering and management has not been able to effectively support the conduct of security operations in Nigeria. This is because the impact of intelligence has not been significant for many reasons. From the study, it is clear that the intelligence community lacked the requisite technological platform to effectively support the conduct of security operations.

Adedire, Ake and Olowojolu (2016) examined the attempts made by the Nigerian government as well as international actors towards curbing the menace of terrorism and insurgency. Such domestic measures include the deployment of troops to the affected areas, joint task force by the neighbouring countries, declaration of a state of emergency and encouragement of public and media to provide intelligence support. The international actors use economic sanctions to punish the state sponsors of terrorism, the deployment of security assets abroad, the monitoring of the expanding scope and the diversity of facilitation networks. It, therefore, recommends the cutting off of the sources of contact of Boko Haram, an empowerment programme that reduces unemployment, conflict resolution among parties and strict enforcement of the law against terrorism.

#### Gap in Knowledge

The studies reviewed have shown the important contribution of intelligence in supporting military and civil operations to counter insurgency and terrorism. However, none of these works directly link intelligence support to counter-terrorism in North West, Nigeria. This study, therefore, seeks to fill that void consequently the study will focus on the prognosis of theories of intelligence in counterterrorism.

## Methodology **Research Design**

The research design that is deemed most suitable and appropriate by the researcher for this study is the Survey design and this was adopted. The survey method involves the systematic use of a questionnaire to generate the needed Data for Analysis

#### Population of the Study

The population of this study comprises Nigerians residing within North-Western part of Nigeria where the activities of bandits and other insurgency activities are more alarming. The states in this part of Nigeria are Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara. Obviously, the population of this study is very large and thus may be almost impossible to be covered by the Researcher, Hence sampling becomes imperative.

#### Sampling Technique

Due to the largeness of population of the study, as earlier noted above, the researcher adopted a sampling method in order to obtain data about the general population from a subset of the population. The sampling method adopted by the researcher is the probability sampling method, otherwise known as random sampling. In probability sampling, various techniques are used to ensure that every individual person in the population or universe has an equal chance of being selected. Here, the researcher adopted probability sampling due to its suitability and applicability in this study as it eliminates errors and possible bias to a very large extent.

#### Sample Size

Another critical factor is identifying the size of the sample to draw out from the population of study and doing so via objective means. In order to draw a sample size, the Taro-Yamane quantitative method for sample selection was applied for the study. Stated below is the formula:

Formula

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where:

N= Population

n = Sample size

I = Constant

e = Tolerable error and can be assumed e.g 0.05, 0.10 or 0.25

This formula helped the researcher to determine what sample size to study. Using a tolerable error of 0.10, a sample size of 250 individuals was selected for the study. The persons selected for the study include retired/serving security personnel, students and experts in Intelligence and Security, host community members and settlers.

#### **Method of Data Analysis**

The method adopted for the analysis of data in this research is the frequency distribution table showing responses, frequency, and percentages. The raw data are collected, collated, and further converted to a percentage. Each item is analyzed on that basis along with the divided affirmation and negation of the proposition. From the total percentage of response, the inference is drawn. The result obtained also forms the basis of the discussion of findings. A test of the hypothesis was also done in order to ascertain the rejection and acceptability of the suppositions. The hypothesis is tailored towards buttressing the data acquired through the questions. The hypothesis is tested using the Chi-square statistical method.

# **Analysis and Findings**

Contained herein is the presentation, analysis and interpretation of data acquired during the research through the use of Questionnaires. For the purpose of this work, a total of one hundred and fifty (150) questionnaires were distributed. However, only 130 questionnaires were retrieved. It is important to recall that the researcher employed both research questions and hypothesis for the purpose of this work and thus, there shall be a presentation of data in simple percentage and also statistical analysis of data all in this section.

Is Geospatial Intelligence relevant in Question 1: developing effective counter-terrorism strategy?

