

STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION AND RECONFIGURATION OF NIGERIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY PARADIGM: AN EVALUATIVE STUDY

*Basil Uche Onyeneho, *Ph.D.*¹, Kalu, Ojiaku Joseph, *Ph.D.*¹, Nelson, Iroabuchi Ogbaeja, *Ph.D.*², Amechi Aharu Chukwu, *Ph.D.*¹, Raphael Abumchukwu Ekwunife, *Ph.D.*¹, Onuchukwu, Grace Amarachi³, & Agbor, Imelda Nchung³

¹ Department of Mass Communication, Evangel University Akaeze, Nigeria.

² Department of Mass Communication, Ebonyi State University Abakaliki, Nigeria.

³ Undergraduate student, Department of Mass Communication, Evangel University Akaeze, Nigeria.

*Corresponding Author: Basil Uche Onyeneho, *Ph.D.*

Abstract

Strategic communication holds a major key to fostering national security. This study, therefore, explores the interplay between mediated communication strategies and national security in Nigeria; evaluating the extent communication has been adopted in galvanizing national security and advancing the nation. The study was framed on the Securitization Theory. Adopting a methodological synthesis review of extant literature key personality interview (KPI), data were collected from select security agencies and communication experts, which revealed that the best approach to managing national security in the country is by adequate and transparently conscientious communication approach in national security matters. The study also established that a communication gap exists between some sections of the country due to localization of the nation's media outlets. The findings further suggest that sensitive national information strategically and effectively communicated will earn public national security consciousness, and in the long run improve national security and effectively safeguard the national interests. The study made far-reaching academic and policy recommendations aimed at effective use of communication strategies to develop resilient communication inclusivity that will foster national security in the Nigerian society.

Keywords: Communication, Insecurity, National Interest, National Security, Securitization.

1.0 Introduction

The issue of security, both at national and global spheres, has continued to resonate over time and will remain so as long as the society revolves. Many discussions and debates have been generated therefrom on its indispensability in the modern time. There seems to be a convergence of opinion on the essence and relevance of security in the affairs of nations, hence earning discussions for national development (Otto & Ukpere, 2012; Ezeala *et al.*, 2023). However, the

communication interplay has remained whittled down, without attracting the level of importance it deserves.

Insecurity has continued to plague Nigeria, obviously because the right strategic tools have not been adequately deployed in addressing the security challenges. Ebeh (2015) conceives that the inability to use the appropriate tools in analyzing Nigeria's national security problems accounts for the difficulties in addressing insecurity in the country. From the point of view of this scholar, any country seeking to achieve security without first evaluating the surrounding issues to the concept has a false sense of security. Some of these issues include acute food shortage, population, low level of productivity, fragile infrastructure base for technological development, inadequate and inefficient public utilities and chronic problem of unemployment. To arrive at this security Eldorado, communication holds a key.

Extant literature have explored the subject of national security as a fulcrum for Nigeria's advancement. Adeleke (2013) examined insecurity as constituting a threat to human existence in the face of economic development in Nigeria. The study evaluated the essence of security in the county and revealed that although efforts have been made to nip the hydra-headed monster on the board, its multifaceted red flags still exist in diverse dimensions and approaches. The researcher, however, did not consider the communication inclusivity in the milieu.

Ezeala & Afolalu (2022) assessed the subject of security in Nigeria from the economic point of view; examining government expenditure in the security sector as a prerequisite for achieving economic development in the country. The researchers proxy the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Human Development Index (HDI) which are strong indices for measuring national security. The conclusion of the study is that government expenditure in security has some significant effect on economic development of Nigeria. The study recommended that more spending on security be adopted in order to sustain the gains attained. However, this study did not also look at security-communication relationship in the overall realization of this goal for national interest.

