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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32631/pb.2024.2.06>**OLAGOKE OLUWAFEMI AWOTAYO,***Master of Science (M.Sc.),**Osun State University (Osogbo, Nigeria),**Department of Political Sciences;* <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9768-8910>,*e-mail: olagoke.awotayo@uniosun.edu.ng;***BOLAJI OLUMUYIWA OMITOLA,***Ph.D.,**Osun State University (Osogbo, Nigeria),**Department of Political Sciences;* <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8114-5516>,*e-mail: bolaji.omitola@uniosun.edu.ng***DECENTRALIZING SECURITY ARCHITECTURE: EVALUATING FEDERALISM'S
ROLE IN ENHANCING SECURITY FRAMEWORKS IN NIGERIA**

This study delves into the intricate security landscape of Nigeria, a nation grappling with a myriad of challenges such as terrorism, insurgency, banditry, and communal conflicts. The existing centralized security architecture has been found wanting in its ability to effectively mitigate these threats and safeguards the well-being of Nigerian citizens. To gain a deeper understanding of these issues, the study employs a well-structured questionnaire as its primary data collection tool and utilizes a descriptive analytical model as its theoretical framework. It leverages descriptive quantitative tools to scrutinize the collected data, aiming to provide a logical interpretation of the situation. The study identifies lack of decentralization in the security architecture and skewed federalism as key contributing factors to the prevailing insecurity in Nigeria. It uncovers a multitude of causal variables that contribute to the internal insecurity in the country. A significant finding of the study is the correlation between the over-centralization of the security architecture and the rising insecurity across the nation. It posits that the higher the level of centralization, the greater the alienation of citizens in the security of their local areas. In light of these findings, the study advocates for Nigeria to embrace the principles of true federalism. It recommends amendments to the 1999 constitution, suggesting that the majority of the items currently in the exclusive lists should be moved to the concurrent lists. This would pave the way for regional integration and the establishment of regional security outfits, such as the Amotekun in the south west, thereby fostering a more secure and harmonious nation.

Key words: *decentralisation, federalism, security, architecture, security frameworks.*

Original article

INTRODUCTION. Nigeria faces immense security difficulties across its diverse regions, with terrorism plaguing the Northeast, banditry terrorizing the Northwest, and deadly clashes between farmers and herders straining the Middle Belt (Onuoha, 2014; Olubade, Ogunnoiki, 2020; Iwuamadi, Ngwu, Onyemaobi, 2021). Unfortunately, the country's centralized security apparatus has proven ineffective in adequately addressing these varied issues. The inability to ensure security has intensified calls to decentralize power and restructure security frameworks (Iwuamadi, Ngwu, Onyemaobi, 2021). In response, individual states have launched their own security initiatives, such as Operation Amotekun in Nigeria's Southwest region (Olubade, Ogunnoiki, 2020; Tade, 2023).

Scholars assert that local actors are paramount to peacebuilding efforts as they compre-

hend local security strategies and threats intimately (Tade, 2023). Operation Amotekun was established by the six Southwest states to combat rising criminality like kidnapping and clashes between herders and farmers, with its name "Amotekun" purposely chosen to evoke fear in violent offenders (Chi, Dayil, 2020). However, the endeavor faced resistance from federal authorities (Izokpu, 2022). While Operation Amotekun aims to support police efforts, Nigeria requires a thorough review of its national security policy to develop an integrated and comprehensive framework that addresses domestic drivers of insecurity (Chi, Dayil, 2020).

