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FRAGILE STATE INDEX PERCEPTION AND NATIONAL RESILIENCE IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

A perception study on the Fragile State Index (FSI) or fragile nature of the Nigeria State to assess the status of Nigeria's National Resilience was carried out among the Management Staff and Senior Executive Course (SEC) 44 participants of the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru in 2023. The respondents were made up of 6 management staff and 70 SEC participants comprising of military, police and para-military not less than the rank of Colonel (or its equivalent), Directors and permanent secretaries. Five indexes and 12 indicators (Messner, 2018) were considered in the questionnaire schedules (appendix 1). The FSI is based on The FFP's proprietary Conflict Assessment System Tool (CAST) analytical approach the CAST Framework for ease and/or convenience. The assessment based on geographical regions in Nigeria show that the North-East is the most fragile followed by the North-West. The indicators in these regions showed red flags or alert. It also revealed that there is no region in Nigeria that is sustainable, very sustainable nor stable. In the overall analysis, Nigeria's fragility is in the red, meaning that Nigeria's National resilience is abysmal. This portends danger for the country and it calls for urgent as well as deliberate steps to be taken in building national resilience in Nigeria.

Keywords: Fragile, Resilience, Index, Stable, National

1. Introduction

The Fragile States Index (FSI) was formerly called the Failed States Index published in the American Journal called foreign policy as an annual report by the United States think tank called the Fund for Peace. FSI measures the resilience of a state by measuring the strength and potency any nation and its institutions and apparatuses have to create the social good which includes security, welfare and happiness of the people. The state of fragility is generally perceived as the inadequacy of the institutional framework of the state to promote and protect the fundamental rights and welfare of the citizens and to fulfill their fundamental obligations. Moreover, to include factors such as extensive corruption, rising poverty, weak institutions,

and other economic misfortunes contribute to this state of concerns (Resenji et al., 2020).

National Resilience is a dynamic state of a nation that contains the resilience and tenacity as well as ability of a nation to develop national power so as to face all kinds and forms of threats, challenges, obstacles and disturbances coming from within and outside that threatens and endangers integrity, identity and survival of the nation and state (Isabella, 2017; Lemhannas, 2018 & Agape, et al, 2021).

The FSI can often be described as functional, failed or fragile. Therefore, a state is generally considered to have failed when it can no longer be able to

consistently and legitimately enforce its laws or provide its citizens with basic goods and services (Ismail, 2022). It means that, a fragile state is a state whose central government is so weak or ineffective to the extent that it has little practical control over much of its territory; it is characterized by inadequate provision or no provision of public services, widespread corruption and criminality; refugees and involuntary movement of populations and sharp economic decline.

The FSI is a quantitative approach to understanding the fragility of a state by measuring its vulnerability (Ismail, 2022).

2. Literature Review

The FSI in Nigeria in 2020 was **97.27 index**. It increased from 94.4 index in 2006 to 97.27 index in 2020. This means it grew at an average annual rate of 0.23% (Ismail, 2022). This indicates that Nigeria's status is failing as far as Fund for Peace is concerned. The index is made up of twelve conflict risk indicators use to measure the condition of a state at any given moment which includes; security apparatus, factionalized elites, group grievances, economic decline, uneven economic development, human flight and brain drain, state legitimacy, public service, human rights and rule of law, demographic pressures, refugees and IDPs and external interventions (Ismail, 2022). The index has included all UN member states since 2005 and has been published annually by the fund for peace and the magazine called foreign policy. Countries are ranked on a score of 120 with the highest rated most fragile and the lowest rated the least fragile (Ismail, 2022).

2.1 Empirical Review

According to the 2022 report, Yemen tops the fragile index with a score of 111.7 followed by Somalia (110.5), Syria (108.4), South Sudan (108.4) and the Central African Republic (108.1). Finland at 179th position is the least Fragile country in the world with a score of 15.1 followed by Norway (15.6), Iceland (17.1), New Zealand (17.5) and Denmark (18.1). The US is at the 140th position with a score of 46.6,

Ukraine 92nd position and Russia is at 75th position (Ismail, 2022).