Wojunade (2021) investigated insecurity in Nigeria from the perspective of socio-economic development and identified the factors that escalate insecurity in the country to include inability of government to deliver on basic needs, poverty and marginalization of some persons, ethno-religious conflicts, politically motivated violence, unemployment, cultism and terrorism. The

study ascertained that insecurity has resulted in social dislocation and population displacement, social tensions and new pattern of settlements in the country which encourages Muslims/Christians or members of certain ethnic groups to migrate to Muslim/Christian dominated areas, heightens citizenship question which encourages hostility between indigenes and settlers, general atmosphere of mistrust, fear, anxiety and frenzy, dehumanization of women and children, and also men; child abuse and neglect are used as instruments of war. It also found that deepening of hunger and poverty in the polity are rife due to inappropriate use of the right strategies to fight insecurity in the country. The researchers, therefore, recommended the creation of an economy with relevant social, economic and physical infrastructure that will engender economic advancement and scale up Nigeria's national security. Among the tools envisaged to drive such environment will be adequate and effective communication of security-driven ideals to the citizenry.

There is undisputed agreement that communication holds a major key to development; thereby according life its very essence (Akinwalere, 2023; Udeze, 2024). As national security is necessary for creating an enabling environment for national development, communication facilitates security for appropriate and necessary advancement of nations and the collective well being of their citizens. The extent to which communication has been adopted as a strategic instrument for enhancing national security in Nigeria has attracted academic inquiry (Agbo, 2024; OLusola, Olakunle & Adebano, 2017; Ali, 2013). The concern of this paper, therefore, is to examine the national security dynamics in Nigeria and the extent mediated communication has been deployed as a strategic instrument in furthering national security in the country.

Objectives of the paper

This paper examined Nigeria's national security kinesis and its interface with mediated communication in the country, specifically directed towards:

1. to establish the significance of mediated communication in the attainment of national security in Nigeria.
2. ascertain the extent mediated communication has been deployed in the overall national interest for the attainment of national security in Nigeria.

3. determine the capacity of mediated communication in repositioning national security in the Nigerian state.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Elucidation

The need to clarify some key and recurrent terms in the paper suffices.

a. Security

Security is a social construct, framed from man-made activities which arise from ideas, imagination, belief system and perceptions. It is relatively defined in connection with different societies and different means. Security is a multinational concept that involves an ordered human existence, free from threats or fears of danger, or harm to life, liberty and property (Akpura-Aja, 2007). Aja observes that security is not all about what gun can do, but the place of the other non-military variable in the promotion and preservation of tolerant and governable system.

Security is geographically bound. That is; what constitutes a security issue in one environment may not attract much security (or any) discussion in another. Consequently, security is dynamic-ever changing with time and space. In a true sense of the word, security is what the different world views ascribe to it- values, beliefs and positionality. An activity is regarded as a security issue only if has been analyzed and presented as an issue of supreme priority; thereby labeling it as security which a relevant agent claims a need for and a right to treat it by extraordinary means (Buzan et al. 1998). Security may be seen from a negative perspective; a failure to deal with issues of normal politics (Waever, 1995).

b. National Security

In the earlier time, different meanings were ascribed to the concept of national security. Brennan (1961) opines that national security connotes the protection of national survival, while Ray (1987) is of the view that national security should be understood in terms of the desire and capacity for self-defence. To Ochoche (1998) national security focuses on the amassment of military armament, personnel and expenditure. These definitions have been whittled down with the contemporary events around the globe. According to Igbogo (2015), the concept has expanded to include international economics, long term goals of national development and

reconciliation, thereby giving a contemporary meaning thereto. Asad (2007) asserts that national security cannot be narrowed down to exclusively military term without encompassing socio-economic and cultural aspects of nationhood, development and modernization, and national integration. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1994) looked at national security from the human security perspective to include such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. Essentially, national security must be related to the presence of peace, safety, happiness and the protection of human and physical resources or the absence of crisis, threats to human injury among others. National security is not a discrete or measurable variable, and therefore cannot be described holistically in quantitative terms.