In summary, alternative security models must be explored given the centralized system's limitations. State-led initiatives such as Operation Amotekun demonstrate promise if well-coordinated across all stakeholders, though cooperation with

federal powers also proves integral. Inclusive security architecture is needed to resolve these issues,

Statement of the Problem

Nigeria's security landscape is beset with a multitude of challenges, including but not limited to terrorism, insurgency, banditry, and communal conflicts. The existing centralized security architecture has demonstrated its limitations in effectively mitigating these threats and safeguarding the safety and well-being of Nigerian citizens. Consequently, there is a pressing need to scrutinize the role of federalism in decentralizing the security framework to bolster security measures across the country. The crux of the problem lies in the current centralized security architecture, which centralizes power and decision-making authority in the hands of federal security agencies. This top-down approach has led to a lack of responsiveness, coordination, and effectiveness in addressing security challenges at the grassroots level. Federal security agencies often grapple with understanding and addressing the unique security dynamics and local nuances of different regions in Nigeria. By evaluating the role of federalism in enhancing security frameworks, the study aims to delve into the potential benefits of decentralization. Decentralizing the security architecture would entail empowering state and local governments to take on a more active role in security provision and encourage the establishment of state policing structures. This would enable them to tailor security strategies and responses to the specific needs and challenges of their respective states. This study seeks to address the inadequacies of the centralized security architecture in Nigeria by evaluating the role of federalism in enhancing homegrown security frameworks. The study hopes to offer insights and recommendations that can contribute to the development of a more effective and responsive security system that ensures the safety and well-being of all Nigerians. The ultimate goal is to create a security system that is not only robust and efficient but also respects the diversity and complexity of the Nigerian society.

PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH. This study evaluates federalism's role in enhancing Nigeria's security frameworks. It aims to assess the centralized system's efficacy and potential advantages of decentralization. The overarching goal is developing a security architecture that strengthens protection of all citizens while respecting regional differences. This research makes an important contribution by evaluating options for an improved, responsive system amid ongoing conflicts. The results will offer valuable guidance to policymakers on reforms needed to bolster Nigerian security and stability over the long term.

In accordance with this purpose, it is necessary to solve the following tasks:

1) to assess the current security architecture in Nigeria and identify its strengths and weaknesses;

2) to examine the concept of federalism and its potential role in enhancing security frameworks in Nigeria;

3) to analyze the impact of decentralizing security architecture on the effectiveness of security measures in Nigeria;

4) to propose recommendations for improving the security frameworks in Nigeria through the implementation of federalism principles.

LITERATURE REVIEW. Over the years, Nigeria has seen a transformation in its security framework, adapting to a range of domestic and international pressures (MaiBasira 2021; Nwanze, 2022). The centralized governance framework, originally instituted during colonial times to enforce authority and stability, persisted even after gaining independence. This top-down approach formulates policies at the national echelon, often overlooking the specific requirements of local communities (Noxolo 2016; Kołodziejczy, Huigen, 2023). This approach has faced scrutiny for its effectiveness in local security and responsiveness across Nigeria's diverse regions (Hills, 2000; Okoli, Iortyer, 2014). Current issues like insurgency and conflicts further expose limitations of strict centralization (Campbell, 2013), sparking calls for re-evaluation and reforms allowing greater flexibility and inclusion (Aghedo, Osumah, 2012). While some evolution occurred, urgent need remains for a more decentralized, community-focused model to effectively address complex challenges (Onuoha, 2010). This requires reorienting strategies based on empirical research and local understanding.

True federalism concept in Nigeria is debated, as centralization often curtails state autonomy (Awotayo et al., 2013; Umoh, Adeyi, 2019). The discourse on decentralizing policing has been a prominent topic since Nigeria's transition back to democracy in 1999. This ongoing debate has highlighted various perspectives and considerations regarding the restructuring of policing systems to enhance security and governance (Agboga, 2020; Nwogwugwu, Odedina, 2018). Amotekun launched a significant decentralized approach with state-level flexibility, but coordination issues persist. However centralized policing faces challenges like poor officer ratios, slow responses and lack of local contextualization.

METHODOLOGY. The study adopted a descriptive research design to systematically examine decentralizing security architecture, evaluating federalism's role in enhancing security frameworks in Nigeria. Data was collected from

workers in private organizations, civil servants, public servants, students, market men and women, and civil society in the three states. A total of 300 participants were purposefully selected to ensure a diverse representation, with 100 participants from each state. This strategic selection process aimed to capture a range of perspectives and insights relevant to the research topic.

