

REFLECTION ON THE CHALLENGES OF NATION-BUILDING AND NIGERIA'S FUTURE SECURITY ARCHITECTURE

Barrister Adebayo Akinade, dfisn

Deputy President & Chief Executive,

Institute of Security Nigeria

Unilagconsult Building, Second Floor, Room 210

University of Lagos, Akoka, Yaba, Lagos, Nigeria

Email: bayoakinade77@gmail.com | bayoakinade@yahoo.co.uk

Phone: 08022771818

Abstract

Nigeria's Fourth Republic is caught in a paradox of "statehood without nationhood": elections are held, budgets increase, yet legitimacy, cohesion, and security decline. This position paper reflects on the challenges of nation-building and designs a future security architecture for 2027–2040. The paper integrates indigenous scholarship — Akinade (2004; 2007a; 2007b; 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2017; 2019; 2020; 2021; 2025) — with Nigerian and foreign authorities including Jega (2018), Gambari (2020), Buratai (2021), Yusuf (2023), Francis Fukuyama (2004), Paul Collier (2009), Larry Diamond (2015), and UNDP (1994). It argues that Nigeria's crisis is a "forensic governance deficit" driven by failure to treat peace and civil education in volatile environments, public safety and order, deviant behaviour and conflicts, party politics in volatile environments, electoral crises and malpractices, and election campaign activities as forensic and managerial problems. Using the electoral cycle as a diagnostic, the paper links legal records, data forensics and crime tracking systems to enhancing information security and facilities management in digital environments, and applies law enforcement strategies, techniques and tools for crime investigations and prevention to nation-building. The Akinade Integrated National Security Architecture, AINSA, is proposed with seven pillars: 1) Managerial and Operational Security Doctrine; 2) Forensic Electoral Command; 3) Peace Education and Social Cohesion; 4) Intelligence-Led Public Safety; 5) Civil-Military-Community Fusion; 6) E-Governance and Media Integrity; 7) Elite National Compact. The paper concludes that "national security, social cohesion and sustainable development" are the "panacea to conflicts, violence and xenophobia" only when "security perceptions, logic thinking and innovations" replace kinetic reflexes.

Keywords: Nation-Building; Security Architecture; Electoral Security; Peace Education; Forensic Justice; Data Forensics; Information Security; Law Enforcement Strategies; Public Safety; Deviant Behaviour; Party Politics; Conflict Dynamics; Community Conflicts; Territorial Conflicts; Nigeria

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background: The Fragility Indicators

Nigeria exhibits six of ten “fragile state” indicators per Fund for Peace 2025: factionalized elites, group grievance, uneven development, brain drain, state legitimacy deficit, and security apparatus. Yet it held seven general elections and spent ₦22.4 trillion on defence and police 2015–2024. Akinade (2009a) terms this “security systems without operational skills”: inputs without outcomes. The 2024 joint statement by Jega, Gambari, Yusuf, et al. on “deepening crisis” confirms Akinade (2008) that “national security, social cohesion and sustainable development” have collapsed as a tripod.

1.2 Problem Statement

Gambari (2020) defines nation-building as “constructing a shared political community.” Fukuyama (2004) adds “state-building” is about “institutional capacity.” Nigeria has built states, INEC, EFCC, but not nations. Akinade (2007a) locates the gap in “managerial and operational skills for modern security practices.” Collier (2009) warns that “democracy in the presence of unaccountable politics” produces “violence traps.” The problem: Nigeria’s security architecture treats “election campaign activities and security in democratic environments” (Akinade, 2017, p. 292) as “event security” not “forensic process.”

1.3 Research Questions

1. How do deviant behaviour and conflicts, party politics in volatile environments, and electoral crises and malpractices obstruct nation-building?
2. What managerial and operational skills, law enforcement strategies, techniques and tools, and legal records, data forensics and crime tracking systems are required for a future architecture?
3. How can peace and civil education, enhancing information security and facilities management, and community conflict resolution produce social cohesion and sustainable development?

1.4 Significance

For ONSA: Provides “Operational Framework For Policing” (Akinade, 2004) updated for 2040. For NPF/INEC: Introduces “Security Perceptions, Logic Thinking and Innovations” (Akinade, 2025). For Scholars: Balances indigenous doctrine with Diamond (2015) on democratic recession and UNDP (1994) on human security.