Understanding the concept and its intricacies is critical, not only in an attempt to define the term and its functions in the society, but also in mobilizing capacity and obligations for a guaranteed national interest and values. Consequently, the Nigerian National Defence Policy states that national security is the aggregate of the security interests of the citizenry, communities, ethnic groups and the socio-political entities that exist in the country. The national security interests of Nigeria are defined in terms of strengthening the Federal Republic of Nigeria, advancing its interests and objectives, containing instability, controlling crime, eliminating corruption, enhancing genuine development, progress and growth of individuals and groups; and improving the welfare and well being and quality of life of every Nigeria citizen. This paper adopts this latter definition of the concept, because the security of every nation is driven by the people: when the citizens' well being is adequately addressed and the people do not feel so alienated from governance and the events in their society, security is guaranteed while national security is projected. The paper also believes that national security is not wholesomely embodied in the amassment of arms as Ochoche (1998) submits.

c. Communication

The society is dynamic- ever changing with time and increasingly becoming more complex. The power of communication in such evolving society, therefore, cannot be underestimated. Communication connects humans with the society; it is a way of life and manifests in various forms. Communication entails sharing meanings in different contexts. Onwe (2019) describe communication simply as an act of conveying intended meanings from one individual or group to another through the use of mutually understood signs and language rules.

Communication exists in diverse forms. Intrapersonal communication exists within oneself in the form of internal vocalization or reflective thinking (Onwe, 2019). It is triggered by some internal or external stimuli and manifests in the individual talking to no one but self.

There is the interpersonal communication where an individual exchanges information, feelings and meanings with another through verbal or non-verbal relationship. This could be through face-to-face, planned or unplanned interaction. It could amount to the use of technological devices, however, involving two parties or individuals. Because it deals with personal relationships between individuals, it is prone to giving rise to conflicts, particularly when common understanding is lacking in the parties to the communication.

Group communication is another form of communication. This form of communication is a step higher than the interpersonal context (Udeze, 2024). Here, group dynamics play significant roles where communication is between a group and another which have common grounds for sharing communication messages and meanings.

The next is mass communication. This is a form of communication where messages are transmitted to a large heterogeneous, amorphous and scattered audience using the instrumentality of the mass media. Oso & Tijani-Adenle (2014) describe this form of communication as the mediated communication. Bennett & Entman (2001), cited in Oso & Tijani-Adenle describe mediated communication as arising from news programmes to entertainment fares, serving important functions in the contemporary society, and providing good and bad information. It offers engaging and stupefying perspectives on social issues, stimulates conversations among friends or between strangers, and offers a selection of political, scientific, and socially authoritative or dubious sources that audiences may accept or reject in thinking about issues. The channels for mediated communication include the print (newspaper and magazine) and broadcast (radio and television) genres of the mass media. This form of communication has been used overtime across the nations of the world in communicating national security issues to the members of the society.

2.2 Perspectives of Nigeria's National Security Kinesis

Over the years, the Nigerian national security landscape has been plagued by issues which tend to agitate the root of the nation. Across the length and breadth of the country, issues ranging

from politics, religion, corruption, food security, education, crime (particularly armed robbery, kidnapping, murder, rape, arson, ethnic, terrorism, etc), energy crises, and several others continue to resonate. National security, when appropriately harnessed promotes the national interests and shared values of any nation. The global, regional and domestic security environments have endlessly questioned the essence of national interests in the evolving national security dynamics, because national interests begin with the well being of the people. On the other hand, quality and functional well being of the people promotes national security. For example, the 1990 National Security Strategy of the United States enumerated the country's core national interests conventionally to include the survival of the U.S. democratic values and institutions; economic prosperity; and a stable and secure world, fostering freedom, human rights, and democratic institutions (Chin, Skinner & Yoo, 2023). These promote the well being of the people, thus creating enabling environment for national security in the country.

National interests are the shared values, goals and aspirations of the citizenry of every state which constitute the hallmark of national security. Akunyili (2012) cited Collins (1990) and agrees that national security encompasses political, economic, social, military, psychological and technological resources that are manipulated with the assistance of several power variables to achieve national interests, objectives, policies and commitment of the state. National interests hold a strong key to the achievement of national security in any country.

National security is the *primus interperas* of governance benefits to the citizens in any country, particularly under a democratic governance. According to Akpuru-Aja & Ibe (2012), democratic governance exists in an environment where there is efficient and effective electoral body, conduct of free, fair and credible periodic elections, provision and sustenance of indigenous industries predicated on local talents and provision of social services and maintenance of existing infrastructural amenities, goods schools and sound education system *that promotes research and development*, electricity and employment opportunities by those entrusted with the peoples' mandate to represent them at all the strata of governance. There should also be equal rights, justice, equity and fair play. Onah (2005) adds that in such a political climate, common will (national interests) override personal will/interest, in order therefore, to promote national security.