Data collection was primarily conducted through the distribution of structured questionnaires among the participants. The questionnaire format facilitated the collection of numerical data, which was essential for conducting statistical analysis. In addition to primary data collected through the questionnaires, secondary sources such as existing literature and studies were utilized

to provide a contextual background and support the primary data findings. This combination of primary and secondary sources ensured a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter.

The collected data underwent analysis using descriptive statistical methods to summarize large datasets and identify patterns. This analytical approach was selected to aligning with the study's objective. By utilizing statistical techniques, the study was able to draw meaningful insights from the data and explore the impact of federalism on decentralizing security architecture in Nigeria.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION. This section presented the analysis of data emanated from the findings.

Table I

Analysis of Questionnaires Distribution among the Selected States

<i>Description of items</i>	<i>Frequency/Percentages</i>
Oyo	100 (33.33 %)
Ondo	100 (33.33 %)
Osun	100 (33.33 %)
<i>Total</i>	<i>300 (100 %)</i>

The table above presents the distribution of questionnaire among the selected states in the south west Nigeria. The finding as presented in the table above showed that the questionnaires

was equally distributed among Oyo 100 (33.33 %), Ondo 100 (33.33 %) and Osun states with 100 (33.33 %), respectively.

Table II

Analysis of Questionnaires Distribution among Male and Female Respondents

<i>Description of items</i>	<i>Frequency/Percentages</i>
Male	191 (66.66 %)
Female	109 (36.33 %)
<i>Total</i>	<i>300 (100 %)</i>

The finding of the study as presented in table II revealed that the male respondents has the highest number of 191, out of 300 respondents

which represents 66.66 %, while female population constituted 109 which represents 36.33 %.

Table III

Analysis on Current Security Architecture in Nigeria, its Strengths and Weaknesses

<i>Description of items</i>	<i>SA (%)</i>	<i>A (%)</i>	<i>SD (%)</i>	<i>D (%)</i>
Do you agree with the opinion that the current security situation in Nigeria is call for proactive action?	150 (50 %)	140 (46.6 %)	8 (2.7 %)	2 (0.6 %)
Do you believe that the current security architecture in Nigeria is effective in addressing security challenges?	45 (15 %)	55 (18.3 %)	120 (40 %)	80 (26.7 %)
Do you agree that the strengths of the current security architecture in Nigeria is lacking in its ability to combat security challenges?	110 (36.6 %)	90 (30 %)	54 (18 %)	36 (12 %)
Do you believe that the weaknesses of the current security architecture in Nigeria hinder its effectiveness in countermeasure of security challenges?	140 (46.6 %)	100 (33.3 %)	38 (12.6 %)	22 (7.3 %)
Do you agree that the major factors contributing to the current security challenges in Nigeria are social and economic inequality?	144 (48 %)	140 (46.6 %)	10 (3.3 %)	6 (2 %)

From the table above, the result showed that 150 (50 %) and 140 (46.6 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed with the opinion that the current security situation in Nigeria calls for proactive action, while 8 (2.7 %) and 2 (0.6 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed with the statement. The findings of the study also revealed that 45 (15 %) and 55 (18.3 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that the current security architecture in Nigeria is effective in addressing security challenges, while 120 (40 %) and 80 (26.7 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed, respectively. On whether the current security architecture in Nigeria lacks strengths in its ability to combat security challenges, 110 (36.6 %) and 90 (30 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed, while

54 (18 %) and 36 (12 %) strongly disagreed and disagreed. The study indicated that 140 (46.6 %) and 100 (33.3 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that the weaknesses of the current security architecture in Nigeria hinder its effectiveness in countermeasure of security challenges, while 38 (12.6 %) and 22 (7.3 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed. The findings of the results presented in Table III also showed that 144 (48 %) and 140 (46.6 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed, respectively, that the major factors contributing to the current security challenges in Nigeria are social and economic inequality, while 10 (3.3 %) and 6 (2 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed.