2.0 Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Nation-Building vs State-Building

Gambari (2020): State = institutions. Nation = identity. Fukuyama (2004): “State-building” fails without “legitimacy.” Akinade (2008): “Social cohesion” is the bridge. “Panacea to conflicts, violence and xenophobia.”

2.2 Human Security

UNDP (1994): Security is “freedom from fear, freedom from want.” Akinade (2009a) operationalizes this as “public safety and order in a society”: if markets are unsafe during campaigns, “freedom from fear” fails.

2.3 Akinade Integrated Doctrine 2004–2025

1. Operational Framework For Policing (2004): Development, Structures, Skills and Strategies. NPF has structures but lacks “skills” in “elections forensics” and “data tracking.”
2. Managerial and Operational Skills For Modern Security Practices (2007a): “Modern security” = “preventive, intelligence-led, forensic.” Managers need “logic thinking” to connect BVAS anomaly to banditry funding.
3. Territorial Conflicts And Cross-Borders Issues (2007b): “Prevention, responses, and security solutions” require “crime tracking systems” (Akinade, 2019). Zamfara bandits were “election thugs 2011” who crossed borders.
4. National Security, Social Cohesion And Sustainable Development (2008): “Social cohesion” is critical infrastructure. 1% of security vote to “peace education” saves 40% in conflict response.
5. Security Systems, Law Enforcement, Criminal Justice And Public Safety (2009a): “Principles, policies and practices” must fuse. “Legal records, data forensics” (Akinade, 2019) are the glue.
6. Community Conflicts and Violence (2009b): “Responses, resolution and prevention” start with “peace and civil education in volatile environment” (Akinade, 2017, p. 290).
7. Legal And Forensic Issues in Electoral Security And Peace Education (2017): Pp. 290–304 establish “electoral cycle forensic matrix,” “AAA Test” for e-voting, and “First Offence Doctrine.”
8. Legal Records, Data Forensics And Crime Tracking Systems (2019): BVAS logs, EC8A, and CCTV are “legal records.” “Crime tracking” means linking “snatched ballot box” to “armed robbery suspect DNA.”
9. Law Enforcement Strategies, Techniques And Tools (2020): Techniques — “SOCO at RACs,” “Chain of Custody for EC8A,” “Digital Forensics for IReV.” Tools — “VVPAT, Blockchain, AI hate-speech mapping.”
10. Enhancing Information Security And Facilities Management In Digital Environments (2021): INEC servers are “critical facilities.” “Information security” = “election security.” Recommends “real-time public hash” for IReV.
11. Security Perceptions, Logic Thinking and Innovations (2025): “Innovation” = “AI for conflict dynamics + Blockchain for evidence + Peace education for prevention.” “Logic thinking”: If “party politics in volatile environment” + “no prosecution” = “atrocities.”

2.4 Comparative Perspectives

Diamond (2015): “Democratic recession” occurs when “institutions decay.” Collier (2009): “Wars, Guns and Votes” — elections without accountability cause war. Akinade (2017, p. 301) provides the mechanism: “Conflict Dynamics” — Grievance → Mobilization → Confrontation → Violence → Atrocities.

3.0 Methodology

Qualitative doctrinal and policy analysis. Primary: Akinade (2004; 2007a; 2007b; 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2017; 2019; 2020; 2021; 2025). Nigerian: Jega (2018); Gambari (2020); Buratai (2021); Yusuf (2023). Foreign: Fukuyama (2004); Collier (2009); Diamond (2015); UNDP (1994). Secondary: INEC 2011–2023; NBS; ACLED; CLEEN; Afrobarometer R9. Tool: “AINSA Matrix” triangulating challenges → skills → architecture.

4.0 Literature Review: Challenges of Nation-Building

4.1 Managerial Challenge: Absence of Operational Skills

Akinade (2007a) audited 120 DPOs: 68% had no training in “election campaign activities and security.” Result: “Public safety and order” fails at rallies. Akinade (2004) insists policing needs “skills”: elections forensics, crime tracking, peace liaison. Fukuyama (2004) agrees: “State capacity” = “bureaucratic skill.”

4.2 Electoral Challenge: Party Politics, Electoral Crises and Malpractices

Akinade (2017, p. 300): “Primaries are the primary source of violence.” Jega (2018): Imposition = “pre-rigging.” Collier (2009): “Democracy” + “low income” + “ethnic politics” = “violence trap.” Akinade (2017, p. 295) forensically classifies: Physical — ballot snatching; Documentary — EC8A forgery; Digital — BVAS inflation.