3. Methodology

Global environmental hazards that have threatened human and nature are becoming increasingly apparent (Legionosuko et al, 2019) with Nigeria not left out. Added to this, are the vagaries in the Nigeria situation as at today with spate of insecurity occurrences including the challenges of poverty (Musa and Suleiman, 2020). These have brought out the needs that the ranking of Nigeria's Fragile State Index be reevaluated by an equally reliable Nigeria academic institution. The National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru, is that Institute well poised to validate and update locally or otherwise the claims by the Fund for Peace (FFP) about the abysmal ranking of the Nigerian State or status on fragility or resilience. Moreso, the participants of SEC are usually drawn from all walks of the Nigeria life and consisting of senior policy makers from all the states in Nigeria that come for a 10-month course in NIPSS.

3.1 Research Design, Data Sources and Analysis

To achieve the above, close ended structured questionnaires in accordance to the method of Fund for Peace (FFP, 2017) were distributed among management staff and participants of the Senior Executive Course (SEC) usually drawn from all walks of the Nigeria life and consisting of senior policy makers from all the states in Nigeria that come for a 10-month course in NIPSS. The participants consist of senior military, police, paramilitary, civil and public servants from all sectors of the Nigerian society. Descriptive analysis was used for the data.

4. Results and Discussion

The fragile state index (FSI) for Nigeria according to regions is shown in figure 1 below based on perceptions of Nigerians. The overall assessment of the regions shows that no region in Nigeria is stable, sustainable or very sustainable. The perceptions of majority of the participants (51%) are of the opinion that the North-west region has an alert (red) status and

therefore the most fragile. The second most fragile region by the assessment is North-east region (39%). Majority of the participants are also of the opinion that

the status of the remaining regions are in the state of warning (yellow) as follows: South-east (43%), North-central (41%), South-south (39%), South-west (36%).

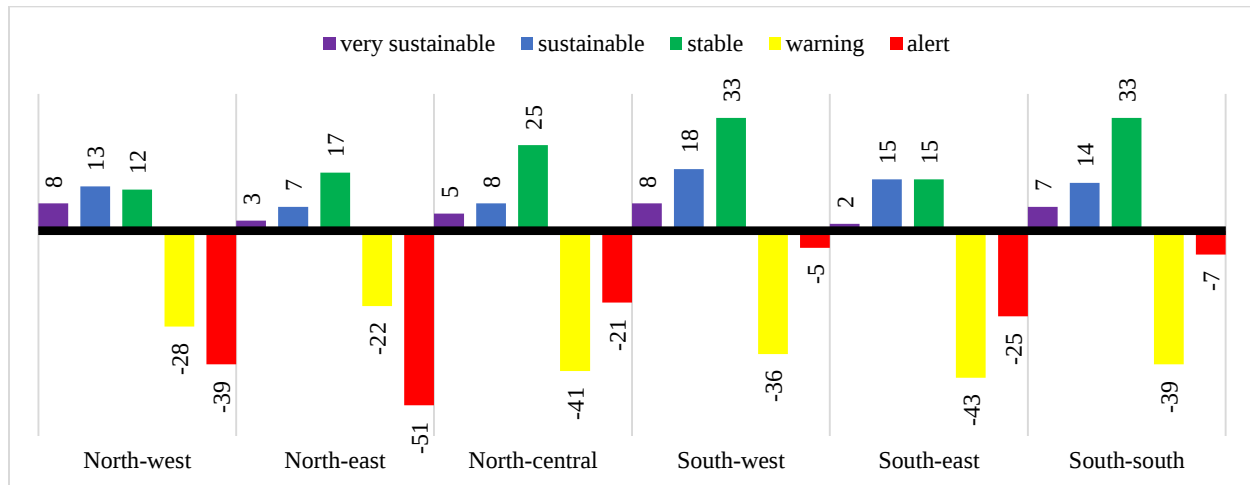


Figure 1: Fragile State Index for Nigeria according to regions

Further assessment of some indicators to buttress the FSI by regions depicted above has become necessary. For example, the indicator on security apparatus revealed that although the Nigerian state including the control of the military and the paramilitary is presently under the control of civilians, there exist militia and guerilla forces within the state that act in opposition to it, and to some degree, exert authority over regions within the state. This suggests that the government's hold on force is not absolute. The actions of Boko Haram in the North-east, Fulani-herdsmen in the middle belt, ESN, and separatists in the South-east have contributed to the deteriorating state of insecurity in the country. Moreover, these activities have further weakened the security structure in the country especially that non-state violent actors have possessed a

significant availability of arms. The opinion expressed on the state of violence and killing was such that peaceful coexistence and tolerance are fading as mistrust and hatred is rising with 84% of the participants agreeing on this.