Table 1: Response to question 1

Table			
Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)	45
Yes	85	65.4 Inte	rnationa
No	18	13.8 of T	rend in S
Don't know	27	20.8	Researc
Total	130	100	Dovolon
		A	Develop

From the above table, 85 (65.4%) of the respondents voted "Yes" to the question while 18 (13.8%) said "No". 27 (20.8%) are indecisive, probably because they are not familiar with the term. Thus, analysis on the basis of the data above shows that it is obvious that Geospatial Intelligence is developing an effective counter-terrorism strategy.

Question 2: Is there relationship between intelligence gathering and terrorism in North West, Nigeria

Table 2: Response to Question 2

Table 2. Response to Question 2			
Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)	
Yes	71	54.6	
No	31	23.8	
Don't know	28	21.5	
Total	130	100	

The above table shows that 71 (54.6%) agree while 31 (23.8%) disagree and 28 (21.5%) are indecisive as to whether there is the relationship between intelligence gathering and terrorism in North West, Nigeria. However, a majority of the respondents voted 'yes' to the question.

Question 3: Is intelligence relevant in the fight against terrorism in the North West, Nigeria?

Table 3: Response to question 3

rubic of mosponse to question s			
Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)	
Yes	95	73.1	
No	13	10	
Don't know	22	16.9	
Total	130	100	

From the above table, 95 (73.1%) voted 'yes' while only a negligible figure of 13 (10%) are in disagreement. 22 (16.9) showed indecisiveness. Thus, drawing from the figures above, intelligence is relevant in the fight against terrorism in the North West, Nigeria.

Question 4: Is it healthy for Intelligence agencies to keep information from one another?

Table 4: Response to question 4

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)	
Yes	6	4.6	
No	119	91.5	
Don't know	5	3.8	
Total	130	100	

The above table shows that only 6 (4.6%) of the respondents voted "yes", 5 (3.8%) stayed indecisive while 119 (91.5%) of the respondents voted "no" to the opinion that it is healthy for Intelligence agencies to keep information from one another. Therefore, drawing from the figures above, it is unhealthy for Intelligence agencies to keep information from one another.

# **Test of Hypotheses**

- There is a relationship between intelligence gathering and terrorism in North West, Nigeria
- There is no relationship between intelligence gathering and terrorism in North West, Nigeria

**Observed frequency** 

	No. of Res		
Variables	Physical Administration	Online	Total
	Aummstration	Aummstration	
Agree 🥊 🧧	31	34	65
Strongly Agree	20	16	36
Disagree 0	11	13	24
Strongly Disagree	4	1	5
Total	65	65	130

Expected frequency

	Expected if equency			
,		No. of Respondents		
1	Variables	Physical	Online	Total
		<b>Administration</b>	Administration	
	Agree	32.5	32.5	65
	Strongly Agree	18	18	36
	Disagree	12	12	24
	Strongly Disagree	2.5	2.5	5
	Total	65	65	130

For a degree of freedom of 3 at 0.05 significant level, the Chisquare value of 2.54 is greater than the table value of 0.0153. Therefore, we reject the Null hypothesis and accept the alternate hypothesis which states that there is a relationship between intelligence gathering and terrorism in North West, Nigeria.

#### Conclusion

Intelligence gathering is the product of the process information by the agencies of the government which are provided for both policy makers and other law enforcement agencies. It is useful processed information for the maintenance of security in any country. This is because it gives a good idea and direction in getting the trend and pattern of criminal activities within a system. It is the duty of a government to provide for the security of the lives and properties of its citizens. It becomes important for state security service and other national intelligence agencies to

protect various important blind sports as its relation to the safety and wellbeing of the citizen of the country.

#### Recommendations

The following are the recommendations proffered by the paper

- For efficiency to be attained in security operations, the government should harness information from both the members of the public and the national intelligence communities and ensure timely, adequate and reliable sharing of intelligence among the law enforcement agencies.
- Government should foster a protected relationship between the public and law enforcement agencies, to remove the fear within them and ensure the protection of information relating to their privacy
- There should be training and retraining of personnel of the intelligence community to be able to meet up with the current trends and changes in the contemporary Nigerian environments for the effective gathering of intelligence and the ability to utilize it for productive law enforcement.
- Timely and continuous funding of intelligence to ensure the provision of and adequate evaluated and analyzed information reliable and adequate enough to tackle current situation of insecurity

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