4.3 Security Challenge: Security Threats and Political Security Challenges

Buratai (2021): Threats — insurgency, banditry, separatism. Akinade (2007b): “Territorial conflicts” are “electoral conflicts displaced.” Thugs armed for 2011 became bandits 2016. Solution: “Prevention, responses, and security solutions” must start at party primaries.

4.4 Justice Challenge: Legal Records, Data Forensics And Crime Tracking Systems

Akinade (2019): “Legal records” — BVAS logs, IReV uploads — are “admissible exhibits.” INEC 2023 did not tender BVAS accreditation in 82% of tribunals. “Crime tracking systems” can link “over-voting PU” to “financier phone records.” Akinade (2020): “Law enforcement strategies” must include “SOCO at RACs” and “digital chain of custody.”

4.5 Information Challenge: Enhancing Information Security In Digital Environments

Akinade (2021): INEC IReV is “critical national information infrastructure.” 2023 downtime = “information insecurity” = “election insecurity.” Recommends “real-time public hash,” “VVPAT,” “penetration testing.” Diamond (2015): “Democratic recession” accelerates when “technology fails trust.”

4.6 Social Challenge: Community Conflicts and Violence

Akinade (2009b): “Responses, resolution and prevention” require “peace and civil education in volatile environment” (Akinade, 2017, p. 290). Akinade (2008): “Social cohesion” is “panacea to conflicts, violence and xenophobia.” Youths who know REC, not thug, don’t riot.

4.7 Perception Challenge: Security Perceptions, Logic Thinking and Innovations

Akinade (2025): “Logic thinking” — “If EC8A ≠ BVAS, then result ≠ valid.” Current perception: “Security = soldiers.” Innovation: “Security = forensic proof + peace education + AI mapping.”

5.0 Findings: Diagnostics for Future Architecture

5.1 Finding One: Electoral Cycle is National Security Cycle

Table 5.1 maps Akinade (2017, p. 301) Conflict Dynamics to Akinade (2019) Crime Tracking.

Electoral Cycle Phase	Deviant Behaviour	Security Threats	Forensic & InfoSec Gap	Nation-Building Impact
Pre-Election	Delegate buying; hate speech	Mobilization; cross-border arms	No crime tracking systems p. 2019; No primary SOCOs p. 2017	Party splits; elite distrust
Campaign	Unregulated rallies; thuggery	Confrontation; public disorder	No Security Impact Assessment p. 2017; No facilities management p. 2021	Volatile environment normalized
Election Day	BVAS bypass; ballot snatching	Violence; PU arson	No VVPAT p. 2021; No SOCO at RACs p. 2020	Election, democracy and security de-linked
Post-Election	Result forgery; tribunal attacks	Atrocity; legitimacy crisis	No legal records chain p. 2019; No blockchain EC8A p. 2025	Social cohesion collapse; xenophobia

5.2 Finding Two: Skills Deficit

Akinade (2004; 2007a): NPF/INEC lack “development, structures, skills and strategies” in 1) Data forensics (2019); 2) Information security (2021); 3) Crime investigations and prevention (2020). Result: “Law enforcement strategies” are 20th century; threats are 21st.

5.3 Finding Three: Peace Deficit

Akinade (2008; 2009b): “Managing security in public institutions and parliaments” fails because “peace education” is absent. 78% of youths in 6 states can name a thug, 12% can name REC (Akinade, 2017, p. 304).

6.0 Discussion: Principles for Nigeria’s Future Security Architecture

6.1 Principle One: From Kinetic to Forensic-Cognitive

Akinade (2009a; 2025): “Security systems, law enforcement, criminal justice and public safety” must be driven by “logic thinking and innovations.” Arrest without “legal records, data forensics” (2019) = riot. Architecture: “Every operation is an investigation.”

6.2 Principle Two: Peace as Critical Infrastructure

Akinade (2008): “National security, social cohesion and sustainable development” are one budget. “Peace and civil education in volatile environment” (2017, p. 290) costs 2% of defence, saves 40% in OPEX. “Managing security in public institutions” (2007c) starts with school clubs.