Table IV

Analysis of the Responses on Federalism Potential Role in Enhancing Security Frameworks in Nigeria

<i>Description of items</i>	<i>SA (%)</i>	<i>A (%)</i>	<i>SD (%)</i>	<i>D (%)</i>
Do you believe that implementing stricter measures can improve the current security architecture in Nigeria?	8 (2.6 %)	10 (3.3 %)	150 (50 %)	132 (44 %)
Do you agree with the understanding that federalism is a system of government where power is divided between a central authority and regional governments?	150 (50 %)	125 (41.6 %)	16 (5.3 %)	9 (3 %)
Do you believe that federalism principles can enhance security frameworks in Nigeria?	130 (43.3 %)	140 (46.6 %)	17 (5.6 %)	13 (4.3 %)
Do you agree that state police if approved will be used by state governors against their political opponents?	10 (3.3 %)	15 (5 %)	135 (45 %)	140 (46.6 %)
Do you believe that the current Federal arrangement in Nigeria is an obstacle to peace?	10 (3.3 %)	12 (4 %)	144 (48 %)	134 (44.6 %)

Table IV above presents the analysis of federalism's potential role in enhancing security frameworks in Nigeria. The result of the findings revealed that 8 (2.6 %) and 10 (3.3 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that implementing stricter measures can improve the current security architecture in Nigeria, while 150 (50 %) and 132 (44 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed, respectively. The finding also showed that 150 (50 %) and 125 (41.6 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed with the opinion that federalism is a system of government where power is divided between a central authority and regional governments, while 16 (5.3 %) and 9 (3 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed. The finding indicated that 130 (43.3 %) and

140 (46.6 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that federalism principles can enhance security frameworks in Nigeria, while 17 (5.6 %) and 13 (4.3 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed, respectively. The findings of the results revealed that 10 (3.3 %) and 15 (5 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that state police, if approved, will be used by state governors against their political opponents, while 135 (45 %) and 140 (46.6 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed. The study finally showed that 10 (3.3 %) and 12 (4 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed, respectively, that the current federal arrangement in Nigeria is an obstacle to peace, while 144 (48 %) and 134 (44.6 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed.

Table V

Analysis of the Responses on Impact of Decentralizing Security Architecture on the Effectiveness of Security Measures in Nigeria

<i>Description of items</i>	<i>SA (%)</i>	<i>A (%)</i>	<i>SD (%)</i>	<i>D (%)</i>
Do you agree that federalism can be implemented in Nigeria to improve security frameworks by devolving power and resources to the constituent governments?	180 (60 %)	100 (33.3 %)	6 (2 %)	14 (4.6 %)
Do you believe that decentralizing security architecture in Nigeria is a viable option?	270 (270 %)	30 (10 %)	-	-
Do you agree that decentralization can improve the effectiveness of security measures in Nigeria by allowing for regional and local participation?	100 (33.3 %)	149 (49.6 %)	31 (10.3 %)	20 (6.6 %)
Do you believe that the potential challenges of decentralizing security architecture in Nigeria lacks political will?	147 (49 %)	102 (34 %)	26 (8.6 %)	25 (8.3 %)
Do you agree that these challenges can be addressed through political restructuring in Nigeria?	185 (61.6 %)	100 (33.3 %)	5 (1.6 %)	10 (3.3 %)

The table as presented above showed that 180 (60 %) and 100 (33.3 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed, respectively, that federalism can be implemented in Nigeria to improve security frameworks by devolving power and resources to the constituent governments, while 6 (2 %) and 14 (4.6 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed. The finding revealed that 270 (270 %) and 30 (10 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that decentralising security architecture in Nigeria is a viable option, while none of the respondents strongly disagreed or disagreed. The findings of the study showed that 100 (33.3 %) and 149 (49.6 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed, respectively, that decentralisation can improve the effectiveness of security measures in Nigeria by allow-

ing for regional and local participation, while 31 (10.3 %) and 20 (6.6 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed or disagreed. The result presented in Table V also showed that 147 (49 %) and 102 (34 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that the potential challenges of decentralising security architecture in Nigeria lack political will, while 26 (8.6 %) and 25 (8.3 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed. The findings of the results also revealed that 185 (61.6 %) and 100 (33.3 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that these challenges can be addressed through political restructuring in Nigeria, while 5 (1.6 %) and 10 (3.3 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed, respectively.