On the economy, 80% of the participants agree that ghettos and slums exist in the society. This obviously shows the level of economic inequality and poverty line that is prevalent in the Nigerian State. Moreover, the country is experiencing significant loss of high skilled professionals, educated people (90%) and even politicians (49%) at seeking to leave the country for more promising prospects leading to brain drain. This is as a result of unfavourable working condition and economic crisis (Figure 2).

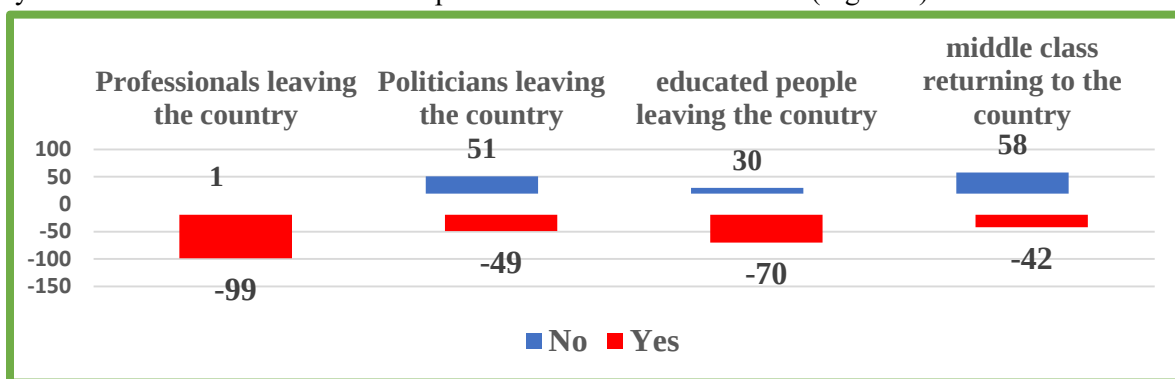


Figure 2: Opinion on the levels of brain drain in Nigeria

The indicator on public service is shown in table 1 below revealing that although access to public service is available, the general conditions and state of public service is very poor. There are inadequate access to public service, insufficient medical personnel with the state of health facilities generally poor; the poor having

no access to adequate housing as well as very poor state of infrastructures such as roads, airports and railroads. Only the level of school enrolment and literacy rates as far as education in Nigeria is concerned has scored high points according to the perception of the participants.

Table 1: Assessment of public service in Nigeria

Sectors	Instrument	Yes (%)	No (%)
Public Service	Is there equal access to public service	32	68
	Is the general condition of public service good	32	68
Health	Do people have adequate access to medicine	8	92
	Are there adequate medical facilities in the health centers	5	95
	Are there adequate medical professionals for the population	9	91
	Is there access to the source safe and potable water	36	64
	Is sanitation system adequate	18	82
Education	What is the level of school enrollment? is it different by gender	75	25
	What are the literacy rates? Is it different by gender	66	34
Shelter	Do the poor have access to adequate housing	7	93
	Are housing cost in line with the general economy	16	84
Infrastructure	Are there good roads	5	95
	Are there adequate airport for sustainable development	24	76
	Are there adequate railroad for sustainable development	11	89
	Is there sufficient and adequate fuel supply channel	26	74

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Nigeria in its entirety is fragile. However, when considered region by region, the best situation is that four of its regions are at warning stages. This, none-the-less portends danger for the country, it calls for urgent as well as deliberate steps to be taken in building national resilience in Nigeria. The study hereby proffers the following recommendations:

- i. The responsibility of strengthening national resilience should be given to any of Nigeria's strategic institutions). This means that strengthening of citizenship values as well as personal resilience must be carried out to realize national resilience in all of Nigeria's environment (Halimah, et al, 2020; Handoyo, et al, 2020). This again can be achieved in schools at all levels by including the subject matter in the curricula and in regular

orientations in all communities by the National Orientation Agency.

- ii. It is also essential that building or strengthening national resilience be based on national ideology. It is pertinent that national values be developed (Maharani et al, 2019) in addition to the national anthem. To strengthen national resilience, these national values and anthem should mandatorily be recited at schools, institutions and public fora both private and public.
- iii. The need to also increase the size of the Nigeria Police cannot be overemphasized, if the laws of the land must be obeyed without creating space for the so-called sacred cows in the society. This is because when the rule of law is disobeyed with no punitive action taken, national resilience cannot be optimized. This create an enabling environment of a level

playing ground that should reduce to the lowest minimum the high rate of brain drain Nigeria has suffered from in recent times.

