

SURMOUNTING NIGERIA'S PRESENT INSECURITY: ESSENTIALITY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS' POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria's present insecurity situation has compelled various theories aimed at surmounting the condition. However, most of the theories emphasize ethno-religious dimensions than the character of policymaking to overcome the insecurity. Pundits barely deliberate the nexus between Nigeria's present insecurity and relegation of local governments' political communication (LGPC) in intergovernmental policymaking relations (IPR) to neutralize the circumstance. Incidentally, the overwhelming victims of Nigeria's present insecurity domicile within local government jurisdictions. Consequently, the study aims to accentuate what LGPC offers the Nigerian state to overcome the recent insecurity. Its all-encompassing objective is to promote consideration of LGPC in IPR to effectively overwhelm the current insecurity. It eclectically deploys political communication theory, a constructed Functional Intergovernmental Relations Model and political culture theory as its theoretic framework of analysis. The study's methodological orientation is explorative qualitative research design, based on secondary analyzed textual and interview qualitative data. It finds that non-consideration of LGPC as inputs – utilizing Nigerian local governments' experiences, advocacies, activisms, human cum material resources and policy suggestions - in the IPR to mitigate the insecurity ultimately worsens the circumstance. Incessant discounting of local government inputs in the problem-solving policymaking schemes by the higher tiers demonstrates why Nigeria's present insecurity remains intractable. The reality of IPR in Nigeria is that feedback of local governments for the resolution of societal disorders like insecurity is habitually disregarded. Conclusively, the study theorizes that Nigeria's present insecurity will continue to exacerbate if local government contributions are not considered in the alleviation dynamics.

Keywords: Political communication; Nigeria's present insecurity; intergovernmental policymaking relations (IPR); local governments' political communication (LGPC); Functional Intergovernmental Relations Model

INTRODUCTION

Perception of insecurity has garnered various conceptual interpretations, meanings, undertones, imports and subtexts. For instance, to the layman, insecurity implies the exposure to peril, menace or the absence of organized protection against danger or threat. In this sense, reference to insecurity indicates pathetic policing that does not protect citizens from the harm of criminals. Or, it is regarding ineffective military combat capacity that fails to safeguard against the incessant threat from organized terrorists and criminal gangs. Another layman's perception of

insecurity infers an individual's sense of apprehension, uncertainty or perception. This relates to deficiency, self-doubt or non-confidence in one's abilities/skills/competencies (APA Dictionary of Psychology, undated). In this vein, fear of job loss or distress over being jilted reflects a sensation of insecurity. Generally, psychologists agree that insecurity impacts negatively on sufferers' emotional, physical and mental state, and victims' coping abilities (Sverke, Hellgren & Naswall, 2002).

Terminologically too, insecurity connotes an institutional-administrative capability, capacity, dimension, process and performance. In this sense, combating insecurity is the business of the military forces, police, civil defense apparatuses and para-military outfits, as well as the governance policymaking dimension and process. By this notion, insecurity is concerning the conventional powers related to both operational and general attributes of governmental functionality to entrench security (Filippa & Nikolas, 2009). It is worth noting that the study emphasizes more of the governance intergovernmental policymaking relations (IPR) than the performances of the armed forces as institutional-administrative attributes of insecurity.

Without a doubt, insecurity is one of the major social problems incapacitating Nigeria's ability to attain sustainable development (Maigari & Abdul-Qadir, 2017). Overwhelming theorization about insecurity generally in Nigeria links the ailment to deep-rooted internecine crises of ethnic and religious outlooks. Although, there is some truth as revealed in historiographical analysis that the ethno-religious dimension is a considerable instigator of the insecurity disorder of Nigeria (Iyekekpolo, 2020; Egharevba & Aghedo, 2016; et al). This is why Omede and Omede (2015) conclude that Nigeria's insecurity often resonates with the problem of intra and inter-ethnic cum religious squabbles.

It is given that security is a machination that is entangled in governance. Therefore, interrogating the governance sphere of intergovernmental relations dealing with defeating insecurity requires emphasis. Researches hardly interrogate the connection between Nigeria's present insecurity and patrimonialism of the higher tiers over local governments in the IPR schemes. Perhaps, consequent upon the insignificant scholarships exploring disregard of local governments' inputs in the IPR process for improving security is the reason why disorders like insecurity persist. Arguably, therefore, for the higher tiers to discount local government inputs - in the form of their political communication - to undo the insecurity in Nigeria perchance constitutes the major lacuna in solving the situation. Thus, the purpose of this study was to analyze the import of local governments' political communication (LGPC) in Nigeria's IPR between the higher tiers (i.e. particularly state governments) and local governments to surmount the country's present insecurity condition. This prescriptive study is borne of the need to alleviate the insecurity situation Nigeria is presently experiencing. Consequently, a primary goal of the study is to theorize that the present insecurity in Nigeria remains unabated because the LGPC as inputs in the assuagement policymaking dynamics through the IPR to address this social ill currently in Nigeria is not considerably.

TERMINOLOGICAL CONCERNS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The study is fashioned along with operationalization of some key terms namely Nigeria's Present insecurity situation, IPR and local governments' political communication (LGPC). By implication, the key terms operationalized herein are beyond their common, ordinary and technical meaning or parlance.