Table VI

Analysis on Propose Recommendations and Strategies for Improving the Security Frameworks in Nigeria through the Implementation of Federalism Principles

<i>Description of items</i>	<i>SA (%)</i>	<i>A (%)</i>	<i>SD (%)</i>	<i>D (%)</i>
Do you believe that amendment of 1999 constitution can ensure the successful decentralization of security architecture in Nigeria?	150 (50 %)	110 (36.6 %)	24 (8 %)	16 (5.3 %)
Will you recommend regional security outfit like Amotekun as the security frameworks for others geo political zones in Nigeria?	167 (55.6 %)	110 (36.6 %)	13 (4.3 %)	10 (3.3 %)
Do you agree that the potential benefits of implementing federalism principles will improve security frameworks in Nigeria?	150 (50 %)	140 (46.6 %)	3 (1 %)	7 (2.3 %)
Do you believe that all items in exclusive lists should be moved to concurrent lists including security and policing?	95 (31.6 %)	80 (26.6 %)	64 (21.3 %)	61 (20.3 %)
Do you agree that there is need to rearrange the present Nigeria structures?	113 (37.6 %)	150 (50 %)	30 (10 %)	7 (2.3 %)

The findings of the study revealed that 150 (50 %) and 110 (36.6 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that the amendment of the 1999 constitution can ensure the successful decentralisation of security architecture in Nigeria, while 24 (8 %) and 16 (5.3 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed, respectively. The study also showed that 167 (55.6 %) and 110 (36.6 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that regional security outfits like Amotekun as the security frameworks for other geopolitical zones in Nigeria should be recommended, while 13 (4.3 %) and 10 (3.3 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed. The finding also revealed that 150 (50 %) and 140 (46.6 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that the potential benefits of implementing federalism principles will improve security frameworks in Nigeria, while 3 (1 %) and 7 (2.3 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed. The findings also indicated that 95 (31.6 %) and 80 (26.6 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed, respectively, that all items in exclusive lists should be moved to concurrent lists, including security and policing, while 64 (21.3 %) and 61 (20.3 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed. The finding also revealed that 113 (37.6 %) and 150 (50 %) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that there is a need to rearrange the present Nigerian structures, while 30 (10 %) and 7 (2.3 %) of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed, respectively.

The security landscape in Nigeria, riddled with numerous challenges such as terrorism, insurgency, banditry, and communal conflicts, underscores the critical impact of a lack of decentralized security architecture and skewed federalism on the country's security frameworks. Despite the alarming state of security, the sharp increase in internal security issues in Nigeria suggests that the centralized security approach has not significantly improved the safety of the people. The persistent security challenges and ineffective countermeasures indicate that there are fundamental issues with the nation's centralized security framework. Insecurity is a global phenomenon, but the persistent escalation and inability to curb the trend threaten the viability of any country's democratic paradigm under any political system. This unfortunate security situation and the architecture should indeed cause significant concern for all. If the current security architecture is not swiftly reversed by the government and stakeholders, it could pose a serious threat to the nation's unity and hopes of achieving a functioning democracy. Amotekun serves as a test case for the viability of

true federalism in Nigeria, providing valuable lessons on decentralized security frameworks for other regions within the Nigerian state seeking to address their unique security challenges. This underscores the importance of consistently holding our leaders accountable, especially those who promise to restructure the country during their campaigns, to initiate the constitutional process. Nigerians must be liberated from their physical and psychological seclusion and alienation from governance. Their participation can only be enhanced in their local community through decentralization and restructuring the country towards true federalism. The success or failure of the security architecture and framework will depend on our ability to decentralize and restructure Nigeria towards true federalism, both in principles and practices.