- iv. Nigeria must tackle corruption head long beyond mere rhetorics and then use the money

for infrastructural development in health, education, shelter, transportation and all essential aspects of its national life. This is also an essential ingredient in increasing the country's stability thereby reducing its fragility.

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Appendix 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. COHESION (C) INDICATORS

Indicator 1: Security Apparatus Indicator (C1)

Monopoly on the Use of Force

- | | | |
|---|-----|----|
| • Is the military under civilian control? | Yes | No |
| • Do private militias exist against the state? | Yes | No |
| • Is there paramilitary activity? | Yes | No |
| • Do private armies exist to protect assets? | Yes | No |
| • Are there guerilla forces operating in the state? | Yes | No |
| • Do they control territory? | Yes | No |

Relationship Between Security and Citizenry

- | | | |
|---|-----|----|
| • Are the police considered to be professional? | Yes | No |
| • Is violence often state-sponsored and politically motivated? | Yes | No |
| • Is the government dealing well with any insurgency or security situation? | Yes | No |

Force

- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| • Does the military and police maintain proper use of force? | Yes | No |
| • Are there accusations of police brutality? | Yes | No |

Arms

- | | | |
|---|-----|----|
| • Is there a high availability of weapons? | Yes | No |
| • If in reconstruction, is there an adequate plan for demobilization, disarmament and reintegration of former combatants? | Yes | No |

Indicator 2: Factionalized Elites Indicator (C2)**Representative Leadership**

- | | | |
|---|----------|--------------|
| • Is leadership fairly elected? | Yes | No |
| • Is leadership representative of the population? | Yes | No |
| • Are there factionalized elites, tribal elites and/or fringe groups? | Yes | No |
| • How powerful are they? | Powerful | Not Powerful |
| • Is there a political reconciliation process? | Yes | No |
| • Is the military representative of the population? | Yes | No |

Identity

- | | | |
|---|-----|----|
| • Is there a sense of national identity? | Yes | No |
| • Are there strong feelings of nationalism? | Yes | No |
| • Or are there calls for separatism? | Yes | No |
| • Does hate speech via radio and media exist? | Yes | No |
| • Is religious, ethnic, or other stereotyping prevalent and is there scape-goating? | Yes | No |
| • Does cross-cultural respect exist? | Yes | No |

Resource Distribution

- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| • Is wealth concentrated in the hands of a few? | Yes | No |
| • Is there a burgeoning middle class? | Yes | No |
| • Does any one group control the majority of resources? | Yes | No |
| • Are resources fairly distributed? | Yes | No |
| • Does the government adequately distribute wealth through its tax system and taxes? | Yes | No |

Equality and Equity

- | | | |
|---|-----|----|
| • Are the laws democratic? | Yes | No |
| • Is the system representative of the population? | Yes | No |

Indicator 3: Group Grievance Indicator (C3)**Post-Conflict Response**

- | | | |
|---|-----|----|
| • Does a Truth & Reconciliation process exist? | Yes | No |
| ○ or is one needed? | Yes | No |
| • Have groups been reintegrated? | Yes | No |
| • Is there a plan for reconstruction and development? | Yes | No |
| • Are victims of past atrocities compensated or is there a plan to compensate them? | Yes | No |
| • Are war criminals apprehended and prosecuted? | Yes | No |
| • Do the public feel they are properly punished? | Yes | No |
| • Has amnesty been granted? | Yes | No |
| • Is there an equitable and efficient distribution of resources? | Yes | No |

Divisions

- | | | |
|--|------|-----|
| • Are there feelings of or reports of ethnic and/or religious intolerance and/or violence? | Yes | No |
| • Are groups oppressed or do they feel oppressed? | Yes | No |
| • Is there history of violence against a group or group grievance? | Yes | No |
| • How are intertribal and/or interethnic relations? | Good | bad |
| • Is there freedom of religion according to laws and practiced by society? | Yes | No |
| • Are there reports of religiously motivated violence? | Yes | No |

Communal Violence

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|----|
| • Is vigilante justice reported? | Yes | No |
|----------------------------------|-----|----|

- Are there reports of mass violence and/or killings? Yes No

2. Economic (E) Indicators

Indicator 4: Economic Decline and Poverty Indicator (E1)

Public Finances

- What level is the government debt? High low

Economic Conditions

- How are the interest rates – actual and projected? High low
- How is the inflation rate – actual and projected? High low
- What is the level of productivity? High low
- What is the GDP – actual and projected? High low
- How is the unemployment – current and rate of unemployment? High low

Economic Climate

- Consumer Confidence: How do people view the economy? Good bad
- How do experts view the economy? Good bad
- Is the business climate attractive to Foreign Direct Investment? Yes No
- Do the laws and access to capital allow for internal entrepreneurship? Yes No

Economic Diversification

- Economic Focus: Does one product make up the majority of the economy?