Nigeria's Present Insecurity

The Niger Delta insurgency cum militancy and election-related political conflicts/violence do not constitute Nigeria's present insecurity in the study. Operationalized herein, Nigeria's present insecurity comprises of the carnages associated with Boko Haram, Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP) and Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN) terrorism (Okafor & Onoja, 2021); and arms-bearing herders' that clash with farmers (Arinze, 2021). Others are activities linked to banditry and cattle rustling (Onwuzuruigbo, 2021); the terrorist inclinations of "unknown gunmen" (The Cable News [online], Wednesday, Dec. 29, 2021); activities of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) (Ezemenake & Prouza, 2016) and carnage linked to Sunday Igboho-led Yoruba Nation Group (BBC News [online], July 26, 2021). Although IPOB and Yoruba Nation Group claim to be fighting against political marginalization and butchery of peoples of their ethnic nationalities, the killings associated with their activities cause these groups to be operationalized as part and parcel of Nigeria's present insecurity.

It is to be stressed that the code-named insecurity activities enumerated above are those the study considers as Nigeria's present insecurity. These insecurity happenings are prominent in the last decade and a half of Nigeria's Fourth Republic which commenced in 1999. For instance, Abiodun, Asaolu and Ndubuisi (2020) note that a United Nations' refugee agency assessment posits that insecurity accentuated by terrorism in Nigeria has resulted in over 2.5 million Nigerians becoming internally displaced persons in the last sixteen years. A UNHCR assessment (undated) holds that the terrorism-disposed insecurity in Nigeria has caused severe humanitarian crises with over 3.2 million uprooted from their aboriginal spaces, plus above 2.9 million individuals becoming internally displaced persons (IDPs) in North-Eastern Nigeria alone. Also, the same UNHCR assessment further noted that within the last decade of terrorist activities in Nigeria, over 684,000 Nigerians live as IDPs in Cameroon, Chad and Niger Republic. A World Economic Forum Report (undated) also reports that Nigeria's insecurity has forced over 304,000 citizens to become refugees roaming in neighbouring West African nations.

Intergovernmental Policymaking Relations

Nominally, intergovernmental relations (IGR) refers to the inter-relationships between all the tiers of government in a political state over governance. It is a formal structure of coordination among governments towards development as its end goal. Marando and Florestano (1992) have stressed that IGR also covers the notion of intergovernmental management (IGM). Hence, the scope of IGR will include topics bothering on IGM's coverage areas like multijurisdictional decision-making context, intergovernmental networking and inclusiveness of non-governmental

organizations and non-state actors in addressing social problems such as insecurity. According to Agranoff (2001), IGR often occurs vertically (i.e. top-down inter-governmental relationship usually formalized by devolutionary practices) and horizontally (i.e. relationship between tiers at the lateral level, e.g. inter-state or local governments relations). By deduction, therefore, IPR refers to both vertical and horizontal interactions amongst the tiers of governments towards formulating policies to mitigate developmental contradictions such as Nigeria's present insecurity condition. Consequently, by operational indication herein, an aspect of IPR is about the mannerism in IGR processes of incorporating local government inputs or otherwise towards formulating policies to mitigate social upheavals like insecurity circumstances.

Local Governments' Political Communication (LGPC)

In operationalizing this term, it is first necessary to clarify the meaning of political communication. It has been established that political communication is related to two academic fields: political and communication sciences. The political aspect relates to politics while the communication aspect relates to messaging. In this context, politics expresses happenings in the IPR, while the messaging encompasses activities that tend to constitute determinants of legitimation of decisions taken to ameliorate a condition. As regards messaging, Salawu (2013) agrees that communication is a tool of propaganda technique that shape, influence and determine social outcomes. Therefore, in the study, LGPC has to do with messaging connected to politics in local government areas, especially from the local political authorities. Okudolo (2021) has stressed that LGPC naturally has bearing on IPR in all political systems in the processing of surmounting development challenges.

Numerous analyses of Nigeria's insecurity allude that the summation of the condition is not far removed from the deep-seated religious and ethnic misgivings. The role that ethnicity and religion play in the Nigerian political economy, particularly in exacerbating insecurity has been much stressed (Iyekekpolo, 2020; Egharevba & Aghedo, 2016; Okpaga, Chijoke & Eme, 2012; *et al*). Thus, the general notion about activities worsening the proclivities of criminality in Nigeria is that they are by-products of ethnic and religious acrimonies. This explains why ethnoreligious maneuvers are considered basic and key to correcting Nigeria's present insecurity by many intellectual examinations of the subject. Hence, this thinking has given rise to the promotion of moral rejuvenation and ethnoreligious tolerance as crucial panaceas to resolving insecurity in Nigeria (Eze, 2021; Robert-Okah, 2014; Aleyomi, 2012). Indeed, a prominent feature of political economy analysis of insecurity in Africa is about the mobilization and manipulation of the poverty of its religious practices and her egregious mutual-ethnic suspicion (Buscher, 2018; Olanrewaju, Omotosho, Alabi & keshiro, 2019). Particularly in the Nigerian context, scholarships tend to play up mostly the ethnic-religious dimensions as potent resolutions to surmount the insecurity of the country over the policymaking process. Although Adamolekun (2013) notes the various assumptions of the causes and solutions to Nigeria's insecurity allegedly flow from "bad" religiosity and ethnic relations, he undoubtedly recognizes the failings of public policy to diminish insecurity.