CONCLUSION. The study reveals a causal link between the centralization of security architecture and the prevalence of insecurity in Nigeria. The over-centralization of governance issues under the current federalism has had a significant impact on the country's security situation. The findings from this study suggest that true federalism, characterized by a decentralized security architecture and effective security framework, could be instrumental in enhancing security in the country. Security is of paramount importance to all, and governments should strive to ensure that citizens are fully involved in their own security. This can be achieved through the principles of federalism and the decentralization of the security architecture and framework. The study provides evidence of the alienation of citizens from their own security in Nigeria, which is contributing to the rise in insecurity. It suggests that Nigeria's lack of true federalism and a community approach to security is a result of the government's lack of political will to restructure the country through constitutional review. The study posits that federalism can be implemented in Nigeria to improve security frameworks by devolving power and resources to constituent governments. The central government's refusal to devolve power to constituent units reflects a political culture characterized by manipulation, dishonesty, and corruption. The findings concur that there is a need to restructure Nigeria's current structures due to a lack of concern for the interests of the people. Nigerians lack faith in the current security architecture's ability to address security challenges. However, the study recommends regional security outfits like Amotekun as potential security frameworks for other geopolitical zones in Nigeria.

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ОЛАГОКЕ ОЛУВАФЕМІ АВОТАЙО,

магістр наук,
Державний університет Осуна (м. Осозбо, Нігерія),
кафедра політичних наук;
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9768-8910>,
e-mail: olagoke.awotayo@uniosun.edu.ng;

БОЛАДЖІ ОЛУМУЙВА ОМІТОЛА,

доктор філософії,
Державний університет Осуна (м. Осозбо, Нігерія),
кафедра політичних наук;
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8114-5516>,
e-mail: bolaji.omitola@uniosun.edu.ng

**ДЕЦЕНТРАЛІЗАЦІЯ АРХІТЕКТУРИ БЕЗПЕКИ: ОЦІНКА РОЛІ ФЕДЕРАЛІЗМУ
У ЗМІЦНЕННІ СИСТЕМИ БЕЗПЕКИ В НІГЕРІЇ**

Дослідження присвячено вивченню складного безпекового середовища Нігерії – країни, яка бореться з багатьма викликами, такими як тероризм, повстанський рух, бандитизм і конфлікти між громадами. Наявна централізована архітектура безпеки виявилася нездатною ефективно протистояти цим загрозам і захищати добробут нігерійських громадян. Для більш глибокого розуміння цих питань у дослідженні використано добре структуровану анкету як основний інструмент збору даних, а як теоретичну основу – описово-аналітичну модель. Використано описові кількісні інструменти для ретельного аналізу зібраних даних із метою надання логічної інтерпретації ситуації. Наголошено на відсутності децентралізації в архітектурі безпеки та викривлений федералізм як ключові фактори, що сприяють небезпеці, яка панує в Нігерії. Виявлено безліч причинно-наслідкових змінних, які сприяють внутрішній небезпеці в країні. Важливим висновком дослідження є взаємозв'язок між занадто великою централізацією архітектури безпеки та зростанням рівня небезпеки в країні. Дослідження свідчить про те, що чим вищий рівень централізації, тим більша відчуженість громадян у питаннях безпеки на їхніх територіях. У світлі цих висновків запропоновано Нігерії прийняти принципи справжнього федералізму. Надано рекомендації щодо внесення змін до Конституції 1999 року, зокрема запропоновано перенести більшість пунктів, які зараз перебувають у виключних списках, до паралельних списків. Це відкрило б шлях до регіональної інтеграції та створення регіональних структур безпеки, таких як «Амотекун» на південному заході, що сприятиме формуванню більш безпечної та гармонійної нації.

Ключові слова: децентралізація, федералізм, безпека, архітектура, структури безпеки.

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