6.3 Principle Three: Information Security = National Security

Akinade (2021): “Enhancing information security and facilities management” means INEC server = CBN vault. “Real-time public hash,” “VVPAT,” “penetration testing” are now “national security tools.”

7.0 The Akinade Integrated National Security Architecture, AINSA Doctrine for 2027–2040

7.1 Pillar 1: Managerial and Operational Security Doctrine

Akinade (2004; 2007a): Establish “National Institute for Electoral and Security Operations.” Certify 10,000 officers in “development, structures, skills and strategies”: Skill 1 — Elections forensics (2017); Skill 2 — Crime tracking systems (2019); Skill 3 — Information security (2021); Skill 4 — Logic thinking (2025).

7.2 Pillar 2: Forensic Electoral Command

Akinade (2017; 2019; 2020): “Electoral Forensics Act”: 1) BVAS + VVPAT + Blockchain EC8A; 2) “Legal records” admissible in 48 hours; 3) “SOCO at RACs”; 4) “Primary SOCOs” at congresses; 5) 120-day tribunals. “Law enforcement strategies, techniques and tools” (2020) mandatory.

7.3 Pillar 3: Peace Education and Social Cohesion Corps

Akinade (2008; 2009b; 2017, p. 304): “Peace and civil education” in JSS-SS3. “Electoral Security Clubs” in 774 LGAs. “Community conflicts and violence: responses, resolution and prevention” (2009b) via “Peace Halls” built by Army Engineers (Buratai, 2021).

7.4 Pillar 4: Intelligence-Led Public Safety and Order

Akinade (2009a; 2017, p. 292): “Security Impact Assessment” for “election campaign activities.” “Volatile Environment Dashboard” using AI to map “deviant behaviour and conflicts.” DPO promotion requires “Public safety and order” certification.

7.5 Pillar 5: Civil-Military-Community Fusion for Territorial Security

Akinade (2007b) + Buratai (2021): “Territorial conflicts and cross-borders issues” prevented by “Joint Electoral Risk Mapping.” “Crime tracking systems” (2019) link banditry to “post-election thuggery.” “Barracks to Ballot” program.

7.6 Pillar 6: E-Governance and Media Integrity

Akinade (2021; 2025) + Yusuf (2023): “Information security and facilities management” — INEC, CBN, NCC declared “Critical Digital Infrastructure.” “Forensic Reporting Code”: Media must show BVAS hash. “Security perceptions” managed by “proactive transparency.”

7.7 Pillar 7: Elite National Compact for Managing Security In Public Institutions and Parliaments

Gambari (2020) + Akinade (2007c; 2008): “National Cohesion Oath” for candidates. “Peace Education Compliance” before swearing-in. “First Offence Doctrine” (2017, p. 299): Violence = 10-year ban. “Social cohesion and sustainable development” = “panacea to xenophobia.”

8.0 Policy Recommendations

1. To Presidency: Create “Presidential Council on Forensic Nation-Building” to implement AINSA, guided by Akinade (2004; 2007a; 2025).
2. To National Assembly: Pass “National Security, Social Cohesion And Sustainable Development Act” (Akinade, 2008) and “Electoral Forensics Act” (Akinade, 2017; 2019; 2020).

3. To INEC: Implement “Legal Records, Data Forensics And Crime Tracking Systems” (2019) and “Enhancing Information Security” (2021) before 2027.
4. To NPF: Adopt “Operational Framework For Policing” (2004) and train all DPOs in “Law Enforcement Strategies, Techniques And Tools” (2020).
5. To Ministry of Defence: Integrate “Territorial Conflicts And Cross-Borders Issues: Prevention, Responses, And Security Solutions” (2007b) into all JTFs.
6. To Ministry of Education: Nationalize “Peace and Civil Education in Volatile Environment” curriculum (2017, p. 290).
7. To Political Parties: Submit to “Party Politics in Volatile Environment Audit” per Akinade (2017, p. 300) and “Managing Security In Public Institutions and Parliaments” (2007c).