The study does recognize ethnic and religious rifts as contributory to provoking insecurity in Nigeria, but it considers the failures of implemented security policies of the country

to curtail the situation reinforces the need to pay more attention to Nigeria's IPR culture. We argue that what can best account for widespread failures of institutional-administrative performances, as operationalized here, to overcome Nigeria's present insecurity situation is the culture of IPR. Nwagboso (2018) and Adofu and Alhassan (2018) support our argument. They agree that anti-insecurity policies devoid of inclusive inter-government policymaking coordination give credence to why insecurity in Nigeria is worsening. Absence of inclusive policymaking arrangement by not taking cognizance of local government inputs to generate optimal solutions echo the failure-prone-policy-thesis theory (see Sambo, 1999). This aforementioned view underlines why it is necessary to scrutinize the prime political culture of policymaking to combat the present insecurity situation of Nigeria.

The aforesaid point underscores the study's theory of Nigeria's present insecurity. Theory, as used here, aligns with Ojo's (1998) and Chude's (2002) notions. It is an abstract generalization about a phenomenon of which the generation of the theory takes the form of a proposition asserting the relationship of uniformity between variables beginning with observation, generalization and explanation of empirical behaviour, events, activities and realities of the situation. It involves systematic analyses of a problem to engender solutions.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is anchored on an eclectic theoretical framework. Theoretic perspectives essentially help to strengthen understanding of the workings of social phenomena like the two variables (i.e. IPR and LGPC) being investigated. Accordingly, the study is premised on the political communication theory, a Functional Intergovernmental Relations Model developed by Okudolo (2017) and political culture theory.

Political Communication Theory

Proponents of the political communication theory include Denton and Woodward (1998), Swanson and Nimmo (1990), and McNair (2018). This theory addresses how communication influences or shapes or determines social outcomes in public affairs like policymaking and mitigating insecurity. It also is concerned with the way communication in the form of news, views, opinions, information generally command perception, especially of political actors. According to Swanson and Nimmo (1990), political communication is the determined use of communication to actualize a kind of public good. Similarly, McNair (2018) concurs that political communication theory is highly visible in the agenda-building process of political gladiators in public dealings. Thus, within this context, political communication theory emphasizes the contents of communication that contribute to policymaking and problem-solving schemes through the intergovernmental relations process.

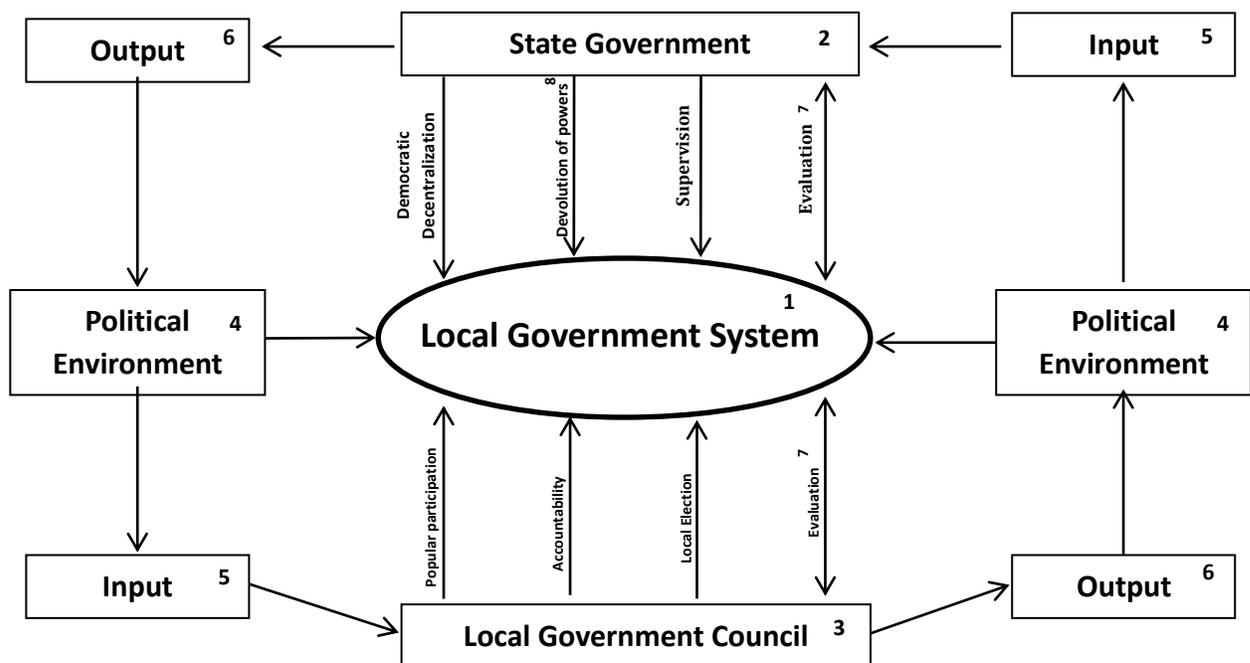
The theory of political communication stresses the content of communication such as narrated experiences, political views, policy proposals cum suggestions, expressed political interests cum aspirations, and even ideological viewpoints from political debates. Therefore, a political institution's view or opinion, whether verbal or written, as well as expressed notions

constitute political communication. Carey's (2009) notion of culture-import elucidates further conceptualization of political communication. Carey posits that the messaging in public talks or interviews, as well as activities like protests and demonstrations, constitute political communication. Consequently, political communication theory covers various forms of messaging like verbal and written statements, protests, riots, criticism, aired interviews, political behaviour and attitude of political institutions. In unique cases, even the hair, dressing and flamboyant lifestyles of political actors constitute political communication.