Recent events in Nigeria have continued to question the concept of national security in the overriding interest of the nation. A balance between common will and personal will seems quite difficult, and exists in the abstract in Nigeria. Issues touching on national security in Nigeria continue to beleaguer the Nigerian state and tend to tilt the national narratives. From the political sphere to security, ethno-religious perspective, socio-economic, education, healthcare, agriculture, national identity and citizenry consciousness, education, and several other vital areas of nationhood, issues revolving around national security and national interest, on the one hand, and common will and personal will on the other continue to revolve.

There are several other issues that have agitated the national security foundations of Nigeria in the recent time. For example, the COVID-19 palliative crises across the states of the nation in 2020, the #EndSARS protest of 2020 and the #EndBadGovernanceInNigeria protest of August 2024 which was organized due to economic hardship and bad governance the citizens experience, and of course questionable electoral victories in the country. There have also been the trade union strikes (Nigerian Labour Congress crises), the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) strikes, human rights abuses, kidnapping, armed robbery, rape, corruption, the Niger Delta militancy, the separatist groups' agitations, and many other issues bordering on Nigeria's national security dynamics.

Although these issues may seem not to red-flag national insecurity at the beginning, but agents' speech act, policy management, actions and inactions of people around the issues gave them security dispositions. We all saw the COVID-19 palliatives crises which emanated from hunger and search for food among the citizenry. The #EndSARS protest is still fresh in our memories which began from the quest for human to be treated as humans indeed by security operatives in the country. The country is currently riddled with terrorism- from the north to the south poles of the country.

2.3 The Role of Communication Matrix in National Security

Communication is essential for the advancement of any society. No society; no matter how advanced or primitive, can do without it because it is the fulcrum on which societal advancement revolves. Mediated communication, as adopted in this paper, connotes the newspaper perspective

of the mass media communication. As Hynds (1972) cited in Ogbuoshi (2010) posits, the newspaper has been the society's primary instrument of mass communication, and the logbook of human affairs than any other means of communication. The mass media function as information hub for the society- playing surveillance role and mirroring the society to itself; correlating, interpreting and socializing the different sections of the society; transmitting cultural values; entertaining its audience; and mobilizing the society members for development.

Outside performing the enumerated functions which make it a form of the mass media, the newspaper specifically functions as an opinion vehicle by providing a forum for expression of individual societal member's feelings and suggestions, educates and informs the public on the events in the society, entertains them, plays socialization function, serves crusading/agitation function, mobilizes the members of the society to participate in national development, serves as a propaganda instrument (particularly in developing countries of the third world), and functions as ombudsman to the society (Ogbuoshi, 2010).

Newspaper functions as a journal of record and opinion (Udoakah, 2000). As a journal of record, the events of society are recorded daily, weekly, or monthly, depending on their frequency, however, in carefully framed summaries. Newspaper began by serving the needs of political groups who used it to propagate their ideals (Udoakah, 1996). With the passage of time, newspapers have developed to serving all classes of the society with divergent opinions and in various ways. The subjects of coverage in the newspaper transcend politics to include all issues that revolve around the humans in the society.

Newspaper is an essential tool for projecting national security issues, putting into consideration the avalanche of functions it performs in the society. It enables the populace to understand the issues that affect them as members of the society by providing them the news of the day (Agbanu, 2013). It provides detailed information on subjects, which the broadcast media find difficult to do.