Yes No

Indicator 5: Uneven Economic Development Indicator (E2)

Economic Equality

- Economic Equality: Is there a large economic gap? Yes No
- Is the economic system discriminatory? Yes No
- Does economic justice exist? Yes No
- Are hiring practices generally fair – legally and perceived? Yes No
- Do equal rights exist in the society? Yes No
- Are there laws protecting equal rights? Yes No

Economic Opportunity

- Does free education exist and if so, to which grade? Yes No

If yes (level)

- Is the education provided relatively equal? Yes No
- Fair Housing: Is there a housing system for the poor? Yes No
- Do programs for job training exist? Yes No
- Do people know about the job training and is it available based on qualification and need? Yes No

Socio-Economic Dynamics Do ghettos and slums exist?

Yes No

Indicator 6: Human Flight and Brain Drain Indicator (E3)

Retention of Technical and Intellectual Capital

- Are professionals leaving the country? Yes No
- Are politicians or political elites leaving the country? Yes No
- Is there a relatively high proportion of higher educated people leaving the country? Yes No
- Is the middle class beginning to return to the country? Yes No

Economics

- Are there a large amount of remittances coming to families from relatives overseas? Yes No

Diaspora

- Is there growth of a country's exiled communities or Diasporas abroad? Yes No
- Does the Diaspora have an impact on the home state economy, or on politics in the home state? Yes No

POLITICAL (P) INDICATORS

Indicator 7: State Legitimacy Indicator (P1)

Confidence in the Political Process

• Does the government have the confidence of the people?	Yes	No
Political Opposition		
• Have demonstrations occurred?	Yes	No
• Have riots or uprisings occurred?	Yes	No
• Transparency: Is there evidence of corruption on the part of government officials?	Yes	No
• Are national and/or local officials considered to be corrupt?	Yes	No
Openness and Fairness of the Political Process		
• Do all parties enjoy political rights?	Yes	No
• Is the government representative of the population?	Yes	No
• Have there been recent peaceful transitions of power?	Yes	No
• What is the longer term history of power transitions?-----		
• Are elections perceived to be free and fair?	Yes	No
• Have elections been monitored and reported as free and fair?	Yes	No
Political Violence		
• Are there reports of politically motivated attacks, assassinations?	Yes	No
• Are there reports of armed insurgents and attacks?	Yes	No
• Have there been terrorist attacks or are they likely to occur?	Yes	No

Indicator 8: Public Services Indicator (P2)

General Provision of Public Services		
• Is there equal access to public services?	Yes	No
• What are the general conditions of public services?	Good	Bad
Health		
• Do people have adequate access to medicines?	Yes	No
• Are there an adequate number of medical facilities for all people?	Yes	No
• Are there an adequate number of medical professionals for the population	Yes	No
• What is the infant mortality rate – actual and projected? -----		
• Is there access to an adequate potable water supply?	Yes	No
• Is sanitation system adequate?	Yes	No
Education		
• What is the level of school enrollment?	High	Low
○ Is it different by gender?	Yes	No
• What are the literacy rates?	High	Low
○ Is it different by gender?	Yes	No
Shelter		
• Do the poor have access to adequate housing?	Yes	No
• Are housing costs in line with the general economy?	Yes	No
Infrastructure		
• Are roads adequate and safe?	Yes	No
• Are there adequate airports for sustainable development?	Yes	No
• Are there adequate railroads for sustainable development?	Yes	No
• Is there an adequate supply of fuel?	Yes	No

Indicator 9: Human Rights and Rule of Law Indicator (P3)