In this context, political communication is both verbal and written messaging. Thus, the context's notion of LGPC, captures local governments' policy programmes, political campaigns, manifestos and propaganda declarations. Others are public discussions/debates, political speeches and news emanating from local government domains inclined to be of a strategic gain in the IPR schemes to surmount Nigeria's current insecurity. Our context's elements of LGPC give credence to Bakir's (2013) view of strategic political communication (SPC). Bakir's theory postulates that whatever form of expression political communication takes, its ulterior motive is to persuade, be calculative and be focused on intents expected to influence outcomes or end-goals, especially of governance outcomes like mitigating insecurity in Nigeria.

Functional Intergovernmental Relations Model

Figure 1: Functional Intergovernmental Relations Model (Okudolo, 2017)



NB: The components of this constructed model to this context are described below:

- i. The ideal local government system in terms of significant appreciation of LGPC in governance (i.e. IPR) to mitigate current Nigeria's insecurity.
- ii. Depicting both state and federal government institutions (especially state governments), and their expectations in optimally engaging/involving LGPC in taking policy decisions through the IPR schemes to surmount present Nigeria's insecurity.
- iii. The LGPC in the form of verbal and written statements, protests, riots, criticism, reactions, aired interviews, and propaganda declarations. Others are public discussions/debates, political speeches and news emanating from local government domains inclined to be suggestions of a strategic input necessary in the IPR schemes to optimally surmount Nigeria's current insecurity.
- iv. The IPR environment. Referring to the prevailing character in the IPR for policy formulation to overcome present Nigeria's insecurity.
- v. The ensuing social problem is under scrutiny (i.e. Nigeria's present insecurity).
- vi. Authorized and implemented policy actions and decisions. These policies/decisions ought to emanate from interest aggregation and articulation among the tiers, expectedly with the utilization of LGPC.
- vii. The outcome of the implemented authoritative policy actions. The evaluation results are what constitute fresh sets of inputs that go back into the policymaking environment to be legislated on.
- viii. The outcome-effect of LGPC that compels federal-state governments' decentralization/devolution of powers/functions/responsibilities to local governmental authorities in line with overwhelming Nigeria's present insecurity.

The constructed model labelled the Functional Intergovernmental Relations Model draws many insights from the ideas, foci and beliefs encapsulated in the system theory as postulated by David Easton (Easton, 1957). The constructed model, like the system theory, reifies the centrality of situational, locational and generic ecology/environment in which social problems ensue. Public administration scholars like Augustus Adebayo (1990) accede to the thoughtful consideration of the situation, location and generic ecology/environment within which societal problems arise to be able to grapple with mitigating them. For instance, no functional policy solutions can materialize to address social or societal problems without appreciating its situation, location and most times its generic nature in the social system.

This constructed model also integrates elements of the role theory (e.g. Biddle, 1986) in grappling with the failure of IPR to surmount Nigeria's present insecurity circumstance. Role theory is indicative of the characters, duties, behaviours, and norms, as well as expectations of societally defined categories of actors/agencies like governmental political authorities and institutions (i.e. federal-state-local governments) in mitigating social problems. That is, the observed output of activities of various actors/agencies in policymaking operating within a socio-political system is imperative for predicting outcomes. Again, the role theory aspect of our constructed model indicates that the social behaviour of the actors/agencies in policymaking influences determines and defines outcomes within specific social contexts. And that these actors/agencies conduct in policymaking is affected by socio-cultural factors like the prevailing political culture.

Given the abovementioned background, a social problem like policy failures against insecurity constitutes the input to be considered in the formulation of mitigation policy/programme/action plan by specified actors/agencies. The policy failures also can be feedbacks which are fresh inputs as well. The process of formalizing a policy to overcome the input goes into a sphere which the model describes as the political environment, also designated in this context as policymaking environment. It is at this stage that the IPR is considerably very critical to effectively resolving an input like Nigeria's insecurity.

The product of the political or policymaking environment is referred to as output. Outputs are in the form of concrete policy actions being implemented and executed. The outputs are expectedly a by-product of a coordinated, corporative and cooperative federal-state-local IPR process. The implemented outputs in turn produce outcomes that go back into the policymaking or political environment as fresh inputs to be addressed. All in all, this constructed model provides the necessary understanding of the important place of LGPC in the IPR schemes to overcome Nigeria's insecurity. This model can foretell the result of a critique of how policy regimes that do not bear sound LGPC input probably do fail to effectively combat a societal problem like Nigeria's present insecurity.

Political Culture Theory

A political culture theory-based analysis is useful to explain how the prevailing behaviour of actors/agencies within a social system influence, shape and determine the prevalence of outputs and outcomes of implemented policy decisions. The proponents of the political culture theory include Almond (1993), Spinrad (1976) and Chilton (1988). This theory postulates that in every society, actors/agencies portray dominant and prevalent attitudes, behavioural propensities, characteristic orientations, and belief manifestations that mirror normality, ideology, values or culture. Chilton (1988) for example posits that political culture is revealing of how prevalent behaviours, actions, attitudes and tendencies of political actors/agencies regulate culture and in turn how the actors'/agencies' actions are affected by the culture they entrench. This implies that this theory provides an understanding of habits, attitudes, actions and decision dynamics (i.e. behaviouralism) and the outputs/outcomes of behavioural tendencies (i.e. interpretivism).