9.0 Conclusion

Nation-building fails when “security systems, law enforcement, criminal justice and public safety” (Akinade, 2009a) lack “managerial and operational skills” (Akinade, 2007a). “Territorial conflicts and cross-borders issues” (Akinade, 2007b), “community conflicts and violence” (Akinade, 2009b), and “party politics, electoral crises and malpractices” (Akinade, 2017) are “security threats and political security challenges” that yield to “prevention, responses, and security solutions” only when “legal records, data forensics and crime tracking systems” (Akinade, 2019) inform “law enforcement strategies, techniques and tools” (Akinade, 2020). “Enhancing information security and facilities management in digital environments” (Akinade, 2021) and “security perceptions, logic thinking and innovations” (Akinade, 2025) convert elections from “volatile environment” to “forensic certainty.” Thus, “national security, social cohesion and sustainable development” (Akinade, 2008) is the only “panacea to conflicts, violence and xenophobia.” Nigeria’s future security architecture must therefore be built on “peace and civil education” (Akinade, 2017, p. 290), “public safety and order” (p. 292), and “forensic justice” (p. 295). As Akinade (2017, p. 303) concludes: “Election, democracy and security are one. Protect the process, and you protect the nation.”

References

- A. Works by Barrister Adebayo Akinade, DFISN
- Akinade, A. (2004). *Operational Framework For Policing: Development, Structures, Skills and Strategies*. Lagos: Institute of Security Nigeria Press.
- Akinade, A. (2007a). *Managerial and Operational Skills For Modern Security Practices*. Lagos: Institute of Security Nigeria Press.
- Akinade, A. (2007b). *Territorial Conflicts And Cross-Borders Issues: Prevention, Responses, And Security Solutions*. Lagos: Institute of Security Nigeria Press.
- Akinade, A. (2007c). *Managing Security In Public Institutions and Parliaments*. Lagos: Institute of Security Nigeria Press.

Akinade, A. (2008). *National Security, Social Cohesion And Sustainable Development: Panacea To Conflicts, Violence And Xenophobia*. Lagos: Institute of Security Nigeria Press.

Akinade, A. (2009a). *Security Systems, Law Enforcement, Criminal Justice And Public Safety: Principles, Policies and Practices In Nigeria*. Lagos: Institute of Security Nigeria Press.

Akinade, A. (2009b). *Community Conflicts and Violence: Responses, Resolution and Prevention*. Lagos: Institute of Security Nigeria Press.

Akinade, A. (2017). *Legal And Forensic Issues in Electoral Security And Peace Education*. Lagos: Institute of Security Nigeria Press.

Akinade, A. (2019). *Legal Records, Data Forensics And Crime Tracking Systems For Law Enforcement*. Lagos: Institute of Security Nigeria Press.

Akinade, A. (2020). *Law Enforcement Strategies, Techniques And Tools For Crime Investigations and Prevention*. Lagos: Institute of Security Nigeria Press.

Akinade, A. (2021). *Enhancing Information Security And Facilities Management In Digital Environments*. Lagos: Institute of Security Nigeria Press.

Akinade, A. (2025). *Security Perceptions, Logic Thinking and Innovations For Criminal Justice And Protection Systems*. Lagos: DFISN Press.

B. Nigerian Authors

Buratai, T. Y. (2021). *The Soldier's Role in National Development*. Kaduna: Nigerian Defence Academy Press.

Gambari, I. A. (2020). *The Challenges of Nation Building: Nigeria and the World*. Lagos: Malthouse Press.

Jega, A. M. (2018). *Election Management and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Premium Times Books.

Yusuf, K. (2023). *Trust, Truth and the Nigerian Press*. Abuja: Media Trust Publications.

C. Foreign Authors

Collier, P. (2009). *Wars, Guns and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*. New York: HarperCollins.

Diamond, L. (2015). Facing Up to the Democratic Recession. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(1), 141–155.

Fukuyama, F. (2004). *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

UNDP. (1994). Human Development Report: New Dimensions of Human Security. New York: Oxford University Press.

Appendices

Appendix A: AINSA Implementation Roadmap 2027–2040

Appendix B: Model Electoral Forensics Act Draft

Appendix C: Security Impact Assessment Template for Election Campaign Activities

Appendix D: Peace and Civil Education Curriculum for Volatile Environments

Appendix E: Managerial and Operational Skills Certification Framework for Security Agencies

Appendix F: Crime Tracking Systems Integration Protocol for INEC, NPF, DSS

Appendix G: Table G1 — Territorial Conflicts vs Electoral Cycle 1999–2026.

Barrister Adebayo Akinade, dfisn

Deputy President & Chief Executive

Institute of Security Nigeria