Civil and Political Rights		
• Do communal, labor, political, and/or minority rights exist and are they protected?	Yes	No
• Are there civil rights laws and are civil rights protected?	Yes	No
• Is the right to life protected for all?	Yes	No
Civil and Political Freedoms		
• Is freedom of speech protected?	Yes	No
• Is there freedom of movement?	Yes	No
• Does religious freedom exist?	Yes	No

• Does religious extremism exist?	Yes	No
Violation of Rights		
• Is there a history of systemic violation of rights by the government or entity therein?	Yes	No
• Are there reports of state- or group -sponsored torture?	Yes	No
• Are there labor laws or reports of forced labor or child labor?	Yes	No
• Are groups forced to relocate?	Yes	No
• Is there proper compensation?	Yes	No
Openness		
• Does independent media exist?	Yes	No
• Do its reporters feel free to publish accusations against those in power?	Yes	No
• Is there equal access to information?	Yes	No
Justice		
• If rights are not protected, is there a legal system in which that can be addressed?	Yes	No
• Do accused receive a fair and timely trial?	Yes	No
• Is this equal for all?	Yes	No
• Are there accusations or reports of arbitrary arrests?	Yes	No
• Are these state's sponsored?	Yes	No
• Are there accusations or reports of illegal detention?	Yes	No
• Are these state's sponsored?	Yes	No
• How are the prison conditions?	Good	bad
Equality		
• Is there a process and system that encourages political power sharing?	Yes	No

SOCIAL (S) INDICATORS

Indicator 10: Demographic Pressures Indicator (S1)

Population		
• Is the population growth rate sustainable?	Yes	No
• Is the current and projected distribution reasonable?	Yes	No
• Is population density putting pressure on areas of the state?	Yes	No
• What is the infant mortality rate – actual and projected? -----		
• Is there a high orphan population?	Yes	No
Public Health		
• Is there a system for controlling spreading of diseases, pandemics?	Yes	No
• Is there a high likelihood or existence of diseases of epidemics?	Yes	No
Food and Nutrition		
• Is the food supply adequate to deal with potential interruption?	Yes	No
• Is there likelihood of droughts?	Yes	No
• Is there a short-term food shortage or longer-term starvation?	Yes	No
• Are there long-term food shortages affecting health?	Yes	No
Environment		
• Do sound environmental policies exist and are the current practices sustainable?	Yes	No
• Is natural disaster likely, recurring?	Yes	No
• If a natural disaster occurs, is there an adequate response plan?	Yes	No
• Has deforestation taken place?	Yes	No
○ or are there laws to protect forests?	Yes	No
Resources		
• Does resource competition exist?	Yes	No
• Does land competition exist?	Yes	No
○ and are there laws to arbitrate disputes?	Yes	No
• Is there access to an adequate potable water supply?	Yes	No

Indicator 11: Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) Indicator (S2)

Refugees

- Are refugees likely to come from neighboring countries? Yes No
- Are there resources to provide for projected and actual refugees? Yes No
- Are there sufficient refugee camps Yes No
 - or are refugees integrated into communities? Yes No
- Are there reports of violence against refugees? Yes No
- Are conditions safe in refugee camps? Yes No

Internally Displaced Persons

- How many IDPs are there in relation to population? Adequate Not Adequate
- Are IDPs likely to increase in the near future? Yes No
- Are there resources to provide for projected and actual IDPs? Yes No

Response to Displacement

- Is there access to additional resources from international community for refugees and/or IDPs? Yes No
- Are there plans for relocation and settlement of current IDPs and/or refugees? Yes No

CROSS-CUTTING (X) INDICATOR
Indicator 12: External Intervention Indicator (X1)

Political Intervention

- Is there external support for factions opposed to the government? Yes No

Force Intervention

- Are foreign troops present? Yes No
- Are military attacks from other countries occurring? Yes No
- Is there external military assistance? Yes No
- Are there military training exercises with other nations or support of military training from other states? Yes No
- Is there a peacekeeping operation on the ground? Yes No
- Is there external support for police training? Yes No
- Are covert operations taking place? Yes No

Economic Intervention

- Is the country receiving economic intervention or aid? Yes No
- Is the country dependent on economic aid? Yes No

Overall, what is your assessment of the fragility of the Nigeria State in the following geopolitical regions? Please tick ☐

	Very sustainable (purple)	Sustainable (blue)	Stable (green)	Warning (yellow)	Alert (red)
North-west					
North-east					
North-central					
South-west					
South-east					
South-south					

What in your opinion should be done to improve the resilience or reduce the fragility of Nigeria?