Ekeh (1989: 1) theorizes that a political culture-based analysis "attempts to capture the enduring political elements of society – including its values, norms and institutions – as they emerge from one generation to another". In this context, Ekeh's (1989) opinion denotes that there is likely a cultural habit prevalent in the IPR of formulating policies *state qua state*. Furthermore, deductive reasoning infers that a dominant character of IPR between the higher tiers and local authorities exists. Empirically, it is doubtless that the IPR between the higher tiers (especially state governments) and local governments in Nigeria is not one of a partnership but dominantly the form of superior-subordinate kind (Okudolo, Breakfast & Mekoa, 2021; Okudolo & Onah, 2019; Okudolo, 2019). The prevailing political culture regarding the participation of local governments in the policy formulation mechanics towards solving national social problems in Nigeria is one of subordination, marginalization and ignoring their inputs. Nigeria consistently displays a political culture in which the higher tiers deliberately renounce the sacrosanctity of local autonomy to advance development generally (Okudolo, 2021). For instance, Nigerian state

governments often implement their constitutionally allotted powers over local government such that they undermine effective local administrations to meaningfully participate to surmount most of the society's social problems (Okudolo, 2017).

Eclectically explained, our theoretical framework assumes that the prevalence of parochialism and discriminatory considerations in policy formulation amounts to political culture. Meaning that where LGPC does not constitute a fundamental aspect as input in the IPR to surmount social problems amount to a political culture in policymaking. Under the present insecurity circumstance in Nigeria, local governmental authorities have important role-playing as an actor/agency of policymaking governance. Consequently, to effectively prevail over Nigeria's present insecurity, the higher tiers (i.e. federal-state government) must consider the LGPC in instituting solution-policy programmes against the menace. As earlier noted, one obvious feature of Nigeria's current insecurity is that the overwhelming victims are the local government dwellers. Hence, from the constructed model, LGPC has potential policy influence to bring about effective mitigation of the situation if the higher tiers absorb a political culture of partnership rather than the subordination of LGPC in the IPR.

The assumption that Nigeria's present insecurity is fundamentally a problem of ethnicity and religion will not hold water as long as LGPC is not well-ingrained in the resolutions authorized to overcome the insecurity. Notwithstanding recourse to ethno-religious explanations and formulated policy regimes based on the illumination of religious and ethnic variables to proffer solution machinations, our eclectic theoretic posture introduces a more poignant perspective. The study theorizes that a political culture that ensures the evolution of outputs from the IPR process to surmount Nigeria's current insecurity derives from devoted contemplation of LGPC as inputs by the higher tiers will better serve to effectively entrench security in the country. Given the aforesaid, restored security of lives and properties in Nigeria is likely the outcome of political culture in IPR the study prefers. As such, if the LGPC is not given eminence as input per overcoming Nigeria's insecurity situation through the IPR, outcomes of implemented policies are doomed to worsen the insecurity condition. In short, the study stresses the important role of local governments in mitigating the present insecurity in Nigeria and the significance of incorporating LGPC in the IPR schemes.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Problem statement

The intellectual opinion that is yet to gain traction is that LGPC is absent as input formulating policies to combat Nigeria's present insecurity. So far, systematic analysis and evaluation of works of literature on the present insecurity situation of Nigeria show gross insensitivity of the import of LGPC in the IPR schemes for producing enduring policy solutions to the predicament. Borrowing Jinadu's (2005) syllogism, Nigeria's present insecurity condition is not fueled by deep-rooted ethnoreligious misapplications and squabbles, but overwhelmingly by deliberate alienation of LGPC in the solution-driven measures. In the last decade and half of Nigeria's socio-political history, insecurity is the dominant problem of nation-building, good governance,

citizens' socio-economic betterment and state development generally of Nigeria (Abiodun, Asaolu & Ndubuisi, 2020; Adofu & Alhassan, 2018; *et al*). Therefore, interrogating the illegitimacy of security policies within the aforesaid time and space becomes imperative.

By implication, the process of intergovernmental security policymaking relations is an important imperative in the production of solutions to Nigeria's present insecurity. Hence, relying on Ohlson and Soderberg's (2002) syllogism, without strong consideration of Nigerian LGPC as inputs in the IPR-solving policy formulation schemes to surmount the country's current insecurity, the formulated solutions and actions will not produce optimal positive outcomes. Less the role of LGPC and the local government system in the formulation of action plans and their implementation against the insecurity, greater the prospects of the accentuation of Nigeria's present insecurity. Explicitly, the study reifies the belief that the politico-structural and institutional processes and practices in the IPR dynamics to curtail Nigeria's present insecurity that snubs the LGPC, especially in the policy formulation stage, cannot result in the defeat of the malady. To further stress the aforesaid, habitual brushing off the LGPC as inputs in formulating insecurity mitigation policies through the structure of IGR represents what Hyden and Venter (2001: 2) defined as "regime – the character of rules and norms guiding politics". This means that the existence of such a tendency in Nigeria symbolizes the country's dominant cultural trait of the policymaking environment. Guided by the above-stated assertions, the study couches this hypothetical assumption:

A strong consideration for local government political communication by the higher tiers in formulating public policies to overcome Nigeria's present insecurity is more likely to mitigate, contain, and neutralize the destabilizing effects of the current insecurity that accentuate internal displacement of people, ethno-religious mistrust, citizens' alienation and socio-economic afflictions and underdevelopment of Nigerians in general, and also help to entrench intergovernmental policymaking cooperation and coordination, as well as the strengthening of local government capability in the dynamics to defeat the present insecurity in Nigeria

Research Orientation

The study employs the explorative qualitative research design. This methodological approach was utilized because it enables insightful explication of the workings of a novel phenomenon like evaluating the dysfunctionality of an IPR activities/actions that accentuate the nation's present insecurity. Put differently, the application of this methodological research approach provided us with a clearer picture of why Nigeria's present insecurity situation remains intractable. By basing the study's data orientation on this research methodology, the researchers were able to deepen their understanding of the LGPC-IPR nexus to triumph over the current insecurity in Nigeria. This deepening of knowledge about overcoming insecurity in Nigeria by utilizing the explorative qualitative research design concurs with Alase's (2017) view that the methodological approach heightens insight into a social problem or phenomenon.

Data Collection

The study relied on the secondary analysis of qualitative data (SAQD) technique as enunciated by Ruggiano and Perry (2019) to generate data. This implies that the textual and interview data that were analyzed are not primary to the study but previously generated, analyzed and published. SAQD denotes secondary data by nature that are collected from already published sources. The first step to utilizing SAQD in the study required a clear delineation of the objective(s) of the research. The above step would then enable explicit demarcation of the theme(s) the study examines which in this context are LGPC and IPR. Then, what followed was sourcing for the relevant cum related textual and interview data from published materials. The sourced published materials include online reports, academic treatises, printed/televised news reports and official documents. In all, the collected data sparked critical insights into why Nigeria's present insecurity remains unabated; the import of LGPC in IPR to abate the insecurity; the essentialness of LGPC in the IPR to overcome the insecurity.

Data Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) as advocated by van Dijk (1999 & 1993) was the adopted data analysis technique. By utilizing CDA, the study engaged in an analysis of the various forms of political communication expressions to the extent that they shape, influence and determine power relations (i.e. political communication theory). Also, through CDA, it enabled insights into how power relations shape, influence and determine dominance among governmental institutions that are agents in policymaking for enacting/formulating and legitimating policy actions/programmes (i.e. our constructed Functional Intergovernmental Relations Model). Again, the utilized CDA enabled insightful interpretation of the interface between the dominant societal norm, philosophy, behaviour, knowledge, attitude, ideology and standard in policymaking towards the shaping, influencing and determining of outputs/outcomes of the process (i.e. political culture theory). Essentially, this data analysis technique enabled meaningful scrutiny of the evolved thematic codes (Slembrouck. 2001) like Nigeria's present insecurity, LGPC and IPR.

DATA PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

Table 1: Result and Data Interpretation

Result of the CDA treatment of the data derived from the application of SAQD is presented in the Table 1 below.

Data	Source	Remarks/Exert(quote)/Analysis
Headline: "Local government system cause	Vanguard online, May 13, 2021. Access https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/05/local-government-system-cause-of-worsening-insecurity-	Quote: "President of the Senate, Dr. Ahmad Lawan, has said that the worsening security situation in the country was as a result of a

of worsening insecurity — Lawan”	%E2%80%95-lawan/	lack of functional local government system."
Headline; “Local Govt reforms, solution to insecurity, infrastructure challenges — Reprs”	Vanguard online, April 8, 2021 Access from: https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/04/local-govt-reforms-solution-to-insecurity-infrastructure-challenges-reprs/	Remarks: In this report by Vanguard’s reporter Tordue Salem at Abuja, “the Deputy Speaker, House of Representatives, Ahmed Wase said on Thursday that the raging insecurity in the country could be drastically addressed with the reformation of the local tier of government.
News: Aminu Bello-Masari of Katsina State had said that 10 out of the 34 Local Government Areas in the state are under the control and severe attacks by bandits daily.	By Sahara Reporters, New York, Aug 05, 2021 report Access from: http://saharareporters.com/2021/08/05/how-bandits-currently-control-10-local-governments-buhari%E2%80%99s-home-state	Analysis: In the report, the governor noted that “the issue of security in the country is a collective responsibility not only for the security agencies”. Noteworthy is that the anti-insecurity architecture of Katsina State does not derive from constructive LGPC inputs.
Headline: “Local govt autonomy will address Nigeria’s challenges — NULGE President”	Nigeria Tribune online, By Hakeem Gbadamosi - Akure On Oct 3, 2021. Access from: https://tribuneonlineng.com/local-govt-autonomy-will-address-nigerias-challenges-%E2%80%95-nulge-president/	Exert: According to the National President of the National Union of Local Government Employees (NULGE), Ambali Olatunji, that local autonomy will help Nigeria overcome most of its challenges, including poverty and insecurity.
Opinion: “What can be done to fight rural banditry in northern Nigeria?” B. Headline: “Community policing, solution to insecurity, says ALGON	Author Chukwuma Al Okoli Lecturer/Resident Researcher Department of Political Science, Federal University Lafia. Published Sep. 12, 2019. Access from : https://reliefweb.int/report/nigeria/what-can-be-done-fight-rural-banditry-northern-nigeria B. By Tajudeen Adebajo On Nov 21, 2021 The Nation online. Access from: https://thenationonlineng.net/community-policing-solution-to-insecurity-says-algon/	Remarks/Analysis: These two data underscore the point that Nigeria’s insecurity worsens due to the absence of an effective community policing mechanism which is a core legislative competency area of local government.