In Nigeria, newspaper has been used to promote national security, overtly or covertly. Daily reports on newspaper pages indicate that Nigerian newspapers are agents of social change, advancing social well being of the citizenry through the reportage of events that took place in the society. That the Nigerian press has shown divisiveness in reporting some events, obviously

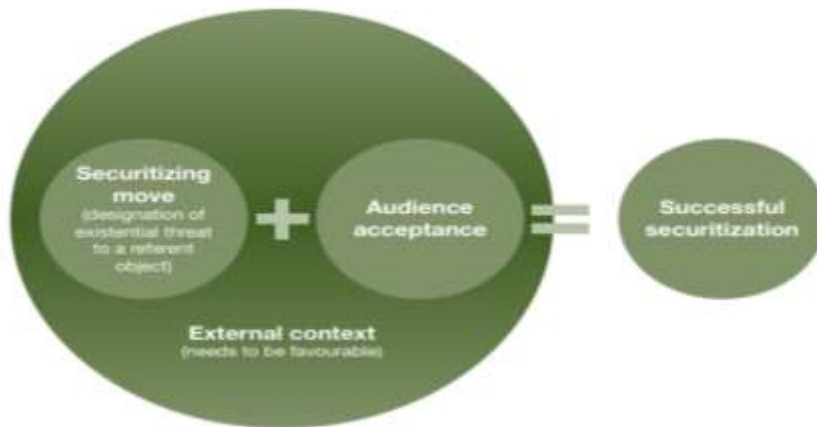
questioning the credibility and objective ethics of the journalism profession. Sections of the newspaper industry, by their gatekeeping or framing create gaps in adequately communicating the events of the day. This has created some level of bias and credibility question thereby leaving rooms for inadequacy in message communication to the public, and arousing doubts in the minds of the reading public (Ogbonda, 2003), particularly on national security issues.

Wali (2003) observes that the media which ought to be a major stake holder in ensuring the security of the state sometimes trivialize the very sensitive issue by the way such issues are reported. According to the scholar, the Nigerian press is still growing into maturity, hence issues that affect the general well-being of the people of the country but which can cause disaffection and disunity should be de-emphasized or played down. He however noted that the reverse has been the case in many Nigerian media publications wishing to make quick sales on the platform of sensationalism and journalistic scoops.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

The paper is framed on the Securitization Theory. Securitization theory is traceable to the 1998 works of Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde- *Security: A new framework for analysis* at the Copenhagen School, London in which they described securitization as a process in which an actor identifies a threat and by doing this is able to justify and then call for exceptional measures to address the threat (Buzan & Waever, 2003). Securitization theory has a twofold objective (Chen & Gao, 2022). First, it examines how specific issues move from the category of 'normal' politics to the realm of security wherein the political actors can bypass normal discourse and procedure. Second, securitization theory 'isolated the mechanisms whereby such a move was enacted' (Sperling and Webber 2016). The process of securitization is triggered by a speech act—namely a securitizing move 'through which an inter-subjective understanding is constructed within a political community to treat something as an existential threat to a valued referent object, and to enable a fall for urgent and exceptional measures to deal with the threat (Buzan & Waever, 2003).

Securitization takes place under three conditions when (1) an actor decides something is an existential threat; (2) audience accepts it; and (3) external context helps- right timing, it seems like a realistic threat for the audience.



Successful securitization of issues. (Source: Nyman, 2018, 103).

For an issue to be securitized, it must emanate from military security, political security, economic security, societal security and environmental security. Each of these has broad-based implications on the well being of the populace and development.

Securitization theory shows that national security policy is not a natural given, but carefully designated by politicians and decision-makers (actors and agents). Issues are constituted as extreme security issues to be dealt with urgently when they have been labeled as ‘dangerous’, ‘menacing’, ‘threatening’, ‘alarming’ and so on by a ‘securitizing actor’ who has the social and institutional power to move the issue ‘beyond politics’. So, security issues are not simply ‘out there’ but rather must be articulated as problems by securitizing actors. Calling hunger and poverty ‘threat to national security’, for instance, shifts such matters from a low priority national concern to a high priority issue that requires action, hence attempt must be made to provide food for the people before their anger is vented on the society. Securitization theory challenges traditional approaches to security and asserts that issues are not essentially threatening in themselves; rather, it is by referring to them as ‘security’ issues that they become security problems.

The main argument of securitization theory is that an issue becomes a security issue not because something constitutes an objective threat to the state (or another referent object), but rather because an actor has defined something as existential threat to some object’s survival. By doing so, the actor has claimed the right to handle the issue through extraordinary means to ensure the

referent object's survival. Security is thus a self-referential practice; that is, an issue becomes a security issue only by being labeled as one. However, the fact that security is a social and inter-subjective construct does not mean that everything can become easily securitized. In order to successfully securitize an issue, a securitizing actor has to perform a securitizing move (present something as an existential threat to a referent object) which has to be accepted by a targeted audience. Only by gaining acceptance from the audience, the issue can be moved above the sphere of normal politics, allowing elites to break normal procedures and rules and implement emergency measures.

Securitization is a process. It emanates from an actor(s) (likely political actors) identifying and justifying a threat and then call for exceptional measures to address them. The Copenhagen School examined the concept of security from three dimensions- national, regional and global perspectives, specifically as it affects countries of the world. Securitization revolves around the internal dynamics of countries (Beidollahkhani and Rahmani, 2023), which rubs off on the wellbeing of the citizenry.

3.0 Methodology

This study adopted qualitative approach to data gathering. Although this approach tilts towards survey design which is primary-data-driven, knowledge-sharing method was used to generate information from security experts and communication professionals. Consequently descriptive and explanation-building approach to interview was adopted. Expert views of senior serving and retired security officers in the nation's security architecture and communication teachers and practitioners were obtained through interviews. To avoid response homogeneity, the researchers adopted diversified demographic characteristics in selecting the respondents to the study. Purposive sampling method was employed to select five each of security operatives, mass communication lecturers in universities and communication professionals in the newspaper industry. They were all senior personnel in their different areas of calling. To ensure diversities in the process of selection, the research effort considered their years of practice, job status and placement. Attention was also given to gender balance and age disparity. These heterogeneous characteristics enabled the researchers to maximize response diversities of data accrued from the interviews. Odoemelam & Clofford (2023) are in agreement with Braun & Clarke (2006) and upheld that this approach is suitable for a study of this kind.

Structured interview schedule was designed to elicit responses from the respondents in a Key Personality Informant (KPI) format. Although Kashuulpolwa-Malwa & Akpabio (2022) adopted Key Informant Interview (KII) to obtain data for their study on the assessment of government-media relations in Namibia, this approach takes the same process with KPI.

Three key questions were posed to the interviewees and the summaries of their responses are collectively analyzed as depicted here under.

Question 1: Is mass media communication of any significance in the attainment of national security in Nigeria?

Question 2: To what extent has mass media messages been adopted as a strategic instrument to enhance national interest for the attainment of national security in Nigeria?

Question 3: How effective is mass media communication in the effort to reposition national security in the Nigerian state?

4.0 Findings

Question-one which sought to establish the significance of mass media communication in the attainment of national security in Nigeria. There is a convergence of opinions that communication, especially media messages are quite essential for the advancement of the nation security. Notwithstanding, the respondents advocated for strategic communication and enjoined the mass media to embrace media objectivity in their practice so as to earn credibility from the public and promote national trust among the diverse multi-ethnic groups in the country. Specifically, the communication teachers admonished the practitioners to make the professional ethics their watchword and not practice divisive journalism. The media practitioners, however, advised that national security should not be strictly defined from the perspective of military operations, but with communication inclusivity because the people must ask questions and look forward to obtaining answers about their well-being and the society in which they live.

The second question was posed to ascertain the extent to which mass media messages have been adopted as a strategic instrument to arouse national interest for the attainment of national security in Nigeria. There is a sharp division of opinions to this question. While the interviewees agreed that the importance of communication in advancing national interest cannot be whittled down,

they agreed that the media are divided on their use to strategically position Nigeria for national security. Majority of the respondents attested that the media are polarized in the pursuit of personal interest above national interest, at times pursuing parochial interests above national interest. Some of the respondents pointed out that the concentration of the Nigerian press in the south-west axis of Nigeria is not a good omen for the country. They, therefore, called for a decentralized media positioning for a broad-based national coverage that will report larger segments of the country. It is envisaged, according to the respondents, that this will help educate the public on the demands of national security in their own interest and for the gain of the entire nation.