<p>News: “Borno gov is sole person funding civilian JTF, says spokesman”</p>	<p>Access from: https://www.thecable.ng/orno-gov-only-person-providing-funds-for-civilian-jtf-says-spokesman</p>	<p>Remarks/Analysis: According to Isa Gusau, Gov. Kashim Shettima of Borno State's special adviser on communication and strategy, the state is solely funding civilian joint task force (JTF) aiding the war against Boko Haram. This depicts the absence of LGPC in the scheme to boost the morale of the over 20, 000 members of the task force.</p>
<p>Features: "Civilian JTF Demands For Guns, Decries Non-Recognition By Govt"</p>	<p>By the international centre for investigative reporting. Access from: https://www.icirnigeria.org/civilian-jtf-demands-for-guns-decries-non-recognition-by-govt/</p>	<p>Remarks/Analysis: The volunteer vigilante group urged the federal government to allow its members to carry arms and also complained of none appreciated or acknowledged by the federal government. This implies no form of dealings between the JTF and local governments.</p>
<p>Headline: “Zulum inaugurates new civilian JTF to fight Boko Haram terrorists”</p>	<p>The Guardian online, By Njadvara Musa, Maiduguri, Nov. 12, 2020. Access from: https://guardian.ng/news/zulum-inaugurates-new-civilian-jtf-to-fight-boko-haram-terrorists/</p>	<p>Remarks/Analysis: This denotes that JTF issues are solely domicile in state government legislative competence without an iota of LGPC input despite that the group operational areas are local domains.</p>
<p>Headlines: “Amotekun: South West Governors, IGP agree on state-based arrangement; shelve regional plan”. B. “South-East Governors Launch Regional Security Outfit, EBUBE AGU</p>	<p>Premium Times online, by Oladeinde Olawoyin February 14, 2020 Access from: https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/ssouth-west/377392-amotekun-south-west-governors-igp-agree-on-state-based-arrangement-shelve-regional-plan.html B. By Sahara Reporters, New York Apr 11, 2021 Access from: http://saharareporters.com/2021/04/11/south-east-governors-launch-regional-security-outfit-ebube-agu</p>	<p>Remarks/Analysis: This activity of governors designing security architecture denotes negotiation between federal-state governments without LGPC input.</p>
<p>Headlines: “IPOB rejects establishment of Ebubeagu security outfit in South East”.</p>	<p>The Guardian online, by Lawrence Njoku, Enugu 21 December 2021. Access from: https://guardian.ng/news/ipob-rejects-establishment-of-ebubeagu-security-outfit-in-south-east/</p>	<p>Remarks/Analysis: These headlines depict how individuals (i.e. Sunday Igboho) and groups (i.e. IPOB) symbolize control/dominance over the dynamics of Nigeria’s present</p>

<p>B. “Sunday Igboho Oyo State: Igangan Fulani crisis, Ondo herdsmen quit notice latest”.</p> <p>C. “Oyo: Sunday Igboho issues quit notice to Fulani”.</p> <p>D. “Why IPOB formed Eastern Security Network, by Kanu”.</p>	<p>B. By BBC News/Pigin, 25 January 2021. Access from: https://www.bbc.com/pid2gin/55781290</p> <p>C. Daily Trust news online, By Jeremiah Oke And Abbas Dalibi, Sun, 17 Jan 2021. Access from: https://dailytrust.com/oyo-sunday-igboho-issues-quit-notice-to-fulani</p> <p>D. The Guardian online, By Uzoma Nzeagwu, Awka, 16 December 2020. Access from: https://guardian.ng/news/why-ipob-formed-eastern-security-network-by-kanu/</p>	<p>insecurity more than LGPC.</p>
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DISCUSSION

The argument of Oboke and Ngwu (2021) about good governance is apt here. They infer that inclusive and participatory IPR between all the three tiers is emblematic of a preferred mechanism of policymaking that is elementary to good governance. The authors conceive good governance as a “set of policies intended to reform domestic politics” (ibid, p. 433) such as reforming the IPR stratagem by incorporating much of LGPC in resolving the insecurity in present-day Nigeria. For instance, the Channels News programme of May 13, 2021, at 10:00 p.m., aired the interview of Senate President Ahmad Lawan under the headline "Insecurity: We Must Go Back To Functional Local Govt Systems – Lawan”. By deduction, the Senate President in the interview believes that Nigeria’s IPR is failing to mitigate insecurity because it does not encompass the element of Oboke and Ngwu's conception of good governance. The above point can explain why Kolade Alabi in an aired interview on Channels Tv News of January 2, 2022, proposes a "bottom-top approach as part of efforts aimed at containing the rising insecurity" in Nigeria.