The third question was posed to determine how effective mass media communication could be used and applied to reposition national security in Nigeria. Respondents agreed that communication holds a vital key by serving as a platform for equipping and mobilizing the people for national security consciousness. With this level of consciousness, it was agreed by the respondents, that a new national security consciousness will be cultivated that will increase citizens' demand and hold on accountability and checks on power excesses from people holding public trust in the management of state affairs.

5.0 Conclusion

It is unarguable that communication holds a vital key to the attainment of national security in Nigeria. The quantity and quality of communication appropriately disseminated to the public through the media channels, particularly the newspaper genre, goes a long way to determine how they react to national security issues over time. The media, as an instrument of change stands tall in message dissemination on national issues, especially in national security. It is a relevant instrument to galvanize the people towards understanding the tenets and demands of national security in a world of security uncertainties. The Nigerian press, therefore, remains indispensable in this function, particularly in the quest to communicate national security ideals to the people.

5.1 Recommendations

Rising from the findings of this paper, the following recommendations suffice:

1. The media should adopt objective national security communication strategy through their reportage in order to earn credibility from the public that will promote national security.
2. National security should not wholesomely be defined from the perspective of military operations, but with communication inclusivity for public education and awareness. This is necessary because when the people are conscious of national security, they will be able to contribute to its attainment.
3. The Nigerian media landscape should be decentralized by encouraging broad-based community press for effective national security coverage that will report larger segments of the country. This will help to create awareness and build national security consciousness in the people, both urban and rural populace.

References

- Adeleke, A. (2013). Insecurity: A Threat to Human Existence and Economic Development in Nigeria. *Public Policy and Administration Research* www.iiste.org ISSN 2224-5731(Paper) ISSN 2225-0972 (Online) 3(6). https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320691705-_Insecurity_A_Threat_to_Human_Existence_and_Economic_Development_in_Nigeria
- Agbanu, V. N (2013). *Mass communication- Introduction, techniques, issues*. Enugu: Rhyce Kerex Publishers.
- Agbo, S. (2024). Role of the media in Nigeria's national security strategy. *International Journal of Public Administration (IJOPAD)*, 3(2), 35-51. Available online at: <https://ijopad.org>
- Akinwalere, I. (2023). Media, democracy, military and national security in Nigeria. *Journal of Public Administration, Finance and Law*, 27, 23-37. <https://doi.org/10.47743/jopaf-2023-27-02>
- Akpuru-Aja, A. & Ibe, A. N. (2012). *Repositioning the state for development in Africa: Issues, challenges & prospects*. Enugu: Rhyce Kerex Publishers.
- Ali, A. D. (2013). The Role of the Media in National Security in Nigeria 1960-1999. *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review (OMAN Chapter)*, 2(12), 55-62.
- Are, L. K. K. (2012). Current threat analysis and security sector reform: The African experience. In Umar, A. T. & Tanko, A. *Nigerian defence intelligence management: A road map*. Abuja: Manhasdu Printing Company
- Asad, D. (2007). National affair, retrieved September 2007 <http://www.nigeriavillagesquare.com>.

- Beidollahkhani, A and Rahmani, H. (2023). Securitization of pipeline: The Ukraine crisis and the role of the Nord Stream in the political and relations between Russia and the EU. *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs*, 9(2), 426-440.
- Brennan, D. (1961). Setting the goals of arm control. In Brennan (ed.) *Arms control, disarmament and national security*. New York: George Brazille.
- Buzan, B., Waever, O. & de Wilde, J. (1998). *Security: A new framework for analysis*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Buzan, B. & Wæver, O. (2003). *Regions and powers: The structure of international security (No. 91)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chen, X. & Gao, X. (2022). Analysing the EU's collective securitization moves towards China. *Asia Europe Journal*, 20:195–216. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10308-021-00640-4>
- Chin, J. J., Skinner, K. & Yoo, C. (2023). Understanding national security strategies through time. *Foreign Policy*, 6(4), 103-124. <http://dx.doi.org/10.26153/tsw/48842>
- Nyman, J. (2018). *Securitization: An Introduction*. 10.4324/9781315228358-8.
- Ebet, J. I. (2015). National security and national development: A critique. *International Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 4(2), 1-14. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/ijah.v4i2.1>
- Ezeala G. & Afolalu A. (2022). Assessing the impact of government expenditure on security as a requirement for achieving sustainable economic growth and development. 1994-2020. International Conference Proceeding, Faculty of Management Sciences, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka.
- Ezeala, G., Agwaramgbo, J. C. & Okeke, I. C. (2023). Security challenges and national development: Empirical evidence from Nigeria. *Journal of Management Sciences*, 60(4), 111-128. *ResearchGate*.
- Kashuulpolwa-Malwa, A. & Akpabio, E. (2022). Assessment of government-media relations in Namibia. In Ogwezzy-Ndisika, A., Oyeleye, S. A., Osuagwu, T. & Abubakar, A., (eds.) *Communicating identities: Media and inclusive democracies*. Ibadan: Evans Brothers (Nigeria Publishers) Limited. ACSPN Book Series Six.
- Ochoche, S. (1998). The Military and National Security in Africa. In Hutchful (Ed.) *Military and Militarism in Africa*. Senegal: Codesirea.
- Odoemelam, C. C. & Clofford, W. S. (2023). Curbing fake news in oil-rich Niger Delat Region of Nigeria through public relations approaches. In Nsereka, B. G., Dike, H. W. & Ohiagu, O. P. (eds.) *Media, governance and accountability in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Evans Brothers (Nigeria Publishers) Limited. ACSPN Book Series Seven.
- Ogbondah, C. W. (2003). *State-press relations in Nigeria (1993-1998): Human rights and democratic development*. Abuja: Spectrum Books Limited.

- Ogbuoshi, C. L. (2020). *Understanding the dynamics of communication theories and models*. Enugu: Linco Enterprises.
- Ogbuoshi, L. I. (2010). *Understanding newspaper management and production*. Enugu: Linco Enterprises Limited.
- Olusola, O. A., Olakunle, O. K. & Adebajo, A. O. (2017). Language, communication and national security. *International Journal of Advanced Academic Research | Arts, Humanities & Education* | **3**(8), 1-10.
- Onah, V. C. (2005). Democratic governance and the crisis of development in Nigeria. *American Journal of International Politics and Development Studies*, **1**(1).
- Onwe, C. E. (2019). *Human communication- The art of winning the heart*. Enugu: Rhyce Kerex Publishers
- Oso, L. & Tijani-Adenle, G. (2014). Historical analysis of the credibility of media communication in Nigeria. In L. Oso, Olatunji, R. and Owens-Ibie, N. (eds.), *Journalism and media in Nigeria- Contexts, issues and practice*. Canada: Canada University Press.
- Otto, G. & Ukpere, W.I. (2012). National security and development in Nigeria. *African Journal of Business Management*, **6**(23), 6765-6770. DOI: 10.5897/AJBM12.155
- Ray, J. (1987). *Global Politics*. 3rd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Udeze, S. E. (2024). Deconstruction stereotypes and reconstructing the image of Africa in the global media: Public relations nexus. 39th Inaugural lecture of Enugu State University of Science and Technology, 12 September.
- Udoakah, N. U. (1996). The traditional objectives of the mass media and view of news determinants: Myth or reality? *Journal of Humanities*, **2**, 100-105.
- Udoakah, N. U. (2000). Newspaper and magazine development and production. In D. Wilson (ed) *Introduction to print media: Readings in Nigerian journalism*. Ibadan: Stirling-Horden Publishers (Nig) Ltd.
- Wæver, O. (1995). Securitization and desecuritization. In Lipschutz, R. D., *On Security* (ed.) New York, Columbia University Press.
- Wali, A. (undated). Press freedom and national security: A study in the dynamics of journalists and security agents relationship in Nigeria. Open Press Ltd, Zaria, In Ali, A. D. (2013). *The role of the media in national security in Nigeria 1960-1999*. *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review (OMAN Chapter)*, **2**(12), 55-62.
- Wajuade, J.I. (2021). Insecurity and Nigeria's socio-economic development: A survey. *International Journal of Research in Education and Sustainable Development*, **1**(1).
Journal DOI: www.doi.org/10.46654/IJRES Article DOI: www.doi.org/10.46654-IJRES.1121