Studies have documented how the prevailing political culture of implementing constitutional provisions for local autonomy ultimately disentangles LGPC from the problem-solving mechanics through the IPR in Nigeria (Okudolo, 2017, 2019 & 2021; Okudolo & Onah, 2019; Okudolo, Breakfast & Mekoa, 2021; *et al*). These studies provide evidence of how Nigeria’s IPR political culture further the weakening of the optimum participation and contribution of Nigerian local governments to meaningful overcoming of national crises like the country’s present insecurity. For instance, the language of the operating Section 7(1) of the 1999

Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which guaranteed existence of democratically elected local government council is usually honoured more in breach.

State governments often impose unelected caretakers or administrators to govern their local government areas. Imposition of unelected stooges as local council leaders enables the state governors to intentionally ignore genuine LGPC inputs in the IPR to address Nigeria's present insecurity because the stooges are totally subservient to the Governor. The imposed unelected local leaders are more committed to do the bidding of their appointer. Hence, these stooges communicate LGPC surveillance information that rather launder the image of the state Governor as someone doing a good job with fighting insecurity in the state. Rather than actual and functional solution-driven informative LGPC coming into the IPR process, mostly misleading information get discussed. Also, it is common fact that the ruling state party usually hold domineering numerical ratio of legislators at the states' Houses of Assembly. This arrangement is usually deployed to support the use of unelected cum imposed local leaders to safeguard the popularity of the Governor and his or her party at the grassroots level. So, what often comes as LGPC input about insecurity at the grassroots under the watch of unelected local leaders is that the insecurity is the handiwork of opposition state political parties.

Another unconstitutional political cultural practice that weaken the impact of LGPC in Nigeria's IPR to mitigate the country's present insecurity is as regards the intergovernmental fiscal sharing relations between the state and local governments. Implementation by state governments of the Joint State-Local Government Account (JSLGA) as provided in Section 162 (5)(6) whereupon federal allocations of local governments are paid into has not helped to financially strengthen local governments' to make their LCPC effectual in surmounting Nigeria's insecurity. Also, and oftentimes, state governments seize on the letters of Sections 7(1) and Section 8 of the 1999 Constitution that provided for a State-Local Governments Joint Economic Planning to confiscate federal allocations in the JSLGA due to the local governments for their selfish projects. This is why critical stakeholders contributing to the process to defeat Nigeria's present insecurity like the Nigerian Union of Local Government Employees (NULGE), federal legislators, even federal-government run armed security enterprises, gladiatorial opposition politicians at all levels and grassroots non-state actors such as the traditional institution, town unions, etc, continually demand for the fiscal independence cum empowerment of local governments to enable them effectively host local community policing services.

Rather than use the State-Local Governments Joint Economic Planning under Section 8 to empower community policing and place these outfits under the purview of local governments, state governments instead seize on the planning avenue to usurp functions and resources of the councils. This explains why most of the formally recognized grassroots security vigilance groups such as Amotekun, Ebube Agu, Civilian JTF, etc are run by state Governors but with funds actually forcefully appropriated by them from the JSLGA. The usurpation of community policing functions from the local governments have not helped to advance LGPC in mitigating Nigeria's present insecurity. Supposing the reality is that local governments are not only charged with community policing and have the fiscal, human and material resource-capacity to effectively operate these local security apparatuses, the LGPC will no doubt be a considerable aspect of IPR via the state-local government joint economic planning. Such will evidently promote the federal and state governments, as well as federal government's security forces to

collaborate, cooperate and partner more with community policing vigilance associations run by the local governments.

The belief is rife that the conventional approach and the prevailing political culture in Nigeria's IPR is the bane to overcoming the insecurity in Nigeria. Continued abdication of constructive utilization of LGPC as an elementary necessity to evolve solution programmes to vanquish Nigeria's present insecurity is the reason for the worsening state of the situation. This is why Brechnmacher (2019) comes to conclude that the deteriorating insecurity of Nigeria has much to do with the problem of local-level anti-insecurity stabilization exertions that are mostly ignored in IPR. Indeed, institutional propensities and political culture of the higher tiers in IPR that seem to be constitutional on the surface end up diminishing the pivotal role LGPC should play to abate the insecurity situation of the country. Hence, Okenyodo (2016) posits that institutional restructuring whereby LGPC has a greater impact in IPR to surmount Nigeria's insecurity is a welcome pursuit. It holds water that ingeniously designed deterrence and resolution mechanisms against insecurity deriving from grand input of LGPC will scale up the participation of local governments. Aside from that the bottom-up approach helps to improve LGPC in federal-state policymaking to combat insecurity, it is a known fact that such an approach facilitates the dismantling of local insecurity threats too.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing analysis, change from a top-down policymaking stratagem to a bottom-up approach to overcome Nigeria's present insecurity is a goal worth actualizing. The prevailing strategy in the IPR against insecurity that does not incorporate the input of LGPC will never address the security situation Nigeria is experiencing today. Thus, efforts to ensure that Nigeria's IPR platforms towards mitigating insecurity in the country are built on a mutual partnership of all the tiers, especially of active participation of local governments in the policymaking schemes should be vigorously pursued. It is important to have in place a mechanism whereby higher-level political institutions' security policymaking emerges from incorporating LGPC. Efforts to strengthen community policing operated by local governments too will go a long way to abate Nigeria's present insecurity. The popular impression is somewhat right that subordination of LGPC in the IPR has not resulted in well-articulated action policies to defeat Nigeria's present insecurity. Rather, the prevalent political culture of excluding LGPC inputs in instituting national/state security policies and programmes continually worsens the insecurity condition of the country.

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